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THE STORY OF WORLD PROGRESS

by

Willis Mason West.

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American Troops Marching Through the Arch of Triumph, Paris.

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PART I — THE WORLD BEFORE THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER I

MEN BEFORE WRITING

The first men

The story of man goes back to a time when he was more helpless than the lowest savage in the world to-day. He had neither fire nor knife, — no tools or weapons except his hands and chance clubs or stones. We do not know a great deal about the earliest steps upward toward civilization; but they must have been very slow. Finally some savage discovered that he could chip flakes from a flint stone by striking it with other stones, so as to give it a sharp edge and a convenient shape for the hand to grasp. This invention lifted man into the first Stone Age.

The first Stone Age, 100,000 years ago

In Europe the Stone Age began at least 100,000 years ago. The mighty rivers of still earlier times had washed out many caverns in their limestone banks. As the waters cut down a deeper bed, such caves were left dry, above the new water level; and they became the favorite shelter of the early Stone-Age man — though he often had to fight for them with the ferocious cave-bear. By digging in these caves to-day, we find stone tools of the "cave-man" where he dropped them

FLINT FIST-HATCHET (six inches long) from Kent's Cave in Southern England, found in the lowest of several distinct layers of deposits. Such tools have been discovered in nearly all parts of the world.

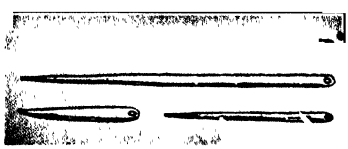
on the earth floor — perhaps thirty or forty feet below the present floor — and remains of great heaps of the bones of the animals he ate.

The fire-makers

In almost the lowest deposits many pieces of charred bone and wood, and some solid layers of ashes, show that men learned to use *fire* soon after reaching the Stone Age. With their *stone knives*, they could shape sticks so as to make fire by friction. With his knife, too, the cave-man could remove the hides from the animals he killed; and while he dozed by the fire after gorging on their flesh, his cave-woman worked on these skins with *stone scrapers*. Then when they were cleaned and dried and softened, she sewed them into clothing with *bone needles*. The early deposits contain no spindles, with which thread could have been spun from vegetable fiber, and so these needles must have been threaded with finely divided sinew, such as the Eskimo woman uses to-day.

Tools of the cave-man

As we examine the layers of deposits *from the bottom upward*, we find better tools and more kinds of them, until we have a great variety of shapely *flint knives*, *spear-heads*, *daggers*, *scrapers*, *chisels*, and *drills* fine enough to make the delicate eyes in the bone needles. Toward the close of the age, the cave dwellers learned to make *clay pots*, in which to cook their food in new ways, and to make *earthenware lamps*, with wicks swimming in fat. Next, bone and stone *arrow-heads* show that the *bow* had been invented, to lengthen man's arm. Man began, too, to make living animals serve him. He tamed the young of wolf or jackal into *the first dog;* and his drawings show that *he taught the reindeer to draw his sled.*



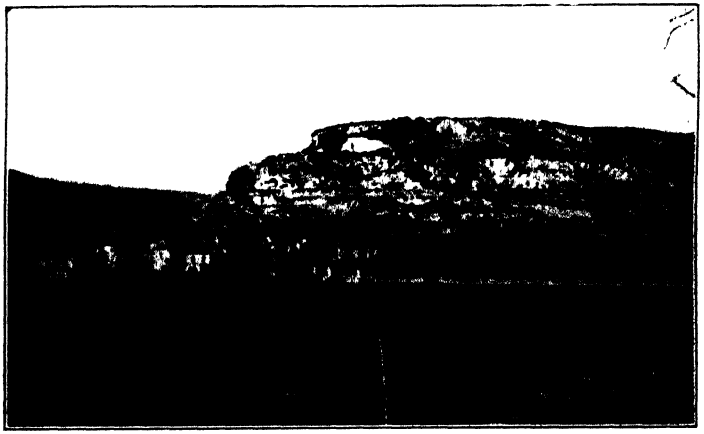
IVORY NEEDLES of the Stone Age. Europe had no better needles until some three hundred years ago.

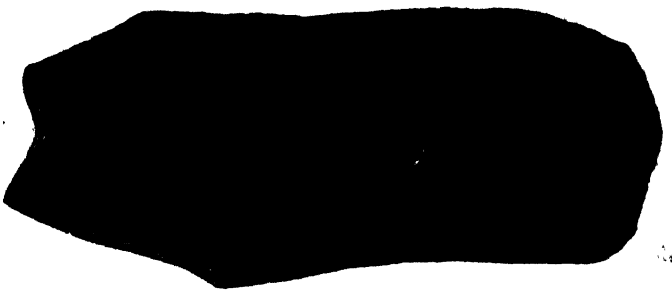
And his domestic

Hunters, not farmers

But through all their tens of thousands of years, the Chipped Stone men were hunters merely. They never learned to farm. Besides the animals they killed, they had for food only the nuts and roots and seeds the women and children gathered.

PLATE I

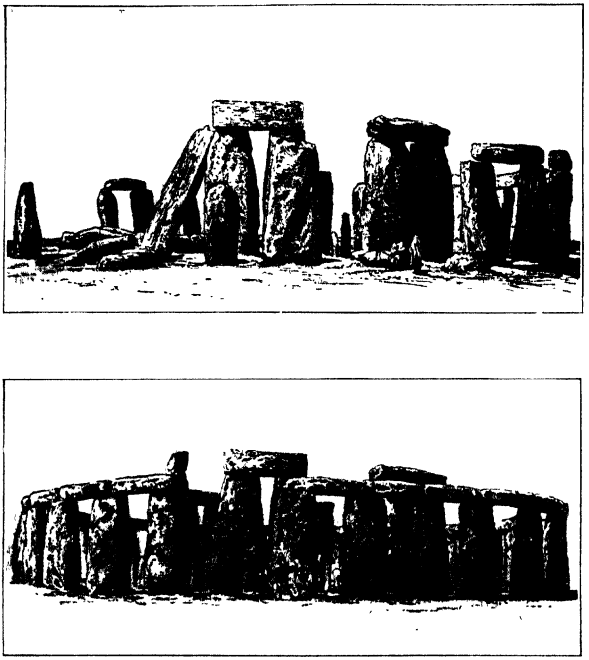




ABOVE. — CLIFF CAVES on the Vezère, overlooking the modern village Le Moustier in Southern France. From some of the caves whose dark mouths show in this cut have come the oldest remains pictured in this book. One can make out two terraces. The second of these also is rich in remains, because here the ancient hunters had a station, out in the sun, to fashion their flint weapons. More than 150 of these cave homes have been discovered in France and Spain. — From Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

BELOW. — MAMMOTH engraved by an Old Stone Age artist on a piece of ivory tusk. Found in a cave in Southern France. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art*. The student should examine that work, or Mr. Osborn's book referred to above, for Cave-Men drawings of the Saber-Toothed Tiger and of the Cave-Bear, and especially for the *colored* representations of Stone Age *paintings*, such as cannot be adequately reproduced in a book of this kind. The Stone Age remains in the caves show that the men of that day feasted upon these and other animals now long extinct in Europe.

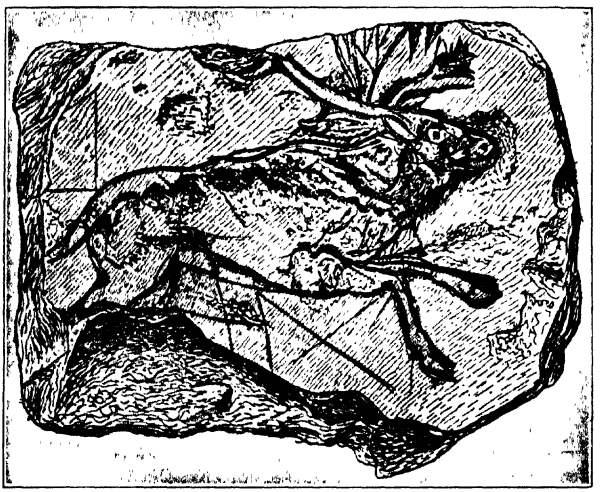
PLATE II



STONEHENGE. — From Barclay's *Buried Temple*. Above are pictured the ruins as they stand to-day. Below is Barclay's "restoration." Stonehenge was a "temple" of the New-Stone men on what is now Salisbury Plain in South England. Two miles away is the site of a Stone-Age town, and near by the traces of an ancient two-mile race course, where, no doubt, shouting multitudes jostled one another. Some of these huge blocks (undressed stone) are 30 feet high, and must weigh two hundred tons. This is only the most famous of many such ruins left by the New-Stone men in western Europe.

Their homes were littered with loathsome heaps of rotting refuse. Their numbers must have been scanty, but it seems probable that in places they had learned to combine into groups somewhat larger than the family. The first

No doubt the early groups often drifted slowly north or south with the seasons, in pursuit of their food. If two different sorts of men met in such wanderings, they probably fought one another savagely — possibly even hunting one



REINDEER graven on stone by a Stone-Age artist. Note the remarkable spirit and accurate detail. The drawing is full life size. From a cave in Southern France — where the reindeer has been extinct for many thousand years.

another's children for food. The terrifying tales of giants and goblins among all primitive peoples have some such origin.

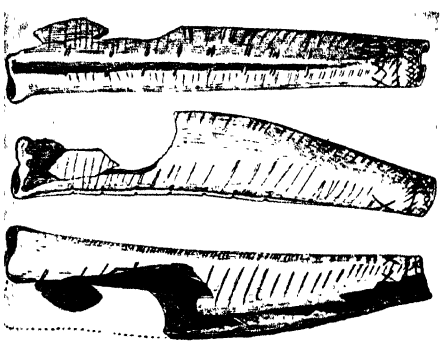
The earliest cave-man must have *believed in a life after death:* for he buried the bodies of those he loved and honored under the hearth before which they had rested in life, and in the shallow grave he placed food and precious weapons ready for use when the dead should awake in the spirit world. The cave-man, too, had *a keen interest in the world about him,* and Ideas of a future life

felt much of its beauty. In stormy seasons he amused himself by carving on the walls of his cavern or on flat bones. With amazing accuracy he reproduced the fierce wild-boar in the charge, the mare nourishing her foal, a herd of deer browsing by a peaceful pool, and countless other animal forms. As Kipling writes, —

> "Later he pictured an aurochs — later he pictured a bear —
> Pictured the saber-toothed tiger dragging a man to his lair —
> Pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone —
> *Out of the love that he bore them,* scribing them clearly on bone."

The second Stone Age

Finally, some ten thousand years ago, some ingenious barbarian discovered that he could *grind* his stone knife with certain stones, and so get keener edge and sharper point than merely by chipping at it. This invention began a new era. The "Old Stone Age," or age of chipped stone, gave way to the "New Stone Age." The ground implements are more beautiful in finish than those of the older age, and *much more effective.*



VIEWS OF A PREHISTORIC PAINT TUBE, of reindeer bone. Found, with ocher still in it, in a cave in France. The cave-artist ground fine the red oxide of iron and other clays and packed them in hollow horns, from which to *color* his drawings. (Cf. legend for the Mammoth after page 2.) — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art.*

The New-Stone men made gains more rapidly than had been possible to their predecessors. They soon became *herdsmen,* with cows, asses, sheep, and goats; and some races among them grew into *farmers.* Seeds gathered by the women for food must often have dropped near the home, and some of these must now and then have grown into plants and produced new seed. The convenience of so gathering seeds at the door,

instead of searching for them through the forest, would suggest to some thoughtful woman the idea of "planting" seed, and finally of preparing a patch of ground by stirring it with a crooked stick. Such a woman with such a "hoe" was probably the first "farmer." **The first farmers**

Thousands of farmers, even in a rude stage of agriculture, can live in a territory that could furnish food for only a few score of hunters; and so the New-Stone "barbarians" dwelt no longer in isolated caves, but in villages and towns of simple one-room huts of clay or wood. With their improved weapons they conquered widely, especially among the backward tribes that had remained in the "savagery" of the Chipped Stone Age; and so they formed *larger* societies with some trade between one and another. **Beginning of trade**

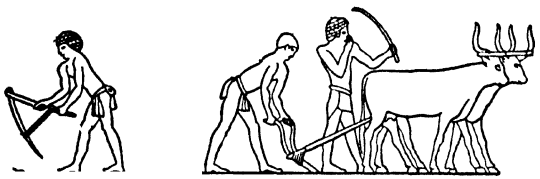
ARROW-HEADS OF THE NEW STONE AGE IN BRITAIN.

Now that captives could be used to watch herds and till the soil, the vanquished in war were no longer killed or tortured to death as formerly, but were merely made *slaves*. And as the growing populations called for larger grain fields than women could till with their stick "hoes," the hoe handle was enlarged into a "beam" to which cows could be harnessed, and two new handles were added to guide *the "plow."* In regions not particularly fitted for agriculture, the New-Stone men sometimes turned to the life of nomadic herdsmen. These nomads were less numerous than the farmer folk, and more thinly scattered. But they were more suited to war and they were particularly inclined at times, issuing from the desert regions or the steppes, to raid the richer farmer folk — and sometimes

to conquer and settle among them. Much of primitive man's life went to such wars.

The Age of Copper in the Nile valley

The next great advance was begun, not in Europe, but in the Nile valley in Africa. Pieces of malachite, a kind of copper ore, are found there in a loose state. No doubt many a camp-fire melted ("reduced") the metal from such scattered stones into shining copper globules; and finally some observant



PRIMITIVE HOE AND PLOW. — From early Egyptian monuments.

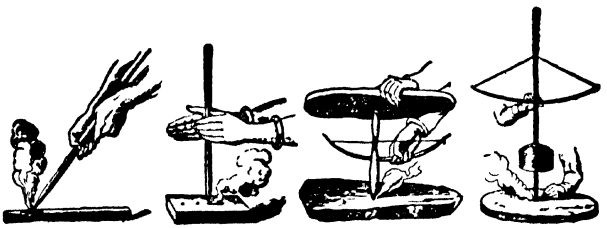
hunter found that the bright metal could be worked more easily than stone, and into better tools. So men passed from the Stone Age to the Age of Metals, *about seven thousand years ago.*

The Bronze Age

Copper implements, it is true, were soft, and soon lost their edge; but before long, perhaps again by happy accident, men learned to mix a little tin with the copper in the fire. This formed the metal we call *bronze.* Bronze is easily worked; but, after cooling, it is much harder than either of its parts. The Bronze-Age men equipped themselves with weapons of keener and more lasting edge, and more convenient form, than had ever been known. With these they conquered widely among the Stone-Age men about them, and also added greatly to their command over nature. The use of bronze entered southeastern Europe some 5000 years ago — about 3000 B.C. — and spread slowly westward to the Atlantic during the next thousand years.

Soon after the age of metals began, men came to use some kind of *writing.* That invention brings us to the "historic" period. The earlier "prehistoric" man, with many other gifts, had bequeathed to his successors, and to us, four supreme contributions.

1. *The use of fire* made it possible to advance beyond raw food and finally beyond stone tools. All wild animals fear flame; but the Stone-Age man had come to know it for his truest friend. The methods of making fire which are pictured on this page (below) were all invented by prehistoric man; **Contributions from prehistoric man**



Some Stages in Fire-making. — From Tylor.

and no other way was known, except striking two stones together, down to very recent times.

2. *Most of the domestic animals* familiar to us in our barnyards were tamed by prehistoric man in the Old World.

3. *Wheat, barley, rice, and nearly all our other important food grains and garden vegetables*, were selected from the myriads of wild plants, and cultivated and developed. Modern science has failed to find one other plant in the Old World so useful to man as these which prehistoric man there selected. Their only rivals are the potato and maize ("corn"), which the Stone-Age men in America had learned to cultivate.

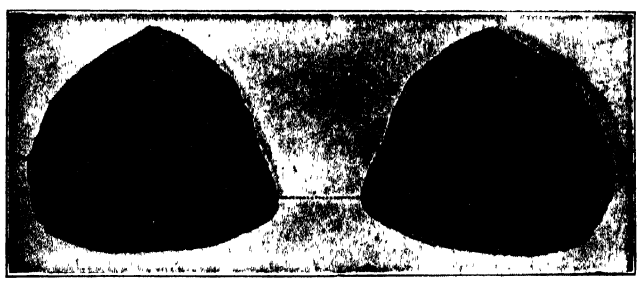
4. *The invention of writing* multiplied the value of language. Writing is an "artificial memory," and it also makes it possible for us to speak to those who are far away, and even to those not yet born. Many early peoples used a *picture writing* such as is common still among North American Indians. In this kind of writing, a picture represents either an object or some *idea* connected with that object. A drawing of an animal with wings may stand for a *bird* or for *flying;* or a character like this ☉ stands for either the *sun* or for *light.* In our Arabic numerals, especially in 1.2.3.5. we can still see the one, two, three, or five lines that stood for numbers. **The invention of writing**

The rebus stage of writing

Vastly important is the advance to a *rebus stage of writing.* Here a symbol has come to have a *sound value* wholly apart from the original object, as if the symbol ⊙ above were used with D (D ⊙) to make the word *delight.* This representation of *syllables* by pictures of objects is the first stage in *sound writing,* as distinguished from picture writing proper.

Finally, some of these characters are used to represent not whole syllables, but *single sounds.* Such a character we call a *letter.* If these letters are kept, and all other characters dropped, we have a *true alphabet.* Picture writing, such as that of the Chinese, requires many thousand symbols. Several hundred characters are necessary for even simple syllabic writing. But a score or so of letters are enough for an alphabet.

Students will enjoy any of the following books: Myres' *Dawn of History,* 13–28; Clodd's *Story of Primitive Man,* 35–76; Clodd's *Story of the Alphabet;* Holbrook's *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers;* Waterloo's *Story of Ab* (fiction). A very interesting larger book, handsomely illustrated, is Solas' *Ancient Hunters.*



FLINT SCRAPER, front and back, found in the lower deposits of the cave of Le Moustier in Southern France, one of the oldest homes of man.— From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art.*

THE NILE AND THE GREAT PYRAMID

CHAPTER II

BRONZE-AGE MEN IN EGYPT

Egypt is the gift of the Nile. — HERODOTUS.

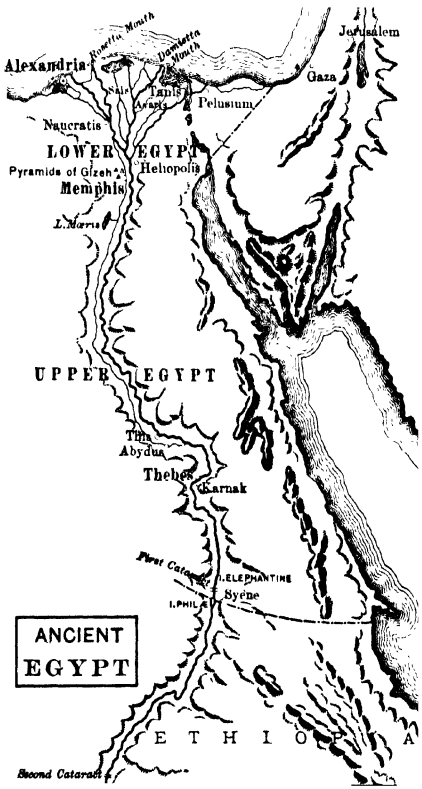
The Nile and Egypt

By the map, *Ancient Egypt* is as large as Colorado, but seven eighths of it is only a sandy border to the real Egypt. That real Egypt is smaller than Maryland, and consists of *the valley* of the Nile and of *its delta*.

The valley proper forms *Upper Egypt*. It is a strip of rich soil about 600 miles long and 20 miles wide — a slim oasis between parallel ranges of desolate limestone hills which once formed the banks of a mightier Nile. While yet a hundred miles from the sea, the narrow valley broadens suddenly into the delta,— a squat triangle resting on a two-hundred mile base of marshy coast. This *Lower Egypt* has been built up out in the sea from the mud carried there by the river.

And the Nile keeps Egypt alive. Rain falls rarely in the valley; and toward the close of the eight cloudless months between the annual overflows, there is a short time when the land seems gasping for water. Then the river begins to rise (in July), swollen by tropical rains at its upper course in distant Abyssinia; and it does not fully recede into its regular channel until November. During the days while the flood is at its height (some thirty feet above the ordinary level), Egypt is a sheet of turbid water, spreading between two lines of rock and sand. The waters are dotted with towns and villages, and marked off into compartments by raised roads, running from town to town. As the water retires, a thin but rich loam dressing, brought down from the hills of Ethiopia, is left spread over the fields, renewing their wonderful fertility from year to year; while the long soaking supplies moisture to the soil for the dry months to come.

The oldest records yet found in Egypt reach back to about *5000* B.C. The use of bronze was already well advanced, but remains in the soil show that there had been earlier dwellers in the valley using rude stone implements. Food was abundant there, — not only fish and waterfowl, but also the date palm and various wild grains.



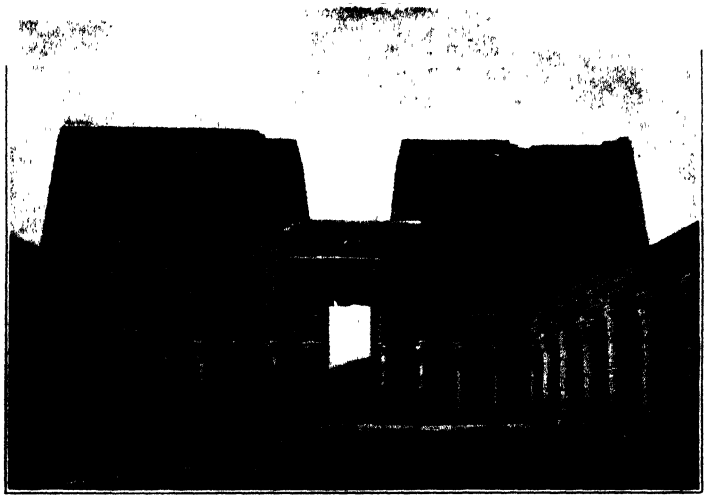
The first Egyptians

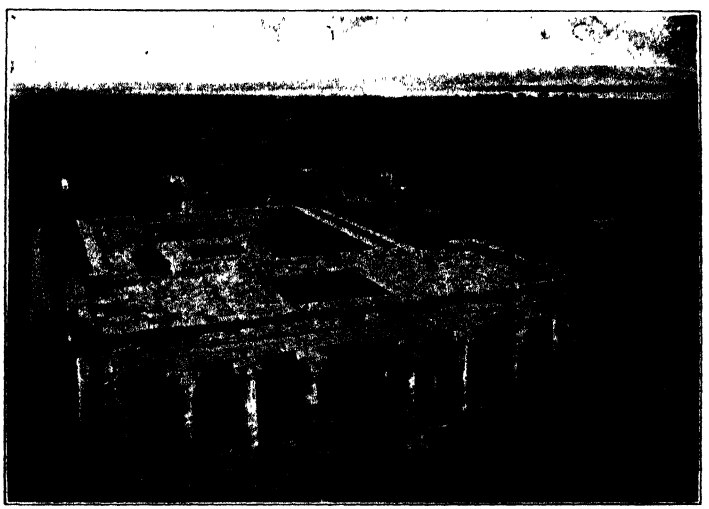
The first inhabitants lived by fishing along the streams and hunting fowl in the marshes. When they began to take advantage of their rare opportunity for agriculture, new problems arose. Before that time, each tribe or village could be a law to itself. But now it became necessary for whole districts to combine in order to drain marshes, to create systems of ditches for the distribution of the water, and to build reservoirs for the surplus.

The Nile makes for union

Thus the Nile, which had made the land, *played a part in making Egypt into one state.*[1] To control the overflow was the

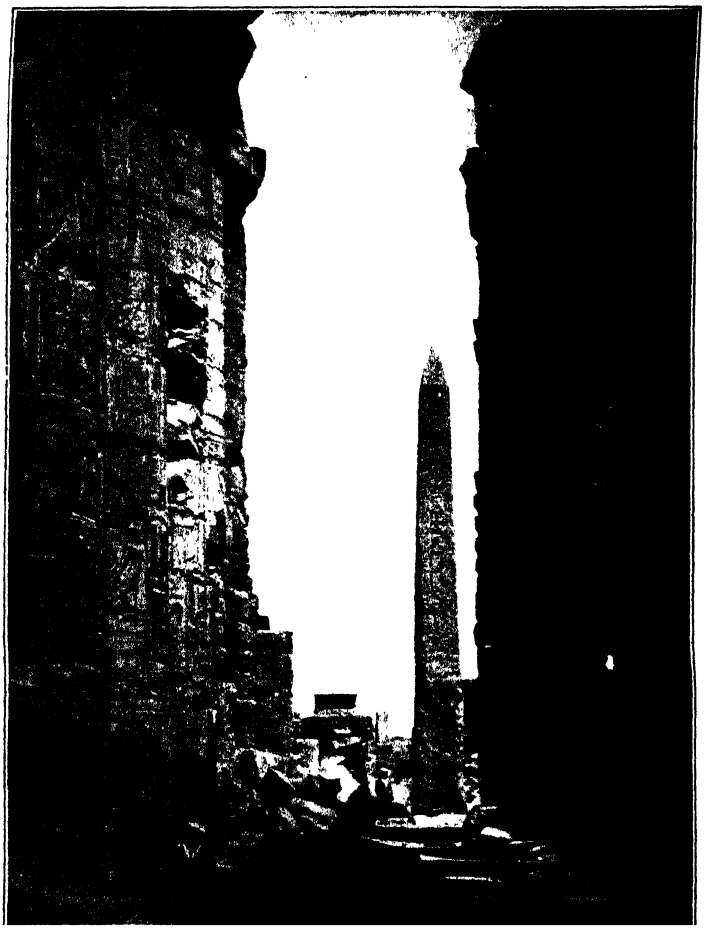
[1] The word "state" is commonly used in history not in the sense in which we call Massachusetts a state, but rather in that sense in which we call England or the whole United States a state. That is, the word means *a people, living in some definite place, with a supreme government of its own.*





THE TEMPLE OF THE GODS HORUS AND HATHOR (see Plate VIII) AT EDFU (a village south of Thebes), one of the best preserved Egyptian temples. In the first view we look toward the *pylon*, or entrance (corresponding to the triumphal arch of the Romans). The second view is taken from the pylon, and shows the ruins of much of the structure. The columns are almost as tall as those shown (on a larger scale) in Plate IV.

PLATE IV



RUINS OF THE "HALL OF COLUMNS" IN THE TEMPLE OF AMMON AT KARNAK (1500 B.C.). This temple was a maze of huge halls and courts joined by lofty corridors. This one hall had 134 columns in 16 rows, the central ones being 66 feet high. The "capitals" do not show clearly in this cut, but many of them are exceedingly beautiful, shaped like vast inverted bells and ornamented with carvings of the lotus in full bloom (p. 12). A full company of soldiers might stand upon one of those capitals. (Compare these ruins with Stonehenge, Plate II.) The obelisk in the background (carved from a single block of stone) was 75 feet high and 8½ feet in diameter at the base. The student can estimate roughly the size of the columns, and of the reliefs upon them, by comparison with the human figure in the background.

first *common* interest of all the people. At first, no doubt through wasteful centuries, separate villages strove only to get each its needful share of water, without attention to the needs of others. The engravings on early monuments show neighboring villages waging bloody wars along the dikes, or on the canals, before they learned the costly lesson of coöperation. Such hostile action, cutting the dams and destroying the reservoirs year by year, was ruinous. From an early period, men in the Nile valley must have felt the need of agreement and of political union — as men the world over are beginning to feel it now.

Accordingly, before history begins, the multitudes of villages had combined into about forty petty states. Each one extended from side to side of the valley and a few miles up and down the river; and each was ruled by a "king." Then the same forces which had worked to unite villages into states tended to combine the many small states into a few larger ones. After centuries of conflict, *Menes*, prince of *Memphis*, united the petty principalities around him into one kingdom (3400 B.C.).

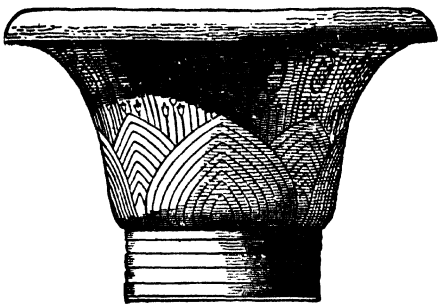
Kings, nobles, and priests

The king was worshiped as a god by the mass of the people. His title, *Pharaoh*, means The Great House, — as the title of the supreme ruler of Turkey in modern times has been The Sublime Porte (Gate). The title implied that the ruler was to be a refuge for his people. The pharaoh became the absolute owner of the soil, in return for protecting it by dikes and reservoirs. This ownership helped to make him absolute master of the inhabitants also. His authority was limited only by the power of the priests and by the necessity of keeping ambitious nobles friendly.

Part of the land the king kept in his own hands, to be cultivated by peasants under the direction of royal stewards; part he parceled out among the nobles, who were little kings, each in his own domain; and about a third he turned over to the temples to support the worship of the gods. This land became the property of the *priests*, of whom a large number lived in each temple. The priests were also the scholars of Egypt, and the pharaoh took most of his high officials from them.

The peasants

The *peasants* tilled the soil, and were not unlike the peasants of modern Egypt. They rented small "farms," — hardly more than garden plots, — for which they paid at least a third of the produce to the landlord. This left too little for a family; and they eked out a livelihood by day labor on the land of the nobles and priests. For this work they were paid a small part of the produce. They did not *live* in the country, as our farmers do, but in little villages or in the squalid quarters of the towns, with the other poorer people.



A Capital from Karnak.

The house of a poor man was a mud hovel of only one room. Such huts were separated from one another merely by one mud

Levying the Tax. — An Egyptian relief.[1]

partition, and were built in long rows, facing upon narrow crooked alleys filled with filth. (A "plague of flies," like that described in the Old Testament, was natural enough; and only the extremely dry air kept down that and worse pestilences.) Hours of toil were from dawn to dark; but usually the peasants were careless and gay, petting the cattle and singing at their

[1] A "relief" is a piece of sculpture only partly cut away from the rock.

work. Probably they were quite as well off as the like class has been in Egypt or Russia during the past century. Their chief fear was of the royal taxes. The peasant was held responsible for them with all that he owned. If he could not pay otherwise, he "paid with his body" with forced work in the canals or in the royal mines.

The middle class

In the towns there were a few merchants, physicians, master-builders, and notaries (to draw up business papers and so on), and a larger class of artisans. At the base of society, even worse off than the peasants, were the unskilled laborers, whose condition was little better than that of slaves. Toilers on the canals and pyramids were kept to their tasks by the whip. "Man has a back" was a favorite proverb.

And the toilers

Soldiers

The *soldiers* were a class by themselves, with special privileges. They paid no taxes, and each one held a farm of some eight acres — four times as large as the ordinary peasant's farm. (Besides this professional soldiery, the peasants were drafted in herds for war, on occasion, as they were also for other royal enterprises.)

Officials

Until the seventh century B.C. *the Egyptians had no money.* Thus the immense royal revenues, as well as all debts between private men, had to be collected "in kind." The tax-collectors and treasurers had to receive geese, ducks, cattle, grain, wine, oil, metals, jewels, — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources," as one inscription puts it. To do this called for an army of *royal officials*, organized in many grades. Each great noble, too, had to have a large class of trustworthy servants.

The scribes

The son usually followed the father's occupation; but there was no *law* (as in some Oriental countries) to prevent his passing into a different class. Sometimes the son of a poor herdsman rose to wealth and power. Such advance was most easily open to the *scribes*. This learned profession was recruited from the brightest boys of the middle and lower classes. Most of the scribes found clerical work only; but from the ablest ones the nobles chose confidential secretaries and stewards; and some of these, who showed special ability, were promoted by

the pharaohs to the highest dignities in the land. Such men founded new families and reinforced the ranks of the nobility.

Life of the wealthy

For the well-to-do, life was a very delightful thing, filled with active employment and varied with many pleasures. Their homes were roomy houses with a wooden frame plastered over with sun-dried clay. Light and air entered at the many latticed

EGYPTIAN NOBLE HUNTING WATERFOWL with a "throw-stick" or boomerang. The wife accompanies her husband, and the boat contains also a "decoy" bird. The wild birds rise from a mass of papyrus reeds. — From an Egyptian tomb painting now in the British Museum.

windows, where, however, curtains of brilliant hues shut out the occasional sand storms from the desert. About the house stretched a large high-walled garden with artificial fish-ponds gleaming among the palm trees.

The position of women was better than in modern Oriental

countries. The poor man's wife spun and wove, and ground grain into meal in a stone bowl with another stone. Among the upper classes, the wife was the companion of the man. She was not shut up in a harem or confined strictly to household duties; she appeared in company and at public ceremonies. She possessed equal rights at law, and could own and dispose of property; and sometimes great queens ruled upon the throne. In no other country, until modern times, do pictures of happy home life play so large a part.

Position of women

For a thousand years (3400 to 2400 B.C.), the capital remained at Memphis. This period is known as that of the "*Old Kingdom.*" Its kings are remembered best for the *pyramids*, which they built for their tombs. The pyramids are merely exaggerated developments, in stone, of earth burial mounds such as some American Indians and many other Stone-Age men have erected for their chieftains' graves. But the immense size of these buildings in Egypt, and the skill shown in constructing them, has always placed them among the wonders of the world.

The "Old Kingdom," 3400–2400 B.C.

The largest is known as the Great Pyramid. It was built by King Khufu (known till lately as Cheops) more than 3000 years B.C., and it is far the most massive building in the world. Its base covers thirteen acres, and it rises 481 feet from the plain. More than two million huge stone blocks went to make it, — more stone than has gone into any other building in the world. Some single blocks weigh over fifty tons; but the edges of the blocks that form the faces are so polished, and so nicely fitted, that the joints can hardly be detected; and the interior chambers, with long, sloping passages between them, are built with such skill that, notwithstanding the immense weight above them, there has been no perceptible settling of the walls in the lapse of five thousand years.

The Great Pyramid

Herodotus, a Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., traveled in Egypt and learned all that the priests of that day could tell him regarding these wonders. He tells us that it took thirty years to build the Great Pyramid, - - ten of those years going to piling the vast mounds of earth, up which the mighty stones

were to be dragged into place, — which mounds had afterwards to be removed. During those thirty years, relays of a hundred thousand men were kept at the toil, each relay for three months at a stretch. Other thousands, of course, had to toil through a lifetime of labor to feed these workers on a monument to a monarch's vanity. *All the labor was performed by mere human strength:* the Egyptians of that day had no beasts of burden, and no machinery, such as we have, for moving great weights with ease.

The Middle Kingdom, 2400–2000 B. C.

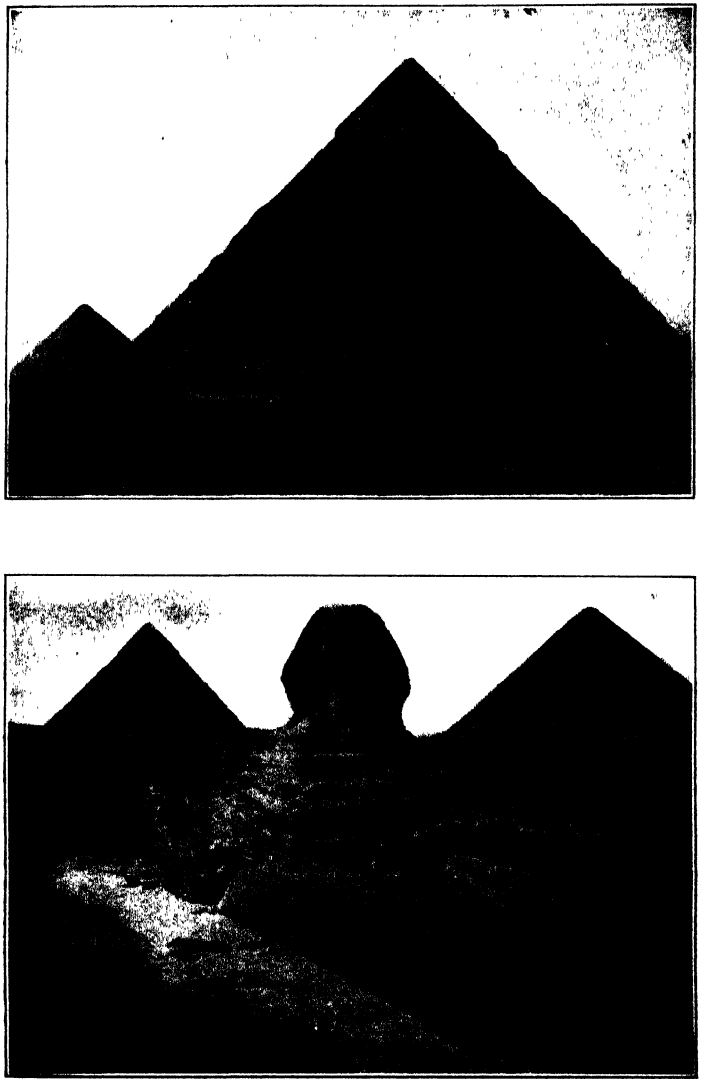
The vain and cruel pyramid builders were finally overthrown by a rebellion, and a new line of kings took Thebes for their capital. The next four hundred years (2400–2000 B.C.) is known as the period of the "*Middle Kingdom.*" It is marked by *the extension and elaboration of the irrigation system.* Besides caring for the old dykes, the pharaohs now drained tens of thousands of acres of marsh, making it fit for rich cultivation, and on the other hand, they built a wonderful system of vast artificial reservoirs to hold the surplus water of the yearly inundation — with an intricate network of ditches and "gates" (as in some of our Western States now) to distribute the water throughout the country in the dry months. With this aid, more soil was cultivated, and a larger population supported, in ancient Egypt than in any modern period until English control was established in that country some forty years ago.

Agriculture

The main industry was farming. The leading grains were wheat, barley, and sesame. Even the large farms were treated almost like gardens; and the yield was enormous, — reaching the rate of a hundredfold for grain. Long after her greatness had departed, Egypt remained "the granary of the Mediterranean lands." Other food crops were beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, melons, cucumbers, and onions. Grapes, too, were grown in great quantities, and made into a light wine. Clover was raised for the cattle, and flax for the linen cloth, which was the main material for clothing. A little cotton, also, was cultivated; and large flocks of sheep furnished wool.

Besides the plow, the farmer's only tools were a short, crooked

PLATE V



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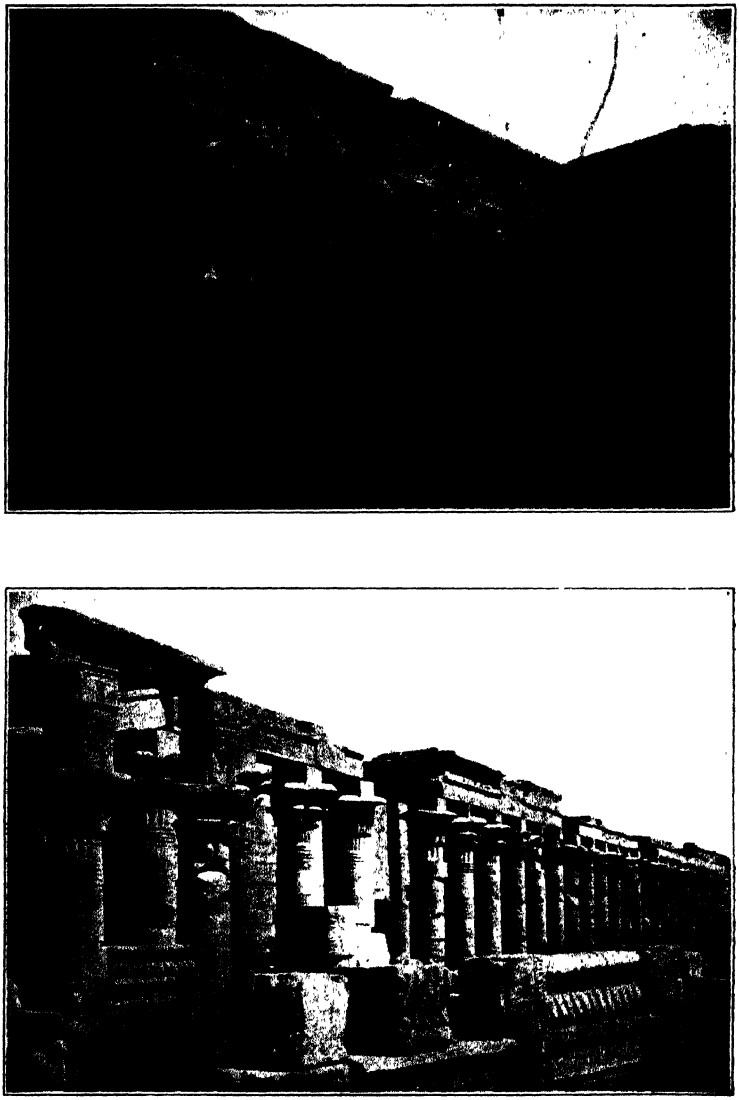
PYRAMIDS AND THE SPHINX. — The human head of the Sphinx, with the magnified features of one of the pharaohs, is set upon the body of a lion, as a symbol of power. Recently the feet of the Sphinx were uncovered for the first time in many years.

PLATE VI



ABOVE. — TEMPLE OF RAMESES AT THEBES: first court, south side.

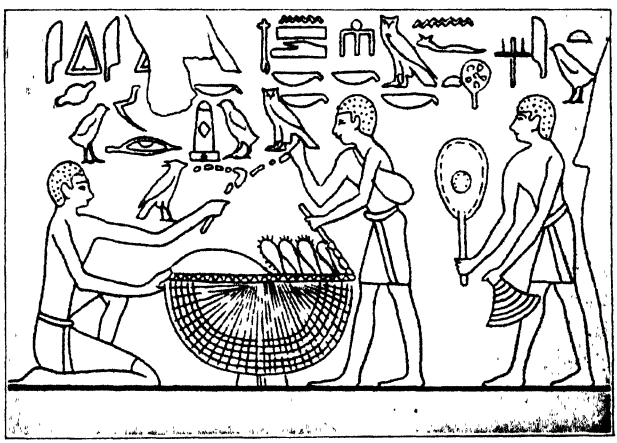
BELOW. — OUTER COURT IN FRONT OF TEMPLE OF ISIS AT PHILAE: West Colonnade.

hoe (the use of which bent him almost double) and the sickle. The grain was cut with this last implement, then carried in baskets to a threshing floor, and trodden out by cattle.

An Egyptian barnyard contained many animals familiar to us (cows, sheep, goats, scrawny pigs much like the wild hog, geese, ducks, and pigeons), and also a number of others like antelopes, gazelles, and storks. *Men had to learn by careful experiment, through many generations of animal life, which animals it paid best to domesticate.*

Egyptian markets

During most of Egypt's three thousand years of greatness, *exchange* in her market places *was by barter.* A peasant with



A MARKET SCENE. — An Egyptian relief. The admirable description of Egyptian markets in Davis' *Readings* (I, No. 7) is based in part upon this sculpture.

wheat or onions to sell squatted by his basket, while would-be customers offered him earthenware, vases, fans, or other objects with which they had come to buy, but which perhaps he did not want. In the closing periods of Egyptian history, the people came to use rings of gold and silver a little, somewhat as we use money; but such rings had to be weighed each time they changed hands.

Trade and

In spite of this handicap, *the Egyptians carried on extensive trade.* Especially did the great Theban pharaohs of the "Middle

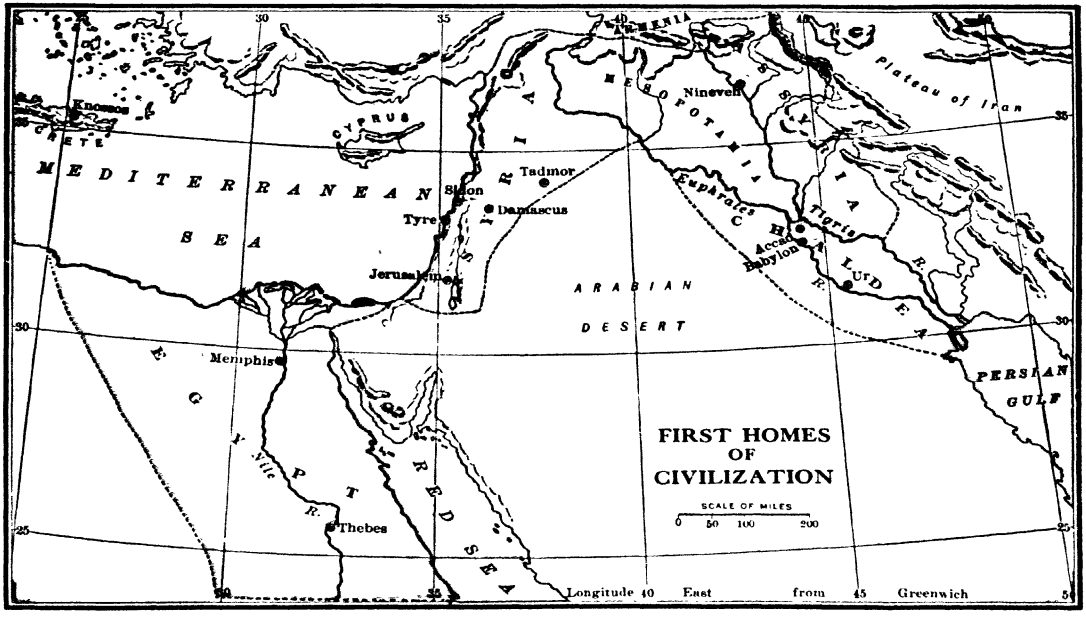
Kingdom" encourage commerce, explore distant regions, develop copper mines in the Sinai peninsula of Arabia, and build roads. One of them even opened a canal from the eastern mouth of the Nile to the Red Sea, so establishing a continuous water route between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. In that day, Egyptian merchants sailed to Crete on the north and to distant parts of Ethiopia on the south. So far as we know, the Egyptians were the first men to "go down to the sea in ships," the first, indeed, to build sea-going ships at all.

Manufactures

To pay for the precious products of distant countries, the Egyptian merchant exported the surplus products of the *skilled artisans* at home. This class included weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, glass blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, and many other trades. In many of these occupations, the workers possessed a marvelous dexterity, and were masters of processes that are now unknown. The weavers in particular produced delicate and exquisite linen, almost as fine as silk, and the workers in glass and gold were famous for their skill. Jewels were imitated in colored glass so artfully that only an expert to-day can detect the fraud by the appearance. Beautiful bowls and vases, and other sorts of pottery, were worked, no longer by hand, but on the potter's wheel — another Egyptian invention — and burned, not by an open fire, but evenly in closed brick ovens.

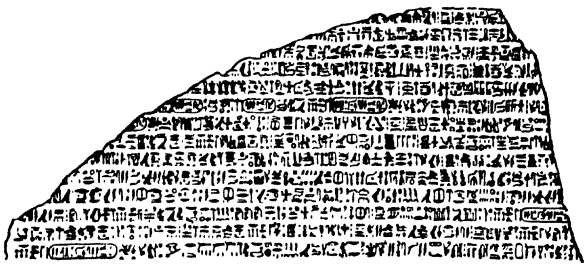
Books and writing

The Egyptians wrote religious books, poems, histories, travels, novels, orations, treatises on morals, scientific works, geographies, cook-books, catalogues, and collections of fairy stories — among the last a tale of an Egyptian Cinderella with her fairy glass slipper. On the oldest monuments, writing had advanced from mere pictures to a rebus stage (p. 8). This *early* writing was used mainly by the priests, and so the strange characters are called *hieroglyphs* ("priests' writing"). They are a "delightful assemblage of birds, snakes, men, tools, stars, and beasts," used, not for objects merely, but rather as sound symbols, each for a syllable. Some of these signs


ARMENIA
Plateau of Iran
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tadmor
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
SYRIA
Euphrates R.
CHALDEA
Accad
Babylon
Tigris R.
LURDISTAN
Jerusalem
ARABIAN DESERT
PERSIAN GULF
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
RED SEA
Thebes
FIRST HOMES OF CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Longitude 40 East from 45 Greenwich

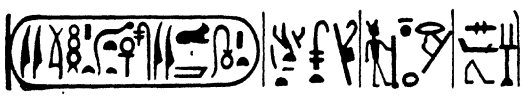
grew into real "letters" (p. 8), but the Egyptians never took the final step, to a true alphabet. Their writing remained to the end a curious mixture of hundreds of signs of things and ideas and syllables, and of a few single sounds.

The oldest inscriptions were cut in stone. But very soon the Egyptians invented "paper." They took papyrus reeds, **The papyrus**



PART OF ROSETTA STONE (p. 20) containing hieroglyphs first deciphered.

which grew abundantly in the Nile, split the stems down the middle, laid the slices, flat side up, in two layers, one crossing the other, and pressed them into a firm yellowish sheet, somewhat as we make our "paper" from wood pulp. On such sheets they wrote with a pointed reed in black or red ink.



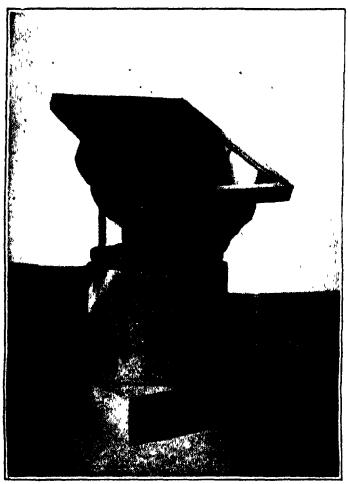
PART OF ABOVE INSCRIPTION (last line) on a large scale. That part within the curved line ("cartouch") was known, by Egyptian custom, to be the name of a pharaoh, and became the starting point for study.

The dry air of Egyptian tombs has preserved great numbers of buried papyrus rolls to our time. In the rapid writing on this "paper," strokes were run together, and so the stiff hieroglyphs of the monuments were gradually modified into a running script, differing from the older characters somewhat as our script differs from print.

Many Egyptian inscriptions and papyrus rolls had long been known to European scholars; but until a century ago no one could read them. About 1800 A.D. some French soldiers, **The Rosetta Stone**

A key to lost ages

while digging trenches near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, found a curious slab of black rock covered with three inscriptions, *each in its own kind of writing.* The top one was in the ancient hieroglyphics of the pyramids; then came one in the later Egyptian script (likewise unknown); and at the bottom was an inscription in Greek. A French scholar, Champollion, who had been working for years, with small success, in trying to decipher the hieroglyphics, guessed shrewdly that these three inscriptions told the same story. In 1822 he proved this true. Then, by means of the Greek, he found the meaning of the other characters, and so had a key to the language and writing of old Egypt. The famous "Rosetta Stone" made dumb ages speak once more.



THE ROSETTA STONE, as now mounted and preserved in the British Museum. Length, 3′ 9″; breadth, 2′ 4½″; thickness, 11″. The inscription belongs to the second century B.C. See p. 19.

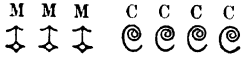
Science

Egyptian science, too, was "the gift of the Nile." After an inundation, it was often needful to survey the land, and this led to the skill of the early Egyptians in *geometry.* And the need of fixing in advance the exact time of the inundation directed attention to the true "year," and so to *astronomy.* Great advance was made in both these studies.

More than five thousand years ago the Egyptians had mapped the sun's *apparent* path (the zodiac) into its twelve signs. They had also mapped the stars in constellations, as shown to-day in our "star-maps"; and they had adopted a "*calendar*" with a year of 365 days, divided into twelve months (moons) of 30 days

each, with five added feast-days. Later they found that their year was too short by nearly a quarter of a day; but the leap-year arrangement which their scholars then invented never came into general use until adopted by Julius Caesar (p. 208).

They also divided the day into twelve double hours, and invented both a water-clock and a shadow-clock (or dial) to measure the passage of the hours.

In *arithmetic* the Egyptians dealt in numbers to millions, with a notation like that used later by the Romans. Thus, 3423 was represented by the Romans: M M M C C C C XX III
and by the Egyptians: 

Egyptian art

Amazing skill was shown in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Aside from the pyramids, the most famous buildings were the gigantic temples of the gods. In these we find the first use of *columns*, arranged often in long colonnades. The Egyptians understood the principle of the *arch*, and they used it sometimes in their private mansions; but in the huge temples the roofs and ceilings were formed always by laying immense flat slabs of rock across from column to column (or from square pier to pier). The result is an impression of stupendous power, but not of surpassing beauty.

On the walls and columns, and within the pyramid tombs, we find long bands of pictures ("reliefs") cut into the stone. Often these represent historical scenes, the story of which is told in detail by inscriptions above or below the band of sculpture. The Egyptians did not understand "perspective," and so in such carving and drawing they could not represent one figure behind another, or give the sense of varying distances. All the figures appear on one plane, and are drawn on one scale. (Compare the reliefs on pp. 12, 17 with the Roman relief on p. 216.) In other respects the Egyptian work is exceedingly lifelike.

In carving *complete* statues, the ignorance of perspective did not injure the effect. The Egyptians, accordingly, excelled here, especially in portrait statues, small or life size. They were fond, too, of making colossal statues, which, however

unnatural, have a gloomy and overwhelming grandeur in keeping with the melancholy desert that stretches about them.

Religion

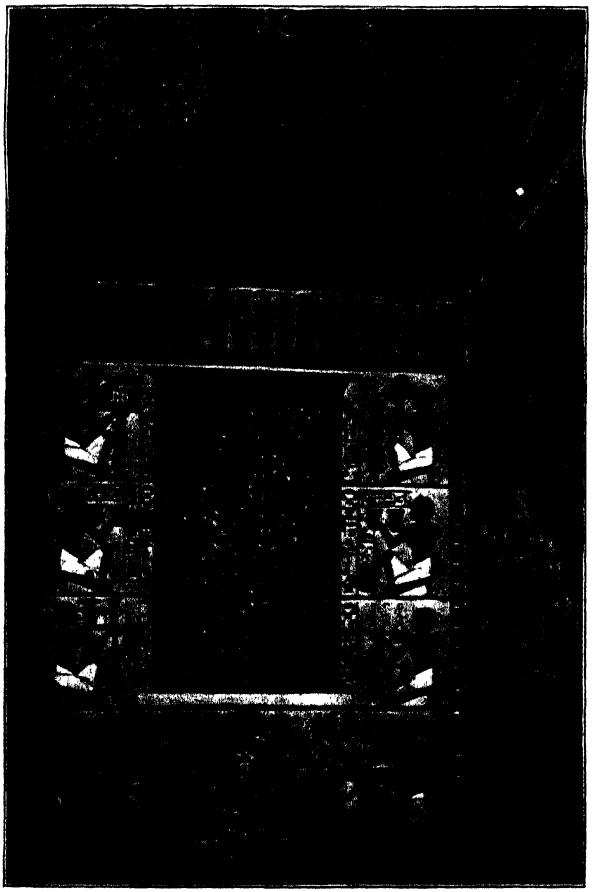
There was a curious mixture of religions. Each family worshiped its ancestors. Such *ancestor worship* is found, indeed, among all primitive peoples, along with a belief in evil spirits and malicious ghosts. There was also a *worship of animals.* Cats, dogs, bulls, crocodiles, and many other animals were sacred. To injure one of these "gods," even by accident, was to incur the murderous fury of the people. Probably this worship was a degraded kind of ancestor worship known as *totemism,* which is found among many peoples. North American Indians of a wolf clan or a bear clan — with a fabled wolf or bear for an ancestor — must on no account injure the ancestral animal or "totem." In Egypt, however, the worship of animals became more widely spread, and took on grosser features, than has ever been the case elsewhere. Above all this, there was a *nature worship* with countless deities and demigods representing sun, moon, river, wind, storm, trees, and stones. Each village and town had its special nature god to protect it; *and the gods of the great capitals became national deities.*

Ideas of God

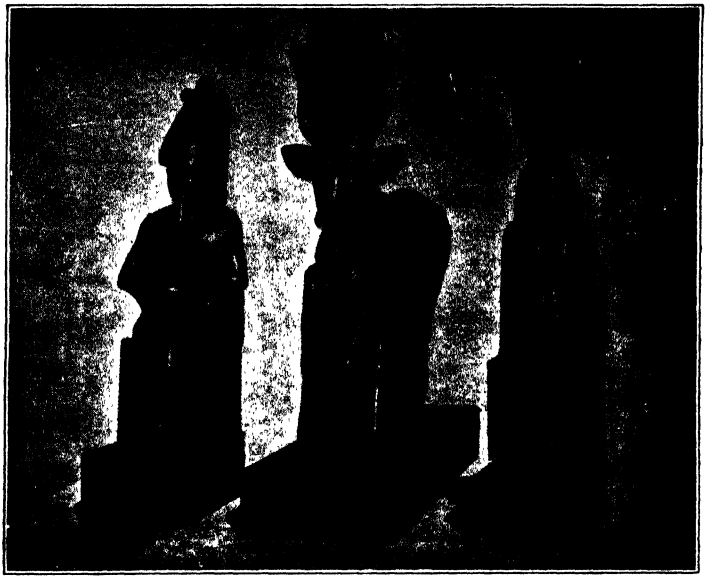
With the better classes this nature worship mounted sometimes to a lofty and pure worship of one God. "God," say some of the inscriptions, "is a spirit: no man knoweth his form," and again, — "He is the creator of the heavens and the earth and all that is therein." These lofty thoughts never spread far among the people; but a few thinkers in Egypt rose to them even earlier than the Hebrew prophets did. A youthful king (Ikhnaton) of the fifteenth century B.C., sought earnestly to replace all lower worships with this higher one. He was overthrown finally by the priesthood and the superstitious masses; but we still have a hymn written by him in honor of Aten (the Sun-disk), symbol of Light and Life.

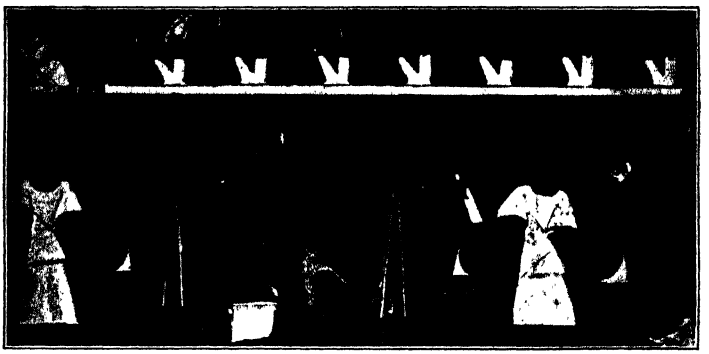
"Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
O living Aten, the beginning of life! . . .
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.

PLATE VII



A TOMB PAINTING showing offerings to the dead. The Egyptians decorated the flat walls of their tombs and temples, and their relief sculptures, in brilliant colors — which in the dry air of enclosed tombs have lasted to this day, but which fade quickly when exposed to the outer air. This picture shows well the chief article of male dress — a linen loin-cloth, sometimes drawn together into short trousers. Nobles sometimes added a sleeveless mantle clasped over the shoulder.



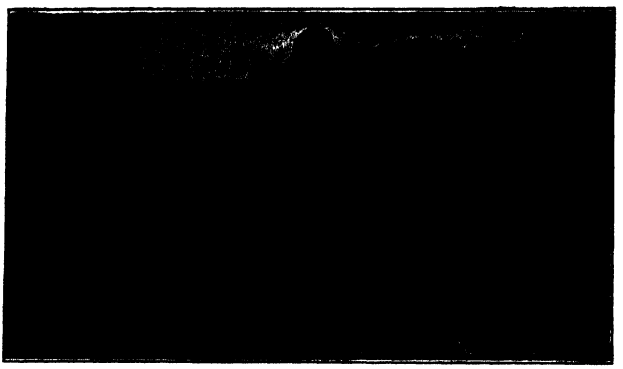


ABOVE. — HATHOR OSIRIS ISIS

Osiris was the chief god of Egyptian religion — god of the sky and sun. His symbol was the bull. Isis was his sister and wife, goddess of the sky and the moon. The cow was sacred to her. Horus (Plate III), a leading deity, was her son. Hathor was another sun deity.

BELOW. — WEIGHING THE SOUL in the scales of truth before the gods of the dead. — From an ancient papyrus funeral service. (The figures with animal heads are gods and their messengers. The human forms represent the dead who are being led to judgment.) See p. 24.

Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.
Thou bindest them with thy love. . . .
The birds fly in their marshes —
Lifting their wings to adore thee. . . .
The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell —
Thou givest it breath within the egg. . . .
How many are the things which thou hast made!
Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,
With peoples, herds, and flocks. . . .
Thou givest to every man his place, thou framest his life."



SCULPTURED FUNERAL COUCH, representing the soul crouching by the corpse.

Ideas of a future life

The idea of a future life was held in two or three forms. Nearly all savage peoples believe that after death the body remains the home of the soul, or at least that the soul lives on in a pale, shadowy existence near the tomb. If the body be not preserved, or if it be not given proper burial, then, it is thought, the soul becomes a wandering and mischievous ghost.

The early Egyptians held such a belief, and their practice of embalming[1] the body before burial was connected with it. They wished to preserve the body as the home for the soul. In the early tombs, too, there are always found dishes in which had been placed food and drink for the ghost. After these 6000 years of different faiths, the Egyptian peasant still buries

[1] "Embalming" is a process of preparing a dead body with drugs and spices, so as to prevent decay. The corpses of the wealthy, so preserved, were also swathed in many layers of linen cloths before being laid away. A corpse so preserved and wrapped is called a mummy.

food and drink with his dead. Such customs last long after the ideas on which they were based have faded; *but there must always have been some live idea in them at first.*

Moral standards

Among the better classes there finally grew up a belief in a truer immortality in a distant Elysium. This haven, however, was only for those ghosts who, on arrival, should be declared worthy. The following noble extract comes from the "Repudiation of Sins." This was a statement (hundreds of years older than the Hebrew Ten Commandments) which the Egyptian believed he ought to be able to say truthfully before the "Judges of the Dead." It is the *first record* of the idea that a good life ought to win reward hereafter.

"Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! [Osiris] . . . I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! . . . I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! *I have not pulled down the scale of the balance!* I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings. . . . Grant that he may come unto you — he that hath not lied or borne false witness, . . . *he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst, and that hath clothed the naked with garments.*" Some other declaration of this statement run: "I have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain any man treacherously"; "I have not made false accusation"; "I have not eaten my heart with envy." See also Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 9 and 10.

Protected from invasion by geography

For the first thousand years of her history as a kingdom, Egypt was almost isolated from other lands, except for trade. The Nile valley was so difficult to get into that, when a large state had once been formed there, it was almost safe from attack. *To the south* were the Abyssinians, a brave and warlike people; but they were cut off from Egypt by a twelve-day march through a desert and by impassable cataracts in the Nile. Trade caravans and small bands might travel from one country to the other; but armies could do so only with the greatest difficulty. *To the west* lay the Sahara — an immense inhospitable tract, peopled by small tribes roaming from oasis to oasis. *On the north and east* lay the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Thus with sides and rear protected, Egypt faced Asia across the narrow Isthmus of Suez. And here, too, the region bordering Egypt was mainly desert. But a little to the north, between the mountains and the sea, lay Syria,[1] a narrow strip of habitable ground and a nursery of warlike peoples. Here dwelt the Phoenicians, Philistines, Canaanites, Hebrews, Moabites, and Hittites, whom we read of in the Bible. Mountain ranges and rivers divided these peoples into many small, mutually hostile states; and so *Syria offered a tempting field to Egyptian military ambition when Egypt had grown powerful enough for outside conquests.* The Theban pharaohs of 2400–2000 B. C. laid the region waste in a series of wars, and finally made themselves its masters. Then, about 1700 B.C., Egypt was itself invaded and conquered by a strange race of nomads from the neighboring Arabian desert. From the name of their rulers we know these invaders as *Hyksos*, or Shepherds. They introduced the horse into Egypt. (This animal never became common enough for work purposes, but was used only in war.)

Egypt and Syria

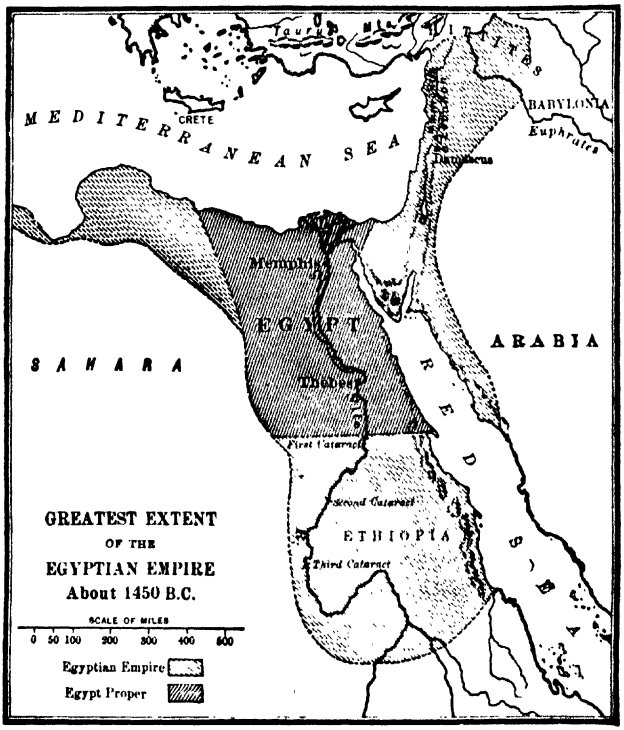
SCULPTURED HEAD OF THÛTMOSIS III (1470 B.C.), who in twelve terrible campaigns carried Egyptian rule from the Isthmus to the Tigris.

A century later, the Hyksos were expelled by a new line of native pharaohs at Thebes. These are known as the monarchs of the "*New Empire.*" The long struggle with the invading Hyksos had fastened militarism disastrously upon the industrial Egyptians, and the New Empire is known chiefly for its conquests in war.

The "New Empire"

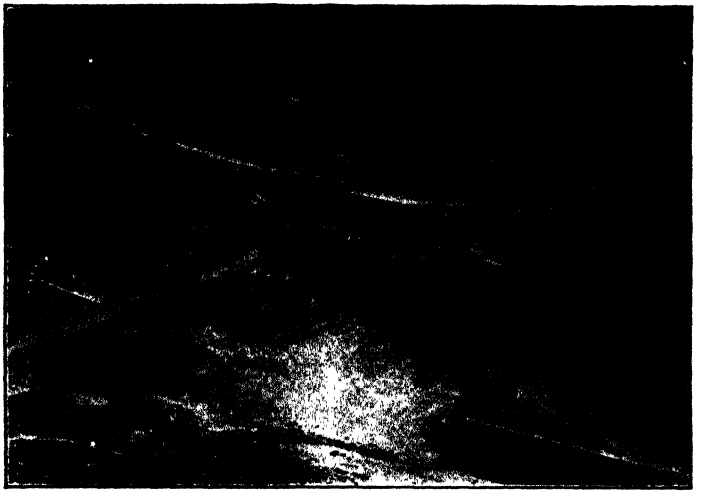
[1] The term "Syria" is used with a varying meaning. In a narrow sense, as in this passage, it means only the coast region. In a broader use, it applies to all the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates.

At its extreme north, the fertile Syrian strip bends south again in a sharp crescent around the Arabian desert down the course of the Euphrates and Tigris. On these rivers, so much like their own Nile, the Egyptian conquerors found a civilization not much inferior to their own, and almost as old. *These first two homes of civilization*, the valleys of the Nile and of the Euphrates,



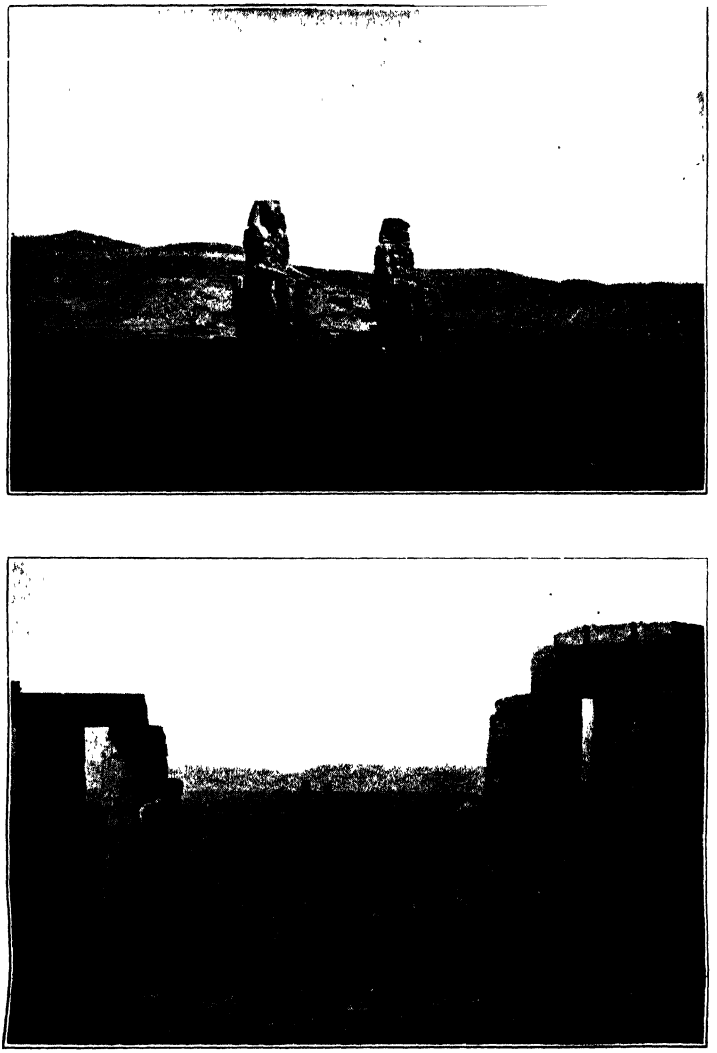
were only some 800 miles apart in a straight line; but along the two legs of the triangle — the only practicable route — the distance was much greater. That whole district was soon covered by a network of roads. These were garrisoned here and there by Egyptian fortresses; and along them, for centuries, there passed hurrying streams of officials, couriers, and merchants.

PLATE IX



RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE "VALLEY OF THE KINGS." — The royal author of the hymn to Aten (p. 22) was succeeded by his son *Tût-Ankh-Amen*, under whom Egypt returned to the older polytheism. Recently Lord Carnarvon discovered the tomb of this monarch, and its contents confirm in remarkable degree our earlier knowledge of Egyptian culture. The upper picture shows the entrance to the tomb in the center, and about it fruitless shafts sunk in the exploration. The lower photo shows Lord Carnarvon entering the tomb, *February 27, 1923*, while visitors above await to see what may be brought to light.

PLATE X



'COLOSSI OF MEMNON" NEAR THEBES: statues of Amenophis III (1400 B.C.), whom the Romans called Memnon. In the lower view the two "Colossi" are in the background, while the structure in the foreground is part of a temple of Rameses III (Plate VI) with colossal statues of that pharaoh. The "Memnon" statues (69 feet high with the missing crowns) were originally the portals of a temple of which few vestiges remain.

The fall of Egyptian greatness

But "he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword." *The population of Egypt was drained of its manhood by long wars, and impoverished by heavy war taxation.* Finally the pharaohs could no longer defend their distant frontiers, and withdrew within the old borders of Egypt. In particular, they found it impossible to war longer with the Hittites, who, armed with *iron* weapons, descended from the slopes of the Taurus mountains and overthrew Egyptian power in Syria. Then, in 672, Egypt became subject to Assyria (p. 31).

A brief revival, 650 B.C.

Twenty years later, *Psammetichus* restored Egyptian independence, and became the first of *the final line of native pharaohs.* He had been a military adventurer, and he won his throne largely through the aid of mercenary *Greek* troops. During all her earlier greatness, however much her traders visited foreign lands, Egypt had kept herself jealously closed against strangers. But Psammetichus *threw open the door to foreigners,* especially to the Greeks, who were just coming into notice. Greek travelers visited Egypt; large numbers of Greek soldiers served in the army; and a Greek colony at *Naucratis* was given special privileges. Indeed, *Sais,* the new capital of Psammetichus and his son, thronged with Greek adventurers. Egypt "had lit the torch of civilization" ages before: now she passed it on to the Western world through this vigorous new race.

Voyage around Africa

Neco, son of Psammetichus, is remembered for his fine attempt to reopen the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea (p. 18). This failed; but Neco did find another sea route from the Red to the Mediterranean. One of his ships *sailed around Africa,* down the east coast, returning three years later through the Mediterranean. Herodotus (p. 15), who tells us the story, adds: "On their return the sailors reported (others may believe them but I will not) that in sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun on their right hand." This report, so incredible to Herodotus, is good proof to us that the story of the sailors was true. (If the student does not see why, let him trace the route on a globe.)

This voyage closes Egyptian history. In 525 B.C. the land became subject to Persia (p. 42), and native rule has never been

restored. The poet Shelley pictures the decay of Egyptian might:

"Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half-sunk, a shattered visage lies.
. . . . . .
And on the pedestal, these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings.
Look on my works, Ye Mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

EXERCISES. — 1. *Make and compare lists of the things we owe to Egypt.* 2. What can you learn from these extracts upon Egypt in Davis' *Readings*, which have not been referred to in this chapter? (If the class have enough of those valuable little books in their hands, this topic may make all or part of a day's lesson.) 3. Do you regard the Great Pyramid or the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea or the conquest of Syria as the truest proof of Egyptian greatness? 4. Can you see any connection between the cheap food of the Nile valley and its place as an early home of civilization? Could you suggest a more just division of the leisure that resulted from that cheap food?

CHAPTER III

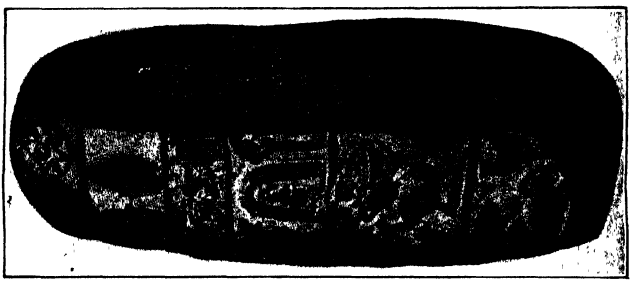
THE MEN OF THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS

The land of the two rivers

Rising on opposite slopes of snow-capped Armenian mountains, the Euphrates and Tigris rivers approach each other in majestic sweeps until they form a common valley; then they flow in parallel channels for most of their course, uniting just before they reach the Persian Gulf.

The three divisions

Their valley is a rich oasis of luxuriant vegetation lying between the sands of Arabia and the rugged plateaus of Central Asia.

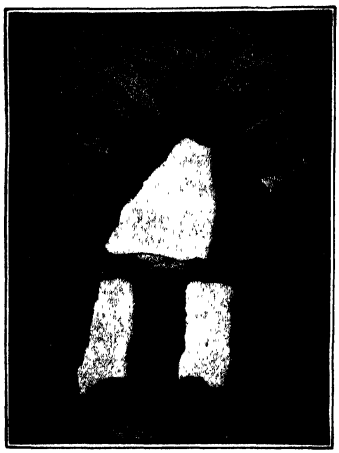


A BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONE of about 2000 B.C., lying upon its left side. — Such stones were placed at each corner of a grant of land. The inscription records the title, and the gods are invoked to witness the grant or sale and to punish transgressors upon the owner's rights.

It has three parts. (1) Like the delta of the Nile, the lower part had been built up out of alluvial soil carried out, in the course of ages, into the sea. This district is known as *Babylonia, or Chaldea.* Its *fertility, in ancient times, was kept up by the annual overflow of the Euphrates, regulated,* like the Nile's, by dikes, reservoirs, and canals. To the north, the rich Chaldean plain rises into a broad table-land. (2) The fertile half of this, on the Tigris side, is ancient *Assyria.* (3) The western part of the upper valley (*Mesopotamia*) is more rugged, and

is important mainly because it makes part of the great curved road, around the Arabian desert, from Chaldea to Egypt (p. 26).

By 4000 B.C. the Chaldeans had copper tools and a hieroglyphic writing. Successive waves of conquering nomads from the Arabian desert finally made their language Semitic, though the people never really became Semites in blood. In the less civilized Tigris district, however, the inhabitants did become mainly Semitic.[1] The men of the South — Chaldeans, or Babylonians — were quick-witted, industrious, gentle. The men of the north — the hook-nosed, larger-framed, fiercer Assyrians — delighted in blood and gore, and had only such arts and learning as they could borrow from their neighbors.



THE OLDEST ARCH KNOWN (about 4000 B.C.). This vaulted drain was discovered a few years ago fifteen feet below what had long been supposed to be the earliest remains of Babylonian civilization. It seems to have been part of a highly complex drainage system in a crypt of an ancient temple. The arch is two feet high. The clay pipes, whose forms can be seen dimly on the bottom, are eight inches in diameter, and lie in two-foot joints.

City-states give way to an empire

Just as in early Egypt, so in this double valley, many cities waged long wars with one another from an early date. Each such city, with its surrounding hamlets and farms, was a little "city-state." First *Accad* and then *Ur* (both of which we read of in the Bible) won control over all Chaldea. Later, *Babylon* in Chaldea and *Nineveh* in Assyria became the capitals of mighty empires.[2]

[1] The languages of the Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, and of some other neighboring peoples, such as the ancient Phoenicians (p. 46), are closely related. The whole group of such languages is called Semitic, and the peoples who speak them are called Semites (descendants of *Shem*).

[2] An empire is properly a state containing many sub-states. Egypt was called a *kingdom* while it was confined to the Nile valley, but an *empire* when its sway extended over Ethiopia and Syria (p. 25).

Hammurapi and the Babylonian Empire

About 2150 B.C., a new Semitic conqueror, *Hammurapi*, established himself at Babylon, and soon extended his rule over the whole valley and westward even to the Mediterranean. This was the *First Babylonian Empire*. For hundreds of years Chaldean fashions were copied, Chaldean manufactures were used, and Chaldean "books" were read, all over Syria; and, ever since, the name Babylon has remained a symbol for magnificence and power. After five or six centuries, however, Egypt for a time seized most of this Babylonian empire (p. 26).

The Assyrian Empire and "frightfulness"

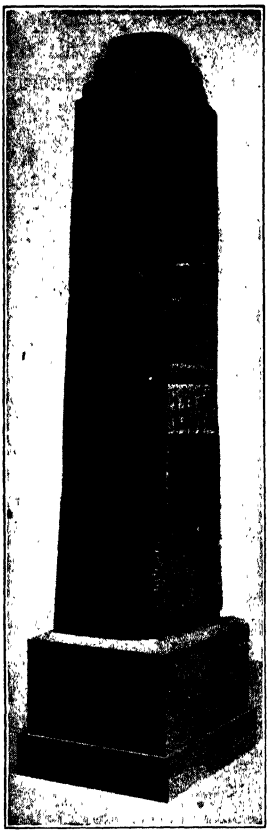
In 745 B.C., Nineveh, long subject to Babylon, became herself the seat of an Assyrian Empire, larger and mightier than any that had gone before it. The king *Sargon* carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (722 B.C.); Sargon's son, *Sennacherib*, subdued Judah;[1] and Sennacherib's son conquered Egypt (p. 27).

Every Assyrian energy went to make the army a perfect fighting machine. The soldiers were armed with iron weapons (adopted from the Hittites (p. 27)), and were equipped with battering rams and great hurling engines, to beat down the earth walls of unsubmissive cities. The transportation and dispersion of a conquered nation, with unimaginable sufferings (as in the case of the "Lost Tribes" of Israel), was a common practice, to guard against rebellion. "Frightfulness" was the deliberate policy of the Assyrians, to intimidate their enemies; and the rulers exulted fiendishly in details of cruelty. Said parts of two royal inscriptions:

"*They did not embrace my feet.* . . . I captured the city. . . . The spoil I carried away. . . . I cut off the hands and feet of some [of the conquered]; I cut off the noses, ears, and fingers of others. . . . I built *a pyramid of the living* and a pyramid of heads. The city I over-

[1] 2 Kings, xviii. For the Assyrian story, see Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 12. Sennacherib, however, is best remembered from the Jewish account of the destruction of his army, in an earlier expedition, by a sudden plague — "smitten by the angel of the Lord." This is the incident referred to in Byron's lines:

> "The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
> And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold . . .
> Like leaves of the forest when Autumn has blown,
> That host on the morrow lay withered and strown."



OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II OF ASSYRIA (858 B.C.). — From Jastrow's *Babylonia and Assyria*. This is a huge black stone, four-faced. The five bands of sculpture upon two faces in this cut run around the four faces, as do the inscriptions. Each band illustrates the conquest by Shalmaneser of a different nation, and the inscriptions contain the cruel passages recorded on this page. One inscription records the tribute exacted from Jehu, king of Judah.

threw, dug up, and burned. The nobles, as many as had revolted, *I flayed.* With their skins I covered the pyramid [of citizens]. . . . Some of them *I buried alive in the midst of the pyramid;* others *I impaled on stakes.*

In another inscription Sennacherib declares that he once razed Babylon itself for rebellion: "Temple and tower I tore down. . . . I dug ditches through the city, and *laid waste its site.* Greater than the deluge was its annihilation."

Fall of Assyria

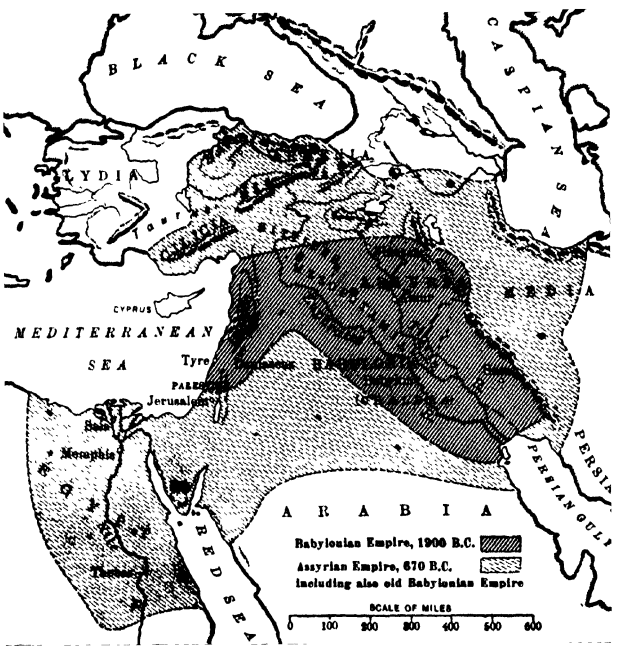
The wide rule of Assyria was short-lived. Her strength was wasted by constant wars abroad, and her industries decayed at home. A burning hatred, too, against her cruelties and her crushing taxation rankled in the hearts of the oppressed peoples. After twenty years of subjection, Egypt broke away. Twenty years more, and Babylon followed. Hordes of "Scythians" (probably Tartar nomads) from the north devastated the empire. And in 606 the Medes and Babylonians captured Nineveh itself; and the proud "city of blood," which had razed so many other cities, was given to sack and pillage. The passionate exultation of all neighboring peoples was spoken in the stern words of the Hebrew prophet: "All that hear the news of thy fate shall clap their hands over thee — for whom hath not thy wickedness afflicted continually?" [1] Two hundred years later the Greek

[1] Nahum iii, 1–19. See also Isaiah xiii, 16–22, and Jeremiah l and li.

adventurer Xenophon, standing on the crumbling ruins of Nineveh, could not even learn their name.

A Second Babylonian Empire began with the successful rebellion against Assyria, in 625 B.C., but it lasted less than a century. The glory of this period belongs chiefly to the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* (604–561 B.C.). He carried away the Jews into the "Babylonian Captivity" — in unhappy imitation of

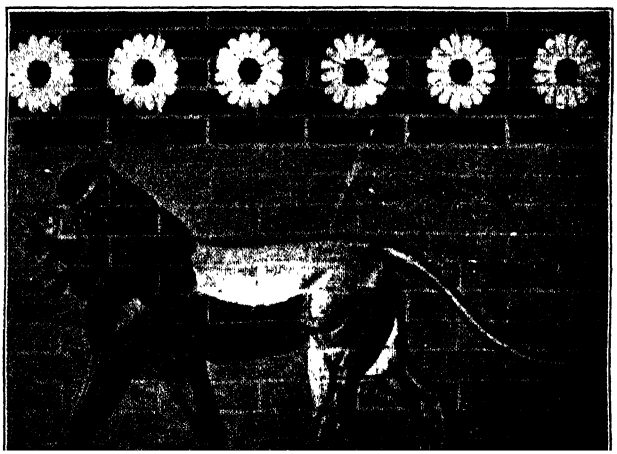
Second Babylonian Empire



Assyrian policy; but he also rebuilt Babylon on a magnificent scale, and renewed the ancient engineering works (Davis' *Readings*). Soon after this reign, Babylon fell before the rising power of Persia (p. 42).

During the past thousand years, under Turkish rule, the last vestiges of the ancient engineering works of Chaldea have gone to ruin. The myriads of canals are choked with sand, and, in this early home of civilization, the *uncontrolled* over-

flow of the river turns the eastern districts into a dreary marsh, while on the west the desert has drifted in, to cover the most fertile soil in the world, — and the sites of scores of mighty cities are only shapeless mounds, where sometimes nomad Arabs camp for a night. Recently (since 1910), it is true



BABYLONIAN LION. Straight north and south through Babylon ran a famous "Procession Street," or "Sacred Way," from the temple of Marduk, the city's guardian god, to the city gate. In Nebuchadnezzar's time this street was paved with huge smooth slabs of stone. On either side of this pavement ran a high brick wall, ornamented along its entire length with a frieze of lions in low relief, brilliantly enameled in white and yellow upon a dark blue ground and crowned with white rosettes. This procession of lions (symbol of the god) led to colossal sculptures of guardian bulls at the city gateway.

(under German control, and now under English), many thousand acres have been reclaimed for fields of cotton and grain.

The king

The king, both in Chaldea and Assyria, was surrounded with everything that could awe and charm the masses. Extraordinary magnificence and splendor removed him from the common people. He gave audience, seated on a golden throne covered with a purple canopy which was supported by pillars glittering with precious stones. All who came into his presence prostrated

themselves in the dust until bidden to rise. His rule was absolute.

The *peasants* tilled the rich land in misery. As in Egypt they paid for their holdings with half of the produce. In a poor year, this left them in debt for seed and living. The creditor could charge exorbitant interest — usually 20 per cent a year; and if it were not paid, he could levy not only upon the debtor's small goods, but also upon wife or child, or upon the farmer himself, for slavery — though only for three years.

Rich and poor

LAWS OF HAMMURAPI (see text). — At the top of the stone shaft, on one face, is a sculptured relief representing the king (standing) receiving the Law from the hand of the Sun God.

The *wealthy class* included land-owners, officials, professional men, money lenders, and merchants. *The merchant* in particular *was a prominent figure.* The position of Chaldea, at the head of the Persian Gulf, made its cities the natural mart of exchange between India and Syria. The extensive wars of Assyria, cruel as they were, were not merely for love of conquest: *they were largely commercial in purpose,* — to win "a place in the sun," like most modern wars, — to secure the trade of Syria and Phoenicia, and to ruin trade centers, like Damascus, Jerusalem, and Tyre, that were competing with Nineveh.

Commerce and wars of greed

In 1902 A.D., a French explorer found a collection of 280 Babylonian laws inscribed, in some 2600 lines, upon an eight-foot shaft of stone. This "code" asserts that it was enacted

Laws of Hammurapi

by Hammurapi (p. 31). It is the oldest *known code of laws* in the world; and it shows that the men for whom it was made were already far advanced in civilization. It tries to guard against bribery of judges and witnesses, against careless medical practice, against ignorant or dishonest building contractors, as well as against the oppression of widows and orphans. Some provisions remind us of the later Jewish law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth — though injuries to a poor man could be atoned for in money:

"If a man has caused a man of rank to lose an eye, one of his own eyes must be struck out. If he has shattered the limb of a man of rank, let his own limb be broken. [But] If he has caused a poor man to lose an eye, or has shattered a limb, let him pay one maneh of silver" [about $32 in our values].

This code, and other discoveries, show that *rights of property* were carefully guarded. Deeds, wills, marriage settlements, legal contracts of all kinds, survive by tens of thousands.

Cuneiform writing

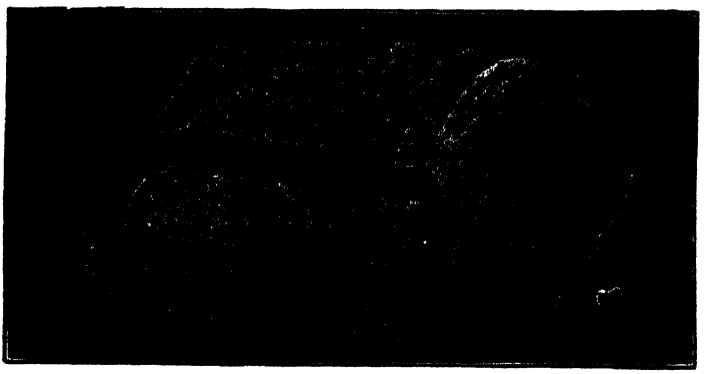
The early inhabitants of Chaldea had a system of hieroglyphics not unlike the Egyptian. At first they wrote, or painted, these on the papyrus, which grew in the Euphrates as well as in the Nile. Later, they came to press the characters with a sharp metal instrument into clay tablets (which were then baked to preserve them). This change of material led to a change in the written characters. The pictures shriveled and flattened into wedge-shaped symbols, and so scholars call this writing *cuneiform*, from the Latin *cuneus*, wedge. The signatures to legal documents show a great variety of handwritings; and recently a Babylonian *schoolhouse* has been excavated, where boys were taught to write. The floor was strewn with many "slates" (soft clay tablets when the Babylonian boys used them), covered with writing exercises, evidently from set copies of various degrees of difficulty. When such a "slate" was full, the Babylonian boy cleaned it by scraping it smooth with a straight-edged scraper.

And writing schools

Books and libraries

Each of the numerous cities that studded the valley of the twin rivers had its library, sometimes several of them. A library was a collection of clay tablets or bricks covered with

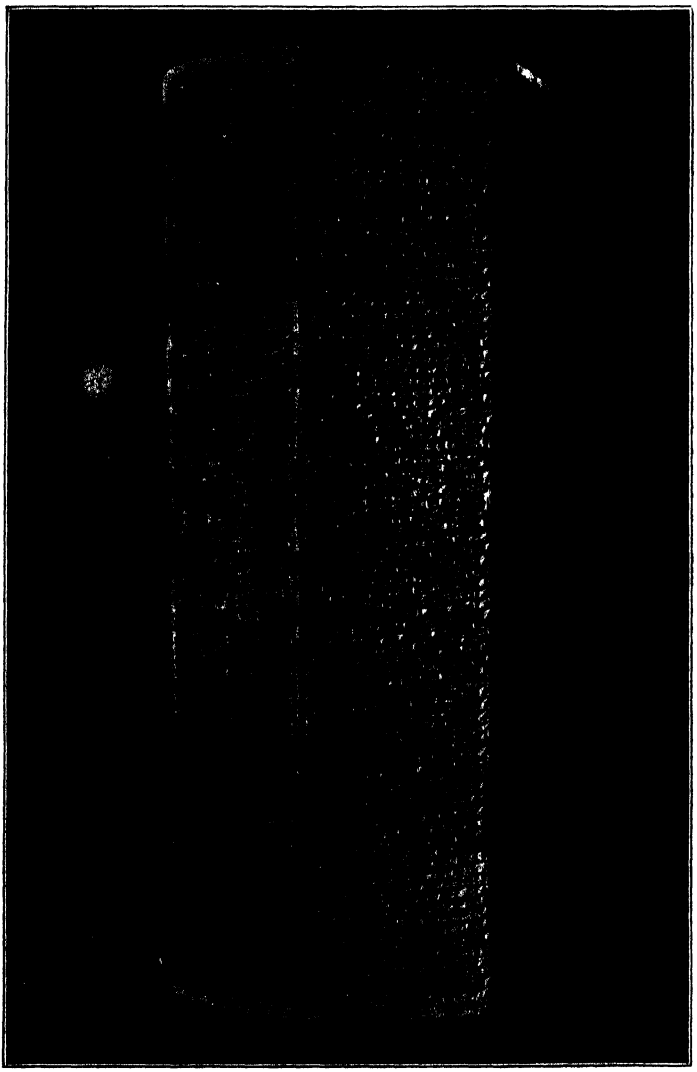
PLATE XI



ABOVE. — FRAGMENT OF A BABYLONIAN "DELUGE TABLET" — with a story of a deluge somewhat like that in Genesis.

BELOW. — A BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLET IN DUPLICATE. — The outer tablet is broken to show part of the inner original, which could always be consulted if the outside was thought to have been tampered with.

PLATE XII



AN ASSYRIAN "BOOK" — an eight-sided cylinder of baked clay inscribed with the story of eight campaigns of Sennacherib. The brick (now in the British Museum) is about three times as large as its representation here.

minute cuneiform writing — six lines, perhaps, to an inch. In Babylon the ruins of one library contained over thirty thousand tablets, of about the date 2700 B.C., all neatly arranged in order. A tablet, with its condensed writing, corresponds fairly well to a chapter in one of our books. Each tablet had its library number stamped upon it, and the collections were carefully catalogued. The kings prided themselves on keeping libraries open to the public; and a large part of the inhabitants (including many women) could read and write.

The literary class studied the "dead" language of the pre-Semitic period, as we study Latin, and the merchants were obliged to know the languages spoken in Syria in that day. The libraries contained dictionaries and grammars of these languages, and also many translations of foreign books, in columns parallel with the originals. Scribes were constantly employed in copying and editing ancient texts, and they seem to have been very careful in their work. When they could not make out a word in an ancient copy, they tell us so, and leave the space blank.

Chaldean science

Science was somewhat hindered by belief in charms and magic. Some of our boyish forms of "counting out" such as "eeny, meeny, miny, moe," are playful survivals of solemn forms of divination used by Chaldean magicians. Still, in *geometry* the Chaldeans made as much progress as the Egyptians; and in *arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit (used as we use the hundred) because it is divisible by both ten and twelve. (That notation survives on the faces of most of our clocks and on every school globe, and the Chaldean "dozen" is still one of our units.)

Astrology

As in Egypt, too, the clear skies and level plains invited an early *study of the heavenly bodies.* Every great city had its lofty observatory and its royal astronomer; and in Babylon, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found the record of an unbroken series of observations running back 1900 years before that time. Toward the close of their civilization the Chaldeans learned *to foretell eclipses.* In great measure, however, they studied

astronomy as a means of foretelling the future — because the stars were thought to influence human lives. This pretended science we call *astrology*, to distinguish it from real astronomy. It was practiced in earnest in Europe as late as Queen Elizabeth's time, and, even after so many hundred years, a European astrologer was always called "a Chaldean."

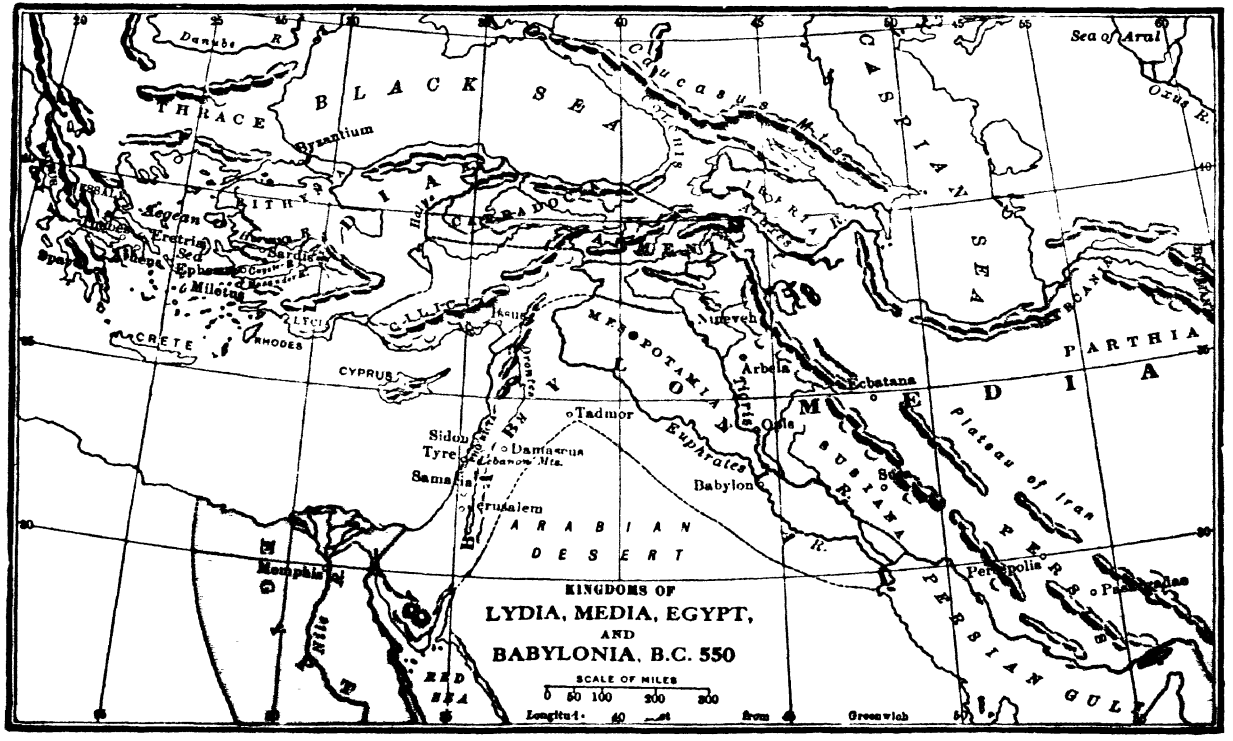
Arts and industry

These men of the Euphrates made practical use of their science. They invented *wheeled* carts, and, very early, they devised effective defensive armor — helmets of leather embossed with copper plates. They wrote books on *agriculture*, which passed on their skill in that field to the Greeks. They understood the *lever* and *pulley*, and used the *arch* in vaulted drains and aqueducts. They invented an excellent system of *measures*, based on the length of finger, hand, and arm; and these measures, along with their *weights*, have come down to us through the Greeks. Our *pound* is merely the Babylonian *mina* renamed. The symbols in our "*Apothecaries' Table*," still used in every physician's prescription, are Babylonian, as are the curious "*signs of the zodiac*" in our almanacs. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so from the Chaldeans we get the *week*, with its "seventh day of rest for the soul."

BABYLONIAN CYLINDER SEALS. Every well-to-do person had his seal, with which to sign letters and legal papers. Sometimes they were finely engraved jasper or chaledony.

Our debt to Babylon

Babylonian metal-workers and engravers had surpassing skill in *cutting gems*, *enameling*, and *inlaying*. Assyrian looms, too, produced the finest of *muslins* and of fleecy *woolens*, to which the *dyer* gave the most brilliant colors. The rich wore long robes of those cloths, decorated with embroideries. Tapestries and carpets, also, wonderfully colored, were woven, for walls and floors and beds.


Danube R.
THRACE
BLACK SEA
Byzantium
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
Oxus R.
Aegean Sea
Eretria
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
Nineveh
PARTHIA
Arbela
Ecbatana
MEDIA
Tadmor
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Lebanon Mts.
Samaria
Jerusalem
Euphrates
Babylon
Susa
Tigris
Plateau of Iran
ARABIAN DESERT
Memphis
Nile R.
Persepolis
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
KINGDOMS OF
LYDIA, MEDIA, EGYPT,
AND
BABYLONIA, B.C. 550
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Longitude from Greenwich

Architecture and sculpture

The Euphrates valley had no stone and little wood. Brick-making, therefore, was, next to agriculture, the most important industry. Ordinary houses were built of cheap *sun-dried* bricks. The same material was used for all but the outer courses of the walls of the palaces and temples; but for these outside faces, a kiln-baked brick was used, much like our own. With only these imperfect materials, the Babylonians constructed marvelous tower-temples and elevated gardens, in imitation of mountain scenery. The "Hanging Gardens," built

IMPRESSIONS FROM A KING'S CYLINDER SEAL. The figure in the air represents the god who protects the king in his perils.

by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife (from the Median mountains), rose, one terrace upon another, to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, and were counted by the Greeks among the "seven wonders of the world." But this extensive use of sun dried brick explains the complete decay of Chaldean cities, — which, in the course of ages, sank into shapeless mounds hardly distinguishable from the surrounding plain.

Assyria abounded in excellent stone. Still for centuries her builders slavishly used brick, like the people from whom they borrowed their art. Finally, however, they came to make use of the better material about them for sculpture and for the facings of their public buildings. In architecture and sculpture, though in no other art, Assyria, land of stone, excelled

Babylonia, land of brick. In the royal palaces, especially, the almost unlimited power of the monarchs and their Oriental passion for splendor and color produced a sumptuous magnificence.

Religion

Babylonians and Assyrians worshiped ancestors. Mingled with this religion was a nature worship, with numerous gods and demigods. Ancestor worship is usually accompanied by a belief in witchcraft and in unfriendly ghosts and demons. In Chaldea these superstitions appeared in exaggerated form. The pictures in early Christian times representing the devil with horns, hoofs, and tail, came from the Babylonians, through the Jewish *Talmud* (a Hebrew book of learning and legends).

Nature worship, in its lower stages, is often accompanied by debasing rites, in which drunkenness and sensuality appear as acts of worship. The stern reproaches of the Hebrew prophets have made Babylon notorious for such features in her religion; but the following hymn composed in Ur, before the time of Abraham, shows noble religious feeling.

"Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind! . . .
First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it! . . .
In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.
As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground."

CHAPTER IV

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

Lydia and its gift

Now the map grows. Shortly before the overthrow of Babylon, two new centers of power had appeared, one on either side of the Syrian crescent. These were Persia and Lydia. *Lydia* was a kingdom in western Asia Minor. Somewhat before 550 B.C. its sovereign, *Croesus*, united all Asia Minor west of the Halys River under his sway (including *many Greek cities* on the eastern Mediterranean coast). This made the Lydian Empire for a time one of the great world-powers (map opposite).

The region abounded in gold and silver; and "rich as Croesus" became a byword. Lydia's gift to the world was the invention of *coinage*. As early as 650 B.C., a Lydian king stamped upon pieces of silver a statement of their weight and purity, with his name and picture as guarantee of the statement. This "money" of Lydia could be received anywhere at once at a fixed rate — which made commerce vastly easier. Ever since, the coinage of money has been one of the important duties of governments. The older "barter," however, remained the *common* method of exchange, except in the most progressive markets, for centuries more.

A new field for history

On the farther side of the Euphrates and Tigris lay the lofty and somewhat arid *Plateau of Iran*. This was the home of the *Medes and Persians*. These peoples appeared first about 850 B.C., as fierce barbarians, whom Assyria found it needful to subdue repeatedly. Gradually they adopted the civilization of their neighbors; and, in 606, as we have seen, the Medes conquered Assyria.

Then the civilized world was divided, for three generations,[1]

[1] A *generation*, as a measure of time, means the average interval that separates a father from his son. This corresponds in length, also, in a rough way, to the active years of adult life, — the period between early manhood and old age. *It is reckoned at twenty-five or thirty years.*

A rest from war

between four great powers, — Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, and Media. These kingdoms were friendly allies, and the civilized world had a rare rest from internal war.

Cyrus makes the Persian Empire

But in 558 B.C., *Cyrus*, a tributary prince of the Persian tribes, threw off the yoke of the Medes and set up an independent Persian monarchy — *which quickly became the most powerful empire the world had known.* Cyrus conquered Media and her allies, Lydia and Babylon; and a few years later his son subdued Egypt. The new empire included all the former ones, together with the new districts of Iran and Asia Minor.

Extent and population

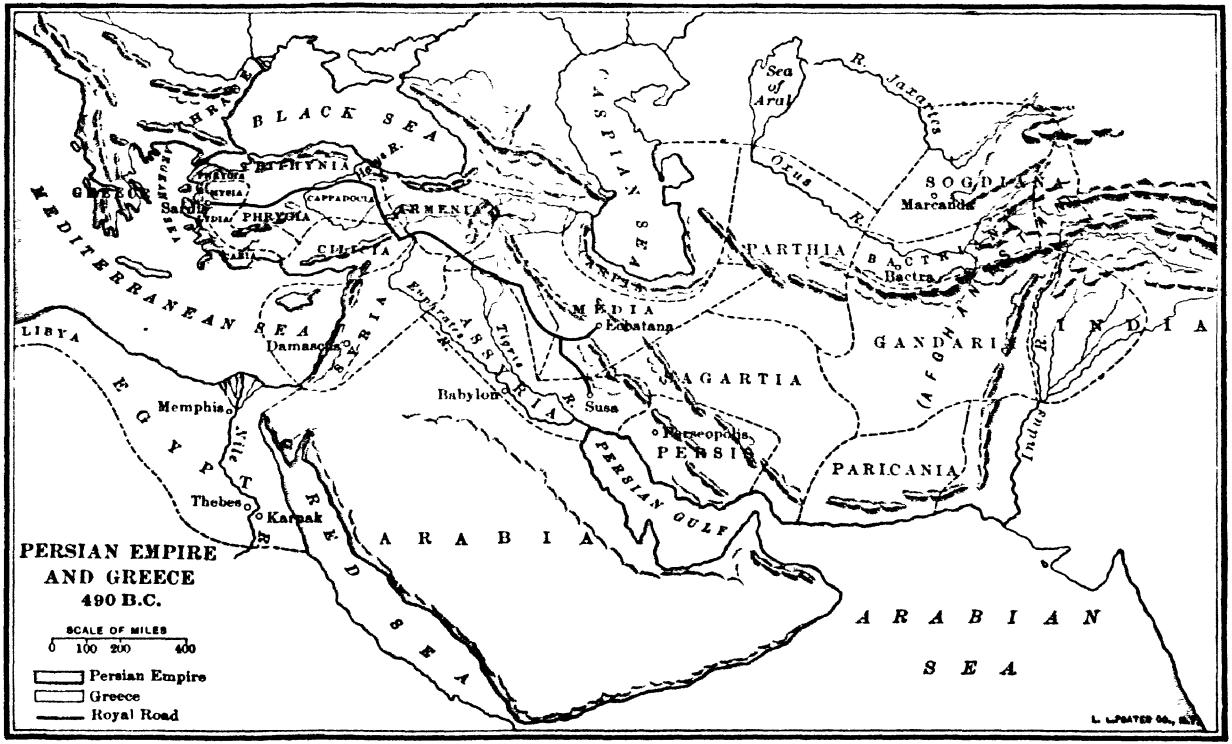
The next three Persian kings (after Cyrus and his son) added to their dominions modern Afghanistan and northwestern India on the east, with vast regions to the northeast beyond the Caspian Sea; and on the west, the European coast from the Black Sea to the Greek peninsula and the islands of the Aegean. This huge realm contained possibly seventy-five million people, and its eastern and western frontiers were farther apart than Washington and San Francisco. Its only civilized neighbors were India[1] and Greece. Elsewhere, indeed, it was bounded by seas and deserts.

Persian art and literature were wholly borrowed, mainly from Babylonia. Besides the expansion of the map, already noted, *Persia's services to the world were three: the repulse of Scythian savages; a better organization of government;* and *the lofty character of her religion.*

Persia and the Scythians

1. About 630 B.C., shortly before the downfall of Nineveh, the steppes of the North had poured hordes of savages into western Asia (p. 32). By the Greeks these nomads were called Scythians, and their inroads were like those of the Huns, Turks, and Tartars, in later history. They plundered as far as Egypt; and they were a real danger to all the culture the world had been building up so painfully for four thousand years. The

[1] Civilizations grew up at a very early date in the great river valleys of India and China; but these civilizations have not much affected our "Western" civilization until very recently. Therefore they are not taken into account in this volume.


BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
R. Jaxartes
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THRACE
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
PAPHLAGONIA
GALATIA
Sardis
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
SOGDIANA
Marcanda
Oxus R.
PARTHIA
BACTRIA
Bactra
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Euphrates R.
ASSYRIA
Tigris R.
Damascus
LIBYA
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile R.
Babylon
Susa
SAGARTIA
GANDARIA
INDIA
Hydaspes R.
Indus R.
Persepolis
PERSIS
PARICANIA
PERSIAN GULF
Thebes
Karnak
RED SEA
ARABIA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIAN EMPIRE AND GREECE 490 B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road

early Persian kings, by repeated expeditions into the Scythian country, *saved civilization* from these ruthless ravagers.

2. The first "empires" were held together very loosely. The tributary kingdoms had to pay tribute and to assist in war, and from time to time their kings were expected to attend the court of their master. Otherwise, the subject states were separate units. They kept their old kings and their own language, laws, and customs. Two of them sometimes made war upon each other, without interference from the head king. A foreign invasion or the unexpected death of a sovereign might shatter the loose union; and then would follow years of bloody war, until some king built up the empire once more. Peace and security could not exist.

A new imperial organization

PERSIAN GOLD ARMLET, 5 inches in height. Found on the banks of the Oxus in 1877.

The Assyrian rulers had begun to reform this plan of government. They left the subject peoples their own laws and customs, as before; but they broke up some of the old kingdoms into *satrapies*, or provinces, ruled by appointed officers. (This was Assyria's sole contribution to progress.) The system, however, was still unsatisfactory. In theory the *satraps* were wholly dependent upon the will of the imperial king; but in practice they were very nearly kings themselves, and they were under constant temptation to try to become independent rulers, by rebellion.

The Persians adopted and extended the system of satraps; and *Darius "the Organizer,"* the fourth Persian king (521–485 B.C.), *introduced three new checks upon rebellion.* (1) In each of the twenty provinces, power was divided between the satrap himself and the commander of the standing army. (2) In

each province was placed a royal secretary (the "King's Ear") to communicate constantly with the Great King. And (3), most important of all, a special royal commission (the "King's Eye"), backed with military forces, appeared at intervals in each satrapy to inquire into the government, and, if necessary, to arrest the satrap.

This was the most satisfactory organization ever invented by an Oriental empire, ancient or modern. To the vast Persian world it brought a long period of freedom from the waste and horror of *internal* war.

Each of the subject provinces kept its own language and customs; but Darius did something also to create a *spirit* of union in the Empire. He reopened the ancient Egyptian canal from the Nile to the Red Sea,[1] to encourage trade;[2] and, to draw the distant parts of the Empire together, he built a magnificent system of post roads, with milestones and excellent inns, with ferries and bridges, and with relays of swift horses for the royal couriers. The chief road, from Susa to Sardis (map after p. 42), fifteen hundred miles long, "pierced the strata of many tribes and diverse cultures, *and helped set the world a-mixing.*"

Post roads

The Persian religion

3. While they were still barbarous tribes, the Persians had learned to worship the forces of nature, — especially sun, moon, stars, and fire. This worship was in the hands of priests, called *Magi*, who were believed to possess "*magic*" powers over nature and other men. But *the Persians* of the historic age *had risen to a nobler worship.* This is set forth in the Zend-Avesta (the Persian Bible), and it had been established about 1000 B.C. by *Zoroaster.* According to this great teacher, the world is a stage for unceasing conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. It is man's duty to assist the good power by resisting evil impulses in his own heart and by fighting injustice among men. It is also his place to

Zoroaster

[1] A series of monuments set up by Darius to commemorate this great engineering work have recently been dug out of the sands which, after a few generations, had been allowed again to bury the canal.

[2] It was then that trade with the Far East first brought our domestic "chicken" into Western Asia.

PLATE XIII

RELIEFS FROM ASSYRIAN PALACES

PLATE XIV

FRIEZE OF LIONS FROM THE PALACE OF ARTAXERXES MEMNON AT SUSA, fifth century B C. Now in the Louvre. Note the imitation of Babylonian art, p. 34. The capital of the column (seen through opening) shows more originality.

kill harmful beasts, to care tenderly for other animals, and to make the earth fruitful. The following passage from the Zend-Avesta shows the Persian idea of a future life:

At the head of the Chinvat Bridge, betwixt this world and the next, when the soul goes over it, there comes a fair, white-armed and beautiful figure, like a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world. And the soul of the true believer speaks to her, "What maid art thou, all surpassing in thy beauty?" And she makes answer, "O youth of good thought, good words, good deeds, and of good religion: — *I am thine own conscience.*" Then pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura-Mazda, of the Archangels, to . . . "The Abode of Song."

Another passage tells how the souls of the wicked are met by a foul hag and are plunged into a hideous pit, to suffer endless torment.

The cardinal virtue was *truthfulness*. Darius' instructions to his successor began: "Keep thyself utterly from lies. The man who is a liar, him destroy utterly. If thou do thus, my country will remain whole." A century later, the Greek Herodotus admired the manly sports of the Persians and the simple training of their boys, — "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth."

Exercise. — Would you have expected the Persians to adopt the Egyptian hieroglyphs or the cuneiform writing? Why? In what ways was the organization of the Persian Empire an improvement upon that of the Assyrian? In what way did Assyrian organization improve upon Egyptian?

For Further Reading. — There is an admirable twenty-page treatment of the Persian Empire in Benjamin Ide Wheeler's *Alexander the Great* (pp. 187–207), — a book which for other reasons deserves a place in every school library. Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 25–31, contain much interesting material upon Persian religion and morals.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE STATES

From the Persian Empire the story of civilization passes back to Europe; but first we must stop to note briefly the work of two small peoples of Syria, the middle land between the Nile and the Euphrates. Without ever growing into powerful empires, the *Phoenicians* and the *Hebrews* were mighty factors in the progress of the world.

I. THE PHOENICIANS

Sailors and traders

The Phoenicians dwelt on a little strip of broken coast shut off from the interior by the Lebanon Mountains (map, p. 50). Their many harbors invited them seaward, and the "cedar of Lebanon" offered the best of ship timber. When history first reveals the Mediterranean, it is dotted with their adventurous sails. At first, half traders, half pirates, their crews crept from island to island, to barter with the natives or to sweep them off for slaves, as chance might best suggest. Then, more daringly, they sought wealth farther and farther on the sea, until they passed even the Pillars of Hercules,[1] into the open Atlantic. *By 1100* B.C. *they had become the traders of the world;* and we see them exchanging the precious tin of Britain, the yellow amber of the Baltic, and the slaves and ivory of West Africa, for the spices, gold, scented wood, and precious stones of India. The ship that Neco sent to circumnavigate Africa was manned by Phoenician sailors; and the chief Phoenician cities, Tyre and Sidon, were among the most splendid and wealthy in the world. (Read Ezekiel, xxvi–xxvii, for a magnificent description of the grandeur of Tyre and of the wide extent of her commerce.)

[1] Two lofty hills, one on each side of the Strait of Gibraltar, beyond which the Ancients generally thought lay inconceivable perils (map after p. 70).

The first colonizers in history

The Phoenicians were the first colonizers. They fringed the larger islands and the shores of the Mediterranean with trading stations, which became new centers of civilization. Carthage, Utica, Gades (Cadiz, on the Atlantic), were among their colonies (map after p. 70). They worked tin mines in Colchis, in Spain, and finally in Britain, and so made possible the manufacture of bronze on a larger scale than before, to replace stone implements. Probably they first introduced bronze into many parts of Europe.

Industries

To get things wherewith to trade, the Phoenicians became manufacturers, — learning from Egyptians and Babylonians to work in metals, glass, and textiles. Hammer, loom, potter's wheel, engraver's knife, were always busy in Tyre, and quantities of their products are found in ancient tombs of Greece and Italy — the earliest *European* homes of civilization.

Missionaries of civilization

The Phoenicians were "missionaries" of culture. It was their function not to *create* civilization, but to *spread* it.

The alphabet

Their chief export, it is well said, *was the alphabet*. When the Egyptians first conquered Syria, about 1600 B.C., the Phoenicians were using the cuneiform script of Babylon (introduced among them by Hammurapi's conquest). But their commerce made it necessary to keep complicated accounts and to communicate with agents in distant ports. This called for a simpler way of writing; and, about 1100 B.C., we find them with a true alphabet of twenty-two letters — *for consonant sounds only* — probably derived from Egyptian "sound-symbols."

Fall of Tyre

The Phoenician cities submitted easily, as a rule, to any powerful neighbor. From Babylonia, from Egypt, from Persia, in turn, they bought security by paying tribute in money and in ships. Assyria sought to annihilate the Phoenician cities, as rivals in trade, and did destroy many of them; but Tyre was saved by her position on a rocky island-promontory. Finally, in 332 B.C., it was captured by Alexander the Great (p. 136). From this downfall the proud city never fully recovered, and fishermen now spread their nets to dry in the sun on the bare rock where once her tall towers rose.

II. THE HEBREWS

Wandering shepherds

As the Phoenicians were men of the sea, so the early Hebrews were men of the desert. They appear first as wandering shepherds along the grazing lands on the edge of the Arabian sands. *Abraham*, the founder of the race, emigrated from "Ur of the Chaldees," about 2100 B.C. He and his descendants, *Isaac*

THE FERTILE LAND OF GOSHEN TO-DAY. — Palms and grain. From Petrie's *Egypt and Israel*.

and *Jacob*, lived and ruled as patriarchal chiefs, much as Arab sheiks do in the same regions to-day.

The captivity in Egypt

Finally, "the famine was sore in the land." Jacob and his sons, with their tribesmen and flocks, sought refuge in Egypt. Here they found *Joseph*, one of their brethren, already high

in royal favor. The rulers of Egypt at this time, too, were the Hyksos, themselves originally Arabian shepherds; and the Hebrews were allowed to settle in the fertile pasturage of Goshen, near the Red Sea, where flitting Arab tribes have always been wont to encamp. But soon the native Egyptian rule was restored by Theban pharaohs, "who knew not Joseph." These powerful princes of the New Empire (p. 25) reduced the Hebrews to slavery, and employed them on great public works, and "made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field."

The Exodus

Three centuries later, while the Egyptian government was in a period of weakness and disorder, the oppressed people escaped to the Arabian desert again, led by the hero *Moses*. For a man's lifetime, the fugitives wandered to and fro, after their ancient manner; but they were now a numerous people and had become accustomed to fixed abodes. About 1250 B.C., under *Joshua*, to whom Moses had turned over the leadership, they began to conquer the fertile valleys of Palestine for their home. Then followed two centuries of bloody warfare with their neighbors, some of whom had long before taken on the civilization of Babylonia.

And the conquest of Palestine

Under the Judges

During this period the Hebrews remained a loose alliance of twelve shepherd tribes, led by a series of popular heroes, like *Samson*, *Jephthah*, *Gideon*, and *Samuel*, known as *Judges*. Much of the time there was great and ruinous disorder, and bands of robbers drove travelers from the highways. Finally, the Philistines for a time overran the land at will.

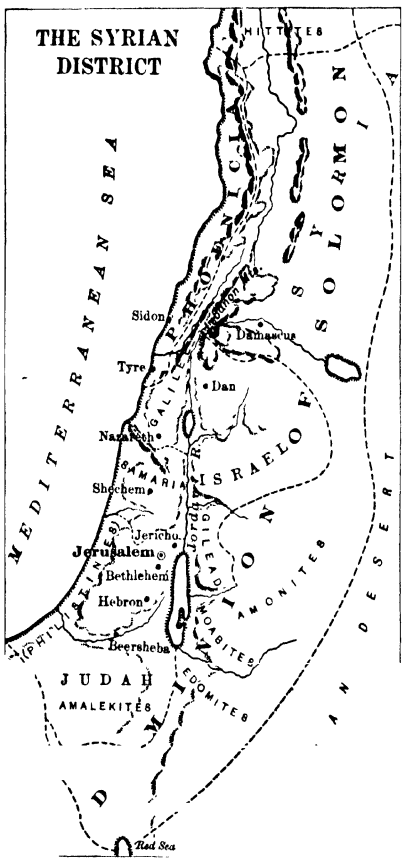
Kings and prophets

Thus the Hebrews felt the necessity for stronger government. *Saul*, a mighty warrior, roused them against the Philistine spoilers, and led them to victory. In return they made him their first king. Alongside this monarch and his successors, however, there stood religious teachers without office but with great authority. These "prophets" were shepherd preachers, clad perhaps only in the sheepskin of the desert; but they did not hesitate to rebuke or oppose a sovereign.

David, the second king (about 1070–977), completely subdued the Philistines, and, taking shrewd advantage of the fact that

The kingdom of David

the great states on the Nile and the Euphrates were both in a period of decay, he raised the Hebrew state into a small empire in western Syria. He will be remembered longest, however, as "the sweet singer of Israel." He was originally a shepherd boy who attracted Saul's favor by his beauty and his skill upon the harp; and, in the most troublous days of his kingship, he sought rest and comfort in composing songs and poems, which are now included in the sacred Book of Psalms.



Solomon and the Temple (977–937 B.C.)

David's son, Solomon, built a noble temple at Jerusalem for the worship of Jehovah. Until this time the only sacred shrine of the Hebrews had been a portable "Ark," suited to a primitive and nomad tribe; and even now they lacked architectural skill to construct large buildings. But Solomon's ally, King Hiram of Tyre, sent skilled Phoenician builders for the work, and it was completed with great magnificence. Solomon also built rich palaces with his foreign workmen, and copied within them the splendor and luxury of an Oriental court.

The Hebrews now began to grow prosperous—with the usual inequality of great wealth and extreme poverty. And soon the prophets, like Micah and Amos (the first social reformers in history), were denouncing fiercely the fraud and violence of the greedy rich, who "corrupt judgment" (in law cases) and "grind the faces of the poor." The punishment for the nation, which they foretold, was already on the way.

Division and decline

Solomon's reign closed the brief age of political greatness for the Hebrews. The twelve tribes had not come to feel themselves really one nation. They had been divided into two groups in earlier times: ten tribes in one group; two in the other. The "ten tribes" now held the north, the more fertile part of Palestine, with numerous cities. The "two tribes," in the rugged south, were still largely shepherds and herdsmen. David had belonged to the smaller group, and his *early* kingship had extended over only the two tribes. Jealousies against the rule of his house had smoldered all along among the ten tribes. Now came a final separation. Solomon's taxes had sorely burdened the people. On his death, the ten tribes petitioned his son for relief, and when the young king (*Rehoboam*) replied with haughty insult, they set up for themselves as the *Kingdom of Israel*, with a capital at Samaria. The tribes of Benjamin and Judah remained faithful to the house of David, and became the *Kingdom of Judah*, with the old capital, Jerusalem.

The captivities

The Kingdom of Israel lasted 250 years, until Sargon carried the ten tribes into that Assyrian captivity in which they are "lost" to history (p. 31). Judah lasted four centuries after the separation, most of the time tributary to Assyria or to Babylon. Finally, in punishment for rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people into the *Babylonian captivity* (p. 33).

Priestly rule

When the Persians conquered Babylon, they showed special favor to the Jews, and the more zealous of the race returned to Judea. From this time, such control of their own affairs as was left to them by Persia was in the hands of the priests, led by the High Priest of the Temple. At this time the sacred writings of the Hebrews—our "Old Testament"—were recopied and arranged in their present form. (In the

eighth century the Hebrews had borrowed an alphabet from the Phoenicians.)

The faith in one God

The Hebrews added nothing to material civilization, nor did they contribute directly to any art. Their work was higher. Their religious literature was the noblest the world had seen, and it has passed into all the literatures of the civilized world; but even this is valuable not so much for its literary merit as for its moral teachings. *The true history of the Hebrews is the record of their spiritual growth.* Their religion was infinitely purer and truer than any other of the ancient world.

Growth of the faith

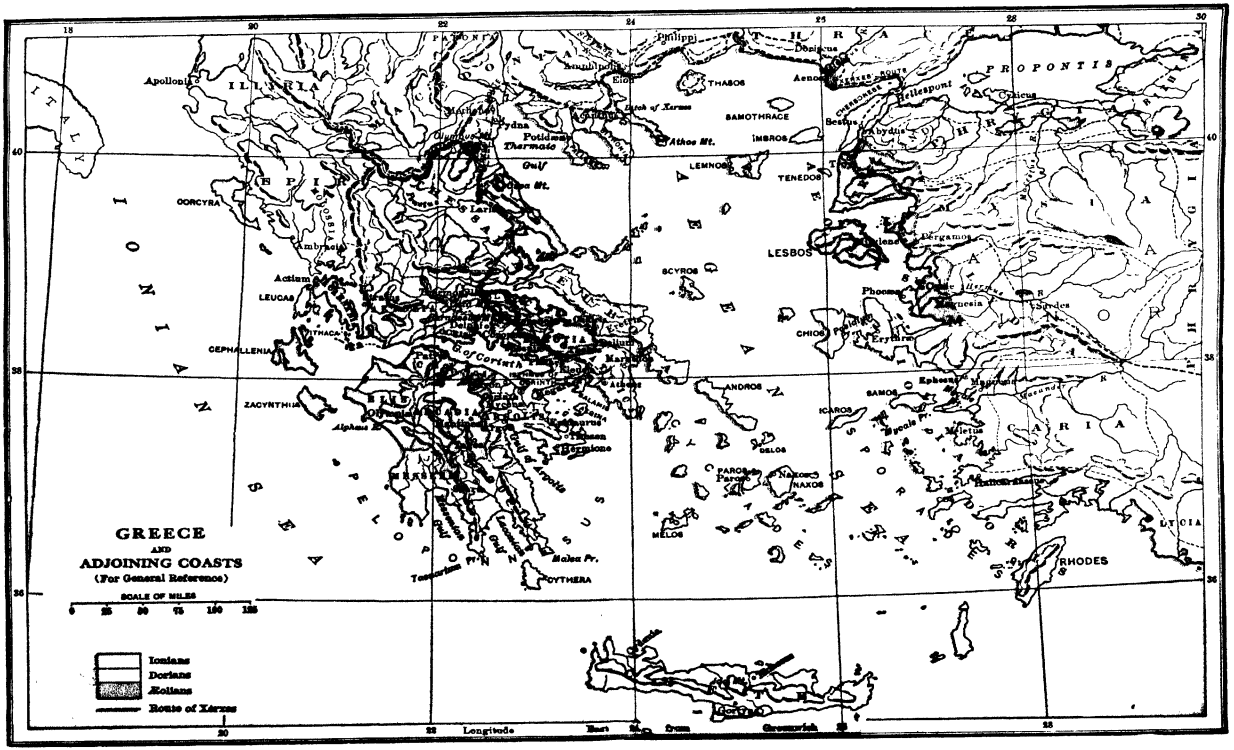
At first this lofty faith belonged to only a few — to the patriarchs, and later to the prophets, with a small following of the more spiritually minded of the nation. For a thousand years the common people, and some of the kings, were constantly falling away into the superstitions of their Syrian neighbors. But it is the supreme merit of the Hebrews that a remnant always clung to the higher religion, until it became the universal faith of that "chosen" and sifted people who, after the Babylonian captivity, found their way back to Judea through so many hardships.

Suggestions for Review

Let the class prepare review questions, each member five or ten, to ask of the others. Criticize the questions, showing which ones help to bring out important facts and contrasts and likenesses, and which are merely trivial or curious. It is well to make lists of important names or terms for rapid drill, demanding brief but clear explanation of each term, *i.e. cuneiform, shekel, Hyksos, papyrus.*

Sample Questions: (1) In what did the Egyptians excel the Babylonians? (2) In what did the Babylonians excel the Egyptians? (3) In what did the Persians excel both? (4) Trace the growth of the map for civilized countries. (5) Locate four centers of civilization for 1500 B.C., and observe, on the map, where they would most naturally come in contact with one another. (6) What new center became prominent between 1700 and 1000 B.C.? (One more center for that age — Crete — is yet to be treated.)

Caution: Make sure that the terms "empire," "state," "tributary state," "civilization," have a definite meaning for the student.


GREECE
AND
ADJOINING COASTS
(For General Reference)
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
Ionians
Dorians
Æolians
Route of Xerxes
Longitude East from Greenwich
ITALY
ILLYRIA
EPIRUS
MACEDONIA
THRACE
PROPONTIS
CORCYRA
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
ITHACA
Actium
Apollonia
Amphipolis
Philippi
Neapolis
Eion
THASOS
SAMOTHRACE
IMBROS
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
LESBOS
SCYROS
CHIOS
ANDROS
NAXOS
PAROS
DELOS
MELOS
SAMOS
ICARIA
RHODES
LYCIA
Athos Mt.
Olympus Mt.
Pindus
Potidæa
Thermaia
Gulf of Xerxes
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Argolis
Gulf of Messenia
Gulf of Laconia
Malea Pr.
CYTHERA
Dobrudscha
Chersonesus
Sestos
Abydus
Cyzicus
Pergamus
Phocæa
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Cos
Crete

PART II — THE GREEKS

Greece — that point of light in history! — HEGEL.

We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our art have their roots in Greece. — SHELLEY.

CHAPTER VI

AEGEAN CIVILIZATION, 3500–1200 B.C.

Aegean culture, 3500 B.C.

At least as early as 3500 B.C. slim, short, dark-skinned men in the New-Stone stage, were living in round-hut villages on the shores and islands of the eastern Mediterranean. *Especially about the Aegean Sea with its clustering islands*, these men were making a graceful pottery charmingly decorated, and had developed considerable trade. About 3000 B.C. these Aegeans learned the use of bronze from Egypt, and, having once begun, they soon drew many other gifts and hints from the Oriental states, to which they were so near.

VASE FROM KNOSSOS (2200 B.C.), with sea-life ornament.

Cretan leadership

In the early period, leadership in the Aegean fell naturally to Crete. Old Greek legends represent that island as a leading source of Greek civilization and as the home of powerful kings long before the Greek tribes on the mainland rose out of barbarism; and recent excavations prove that these legends are based on truth. Crete stretches its long body across the mouth of the Aegean, and forms a natural stepping-stone from Egypt to Europe. By 2500 B.C. it had advanced far into the Bronze Age, and for

the next thousand years its civilization rivaled that of Egypt itself. Hand-made pottery gave way to admirable work on the potter's wheel; and the vase-paintings, of birds and beasts and plant and sea life, are more lifelike than anything in Egyptian art. The walls of the houses were decorated with a delicate "eggshell" porcelain, in artistic designs. At Knossos, a palace, built about 2200 B.C., has been unearthed, spreading over more than four acres of ground, with splendid halls, corridors, living rooms, throne rooms, and treasure rooms, and with many frescoes depicting the brilliant life of the lords and ladies of the court. Especially amazing are the bathrooms, with a drainage system "superior to anything in Europe until the nineteenth century." The pipes could be flushed; and a man-trap permitted inspection and repair. Back of the Queen's apartments stood a smaller room with a baby's bath. (Recent excavations show such systems in still older Egyptian temples.)

Remains at Knossos of 2200 B.C.

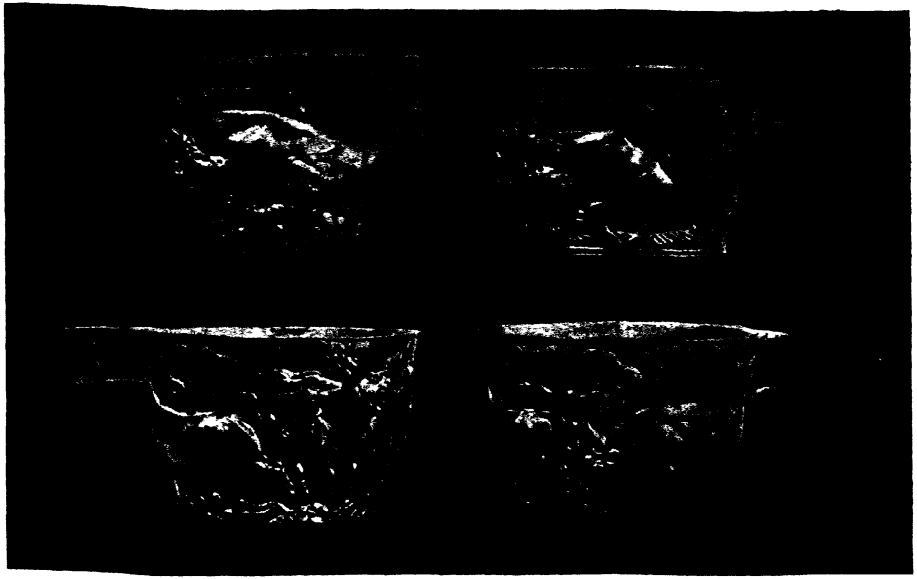
MOUTH OF PALACE SEWER AT KNOSSOS, with terracotta drain pipes.

The palace of Minos

This palace is usually called the palace of "King Minos." Minos was famed by the later Greeks as a great Cretan lawgiver. We may think of him ruling widely over the surrounding seas from his throne at Knossos, while Hammurapi was issuing his code of laws at Babylon, or while some one of the beneficent pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom was constructing the Egyptian irrigation works, or about the time when Abraham set out from Ur of the Chaldees.

In the treasure rooms of the palace at Knossos, there were

PLATE XV



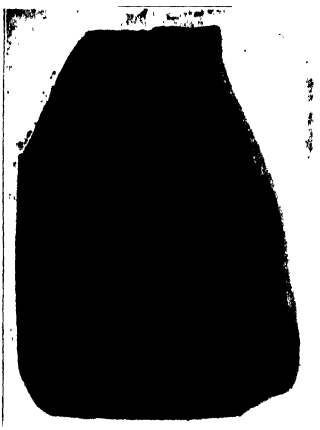
THE VAPHIO CUPS, found in 1889 A.D. at Vaphio in the Peloponnesus, but probably of Cretan origin and dating back to about 2000 B.C. The two cups, of beaten gold with delicate but vigorous ornament, are about the size of ordinary coffee cups.

PLATE XVI

THE SCROLL FROM THE VAPHIO CUPS: stages in netting and taming wild bulls for the plow. The bull was a favorite subject in Cretan art. Cf. the story of Theseus and the Minotaur in Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*. Probably this goldsmith work has never been excelled.

found numbers of small *clay tablets covered with writing* — apparently memoranda of the receipt of taxes. These, and other such remains since discovered, show that the Cretans had developed a system of syllabic writing, based on Egyptian sound symbols, but more advanced. Unhappily scholars have not yet learned to read it. A Roman historian who wrote a little before the birth of Christ mentions that in his day the Cretans claimed that their ancestors had *invented* the alphabet, and that the Phoenicians had only made it better known. Modern Cretans had forgotten this claim; but these recent discoveries give it much support.

A Cretan alphabet



CRETAN WRITING OF 2200 B.C. — Plainly some of these characters are numerals. Others resemble later Greek letters.

Each home wove its own cloth, as we learn from the loom-weights in every house. Each home, too, had its stone mortars

Tools and utensils

COOKING UTENSILS OF 2200 B.C., found in one tomb at Knossos.

for grinding the daily supply of meal. Kitchen utensils were varied and numerous, and strangely modern in shape. Most cooking was done over an open fire of sticks — though sometimes there was a sort of recess in a hearth, over which a kettle stood. When the destroying foe came upon Knossos, one carpenter left his kit of tools hidden under a stone slab, which preserved them; and among them we find saws, hammers, adz, chisels heavy and light, awls, nails, files, and axes. They are of bronze,

THE GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENAE. — The huge stone at the top of the gate, supporting the lions, is 15 feet long and 7 feet thick. Enemies could reach the gate only by passing between long stone walls — from behind which archers could shoot down upon them.

of course, but in shape they are so like our own that it seems probable that this handicraft passed down its skill without a break from the earliest European civilization to the present. One huge crosscut saw, like our lumberman's, was found in a mountain town.

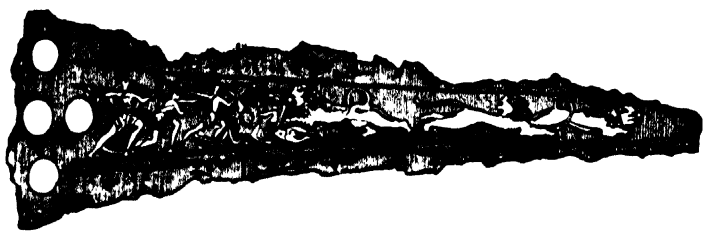
Mycenae "rich in gold"

Crete did not stand by itself in its culture. The Greeks of the historical period had many legends about the glories of an older Mycenae "rich in gold." And there, in Argolis, some fifty years ago an explorer uncovered remains of an ancient

city of perhaps 1200 B.C., with peculiar, massive ("Cyclopean") walls. Within were found a curious group of tombs where lay in state the embalmed bodies of ancient kings,—

"in the splendor of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold; their swords studded with golden imagery; their faces covered strangely in golden masks. The very floor of one tomb was thick with gold dust — the heavy gilding from some perished kingly vestment. In another was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers. And amid this profusion of fine fragments were rings, bracelets, . . . dainty butterflies for ornaments, and a wonderful golden flower on a silver stalk."

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 32, gives an interesting extract from an account of Cretan remains by one of the discoverers. *Additional*, for students who wish wider reading: Hawes, *Crete the Fore-runner of Greece;* or Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete.*



BRONZE DAGGER FROM MYCENAE, inlaid with gold. — This dagger was prominent in the "Greek Exhibit" sent to America by the Greek government just after the World War and shown in various of our cities.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREEKS OF HOMER

Barbarian Achaeans from the north

About 1500 B.C. bands of tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, semi-barbarous *Achaeans* from the north, drawn by the splendor and riches of the south, broke into the Aegean lands, as northern barbarians many times since have broken into southern Europe. Some fortunate chance had given these mighty-limbed strangers a knowledge of iron; and now, armed with long iron swords, and bringing their flocks and herds, with their women and children in rude carts drawn by horses, they established themselves among the short, dark, bronze-weaponed natives, became their masters, dwelt in their cities, married their women, and possessed the land.

This occupation was a slow process, working unrecorded misery on generation after generation of the gentler natives. For the most part, the newcomers *filtered* in, band by band, seizing a valley or an island at a time. Occasionally, however, large armies warred long and desperately about some stronghold of the old civilization. Knossos had never had walls: it had trusted for defense to its position on an island and to its sea-power; and it fell early before fleets of Achaean sea-rovers. In walled cities like Mycenae, the old culture lived on three or four centuries more. The legends of the Trojan War were probably based on one of the closing struggles.

Troy and the Homeric poems

Our knowledge of the Achaeans comes largely from the so-called "Homeric poems," the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The later Greeks believed that these were composed about 1000 B.C. by a blind minstrel named Homer. Scholars now think that each collection was made up of many ballads sung originally by different bards at different times and handed down orally from father to son for centuries before they were put into writing. The *Iliad* describes part of a ten-year siege of Troy by

Achaean chieftains from all parts of Greece. The *Odyssey* tells the adventures and wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses), one of the heroes, in the return from that war. Whether or not there was a Trojan War, the poems certainly tell us much about the customs and ideas of the Greeks of 1100 B.C.; and their pictures of Greek life have been confirmed by recent excavation of remains in the soil.

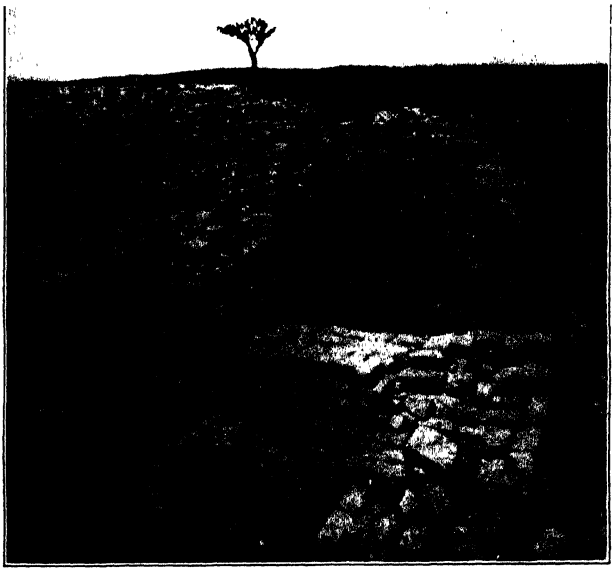
Schliemann's story

The first explorer in this field of excavation in Greek lands was Dr. Henry Schliemann. When Schliemann was a child in a German village, his father told him the Homeric stories, and once showed him a fanciful picture of the huge "Walls of Troy." The child was told that no one now knew just where Troy had stood, and that the city had left no traces; but he insisted that such walls *must* have left remains that could be uncovered by digging; and his father playfully agreed that sometime Henry should find them. Later, the boy heard that the learned scholars of his day did not believe that "Troy" had ever existed. This aroused in him a fierce resentment; and to carry out his childhood dream of finding the great walls of Homer's city became the passion of his life.

Excavations at Troy

In 1870, after many years spent in winning the necessary wealth and learning, Dr. Schliemann began excavations at a little village in "Troy-land," on a mound of earth three miles inland from the shore. The explorations continued more than twenty years and disclosed the remains of *nine* distinct towns, one above another. The oldest, on native rock, some fifty feet below the present surface, was a rude village of the Stone Age. The second, thought by Schliemann to be Homer's Troy, showed powerful walls, a citadel that had been destroyed by fire, and a civilization marked by bronze weapons and gold ornaments. We know now that this city belonged to the early Cretan age, and that it passed away more than a thousand years before Homer's time. Above it came the remains of three inferior settlements, and then — *the sixth layer from the bottom* — a much larger and finer city, which had perished in conflagration some 1100 or 1200 years before Christ. Explorations, after Schliemann's death, proved this

sixth city to be the Troy described so fully in the *Iliad*. (Above this Homeric Troy came an old Greek city, a magnificent city of the time of Alexander the Great, a Roman city, and, finally, the squalid Turkish village of to-day. The position of these towns commanded the trade between the Black Sea regions and the Aegean. This accounts, probably, for the succession



A Small Part of the Excavations at Troy.

of cities there, and perhaps for the destruction of some of them in war by trade-rivals.)

Achaeans and Aegeans blend into "Greeks."

The tall, fair, yellow-haired Achaeans of the Homeric poems left no trace among the Greeks of history a few centuries later. Their blood was absorbed into that of the more numerous and better-acclimated Aegeans among whom they settled, and the Greeks of later history were short and dark. But first the Achaeans had imposed their language on the conquered people,[1]

[1] Some Aegean words survived in the later Greek. Thus the Greek word for *bath-tub* comes from the older language. What fact in civilization is suggested by this fact in language?

as conquerors usually do. The change in language, and the ignorance of the invading barbarians, explains the loss of the Aegean art of writing — which probably had been known only to a small class of scribes. Most of the art and refinement of the old civilization also perished. But much of the customs and beliefs of the common people survived, to mingle with those of the conquerors.

Tribe and clan

When Achaeans and Aegeans had blended into "Greeks" (1100 or 1000 B.C.), they were made up of many tribes. Each tribe was composed of people living in one neighborhood and believing in a common ancestor. *A tribe was made up of clans (gentes).* A clan was a group of real kindred, a sort of enlarged family. The nearest descendant of the forefather of the clan, counting from oldest son to oldest son, was the clan-elder, — a kind of "priest-king"; and the clan-elder of the leading clan in the tribe was the tribal "priest-king."

Tribal citadels grow into cities

The tribe usually settled in separate clan villages in the valleys about some convenient hill. On the hilltop was the meeting place of the whole tribe for worship; and a ring wall, at a convenient part of the slope, easily turned this sacred place into a *citadel.* In hilly Greece many of these citadels grew up *near together;* and so, very early, *groups of tribes* combined further. *This made a city.* The chief of the leading tribe then became the priest-king of the city. The later Athenians had a tradition that in very early times the hero *Theseus* founded their city by bringing together four tribes living in Attica.

If the cities could have combined into larger units, Greece might have become a "nation-state," like modern England or France. But the Greeks, in the time of their glory, never got beyond a city-state. To them the same word meant "city" and "state." *To each Greek, his city was his country.* The *political*[1] relations of one city with another five miles away were *foreign* relations, as much as its dealings with the king of Persia. *Wars, therefore, were constant.*

[1] "Political" means "relating to government."

Government of the early city-state

Each city, like each of the old tribes, had a king, a council of chiefs, and a popular assembly.

The king was *leader in war, judge in peace,* and *priest* at all times; but his power was much limited by custom.

The council of chiefs were originally the clan elders and the members of the royal family. *Socially* they were the king's equals; and *in government* he could not do anything in defiance of their wish.

The Assembly

The common freemen came together for worship and for games; and sometimes the king called them together, to listen to plans that had been adopted by him and the chiefs. There the freemen shouted approval or muttered disapproval. They could not start new movements. There were no regular meetings and few spokesmen; and the general reverence for the chiefs made it a daring deed for a common man to brave them.

However, even in war, when the authority of the nobles was greatest, the Assembly had to be *persuaded: it could not be ordered.*[1] Homer shows that sometimes a common man ventured to oppose the "kings." In an Assembly of the army before Troy, the discouraged Greeks break away to launch their ships and return home. Odysseus hurries among them, and by persuasion and threats forces them back to the Assembly, until only Thersites bawls on, — "Thersites, uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words *wherewith to strive against the chiefs.* Hateful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, *for them he was wont to revile.* But now *with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings even upon goodly Agamemnon*" [the chief commander of the Greeks]. Odysseus, it is true, rebukes Thersites sternly and smites him into silence, while the crowd laughs. "Homer" sang to please the chieftains,

[1] King, Council of Chiefs, and popular Assembly were the germs of later *monarchic, oligarchic,* and *democratic* government. A monarchy, in the first meaning of the word, is a state ruled by one man, a "*mon*arch." An oligarchy is a state ruled by a "few," or by a small class. A democracy is a state where the whole people govern. In ancient history the words are used with these meanings. Sometimes "aristocracy" is used with much the same force as "oligarchy." (In modern times the word "monarchy" is used sometimes of a government like England, which is monarchic only in form, but which really is a democracy.)

his patrons, — and so he represents Thersites as a cripple, ugly and unpopular; but there must have been popular opposition to the chiefs, now and then, or the minstrel would not have mentioned such an incident at all.

A simple society

Society was simple. When the son of Odysseus, in the poem, visits a city where some of the old Mycenean greatness survives, he is astounded by the splendor of the palace, with its "gleam as of sun and moon," lighted as it was by torches held by massive golden statues, — the walls blazing with bronze and with glittering friezes of blue glass. Mighty Odysseus had built *his* palace with his own hands, and it has been well called — from the poet's description — "a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court." The one petty island, too, in which Odysseus was head-king, held scores of yet poorer "kings." So, too, when Odysseus is shipwrecked on an island, he finds the daughter of the chief king — the princess Nausicaa — doing a washing, with her band of maidens, treading out the dirt by trampling the clothes with their bare feet in the water of a running brook, much as the peasants of southern Europe do to-day.

Rude and harsh

Manners were harsh. In the Trojan War, when the Trojan hero, Hector, fell, the Greek kings gathered about the dead body, "*and no one came who did not add his wound.*" The commonest boast was to have given a foe's body to be half devoured by the packs of savage dogs that hung about the camp for such morsels. The chiefs were borne to the combat in chariots. They were clad in bronze armor, and fought with bow and spear. A battle was little more than a series of single combats between these warriors. The common freemen followed on foot, without armor or effective weapons, and counted for little except to kill the wounded and strip the slain.

Life and work

The mass of the people were small farmers, though their houses were grouped in villages. Even the kings tilled their farms, in part at least, with their own hands. Odysseus boasts that he can drive the oxen at the plow and "cut a clean furrow"; and when the long days begin he can mow all day with the crooked scythe, "pushing clear until late eventide." There

had appeared a class of miserable landless freemen (perhaps descended from dispossessed Aegean farmers) who hired themselves to farmers. When the ghost of Achilles (the invincible Greek chieftain) wishes to name to Odysseus the most unhappy lot among mortals, he selects that of the hired servant (p. 66). Slaves were few, except about the great chiefs. There they served as household servants and as farm hands; and they seem to have been treated kindly. When Odysseus returned from his twenty years of war and wandering, he made himself known first to a faithful swineherd and to one other slave — and "they threw their arms round wise Odysseus and passionately kissed his face and neck. So likewise did Odysseus kiss their heads and hands."

Artisans and smiths were found among the retainers of the great chiefs. They were highly honored, but their skill was far inferior to that of the Aegean age. Some shields and inlaid weapons of that earlier period had passed into the hands of the Achaeans; and these were always spoken of as the work of Hephaestus, the god of fire and of metal work.

A separate class of traders had not arisen. The chiefs, in the intervals of farm labor, turned to trading voyages now and then, and did not hesitate to increase their profits by *piracy*. It was no offense to ask a stranger whether he came as a pirate or for peaceful trade (*Odyssey*, III, 60–70).

Religion of the clan

The clan religion was a worship of clan ancestors. If provided with pleasing meals at proper times and invoked with magic formulas (so the belief ran), the mighty ghosts of ancient clan elders would continue to aid their children. The clan tomb was the altar. Milk and wine were poured into a hollow in the ground, while the clan elder, the only lawful priest, spoke sacred formulas inviting the dead to eat.

And of the home

In like manner, the families of the clan each came to have its separate *family worship* of ancestors. *The hearth was the family altar.* Near it were grouped the *Penates*, or images of household gods who watched over the family. *The father was the priest.* Before each meal, he poured out on the hearth the *libation*, or food-offering, to the family gods and asked their blessing.

Originally, no doubt, the family tomb was *under* the hearth. (Cf. the Cave Men, p. 3.) This explains *why* the hearth became an altar, and why food offerings to ancestors continued to be made there all through Greek and Roman history.

The Olympian religion

But the religion of which we hear most in Greek literature grew out of a nature worship. The lively fancy of the Greeks personified the forces of nature in the forms and characters of men and women — built in a somewhat more majestic mold than human men. The great gods lived on cloud-capped Mount Olympus, and passed their days in feasting and laughter and other pleasures. When the chief god, Zeus, slept, things sometimes went awry, for other gods plotted against his plans. His wife Hera was exceedingly jealous — for which she had much reason — and the two had many a family wrangle. Some of the gods went down to aid their favorites in war, and were wounded by human weapons. The twelve great Olympian deities were (Latin names in parentheses):

ZEUS

Zeus (Jupiter), the supreme god; god of the sky; "father of gods and men."
Poseidon (Neptune), god of the sea.
Apollo, the sun god; god of wisdom, poetry, prophecy, and medicine.
Ares (Mars), god of war.
Hephaestus (Vulcan), god of fire — the lame smith.
Hermes (Mercury), god of the wind; messenger; god of cunning, of thieves, *and of merchants.*
Hera (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus; queen of the sky.
Athene (Minerva), goddess of wisdom; female counterpart of Apollo.
Artemis (Diana), goddess of the moon, of maidens, and of hunting.
Aphrodite (Venus), goddess of love and beauty.

Demeter (Ceres), the earth goddess — controlling fertility.
Hestia (Vesta), the deity of the home; goddess of the hearth fire.

All the world about was peopled, in Greek imagination, by a multitude of lesser *local gods and demigods* — spirits of spring and wood and river and hill — all of whom, too, were personified as glorious youths or maidens. To give the gods beautiful human forms, rather than the revolting bodies of lower animals and reptiles, was an advance, even though it fell far short of the noble religious ideas of the Hebrews and Persians.

Ideas of a future life

As to the future life the Greeks believed in a place of terrible punishment (*Tartarus*) for a few great offenders *against the gods*, and in an *Elysium* of supreme pleasure for a very few others particularly favored by the gods. But for the mass of men the future life was to be "a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth" — its pleasures and pains both shadowy. Thus Odysseus tells how he met Achilles in the home of the dead:

"And he knew me straightway, *when he had drunk the dark blood* [of a sacrifice to the dead]; yea, and he wept aloud, and shed big tears as he stretched forth his hands in his longing to reach me. But it might not be, *for he had now no steadfast strength nor power at all in moving*, such as was aforetime in his supple limbs. . . . But lo, other spirits of the dead that be departed stood sorrowing, and asked concerning those that were dear to them." And in their talk, Achilles exclaims sorrowfully: "Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Odysseus. *Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another*, even with a lack-land man who had no great livelihood, *than bear sway among all the dead*."

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 33–39. *Additional:* Bury, pp. 69–79. The legends of heroes and demigods, like Hercules, Theseus, and Jason, are retold charmingly for young people by Hawthorne, Gayley, Guerber, and Kingsley.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE TROJAN TO THE PERSIAN WAR

1000–500 B.C.

I. THE DORIANS AND NEW GREEK MIGRATIONS

The Dorian conquest

About 1000 B.C. Greek civilization was checked again, for a hundred years, by invasions from the north. The new barbarians called themselves Dorians. They were probably merely a rear-guard of the Achaean invasion, delayed somewhere in the north for two or three centuries. But in this interval they had come to fight as heavy-armed infantry in close ranks, with long spears projecting from the array of shields. The Achaeans, who fought still in loose Homeric fashion, could not stand against this disciplined onset.

And other migrations

The Dorians settled mainly in the Peloponnesus; and that district (the old center of both Aegean and Achaean glory) lost its leadership in all but war. When civilization took a new start among the Greeks, soon after 900 B.C., it was from new centers, especially in Attica and in Asia Minor.

Ionians in Attica

The peninsula of Attica, guarded on the land side by rugged mountains, was the one part of southern Greece not overrun by the Dorians. The Greeks there had come to call themselves *Ionians*. Many fugitives from the Peloponnesus sought refuge in Attica. But Attica could not support all the newcomers; and, after a brief stay, many passed on across the Aegean, to the coast of Asia Minor. There they established themselves in twelve great cities, of which the most important were *Miletus* and *Ephesus* (map after 52). All the middle district of that coast took the name *Ionia, and looked upon Ionian Athens as a mother-city.* Other Greek tribes soon colonized the rest of the eastern Aegean coast.

Colonization of the coast of Asia Minor

While the Greeks were so dispersing in space, they were

Oneness of feeling among all Hellenes

beginning to grow together in feeling. They remained in wholly separate "states"; but they had come to believe in a kinship with one another, to take pride in their common civilization, and to set themselves apart from the rest of the world. The chief forces which had created this oneness of feeling were (1) *language and literature*, and (2) the *Olympian religion*.

Due to language

1. The Greeks understood one another's dialects, while the men of other speech about them they called "Barbarians," or babblers (*Bar'-bar-oi*). *This likeness of language made it possible for all Greeks to possess the same literature.* The poems of "Homer" were sung and recited in every village for centuries.

And to Religion

2. The religious features that helped especially to bind Greeks together were the *Olympic Games* and the *Delphic Oracle*.

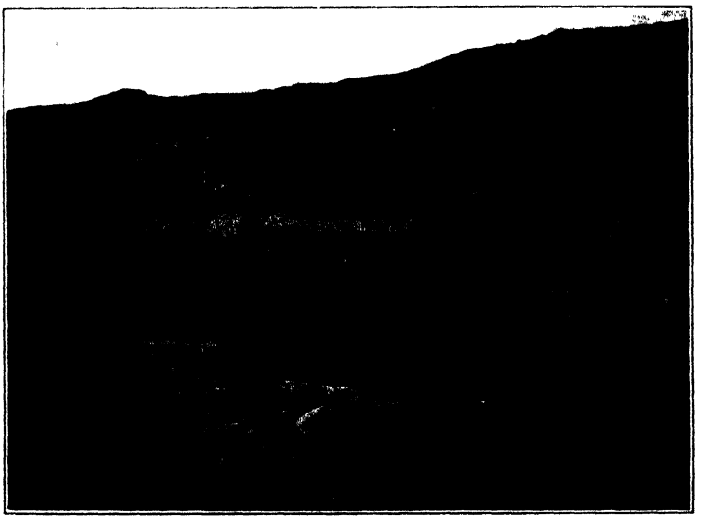
The Olympic games

To some great festivals of the gods, men flocked from all Hellas. This was especially true of the Olympic games. These were celebrated each fourth year at Olympia, in Elis, in honor of Zeus. The contests consisted of foot races, chariot races, wrestling, and boxing. The victors were felt to have won the highest honor open to any Greek. They received merely an olive wreath at Olympia; but at their homes their victories were commemorated by inscriptions and statues. Only Greeks could take part in the contests, and wars between Greek states were commonly suspended during the month of the festival.

To these games came merchants, to secure the best market for rare wares. Heralds proclaimed treaties there — as the best way to make them known through all Hellas. As civilization grew, poets, orators, and artists gathered there; and gradually the intellectual contests and exhibitions became the most important feature of the meeting. The oration or poem or statue which was praised by the crowds at Olympia had received the approval of the most select and intelligent judges that could be brought together anywhere in the world.

The four-year periods between the games were called *Olympiads*. These periods finally became the Greek units in counting time: all events were dated from what was believed to be the first recorded Olympiad, beginning in 776 B.C.

PLATE XVII



ABOVE. — RUINS OF ENTRANCE TO THE STADIUM AT OLYMPIA, passing from the Temple of Zeus.

BELOW. — RUINS OF THE STADIUM AT DELPHI. — The festival there in honor of Apollo was second only to the Olympic Games.

Apollo, the sun god, was also the god of prophecy. His chief temple was at Delphi, far up the slopes of Parnassus, amid wild and rugged scenery. From a fissure in the ground, within the temple, volcanic gases poured forth. A priestess would inhale the gas until she seemed to pass into a trance, and, while in this state, she was supposed to see into the future by the aid of the god. *The advice of this "oracle" was sought by men and by governments throughout all Hellas.*

The Delphic Oracle

II. INDUSTRY, ART, AND SCIENCE

After the overthrow of the Cretan sea-kings and the ruin of the Cretan civilization, about 1500 B.C., Phoenicia for a thousand years was almost the only sea-power of the Mediterranean. Along the Greek coasts and islands her traders bartered with the inhabitants (much as European traders did three centuries ago with American Indians), tempting them to high payments for strange wares — lions and other beasts carved in little ivory ornaments, purple robes, blue-glass bottles, or perhaps merely colored glass trinkets — and counting it best gain of all if they could lure curious maidens aboard their black ships for distant slave markets. In return, they made many an *unintended* payment. Language shows that they gave the Greeks the names, and so no doubt the use, of linen, cinnamon, soap, lyres, cosmetics, and tablets. The forgotten art of writing, too, they introduced again.

Phoenician influence

But the lively Greeks were not slavish imitators. They added vowel letters to the Phoenician signs, and so first *completed* the alphabet. Soon they began to manufacture the Phoenician trade articles for themselves, and finally they became successful rivals in trade.

About 800 B.C. the Greeks entered on a new colonizing movement, which continued two hundred years (800–600 B.C.), and doubled the area of Greek settlement. The cause, this time, was not war. *The new colonies were founded largely for trading stations,* — to capture trade from the Phoenicians, — and at the same time to provide the crowded and discon-

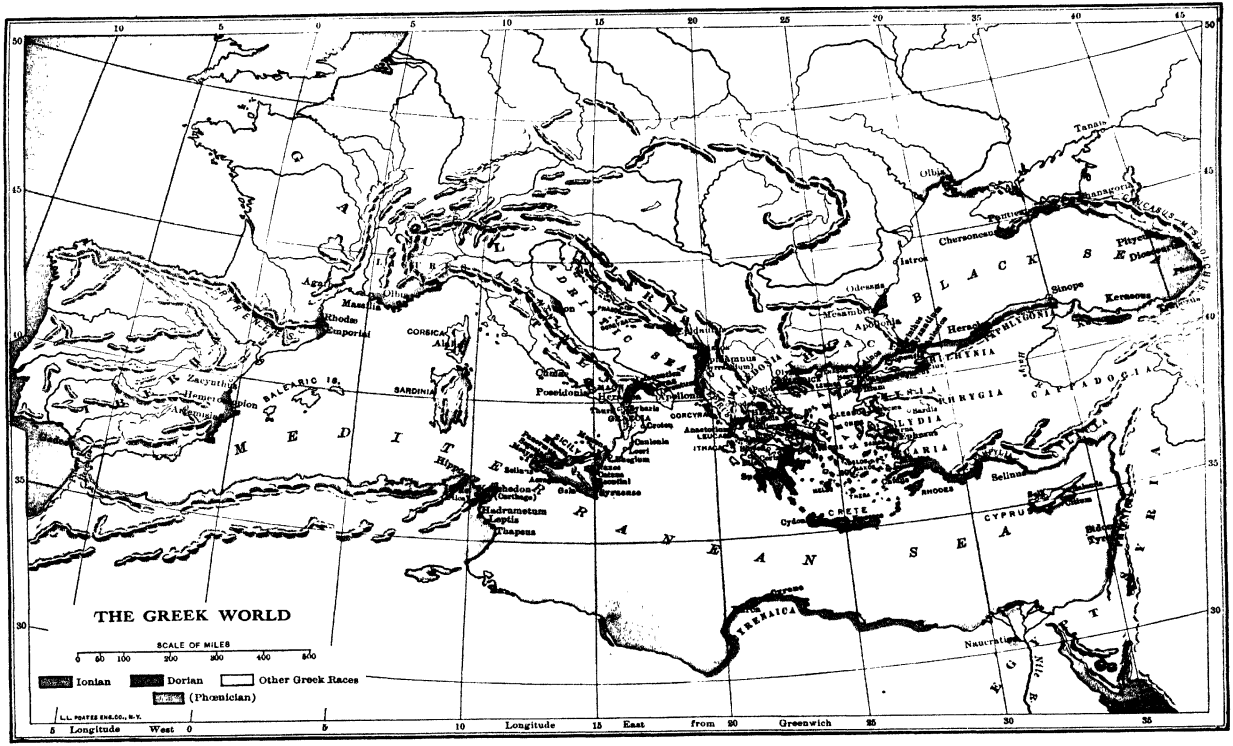
Greek colonies after 800 B.C.

tented farming class with new land. Miletus sent colony after colony to *the north shore of the Black Sea*, to control the corn grain trade there. Sixty Greek towns fringed that sea and its straits. The one city of Chalcis, in Euboea, planted thirty-two colonies *on the Thracian coast*, to secure the gold and silver mines of that region. On the west, *Sicily* became almost wholly Greek, and *southern Italy* took the proud name of *Magna Graecia* (Great Greece). Among the more important of the colonies were *Syracuse* in Sicily, *Tarentum*, *Sybaris*, and *Croton* in Italy, *Corcyra* near the mouth of the Adriatic, *Massilia* (Marseilles) in Gaul, *Olynthus* in Thrace, *Cyrene* in Africa, *Byzantium* at the Black Sea's mouth, and *Naucratis* in Egypt (p. 27). The colonists ceased to be citizens in their old homes. Each new city enjoyed complete independence. It kept a strong *friendship* for its "metropolis" (mother city); but there was no *political* union between them

ATTIC VASE, SIXTH CENTURY B.C., now in Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The figures picture scenes from a battle of gods with giants.

Growth of manufactures

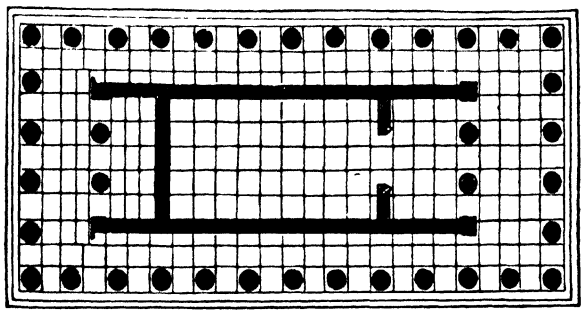
While trade was sowing cities along the distant Mediterranean shores, it also brought an industrial revival in old Greece. The ships that sailed forth from Athens or Corinth or Miletus carried metal work, vases, and textiles, and brought home from the Black Sea regions, amber, fish, grain, and sometimes products of the distant East that had reached the Black Sea by caravan. To keep up a supply for the export trade, the Greek artisans had to produce more and more, and more and more improve their products — as with Phoenicia earlier


THE GREEK WORLD
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Ionian
Dorian
Other Greek Races
(Phœnician)
L.L. POATES ENG.CO., N.Y.
Longitude West from Greenwich East
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
AEGEAN SEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
RHODES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Massilia
Rhodes
Emporiæ
Agathe
Olbia
Panticapæum
Tanais
Chersonesus
Sinope
Kerasus
Amisus
Trapezus
Phasis
Colchis
Heraclea
Byzantium
Abydus
Troas
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Miletus
Ephesus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Lycia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Tarsus
Issus
Phrygia
Lydia
Caria
Mysia
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Cappadocia
Galatia
Pontus
Corcyra
Ithaca
Leucas
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Dyrrhachium
Apollonia
Epidamnus
Corinth
Sparta
Argos
Athens
Thebes
Delphi
Thermopylæ
Olympia
Messana
Rhegium
Croton
Tarentum
Syracuse
Agrigentum
Selinus
Panormus
Carthage
Hadrumetum
Leptis
Thapsus
Utica
Hippo
Cyrene
Barca
Naucratis
Memphis
Alexandria
Pelusium
Tyre
Sidon
Ptolemais
Joppa
Gaza
Rhinocolura
Arabia
Syria
Judæa
Phœnicia
Cyprus
Crete
Sicily
Italy
Africa
Spain
Gaul
Illyria
Macedonia
Thessaly
Epirus
Thrace
Scythia
Sarmatia
Asia
Europe
Libya
Egypt
Nile R.

In Athens one large section of the city was given wholly to great factories in which beautiful pottery was made (see "Ceramicus" in the plan of Athens, p. 101); and vases of this period, *signed* by artists in these factories, are unearthed to-day all the way from central Asia Minor to northern Italy.

Vase-paintings and what they teach

Oriental vase-painting had delighted in forms half-human, half-beast, as Oriental sculpture did. But Greeks now dropped all unnatural features from their art — first of all peoples — and found increasing satisfaction in depicting the beauty of the human body, with or without draperies. The artist first colored the vase black, and then painted his designs in red on



GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS (p. 79).

that background. He began, too, to see how to draw figures in perspective, and a growing interest in everyday life is shown by an increasing proportion of scenes from the work and play of common men. (See cuts, pp. 97, 115, 124, etc.)

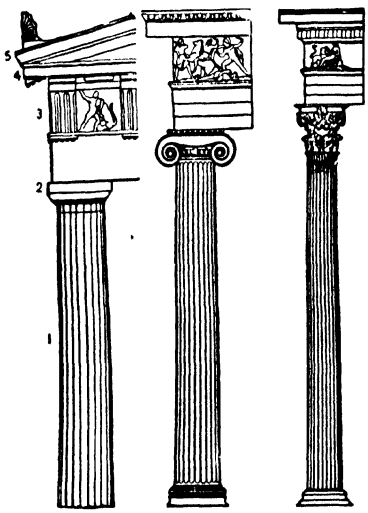
Architecture

About 600, architecture made marked advance, and began to show a character distinct from that of Egyptian architecture — on which it was founded. Its chief use was in building temples for the gods, rather than in palaces as in the Cretan age. In every Greek city, through the rest of Greek history, the temples were the most beautiful and most noticeable structures.

The plan of the Greek temple was very simple. People did not gather within the building for service, as in our churches,

nor did troops of priests live there, as in Oriental temples. The inclosed part of the building, therefore, was small and rather dark, — containing only one or two rooms, for the statues of the god and the altar and the safe-keeping of the offerings. It was merely the god's house, where people could bring him offerings when they wished to ask favors.

The temple was rectangular. The roof projected beyond the inclosed part of the building, and was supported not by walls, but by a row of columns running around the four sides. The gables (*pediments*) in front and rear were low, and were filled with *relief statuary*, as was also the *frieze*, between the cornice and the columns. Sometimes there was a second frieze upon the walls of the building inside the colonnade. The building took much of its beauty from its colonnades. The hint was taken from Egypt; but the Greeks far surpassed all previous builders in the use of the column and in shaping the column itself. *The chief differences in the styles of architecture were marked by the columns and their capitals.* According to differences in these features, a building is said to belong to the *Doric* or *Ionic* "order." Later there was developed a *Corinthian* order. (See cuts herewith, and on pp. 75, 79, 218, and Plates XXII, XXVII.)



DORIC COLUMN | IONIC ORDER | CORINTHIAN ORDER

1, shaft; 2, capital; 3, frieze; 4, cornice; 5, part of roof, showing low slope.

Poetry

In poetry there was more progress even than in architecture. The earliest Greek poetry had been made up of *ballads*, celebrating wars and heroes. These ballads were stories in verse,

sung by wandering minstrels. The greatest of such compositions rose to *epic poetry*, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the noblest examples. Their period is called the *Epic Age*.

In the seventh and sixth centuries, most poetry consisted of odes and songs *in a great variety of meters*. Love and pleasure are the favorite themes, and the poems describe the *feelings of the writer* rather than the deeds of some one else. These poems were intended to be *sung* to the accompaniment of the lyre (a sort of harp). They are therefore called *lyrics;* and the seventh and sixth centuries are known as the *Lyric Age*.

Pindar, the greatest of many great lyric poets, came from Boeotia. He delighted especially to celebrate the rushing chariots and glorious athletes of the Olympic games. *Sappho*, of Lesbos, wrote exquisite love songs, of which a few fragments survive. The ancients were wont to call her "the poetess," just as they referred to Homer as "the poet."

Two other poets of this age represent another kind of poetry. One was *Thespis*, at Athens, who wrote the first *plays*. The other, *Hesiod* of Boeotia (about 800 B.C.), wove together into a long poem old stories of the creation and of the birth and relationship of the gods (the *Theogony*), and wrote also remarkable home-like poems on farm life (*Works and Days*) which made a sort of textbook on agriculture (Davis' *Readings*). Hesiod was himself a hard-toiling farmer, and his pictures of the dreary life of a Greek peasant help us to understand the colonizing movement of his time.

Philosophy

In Ionia, in the sixth century B.C., men first began fearlessly to try to explain the origin of the universe. *Thales*, of Miletus, taught that all things came from water: that is, from the condensation of an original all-pervading moisture. One of his disciples affirmed that the world had evolved from a fiery ether. Another taught that the higher animal forms had developed from lower forms. These explanations were merely daring guesses; but the great thing is that men should have begun to think about *natural* causes at all, in place of the old, supposed *super*natural causes, for all that happens. Thales

argued that the movements of sun and stars were determined, not by the whims of gods who dwelt in them, as people thought, but by *fixed natural law;* and he proved his argument by predicting an eclipse of the sun — which came off as he had foretold. (He had visited Egypt; and some writers *guess* that he had had access to the astronomical observations of the Babylonians. He foretold *about the time* of the eclipse, not the exact hour or minute.)

In Magna Graecia, *Pythagoras* sought the explanation of the universe, not in any kind of matter, but in *Number*, or *Harmony*. This, he said, was the principle that had brought order out of primeval chaos. His disciples, naturally, paid much attention to mathematics; and to Pythagoras himself is ascribed the famous demonstration in geometry that the square on the longest side of the right-triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the two other sides. The Pythagoreans, too, especially connected "philosophy" (the name for their study of the beginnings of things) with *human conduct*. The harmony in the outer world, they urged, should be matched by harmony in the soul of man.

III. THE "PEOPLE" RULE AT ATHENS

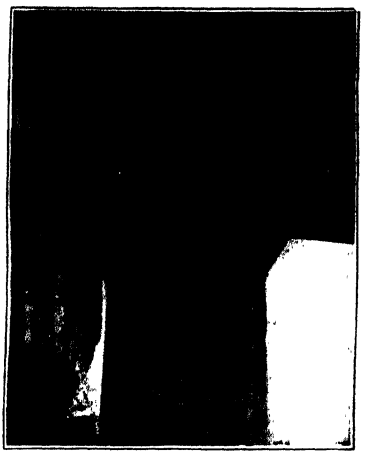
The kings go

Between 1000 and 500 B.C., the "kings" disappeared from all Greek cities except Sparta and Argos — and there they kept little but their dignity. Everywhere the nobles had been growing in wealth, through their control of all commerce. As the only capitalists, they loaned money to the ordinary farmers — on exorbitant interest, as high as twenty per cent a year — and took farm after farm on mortgage foreclosure, perhaps enslaving also the farmers and their families. Not content with so oppressing the masses below them, they used their increased power to divide among themselves, step by step, the old royal authority. *The Homeric monarchies became oligarchies* (p. 62, note).

Class Struggles

The next step was the rise of tyrants. In all Greek cities there had come to be a sharp division between classes. The wealthy nobles called themselves "the few" or "the good";

and the class below them they called "the many" or "the bad." "The many" clamored and complained; but they were too ignorant and disunited as yet to defend themselves against the better-united "few" — *until the way was made easier for them by the "tyrants."*



A Doric Capital. — From a photograph of a detail of the Parthenon (p. 107).

The tyrants

Usually a tyrant was some noble, who, either from selfish ambition or from sympathy with the oppressed masses, turned against his own order to become a champion of the despised "many." When he had made himself master of the city by their aid, he tried to keep his power by surrounding himself with mercenaries and by ruining the nobles with taxes or even by exiling or murdering them.

A step toward democracy

As the Greeks used the word, "tyrant" does not necessarily mean a bad or cruel ruler: it means merely a man who *seized* supreme rule *by force*. Many tyrants were generous, far-sighted rulers, building useful public works, helping to develop trade, encouraging art and literature. But some, of course, were selfish and vicious; and *all arbitrary rule* was hateful to the Greeks, — so that the oligarchs could usually persuade the people that the murder of a tyrant was a good deed. Tyrants became common about 700 B.C. By 500, they had gone from every city in the Greek peninsula, though some were found still in outlying districts. When the tyrants were overthrown, the nobles had been so weakened that the people had a better chance. In the Ionian parts of Greece, the next step was commonly a democracy.

Now we will trace this change from "the rule of one" to "the rule of many" in Athens.

Kingship gives way to oligarchy

The heads of the "noble" families (the "well-born") were in the habit of meeting in council on the hill called the Areopagus (the hill of Ares, god of war). Very early this *Council of the Areopagus* began to choose "*archons*" ("rulers") *from its own number* to take over the command in war and other important parts of the royal power. Gradually the "king" became only the city-priest.

The oligarchs hold the land and enslave the poor

By mortgages, by purchase perhaps, by fraud and force sometimes, the "well-born" had come also to own nearly all the land of Attica. Most of it was tilled for them by tenants who had lost their own farms on mortgages and who now *paid five sixths their crops for rent.* A bad season, or ravages by hostile bands of invaders, would force these tenants to mortgage *themselves*, since they had no more land to mortgage, in order to get food and seed. Interest was crushing, — eighteen or twenty per cent a year. If the debtors failed to pay, the noble who held the mortgage could drag them off in chains and sell them for slaves. Nor did the common tribesman have any part in the *government.* Even the Assembly had shrunk into a gathering of noble families to decide upon peace and war and to choose archons. "*The poor,*" says Aristotle (a later Greek writer, in an account of this period), "were the very bondmen of the rich. . . . They *were discontented with every feature of their lot* . . . for . . . they had no share in anything."

Attempts at tyranny lead to concessions

This discontent of the masses, and the quarrels among factions of the nobles, gave opportunity to ambitious adventurers; and (625 B.C.) one young noble seized the citadel of Athens with a band of troops, in order to make himself tyrant. The nobles rallied and crushed this attempt; but the peril induced them to make two concessions to the poorer masses: (1) They admitted to the Assembly all men who would buy their own heavy armor for war, and (2) they gave the people written laws.

Written laws

Athenian law had been a matter of *ancient custom.* It was not written down, and much of it was known only to the nobles. All judges (archons) were nobles; and they often abused their

power in order to favor their own class in law suits. The people had long clamored for *written* laws. The nobles had stubbornly resisted this demand, but now they gave way. In 621 B.C. *Draco*, one of the archons, engraved the old laws of Athens on wooden blocks and set them up where all might see them.

Rise of Solon to leadership

The result was to make men feel how harsh the old laws were. The "laws of Draco," it was said in later times, were "*written in blood rather than ink.*" *The Athenians now demanded new laws;* and the renewed class struggles, together with the incompetent rule of the nobles, brought the city to the verge of ruin in war with Little Megara. From this peril the city was finally saved by the courage and generalship of a certain Solon (one of the nobles, already famous as a philosopher and poet); and this brilliant success pointed to Solon as the possible savior of Athens from her *internal* perils. He was known to sympathize with the poor. In his poems he had long blamed the greed of the nobles and had pleaded for reconciliation between the warring classes. The Assembly now made him "sole Archon," *with supreme authority to remodel the government and the laws.*

Sole Archon (dictator)

Economic reforms

Solon used this extraordinary power first to reform *economic* evils.[1] (1) He gave to all tenants the full ownership of the lands which they had been renting from the nobles (and which in most cases they or their fathers had lost earlier through debt); and *he forbade the ownership in future of more than a moderate amount of land by any one man.* (2) He freed all Athenians who were in slavery in Attica, and forbade the enslaving of any Athenian tribesman in future. (3) He canceled all debts, so as to give distracted Athens a fresh start; but he resisted a wild clamor for the division of all property. In later times, the people celebrated these acts by a yearly "Festival of the Shaking-off of Burdens."

These reforms, it was soon seen, went deeper than merely to matters of property. (1) So many of the nobles lost their commanding wealth that before long they ceased to be a distinct class. Later distinctions in Athenian society were mainly

[1] *Economic* means "relating to property"; it must not be confused with "economical."

between rich and poor. (2) Many of the old tenant farmers could afford to buy heavy armor (p. 76), and so could come also into the Assembly on a level with its old members.

Direct political reforms

And, besides these indirect political changes, Solon next reformed the government *directly*. (1) He created a Senate (chosen by lot, so that wealth should not control election) to replace the Areopagus as the *guiding* part of the government. This body was to recommend measures to the Assembly.

(2) He admitted to the Assembly *all* tribesmen, even the light-armed soldiers — though these last were not yet allowed to *hold* any offices. This enlarged Assembly, besides accepting or rejecting proposals of the new Council, could now *discuss* them; and besides *electing* archons, *it could try them* and punish them for misgovernment. (3) The Areopagus was henceforth to consist of ex-archons, and became merely a sort of law court.

Other reforms

Solon also made it the duty of every father to teach his sons a trade; limited the wasteful extravagance at funerals — especially the amount of wealth that might be buried with the dead; and replaced Draco's bloody laws by milder punishments for offenses. In one thing he intensified an unhappy tendency of his age: he forbade women to appear in public gatherings.

Solon abdicates

To establish all these changes kept Solon busy through the years 594 and 593 B.C. Then, to the surprise of many, he resigned his power. He had really been an "elected tyrant," or a "dictator." His acts were so popular with the great mass of the people that he might easily have made himself tyrant for life. *But for the first time in history, a man holding vast power voluntarily laid it down in order that the people might govern themselves.*

A true democrat

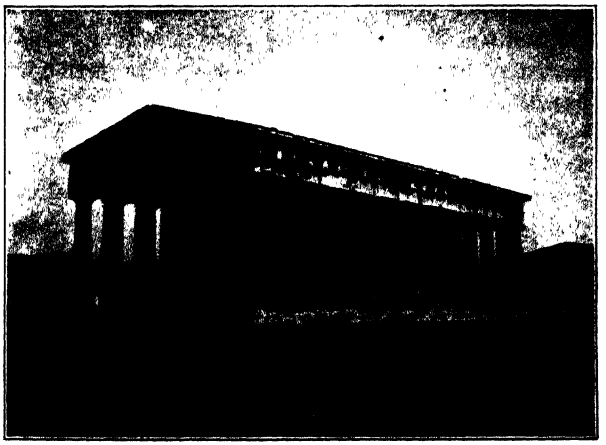
Plain, Shore, and Mountain

But now a new strife of factions followed between *the Plain* (the larger land-owners), *the Shore* (merchants), and *the Mountain* (small farmers and shepherds) — until, 30 years later, Pisistratus, a near kinsman of Solon, made himself tyrant. His rule was mild and wise. He lived simply, like other citizens. He even appeared in a law court, to answer in a suit against him. And he always treated the aged Solon with deep respect,

Pisistratus, tyrant, 560 B.C.

despite the latter's steady opposition. Indeed, *Pisistratus governed through the forms of Solon's constitution,*[1] and enforced Solon's laws, *taking care only to have his own friends elected to the chief offices.* He was more like the "boss" of a great political "machine" than like a "tyrant."

Pisistratus encouraged commerce. Indeed he laid the basis for Athens' later trade leadership by seizing for her the mouth



TEMPLE OF THESEUS (so-called) AT ATHENS, now believed to have been built about 440 B. C. as a temple to Athene. During the Middle Ages it was used as a Christian church; hence its perfect preservation. See page 71 and Plate XX.

to the Black Sea. He also enlarged and beautified Athens; improved the roads, and built an aqueduct to bring a supply of water to the city from the hills; and he drew to his court a brilliant circle of poets, painters, architects, and sculptors, from all Hellas. The first written edition of the Homeric poems is said to have been put together under his encouragement, and *Thespis* (p. 73) began Greek tragedy at the magnificent festivals now instituted to Dionysus (god of wine).

[1] *Constitution*, here and everywhere in early history, means not a written document, as with us, but the general usages of government in practice.

Hippias and Hipparchus

In 527, Pisistratus was succeeded by his unworthy sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Hipparchus was soon murdered, and later Hippias was driven out by a revolt led by Clisthenes, a noble whom he had exiled.

Clisthenes expels the tyrant

"The Athenians," says Aristotle, "now showed that men will fight more bravely for themselves than for a master." The Euboeans and Thebans seized this moment of confusion to invade Attica from two sides at once; but the Athenians routed them in a double battle, pursued into Euboea, stormed Chalcis there, and took for themselves its trade with Thrace (p. 70). Athens now began a new kind of colonization, sending four thousand citizens to possess the best land of Chalcis, and to serve as a garrison there. *These men retained full Athenian citizenship,* besides having full control over their own settlements in their own Assemblies. They were known as *cleruchs,* or out-settlers. In this way Athens found land for her surplus population, and fortified her influence abroad.

Cleruchs: a new kind of colony

Internal quarrels due to two evils

Internal jealousies still weakened the city (1) between Plain, Shore, and Mountain, and (2) between the citizens and a large body of resident "aliens," drawn to Athens since Solon's time by the growing trade of the city. These aliens were enterprising and sometimes wealthy; still, though they lived in the city, *they had no share in it. No alien could vote or hold office, or sue in a law court* (except through the favor of some citizen), *or take part in a religious festival, or marry an Athenian, or even own land in Attica.* The city usually found it worth while to protect his property, in order to attract other strangers; but he had no *secure* rights. *Nor could his son or any later descendant acquire any rights merely by continuing to live in Athens.*

Reforms of Clisthenes

Clisthenes now came forward with proposals to remedy these evils. The Assembly approved his plan and gave him authority to carry it out. Accordingly, he marked off Attica into a hundred little divisions called *demes.* Each citizen was enrolled in one of these, and his son after him. *Membership in a clan* had always been the proof of citizenship. Now that proof was to be found in this *deme-enrollment.* Even the

cleruchs (p. 80), *and their descendants*, kept their deme-enrollment, and, through that, their Athenian citizenship.

The hundred demes were distributed among ten "tribes," or wards, so placed that men of the Shore and of the Mountain often found themselves in the same "tribe." The Assembly now voted by these "territorial" tribes, and so the old factions died out. Moreover, while Clisthenes was distributing citizens among these new geographical units, *he seized the chance to enroll the non-citizens also in the demes* and so brought them into the citizen body. (This applied only to *those aliens then in Athens.* In a few years another alien class grew up, with all the old disadvantages. It was to be a long time before the world was to learn our device of easy "naturalization.")

A new democratic advance

Clisthenes also gave the Assembly more power. It now elected *ten "generals"* yearly, who took over most of the old authority of the archons; and *it was made lawful for any voter to introduce new business. The "light-armed" citizens were still not eligible to office.* Otherwise, Athens had become a democracy. Like Solon, Clisthenes might easily have made himself tyrant. But, with splendid faith, he chose to work, as Solon had done, to found government by the people. Clisthenes added also one more device to check faction. This was *ostracism.* Once a year the Assembly was given a chance to vote by ballot (on pieces of pottery, "ostraka"), each one against any man whom he deemed dangerous to the state. If six thousand citizens took part in the vote, then that man *against whom the largest number of the six thousand votes were cast* had to go into exile. Even after all danger of a tyrant had ceased, ostracism was a convenient way for the people to relieve a leader whom they trusted from troublesome rivals or opponents. Such exile was felt to be perfectly honorable; and when a man came back from it, he took at once his old place in the public regard.

Ostracism

IV. THE GROWTH OF MILITARY POWER AT SPARTA

One of the petty Dorian states in the Peloponnesus was Sparta. It had no sea coast; but their devotion to war and certain habits of life (ascribed by legend to a great lawgiver *Lycurgus*)

opened to the Spartans a career of conquest. By 700 B.C. they were masters of all Laconia; soon after, they subdued Messenia; and then they brought all the rest of the Peloponnesus — except hostile Argos — into a military league of which they were the head (the *Peloponnesian League*).

Kings, Senate, Assembly

In Sparta the royal power was divided between *two* kings (the Spartan story explained this arrangement as due to the birth of twin princes), and real authority rested in the *Senate* of thirty elders. *An Assembly*, much like that of Homeric times, accepted or rejected proposals laid before it by the Senate, but could not amend or discuss them. Practically, Sparta was an oligarchy.

Spartans and their subjects

Moreover, as a whole, the Spartans were a ruling class in the midst of subjects eight or ten times their number. *They were a camp* of some 9000 conquerors, with their families, living under arms in their unwalled city. They had taken for themselves the most fertile lands in Laconia; but *they did no work*. Each Spartan's land was tilled for him by slaves, called *Helots*.

These Helots were the descendants of the *country*-dwellers at the time of the Spartan conquest. They numbered perhaps five to one Spartan; and occasionally the Spartans carried out secret massacres of the more ambitious and intelligent among them.

The inhabitants of the hundred small towns of Laconia were not slaves, but neither were they part of the Spartan state They tilled lands of their own, and carried on whatever other industry was found in Laconia. They kept their own customs, and managed the *local* affairs of their own towns — under the supervision of Spartan rulers; and they provided troops for Sparta's army.

Spartan discipline

Spartan mastery rested on a sleepless vigilance and on a rigid and brutal discipline. The aim of Sparta was to train soldiers. *The family, as well as the man, belonged absolutely to the state.* Officers examined each child, at its birth, to decide whether it was fit to live. If it seemed weak or puny, it was exposed in the mountains to die. If it was strong and healthy, it was returned to its parents for a few years. But after a boy

reached the age of seven, he never again slept under his mother's roof: he was taken from home, to be trained with other boys under public officers.

Boys were taught reading and a little martial music, and were given training to strengthen the body and to develop self-control and obedience. On certain festival days, boys were whipped at the altars to test their endurance; and Plutarch (a Greek writer of the second century A.D.) states that often they died under the lash rather than utter a cry. (This custom was much like the savage "sun-dance" of some American Indian tribes. Several other features of Spartan life seem to have been survivals of a barbarous period that the Spartans never wholly outgrew.)

From twenty to thirty, the youth lived under arms in barracks. Years of constant military drill made it easy for the Spartans to adopt more complex tactics than were possible for their neighbors. They were trained in small regiments and companies, so as to maneuver readily at the word of command. This made them superior in the field. They stood to the other Greeks as disciplined soldiery always stands to untrained militia. At thirty the man was required to marry, in order to rear more soldiers; but he must still eat in barracks, and live there most of the time.

The good and evil

There was a kind of virtue, no doubt, in this training. The Spartans had the quiet dignity of born rulers. In contrast with the noisy Greeks about them, their speech was brief and pithy ("laconic" speech). They used only iron money. And their plain living made them appear superior to the weak indulgences of other men. Spartan women, too, kept a freedom which unhappily was lost in other Greek cities. Girls were trained in gymnastics, much as boys were; and the women were famous for beauty and health, and for public spirit and patriotism.

Still, the value of the Spartans to the world lay in the fact that *they made a garrison for the rest of Greece*, and helped save something better than themselves. *If the Greeks had all been Spartans, we could afford to omit the study of Greek history.*

V. GEOGRAPHY AND ITS INFLUENCE

(Map study, based on maps after pp. 52 and 70)

Note the three great divisions: *Northern Greece* (Epirus and Thessaly); *Central Greece* (a group of eleven districts, to the Isthmus of Corinth); and the *Peloponnesus* (the southern peninsula). Name the districts from Phocis south, and the chief cities in each. Which districts have no coast? Locate Delphi, Thermopylae, Tempe, Parnassus, Olympus, Olympia, Salamis, Ithaca, eight islands, three cities on the Asiatic side. *Keep in mind that the islands shown are only a few of the many score that dot the Aegean. (The index usually tells on what map a geographical name can be found.)*

"Hellas" and "Hellenes"

The Greeks called themselves *Hellenes* (as they do still). Hellas meant not European Greece alone, but *all the lands of the Hellenes*. Still, the European peninsula remained the heart of Hellas. Omitting Epirus and Thessaly (which had little to do with Greek history), the area of that European Greece is less than a fourth of that of New York.

Many small divisions

The islands and the patches of Greek settlements on distant coasts made *many distinct geographical divisions*. Even little Greece counted more than twenty such units, each shut off from the others by its strip of sea and its mountain walls. Some of these divisions were about as large as an American township, and the large ones (except Thessaly and Epirus) were only seven or eight times that size.

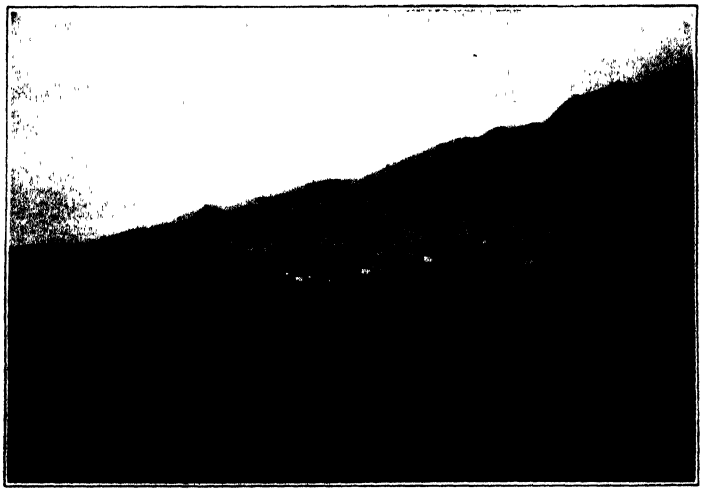
A varied civilization

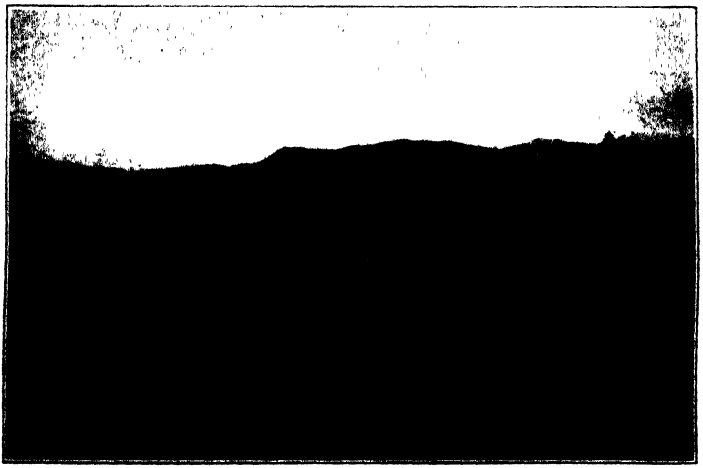
The little states which grew up in these divisions differed widely from one another. Some became monarchies; some, oligarchies; some, democracies. In some, the chief industry became trade; in others, agriculture. In some, the people were slow and conservative; in others, enterprising and progressive. Oriental states were marked by great *uniformity;* Greek civilization was marked by a wholesome *diversity.*

Intercourse by the sea

Mountain people, living apart, are usually rude and conservative; but *from such tendencies Hellas was saved by the sea* — which brought Athens as closely into touch with Miletus (in Asia) as with Sparta or Olympia. The very heart of Greece is broken into islands and promontories, so that it is hard to find a spot thirty miles distant from the sea. Sailors and traders come in

PLATE XVIII

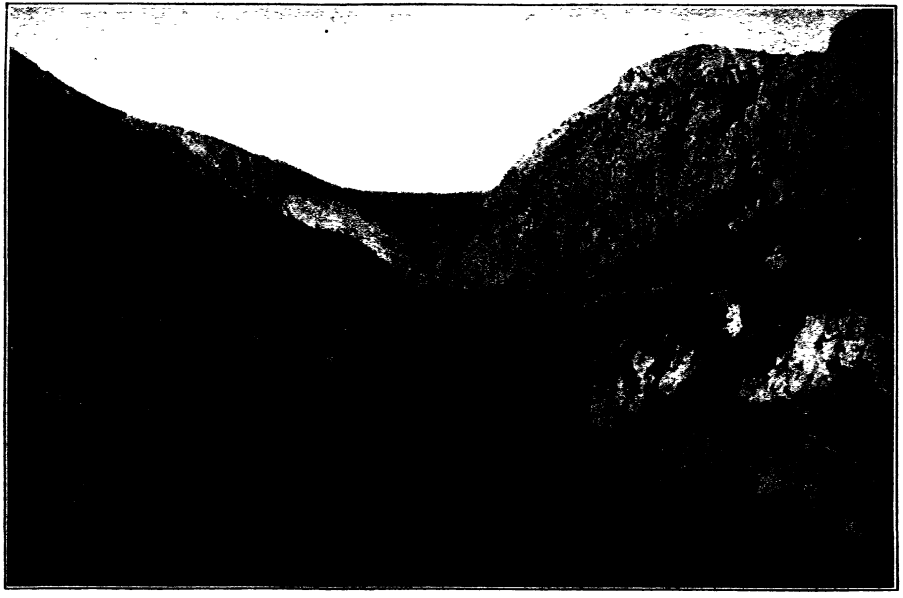




ABOVE. — MODERN SPARTA from the north. In the background is seen the southern slope of Mt. Taygetus, through whose perilous passes Spartan armies marched to conquer their western neighbors, the Messenians.

BELOW. — THE PLAIN OF THE EUROTAS, the site of ancient Sparta. The Spartans had no city walls and no important buildings, and so left little in the way of lasting relics of their life.

PLATE XIX



VALE OF TEMPE, IN THESSALY

touch constantly with new manners and new ideas, and they are more likely to make progress than a purely agricultural people. Exchanging commodities, they are ready to exchange ideas also. The *seafaring* Hellenes were "always seeking some new thing."

"Always seeking some new thing"

These early seekers *found "new things" within easy reach.* This "most European of all European lands" lay nearest of all Europe to the old civilizations of Asia and Egypt. Moreover, it *faced this civilized East* rather than the barbarous West. On the other side, toward Italy, the coast of Greece is cliff or marsh, with only three or four good harbors. On the east, however, the whole line is broken by deep bays, from whose mouths chains of inviting islands lead on and on. In clear weather, the mariner may cross the Aegean without losing sight of land.

Vicinity of older civilizations in the East

Very important, too, was *the appearance of the landscape.* A great Oriental state spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. But, except in Thessaly, Greece contained no plains of consequence. It was a land of intermingled sea and mountain, *with everything upon a moderate scale.* There were no mountains so astounding as to awe the mind. There were no destructive earthquakes, or tremendous storms, or overwhelming floods. Oriental man had bowed in superstitious dread before the mysteries of nature, with little attempt to explain them. But in Greece, nature was not terrible; and men began early to search into her secrets. *Oriental submission to tradition and custom was replaced by fearless inquiry and originality.* In government, Oriental *despotism* gave way to Greek *freedom.* Greece had no parallel to the slavish Babylonian or Persian submissiveness before their kings, or to the Egyptian's before his priests.

Influence of physical geography

No doubt, too, the moderation and variety of the world about them had a part in producing the many-sided genius of the people and their lively but well-controlled imagination. And the varied beauty of hill and dale and blue, sunlit sea, the wonderfully clear, exhilarating air, and the soft splendor of the radiant sky helped to give them deep joy in mere living.

Above all other peoples, they developed *a love for harmony and proportion*. Moderation became their ideal virtue, and they used the same word for *good* and *beautiful*.

A temperate climate

Like most of Europe, Greece has a more temperate climate than the semi-tropical river valleys of Asia, and *food crops demand more cultivation*. This called for greater exertion upon the part of man. The beginnings of civilization were slower in Europe; but man was finally to count for more there than in Asia.

Protected from Asiatic conquest by the Mediterranean

Finally, Greece was saved from Asiatic conquest largely by its position behind the broad moat of the Mediterranean. Persia subdued the Asiatic Greeks almost without a blow: against the European Greeks, we shall see, her supreme efforts failed.

A civilization like our own

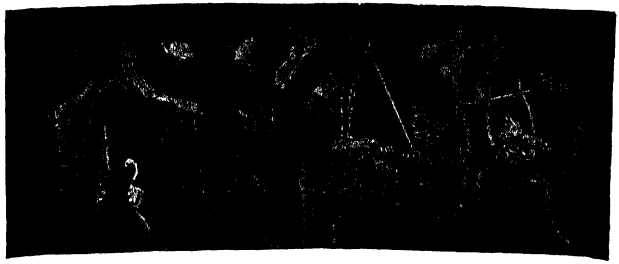
Most important of all, Greek civilization was essentially one with our own. The remains of Egyptian or Babylonian sculpture and architecture arouse our admiration and interest as curiosities; but they are foreign to us. With a Greek temple or a Greek poem we feel at home. *It might have been built, or written, by an American.* Some of our most beautiful buildings are copied from Greek models. Our historians venerate the Greek Herodotus and Thucydides as their masters. Our children delight in the stories that the blind Homer chanted, and older students still find his poems a necessary part of literary culture.

EXERCISE. — Make a table — in two parallel columns — of leading dates, approximate or fixed, in Oriental and in Greek history, down to 500 B.C., when the two streams join. Can you justify the phrase "*Most* European of European lands" for Greece, by pointing out two or more respects in which important European characteristics are emphasized in Greek geography? Name two features of Greek geography favorable to any *early* civilization — as compared with Spain or France. Distinguish between *Sparta* and *Laconia*. Have you any buildings in your city in which Greek columns are used? Of which order, in each case? *Before* the Greeks, the Persians built great roads; so did the Romans *afterwards;* you will hear no mention of roadbuilding among the Greeks. Why? Find in the library two or three stories about Solon. The *Iliad* opens with a story of a pestilence in the Greek camp; the poet ascribes it to the arrows of the sun-god Apollo. Can

you find an explanation for such a pestilence in this text? Explain the following terms: constitution; Helot; tyrant; Lycurgus; Clisthenes; Areopagus; archon; deme; clan; tribe; a "tribe of Clisthenes."

(To *explain a term* is to make such statements concerning it as will at least prevent the term being confused with any other. Thus, if the term is *Solon*, it will not do to say, "A Greek lawgiver," or "A lawgiver of the sixth century B.C." The answer *must* at least say, "An *Athenian* lawgiver of about 600 B.C."; and it *ought* to say, "An Athenian lawgiver *and democratic reformer* of about 600 B.C.")

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, I, 40 ff. (especially Nos. 41–43 on the Delphic Oracle; 44, on Olympic Games — and see also Dr. Davis' novel, *A Victor of Salamis*; 46, on founding a colony; and the extracts from Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*). For modern authorities, Bury, 86–106, 116–117, 159–161, and especially 180–189 (on Solon); or Kimball-Bury's *Students' Greece*, chs. ii–iii.



SCROLL FROM AN ATTIC VASE PAINTING

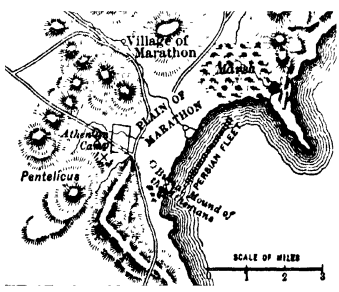
CHAPTER IX

GREEKS AND PERSIANS

East and West join battle

We have seen how the Persians stretched their rule swiftly over the territory of all preceding empires, besides adding vast regions before unknown. By 500 B.C. they had advanced even into Europe across Thrace (map after p. 52) to the borders of Greece. The mighty world-empire next advanced confidently to add to its dominions the scattered groups of Greek cities, coveted for their ships and their trade. East and West joined battle.

Asiatic Hellas, lacking the protection of a sea-moat, had been conquered by Cyrus the Persian some fifty years before, and now Carthage (a Phoenician colony on the north coast of Africa) was incited by Persia to attack Magna Graecia; so that to oppose the master of the world there was left only the little peninsula we call Greece — and its strength was being wasted in internal struggles, Athens at war with Aegina and Thebes, Sparta with Argos, and many other cities torn by class strife.



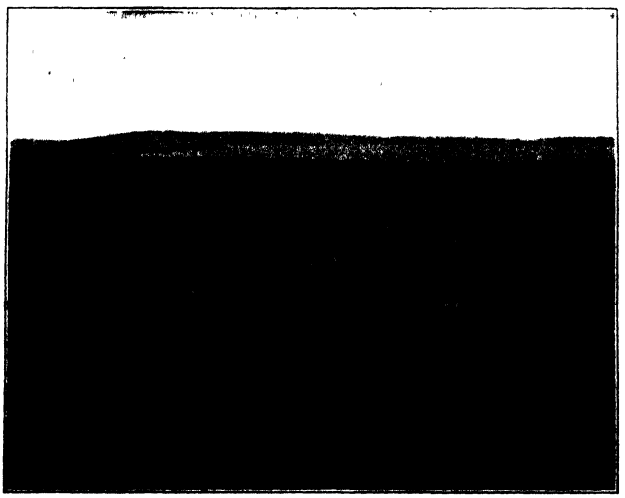
PLAN OF MARATHON. Cf. map, p. 94.

By 492, Darius the Persian had collected a mighty army at the Hellespont, with a fleet to sail along the coast carrying

supplies. This fleet was wrecked by a storm at the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, and the land army had no choice but to return to Asia. But in the spring of 490 a second expedition was embarked upon a new majestic fleet, which proceeded directly across the Aegean. Receiving the submission of the islands on its course, this expedition reached Euboea, destroyed the city of Eretria there, and then landed its troops on the plain

First Persian expedition, 492 B.C., Mt. Athos

Second expedition, 490 B.C., Marathon



MARATHON TO-DAY. — From a photograph. The camera stood a little above the Athenian camp in the Plan on the opposite page. That camp was in the first open space in the foreground, where the poplar trees are scattered. The land beyond the strip of water is the narrow peninsula running out from the "Marsh" in the Plan.

of Marathon in Attica — especially to punish Athens, which had dared assist Ionian Greeks in a vain rebellion.

From the rising ground where the hills of Mount Pentelicus meet the plain, ten thousand Athenians faced the Persian host. Sparta had promised help; and at the first news of Persian approach, a swift runner (Phidippides) had raced the 150 miles of rugged hill country to implore haste. He reached Sparta on the second day; but the dilatory Spartans waited a week, on the ground that an old law forbade them to set out on a military

expedition before the full moon. Athens was left to save herself — and our Western world — as best she could, against many times her numbers of the most famous soldiery of the world.

Generalship of Miltiades

Miltiades, the Athenian commander, did not wait to be attacked, but himself took the offensive, moving his forces down the slope toward the Persian array. While yet an arrow's flight distant, the advancing Greeks broke into a run, so as to cover the rest of the ground before the Persian archers could get in their deadly work. Once at close quarters, the heavy weapons of the Greeks gave them overwhelming advantage. Their dense array, charging with long, outstretched spears, by its sheer weight broke the light-armed Persian lines. The Persians fought gallantly, as always; but their darts and light scimitars made little impression upon the heavy bronze armor of the Greeks, while their linen tunics and wicker shields offered little defense against the thrust of the Greek spear. For a time, Persian numbers did force back the Greek center; but the two Greek wings (where Miltiades had massed his strength), having routed the forces in front of them, wheeled upon the Persian center, crushing both flanks at the same moment, and drove it in disorder to the ships. The Persians sailed away on a course that *might* lead to Athens, and so Miltiades hurried off

Athens saved

Phidippides to announce the victory to the city. Already exhausted by the battle, the runner put forth supreme effort, raced the twenty-two miles of mountain road, shouted exultantly to the eager, anxious crowds in the city street, — "Ours the victory!" — and fell dead. (This famous run from the battlefield to the city is the basis of the modern "Marathon" race, in which champion athletes of all countries compete. The student will like to read Browning's poem, *Phidippides*.)

The meaning of Marathon

Meanwhile Miltiades was hurrying his wearied army, without rest, over the same road. Fortunately, the Persian fleet had to sail around a long promontory (map after p. 52), and when it appeared off Athens, the next morning, Miltiades had arrived. The Persians did not care to face again the men of Marathon, and the same day they set sail for Asia.

Merely as a military event Marathon is an unimportant skir-

mish; but, in its results upon human welfare, it is among the few really "decisive" battles of the world. Whether Egyptian conquered Babylonian, or Babylonian conquered Egyptian, mattered little in the long run. But it did matter whether or not the huge, despotic *East* should crush the new free life out of the *West*. Marathon decided that the West should live. For the Athenians themselves, the victory began a new era. The sons of the men who, against such odds, conquered the hitherto unconquered Persians, could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling, in the years to come.

The ten years' interval

Soon after Marathon, Egypt rebelled against Persia. This gave the Greeks ten years to get ready for the next Persian attack, but the only city to make any good use of the time was Athens. The democracy there had divided into two political parties. The conservative party wished to follow established customs without further change. Its leader at this time was *Aristides*, surnamed "the Just." The radical party wished further reforms. It was led by *Themistocles*, less upright than Aristides, but one of the most far-sighted statesmen in history.

Preparation at Athens

Aristides and Themistocles

Themistocles saw that Persia could not attack Greece successfully without command of the sea. Moreover, huge as the Persian Empire was, it was mainly an inland power; it could not so vastly outnumber the Greeks in ships as in men. Victory for the Greeks, then, was more likely on sea than on land. Accordingly he determined to make Athens a naval power.

But, sea-farers though the Greeks were, up to this time they had not used ships much *in war*. The party of Aristides wished to hold to the old policy of fighting on land, and they had the glorious victory of Marathon to back their arguments. Finally, in 483, the two leaders agreed to let a vote of ostracism decide.

Themistocles and the fleet

The vote sent Aristides into banishment, and left Themistocles free to carry out his new policy. Rich veins of silver had recently been discovered in the mines of Attica. These mines *belonged to the city*. It had been proposed to divide the

income from them among the citizens; but Themistocles persuaded his countrymen to reject this tempting plan, and instead to build a great fleet. In the next three years Athens became the greatest naval power in Hellas.

Third Persian expedition, 480 B.C.

Marathon had proved that no Persian fleet by itself could transport enough troops; so the Persians now tried again the plan of the first expedition (p. 88), *but upon a larger scale, both as to army and fleet.* To guard against another accident at Mt. Athos, a canal for ships was cut through the isthmus at the back of that rocky headland, — a great engineering work that took three years. Supplies, too, were collected at stations along the way; the Hellespont was bridged with chains of boats covered with planks;[1] and at last, in the spring of 480, Xerxes, the new Persian king, led in person a mighty host of many nations into Europe. A fleet of twelve hundred ships accompanied the army. No wonder that the Delphic Oracle warned the Athenians to flee to the ends of the earth.

Gloom in Greece

The three possible lines of defense

The Greeks had three lines of defense. The first was at the Vale of Tempe near Mount Olympus, where only a narrow pass opened into Thessaly. The second was at Thermopylae, where the mountains shut off northern from central Greece, except for a road only a few feet in width. The third was behind the Isthmus of Corinth.

Greek plans

At a congress at Corinth (where Sparta was chosen leader) *the Peloponnesians wished selfishly to abandon the first two lines.* They urged that all patriotic Greeks should retire at once within the Peloponnesus, and fortify the Isthmus by an impregnable wall. This plan was as foolish as it was selfish. Greek troops might have held the Isthmus against the Persian land army; but the Peloponnesus was readily open to attack by sea, and the Persian fleet would have found it easier here than at either of the other lines of defense to land troops in the Greek rear *without long losing touch with its own army.*

Still Xerxes was allowed to enter Greece without a blow — and was of course at once reinforced by excellent troops from

[1] Read Herodotus' story of Xerxes' wrath when the first bridge broke, and how he ordered the Hellespont to be flogged (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 64).

deserted northern Greece. Then in a half-hearted way, Sparta decided to make a stand at Thermopylae. The pass there was only some twenty feet wide between the cliff and the sea, and the only other path was one over the mountain, equally easy to defend. Moreover, the long island of Euboea approached the mainland just opposite the pass, so that the Greek fleet *in the narrow strait* could guard the land army against having troops landed in the rear.

Thermopylae: loss of central Greece

The Greek fleet at this place numbered 270 ships, of which the Athenians furnished half. The land defense had been left to the Peloponnesian League, and the Spartan king, Leonidas, held the pass with three hundred Spartans and a few thousand allies. *The main force of Spartans was again left at home, on the ground of a religious festival.*

The Persians reached Thermopylae without a check. Battle was joined at once on land and sea, and raged for three days. Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested conflict at *Artemisium*. On land, Xerxes flung column after column of chosen troops into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. But on the third night a Greek traitor guided a force of Persians over the mountain path, which the Spartans had left only slightly guarded. Leonidas then sent home his allies, but he and his three hundred remained to die in the pass which their country had given them to defend. They charged joyously upon the Persian spears, and fell fighting, to a man.

Sparta had shown no capacity to command in this great crisis. But at Thermopylae her citizens set an example of calm heroism that has stirred the world ever since. In later times the burial place of the Three Hundred was marked by this inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her command."

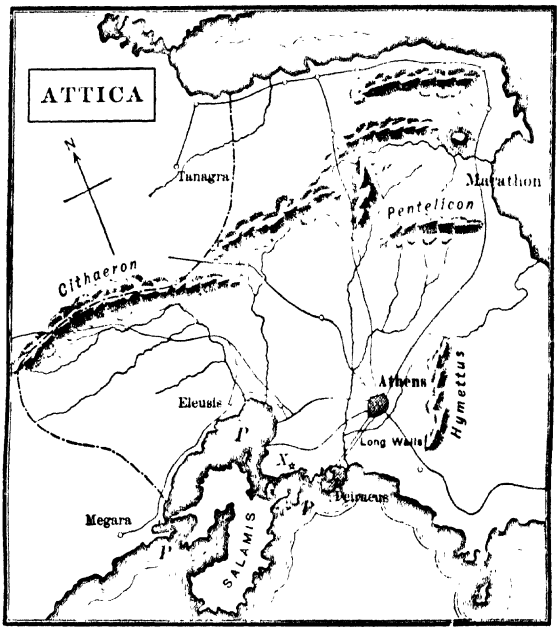
Xerxes advanced on Athens and was joined by most of central Greece. The Peloponnesians withdrew the army and fell back upon their first plan of building a wall across the Isthmus, and the admiral of the fleet (a Spartan, though Sparta furnished only 16 ships) was bent upon retiring to that position. By

Athens destroyed

vehement entreaties, Themistocles persuaded him to hold the fleet for a day or two at Athens, so as to remove the women and children and old men to Salamis and other near-by islands. The Persians marched triumphantly through Attica, burning villages and farmsteads, and laid Athens and its temples in ashes.

Strategy of Themistocles

But Themistocles, in delaying the retreat of the fleet, planned for more than escape. He was determined that the decisive



G, the Greek fleet at Salamis. *PPP*, the Persian fleet. *X*, the Throne of Xerxes. (The "Long Walls" were not built until later; p. 104.)

battle should be a sea battle, and that it should be fought where the fleet then lay. No other spot so favorable for the smaller Greek fleet could be found as the narrow strait between the Athenian shore and Salamis. If the Greeks withdrew to Corinth, the fleet, too, would probably break up. Some ships would sail home to defend their own island cities; and others might join the Persians. Debate waxed fierce in the all-night

council of the captains. The Corinthian admiral sneered that the allies need not regard a man who no longer represented a Greek city. Themistocles retorted that he represented two hundred ships,[1] and could make a city, or take one, where he chose; and, by this threat he forced the allies to remain.

Battle of Salamis

To make reconsideration impossible, the wily Themistocles then made use of a strange stratagem. With pretended friendship, he sent a secret message to Xerxes, telling him of the weakness and dissensions of the Greeks, and *advising him to block up the straits to prevent their escape.* Xerxes took this treacherous advice. There was now no choice for the Greeks but to fight. The battle of Salamis, the next day, lasted from dawn to night, but the Greek victory was complete.

"A king sat on the rocky brow[2]
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations, — all were his.
He counted them at break of day,
And when the sun set, where were they?"

Mardonius and Athens

The Persian chances, however, were still good. Xerxes fled at once to Asia with his shattered fleet, but he left three hundred thousand chosen troops under his general Mardonius to winter in the plains of Thessaly. The Athenians began courageously to rebuild their city. Mardonius looked upon them as the soul of the Greek resistance, and early the next spring, *he offered them an alliance*, with many favors and with the complete restoration of their city at Persian expense. Terrified lest the Athenians should accept so tempting an offer, Sparta sent profuse promises of help, begging them not to desert Hellas. But the Athenians had already sent back the Persian messenger: "Tell Mardonius that so long as the sun holds on his way in heaven, the Athenians will come to no terms with Xerxes." Of Sparta they now asked only that she take the field early enough so that Athens need not be again abandoned without a battle.

[1] The fleet had now grown to 378 ships in all.

[2] A golden throne had been set up for Xerxes, that he might better view the battle (see map, p. 94). These lines are from Byron.

Spartan delay or treachery

Sparta made the promise, but did not keep it. Mardonius approached rapidly. The Spartans found another sacred festival before which it would not do to leave their homes; and the Athenians, in bitter disappointment, a second time took refuge at Salamis. Mardonius again burned Athens and laid waste the farms over all Attica.

Battle of Plataea

Sparta was still clinging to the stupid plan of defending only the Isthmus. Some of her keener allies, however, at last made her government see the uselessness of the wall at Corinth if the Athenians should be forced to join Persia with their fleet; and finally Sparta took the field with 50,000 Peloponnesian troops. The Athenian forces and other reinforcements raised the total of the Greek army to about 100,000, and the final contest with Mardonius was fought near the little town of *Plataea*. Spartan valor and the Athenian skill and dash won a victory which became a massacre. Only 3000 of the invaders escaped to Asia, and *no hostile Persian ever again set foot in European Greece.*

EXERCISES. — 1. Summarize the causes of the Persian Wars. 2. Devise and memorize a series of *catch-words* for rapid statement that shall suggest the outline of the story quickly. Thus:

First expedition against European Greece, 492 B.C., through Thrace: *Mount Athos. Second expedition*, across the Aegean, two years later: capture of Eretria; landing at Marathon; excuses of Sparta; *Miltiades and battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.* (Let the student continue the series.)

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings* (I, Nos. 62–73) gives the whole story of Xerxes' invasion as the Greeks themselves told it, in about 47 pages. *Additional:* Cox's *Greeks and Persians* is an admirable little book. Many anecdotes are given in Plutarch's *Lives* ("Themistocles" and "Aristides"). Bury is always good reading.

ATHENIAN YOUTH IN THE GREAT RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN HONOR OF ATHENE. From the Parthenon frieze (p. 107); now in the British Museum.

CHAPTER X

ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP, 478–431 B.C.

(FROM THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR)

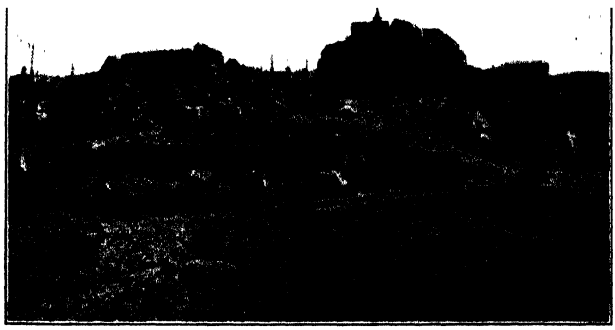
Athens builds walls

After Plataea, the Athenians began once more to rebuild their temples and homes. Themistocles, however, persuaded them to leave even these in ashes and first surround the city with walls. Corinth, hoping basely to gain Athens' old commercial prosperity for herself, urged Sparta to interfere; and, to her shame, Sparta did demand that the Athenians give up the plan: such walls, she said, might prove an advantage to the Persians if they should again occupy Athens.

Attica, which had been ravaged so recently, was in no condition to resist a Peloponnesian army. So the wily Themistocles gained precious time by having himself sent to Sparta to discuss the subject. There he put off the matter from day to day, with skillful excuses; and meanwhile the Athenians, neglecting all private matters, toiled at the walls with desperate haste — men, women, children, and slaves. No material was too precious. Inscribed tablets and fragments of sacred temples and even monuments from the burial grounds were seized for

the work. Then, when messengers informed Themistocles that the walls were high enough to be defended, he came before the Lacedaemonians[1] and told them bluntly that henceforward "they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was best for their own and the common good."

Themistocles went on to establish the naval and commercial supremacy of Athens by two great measures: he secured a vote from the Assembly ordering that twenty new ships should



RUINS OF THE WALLS OF THE PIRAEUS.

be added *each year* to the war fleet; and he provided the city with a port secure against either storm or human attack.

Piraeus fortified

Athens lay some miles from the shore. Until a few years before, her only port had been an open and unsafe roadstead, — the Phalerum; but during his archonship in 493, Themistocles had given the city a magnificent harbor, by improving the inclosed bay of the *Piraeus*, at great expense. Now he persuaded the people to *fortify* this port on the land side with a massive wall of solid masonry, clamped with iron, sixteen

[1] Lacedaemonia is the name given to the whole Spartan territory. See map after p. 52. Read in Thucydides (see p. 109) the story of how Themistocles provided for his own safety at Sparta.

feet broad and thirty feet high, so that old men and boys might easily defend it against any enemy. *The Athenians now had two walled cities*, each four or five miles in circuit, and only four miles apart; and the alien merchants, who dwelt at the Athenian ports, and who had fled at the Persian invasion, — many of them to Corinth, — came thronging back.

Victory at Mycale

The war with Persia was still going on, but only on the Ionian coast. In the early spring of 479, a fleet had crossed the Aegean to assist Samos in revolt against Persia. A Spartan commanded the expedition, but three fifths of the ships were Athenian. On the very day of Plataea these forces defeated a great Persian army at *Mycale*, on the coast of Asia Minor, and seized and burned the three hundred Persian ships. *No Persian fleet showed itself again in the Aegean for nearly a hundred years.*

Sparta withdraws: Athens the leader against Persia

This victory of Mycale was a signal for the cities of Ionia to revolt against Persia. The Spartans, however, shrank from the task of defending Hellenes so far away, *and proposed instead to remove the Ionians to European Greece.* The Ionians refused to leave their homes, and the Athenians in the fleet declared that Sparta should not so destroy "Athenian colonies." *The Spartans seized the excuse to sail home*, leaving the Athenians to protect the Ionians as best they could. The Athenians gallantly undertook the task, and began at once to expel the Persian garrisons from the islands of the Aegean.

Confederacy of Delos

The allies now organized the Confederacy of Delos, so called because its seat of government and its treasury were to be at the island of Delos. Here an annual congress of deputies from the different cities of the League was to meet. Each city had one vote — like the American States under the old Articles of Confederation. Athens was the "president" of the League, and her generals commanded the fleet. In return, she furnished nearly half of all the ships and men, — far more than her proper share.

The purpose of the League was to free the Aegean completely from the Persians, and to keep them from ever coming back. The allies meant to make the union *perpetual*. Lumps of iron

were thrown into the sea when the oath of union was taken, as a symbol that the oath should be binding until the iron should float. *The League was composed mainly of Ionian cities, interested in commerce.* It was a natural rival of Sparta's *Dorian inland league.*

Growth of the League

The League of Delos did its work well. Its chief military hero was the Athenian *Cimon*, son of Miltiades. Year after year, under his command, the allied fleet reduced one Persian garrison after another, until the whole region of the Aegean was free. The League came to include nearly all the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The cities on the shores of the Black Sea, too, were added; and, even more than before, the rich trade of that region streamed through the Hellespont to the Piraeus.

The "League" of equals becomes the Athenian Empire

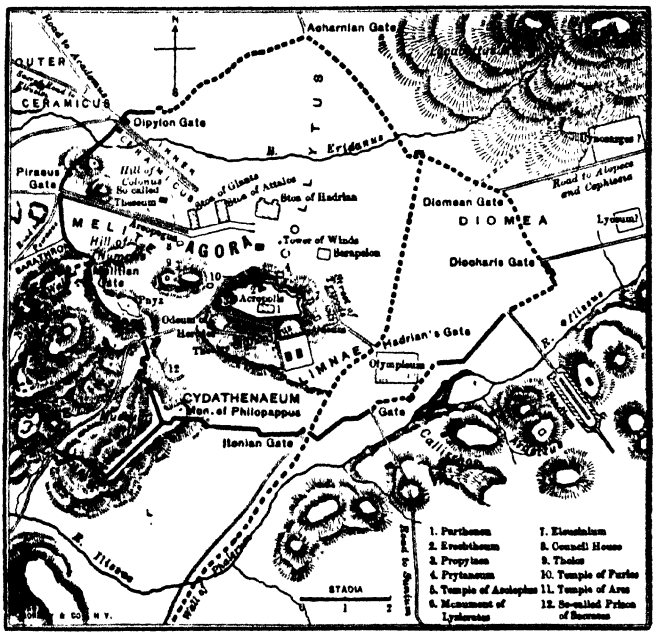
Some members of the League soon began to shirk. As soon as the pressing danger was over, *many cities chose to pay money, instead of furnishing ships and men.* Athens, on the other hand, eagerly accepted both burdens and responsibilities. The fleet became almost wholly Athenian; and the congress at Delos became of little consequence.

Then, here and there, cities began to refuse even the payment of money. This, of course, was secession. Such cities said that Persia was no longer dangerous, and that the need of the League was over. But the Athenian fleet, patrolling the Aegean, was all that kept the Persians from reappearing; and Athens, with good reason, held the allies by force to their promises. In 467, when the union was only ten years old, Naxos, one of the most powerful islands, refused to pay its contributions. Athens at once attacked Naxos, and, after a stern struggle, brought it to submission. *But the conquered state was not allowed to return into the union.* It lost its vote in the congress, and *became a mere subject of Athens.*

From time to time, other members of the League attempted secession, and met a like fate. Athens took away their fleets, leveled their walls, and made them pay a tribute. Usually a subject city was left to manage its internal government in its own way; but it could no longer have alliances with other

cities, and sometimes its citadel was held by an Athenian garrison. *The confederacy of equal states became an empire,* with Athens for its "tyrant city." The meetings of the congress ceased altogether. Athens removed the treasury from Delos, and began to use the funds and resources of the union for her own glory. (By 450 B.C. Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the

Athens a "tyrant city"



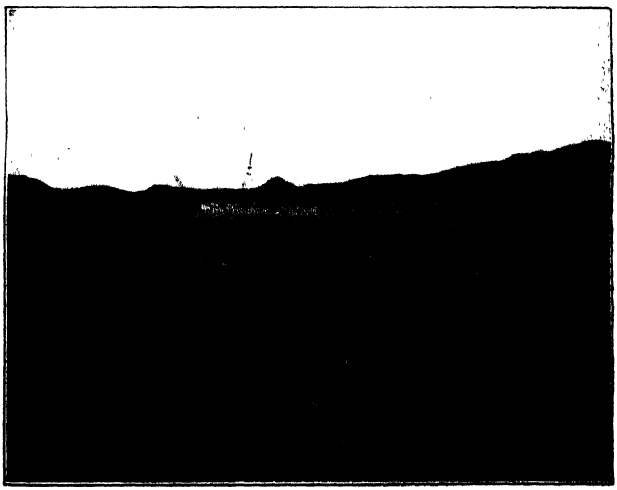
MAP OF ATHENS, with some structures of the Roman period. — The term "Stoa," which appears so often in this map, means "porch" or portico. These porticoes were inclosed by columns, and their fronts along the Agora formed a succession of colonnades. Only a few of the famous buildings can be shown in a map like this. The "Agora" was the great public square, or open market place, surrounded by shops and porticoes. It was the busiest spot in Athens, the center of the commercial and social life of the city, where men met their friends for business or for pleasure.

only states of the League which had not become "subject states." Athens, however, had other independent allies that had never belonged to the Delian Confederacy — like Plataea and Corcyra in Greece, Rhegium in Italy, and Segesta in Sicily.)

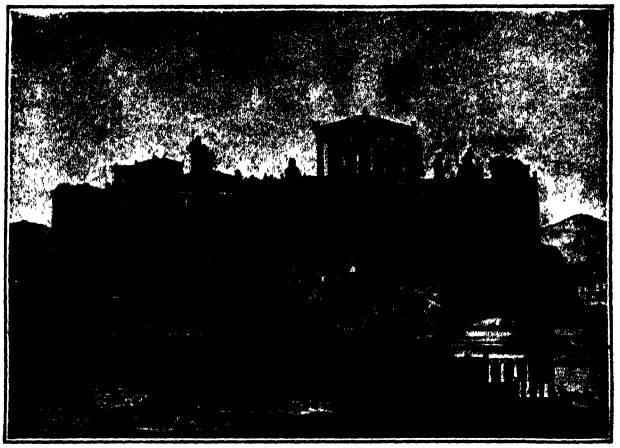
And her work

Athens at least continued faithfully to do the work for which the union had been created; and on the whole, despite the strong tendency to city independence, the subject cities seem to have been well content. In nearly all of them the ruling power became an Assembly like that at Athens; and the bulk of the people looked gratefully to Athens for protection against the oligarchs.

EXERCISE. — If time permits, let students report to the class stories for this period about Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon — from Plutarch, Bury, or other library material. The best short account of the period is chapter 1 of Cox's *Athenian Empire*.



BAY OF SALAMIS.



THE ACROPOLIS, as "restored" by Lambert.

CHAPTER XI

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE IN PEACE

The history of Athens is for us the history of Greece. — HOLM.

Population and wealth

In the fifth century B.C. the Athenian Empire was probably the mightiest state in the world. The cities of the Empire counted some three millions of people. The number seems small to us; but the population of the world was much smaller then than now, and these were all wealthy, progressive communities. Attica itself contained 300,000 people. Nearly half of these were slaves or aliens.[1] This left some 175,000 citizens, of whom 35,000 were men fit for soldiers. Outside Attica, there were 75,000 more citizens, who had been sent out as colonists to garrison outlying parts of the empire.

The Empire was rich. Athens drew a yearly income of about four hundred talents ($440,000 in our values) from her Thracian mines and from the port dues and the taxes on alien merchants. The tribute from the subject cities amounted to $660,000. Athens used this money, too, as her own. If she had any excuse, it is that this tribute was much less than it would have cost the cities merely to defend themselves against

[1] A new class of alien residents had grown up since Clisthenes took those of his day into the citizen body.

pirates, had Athenian protection been removed, and that the *Asiatic Greeks paid only one sixth as much as they had formerly paid Persia.*

The Long Walls

Athens had completed her fortifications by building the *Long Walls* to the Piraeus (map, p. 94). These walls were 30 feet high and 12 feet thick — so that a chariot-road ran along the top. They made Athens absolutely safe from siege, so long as she could keep her supremacy on the sea; and they added to the city a large open space where the country people might take refuge if Attica were invaded.

Growth of democracy

For thirty-three years (461–429 B.C.) the leading statesman of Athens was Pericles. Soon after Plataea, the poorest citizens had become eligible to office; and under Pericles the government continued to grow more and more democratic. *Four steps* in this development are worth noting.

Power of the elected Generals

1. When Themistocles carried his great measures, like improving the Piraeus and building a fleet, he was an Archon. But when Pericles guided Athenian policy, he was a *General* (p. 81). The Generals had become the "administration." It was they who usually proposed the levy of troops, the building of ships, the raising of money, the making of peace or war. Any other citizen *might* propose these things; but the Assembly was most likely to listen to those whom it had chosen to plan for them. True, any prominent speaker, trusted by the people, was known as a "demagogue," or "leader of the people"; and, though out of office, a "leader of the people" exercised great influence. To make things work smoothly, it was desirable that the Board of Generals should contain the most trusted "leader of the people" for the time being.

And the "demagogues"

Pericles' rule

Pericles was recognized "demagogue" for many years, and was fifteen times elected "president of the Board of Generals." Almost always he was the spokesman of that Board before the Assembly. He belonged to the ancient nobility of Athens, but to families that had always taken the side of the people. His mother was a niece of Clisthenes. His supremacy rested

in no way upon flattering arts. His proud reserve verged on haughtiness, and he was rarely seen in public. His stately gravity and unruffled calm were styled Olympian by his admirers — who added that, like Zeus, he could on occasion overbear opposition by the majestic thunder of his oratory. The long and steady confidence given him honors the people of Athens no less than it honors Pericles himself. His noblest praise is that which he claimed for himself upon his deathbed, — that, with all his authority, and despite the bitterness of party strife, "no Athenian has had to put on mourning because of me."

The Assembly

2. The Assembly met on the Pnyx, a sloping hill whose side formed a kind of natural theater. There were forty regular meetings each year, and many special meetings. Thus a patriotic citizen was called upon to give at least one day a week to the state in this matter of political meetings alone. *The Assembly had made great gains in power.* All public officials had become its obedient servants. Even the Generals were its creatures, and *might be "recalled" by it any day.* No act of government was too small or too great for it to deal with.

Juries

3. "Juries" of citizens had been introduced by Solon, and their importance became fully developed under Pericles. Six thousand citizens were chosen each year for this duty, — mostly from the older men past the age for active work. One thousand of these were held in reserve. The others were divided into *ten jury courts* of five hundred each. Such a jury was "both judge and jury": it decided each case by a majority vote, *and there was no appeal from its verdict.* On the whole the system worked well. In particular, any citizen of a subject city, wronged by an Athenian officer, was sure of redress before these courts, — which was one reason why Athenian officials in subject cities behaved well.

Payment for all public service: a democratic device

4. Since these courts tried political offenders, it was essential that they should not fall wholly into the hands of the rich. To prevent this, *Pericles wisely introduced a small payment for jury duty* (about enough to buy one man's food). Afterward *payment was extended to other political services* — which was as

proper and necessary as payment of congressmen and judges with us.

Political intelligence in Athens

About 10,000 Athenians were engaged at all times in public work. Scattered over the empire were some 700 leading officials to represent the imperial city, with many assistants. In the city itself, there were 700 city officials (overseers of weights and measures, harbor inspectors, and so on), 500 Councilmen, and the 6000 jurymen. Always about a fourth of the grown-up citizens were in the civil service,[1] and *each Athenian could count upon serving his city at some time in almost every office.*

Such a system could not have worked without a high *average* of intelligence in the people. It *did* work well. *Indeed it was far the wisest and the best that had been seen in any great state up to that time.*

Architectural splendor of Athens

Great as was the service of Hellas to the world in free government, still her chief glory lies in her art and her literature; and it was in the Athens of Pericles that these forms of Greek life developed most fully. Pericles made Athens the most beautiful city in the world, so that, ever since, her mere ruins have enthralled the admiration of men. Greek art was just reaching perfection; and everywhere in Athens, under the charge of the greatest artists of this greatest artistic age, arose temples, colonnades, porticoes, inimitable to this day.

The Acropolis

The center of this architectural splendor was the ancient citadel, the Acropolis. That massive rock now became the "holy hill." No longer needed as a fortification, it was crowned with white marble, and devoted to religion and art. On the west (the only side at all accessible) was built a stately stairway of sixty marble steps, leading to a series of noble colonnades and porticoes (*the Propylaea*) of surpassing beauty. From these the visitor emerged upon the leveled top of the Acropolis, to find himself surrounded by temples and statues, any one of which alone might make the fame of the proudest

[1] *Civil* service is a term used in contrast to *military* service. Our postmasters are among the civil servants of the United States, as a city engineer or a fireman is in the city civil service.

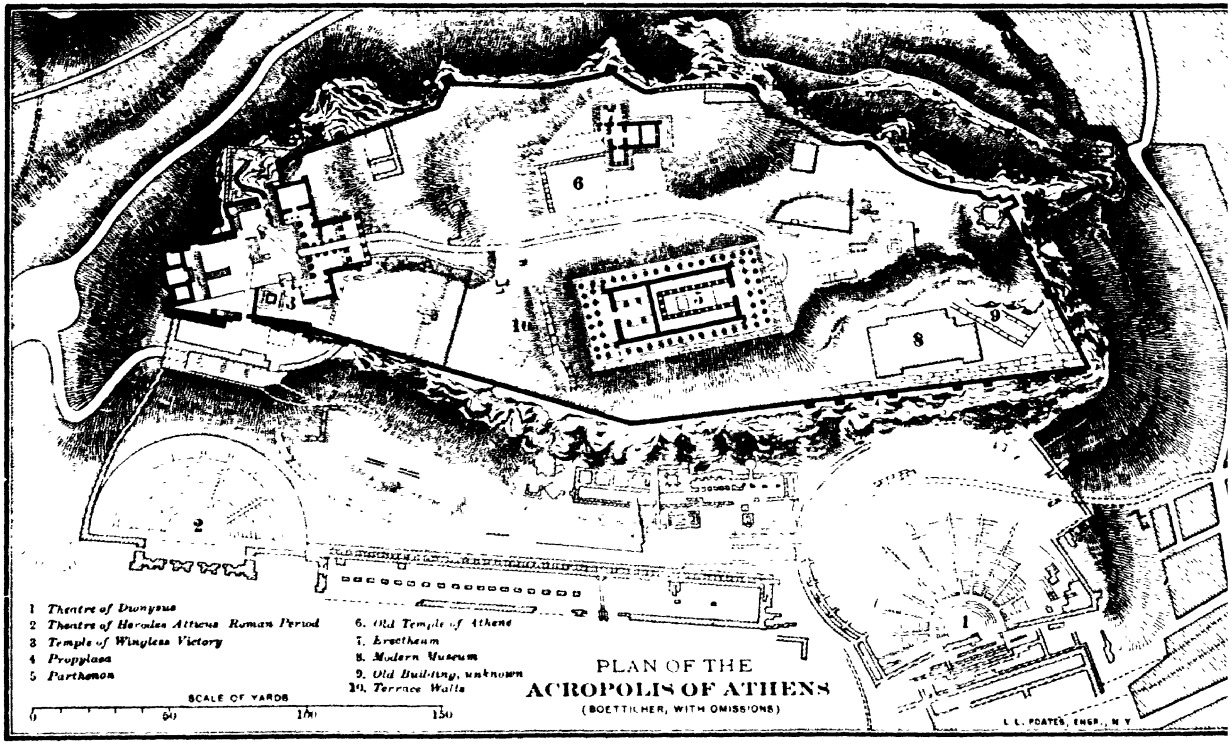
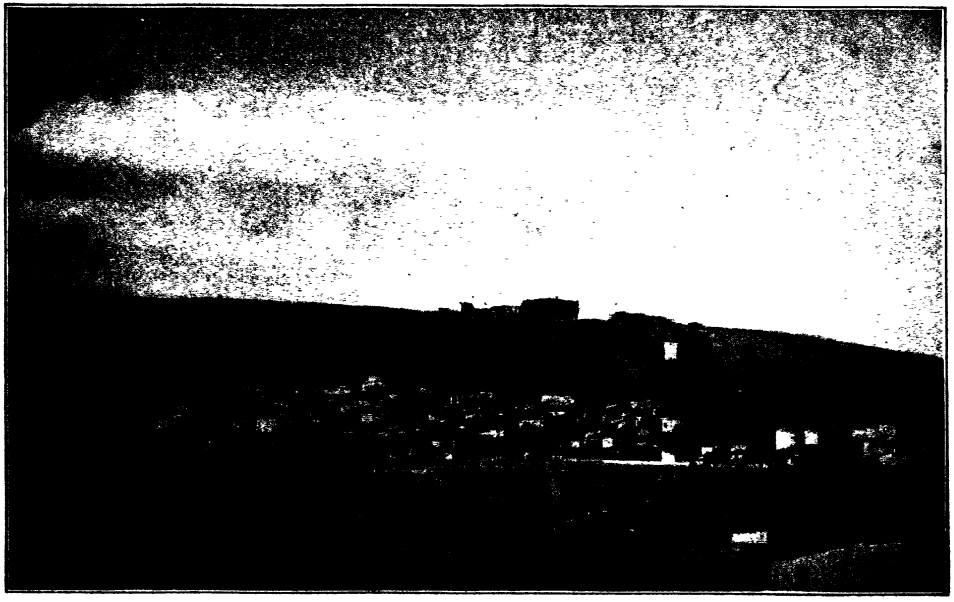

1 Theatre of Dionysus
2 Theatre of Herodes Atticus Roman Period
3 Temple of Wingless Victory
4 Propylaea
5 Parthenon
6. Old Temple of Athene
7. Erectheum
8. Modern Museum
9. Old Building, unknown
10. Terrace Walls
SCALE OF YARDS
0
50
100
150
PLAN OF THE
ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS
(BOETTICHER, WITH OMISSIONS)
L. L. POATES, ENGR., N. Y.

PLATE XX



THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS TO-DAY — from the west. The temple in the foreground on the lower level (to the left) is the so-called Temple of Theseus (p. 79).

modern city. Just in front of the entrance stood the colossal bronze statue of *Athene the Champion*, whose broad spear point, glittering in the sun, was the first sign of the city to the mariner far out at sea. On the right of the entrance, and a little to the west, was the temple of the *Wingless Victory;* and near the center of the open space rose the larger structures of the *Erechtheum* and the *Parthenon* (Plate XXII and "Plan" facing page 106).

The Parthenon

The Parthenon ("maiden's chamber") was the temple of the virgin goddess Athene. It remains peerless in loveliness among the buildings of the world. It was in the Doric style and of no great size, — only some 100 feet by 250, while the marble pillars supporting its low pediment rose only 34 feet from their base of three receding steps. The effect was due, not to the sublimity and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfection of proportion, to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicacy and profusion of ornament.

In the pediments were carved fifty life-size or colossal statues; and, within the colonnade, around the entire wall of the inner building, ran a broad band of relief sculptures, some four feet high, containing nearly 500 figures. This "frieze" represented an Athenian procession carrying offerings to the patron goddess Athene. All these sculptures, large or small, were finished with perfect skill, even in those parts so placed that no observer could see them "without going on the roof or opening a wall."

Greek sculpture

This ornamentation was cared for by *Phidias* and his pupils. Phidias still ranks as the greatest of sculptors. Much of the work on the Acropolis he merely planned, but the great statues of Athene were his special work. Besides the bronze statue, there was, *within the temple*, an even more glorious one in gold and ivory, smaller than the other, but still five or six times larger than life. (When the Turks held Greece, they used the Parthenon as a powder house. In 1687 an enemy's cannon ball exploded the powder, and left the temple in ruins, much as we see it to-day. About the year 1800, Lord Elgin secured most of the sculptures from the ruin for the British Museum, where they are known now as the *Elgin Marbles*.)

The drama

In the age of Pericles, the chief form of poetry became the *tragic drama* — the highest development of Greek literature. The drama *began* in the songs and dances of a chorus in honor of Dionysus, god of wine, at the spring festival of flowers and at the autumn vintage festival. The *leader* of the chorus came at length to recite stories, between the songs. Thespis at Athens, in the age of Pisistratus, had developed this leader into an *actor, — apart from the chorus and carrying on dialogue with it.* Now *Aeschylus* added another actor, and his younger rival, *Sophocles*, a third. All the action had to be such as could have taken place in one day, and without change of scene. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and their successor, *Euripides*, are the three greatest Greek dramatists. Together they produced some two hundred tragedies, of which thirty-one survive.

Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides

SOPHOCLES. — A portrait statue, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

Aristophanes

Comedy also grew out of the worship of the wine god, — not from the great religious festivals, however, but from the rude village merrymakings. "Attic comedy" kept traces of this rude origin in occasional coarseness; and it was sometimes misused, to abuse men like Pericles and Socrates. Still, its great master, *Aristophanes*, for his wit and genius, must always remain one of the bright names in literature.

The theater

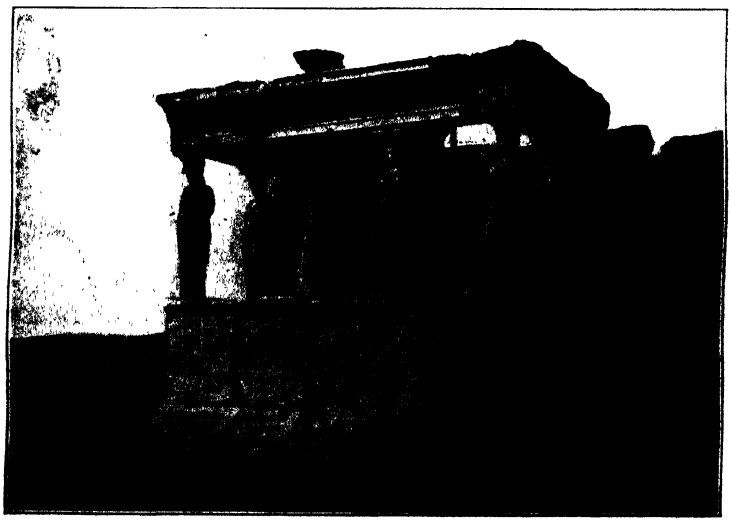
Every Greek city had its "theater" — a semicircular arrangement of rising seats, often cut into a hillside, with a small stage

PLATE XXI

ABOVE. — THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS TO-DAY.

BELOW. — THE STAGE OF THE THEATER, showing the sculptured figures about it. — From the front.

PLATE XXII



ABOVE. — THE PARTHENON TO-DAY — WEST FRONT.

BELOW. — A PORTICO OF THE ERECHTHEUM ("Porch of the Maidens"). The use of human figures for columns to sustain weight is rare in Greek architecture; but in this case the artist secured an effect of serene repose. This temple to Athene was built during the stress of the Peloponnesian War, upon the site of an ancient shrine to the goddess in a palace of a legendary King Erechtheus.

at the open side of the circle for the actors. There was no *inclosed* building, except sometimes a few rooms for the actors, and there was none of the gorgeous stage scenery which has become a chief feature of our theaters. Neither did the Greek theater run every night. Performances took place at only two periods in the year — at the spring and autumn festivals to Dionysus — for about a week each season, and in the daytime.

The great *Theater of Dionysus*, in Athens, was on the southeast slope of the Acropolis — the rising seats,[1] cut in a semicircle into the rocky bluff, looking forth, beyond the stage, to the hills of southern Attica and over the blue waters of the Aegean. It could seat almost the whole free male population.

Pericles secured from the public treasury the admission fee to the Theater for each citizen who chose to ask for it. The Greek stage was the modern pulpit and press in one, and this free admission was for religious and intellectual training, rather than for amusement.

Oratory

The art of public speech was studied zealously by all who hoped to take part in public affairs. Among no other people has oratory been so important and so effective. For almost two hundred years, from Themistocles to Demosthenes (p. 134), great statesmen swayed the Athenian state by their sonorous and thrilling eloquence; and the citizens, day after day, packed the Pnyx to hang breathless for hours upon the persuasive lips of their leaders.

History

Prose literature now began, with history as its leading form. The three great historians of the time are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. For charm in story-telling they have never been excelled. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. He traveled widely, lived long at Athens as the friend of Pericles, and finally in Italy completed his great *History of the Persian Wars*, with an introduction covering the world's history up to that event. Thucydides, an Athenian general, wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War (p. 124 ff.) in

[1] The stone seats were not carved out of the hill until somewhat later. During the age of Pericles, the men of Athens sat all over the hillside, on the ground or on stools which they brought with them.

which he took part. Xenophon also was an Athenian. He completed the story of the Peloponnesian War, and gave us, with other works, the *Anabasis*, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the Persian Empire in 401 B.C. (p. 130).

Philosophy

The age of Pericles saw also a rapid development in philosophy, — and this movement, too, had Athens for its most important home. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia, the friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle in the universe was Mind: "In the beginning all things were chaos; then came Intelligence, and set all in order." He also tried to explain comets and other strange natural phenomena, which had been looked upon as miraculous, and he amazed men of his time most of all by asserting that the sun was a red-hot mass probably as large as the Peloponnesus.

Compared with the earlier philosophy

The philosophers of the sixth century (p. 73) had tried to answer the question, — How did the universe come to be? The philosophers of the age of Pericles asked mainly, — How does man *know* about the universe? That is, *they tried to explain the working of the human mind.* These early attempts at explanation were not very satisfactory; so next came the *Sophists*, to declare all such explanations beyond the power of the human mind. Man, they held, cannot reach the truth itself, but must be content to know only *appearances.*

Socrates

Then came *Socrates* to complete the circle of ancient philosophy. Like the Sophists, he abandoned the attempt to understand the *material* universe, and ridiculed gently the attempted explanations of his friend, Anaxagoras. But he really differed widely from the Sophists. He sought knowledge about himself and his duties. He took for his motto, "*Know thyself,*" and considered philosophy to consist in *right thinking upon human conduct.* True wisdom, he taught, is *to know* what is good *and to do* what is right; and he tried to make his followers see the difference between justice and injustice, temperance and intemperance, virtue and vice.

Socrates was a poor man, an artisan who carved little images

of the gods for a living; and he constantly vexed his wife, Xanthippe, by neglecting his trade, to talk in the market place. He wore no sandals, and dressed meanly. His large bald head and ugly face, with its thick lips and flat nose, made him good sport for the comic poets. His practice was to entrap unwary antagonists into public conversation by asking innocent-looking questions, and then, by the inconsistencies of their answers, to show how shallow their opinions were. This proceeding afforded huge merriment to the crowd of youths who followed the bare-footed philosopher, and it roused up bitter enemies among his victims. But his beauty of soul, his devotion to knowledge, and his largeness of spirit make him the greatest name in Greek history.

The "Socratic method"

When seventy years old (399 B.C.) Socrates was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth, and was condemned to death. For thirty days he remained in jail, conversing daily in his usual manner with groups of friends who visited him. Two of his disciples (Plato and Xenophon) have given us accounts of these talks. On the last day, the theme was immortality. Some of the friends fear that death may be an endless sleep, or that the soul, on leaving the body, may "issue forth like smoke . . . and vanish into nothingness." But Socrates comforts and consoles them, — convincing them, by a long day's argument, that the soul is immortal, and picturing the lofty delight he anticipates in questioning the heroes and sages of olden times when he meets them soon in the abode of the blest. Then, just as the fatal hour arrives, one of the company (Crito) asks, "In what way would you have us bury you?" Socrates rejoins:

Socrates' trial and death

"'In any way you like: only you must first get hold of me, and take care that I do not walk away from you.' Then he turned to us, and added, with a smile: 'I cannot make Crito believe that *I* am the same Socrates who has been talking with you. He fancies that I am another Socrates whom he will soon see a dead body — and he asks, How shall he bury me? I have spoken many words to show that *I* shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed. . . . Be of good cheer, then, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my *body* only — and do with that what is usual, or as you think best.'"

Friends of Socrates had made arrangements for his escape from prison before the day set for his execution; but he steadfastly refused to go. To their pleadings he answered only by a playful discourse to the effect that "Death is no evil; but for Socrates to 'play truant' and injure the laws of his country, would be an evil." And so he drank the fatal hemlock with a gentle jest upon his lips. His condemnation is the greatest blot upon the intelligence of the Athenian democracy.

Extent of Athenian culture

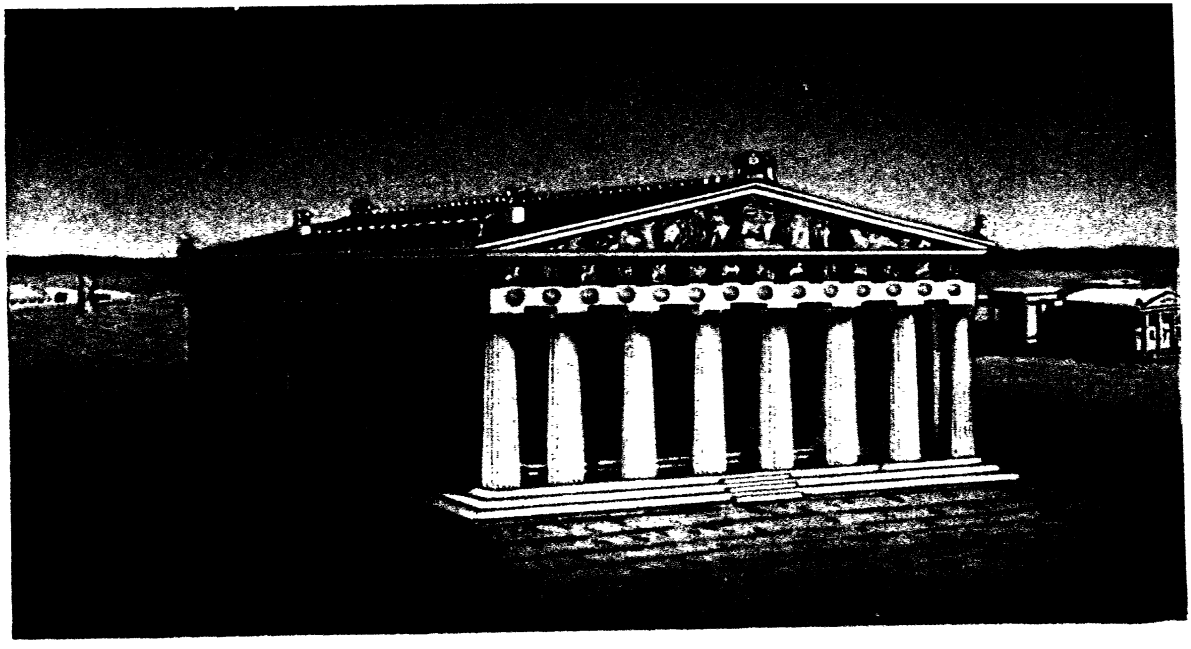
In the fifth century B.C. Athens gave birth to more great men of the first rank, it has been said, than the whole world has ever produced in any other equal period of time, and to that same center there swarmed other famous men from less-favored parts of Hellas. Despite the condemnation of Socrates, no other city in the world afforded such freedom of thought, and nowhere else was ability, in art or literature, so appreciated. The names that have been mentioned give but a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators, who jostled one another in the streets of the beautiful city that clustered round the temple-crowned Acropolis. During the second year of the Peloponnesian War (p. 124), Pericles delivered a great oration in honor of the Athenian dead, — a splendid glorification of the Athenian spirit.

Pericles' glorification of Athens

"*We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness.* Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. *We regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a mischievous character.* . . . And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses. There are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. . . . *Athens is the school of Hellas.*"

Three limitations in this noble culture must be noted:

1. It rested on slavery. The main business of the citizen



A Restoration of the Parthenon

Limitations in Greek culture

was government and war. Trades and commerce were left largely to the free non-citizen class, and unskilled hand labor was performed mainly by slaves. As a rule, it is true, this slavery was not harsh. The slaves were frequently Greeks, of the same speech and culture as their masters; but in some ways, this made their lot all the harder to bear. There was always the *possibility* of cruelty; and in the mines, even in Attica, the slaves were killed off brutally by merciless hardships.

2. Greek culture was for males only. It is not likely that the wife of Phidias or of Thucydides could read. The women of the working classes, especially in the country, necessarily mixed somewhat with men in their work. But among the well-to-do, women had lost the freedom of the simple and rude society of Homer's time, without gaining much in return. Except at Sparta (p. 83) they appeared rarely on the streets, and, even at home, passed a secluded life in separate women's apartments. (The rule is merely emphasized by its one exception. No account of the Athens of Pericles should omit mention of *Aspasia*. She was a native of Miletus, and had come to Athens as an adventuress. There she won the love of Pericles. Since she was not an Athenian citizen he could not marry her; but, until his death, she lived with him in all respects as his wife — a union not grievously offensive to Greek ideas. The dazzling wit and beauty of Aspasia made her home the focus of the intellectual life of Athens. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Phidias, Herodotus, delighted in her conversation; and Pericles consulted her on the most important public matters. But she is the only woman who need be named in Greek history after the time of Sappho.)

3. With all their intellectual power, the Greeks of Pericles' day had not thought of finding out the secrets of nature by *experiment*. They had only such knowledge of the world about them as they had *chanced upon*, or such as they could attain by *observation of nature as she showed herself to them*. To ask questions, and make nature answer them, by systematic experiment, is a method of reaching knowledge which belongs, in any marked degree, only to recent times. But, *before* the

Greeks, men had reached about all the mastery over nature that was possible without that method. The Greek mind achieved wonders in literature and art and philosophy; *but it did little to advance man's power over nature.*

To make the Greek world at all real to us, we must think of even the best houses without plumbing — or drains of any sort; beds without sheets or springs; rooms without fire; traveling without bridges and without even a stagecoach; shoes without stockings; clothes without buttons, or even a hook and eye. The Greek had to tell time without a watch, and to cross seas without steamships or wireless telegraphy or even a compass. He was civilized without being what we should call "comfortable."

Perhaps all the more, he felt keenly the beauty of sky and hill and temple and statue and the human form. But in one respect this lack of control over nature was exceedingly serious. Without modern scientific knowledge, and modern machinery, it has never been possible for man to produce wealth fast enough so that *many* could take sufficient leisure for refined and graceful living. *There was too little wealth to go round.* The civilization of the few rested *necessarily* upon slavery. This third limitation was the cause of the first.

Religion and morals

The moral side of Greek culture falls short of the intellectual side. Their religion had little to do with conduct toward men. Their good sense and clear thinking had freed their religion from the grossest features of Oriental worship; but their moral ideas are to be sought mainly in their philosophy and literature, rather than in their stories about the gods. They accepted frankly the search for pleasure as natural and proper. Self-sacrifice had little place in their ideal; but they did deeply admire the beauty of self-control and moderation. No society ever produced so many great men, but many societies have produced better men.

At the same time, a few Greek teachers give us some of the noblest morality of the world, as the following brief quotations show:

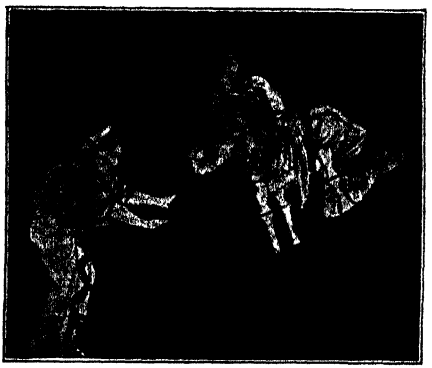
a. From the Odyssey. — "Verily the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but reverence justice and righteous acts."

b. From Aeschylus. — "Justice shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life that is righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean, and goes to the abode that is holy.

c. Antigone, the heroine of a play by *Sophocles*, had knowingly incurred the penalty of death by disobeying an unrighteous command of a wicked king. She justified her deed proudly, —

> "Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough
> That thou, a mortal man, should'st overpass
> *The unwritten laws of God that know no change.*"

d. A Prayer of Socrates (from Plato's *Phaedrus*). — "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry."



GREEK GIRLS AT PLAY — from a vase-painting.

CHAPTER XII

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

The home

Greek houses, even those of the rich, were simple. The poor could not afford more; and the rich man thought his house of little account. It was merely a place to keep his women folk and young children and some other valuable property, and to sleep in. His real life was passed outside.

The poor man's house was a one-story mud hut; and even a "well-to-do" house was merely a wooden frame, covered with sun-dried clay. Houses were built flush with the street, and on a level with it, — without even sidewalk or steps between. The door, too, usually opened out — so that passers-by were liable to bumps, unless they kept well to the middle of the narrow street. On the opposite page is given the ground plan of one of the few private houses of the fifth century which has been unearthed in a state to be traced out. This house was at Delos; and it was something of a mansion, for the times.

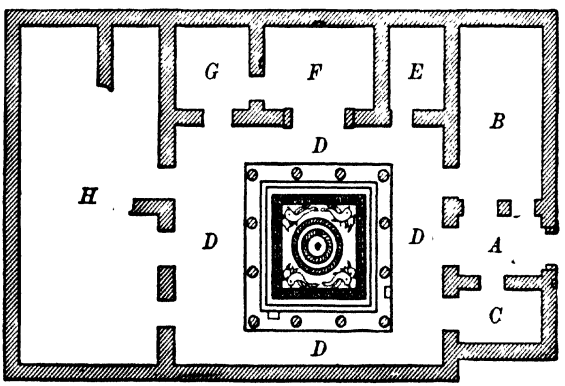
The street door opened into a small vestibule (*A*), about six feet by ten. This led to a square "hall" (*D, D, D, D*), which was the central feature of every Greek house of importance. In the center of the hall there was a "court," *open to the sky*, and surrounded by a row of columns ten feet high. The columns were to uphold their side of the hall ceiling, — since the hall had no wall next the court. The court was paved with a beautiful mosaic. (Commonly, however, all floors in private houses were made of concrete, or merely of beaten earth.)

From the hall there opened six rooms more. The largest (*H*) was the dining room and kitchen, with a small recess for the chimney in one corner. The other rooms were store rooms, or sleeping rooms. Any overflow of guests could be taken care of by couches in the hall. This whole floor was for males only. There was an upper story for the women, reached by a steep stairway in the lower hall, and projecting, perhaps, part way over the street. If a rich man's house had only one story, there was at the rear a second half for the women, connected with the men's half by a door in the partition wall. Sometimes there was a small walled garden at the back.

City houses were crowded close together, with small chance for windows on the sides. Sometimes narrow slits in the wall opened on the street. Otherwise, except for the one street door, the front was a blank wall. The Greeks did not have glass panes for windows. The houses were dark; and most of the dim light came from openings on the central court.

In cold damp weather (of which, happily, there was not much), the house was exceedingly uncomfortable. The kitchen had a chimney; but for other rooms the only artificial heat came

Discomfort



PLAN OF A FIFTH-CENTURY DELOS HOUSE. — After Gardiner and Jevons.

from small fires of wood or charcoal in braziers, — such as are still carried from room to room, on occasion, in Greece or Italy or Spain. The choking fumes which filled the room were not much more desirable than the cold, which they did little to drive away. Sometimes a large open fire in the court gave warmth to the hall. At night, earthenware lamps, on shelves or brackets, furnished light. *There were no bathrooms, and no sanitary conveniences.*

The residence streets were narrow and irregular, — hardly more than crooked, dark alleys. They had no pavements; they were littered with all the filth and refuse from the houses. Splendid as were the *public* portions of Athens, the residence quarters were much like a squalid Oriental city of to-day.

Street squalor

Public fountains, supplied by aqueducts, furnished pure drinking water; but there was no provision for sewers or for flushing the streets. Wealthy men were beginning to build more comfortably on the hills near the city; but war kept this practice from becoming common.

The Greek family

In the Oriental lands a man was at liberty to have as many wives in his household as he chose to support. Poor men usually were content with one; but, among the rich, polygamy was the rule. *A Greek had only one wife.* Imperfect as Greek family life was, the adoption of "monogamy" was a great step forward.

GREEK WOMEN — From a bowl painting.

Marriage was arranged by parents. The young people as a rule had never seen each other. Girls were married very young — by fifteen or earlier. Not till the evening before her marriage did the girl put away her doll, — offering it then solemnly on the shrine of the maiden goddess Artemis. Among the wealthy classes, the wives spent the rest of their days indoors — except on some rare festival occasions. The *model* wife learned to oversee the household (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 99); but in most homes this duty was left to trained slaves, and the wife dawdled away the day listlessly at her toilet or in vacant idleness, much as in an Eastern harem to-day. The vase pictures show her commonly with a mirror. Unwholesome living led to

excessive use of red and white paint, and other cosmetics, for the complexion.

Law and public opinion allowed the father to "expose" a new-born child to die. This practice was common among the poor, especially for girl babies. (Boys would offer sacrifices, in time, at the father's tomb, *and they could fight for the city.*) Till the age of seven, boys and girls lived together in the women's apartments. Then the boy began his school life.

Occupations

Most of the hand labor was busied in tilling the soil. The farmer manured his land skillfully. Some districts, like Corinth and Attica, could not furnish food enough for their populations from their own soil. Athens imported grain from other parts of Hellas and from Thrace and Egypt. This grain was paid for, in the long run, by the export of her factories. (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 76, gives a list of twenty-five handicrafts used in beautifying the Acropolis.) In these factories, the place taken now by machinery was taken then, in large part, by slaves. The owner of a factory did not commonly own all the slaves employed in it. Any master of a skilled slave might "rent" him out to a factory.

Work of the poor

The villages of Attica, outside Athens, were mainly occupied by farmers and farm laborers. Commerce was centered in the Piraeus. In Athens, the poorer classes worked at their trades or in their shops from sunrise to sunset — with a holiday about one day in three. Their pay was small, because of the competition of slave labor; but they needed little pay to give them most of the comforts of the rich — except constant leisure.

Delight in work

The Greek artisan worked deliberately and took a noble pride in his work. The stone masons who chiseled out the fluted columns of the Parthenon felt themselves fellow workmen with Phidias.

The rich

A rich Athenian citizen owned lands outside the city, worked by slaves and managed by some trusted steward. Probably he also had money invested in trading vessels, though he left their management to agents in the Piraeus. Some revenue he drew from money at interest with the bankers; and he drew large sums, too, from the "rent" of slaves to the factories.

Daily life of a Greek gentleman

Like the poorer citizens, the rich man rose with the sun. A slave poured water over his face and hands, or perhaps over his naked body, from a basin. (Poor men like Socrates bathed at the public fountains.) He then broke his fast on a cup of wine and a dry crust of bread. Afterward, perhaps he rode into the country, to visit one of his farms there, or for a day's hunting.

If, instead, he remained within the city, he left his house at once, stopping, probably, at a barber's to have his beard and finger nails attended to, as well as to gather the latest news from the barber's talk. The latter half of the morning would find him strolling through the shaded arcades about the market place, among throngs of his fellows, stopping for conversation with friends — with whom, sometimes, he sat on the benches interspersed among the colonnades. At such times, he was always followed by one or two handsome slave boys, to run errands. At midday, he returned home for a light lunch. In the afternoon, if a student, he took to his rolls of papyrus; if a statesman, perhaps he prepared his speech for the next meeting of the Assembly; sometimes, he visited the public gaming houses. Then, after exercise in a gymnasium, he bathed at a public bathing house, hot, cold, or vapor bath, as his taste decided; and here again he held conversation with friends, while resting, or while the slave attendants rubbed him with oil and ointment.

Toward sunset, he once more visited his home, unless he was to dine out. If the evening meal was to be, for a rare occasion, at home and without guests, he ate with his family, — his wife *sitting* at the foot of the couch where he *reclined;* and soon afterward he went to bed. More commonly, he entertained guests — whom he had invited to dinner as he met them at the market place in the morning — or he was himself a guest elsewhere.

Such days were not allowed to become monotonous at Athens. For several years of his life, the citizen was certain to be busied most of the time in the service of the state (p. 106). At other times, the meetings of the Assembly and the religious festivals and the theater took at least one day out of every three.

The evening banquet played a large part in Greek life.

As guests arrived, they took their places in pairs, on couches, which were arranged around the room, each man reclining on his left arm. Slaves removed the sandals or shoes, washing the dust from the feet, and passed bowls of water for the hands. They then brought in low three-legged tables, one

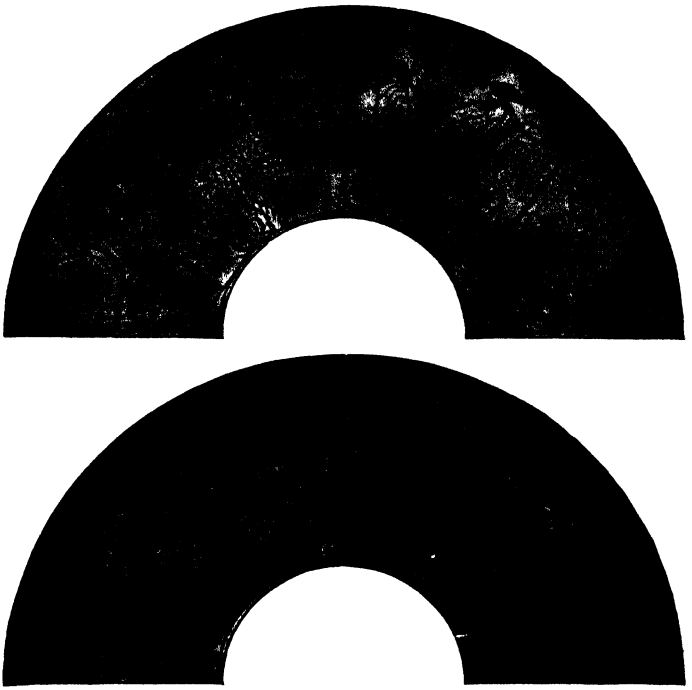
The banquet

THE WRESTLERS. — A copy of a famous statue by Myron, a younger contemporary of Phidias. Myron excelled in depicting *action* in marble, where his Greek predecessors for the most part had represented their subjects in repose. Cf. Plate after 184.

before each couch, on which they afterward placed course after course of food.

The meals were simple. Food was cut into small pieces in the kitchen. No forks or knives were used at table. Men ate with a spoon, or, more commonly, with the fingers; and

at the close, slaves once more passed bowls for washing the hands. When the eating was over, the real business of the evening began — with the wine. This was mixed with water, and drunkenness was not common; but the drinking lasted late, with serious or playful talk, and singing and story-telling,



School Scenes. — A Bowl Painting. — Instruments of instruction, mostly musical, hang on the walls. In the first half, one instructor is correcting the exercise of a boy who stands before him. Another is showing how to use the flute. The seated figures, with staffs, are "pedagogues."

and with forfeits for those who did not perform well any part assigned them by the "master of the feast" (one of their number chosen by the others when the wine appeared). Often the host had musicians come in, with jugglers and dancing girls.

Respectable women never appeared on these occasions.

Only on marriage festivals, or some special family celebration, did the women of a family meet male guests at all.

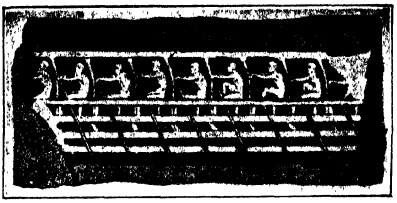
Education at Athens was in marked contrast with Spartan education. It aimed to train harmoniously the intellect, the sense of beauty, the moral nature, and the body. At school, the boy was constantly under the eye not only of the teacher, but also of a trusted servant of his own family, called a pedagogue.[1] The chief subjects for study were Homer and music. Homer, it has well been said, was to the Greek as Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe. The boy learned to write on papyrus with ink. But papyrus was costly, and the elementary exercises were carried on with a sharp instrument on tablets coated with wax. **Education**

Physical training began with the child and continued through old age. No Greek youth would pass a day without devoting some hours to developing his body and to overcoming any physical defect or awkwardness that he might have. All classes of citizens, except those bound by necessity to the workshop, met for exercise. The result was a perfection of physical power and beauty never attained so universally by any other people.

Imaginative Exercises. — 1. A captive Persian's letter to a friend after Plataea. 2. A dialogue between Socrates and Xanthippe. 3. An address by a Messenian to his fellows in their revolt against Sparta. 4. Extracts from a diary of Pericles. 5. A day at the Olympic games (choose some particular date).

Read Davis' *A Day in Old Athens* and Nos. 76–80, 88–97, from his *Readings*. Two very valuable and readable little books upon the topics of the last two chapters are Grant's *Greece in the Age of Pericles* and Abbott's *Pericles* (especially the opening chapters).

[1] The word meant "boy-leader." Its use for "teacher" is later.



AN ATHENIAN WARSHIP (*Trireme*).[1]

CHAPTER XIII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND THE FALL OF HELLAS

Sparta and Athens

Athens stood for progress; Sparta hated change. The cities of the Athenian Empire were Ionian, democratic, and commercial; most of the cities of the Peloponnesian League were Dorian, ruled by land-holding aristocracies. These differences gave rise to mutual distrust and dislike. Still, if *none* of the Peloponnesian cities had had interests on the sea, the two powers might not have crossed each other's paths. But Corinth and Megara (allies of Sparta) were trading cities, and, with the growth of Athenian commerce, they feared ruin for themselves. So, in 431 B.C. Corinth succeeded in persuading Sparta to declare war on Athens. The struggle lasted twenty-seven years and ruined the promise of Greece.

The Peloponnesian War, 431–404 B.C.

The Peloponnesian League could muster a hundred thousand hoplites, against whom in that day no army in the world could stand; but it could not keep many men in the field longer than a few weeks. *Athens* had only some twenty-six thousand hoplites at her command, and half of these were needed for distant garrison duty. But she *had a navy even more unmatched on the sea than the Peloponnesian army was on land.* Her walls were impregnable. The islands of Euboea and Salamis, and the open spaces within the Long Walls, she thought, could receive her

[1] From an Athenian relief. Only the highest "bank" of rowers is visible, but the oars of the two other banks are shown. (They projected through portholes, and the rowers were protected from arrows by the sides of the ship.) There were 174 oarsmen and about 20 other sailors to each ship, for helmsmen, lookouts, overseers of the oarsmen, and so on. And a warship never carried less than ten fully armed soldiers. The Athenians usually sent from 20 to 25 in each ship. The ships were about 120 feet long, and less than 20 feet wide.

country people with their flocks and herds. Grain ships from the Black Sea coasts could enter the Piraeus as usual, however the Spartans might hold the open country of Attica. Athens could support her population for a time from her annual revenues and from the immense surplus of 6000 talents ($6,600,000) in her treasury.

The Spartans marched each year into Attica with overwhelming force, and remained there for some weeks, laying waste the crops, burning the villages, and cutting down the olive groves, up to the very walls of Athens. At first, with frenzied rage, the Athenians clamored to march out against the invader; but Pericles strained his great authority to prevent such a disaster, and finally he convinced the people that they must bear this insult and ruin with patience. Meantime, an Athenian fleet was always sent *to ravage the coasts and harbors of Peloponnesus* and to conquer various exposed allies of Sparta. Each party could inflict considerable damage, *but neither could strike a vital blow.*

The Plague in Athens

But a tragic disaster fell upon Athens, which no one in that day could have foreseen. A plague had been ravaging western Asia, and in the second year of the war it reached the Aegean. In Athens it was peculiarly deadly. The people of all Attica, crowded into the one city, were living under unusual and unwholesome conditions; and the pestilence returned there each summer for several years. *It slew more than a fourth of the population, paralyzed industry,* and shattered the proud and joyous self-trust of the Athenian people.

The causes of the pestilence are told by Thucydides: — "When the country people of Attica arrived in Athens, a few had homes of their own, or found friends to take them in. But far the greater number had to find a place to live on some vacant spot or in the temples of the gods and chapels of the heroes. . . . Many also camped down in the towers of the walls, or wherever else they could; for the city proved too small to hold them." And, adds Thucydides with grim irony, "While these country folk were dividing the spaces between the Long Walls and settling there," the Generals and Council were "paying great attention to mustering a fleet for ravaging the Peloponnesian coasts."

Death of Pericles

The deadliest blow of the plague was the striking down of Pericles in the third year of the war. Never had the Athenians so needed his calm and fearless judgment. He was succeeded by a new class of leaders, — men of the people, like *Cleon* the tanner, — men of strong will and much force, but rude, untrained, and ready to surrender their own convictions in order to win the favor of the crowd. Such men led Athens into many blunders and crimes. Over against them stood only *Alcibiades*, a brilliant, unprincipled adventurer, and a group of incapable aristocrats, led by *Nicias*, a good but stupid man.

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES. — Praxiteles rivaled his master, Phidias; and this statue, though so sadly mutilated, remains one of the most famous surviving masterpieces of Greek art.

Athenian disaster in Sicily

In 413 B.C., after a whole generation had grown up in war, the superstition and mismanagement of Nicias caused the loss (in an expedition against Syracuse) of two hundred perfectly equipped Athenian ships and over forty thousand men — among them eleven thousand of the flower of the Athenian hoplites. Even after this crushing disaster Athens refused peace that should take away her empire, and the war lasted nine years more — part of the time with Athens as supreme in the Aegean as ever.

Sparta betrays the Asiatic Greeks to Persia

But in 412, immediately after the destruction of the Athenian army in Sicily, Persian satraps appeared again upon the Aegean coast. Sparta at once bought the aid of their gold by betraying the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks, — to whom the Athenian name had been a shield for seventy years. Persian funds then

built fleet after fleet for Sparta; and slowly Athens was exhausted, despite some brilliant victories. In 405, her last fleet was surprised and captured at *Aegospotami* (Goat Rivers). Apparently the officers had been plotting for an oligarchic revolution; and the sailors had been discouraged and demoralized, even if they were not actually betrayed by their commanders. Lysander, the Spartan commander, in cold blood put to death the four thousand Athenian citizens among the captives. **Fall of Athens**

This slaughter marks the end. Athens still held out, despairing but stubborn, until starved into submission by a terrible siege. Corinth and Thebes wished to raze it from the earth, but Sparta had no mind to do away with so useful a check upon those cities. She compelled Athens to renounce all claims to empire, to give up all alliances, to surrender all her ships but twelve. The Long Walls and the defenses of the Piraeus were demolished, to the music of Peloponnesian flutes; and Hellas was declared free! *It remained only to see to what foreign master Greece should fall.*

From the Persian Wars to the fall of Athens there had been seventy-five glorious years. From the fall of Athens to the fall of Hellas there were about as many years more — mainly of shame and of profitless wars.

For thirty-seven years, Sparta was supreme. Everywhere she set up oligarchic governments. The cities of the old Athenian Empire found that they had exchanged a mild, wise rule for a coarse and stupid despotism. Their old tribute was doubled; their self-government was taken away; bloodshed and confusion ran riot in their streets. Usually the management of a city was given to an aristocratic board of ten men, called a decarchy ("rule of ten"), commonly with a Spartan garrison in the citadel to guard against democratic risings. The garrisons plundered at will, and grew rich from extortion and bribes; and the decarchies were slavishly subservient to their Spartan masters, while they wreaked upon their fellow-citizens a long pent-up aristocratic **Spartan supremacy, 404–371 B.C.**

vengeance, in confiscation, outrage, expulsion, assassination, and massacre.

Spartan decay

In Sparta itself luxury and corruption replaced the old simplicity. Property was gathered into the hands of a few, while many Spartans grew too poor to support themselves in their barrack life. These poorer men ceased to be looked upon as citizens. They were not permitted to vote in the Assembly, and were known as "Inferiors." The 10,000 citizens, of the Persian War period, shrank to 2000.

COPY OF A SATYR BY PRAXITELES. — This is Hawthorne's "Marble Faun."

The Thirty at Athens

For a time even Athens remained a victim to Spartan tyranny, like any petty Ionian city. During the war, the old oligarchic party, so long helpless, had organized secret "clubs" to conspire against the democratic government. After the surrender, in 404, Lysander appointed a committee of thirty from these clubs to undo the reforms of Pericles and Clisthenes and Solon, and "to reëstablish the constitution of the fathers." These men (a triple decarchy) were known as "the Thirty Tyrants." They called in a Spartan garrison, to whom they gave the fortress of the Acropolis; they disarmed the citizens and began a bloody and greedy reign of terror. Rich democrats and alien merchants were put to death or driven into exile, in order that their property might be confiscated. (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 100.)

Despite the orders of Sparta, such exiles and other democratic fugitives were sheltered by Thebes. That city felt aggrieved that her services in the Peloponnesian War had received no reward from Sparta, and now she would have been glad to see Athens more powerful again. A year later, a daring band of these Athenian exiles marched secretly from Thebes by night and seized the Piraeus. The aliens of the harbor rose in their

PRESENT STATE OF THEATER OF APOLLO AT DELPHI. — Compare with cuts facing p. 109 This view is taken from the ruins of the Temple.

support, and they defeated the Spartan garrison and the forces of the Thirty. The restored democracy showed itself generous as well as moderate. A few of the most guilty of the Thirty were punished, but for all others a general amnesty was declared. This moderation contrasted so favorably with the cut-throat rule of the recent Athenian experiments at oligarchy, that Athens was undisturbed in future by revolution.

March of the Ten Thousand

Meantime, important events were taking place in the East. In 401, the weakness of the Persian Empire was shown strikingly. *Cyrus the Younger*, brother of the king Artaxerxes, en-

deavored to seize the Persian throne. While a satrap in Asia Minor, Cyrus had furnished Sparta the money to keep her fleet together before the battle of Goat Rivers; and now, through Sparta's favor, he was able to enlist ten thousand Greeks in his army.

Cyrus penetrated to the heart of the Persian Empire; but in a great battle near Babylon, he was killed, and his Asiatic troops routed. *The Ten Thousand Greeks*, however, proved unconquerable by the Persian half million. By treachery the Greek commanders were entrapped and murdered; but, under the leadership of *Xenophon* (pp. 33, 110), the Ten Thousand made a remarkable retreat to the Black Sea.

New Persian wars

Until this time the Greeks had waged their contests with Persia only along the *coasts* of Asia. After the Ten Thousand had marched, almost at will, through so many hostile nations, *the Greeks began to dream of conquering the Asiatic continent.* Indeed, in 396, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, invaded Asia Minor with a large army; but, in full career of conquest, was called back by revolts in Greece.

Theban revolution

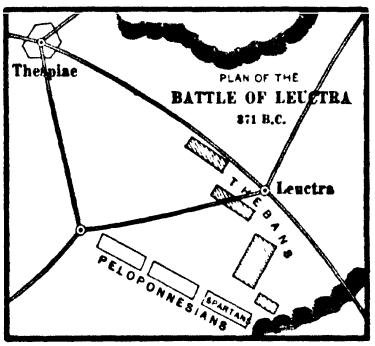
Sparta had used her power, with brutal cunning, to keep down the *beginnings* of greatness everywhere else in Hellas, breaking up promising leagues and even dispersing the inhabitants of Mantinea (leading city of neighboring Arcadia) into villages. Naturally, alliance after alliance rose against her — until finally she was overthrown by her old ally, Thebes — whose citadel had been seized treacherously *in time of peace*, by a Spartan army.

That garrison set up a Theban government of oligarchs, which drove crowds of patriotic citizens into exile. Athens sheltered these exiles, as Thebes had protected Athenian fugitives from the Thirty Tyrants. Then a number of daring young men among the exiles returned secretly to Thebes, and, through the aid of friends there, were admitted (disguised as dancing girls) to a banquet where the Theban oligarchs were already deep in wine. They killed the drunken traitors with their daggers. Then, running through the streets, they called the people to expel the Spartans from the citadel. *Thebes*

became a democracy under the lead of *Epaminondas,* who now stood to Thebes somewhat as Pericles had done to Athens.

Battle of Leuctra

A powerful Spartan army at once invaded Boeotia (in 371 B.C.) and met with an overwhelming defeat *by a smaller Theban force at Leuctra.* This amazing result was due to the military genius of Epaminondas. Hitherto the Greeks had fought in long lines, from eight to twelve men deep. Epaminondas massed his best troops in a solid column, *fifty men deep,* on the left, opposite the Spartan wing in the Peloponnesian army. His other troops were spread out as thin as possible. The solid phalanx was set in motion first; then the thinner center and right wing advanced more slowly *so as to engage the attention of the enemy opposite,* but not to come into action. The weight of the massed Theban charge crushed through the Spartan line, and trampled it under. Four hundred of the seven hundred Spartans, with their king and with a thousand other Peloponnesian hoplites, went down in ten minutes.



Fall of Sparta

The mere loss of men was fatal enough, now that Spartan citizenship was so reduced (the number of full citizens after this battle did not exceed fifteen hundred); but the effect upon the military prestige of Sparta was even more deadly. *At one stroke Sparta sank into a second-rate power;* but she met her fate with heroic composure. The news of the overthrow did not interfere with a festival that was going on in Sparta, and only the relatives of the *survivors* of the battle appeared in mourning.

For a brief time after Leuctra, Thebes was the head of Greece. Epaminondas was great as general, statesman, and philosopher. In his earlier days he had been looked upon as a dreamer; and

when the oligarchs of Thebes drove out "*active*" patriots they only sneered while Epaminondas continued calmly to *talk* of liberty to the young. Later, it was recognized that, more than

das any other man, he had prepared the way for a free democracy.

Unhappily, the few years remaining of his life Epaminondas was compelled to give mainly to war. Laconia was repeatedly invaded. During these campaigns, on one side of Sparta, Epaminondas freed Messenia — which for two centuries had been a mere district of Laconia — and on the other side, organized Arcadia into a federal union, so as to "surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade." The great Theban aided the Messenians to found a new capital, *Messene*, and in Arcadia he restored Mantinea. In this district he also founded *Megalopolis*, "the Great City," by combining forty scattered villages.

Fall of Thebes The leadership of Thebes, however, rested solely on the supreme genius of her one statesman. In 362, for the fourth time, Epaminondas marched against Sparta, and at Mantinea won another complete victory. The Spartans had been unable to learn; and went down again before the same tactics that had crushed them nine years earlier at Leuctra. Mantinea was the greatest land battle ever fought between Hellenes; but the victory bore no fruit, for Epaminondas fell on the field, and his city sank at once to a slow and narrow policy.

The Macedonian conquest The failure of the Greek cities to unite into larger states made it certain that sooner or later they must fall to some outside power. Sparta and Thebes (with Persian aid) had been able to prevent Athenian leadership; Thebes and Athens had overthrown Sparta; Sparta and Athens had been able to check Thebes. Twenty years of anarchy followed; and then Greece fell to a foreign master.

Philip II Until some years after Leuctra, the Macedonians (part of the outer rim of the Greek race) had been only a loose union of barbarous tribes. Then Philip II (ambitious, crafty, sagacious, persistent, unscrupulous, an unfailing judge of character, and a marvelous organizer) made his people a nation, and set himself to make them true Greeks by making them the leaders of Greece

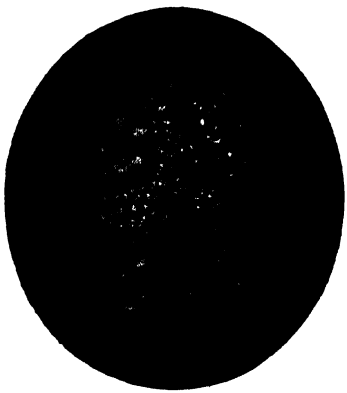
At his accession Macedon was a poor country without a good harbor. The first need was an outlet on the sea. Philip found one by conquering the Chalcidic peninsula — whose gold mines furnished him a huge revenue. Soon he turned his energies to Greece. In all Greek states, among the pretended

patriots, there were secret servants in his pay, while even some farsighted leaders (like Isocrates at Athens) seem to have believed honestly that the hope of Greece lay in *union* under Macedon.

Philip's wealth made it possible for him to keep a disciplined army ready for use. This army was as superior to the two-months citizen armies of Hellas as his secret and persistent "diplomacy" was more cunning and effective than the changing

The phalanx

counsels and open plans of a public assembly. During a stay at Thebes while a boy, Philip had become familiar with the Theban phalanx. He now enlarged and improved it, so that the ranks presented five rows of bristling spears projecting beyond the front rank of soldiers. The flanks were protected by light-armed troops, and the Macedonian nobles furnished the finest of cavalry. At the same time a field "artillery" first appears, made up of curious engines able to throw darts and great stones three hundred yards. *Such a mixture of trained troops, on a permanent footing, was altogether novel.* Philip created the instrument with which his son was to conquer the world.



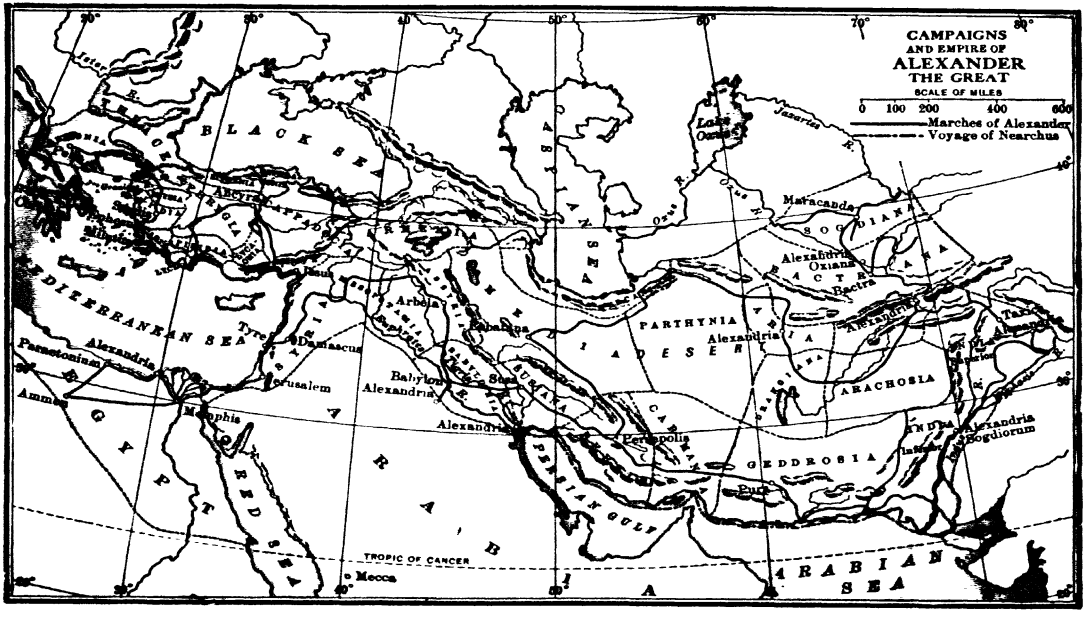
PHILIP II OF MACEDON. — A gold medallion by Alexander.

Demosthenes and his Philippics

The only man who constantly opposed Philip (although in vain) was Demosthenes the Athenian. Demosthenes was the greatest orator of Greece. To check Macedonia became the one aim of his life; and the last glow of Greek independence flames up in his passionate appeals to Athens that she defend Hellas against Macedon as she had once done against Persia. "Suppose," he cried in one of his noble "Philippics," "that you have one of the gods, as surety that Philip will leave *you* untouched, in the name of all the gods, it is a shame for you in ignorant stupidity to sacrifice the rest of Hellas!"

Philip's conquest of Greece

In 338 B.C., Philip threw off the mask, invaded Greece, and crushed the combined Athenians and Thebans at *Chaeronea.* Then a congress of Greek states at Corinth *recognized Macedonia as the head of Greece.* The separate states were to keep their local self-government, but foreign matters, including war and peace, were committed to Philip. Philip was also declared *general in chief of the armies of Greece for a war against Persia.*


CAMPAIGNS
AND EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600
Marches of Alexander
Voyage of Nearchus
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PARTHYNIA
MARGIANA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
ARACHOSIA
GEDROSIA
INDIA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Lake Oxus
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Maracanda
Alexandria Oxiana
Bactra
Alexandria
Alexandria
Alexandria Bogdiorum
Taxila
Hydaspes R.
Indus R.
Hydraspes R.
Alexandria
Susa
Persepolis
Pasargadae
Babylon
Alexandria
Arbela
Gaugamela
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Memphis
Alexandria
Pantocosmus
Ammon
Mecca
TROPIC OF CANCER

PART III — THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two. — BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

CHAPTER XIV

ALEXANDER JOINS EAST AND WEST

Alexander "the Great," 336 B.C.

Two years after Chaeronea, Philip of Macedon was assassinated. He was just ready to begin the invasion of Asia; and the work was taken up by his son *Alexander*. As a boy, Alexander had been fearless and self-willed, with fervent affections. He was devoted to Homer, and he knew the *Iliad* by heart. Homer's Achilles he claimed for an ancestor and took for his ideal. His education was directed by *Aristotle* (p. 143), and from this great teacher he learned to admire Greek culture.

Order restored

At his father's death Alexander was a stripling of twenty years. He was to prove a rare military genius. He never refused an engagement and never lost a battle, and he could be shrewd and adroit in diplomacy; but at this time he was known only as a rash boy. Revolt broke out everywhere; but the young king showed himself at once both statesman and general. With marvelous rapidity he struck crushing blows on this side and on that. For a second revolt Thebes was sacked and leveled with the ground, except the house of Pindar (p. 73), and the miserable thirty thousand survivors were sold as slaves.

Conquest of the Persian Empire

Then, with his authority firmly reëstablished, Alexander turned to attack Persia. In 334 B.C., he crossed the Hellespont with 35,000 troops, an army quite enough to scatter any Oriental force, and as large as any general could handle well in that day on long marches in a hostile country. The route of march can best be traced on the map opposite. The conquest of the

empire took five years, and the story falls into three parts, each marked by a famous battle.

Asia Minor: the Granicus

1. The Persian satraps of *Asia Minor* met the invaders at the *Granicus*, a small stream in ancient Troyland. Alexander himself led the Macedonian charge through the river and up the steep bank into the midst of the Persian cavalry, where he barely escaped death. The victory made him master of all Asia Minor.

Syria: Issus

2. To strike at the heart of the empire at once would have been to leave behind him a large Persian fleet, to encourage revolt in Greece. *Alexander wisely determined to secure the entire coast*, and so make safe his "line of communication." Accordingly he turned south, to reduce Phoenicia and Egypt. Meantime the Persians had gathered a great army; but in a narrow defile at *Issus* Alexander easily overthrew their host of six hundred thousand men led by King Darius in person. He now assumed the title, King of Persia. The siege of Tyre (p. 47) detained him a year; but Egypt welcomed him as a deliverer. While in that country he founded *Alexandria* at the mouth of the Nile — a city destined to be for many centuries a commercial and intellectual center for the world, where before there had been only a haunt of pirates.

Interior of Asia: Arbela

3. Darius now proposed that he and Alexander should share the empire between them, with the Euphrates for the dividing line. Rejecting this offer contemptuously, *Alexander took up his march for the interior*. Following the ancient route from Egypt to Assyria, he met Darius near *Arbela*, not far from ancient Nineveh. The Persians are said to have numbered a million men. Alexander purposely allowed them choice of time and place, and by a third decisive victory *proved* the hopelessness of their resistance. Darius never gathered another army. The capitals of the empire — Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis — surrendered, with enormous treasure in gold and silver, and the Persian Empire had fallen (331 B.C.).

Campaigns in the East

The next six years went to more desperate warfare in the eastern mountain regions, and in India. Alexander carried his arms as far east from Babylon as Babylon was from Mace-

donia. He traversed great deserts; subdued the warlike and princely chiefs of Bactria and Sogdiana up to the steppes of the wild Tartar tribes beyond the Oxus; twice forced the passes of the Hindukush; conquered the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan; and led his army into the fertile and populous plains of northern India. He crossed the Indus, won realms *beyond* the ancient Persian province of the Punjab, and planned still more distant empires; but on the banks of the Hyphasis River his faithful Macedonians refused to be led farther, to waste away in inhuman perils; and the chagrined conqueror was compelled to return to Babylon. This city he made his capital, and here he died of a drunken fever two years later (323 B.C.) at the age of thirty-two.

Merging of East and West

Alexander began his conquest to avenge the West upon the East. But he came to see excellent and noble qualities in Oriental life, and he rose to a broader view. He aimed to fuse the East and the West into a new civilization. Persian youths were trained by thousands in Macedonian fashion to replace the veterans of Alexander's army; Persian nobles were welcomed at court and given high offices; and the government of Asia was intrusted largely to Asiatics, on a system similar to that of Darius the Great. Alexander himself adopted Persian manners and customs, and he bribed and coaxed and forced his officers and soldiers to do the like.

Hellenism the leaven for the mass

At the same time Alexander saw that to fulfill this mission he must open the East to Greek ideas. The races might mingle their blood; the Greek might learn much from the Orient, and in the end be absorbed by it; *but the thought and art of little Hellas, with its active energy, must leaven the vast passive mass of the East.*

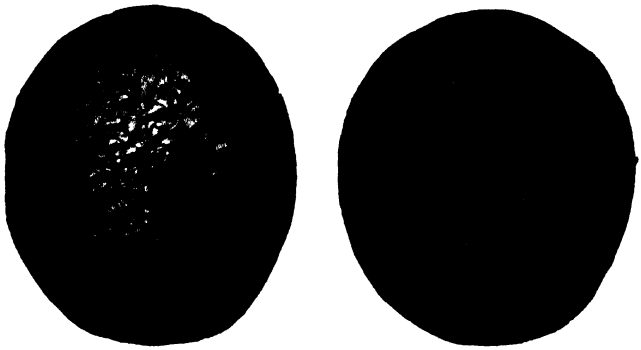
The many Alexandrias

One great measure, for this end, was the founding of chains of cities, to bind the conquests together and to become the homes of Hellenic influence. Alexander himself built seventy of these towns. Their walls sprang up under the pick and spade of the soldiery along the lines of march. One great city, we are told, walls and houses, was completed in twenty days.

Sometimes these places were mere garrison towns on distant frontiers, but oftener they became mighty emporiums at the intersection of great lines of trade. There was an Alexandria on the Jaxartes, on the Indus, on the Euphrates, as well as on the Nile. Many of these cities remain great capitals to this day, like Herat and Kandahar. (Iskandar, or Kandahar, is an Oriental form of the Greek name Alexander.)

Greek colonies in the Orient

This building of Greek cities was continued by Alexander's successors. Once more, and on a vaster scale than ever before, the Greek genius for colonization found vent. *Each new city had a Greek nucleus.* At first this consisted mainly of worn-out



ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER IN A LION-HUNT.

The two sides of a gold medallion struck by Alexander at Tarsus.

veterans, left behind as a garrison; but adventurous youth, emigrating from old Hellas to win fortune, continued to reinforce the Greek element. The native village people roundabout were gathered in to make the bulk of the inhabitants; and these also soon became "Hellenized."

Cities in the age of Alexander

These cities were well paved. They had ample provision for lighting by night, a good water supply, and police protection. They met in their own assemblies, managed their own courts, and collected their own taxes. For centuries they made the backbone of Hellenism throughout the world. Greek was the ordinary speech of their streets; Greek architecture built their temples, and Greek sculpture adorned them; they celebrated

Greek games and festivals. No longer in little Hellas alone, but over the whole East, in Greek theaters, vast audiences were educated by the plays of Euripides. The culture developed by a small people became the heritage of a vast Graeco-Oriental world.

Wealth augmented

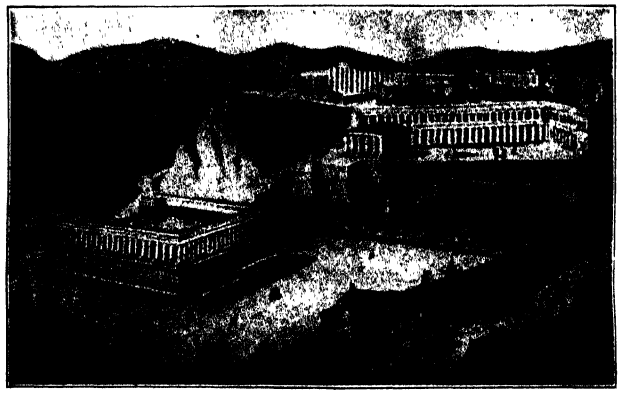
Wealth was enormously augmented in the West. The vast treasure of gold and silver which Oriental monarchs had hoarded in secret vaults was thrown again into circulation, and large sums were brought back to Europe by returning adventurers, along with a new taste for Oriental luxuries. Manifold new comforts and enjoyments adorned and enriched life.

Science advanced

A new era of scientific progress began. Alexander himself had the zeal of an explorer. When he first touched the Indus, he thought it the upper course of the Nile; but he built a great fleet of two thousand vessels, sailed down the river to the Indian Ocean, and then sent his friend Nearchus to explore that sea and to trace the coast to the mouth of the Euphrates. After a voyage of many months, Nearchus reached Babylon. He had mapped the coast line, made frequent landings, and collected a mass of observations and a multitude of strange plants and animals. This expedition was more important for its day than the famous scientific exploration by Lewis and Clark, from the Missouri to the Pacific, was in its day. At other times, scientific collections were made by Alexander, to be sent to his old instructor Aristotle, who embodied the results of his study upon them in a *Natural History* of fifty volumes. (At one time, it is said, a thousand men were engaged in making such collections.)

Thus Alexander's victories enlarged the map of the world once more, and made these vaster spaces the home of a higher culture. *They grafted the new West upon the old East, — a graft from which sprang the plant of our later civilization.*

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 108–118, and Wheeler's *Alexander the Great.*



PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF PERGAMOS, a Greek city of Asia, as "restored" by Thiersch. The city lay lower down, upon the plain.

CHAPTER XV

THE HELLENISTIC WORLD, 323–150 B.C.

Wars of the Succession, 323–280 B.C.

Alexander left no heir old enough to succeed him. On his deathbed, asked to whom he would leave his throne, he replied grimly, "To the strongest"; and for a half century, as he foresaw, the history of the civilized world was a horrible welter of war and assassination.

The third century B.C.

About 280 B.C., something like a fixed order emerged. Then followed a period of sixty years, known as the *Glory of Hellenism*. The Hellenistic[1] world reached from the Adriatic to the Indus, and consisted of: (1) three great kingdoms, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia*; (2) a broken chain of smaller monarchies scattered from *Media* to *Epirus* (some of them, like *Pontus* and *Armenia*, under dynasties descended from Persian princes); and (3) many single free cities like *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*.

Likeness to modern Europe

In many ways all the vast district bore a striking resemblance to modern Europe. There was a like division into great and small states, ruled by dynasties related by intermarriages; there was a common civilization, and a recognition of common interests as against outside barbarism; and there were shifting alliances,

[1] *Hellenic* refers to the old Hellas, *Hellenistic*, to the wider world, of mixed Hellenic and Oriental character, after Alexander.

and many greedy wars to preserve "the balance of power" or to secure trade advantages. There was a likeness to modern society, too, in the refinement of the age, in its excellences and its vices, the great learning, the increase in skill and in criticism, and, toward the close, in socialistic agitation among hungry sullen mobs against the ostentatious and wasteful wealth that jostled them in the cities.

THE APOLLO BELVEDERE, — representing the god defending his temple at Delphi with his thunderbolt from a raid of Gauls. The statue commemorates a raid which in some way was repulsed in disorder.

Invasion by the Gauls

One event was of *general* interest, the great Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. This was the first formidable barbarian attack upon the Eastern world since the Scythians had been chastised by the early Persian kings. A century before, hordes of these same Gauls had devastated northern Italy and sacked the rising city of Rome. Now they poured into exhausted Macedonia, penetrated into Greece as far as Delphi, and carried havoc even into Asia. For a long period every great sovereign of the Hellenic world turned his arms upon them, until they were finally settled as peaceful colonists in a region of Asia Minor, which took from them the name *Galatia*.

Egypt

Immediately upon Alexander's death, one of his generals, *Ptolemy*, chose Egypt for his province. His descendants, all known as Ptolemies, ruled the land until the Roman conquest. Ptolemy I built the first lighthouse to protect the growing commerce of Alexandria. Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) restored

the old canal from the Red Sea to the Nile, constructed other roads, and fostered learning more than any of the world rulers before him.

The Alexandrian Age

About 220 B.C. there began a general *political* decline in the Hellenistic world. The thrones of Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia all fell to boys who showed a degeneracy ommon in Oriental ruling families after a few great generations. But the splendor of Hellenistic *civilization* grew brighter for a half century longer. The whole period from 280 to 150 B.C. is often known as "the Alexandrian Age" — from the Egyptian capital which led the other centers of culture.

ALEXANDRIAN LIGHTHOUSE (*Tower of Pharos*), as "restored" by Adler. The tower rose 325 feet (thirty stories) into the air, and from the summit a group of polished reflecting mirrors threw its light at night far out to sea. It seemed to the Jewish citizens of Alexandria to make real once more the old Hebrew story of the Pillar of Cloud by day and of Fire by night, — to guide wanderers on the wastes of waves. "All night," said a Greek poet, "will the sailor, driving before the storm, see the fire gleam from its top." This structure stood for more than 16 centuries.

Literature

This many-sided age produced new forms in art and literature: especially (1) *the prose romance*, a story of love and adventure, the forerunner of the modern novel; (2) *the pastoral poetry* of *Theocritus*, which was to influence Virgil and Tennyson; and (3) *personal memoirs*. Treatises on literary criticism abounded; the science of grammar was developed; and poets prided themselves upon writing all kinds of verse equally well. Intellectually, in its faults, as in its virtues, the time strikingly resembles our own.[1]

[1] This period saw also the most important attempt at a federal government that the world was to know until the founding of the United States of America. For many years *the Achaean League* seemed about to revive the ancient glory of old Hellas; but this promise was ruined by a selfish war with a reformed and "socialistic" Sparta, and Macedonian rule was again established.

Painting and sculpture

Painting was carried to great perfection. According to popular stories, *Zeuxis* painted a cluster of grapes so that birds pecked at them, while *Apelles* painted a horse so that real horses neighed at the sight. Greek sculpture, too, produced some of its greatest work in this period. Among the famous pieces that survive are the *Dying Gaul*, the *Apollo Belvedere* (p. 141), the *Venus of Milo* (Melos), and the *Laocoön* group.

Philosophy

After Socrates, Greek philosophy had three periods. (*For the Spartan and Theban period.*) The most famous disciple of Socrates is known best by his nickname *Plato* ("broad-browed"). His name, and that of his pupil and rival, *Aristotle*, of the next period, are among the greatest in the history of ancient thought, — among the very greatest, indeed, in all time. Plato taught that things are merely the shadows of ideas and that *ideas* alone are real. This statement gives a very imperfect picture of his beautiful and mystical philosophy — which is altogether too complex to treat here. It is more important to know that, for the first time in history, Plato planned an *ideal* state (his *Republic*), — so prophesying a time when men shall build the world intelligently.

VENUS (*Aphrodite*) OF MELOS. — This beautiful statue is now in the Louvre.

(*For the Macedonian period.*) *Aristotle*, in sharp contrast with Plato, cared about *things*. Besides his philosophical treatises, he wrote upon rhetoric, logic, poetry, politics, physics and chemistry, and natural history; and he built up all the knowledge gathered by the ancient world into one complete system.

For the intellectual world of his day he worked a task not unlike that of his pupil Alexander in the political world. More than any other of the ancients, too, he was many-sided and modern in his way of thinking.

(*For the period after Alexander.*) During the Wars of the Succession, two new philosophical systems were born, — *Epicureanism* and *Stoicism*. Each called itself highly "practical." Neither asked, as older philosophies had done, "What is true?" Stoicism asked (in a sense following Socrates), "What is right?" and Epicureanism asked merely, "What is expedient?" One sought virtue; the other, happiness. Neither sought knowledge.

The Epicureans

1. Epicurus was an Athenian citizen. He taught that every man *must* pursue happiness as an end, but that the highest pleasure was to be obtained by a wise choice of the refined pleasures of the mind and of friendship, — not by gratifying the lower appetites. He advised temperance and virtue as means to happiness; and he himself lived a frugal life, saying that with a crust of bread and a cup of cold water he could rival Zeus in happiness. Under cover of his theories, however, some of his followers taught and practiced gross living.

The Epicureans denied the supernatural, and held death to be the end of all things. Epicureanism produced some lovable characters, but no exalted ones.

The Stoics

2. Zeno the Stoic also taught at Athens, in the painted porch (*stoa*) on the north side of the market place. His followers made virtue, not happiness, the end of life. If happiness were to come at all, it would come, they said, as a result, not as an end. They placed emphasis upon the dignity of human nature: the wise man should be superior to the accidents of fortune.

The Stoics believed in the gods as manifestations of one Divine Providence that ordered all things well. The noblest characters of the Greek and Roman world from this time belonged to this sect. Stoicism was inclined, however, to ignore the gentler and kindlier side of human life; and with bitter natures it merged into the philosophy of the Cynics, of whom *Diogenes*, with his tub and lantern, is the great example. Both

Stoics and Epicureans held to a wide brotherhood of man,—one result of the union of the world in the new Graeco-Oriental culture.

Libraries and museums: "universities"

The closing age of Hellenistic history saw the forerunner of the modern university. The beginning was made at Athens. Plato, by his will, left his gardens and other property to his followers, *organized in a club.* Athenian law did not recognize the right of any *group* of people to hold property, unless it were a religious body. Therefore this club claimed to be organized for the worship of the *Muses*, who were the patrons of literature and learning; and the name *Museum* was given to the institution. *This was the first endowed academy, and the first union of teachers and learners into a corporation.*[1]

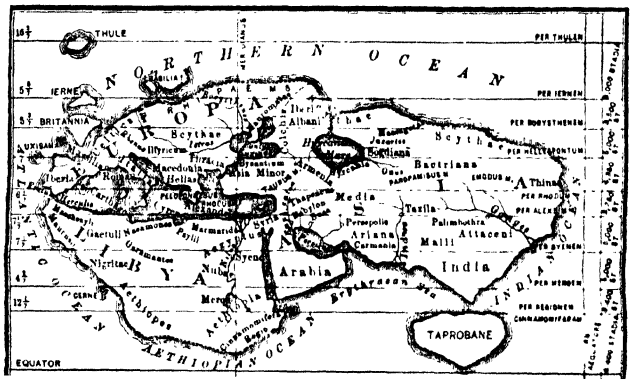
The idea has never since died out of the world. The model and name were used a little later by the Ptolemies at Alexandria in *their* "Museum." This was a richly endowed institution, with many students. It had a great library of over half a million volumes (manuscripts), with scribes to make careful copies and explain the meaning of doubtful passages by notes. Every important city in the Hellenic world wished its library to have an "Alexandrian edition" of each famous book, as the standard work upon which to base copies. (It is upon such copies that our modern printed editions of Greek books are mainly based.) One enterprise, of incalculable benefit to the later world, shows the zeal of the Ptolemies in collecting and translating texts. Alexandria had many Jews in its population, but they were coming to use the Greek language. Ptolemy Philadelphus had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek for their benefit. This is the famous *Septuagint* translation, so called from the tradition that it was the work of *seventy* scholars.

The Alexandrian Museum had also observatories and botanical and zoölogical gardens, with collections of rare plants and animals from distant parts of the world; and the librarians and other scholars who were gathered about the institution corresponded to the faculty of a modern university.

[1] A corporation is a body of men recognized by the law as a "person" so far as property rights go.

Science

Science made greater strides than ever before in an equal length of time. Medicine, surgery, botany, and mechanics began to be real sciences. *Archimedes* of Syracuse discovered the principles of the lever and of specific gravity, as our high school students learn them in physics, and constructed burning mirrors and new hurling engines which made effective siege artillery. *Euclid*, a Greek at Alexandria, building upon the old Egyptian knowledge, produced the geometry which is still taught in our schools with little addition. *Eratosthenes* (born



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES

(The Latin names are taken from Strabo, two centuries later, who closely followed Eratosthenes.)

276 B.C.), a librarian at Alexandria, wrote a systematic work on geography, invented delicate astronomical instruments, and devised the present way of measuring the circumference of the earth — with results nearly correct. His maps were the first to use meridians and parallels to show latitude and longitude. A little later, *Aristarchus* taught that the earth moved round the sun; and *Hipparchus* calculated eclipses, catalogued the stars, wrote books on astronomy, and founded the science of trigonometry. Aristotle had already given all the proofs of the sphericity of the earth that are common in our textbooks now (except that of actual circumnavigation) and *had asserted that men could probably reach Asia by sailing west from Europe.*

The scientific spirit gave rise, too, to actual voyages of exploration into many regions. Daring discoverers brought back from northern regions wild tales of icebergs gleaming in the cold aurora of the polar skies, and, from southern voyages, stories of hairy men ("gorillas") in vine-tangled tropical forests.

Our debt to Hellas

The Greek contributions to our civilization we cannot name and count, as we did those from the preceding Oriental peoples. Egypt and Babylon gave us outer features, — *garments*, if we choose so to speak, for the body of our civilization. *But the Greeks gave us its soul.* Said a great historian, "There is nothing that *moves* in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin."[1] Because the Greek contributions are of the spirit rather than of the body, they are hard to describe in a brief summary. One supreme thing, however, must be mentioned. The Greeks gave us the *ideal of freedom, regulated by self-control,* — freedom in thought, in religion, and in politics.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 119–125 (19 pages, mostly from Polybius, Arrian, and Plutarch, the three Greek historians of that age).

Additional: Plutarch's *Lives* ("Aratus," "Agis," "Cleomenes," "Philopoemen"); Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire.*

FACT DRILLS ON GREEK HISTORY

1. The class should form a *Table of Dates* gradually as the critical points are reached, and should then *drill* upon it until it says itself as the alphabet does. The following dates are enough for this drill in Greek history. The table should be filled out as is done for the first two dates.

776 B.C.	First recorded Olympiad	371 B.C.	
490 "	Marathon	338 "	
405 "		220 "	

2. *Explain concisely the following terms or names:* Olympiads, Mycenaean Culture, Olympian Religion, Sappho. (*Let the class extend the list several fold.*)

[1] See also theme sentences on page 53.

PART IV — ROME

The center of our studies, the goal of our thoughts, the point to which all paths lead and the point from which all paths start again, is to be found in Rome and her abiding power. — FREEMAN.

CHAPTER XVI

LAND AND PEOPLE

Map Study *Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina,* and *Venetia* are outside ancient "Italy" — which included only the Apennine peninsula, not the Po valley. Fix the position of *Etruria, Latium, Campania, Samnium,* and the *Sabines.* Observe that the *Arnus* (Arno), in Etruria, the *Tiber,* between Etruria and Latium, and the *Liris,* between Latium and Campania, are the most important rivers. *Their basins were homes of early culture in Italy.*

Geographical influence About 200 B.C. the historical "center of gravity" shifted *westward* once more to Italy, which till then had been merely an outlying fragment of the civilized world. European culture *began* in the peninsula nearest to the older civilizations of the East. Just as naturally, *the state which was to unite and rule all the coasts of the Mediterranean had its home in the central peninsula* which divides that inland sea.

Italy and Greece stood back to back. Italy faced, not the old East, but the new West. The mountains are nearer the eastern coast than the western: so, on the *eastern* side the short rocky spurs and swift torrents lose themselves quickly in the Adriatic. The western slope is nearly twice as broad: here are rivers and fertile plains, and, as a result, most of the few harbors and the important states. When Italy was ready for outside work, she gave herself first to conquering and civilizing the lands of the western Mediterranean.

ITALY
REFERENCE MAP
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
GERMANIA
RAETIA
Rhine
Drusus
Verona
Aquileia
Ravenna
Ancona
Arretium
Tarquinii
CYRNOS
OR CORSICA
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Neapolis
Pompeii
Brundusium
Rhegium
Lilybaeum
Agrigentum
Syracuse
AFRICAN SEA
Utica
NUMIDIA
Carthage
AFRICA

Races

In prehistoric times, the fame of Italy's rich plains and sunny, vine-covered slopes had tempted swarm after swarm of barbarians across the Alps and the Adriatic; and already at the opening of history the land held a curious mixture of races, — savage Gauls in the Po valley; mysterious Etruscans just north of the Tiber; Greeks in the south; and in the center the Italians. The eastern Italians were highlanders (Sabines, Samnites, Volscians); the western, lowland Italians were called Latins, and one of their cities was Rome.

The Etruscans came in from western Asia long before the Greeks began to settle in Italy. They were mighty builders, and have left many inscriptions in a language to which scholars can find no key. Their early tombs contain articles of Egyptian, Phoenician, and early Greek workmanship, brought there by traders who doubtless taught them many arts. In turn, the Etruscans were Rome's first teachers.

ETRUSCAN VASE, — red figures on a black ground. There is a strong resemblance to ancient Cretan work; and for other reasons some scholars suspect a close connection between Cretans and Etruscans.

Old legends about early Rome

The Romans had no Homer.[1] Their early history, as it was first put together by their historians about 200 B.C., was a mass of curious legends, without much value except for the place they hold in poem and story. But in recent years excavations have taught us many facts about early Rome.

The early Latins

The Latins called their district *Latium*. This territory was about the size of an ordinary American county. It was broken here and there by scattered hills; and on some one of these

[1] Some modern scholars, however, believe that there must have been a copious ballad literature among the people, from which early historians could draw. Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* was an attempt to reproduce such ballads as Macaulay thought must once have existed.

each Latin tribe had its citadel. Once a year all Latins gathered at one of these hill forts, *Mount Alba*, for a festival in honor of the chief Latin god, Jupiter; and the straggling village Alba Longa (the Long White town) was the recognized leader of the Latin tribes in war against the robber bands of Sabines from the mountains and against the powerful Etruscans across the Tiber.

Trade with Etruscans

In many ways, however, the Etruscans had become necessary to Latin comfort. The Latins themselves were peasant farmers, without smiths or artisans among them. If a farmer needed a plowshare or a knife, he drove an ox across the plain to the bank of the Tiber, or sometimes carried grain there, to trade it to some Etruscan for the tool.

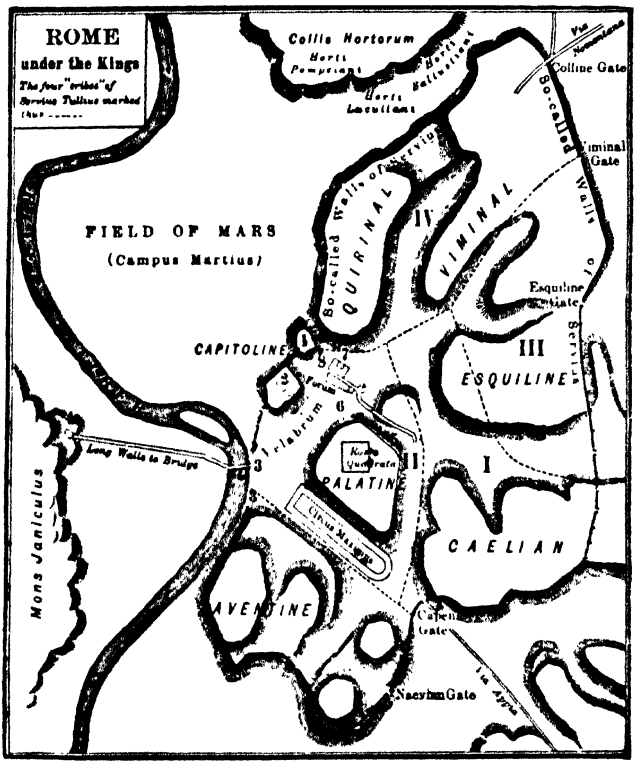
About twelve miles up the Tiber (a third of the way from the sea to the mountains) the river could be crossed by a ford at the foot of an island (map, p. 151). To this place Etruscan traders very early began to bring wares of metal and wood on regular "market days," to tempt this profitable Latin trade. Now and then, too, a Cretan or Phoenician ship thought it worth while to row up the river; and to the same point the Sabines from the foothills of the Apennines floated down their wine and grain on flat barges. Just south of the ford arose a remarkable group of seven low hills. The level space between these hills, opening on the river, became the regular market or *Forum*, for all this trade.

The square Palatine town: the nucleus of Rome

At some early date the Etruscans improved the river-crossing by building a bridge there. The Latins feared lest the Etruscans use it for armed invasion, and so they guarded their end of it by building a square fort about the top of the Palatine, the steepest hill close by. *Here a permanent Latin town at once grew up.* This "square town" (the earliest "Rome") dates back at least to 1200 B.C.; and in places the walls may still be traced.

Early settlements were made also on at least two other of the seven hills. Roman tradition says that one of these towns was founded by an invading tribe of Sabines, and the other by a conquering Etruscan tribe. No doubt, there was a long period

Other early settlements on the seven hills and federation



1. Citadel (Arx).
2. Temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus).
3. "Quays of the Tarquins."
4. Citadel at Janiculum.
5. "Wall of Romulus."
6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Senate House (Curia).
8. Comitium

of war between the three hill-forts, but, finally, *the three settlements were united into one state*, on an equal footing. *Thus began the process of association that was later to unite Italy.* Rome was a city, not of *one* hill, like most Italian towns, but of *seven* hills.

About 750 B.C. the old kings gave way to "tyrants" (the

Etruscan "tyrants" and their works

legendary Servius and the Tarquins) like those who seized power in Greek cities at about that time. Some of them seem to have been Etruscan adventurers, or conquerers. These "tyrants" drained the marshes and inclosed all seven hills within one wall — the so-called "wall of Servius" — taking in large open spaces for future city growth. The huge drain

ETRUSCAN TOMBS NEAR ORVIETO, not far from Rome. A name on one tomb is made out to be Tarkhnos — which may be the Tarquinius (Tarquin) of Roman story.

(Cloaca Maxima) and the remains of a massive wall pictured in these pages are supposed to belong to this period.

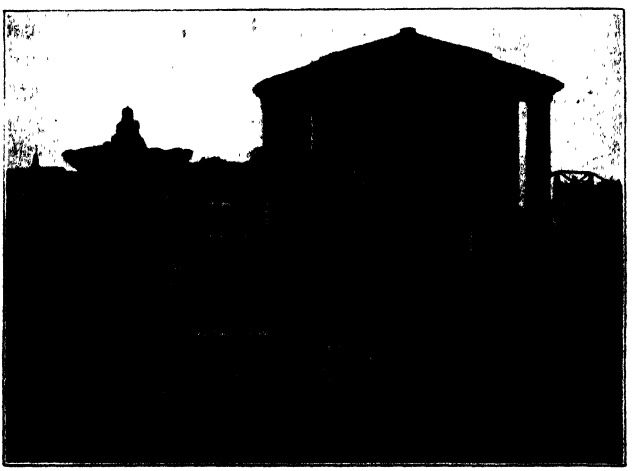
Rome the head of the Latin confederacy

At the Tiber mouth, these new kings founded *Ostia*, the first Roman colony, for a port; and, on the *north* side of the river, Rome seized and fortified *Mount Janiculum*. Before the year 500, several conquered Latin towns had been razed, *their inhabitants brought to Rome*, and Rome had succeeded to the *headship of the Latin confederacy*.

The life of the early Romans was plain and simple. *Their houses* were small huts, often only one room, with no chimney or window. The open door and an opening in the peaked roof

let out the smoke from the hearth fire, and let in light; and a slight cavity directly below the roof-opening received the rain. **Home life at early Rome**

Religion centered about the home and the daily tasks. For each house the door had its protecting god *Janus*, two-faced, looking in and out; and each hearth fire had the goddess *Vesta*. When the city grew powerful, it had a *city* Janus and a *city* Vesta. In the ancient round temple of Vesta, the holy fire of **Religion**



So-called Temple of Vesta, probably having nothing in common with the real ancient temple of the goddess except its circular form. The origin of this comparatively late building is not known. It is now a church.

the city was kept always bright by the priestesses (*Vestal Virgins*), who had to keep themselves pure in thought and act, that they might not pollute its purity.

Next to the *house gods* came the *gods of the farm:* Saturn, the god of sowing; Ceres, the goddess who made the grain grow; Venus, another goddess of fruitfulness; and Terminus, a god who dwelt in each boundary pillar, to guard the bounds of the farm — and, later, the boundaries of the state.

The early Romans had also an *ancestor worship* at each family tomb, and each Latin tribe had its ancestral deity. The war god, Mars, father of the fabled Romulus, was at first the special

god of Rome. But at the head of all the tribal gods of Latium stood Jupiter (Father Jove); and when Rome became the central Latin power, Jupiter became the center of the Roman religion. The later Romans borrowed some Greek stories about the gods (p. 65); but they lacked poetic imagination to create a beautiful mythology, as the Greeks had done.

The augurs

The gods at Rome manifested their will not by oracles but by omens, or *auspices*. These auspices were sought especially in the conduct of birds, and in the color and size of the entrails of animals. The interpretation of such signs became a kind of science, in the possession of a "college" (*collection*) of augurs. Their "science" came from the Etruscans, and seems to have been related to old Babylonian customs.

And the thrifty Roman drove hard bargains with his gods. The augurs, or soothsayers, called for fresh animals until the entrails gave the signs desired by the ruling magistrate, and then the gods were just as much bound as if they had shown favor at the first trial. The sky was watched until the desired birds did appear, and, in the later periods, tame birds were kept to give the required indications.

Patricians and plebeians

Like the Greek cities, Italian cities contained many non-citizens. In Rome this class was especially large, partly because the city had brought within its walls many clans from conquered cities, and partly because adventurers and refugees thronged to a prosperous commercial center. These non-citizens were *plebeians*. Some of them were rich; but none of them had any part in the religion, or law, or politics of the city, nor could they intermarry with citizens.

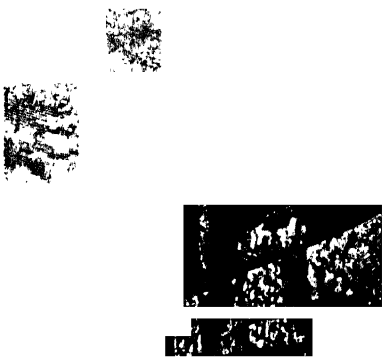
The patrician family

The citizens (the descendants of the three original tribes) were *patricians*, or "men with fathers." The Roman father had complete authority over his sons and grandsons as long as he lived, even when they were grown men and perhaps in the ruling offices of the city. When his son took a wife, she, too, leaving her own family, came under his control. His own daughters passed by marriage from his hand under that of some other house-father. The father ruled his household,

and the households of his male descendants, as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay his wife, unmarried daughter, grown-up son, or son's wife; and all that was theirs was his.

The patrician government had three parts. *The king* stood to the state as the father to the family. *The Senate* seems to have been originally a council of the chiefs of the 300 clans (or gentes) that made up the three tribes. *The Assembly* was much like the Homeric gathering. It met only at the call of the king. It did not debate. It listened to the king's proposals, and voted yes or no.

The patrician government



So-called Wall of Servius. The old legends said that Servius built a wall about the seven hills. Cf. p. 151. This wall was thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high. It consisted of a huge rampart of earth, faced on each side by a wall of immense stones fitted together without mortar. Part of this colossal structure has been uncovered recently on the Aventine.

Originally the army was made up of the patricians and their immediate dependents. But as the plebeians grew in numbers, the kings needed their service also. According to legend, "Servius" divided all landholders, plebeian as well as patrician, into six classes, armed according to their wealth; and each of these classes was divided into a fixed number of companies, or *centuries*. Now in barbarous society, *the obligation to fight* and *the right to vote* go together (cf. page 76), and gradually this army of centuries became, in peace, an Assembly of Centuries,

Gains by the plebs under the tyrants

The Assembly of Centuries

which took over the political power of the older patrician Assembly.

The patrician minority manage to control the Assembly

The patricians, however, held most of the power in this new gathering. As population increased, the poorer classes grew in numbers faster than the rich; but they did not gain duly in political weight, because *the patricians kept the number of centuries from being changed.* The patricians had a majority in the centuries of the richer classes. These centuries shrank up into skeleton companies, while the centuries of the lower classes came to contain far more than 100 men each; *but each century, full or skeleton, counted just one vote.* This gave the patricians a vast advantage over the more numerous plebeians.

None the less it was a gain that the position of a man was fixed not by his birth, but by his wealth — something that he might help change. The first great barrier against democracy was broken down.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EARLY REPUBLIC, TO 266 B.C.

The consuls

About 500 B.C. the patricians replaced their king by two elected consuls,[1] ruling for one year only. For that year, the consuls kept most of the old royal power — except that either might stop any act of the other by calling out *Veto* ("I forbid").

The dictator

The danger of a deadlock by a mutual veto, which might be fatal in a time of foreign peril, was avoided by a curious arrangement. At the request of the Senate either consul might appoint a *dictator*. This officer was the old king revived, save that his term of office could not exceed *six months*.

Class struggles

The first century and a half of the Republic was a stern conflict between patricians and plebeians. The last kings had leaned upon the plebeians and had protected them. That order had lost, not gained, by the revolution. The overthrow of the kings had left Rome a patrician oligarchy. The plebeians could hold no office; they controlled only a minority of centuries in the Assembly, and they had no way even to get a measure considered. At best, they could vote only upon laws proposed by patrician magistrates, and they could help elect only patrician officers, who had been nominated by other patricians. The patrician Senate, too, had a final veto upon any vote of the centuries; and, in the last resort, the patrician consuls could always fall back upon the patrician augurs to prevent a possible plebeian victory — since the augurs could forbid a vote by declaring the auspices unfavorable. Law was unwritten, and, to the plebs, unknown, so that it was easy for a patrician to take shameful advantage in lawsuits.

The ruling class used their political advantages to secure unjust economic advantages. When Rome conquered a hostile city, she took away a half or a third of its territory. This

[1] The stories for this period — Battle of Lake Regillus, Brutus and His Sons, Horatius at the Bridge, and the Porsenna anecdotes — should be read in Davis' *Readings* or in Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

new territory became *a common pasture ground. It belonged to the state*, and a small tax was paid for the right to graze cattle upon it: But, by selfish patrician law, only the patricians had the right to use this grazing land; and the patrician officers ceased even to collect the grazing tax. Thus the *public* land, won by plebeian blood, was enjoyed by the patricians as *private* patrician property.

Unjust privilege

War hard upon the poor

The farmer was called away frequently to battle. The plebeian had no servants to till his fields in his absence; and his possessions were more exposed to hostile forays than were the strongly fortified holdings of his greater neighbor. He might return to find his crops ruined by delay, or his homestead in ashes. Thus, more and more, the plebeians were forced to borrow tax money, or to get advances of seed corn and cattle from patrician money lenders. On failure to pay, the debtor became the property of the creditor. He was compelled thereafter to till his land (no longer his) for the creditor's benefit; or, if he refused to accept this result, he was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains, and torn with stripes. There were a few rich plebeians (from gain by trade), but they too were bitterly dissatisfied because they could not hold office or intermarry with the old Roman families.

Plebeian slavery

Livy, an early Roman historian, gives a graphic account of the first great clash between the classes — in 497 B.C.:

Plebeians win a "general strike"

The plebs, driven to despair by the cruelty of patrician creditors, refused to serve in the war against the Volscians, until the consul won them over by freeing all debtors from prison. But when the army returned victorious, the other consul refused to recognize his colleague's acts; he arrested the debtors again, and enforced the law with merciless cruelty. On a renewal of the war, the betrayed plebs again declined to fight; but finally Manius Valerius (of the great Valerian house "that loved the people well") was made dictator, and him they trusted. Victory again followed; but Valerius was unable to get the consent of the Senate to his proposed changes in the law. So the plebeian army, still in battle array outside the gates, marched away to a hill across the Anio, some three miles from Rome, where, they declared, they were going to build a Rome of their own. This first "general strike" in history forced the patricians to some real concessions (p. 159), and the plebs returned from the "Sacred Mount."

Patrician heroes who stood for justice

The patricians were especially bitter toward any of their own order who were great-souled enough to dare take the side of the people. The first such hero was *Spurius Cassius*. He had served Rome gloriously in war and in statesmanship, and finally, as consul, he proposed a reform in the selfish patrician management of the public lands. The patricians raised the cry that he was trying to win popular favor so as to make himself tyrant. This was a favorite patrician trick — not unknown to much later ages. The plebeians allowed themselves to be fooled into deserting their noble champion, and he was put to death. Under like conditions, two other heroes, *Spurius Maelius* and *Marcus Manlius*, the man who had saved Rome from the Gauls (p. 161), fell before like charges.

Tribunes

The secession of 497 B.C. gave the plebs the right to choose *tribunes*, who had power to stop any magistrate in any act by merely calling out *veto*. From a seat just outside the Senate door, the tribune's shout could even stop proceedings in that body, and he could forbid a vote in the Assembly. Thus these representatives of the plebs *could* bring the whole patrician government to a standstill. This veto power could be exercised only within the city (not in war). A tribune's door was left always unlocked, so that a plebeian in trouble might have instant admission, and the tribune's person was made sacred, — a device which did not always protect against patrician daggers.

The Twelve Tables

The next great step dates from 460 B.C., when the plebs began to demand written laws. The patricians opposed the demand furiously, but after a ten-year contest a board of ten men (*Decemvirs*) was elected to put the laws into writing. Their laws were engraved on twelve stone tables, in short, crisp sentences, and set up where all might read them. These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were the basis of all later Roman law. Like the first written laws at Athens, they were very severe, and were for the most part simply old customs reduced to writing. The new thing about them was that they were now known to all, and that *they applied to plebeian and patrician alike.*

Then came a political gain. At some early date (legend

Assembly by Tribes

says in the days of Servius) the city and its territory outside the walls had been divided into twenty-one "wards, or "tribes," for the military levy. In some way the meeting of the inhabitants of these local units grew into a regular "Assembly." The plebeians (who had no complete organization in *blood* tribes) had come to use this new Assembly of *place* "Tribes" to choose their tribunes and to adopt plans; and here they passed decrees (*plebiscita*) binding upon *all of their order*. The tribunes called this Assembly together and presided over it, as the consuls did with the Assembly of Centuries. Now by threat of another "strike," the plebs forced the patricians to agree that their *plebiscites* should be law, *binding upon the whole state*, just as the decrees of the Assembly of Centuries were. (The Senate, of course, kept a veto upon both assemblies.)

A double state

Thus the first half century of conflict set up a plebeian government over against the patrician government, — Assembly of Tribes and its Tribunes over against Assembly of Centuries and its Consuls. There was no arbiter, and no check upon civil war except the Roman preference for constitutional methods.

The Licinian Laws, 367 B.C.

To fuse these two rival governments into one took nearly a century more. Even after the two orders had begun to intermarry, the patricians long resisted all attempts to open to plebeians the sacred office of consul. In 377 B.C. the final campaign began. Under the wise leadership of the tribune *Licinius Stolo*, the plebeians united firmly in a ten-year struggle for a *group* of measures known as the *Licinian* Laws: (1) that *at least one consul* each year must be a *plebeian;* (2) that no citizen *should hold more than 300 acres of the public lands;* and (3) that payment of debts might be postponed for three years — a measure made necessary by the universal distress that had followed a recent invasion by savage Gauls (p. 161).

Victory of the plebs

Year by year the plebeians reëlected Licinius and passed the decrees anew in the Assembly of the Tribes. Each time the Senate vetoed the measures. Then the tribunes forbade the election of magistrates for the year, and so left the state without

regular government (though one year, during danger of foreign war, they patriotically permitted consuls to be chosen). At last the patricians tried to buy off the masses, by offering to yield on the matters of debts and lands if they would drop the demand regarding the consulship. But Licinius succeeded in holding his party together for the full program; and, *in 367*, the Senate gave way and the plebeian decrees became law.

Plebeian consuls now nominated plebeians for other offices; and, since appointments to the Senate were made from those who had held high office, that body itself gradually became plebeian. The long struggle had seen no violent revolutions and no massacres, such as were common in class struggles in Greek cities. Except for the assassination of one tribune (Genucius) and a little political trickery now and then, the patricians after each defeat accepted the result in good faith, and the distinction between the classes soon died out.

The Gallic invasion

While Rome was most weakened by internal strife, she had been obliged also to fight continually for life against outside foes, — Etruscans, Sabines, Volscians; and in 390 B.C. the city was actually occupied by a horde of invading Gauls except that a small garrison, under the soldier *Marcus Manlius* (p. 159), still held the Capitoline citadel. Later Romans told the story that one night the barbarians had almost surprised even this last defense, but some hungry geese, kept there for religious sacrifices, awakened Manlius by their noisy cackling just in time for him to hurl back the invaders from the walls.

Rome sacked

But the Gauls were ravaged by the deadly malaria of the Roman plain, and they had little skill or patience for a regular siege. Finally they withdrew on the payment of a huge ransom. While the gold was being weighed, the Romans objected to the scales; whereupon, as the story runs, the Gallic chieftain, Brennus, threw his sword into the scale exclaiming "Vae Victis" — "woe to the vanquished." Such has been the principle of many a peace treaty since.

Other states in Italy had suffered by the Gauls as much as Rome, or more. Rome at once stood forth as the champion of

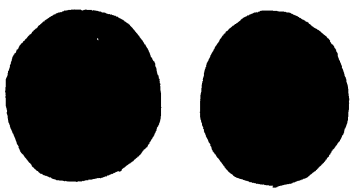
Rome expels the Gauls from Italy

Italian civilization against the barbarians. After her own immediate peril was past, she followed up the invaders of Italy in vigorous campaigns until they withdrew to the Po valley. Then, as soon as the Licinian Laws had united her own people, *she turned in earnest to unite Italy under her rule.* Some powerful alliances were formed against her, especially one between the warlike Samnites of the southern Apennines and the turbulent Gauls of the Po valley; but, using to the full the advantage of her central position, Rome always beat her foes one by one before they could unite their forces.

The final struggle was with Tarentum, a great Greek city of the south, which had called in aid from Pyrrhus, the chivalrous king of Epirus.

The war with Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus was one of the Greek military adventurers who arose after the death of Alexander. He came to Italy with a great armament and with vast designs. He hoped to unite the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and then to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellenes in the West. He knew little of Rome; but at the call of Tarentum he found himself engaged as a Greek champion with this new power. He won some victories, chiefly through his elephants, which the Romans had never before encountered; but, anxious to carry out his wider plans, he offered a favorable peace. Under the leadership of an aged and blind senator, *Appius Claudius*, defeated Rome answered haughtily that she would treat with no invader *while he stood upon Italian soil.*



A Coin of Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus chafed at the delay, and finally hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back, and a great Roman victory at *Beneventum* (275 B.C.) ruined his dream of empire and gave Rome that sovereignty of Italy which she had claimed so resolutely. In

266, she rounded off her work by conquering that part of Cisalpine Gaul which lay south of the Po.

The internal strife between classes in Rome had closed in 367. That strife had fused patricians and plebeians into one Roman people. Then that Roman people at once turned to unite Italy — and completed the task in just a century, 367–266 B.C.

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 9–15; Ihne's *Early Rome*, 135–151, 165–190; and Pelham's *Outlines*, 68–97.

Special Report by a student, from library material: the story of the Roman army sent "under the yoke" by the Samnite *Pontius*, and Rome's perfidy.

CHAPTER XVIII

UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE AFTER 266 B.C.

I. "CITIZENS" AND "SUBJECTS"

Italy now contained some 5,000,000 people. More than a fourth of these (some 1,400,000) were *Roman citizens*. The rest were *subjects*, outside the Roman state.

Classes of citizens

The majority of Roman citizens no longer lived at Rome. Large parts of Latium and Etruria and Campania had become "suburbs" of Rome; and other towns of Roman citizens were found in distant parts of Italy. There were now three classes of citizens: (1) the inhabitants of *Rome itself;* (2) members of *Roman colonies;* and (3) members of *Roman municipia.*

Roman colonies

From an early date (p. 152) Rome had planted colonies of her citizens about the central city as military posts. The colonists and their descendants kept *all the rights of citizens.* Each colony had control over its *local* affairs in an Assembly of its own; but *representative government had not been worked out,* and in order to vote upon matters that concerned the whole Roman state, the colonists had to come to Rome at the meeting of the Assembly *there.* This, of course, was usually impossible.

Municipia

There were many conquered towns, too — especially the Latin and Sabine towns — which Rome *incorporated into the state.* Such a town was called a *municipium.* These municipia differed little from Roman colonies except in origin. (They represent, therefore, a new contribution to politics. Athens had invented a clerucli system — the best advance up to her time — corresponding to Rome's colonies; but she did not learn to give citizenship to *conquered* states. By 266 B.C., Rome had a "citizen" body five times as large as Athens ever had.)

The Tribes increased to thirty-five

To suit this expansion of the state, the twenty-one Roman "tribes" (p. 160) were increased gradually to thirty-five, — four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. At first these were

real divisions of territory; but, once enrolled in a given tribe, a man remained a member, no matter where he lived, *and his son after him. As new communities were given citizenship, they were enrolled in the old thirty-five tribes. Each tribe had one vote in the Assembly.*

Rights and duties of citizens

Rome and her citizens owned directly one third the land of Italy. All Roman citizens, too, had certain valued rights. Under the head of *private rights*, they might (1) acquire property and (2) intermarry in any of Rome's possessions. Their *public rights* included the right (1) to vote in the Assembly of the Tribes, (2) to hold any office, and (3) to appeal to the Assembly if condemned to death or to bodily punishment.

In return for these privileges, the citizens furnished half the army of Italy and paid all the *direct* taxes.

The Latins

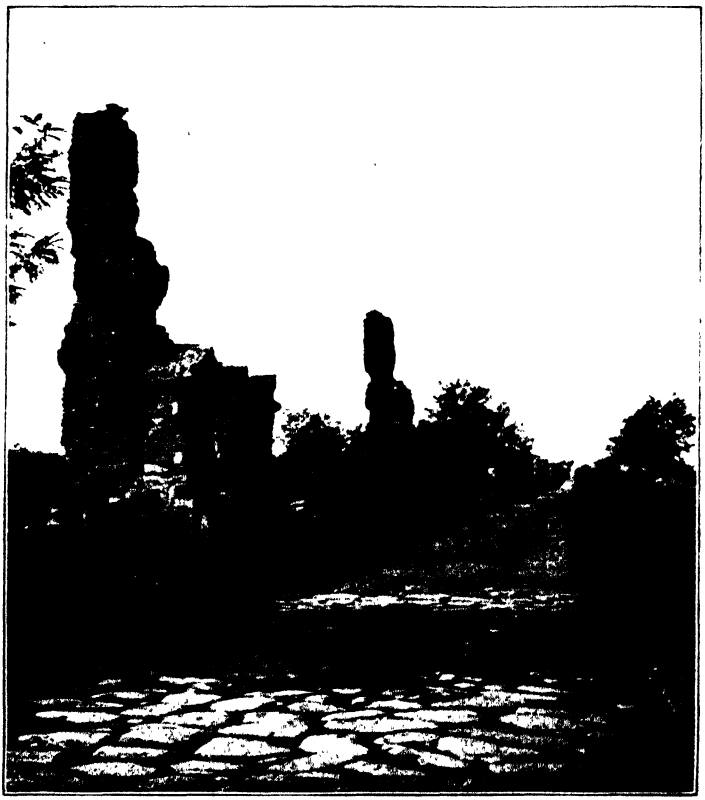
Outside the Roman state was subject-Italy, in three main classes, *Latin colonies*, *Prefectures*, and "*Allies.*" Highest in privilege among these stood the *Latins*. This name did not apply now to the old Latin towns (nearly all of which had become municipia), but to thirty-five colonies of a new kind, sent out far beyond Latium (*after 338*) from Rome's landless citizens.

These colonists were not granted full citizenship, as were the *Roman* colonies, but only the "*Latin right.*" That is, their citizens had the *private rights* of Romans; and they *might acquire full public rights* also, and become Roman citizens in all respects, *by removing to Rome and enrolling in one of the tribes. In local affairs, the Latin colonies had full self-government,* like the Roman colonies and the municipia.

The "Allies"

Most numerous of all the inhabitants of Italy stood the mass of subject Greeks, Italians, and Etruscans, under the general name of *Italian Allies*. These cities differed greatly in condition among themselves. Each one was bound to Rome by its separate treaty, and these treaties varied widely. None of the "Allies" had either the private or public rights of Romans, and they were *isolated jealously one from another;* but in general they bore few burdens and enjoyed local self-government and Roman protection.

The class of *Prefectures* consisted of three or four conquered towns, too deep offenders to warrant them in asking either the "Latin right" or "alliance." *They had no self-government.* Alone of all cities in Italy, their local government was administered for them by *prefects* sent out from Rome.



The Appian Way To-day, showing the original pavement.

Thus Rome cautiously but steadily *incorporated* conquests into herself on a basis of equal rights, while over her remaining subjects she held dominion by her justice and, even more, by a wise *toleration* of local customs. Italy had become a confederacy under a queen city.

At the same time Rome sternly isolated the subject communities. Her "Allies" had no connection with one another *except through the head city.* Even the famous roads that marked her dominion "all led to Rome." Moreover, she took skillful advantage of the grades of inferiority she had created to foment jealousies. In politics as in war, her policy was "*Divide and conquer.*"

Roman roads

The Roman roads were bonds of union. Rome began that magnificent system in 312 B.C. by building the *Via Appia* to new possessions in Campania. This was the work of the censor Appius Claudius — the man who, old and blind, afterward held Rome firm against Pyrrhus and haughtily claimed for Rome the dominion of all Italy (p. 162).

Nothing was permitted to obstruct the course of these highways. Mountains were tunneled; rivers were bridged; marshes were spanned by viaducts of masonry. The construction was slow and costly. First the workmen removed all loose soil down to some firm strata, preferably the native rock. Then was laid a layer of large stones, then one of smaller, and at least one more of smaller ones still, — all bound together — some two feet in thickness — by an excellent cement. The top was then leveled carefully and paved smoothly with huge slabs of rock fitted to one another with the greatest nicety. Remains of these roads in good condition to-day still "mark the lands where Rome has ruled."

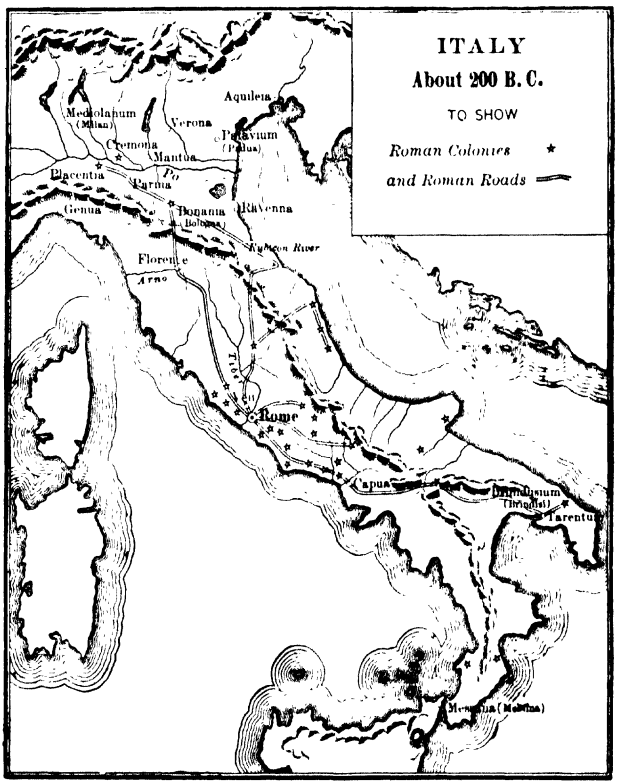
The army

Under the kings the army was similar to the old Dorian organization, — a dense hoplite array, usually eight deep. In Greece the next step was to deepen and close the ranks still further into the *massive phalanx.* In Italy, instead, they were broken up into three successive lines, and each line was divided further into small companies, forming the *flexible legion.*

The phalanx depended upon long spears. While it remained unbroken and could present its front, it was invulnerable; but if disordered by uneven ground, or if taken in flank, it was doomed. The legion used the hurling javelin to disorder the enemy's ranks before immediate contact (as moderns have used musketry), and the famous Roman short sword for close combat

(as moderns have used the bayonet). Flexibility, individuality, and constancy took the place of the collective lance thrust of the unwieldy phalanx.

The legion numbered about five thousand, and was made up of Roman citizens. Each legion was accompanied by about



five thousand men from the Allies. These *auxiliaries* served on the wings of the legion as light-armed troops, and as cavalry.

The camp The Roman camp was characteristic of a people whose colonies were garrisons. Where the army encamped — even if for only a single night — there grew up in an hour a fortified city, with earth walls and regular streets. This system allowed

the Romans often "to conquer by sitting still," declining or giving battle at their own option; while, too, when they did fight, they did so with a fortified and guarded refuge in their rear. The importance of these camps, as the sites of cities over Europe, is shown by the frequency of the Roman word *castra* (camp) in English place-names, as in *Chester, Rochester, Winchester, Dorchester, Manchester.*

II THE GOVERNMENT

The curule offices

The officers of chief dignity in the Roman Republic, from least to greatest, were: *Aediles* (two), with oversight over police and public works; *Praetors* (two), with the chief judicial power; *Consuls* (two), leaders in war and in foreign policy; *Censors* (two), with power to appoint and to degrade Senators, and with supreme oversight over morals; *Dictator* (one, and in critical times only). These five were called *curule offices*, because the holders kept the right to use the curule chair — the ivory "throne" of the old kings. There were also eight *quaestors* (in charge of the treasury and with some judicial power) and the ten *tribunes.*

The new curule aristocracy

A new aristocracy had appeared. Each curule official, by law, handed down to his descendants the right to keep upon the walls of their living rooms the wax masks of ancestors, and to carry them in a public procession at the funeral of a member of the family. A chief part of such a funeral was an oration commemorating the virtues and deeds of the ancestors, whose images were present (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 19). Families with this privilege were called *nobles* ("the known").

Before the year 300 B.C., the nobles began to be jealous of the admission of "new men" to their ranks; and their united influence soon controlled nearly all curule elections in favor of some member of their own order. To make this easier, they secured a law fixing the *order* in which these offices could be attained: no one could be elected aedile until he had held the quaestorship, nor praetor till he had been aedile, nor consul till he had been praetor. Then the nobles had to watch only the election of quaestors. And since senators now had to be

appointed from ex-officials, "nobles" became equivalent to "the senatorial order."

The Senate the guiding force at Rome

The Senate was really the guiding force in the government. It contained the wisdom and experience of Rome. The pressure of constant and dangerous wars, and the growing complexity of foreign relations even in peace, made it inevitable that this far-seeing, compact, experienced body should assume authority which in theory belonged to the clumsy, inexperienced Assembly. "*Rome became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms.*" No consul would think of bringing a law before the people without the previous approval of the Senate (so that indirectly that body, rather than the Assembly, had become the real legislature). No officer would draw money from the treasury without its consent. It declared and managed wars. It received ambassadors and made alliances. And certainly, for over a hundred years, by its sagacity and energy, this "assembly of kings" (as the ambassador from Pyrrhus called it) justified its usurpation.

III. ROMAN SOCIETY AT ITS BEST

Rome's best age

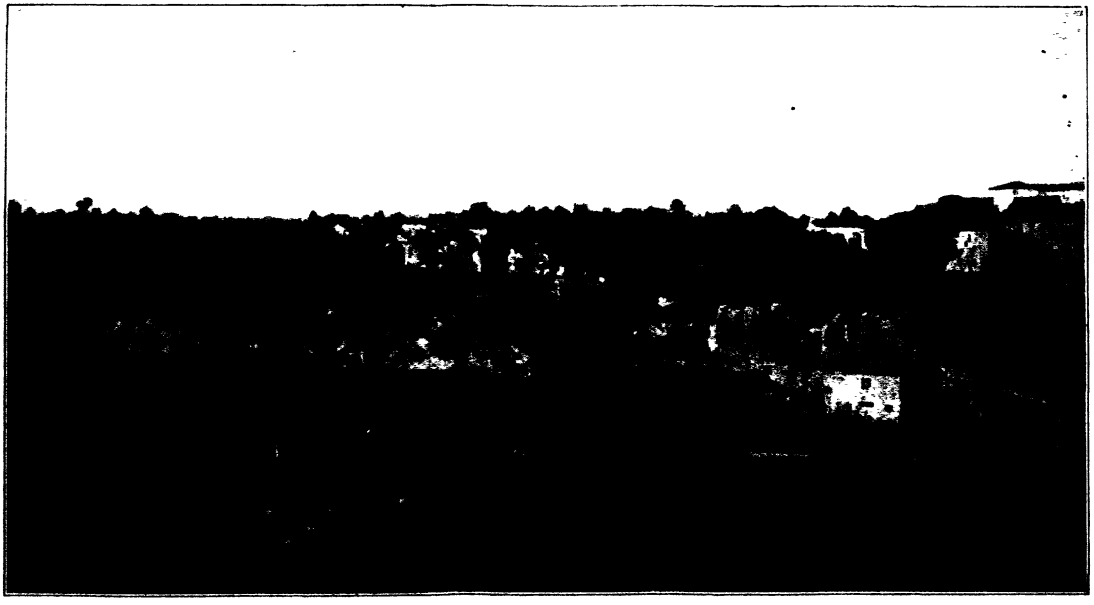
From 367 to about 200 B.C. is the period of greatest Roman vigor. The old class distinctions had died out, and the *new* aristocracy of office was still in its "age of service." There was soon to come a new struggle between rich and poor — but this had not yet begun.

A state of small free farmers

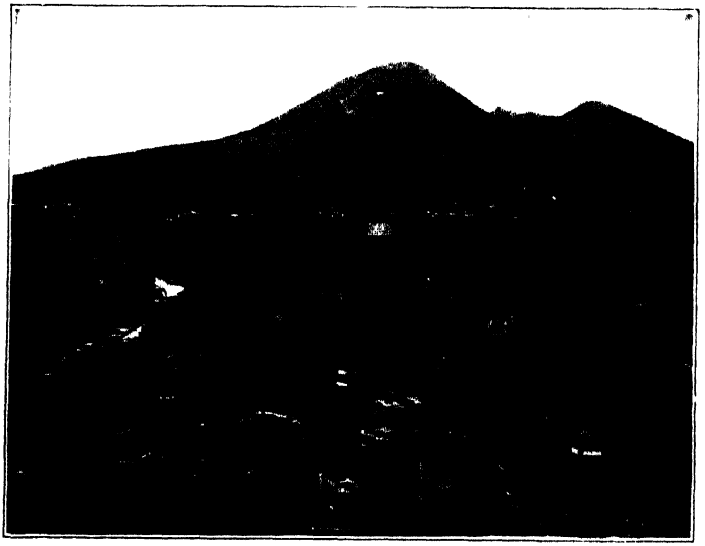
The Roman citizens, in the main, patrician or plebeian by descent, were still yeomen farmers, who worked hard and lived plainly. The rapid gain in territory after 367 made it possible to turn the city poor into land-owners — in a colony if not near Rome. Each farmer tilled his few acres with his own hands and the help of his own sons. Every eighth day he came to the city with a load for "market," — wheat, barley, garden vegetables, fruit, horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs.

There was little wealth and little extreme poverty. *Manius Curio*, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus, was a peasant. Plutarch tells us that, though he had "triumphed" thrice, he continued to live in a cottage on a little three-acre

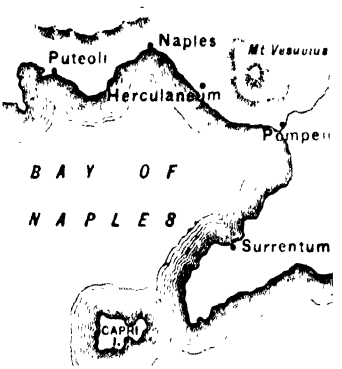
PLATE XXIII



RUINS AT SUTRI; the ancient Sutrium. Some of these ruins are Etruscan (see *Early Progress*, p. 240). The Etruscan town became a Roman colony in 383 B.C.



POMPEII, as the excavations show it. A large part of our knowledge concerning the life of Roman Italy is due to the rediscovery of this buried city. Vesuvius (shown in the background) was supposed to be an *extinct* volcano, but in 79 A.D. it belched forth in terrible eruption, burying two cities and many villages in ashes and lava. Eighteen hundred years later, by the chance digging of a well, the site of Pompeii, the larger of the two cities, was rediscovered. In recent years it has been carefully excavated; and to-day a visitor can walk through the streets of an ancient city, viewing perfectly preserved houses, shops, temples, baths, ornaments, and tools of the men of that day when the volcanic flood came upon them. In the Art Museums of our larger American cities there are interesting Pompeian remains, and sometimes "reconstructed" models of houses and temples.



plot which he tilled with his own hands. Here once some Samnite ambassadors found him dressing turnips in the chimney corner, when they came to offer him a large present of gold. Curio refused the gift: "A man," said he, "who can be content with this supper hath no need of gold; and I count it glory, not to possess wealth, but to rule those who do." This sober history quite matches the less trustworthy legend of *Cincinnatus* of the fifth century, called from the plow on his three-acre farm to become dictator and save Rome from a hostile invasion, and returning to the plow again, all in sixteen days.

Craft gilds

In the city itself, as no doubt in all Italian towns, the craftsmen were organized in "unions" (*gilds*). These gilds were not for the purpose of raising wages, as with us, nor mainly for improving the character of the work, as in later centuries in Europe. They were associations for friendly intercourse and mutual helpfulness among the members, and they illustrate the extraordinary Roman capacity for teamwork, — in contrast to the individuality of Greek life.

Commerce makes new money-kings

Commerce (*trade with other lands*) paid huge profits to those successful adventurers who did not too often lose vessels by shipwreck or pirates. The few rich Romans long disdained the business for themselves; but they early began to use their capital in it through their slaves or former slaves; and toward 200 B.C. their profits were building up a new class of merchants and money-kings.

Roman money

The oldest Roman word for money (*pecunia*, from which comes our *pecuniary*) came from the word for herd (*pecus*). This points to a time when payments were made chiefly in cattle (p. 150). About 400 B.C., rude blocks of copper were stamped *with the figure of an ox;* and before 300 B.C., under the influence of Magna Graecia, Rome adopted true coin per coins in the form of circular disks. Even earlier, the Romans had "*estimated*" in copper (*aes*), counting by the pound weight; and now they made their copper coins each one twelfth of a pound (an old Babylonian unit of weight). Such a coin was an "uncia," — one *ounce* (Troy weight). Silver was not used either for money or for household purposes until after the union of Italy

Home-life

The house had added rooms on sides and rear, and openings for windows; but it was still exceedingly simple. A plain table, wooden couches, and a few stools and simple cooking utensils comprised the furniture. Artificial warmth and light were secured by "braziers" and lamps, like those of the Greeks. The Roman took his chief meal at midday. In early times, the main food was a "porridge" of ground meal boiled in water. Pork, especially in the form of sausage, was the favorite meat. Bread, from ground wheat or barley, was baked in flat, round cakes. Water or milk was the common drink, but wine mixed with water was coming into general use, after the fashion of the Greeks. The Romans who conquered Pyrrhus were a frugal, temperate people.

Roman dress

Dress was as simple as the food. The Roman kept the primitive loin cloth of linen. Over this he drew a short-sleeved woolen shirt (*tunic*) falling to the knees. This made the common dress of the house, workshop, and field. In public the Roman wore an outer garment — a white woolen blanket, thrown about him in graceful folds. This was the famous *toga*, borrowed from the old Etruscans. Women wore a long and a short tunic, and, for the street, a blanket-wrap. Foot-gear was like that of the Greeks. Stockings and hats were alike unknown. Members of the senatorial families wore broad gold rings.

Education

Until seven, the children were in the mother's care. After that age, boys went to a private school, taught usually by some Greek slave, where they learned to read, to write, and, in a limited degree, to compute with Roman numerals. The only textbook was the Twelve Tables, which were learned by heart. Physical training was found in athletic games in the Campus Martius (p. 151), where the young Romans contended in running, wrestling, and in the use of the spear, sword, and javelin.

Science and learning

Literature, under Greek influence, was just beginning at the close of the period. Roads, bridges, and aqueducts were built in the last half of the period on a magnificent scale, and the use of the round arch was so developed that we often speak of it as "the Roman arch."

Undue praise has been given sometimes to the semi-barbaric excellence of early Rome. The Roman was haughty, obedient to law, self-controlled; but too often he was also coarse, cruel, and rapacious. The finest thing in his character was the willingness to sink personal or party advantage for the public weal. Next to this, and allied to it, is the capacity for teamwork. *Roman history, up to this point, is not the history of a few brilliant leaders: it is the story of a people.*

A summary: Rome's contributions

We have seen a village of rude shepherds and peasants grow into a city-state and then (by 264 B.C.) into the queen city of united Italy. During the next hundred years Italy was to organize the fringes of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean into one Graeco-Roman society. But it was not Rome's genius in war, great as that was, which made the world Roman. *It was her political wisdom and her organizing power.* As Greece stands for art and intellectual culture, so Rome stands for government and law. A little later her poet Vergil wrote:

"Others, I grant, indeed, shall with more delicacy mold the breathing brass; from marble draw the features to the life; plead causes better; describe with a rod the courses of the heavens, and explain the rising stars. *To rule the nations with imperial sway be thy care, O Roman.* These shall be thy arts: to impose terms of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud."

CHAPTER XIX

THE WINNING OF THE WORLD, 264–146 B.C.

1. EXPANSION IN THE WEST

The five world-powers in 264 B.C.

In 264 B.C. Italy was one of five great Mediterranean states. Alexander the Great had been dead nearly sixty years, and the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean world was divided between the three great Greek kingdoms, Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia, with their numerous satellites. In the western Mediterranean, Carthage had held sway. Between East and West now stood forth Roman Italy, ready first to seize the West.

Carthage

Carthage was an ancient Phoenician colony on the finest harbor in North Africa. Her government, in form, was a republic, somewhat like Rome, but in reality it was a narrow oligarchy controlled by a few wealthy families. She was now at the height of her power, and the richest city in the world. She had built up a vast empire, including North Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, half of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. In Africa alone she ruled three hundred cities, and her territory merged into the desert where tributary nomads roamed. The western Mediterranean she regarded as a Punic[1] lake: foreign sailors caught trespassing there were cast into the sea. But the Greeks of South Italy had traded in those waters for five hundred years; and Rome, now mistress and protector of those Greek cities, was bound to defend their trading rights against the Carthaginian closed door.

The strength of Carthage lay in her wealth and her navy, but her army was a motley mass of mercenaries. Her Roman foes represented her as wanting in honesty, and their epithet, "Punic faith" is still a synonym for treachery. But Rome wrote the

[1] "Punic" is another form for "Phoenician," and is used as a shorter adjective for "Carthaginian."

history; and, even so, the charge of faithlessness holds more clearly against Rome.

First Punic War, 264–241 B.C.

The *occasion* for the First Punic War was found in Sicily. The struggle lasted 23 years, and left Rome mistress of that island. Immediately after the peace, too, by a base mingling of violence and treachery, Rome seized from Carthage the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. (Then in 222 she completed her conquest of Cisalpine Gaul up to the crescent wall of the Alps.)

The Second Punic War, 218–202 B.C. ("The War with Hannibal")

The Second Punic War is known as "the War with Hannibal." The most brilliant Carthaginian general in the first war had been Hamilcar, surnamed *Barca* ("the lightning"). From Rome's high-handed treachery in Sardinia, Hamilcar imbibed a deathless hatred for that state, and began to prepare for another conflict. To offset the loss of the great Mediterranean islands, he sought to extend Carthaginian dominion over Spain. The mines of that country, he saw, would furnish the needful wealth; and its hardy tribes, when disciplined, would make an infantry which might meet even the legions of Rome.

Hannibal in Spain

When Hamilcar was about to cross to Spain, in 236, he swore his son *Hannibal* at the altar to eternal hostility to Rome. Hannibal was then a boy of nine years. He followed Hamilcar to the wars, and, as a youth, became a dashing cavalry officer and the idol of the soldiery. He used his camp leisure to store his mind with the culture of Greece. At twenty-six he succeeded to the command in Spain, where he had already won the devotion and love of his fickle, mercenary troops.

Hamilcar had made the rich south of Spain a Carthaginian province. Hannibal rapidly carried the frontier to the Ebro, collected a magnificent army of over a hundred thousand men, and besieged Saguntum, an ancient Greek colony, which had already sought Roman alliance. Now, in alarm and anger, Rome declared war (218 B.C.).

Hannibal invades Italy

Rome had intended to take the offensive. But, with audacious rapidity, Hannibal in five months had crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, fighting his way through the Gallic tribes; forced the unknown passes of the Alps, under conditions that made it a feat paralleled only by Alexander's passage of the Hindukush;

and, leaving the bones of three fourths of his army between the Ebro and Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with 26,000 "heroic shadows."

Victories: Ticinus, Trebia, Trasimene

With these "emaciated scarecrows" Hannibal swiftly destroyed two hastily gathered Roman armies — at the *Ticinus* and at the *Trebia*. Then the recently pacified Gallic tribes rallied turbulently to swell his ranks. The next spring he crossed the Apennines, ambushed a Roman army of 40,000 men, blinded with morning fog, near *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it, and carried fire and sword through Italy.

Fabius dictator

Quintus Fabius Maximus was now named dictator, to save Rome. That wary old general adopted the wise policy of delay ("Fabian policy") to wear out Hannibal. He would not give battle; but he followed close at the Carthaginian's heels, from place to place. Even Hannibal could not catch Fabius unawares; and he did not dare to attack the intrenched Roman camps. But he had to win victories to draw the Italian "Allies" from Rome, or he would have to flee from Italy. So far, not a city in Italy had opened its gates.

But in Rome many people murmured impatiently, nicknaming Fabius *Cunctator* (the Laggard); and the following summer the new consuls were given 90,000 men — by far the largest army Rome had ever put in the field, and several times Hannibal's army — with orders to crush the invader.

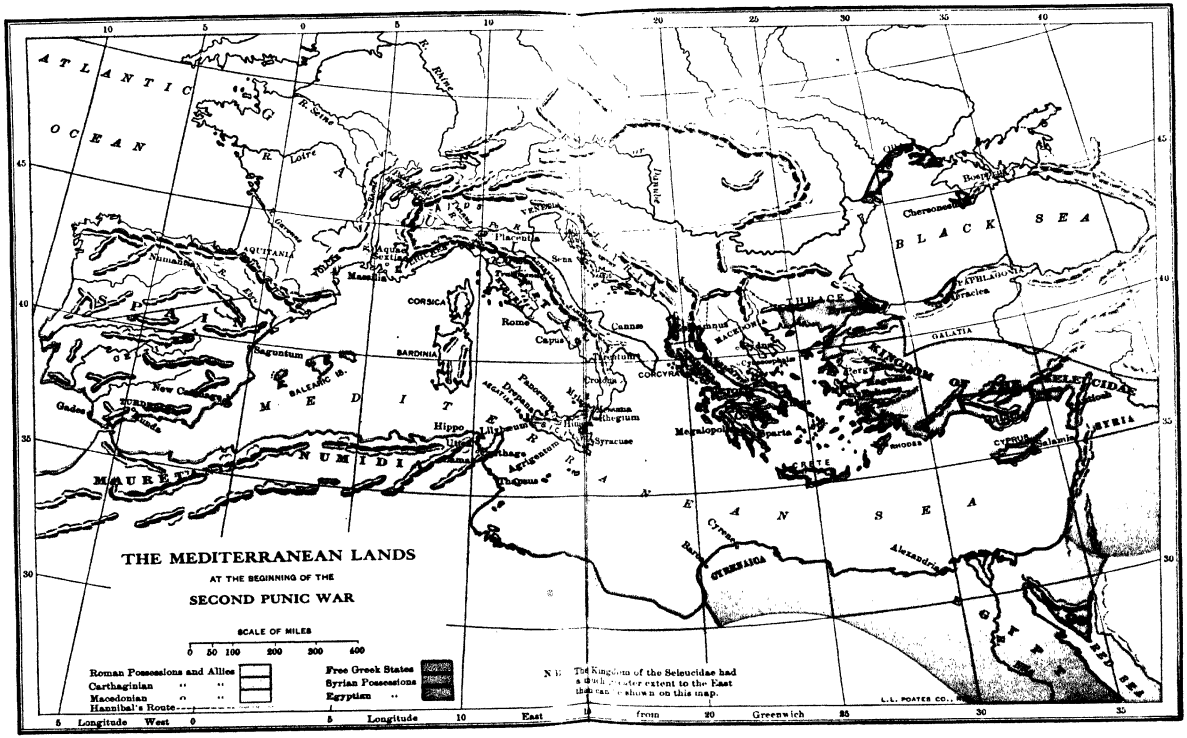
Cannae

The result was the battle of Cannae — "a carnival of cold steel, a butchery, not a battle." Hannibal lost 6000 men. Rome lost 60,000 dead and 20,000 prisoners. A consul, a fourth of the senators, nearly all the officers, and over a fifth of the fighting population of the city perished. Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings from the hands of fallen Roman nobles.

Fidelity of Rome's Allies

Even this victory yielded little fruit. The mountain tribes of the south, eager for plunder, did join Hannibal, as did one Italian city, *Capua*. Syracuse, too, renounced its Roman alliance, and joined its ancient enemy Carthage. But the other cities — colonies, Latins, or Allies — closed their gates against him as resolutely as Rome itself, — and so gave mar-

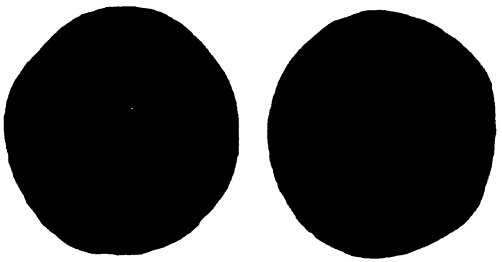
Except Capua and Syracuse


THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
SECOND PUNIC WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Roman Possessions and Allies
Carthaginian " "
Macedonian " "
Hannibal's Route
Free Greek States
Syrian Possessions
Egyptian "
N.B. The Kingdom of the Seleucidae had a much greater extent to the East than can be shown on this map.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
RED SEA
Longitude West from Greenwich East
L.L. POATES CO.

vious testimony to the excellence of Roman rule and to the national spirit it had fostered.

A third of the adult males of Italy had fallen in battle within three years, or were in camp, so that all industry was demoralized. But Rome's greatness showed grandly in that hour of gloom. With splendid tenacity she refused even to receive

Roman grandeur in defeat



COIN OF HIERO II, tyrant of Syracuse, long an ally of Rome against Carthage.

Hannibal's envoys or to consider his moderate proposals for peace. Nor would she ransom prisoners. Much as she needed her soldiers back, she preferred to teach her citizens that they ought at such a time to die for the Republic rather than surrender. Taxes were doubled, and the rich gave cheerfully, even beyond these crushing demands. The days of mourning for the dead were shortened. Not a man was called back from Sicily or Spain. Instead *Rome sent out new armies to those places;* and, by enrolling slaves, old men, boys, and the criminals from the prisons (arming them with the sacred trophies in the temples), she managed to put two hundred and fifty thousand troops into the field.

Hannibal could maintain himself indefinitely in Italy. But he made no more headway. He had not force enough to capture any important walled town. So his only possible chances for success lay in arousing a general Mediterranean war against Rome, or in receiving strong reinforcements from Carthage or Spain. Philip V of Macedonia did ally himself with Hannibal, but he acted timidly and too late. Carthage showed a strange

Lack of concert among Rome's foes

apathy when victory was within her grasp, and even allowed Rome to keep command of the sea, without a struggle.

Syracuse punished

Meantime Rome besieged Syracuse by land and sea, and after three years, took it by storm (212 B.C.), and, for a time, wiped it from the map. Works of art, accumulated through many centuries, were destroyed or carried away as plunder; and the city never recovered its old place in culture, power, or commerce. Indeed Rome's barbarous cruelty to Syracuse was due, in no small measure, to her greedy wish to seize for herself the rich trade of the fated city. (The siege is memorable also for the scientific inventions of Archimedes, used in the defense. The philosopher himself was killed during the sack of the city. See Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 27.)

Changed character of the war

In Italy itself, Rome fell back upon iron constancy and steadfast caution. The war became a long series of wasting sieges and marchings and counter marchings. Hannibal's genius shone as unsurpassed as ever, earning him from modern military critics the title, "Father of Strategy"; but he found no more chance for dazzling victories. Meantime his African and Spanish veterans died off, and slowly the Romans learned from him how to wage war.

For thirteen years after Cannae Hannibal maintained himself in Italy without reinforcement in men or money, — always winning a battle when he could engage the enemy in the field, — and directing operations as best he might in Spain, Sicily, Macedonia, and Africa. But it was a war waged by one supreme genius against the most powerful and resolute nation in the world — and the genius was defeated after a sixteen years' war.

"Hannibal at the Gates"

One more dramatic scene marked the struggle in Italy. The Romans had besieged Capua. In a daring attempt to relieve his ally, Hannibal marched to the very walls of Rome, ravaging the fields about the city. The Romans, however, were not to be enticed into a rash engagement, nor could the army around Capua be drawn from its prey. The only result of Hannibal's desperate stroke was the fruitless fright he gave Rome, — such that for generations Roman mothers stilled their children by the terror-bearing phrase, "Hannibal at the Gates!" Roman

stories relate, however, that citizens were found, even in that hour of fear, to show a defiant confidence by buying eagerly at a public sale the land where the invader lay encamped. Hannibal finally drew off, and Capua fell, — to meet a fate more harsh even than that of Syracuse. Its leading men were massacred; most of the rest of the population were sold as slaves; and colonies of Roman veterans were planted on its lands.

Capua punished

Hannibal's one remaining chance lay in reinforcements by land from his brother Hasdrubal, whom he had left in charge in Spain. But for year after year, in spite of some great victories, Hasdrubal had been checked by the overwhelming forces Rome sent against him. Finally, in 208, he did elude the Roman Scipio. Rome's peril was never greater than when this second son of Barca crossed the Alps with 56,000 veteran soldiers. If the two Carthaginian armies joined, Hannibal could march at will through Italy, — and leading Latin colonies had already given Rome notice that they could not much longer endure the ravages of the war.

Rome's darkest hour

Rome put forth its supreme effort, and threw 150,000 men between the two Carthaginian armies. By chance, a messenger from Hasdrubal to his brother was captured, and his plans discovered, while Hannibal was left ignorant of his approach. The opportunity was used to the full. The consul, Claudius Nero, with audacity worthy of Hannibal himself, left a small part of his force to deceive that leader, and hurrying northward with the speed of life and death, joined the other consul and fell upon Hasdrubal with crushing numbers at the Metaurus. The ghastly head of his long-expected brother, flung into his camp with true Roman brutality, was the first notice to Hannibal of the ruin of his cause. (On all occasions, Hannibal had given chivalrous treatment to captives, and honorable burial to dead Roman generals.)

Victory of the Metaurus

Hannibal still remained invincible in the mountains of southern Italy. But Rome now carried the war into Africa. After Hasdrubal left Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the Roman general there, rapidly subdued the whole peninsula, and, in 204, he persuaded the Senate to send him with a great army

Scipio carries the war into Africa

against Carthage itself. Two years later, to meet this peril, *Carthage recalled Hannibal.* That great leader obeyed sadly, "leaving the country of his enemy," says Livy, "with more regret than many an exile has left his own."

Hannibal's one and fatal defeat at Zama

The same year (202 B.C.) the struggle closed with Hannibal's first and only defeat, at the battle of *Zama* (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 28). Carthage lay at the mercy of the victor, and sued for peace. She gave up Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean; surrendered her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten; paid a huge war indemnity, which was intended to keep her poor for many years; and became a dependent ally of Rome, promising to wage no war without Roman consent. Scipio received the proud surname *Africanus.*

Forty years later there was a Third Punic War, marked by black Roman perfidy. Carthage was now harmless. But Roman fear was cruel and her commercial envy was rapacious. For years the narrow-minded but zealous *Cato,* a leader in the Roman Senate, closed every speech, no matter what the theme, with the phrase "*Delenda est Carthago*" (Carthage must be blotted out). More quietly but even more effectively the Roman merchant class strove to the same end, to prevent Carthage from reviving its ancient trade.

Carthage "blotted out," 146 B.C.

Carthage was cautious, even abject; but at last by a long series of persecutions and treacheries Rome forced war upon her. After a four years' heroic resistance, the Roman legions forced their way over the walls. For many days the city was given up to pillage. Then, by *express orders from Rome,* it was burned to the ground, and its site was plowed up, sown to salt, and cursed (146 B.C.). To carry out this crime fell to the lot of one of the purest and noblest characters Rome ever produced, — *Publius Scipio Aemilianus,* the nephew and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus, known himself as *Africanus the Younger.* As he watched the smoldering ruins (they burned for seventeen days) with his friend Polybius the historian, Scipio spoke his fear that some day Rome might suffer a like fate, and he was heard to repeat Homer's lines:

"Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,
The day when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend,
And see *thy* warriors fall, *thy* glories end."

II. THE WINNING OF THE EAST

Immediately after the *Second* Punic War, Rome began to extend her authority in the Greek East and *in eleven years* (200–190 B.C.) *she set up a virtual protectorate*[1] *over all the realms of Alexander's successors.* For this there was much excuse in the weakness and disorder of the degenerate Eastern states (p. 142). That vast region had become politically "an intolerable hubbub," from which men's eyes turned with hope "to the stable and well-ordered Republic of the West."

Rome changes protectorates into provinces

But Rome did not stop with protectorates. Gradually she was led to *seize territory* in the civilized East, as before in the barbarous West. *Appetite for power* grew with its exercise; *a class of ambitious nobles* craved new wars of conquest *for the sake of glory and power;* and the growing class of *merchants and money lenders* (who now *indirectly* dominated the government) hungered raveningly for conquests in order to secure more *special privileges in the form of trade monopolies and the management of finances* in new provinces.

Two or three features only of this long conquest can be noted here.

1. The flexible legion proved incomparably superior to the unwieldy phalanx.

2. Rome so filled her coffers from the plunder of the East that thereafter she never taxed her citizens. Besides this public plunder, *Roman generals regularly paid their soldiers by the sack of helpless rich cities* — one Roman hero turning over to a ruffian soldiery seventy civilized cities in one campaign.

3. In 146 B.C. — the same year that saw the destruction of Carthage — Rome basely goaded Greece into rebellion, and then destroyed Corinth — another of the commercial centers

[1] That is, Rome controlled their foreign relations, and, on occasion, would step in to maintain internal order — much as the United States stands to Cuba to-day.

whose prosperity called out the envy of Roman merchants. The city was burned; its site plowed and cursed; and its people murdered or sold into slavery. The art-treasures became the plunder of the Roman state, but much was lost. Polybius saw soldiers playing at dice, amid the smoking ruins, on the paintings of the greatest masters.

The world Graeco-Roman

In 264 B.C. Rome had been *one of five* Great Powers (p. 174). In 146, she was the *sole* Great Power. Carthage and Macedonia were provinces. Egypt and Syria had become protectorates and were soon to be provinces. All the smaller states had been brought within the Roman "sphere of influence." Rome held the heritage of Alexander as well as that of Carthage. *The civilized world had become a Graeco-Roman world, under Roman sway.*

Latin West and Greek East

But *Rome's relations with the two sections of her empire were widely different.* To the people of the West, despite terrible cruelties in war, she brought better order and higher civilization than they had known. The Western world became Latin. But to the last, the East remained Greek, not Latin, in language, customs, and thought. The Adriatic continued to divide the Latin and Greek civilizations when the two shared the world under the sway of Rome.

EXERCISE. — Make a table of dates in parallel columns to show relations in time between Greek and Roman history — to 146 B.C.

B.C.	GREECE	B.C.	ROME
510.	Expulsion of Athenian tyrants.	500(?).	Expulsion of the kings.
492.	Attack by Persia.	494.	First secession by the plebs: tribunes.

etc. etc.

SPECIAL REPORT, from library material: the story of Hannibal after Zama.

CHAPTER XX

STRIFE BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, 146–49 B.C.

Rome had 'won the world but lost her own soul.' During her wars of conquest, she sank steadily to lower levels in morals and in industry at home. The Second Punic War alone cost Italy a million lives. These included the flower of the Roman citizens, — tens of thousands of high-souled youth, who, in peace, would have served the state through a long lifetime. The Italian race was made permanently poorer by that terrible hemorrhage.

Decline in morals due to war

Conquest and war had hastened, too, the growth of a capitalist class. *By 146, Rome had become the money center of the world.* The capitalists became known as *equites*, or "knights." They formed a new and larger aristocracy of wealth just below the old senatorial aristocracy of office and birth. Very commonly they were organized in partnerships and stock companies, and the *Via Sacra*, along which such companies had many offices, was the first Wall Street. Some of these combinations monopolized the trade in important commodities — so as unduly to raise the price to the public. Olive oil was a necessary part of Italian food, holding much more than the place that butter does with us, and it had many other uses aside from food; so about 200 B.C., we find an "oil trust" at Rome. A few years later the people were so distressed by a speculators' "corner" in grain that the government felt it necessary to prosecute certain "malefactors of great wealth" under an ancient law of the Twelve Tables against engrossing food.

Conquest creates capitalist class

Trade monopolies

Ordinarily, however, the capitalists went their extortionate ways without rebuke. True, the Senatorial families were forbidden by law to engage in foreign trade or in government contracts; but this attempt to keep the money power from influencing the government failed. The capitalists could not

And their alliance with the Senate

place members of their own class in the Senate, so as *directly* to secure such policies as they desired; but none the less, indirectly, they did control the government.

Wealth's special privileges

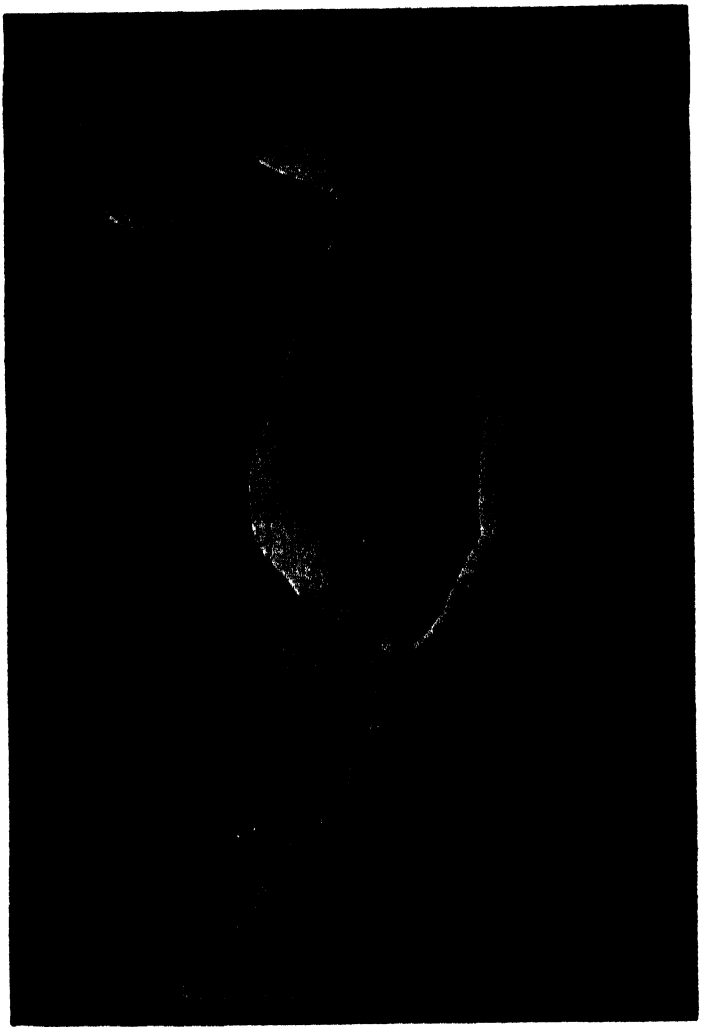
This condition *began* with the patriotic action of the moneyed men during the Second Punic War. Year by year, during that desperate struggle, the Senate had to have immense sums of money such as the Roman treasury had never before known. The only way then to get such sums quickly was from the rising companies of capitalists. These companies risked their wealth generously to build the fleets and equip the armies with which Hannibal was held in check. *Then, in return, when the danger was past, they demanded and obtained special favors.* In particular, they were allowed to take for their own the public lands, treating the land provision of the Licinian Laws as a dead letter. Sometimes they repaid themselves out of grafting contracts for supplies, or by overinsuring ships laden with army supplies, and then scuttling them, to collect the money from the government. Moreover the capitalists loaned money, perhaps without security, to ambitious young nobles to help them get elected to office; and in return, when one of these nobles became a provincial governor, he could easily induce a rich city to give fat contracts to his favorite Roman syndicate; or he could enable the syndicate to squeeze from a debtor city the last penny of extortionate interest which its government had foolishly or wrongfully promised.

Wealth's control of government

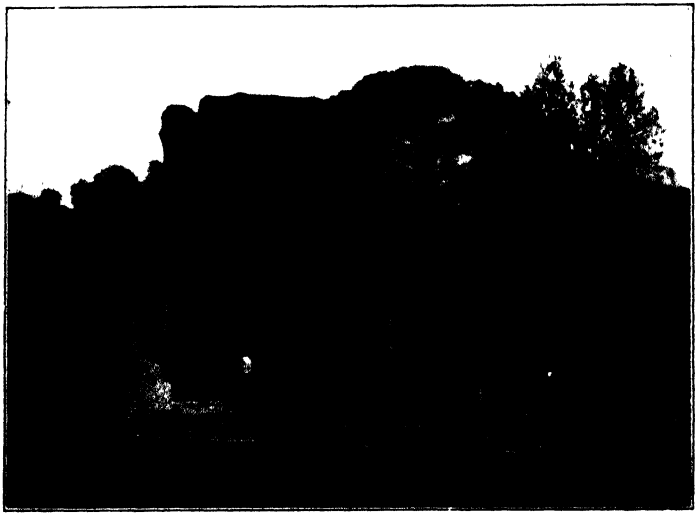
The syndicates were of no political party. Like "big business" in our own time, they sought to control or own every leader and party which might be able sometime to serve them. Moreover, small shares of the stock companies were widely distributed, so that the whole middle class of citizens was interested in every prospect of enlarged dividends. Such citizens could be counted upon to support any project of the moneyed interests with their votes in the Assembly and with their shoutings in the street mobs.

Ever since the war with Pyrrhus, Greek culture from Magna Graecia had been more and more influencing Rome. With a

PLATE XXV



THE DISCUS THROWER (*Discobolus*). — This glorious marble (unearthed in 1871 amid some ruins on the Esquiline Hill, and now at the Lancelotti Palace in Rome) is a copy of a bronze by Myron (p. 121), probably celebrating some victor in the Olympic games. Quite probably this marble was plundered from some Greek city.



TWO VIEWS OF THE REMAINS OF THE LIBRARY OF A ROMAN VILLA near Tivoli. Walls so well preserved are uncommon; but the foundations of such structures are scattered over Western and Southern Europe, and even to-day new finds of this sort are revealed by chance excavations.

few of the better minds, like the Scipios, this softened and refined character into a lovable type; but as a rule it merely veneered the native Roman coarseness and brutality.

Influence of Greek culture

And after the conquest of the Greek East, there was a new inflow of Greek culture into Italy. Greek became the fashionable language; Greek marbles and pictures, plundered from Greek cities, adorned Roman palaces; Greek slaves wrote plays to amuse Roman nobles. With the rich and the nobles, the old Roman simplicity gave way to sumptuous luxury. There was a growing display in dress, in rich draperies and couches and other house furnishings, in the celebration of marriages, at funerals, and at the table. (The Romans now adopted the Greek custom of reclining at meals.) As the Roman Juvenal wrote later: "Luxury has fallen upon us — more terrible than the sword; the conquered East has avenged herself by the gift of her vices."

Simplicity gives way to sumptuosity

Luxury of the rich

The houses of wealthy men had come to imitate the Greek type. Each fashionable house had its bathrooms, one or more, and its library. The pavement of the courts, and many floors, were ornamented with artistic mosaic. Walls were hung with costly, brilliantly colored tapestries; and ceilings were richly gilded. Sideboards were beautiful with vases and gold and silver plate; and in various recesses stood glorious statues, the booty from some Hellenic city.

The villa

Besides his town house, each rich Roman had one or more country houses (*villas*), with all the comforts of the city, — baths, libraries, museums, mosaic pavements, richly gilded ceilings, walls hung with brilliant tapestries, — while about the house spread parklike grounds with ornamental shrubbery and playing fountains and with beautiful marble forms gleaming through the foliage, and perhaps with fish ponds and vineyards.

Commonly a villa was the center of a large farm; and its magnificent luxury found a sinister contrast in the squalid huts, leaning against the walls of the villa grounds, in which slept the wretched slaves that tilled the soil and heaped up wealth for the noble master. Near by, in somewhat better quarters, lived

his skilled artisans — carpenters, smiths, and bakers. To care for the complex needs of his sumptuous life, too, every man of wealth kept troops of *household* slaves — who slept on the floors of the large halls or in the open courts.

Gladiatorial games

Alongside this private luxury, there grew *the practice among candidates for office of entertaining the populace with shows*, especially with *gladiatorial games*. These came, not from the Greek East, but from neighbors in Italy. They were an old Etruscan custom, and were introduced into Rome about the beginning of the Punic Wars. A gladiatorial contest was a combat in which two men fought each other to the death for the amusement of the spectators. The practice was connected with ancient human sacrifices for the dead, and at Rome the first contests of this kind took place only at the funerals of nobles, but by degrees they became the most common of the public amusements.

The public baths

Exaggerated copies of the Greek public baths appeared in Rome. These became great public clubhouses, where the more voluptuous and idle citizens spent many hours a day. Besides the various rooms for baths, — hot, tepid, or cold, — a bathing house had its swimming pools, libraries, and museums, and extensive gardens with delightful shady walks. Before long, some of these were opened free to the poorer classes.

For Rome now had a populace, — masses of hungry, unemployed men. This new class, like the new rich, was also a product of the Second Punic War. That war began the ruin of the small farmer in Italy. Over much of the peninsula the homesteads were hopelessly devastated; and years of continuous camp life, with plunder for pay, corrupted the simple habits of the yeoman class, so that they drifted to the city, to become a rabble.

The hungry populace

When the great wars were over, the rift between the new rich and the new poor went on widening. Rome confiscated vast tracts of land in her conquered provinces, and afterward sold them cheap to her own nobles; and often the ruined natives were glad to sell their remaining estates for a song. By such means, Roman nobles became the owners of huge landed

properties in Sicily, Spain, Africa, and soon in the East, — all worked by cheap slave labor, which was supplied in abundance by the continuous wars of conquest. This new landlord class then supplied the Italian cities with grain from Sicily and North Africa *cheaper than the Italian farmer could raise it* on his more sterile soil.

Ruin of the old yeomanry

This did not hurt the large landlord in Italy: he turned to cattle grazing or sheep raising, with slave labor. But the small farmer had no such refuge. Ruined and dismayed, many of this class were ready to sell their farms; and they found eager purchasers in the new capitalists, who especially desired pleasure resorts in Italy. Indeed, when the yeoman (in the more secluded districts) still clung stubbornly to his ancestral fields, a grasping landlord neighbor sometimes had recourse to force and fraud. Horace, court poet though he was (pp. 225–6), describes in pathetic words the helplessness of the poor farmer, whose cattle died mysteriously, or whose growing crops were trampled into the ground overnight, until he would sell at the rich man's price. Redress at law was usually too costly and too uncertain for a poor man in conflict with a rich one.

Emigration

In parts of Italy, especially in the north, many yeomen did hold their places. But over great districts, only large ranches could be seen, with half-savage slave herdsmen and their flocks, where formerly there had nestled numerous cottages on small, well-tilled farms, each supporting its independent family. *As a class*, the small farmers, once the backbone of Italian society, had disappeared.

What became of this dispossessed yeomanry, from whom formerly had come conquerors, statesmen, and dictators? Many had foresight and energy enough to make their way at once to Gaul or Spain, while their small capital lasted. To Italy their strength was lost. But in the semi-barbarous western provinces, for a century, a steady stream of sturdy peasant emigrants spread the old wholesome Roman civilization and confirmed the Roman rule, while at the same time they built up homes and fortunes for themselves.

A city mob

A whole class of people, however, could not leave their native land. The great bulk of the ex-farmers merely drifted to the *cities* of Italy, and especially to the capital. If Italy had been a manufacturing country, they might finally have found a new kind of work in these city homes. But the Roman conquests in the East prevented this. In the Eastern provinces, manufacturing of all sorts was much more developed than in Italy; and now Roman merchants found it cheaper to import Oriental goods than to build up a system of factories at home. Rome ceased to develop home resources, and fed upon the provinces; and such manufactures as remained were already in the hands of skilled Oriental slaves or freedmen.

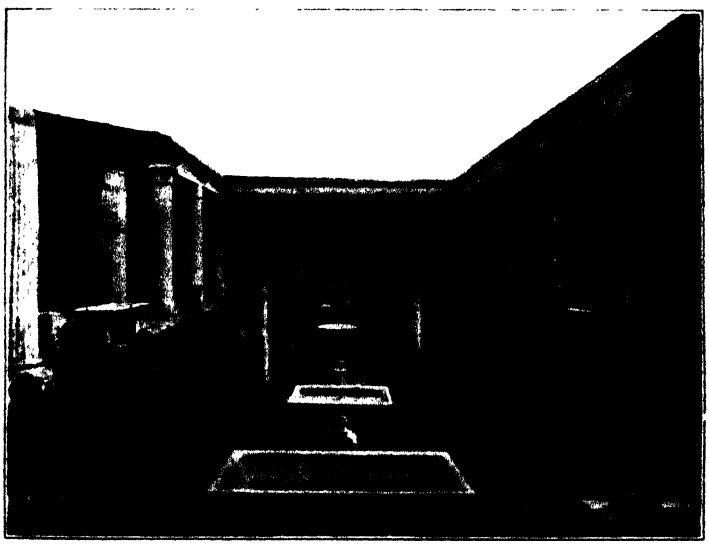
Thus the ex-farmers found no more employment in the city than in the country. They soon spent the small sums they had received for their lands, and then they and their sons sank into a degraded city rabble. Hannibal had struck Rome a deadlier blow than he ever knew. The rugged citizen farmers who had conquered Pyrrhus were replaced, on one side, by an incapable, effeminate aristocracy, and on the other, by a mongrel mob reinforced by freed slaves. The lines of an English poet, almost two thousand years later, regarding similar phenomena in his own country, apply to this Italy:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay!"

Political decay

With this moral decline came political decay. In theory the constitution had not changed; but really it had become a plaything for factions of ambitious and degenerate politicians. Old ideas of loyalty, obedience, regard for law, self-restraint, vanished. Leading statesmen disregarded all checks of the constitution, to carry a point; and young nobles flattered, caressed, and bribed the populace for their votes. The Senatorial order shrank from a broad and wise aristocracy into a narrow, selfish, incompetent oligarchy, careful only of its own class interests. The shows expected from aediles, to entertain the populace, had become so costly that only the wealthiest men, or the most reckless gamesters, could *start* in politics.

A Senatorial oligarchy



ABOVE. — RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT POMPEII, with a view of Vesuvius the destroyer in the background. (Cf. Plate XXIV, facing p. 171.)

BELOW. — A COURT IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII AT POMPEII. (The modern shrubbery reproduces something of what the open court must have possessed.)

PLATE XXVIII

A Court of a Roman House. — From a painting by Boulanger

Growing distinction between citizens and subjects

So, too, *there was a sharper line than formerly, through all Italy, between citizens and subjects.* Rome ceased to take in new bodies of citizens: she no longer sent out Latin colonies — since the ruling class in Rome wished all vacant lands for themselves; and her "Allies," whose loyal friendship had saved her from Hannibal, she began to treat as *subjects.* She gave them a smaller share of the plunder of war than formerly, and doubled their share of men for the army, while Roman officials sometimes displayed toward them a new insolence and a brutal cruelty. In one town the city consul was stripped and scourged because the peevish wife of a Roman magistrate felt aggrieved that the *public* baths were not vacated for her use quickly enough.

And between Italy and the provinces

Worse still was *the distinction between Italy and the provinces.* "Italy was to rule and feast: the provinces were to obey and pay."

The *Roman province* dates from the conquests of the First Punic War. The islands then acquired were "beyond seas," and seemed to Rome too distant or too foreign to permit the extension to them of her liberal policy (at that time) toward subject communities in Italy. And *Rome failed at this point to invent a new and needed form of government.* The constitution of a city-state she had expanded and adapted with wonderful skill to the needs of a united Italy, but for conquests beyond Italy that scheme broke down. All the conquests after the war with Pyrrhus were called *provinces,* and were ruled essentially upon the model of the two or three little prefectures in Italy — the worst type of government Rome had used. To be sure, the Roman administration *at first* was more honest and capable than Carthaginian or Greek. But irresponsible power bred recklessness and corruption.

Marks of a province

The special marks of a province were: payment of taxes in money or grain; and the absolute rule of a Roman governor.

Taxes farmed

The Senate fixed at will the amount that each province must pay. Then it "farmed out" the collection of this revenue, at public auction, usually to some company of Roman capital-

ists. The "contractor" paid down a lump sum, and had for himself all that he could squeeze from the province above that amount. This arrangement constantly tempted the contractor to extortion, and encouraged his agents in theft — all at the expense of the helpless provincials. If a contractor seized twice the intended amount, it would afterwards be almost impossible to prove the fact — especially when the only judge was the Roman governor who perhaps received part of the plunder. The whole corrupt and tyrannical system was like that by which Turkey in our day has ground down her Christian provinces.

Despotic governors

Everything tended to make the governor a tyrant. He had soldiers to back up any command. There was no appeal from his decrees, and no tribune to veto his acts. Even the persons of the provincials were at his mercy.[1] He was appointed by the Senate from those nobles who had just held consulships or praetorships; and commonly he had expected to get a province to plunder, in order to repay himself, or his creditors, for earlier outlay in getting office.

No redress for provincials

True, a governor might be brought to trial; but only *after* his term had expired; and only *at Rome*, and before the Senate — whose members were interested in passing around such chances for exploitation among their order. Poor provincials, of course, had to endure any abuse without even seeking redress; and in any case it was rarely possible to secure conviction even of the grossest offenders. When a certain Verres was given the province of Sicily for three years, Cicero tells us, he cynically declared it quite enough: "In the first year he could secure plunder for himself; in the second for his friends; in the third for his judges."

A four-fold class strife

This new period of class struggle was to last nearly a century, and to end only with the coming of the Caesars — a common master. The strife was three-fold: *in Rome*, between rich and

[1] In Cisalpine Gaul a Roman governor beheaded a noble Gaul, a fugitive guest in his camp, just to gratify with the sight a worthless favorite who was lamenting that he had missed the gladiatorial games at Rome (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 37).

poor; *in Italy*, between Rome and the "Allies"; *in the Roman world*, between Italy and the provinces.

Roman slavery

Everywhere, too, there was possible strife between masters and slaves. In the closing period of the Roman Republic, there grew up a slavery beyond all parallel in extent and in horror. Says one leading authority, "In comparison with its abyss of suffering, all Negro slavery [has been] but a drop in the ocean." Slaves were made cheap by the wars of conquest. Later, to keep up the cheap supply, man hunts were organized regularly on the frontiers, and kidnappers even desolated some of the provinces. At the famous slave market in Delos ten thousand slaves were once sold in a day. Cato (p. 180), the model Roman, advised his countrymen to work slaves like cattle, selling off the old and infirm. "The slave," he said, "should be always working or sleeping." Naturally, the Roman world was troubled by many terrible slave revolts.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GRACCHI, 133–121 B.C.

Tiberius Gracchus

The evils described in the last chapter had not come upon Rome without being seen by many thoughtful men, and without some efforts at reform. But the older statesmen were too selfish, too narrow, or too timid; and the great attempt at reform fell to two youths, the Gracchi brothers, throbbing with noble enthusiasm and with the fire of genius.

Tiberius Gracchus was still under thirty at his death. He was one of the brilliant circle of young Romans about Scipio. His father had been a magnificent aristocrat. His mother, *Cornelia*, a daughter of the elder Africanus, is as famous for her fine culture and noble nature as for being the "Mother of the Gracchi." Tiberius himself was early distinguished in war, and marked by his uprightness and energy. *This was the first man to strike at the root of the industrial, moral, and political decay of Italy, by trying to rebuild the yeoman class.* He obtained the tribuneship for the year 133, and at once brought forward an agrarian[1] law (the obsolete land clause of the Licinian law in a gentler but more effective form):

His proposals for land reform

1. Each holder of public land was to surrender all that he held in excess of the legal limit, *receiving in return absolute title to the three hundred acres left him.* (This was generous treatment and neither confiscation nor demagogism. It was further provided that an old holder might keep about 160 acres more for each of his sons.)

2. The land reclaimed was to be given in small holdings (some eighteen acres each) to poor applicants, so as to re-create a yeomanry. And to make the reform lasting, these holders and their descendants were to possess their land *without right*

[1] *Agrarian* refers to land, especially farm land; from the Latin *ager*. Opponents of reform very commonly refer contemptuously to any attempt at social betterment as "agrarianism."

A Roman Holiday, with Procession

to sell. In return, they were to pay a small rent to the state. (This is very like the land projects that have been under consideration in America to provide for unemployed returned soldiers since the World War.)

3. To provide for changes, and to keep the law from being neglected, there was to be a *permanent board* of three commissioners to superintend the reclaiming and distributing of land.

The struggle

Gracchus urged his law with fiery eloquence: "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for her are without homes or settled habitations. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world without having a sod to call their own." The Senate of course opposed the proposal as "confiscation." Tiberius brought the question directly before the tribes, as he had the right to do; and the town tribes, and all the small farmers left in the rural tribes, rallied enthusiastically to his support. The Senate put up one of the other tribunes, Octavius, to forbid a vote. After many pleadings, Tiberius resorted to a revolutionary measure. In spite of his colleague's veto, he put to the Assembly the question whether he or Octavius should be deposed; and when the vote was given unanimously against Octavius, Tiberius had him dragged from his seat. Then the great law was passed.

Tiberius seeks to take the Allies into the state

Tiberius next proposed to extend Roman citizenship to all Italy. The Senate fell back upon an ancient cry: it accused him of trying to make himself king, and threatened to try him at the end of his term. To complete his work, and to save himself, Gracchus asked for reëlection. The first two tribes voted for him, and then the Senate, having failed in other methods, declared his candidacy illegal. Tiberius saw that he was lost. He put on mourning and asked the people only to protect his infant son. It was harvest time, and the farmers were absent from the Assembly, which was left largely to the worthless city rabble. The more violent of the Senators and their friends, charging the undecided mob, put it to flight and murdered Gracchus — a patriot-martyr worthy of the company of the Cassius, Manlius, and Maelius of earlier days. Some

Tiberius murdered by the aristocrats

three hundred of his adherents also were killed and thrown into the Tiber. Rome, in all her centuries of stern, sober, patient constitutional strife, had never witnessed such a day before.

His work lived for a while

The Senate declared the murder an act of patriotism, and followed up the reformer's partisans with mock trials and persecutions, fastening one of them, says Plutarch, in a chest with vipers. But the work of Tiberius lived on. The Senate did not dare to interfere with the great law that had been carried. A consul for the year 132 inscribed on a monument, that he was the first who had installed farmers in place of shepherds on the public domains. The land commission (composed of the friends of Tiberius) continued its work zealously, and in 125 B.C. *the citizen list of Rome had increased by eighty thousand farmers.*

Aristocratic reaction

This "back to the land" movement was a vast and healthful reform. If it could have been kept up vigorously, it might have turned the dangerous rabble into sturdy husbandmen, and so removed Rome's chief danger. But of course to reclaim so much land from old holders led to many bitter disputes as to titles; and, after a few years, the Senate took advantage of this fact to abolish the commission.

Caius Gracchus

Immediately after this reaction, *Caius Gracchus* took up the work. He had been a youth when Tiberius was assassinated. Now he was Rome's greatest orator, — a dauntless, resolute, clear-sighted man, long brooding on personal revenge and on patriotic reform. Tiberius, he declared, appeared to him in a dream to call him to his task: "Why do you hesitate? You cannot escape your doom and mine — to live for the people and to die for them!" A recently discovered letter from Cornelia indicates, too, that his mother urged him on.

Caius provides allies

First Gracchus sought to win political allies. He gained the favor of the *equites* by getting them the control of the law courts (in place of the former senatorial control); and the city mob he secured by a *corn law* providing for the sale of grain to the poor in the capital at half the regular market price — the other half to be made up from the public treasury. This measure undoubtedly had a vicious side, and aristocratic writers

have made the most of it. Perhaps Caius regarded it as a necessary poor-law, and as compensation for the public lands that still remained in the hands of the wealthy. It did not pauperize the poor, because such distributions by private patrons, especially by office-seekers, were already customary on a vast scale: it simply took this charity into the hands of the state and if Gracchus' other measures could have been carried through, the need for such temporary charity would have been removed.

Economic reform

Caius then entered upon the work of reform. The land commission was reëstablished, and its work was extended *to the founding of Roman colonies in distant parts of Italy.* Still more important, — Caius *introduced the plan of Roman colonization outside Italy.* He sent six thousand colonists from Rome and other Italian towns to the waste site of Carthage, and planned other such foundations. If this statesmanlike measure had been allowed to work, it would not only have provided for the landless poor of Italy: it would also have Romanized the provinces rapidly, and would have broken down the unhappy distinctions between them and Italy. (The colonists kept full citizenship.)

Roman colonies abroad

Attempt to extend citizenship to the Allies

Caius also pressed earnestly for political reform *outside the city.* He proposed, wisely and nobly, to confer full citizenship upon the Latins, and Latin rights upon all Italy. But the tribes, jealous of any extension of their privileges to others, were quite ready to desert him on these matters. The "knights" and the merchants, too, had grown hostile, because they hated to see commercial rivals like Corinth and Carthage rebuilt.

Defeat and murder

The Senate seized its chance. It set on another tribune, *Drusus,* to outbid Caius by promises never meant to be kept. Drusus proposed to found twelve large colonies at once in Italy and to do away with the small rent paid by the new peasantry. There was no land for these colonies, but the mob thoughtlessly followed the treacherous demagogue and abandoned its true leader. When Gracchus stood for a third election he was defeated.

Now that he was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribuneship, the nobles, headed by the consul (a ferocious

personal enemy), were bent upon his ruin. The chance was soon found. The Senate tried to repeal the law for the colony at Carthage. This attempt caused many of the old supporters of Caius to come into the Assembly from the country. Remembering the fate of Tiberius, some of them came in arms. The nobles cried out that this meant a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The consul called the senatorial party to arms and offered for the head of Gracchus its weight in gold (*the first instance of head money in Roman civil strife*). A bloody battle followed in the streets. Gracchus, taking no part in the conflict himself, was slain. Three thousand of his adherents were afterward strangled in prison.

Work of the Gracchi undone

The victorious Senate struck hard. It resumed its sovereign rule. The proposed colonies were abandoned; then the great land reform itself was undone: *the peasants were permitted to sell their land, and the commission was abolished.* The old economic decay began again, and soon the work of the Gracchi was but a memory.

Even that memory the Senate tried to erase. Men were forbidden to speak of the brothers, and Cornelia was not allowed to wear mourning for her sons. One lesson, however, had been taught. The Senate had drawn the sword. When next a great reformer should take up the work of the Gracchi, he would come as a military master, to sweep away the wretched oligarchy with the sword, or to receive its cringing submission.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SENATE AND MILITARY CHIEFS

I. MARIUS AND SULLA, 106–78 B.C.

Incompetence of the Senate — except to save its privileges

The corrupt Senate had proved able to save its own unjust privileges by throttling reform, but it had grown glaringly incompetent to guard the Roman world against outside foes. Rome had left no other state able to keep the seas from pirates or to protect the frontiers of the civilized world against barbarians. It was her plain duty therefore to police the Mediterranean lands herself. But even while she was murdering the followers of the Gracchi, the seas were swarming again with pirate fleets, and new barbarian thunderclouds were gathering unwatched along her borders. This was another reason why the Roman world was ready for a military master.

The first German invasion

The first great storm broke upon the northern frontier. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, two German peoples, migrating slowly with families, flocks, and goods, in search of new homes, reached the passes of the Alps in the year 113. These new barbarians were huge, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes, and they terrified the smaller Italians by their size, their terrific shouts, and their savage customs. They defeated five Roman armies in swift succession (the last with slaughter that recalled the day of Cannae), ravaged Gaul and Spain at will for some years, and finally threatened Italy itself. At the same time a dangerous Slave War had broken out in Sicily.

Marius saves Rome

Rome found a general none too soon. *Marius* (a rude soldier, son of a Volscian day-laborer) had just before risen from the ranks to chief command in a critical war against African barbarians. In defiance of the law and against the wish of the Senate, the Assembly reëlected him consul in his absence — and repeated this action each year for the next four years. While the Germans gave him time, Marius reformed and drilled

his army. Then, in the summer of 102, at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix) in southern Gaul he annihilated the two hundred thousand warriors of the Teutones, with all their women and children, in a huge massacre (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 41). The next summer he destroyed in like manner the vast horde of the Cimbri, who had penetrated to the Po. The first German nation to attack Rome had won graves in her soil.

Marius' failure as reformer

Marius might now have made himself king; or, better, had he been enough of a statesman, he might have used his power to reform the Republic. He was naturally the champion of the democrats; but he looked on (undecided, and incapable except in the field) while the Senatorial party massacred the reviving democratic party once more in a street war — and so he lost his chance.

The "Social War": Sulla

Soon another war brought to the front another great general. In the year 91, the tribune *Drusus*, son of the Drusus who had opposed the Gracchi, took up the Gracchi's work and proposed to extend citizenship to the Italians. The nobles murdered him, and carried a law threatening death to any one who should renew the proposal. Then the Italians rose in arms. Once more Rome fought for life, surrounded by a ring of foes. This *Social War* (war with the Socii, or "Allies") was as dangerous a contest as the imperial city ever waged (91–88 B.C.). Two things saved her. She divided her foes by granting citizenship to all who would at once lay down their arms; and the aristocratic consul, Sulla, showed magnificent generalship.

All Italy enters the Roman state

The "Allies" were crushed, *but their cause was victorious.* When the war was over, Rome gradually incorporated into the Roman state all Italy south of the Po, *making all Italian cities municipia and raising the number of citizens from 400,000 to 900,000.*

The peril from Mithridates in the East

For thirty years the Senate had looked on indolently while danger gathered head in Asia. Finally the storm had burst. Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia had grown into independent kingdoms, each of them, for long time past, encroaching upon

Rome's territory. At last, *Mithridates VI*, king of Pontus, suddenly seized the Roman province of Asia Minor, then called the "Province of Asia." The people hailed him as a deliverer, and joined him enthusiastically to secure freedom from the hated extortion of Roman tax-collectors and money-lenders. Eighty thousand Italians, scattered through the province, — men, women, and children, — were massacred, almost in a day, by the city mobs. Then Mithridates turned to Macedonia and Greece. Here, too, the people joined him against Rome. Athens welcomed him as a savior from Roman tyranny; and twenty thousand more Italians were massacred in Greece and in the Aegean islands. Rome's dominion in the Eastern world had crumbled.

Civil war

This news merely intensified anarchy in Rome. The Senate declared war on Mithridates and gave the command to Sulla. The Assembly insisted that Marius should have charge. Then followed savage civil war with regular armies, and with bloody massacre after massacre in the streets of the capital. After various ups and downs, Marius died in an orgy of triumph. And then, on his return from victory in the East, Sulla ruled for years with the title of *permanent dictator* (81–78 B.C.), stamping out the embers of democracy by systematic and long-continued assassination. Finally, when he thought Senatorial rule safely reëstablished, he abdicated his monarchy — and died in peace, in debauchery.

Sulla's dictatorship

II. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78–49 B.C.

Pompey in Spain

Sulla's death left one of his officers, Pompey, the leading man at Rome — a fair soldier, but otherwise of mediocre ability, vain, sluggish, and cautious. Pompey now forced or persuaded the Senate to send him with an overwhelming army to put down a long-standing rebellion in Spain — where he succeeded after the democratic general of the rebels (Sertorius) had been assassinated. In his absence, came a terrible slave revolt in Italy, headed by the gallant *Spartacus*. Spartacus was a Thracian captive who had been forced to become a gladiator. With a few companions he escaped from the gladiatorial school at

And Spartacus

Capua and fled to the mountains. There he was joined by other fugitive slaves until he was at the head of an army of 70,000 men. For three years he kept the field, and repeatedly threatened Rome itself. Just as Pompey returned to Italy, however, in 70 B.C., Spartacus' forces were crushed by *Crassus*, another of Sulla's old lieutenants; but Pompey arrived in time to cut to pieces a few thousand fugitives and to claim a share of the credit.

Pompey and the pirates

And in 67, military danger called Pompey again to the front. The navy of Rome had fallen to utter decay, and swarms of pirates terrorized the seas, setting up a formidable state on the rocky coasts of Cilicia and negotiating with kings as equals. They paralyzed trade along the great Mediterranean highway, and even ravaged the coasts of Italy. Finally they threatened Rome itself with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets. To put down these plunderers Pompey was given supreme command *for three years in the Mediterranean and in all its coasts for fifty miles inland.* He received also *unlimited* authority over all the resources of the realm. Assembling vast fleets, he swept the seas in a three months' campaign.

Pompey in the East

Then Pompey's command was extended *indefinitely* in order that he might carry on another war against Mithridates of Pontus, who for several years had again been threatening Roman power in Asia Minor. He was absent on this mission five years — a glorious period in his career, and one that proved the resources and energies of the commonwealth unexhausted, if only a respectable leader were found to direct them. He waged successful wars, crushed dangerous rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, annexed wide provinces and extended the Roman bounds to the Euphrates, and restored order throughout the East.

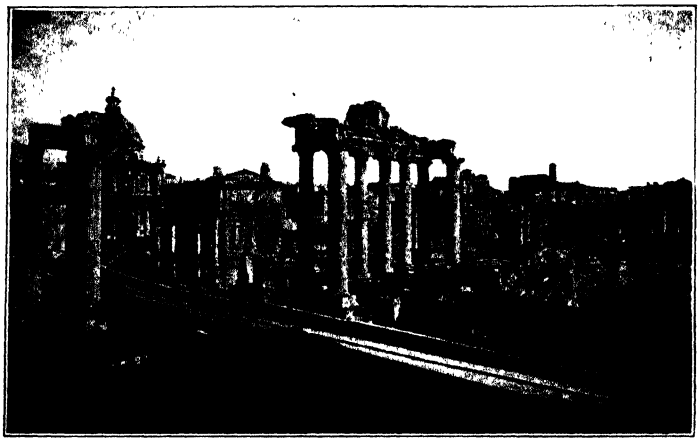
"Pompey the Great"

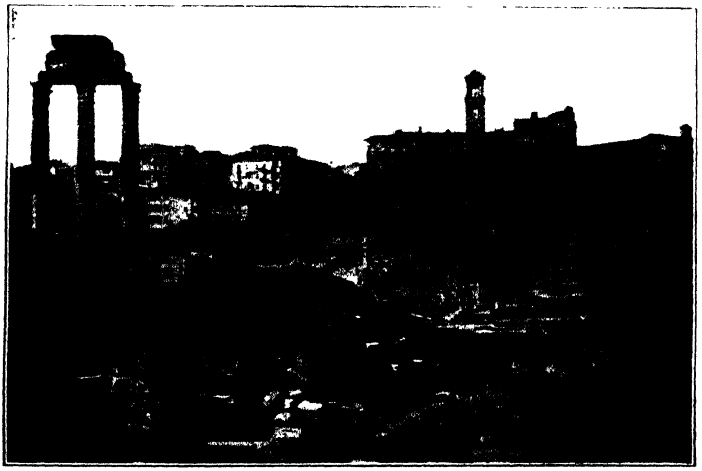
When he returned to Italy, in 62, he was "Pompey the Great," the leading figure in the world. The crown was within his grasp; but he let it slip, expecting it to be thrust upon him.

And now a democratic leader had risen to prominence. *Caius Julius Caesar*, of an old patrician family, had defied Sulla with quiet dignity when ordered to divorce his wife (daughter

PLATE XXIX

A Roman Chariot Race. — From a modern painting.





ABOVE. — THE ROMAN FORUM TO-DAY. — This view looks southward from the direction of the Capitoline (p. 151), toward the eastern edge of the Palatine. The group of columns in the foreground belonged to a Temple of Saturn, which was also the Roman Treasury. The rows of bases of pillars, on the right, belonged to a splendid basilica, or judgment hall, built by Julius Caesar. South of the Temple of Saturn, and to the left of Caesar's basilica, lay the open market place.

BELOW. — ROMAN FORUM TO-DAY, looking toward the Capitoline. Note the triumphal arch on the right (Arch of Titus; cf. Plate XXXIII).

of a leading enemy of Sulla) — though Pompey had obeyed a like command. Barely escaping the massacres (still a boy in years), he had fled into hiding in the mountains during Sulla's rule. During Pompey's absence, he had served in various public offices, and had striven earnestly to reorganize the crushed democratic party. In 64 B.C., by a daring stroke, he set up again at the Capitol the trophies of Marius, which Sulla had torn down.

The "First Triumvirate"

The return of Pompey seemed to close Caesar's career; but the jealous and stupid Senate refused to give Pompey's soldiers the lands he had promised them for pay, and delayed even to ratify his wise political arrangements in the East. He had disbanded his army, and for two years he fretted in vain. Caesar seized the chance and formed a coalition between Pompey, Crassus, and himself. This alliance is sometimes called the "First Triumvirate." Caesar furnished the brains and obtained the fruits. He became consul (59 B.C.) and set about securing Pompey's measures. The Senate refused even to consider them. Caesar laid them directly before the Assembly. A tribune, of the Senate's party, interposed his veto. Caesar looked on calmly while a mob of Pompey's veterans drove the tribune from the Assembly. To delay proceedings, the other consul then announced that he would consult the omens. According to law, all action should have ceased until the result was known; but Caesar serenely disregarded this antiquated check, and carried the measures.

Caesar in Gaul

At the close of his consulship, Caesar secured command of the Gallic provinces for five years as proconsul. For the next ten years he abandoned Italy for the supreme work that opened to him beyond the Alps. He found the Province[1] threatened by two great invasions: the whole people of the Helvetii were migrating from their Alpine homes in search of more fertile lands; and a great German nation, under the king Ariovistus, was already encamped in Gaul. The Gauls themselves were distracted by feuds and grievously oppressed by their dis-

[1] In 121 the southern part of Transalpine Gaul had been given the form of a province. It was commonly known as *The Province* (modern *Provence*).

orderly chieftains. Caesar levied armies hastily, and in one summer drove back the Helvetii and annihilated the German invaders. Then he seized upon the Rhine as the proper Roman frontier, and, in a series of masterly campaigns, he made all Gaul Roman, extending his expeditions even into Britain.

And the results

Whatever we think of the morality of these conquests, they were to produce infinite good for mankind. Their justification rests upon much the same basis as does the White occupation of America. Says John Fiske (an American historian): "We ought to be thankful to Caesar every day that we live."

The result of the Gallic campaigns was two-fold.

1. The wave of German invasion was again checked, until Roman civilization had time to do its work and to prepare the way for the coming Christian church. "Let the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but they are no longer needed."

2. A wider home for Roman civilization was won among fresh populations, unexhausted and vigorous. *The map widened from the Mediterranean circle to include the shores of the North and Baltic seas.* The land that Caesar made Roman (modern France) was, next to Greece and Italy, to be the chief teacher of Europe.

Caesar and Pompey

The close of Caesar's five years in Gaul saw him easily superior to his colleagues, and able to seize power at Rome if he chose. But it was never his way to leave the work in hand unfinished. He renewed the "triumvirate" in 55 B.C., securing the Gauls for five years more for himself, giving Spain to Pompey, and Asia to Crassus.

Senate adopts Pompey

Crassus soon perished in battle against the Parthians in the East. Then it became plain that the question whether Caesar or Pompey was to rule at Rome could not long be postponed. The Senate was growing frantic with fear of Caesar's victorious legions. Pompey, jealous of his more brilliant rival, drew nearer to the Senate again, and that terrified body adopted him eagerly as its champion, hoping that it had found another Sulla to check this new Marius. Pompey was made *sole con-*

sul with supreme command in Italy, and at the same time his *indefinite proconsular powers abroad* were continued to him.

Caesar's office as proconsul was about to expire. He still shrank from civil war. He meant to secure the consulship for the next year and, in that case, he hoped to carry out reforms at Rome without violence. But his offers of conciliation and compromise were rebuffed by Pompey and the Senate. To stand for consul, under the law, Caesar must disband his army and come to Rome in person. There would be an interval of some months when he would be a private citizen. The aristocrats boasted openly that in this helpless interval they would destroy him as they had the Gracchi. Caesar offered to lay down his command and disband his troops, if Pompey were ordered to do the same. Instead, the aristocrats carried a decree that Caesar must disband his troops before a certain day or be declared a public enemy. Two tribunes vetoed the decree, but were mobbed, and barely escaped to Caesar's camp in Cisalpine Gaul.

And forces Caesar to choose civil war or ruin

At last the Senate had made Caesar choose between civil war and ruin both for himself and for all his hopes for the Roman world. He had made no preparation for war. Only one of his eleven legions was with him in Cisalpine Gaul; the others were dispersed in distant garrisons far beyond the Alps. But within an hour after the arrival of the fugitives, he was on the march with only his 5000 men. The same night he crossed the Rubicon — the little stream that separated his province from "Italy." This act was war: a proconsul was strictly forbidden by law to bring an army into Italy. Caesar paused a few moments, it is said, for the last time, when he reached the bank of the river at the head of his troops; then he spurred forward, exclaiming, "The die is cast."

Caesar crosses the Rubicon

PART V — THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Rome was the whole world, and all the world was Rome.
— SPENSER, *Ruins of Rome.*

CHAPTER XXIII

FOUNDING THE EMPIRE, 49–31 B.C.

Pharsalus

With audacious rapidity Caesar led his one legion directly upon the much larger forces that ponderous Pompey was mustering; and in sixty days, almost without bloodshed, he was master of the peninsula.

Following Pompey to Greece, he became master of the world by a battle at *Pharsalus* the next spring. Caesar's little army had been living for weeks on roots and bark of trees, and it numbered less than half Pompey's well-provided troops. Pompey, too, had his choice of positions, and he had never been beaten in the field. But despite his career of unbroken success, Pompey was "formed for a corporal," while Caesar, though caring not at all for mere military glory, was one of the greatest captains of all time. And says an English historian:

"The one host was composed in great part of a motley crowd from Greece and the East . . . the other was chiefly drawn from the Gallic populations of Italy and the West, fresh, vigorous, intelligent, and united in devotion and loyalty to their leader. . . . *With Caesar was the spirit of the future;* and his victory marks the moment when humanity could once more start hopefully upon a new line of progress."

"I came, I saw, I conquered"

Other wars took precious time. Egypt and Asia Minor each required a campaign. In Egypt, with the voluptuous queen, *Cleopatra*, Caesar wasted a few months; but he atoned for this delay by swift prosecution of the war in Asia against the son of Mithridates. This was the campaign that Caesar reported rather boastfully to his lieutenants in Rome, — "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Caesar reconciles Italy

Caesar's first constructive work was to reconcile Italy to his government. He maintained strict order, guarded property carefully, and punished no political opponent who laid down arms. Only one of his soldiers had refused to follow him when he decided upon civil war. Caesar sent all this officer's property after him to Pompey's camp, and continued that policy toward the nobles who left Italy to join Pompey. On the field of victory, he called to his vengeful soldiers to remember that the enemy were their fellow-citizens; *and after Pharsalus, he employed in the public service any Roman of ability, without regard to the side he had fought on.* This clemency brought its proper fruit. Almost at once all classes, except a few aristocratic extremists, became heartily reconciled to his rule.

Caesar's monarchy the result of long-standing conditions

From the time of the Gracchi, Rome had been moving toward monarchy. *Owing to the corruption of the populace in the capital, and to the incompetent greed of the oligarchs,* the tremendous power of the tribune had grown occasionally into a virtual dictatorship, as with Caius Gracchus. *Owing to the growing military danger on the frontiers,* the mighty authority of a proconsul of a single province was sometimes extended, by special decrees, over *vaster areas* for *indefinite time,* as with Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar. *To make a monarch needed but to unite these two powers, at home and abroad, in one person.*

This was what Caesar did. He preserved the old Republican *forms.* The Senate debated, and the Assembly elected aediles, consuls, and praetors as before. But Caesar received "the tribunician power" for life, and the title of *Imperator* for himself *and his descendants.* This term, from which we get our word "Emperor," had meant simply supreme general, and had been used only of the master of legions in the field abroad. Probably Caesar would have liked the title of king, since the recognized authority that went with it would have helped him to keep order. But he found that name still hateful to the people; and so he adopted Imperator for his title as monarch.

The corruption of the populace and the incapacity of the greedy oligarchy, we have said, made monarchy inevitable.

A third condition — the Senatorial misgovernment of the provinces — made *Caesar's* monarchy a boon to the great Roman world outside Italy.

Caesar the champion of the oppressed provincial world

Indeed Caesar rose to power as the champion of suffering subject populations. Already, as proconsul, on his own authority, he had admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to all the privileges of Roman citizens. In his most arduous campaigns, he had kept up correspondence with leading provincials in other parts of the Empire. Other Roman conquerors had spent part of their plunder of the provinces in adorning Rome with public buildings: Caesar had expended vast sums in adorning and improving *provincial cities*, not only in his own districts of Gaul and Spain, but also in Asia and Greece. All previous Roman armies had been made up of Italians: Caesar's army was drawn from Cisalpine Gaul, and indeed partly from Gaul beyond the Alps. Many of the subject peoples had begun to look to him as their best hope against Senatorial rapacity; and the great body of them wished for monarchy as an escape from anarchy and oligarchic misrule. (To call Caesar's monarchy a solution for the problems of his day is not to call monarchy good at all times. A despotism can get along with less virtue and intelligence than a free government can. The Roman world was not good enough or wise enough for free government; and indeed it seemed on the verge of ruin. The despotism of the Caesars was a poison — but a strong medicine which preserved that world for five precious centuries.)

JULIUS CAESAR. — We are not sure, however, that any of the so-called "busts of Caesar" are really authentic.

Caesar reforms the provincial system

Caesar at once made over the system of provincial government. The old governors had been irresponsible tyrants, with every temptation to plunder. Under Caesar they began to be *trained servants* of a stern master *who looked to the welfare of the whole Empire.* Their authority was lessened, and they were surrounded by a system of checks in the presence of other officials dependent directly upon the Imperator.

And extends Roman citizenship outside Italy

Caesar's plans were broader than this. He meant to put the provinces upon an equality with Italy, and to mold the distracted Roman world into one mighty whole *under equal laws.* Something he accomplished in the brief time left him. He incorporated all Cisalpine Gaul in Italy, and multiplied Roman citizenship by adding whole communities in Gaul beyond the Alps, in Spain, and elsewhere. Leading Gauls, too, were *admitted to the Senate,* whose membership Caesar raised to 900, meaning to make it represent the whole Empire.

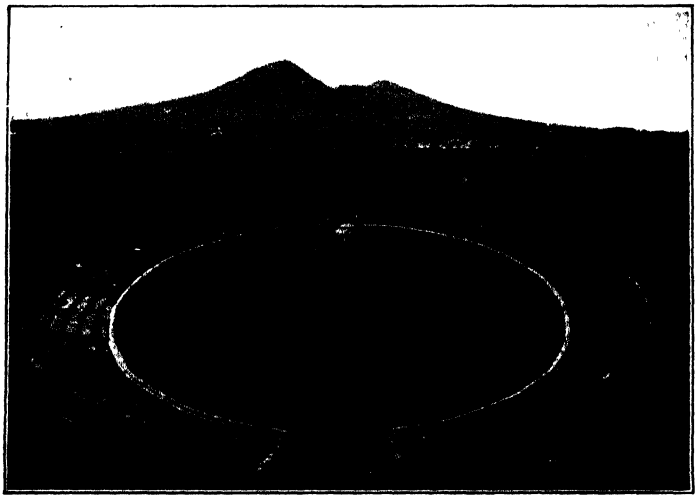
Renewal of the work of the Gracchi for Italy

Rome and Italy were not neglected. A commission, like that of the Gracchi, was put at work to reclaim and allot public lands. Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously. In his early consulship (59 B.C.), Caesar had refounded Capua; now he did the like for Carthage and Corinth, and these noble capitals, which had been criminally destroyed by the narrow jealousy of the Roman merchants, rose again to wealth and power. Eighty thousand landless citizens of Rome were provided for *beyond seas;* and by these and other means the helpless poor in the capital, dependent upon free grain, were reduced from 320,000 to 150,000.

Soon after the time of the Gracchi, it became necessary to extend the practice of *selling cheap grain* to *distributing free grain,* at state expense, to the populace of the capital. This became one of the chief duties of the government. To have omitted it would have meant starvation and a horrible insurrection. For centuries to come, the degraded populace was ready to support any political adventurer who seemed willing and able to satisfy lavishly its cry for "bread and games." To have attacked the growing evil so boldly is one of Caesar's

chief titles to honor. With a longer life, no doubt he would have lessened it still further. His successors soon abandoned the task.

Rigid economy was introduced into all branches of the government. A bankrupt law released all debtors from further claims, if they surrendered their property to their creditors, and so



THEATER AT POMPEII. — Every Roman city had its *amphi*theater (*two* theaters back to back) for shows and gladiatorial games. Cf. illustrations after pp. 228, 232.

the demoralized Italian society was given a fresh start. Taxation was equalized and reduced. A comprehensive census was taken for all Italy, and measures were under way to extend it over the Empire. Caesar also began the codification of the irregular mass of Roman law, created a great *public* library, rebuilt the Forum, began vast public works in all parts of the Empire, and reformed the coinage and the calendar.[1]

[1] The Roman calendar had been inferior to the Egyptian and had got three months out of the way, so that the spring equinox came in June. To correct the error, Caesar made the year 46 ("the last year of confusion") consist of four hundred and forty-five days, and for the future, instituted the system of leap years, as we have it, except for a slight correction by Pope Gregory in the sixteenth century.

The Ides of March

Caesar was still in the prime of manhood, and had every reason to hope for time to complete his work. No public enemy could be raised against him within the empire. One danger there was: lurking assassins beset his path. But with characteristic dignity he quietly refused a bodyguard, declaring it better to die at any time than to live always in fear of death. And so the daggers of men whom he had spared struck him down.

A group of irreconcilable nobles plotted to take his life, — led by the envious *Cassius* and the weak enthusiast *Brutus*, whom Caesar had heaped with favors. They accomplished their crime in the Senate-house, on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. Crowding around him, and fawning upon him as if to ask a favor, the assassins suddenly drew their daggers. According to an old story, Caesar at first, calling for help, stood on his defense and wounded Cassius; but when he saw the loved and trusted Brutus in the snarling pack, he cried out sadly, "Thou, too, Brutus!" and drawing his toga about him with calm dignity, he resisted no longer, but sank at the foot of Pompey's statue, bleeding from three and twenty stabs.

Character and work

No doubt, "Caesar was ambitious." He was a broad-minded genius, with a strong man's delight in ruling well. The murder came *only five years after Caesar crossed the Rubicon.* Those years, with their seven campaigns, gave only eighteen months for constructive reform. The work was left incomplete; but that which was actually accomplished dazzles the imagination, and marked out the lines along which Caesar's successors, less grandly, had to move.

Octavius and Antony

The assassination led to fourteen years more of dreary civil war. Rome and all Italy rose against the murderers, and they fled to the East, where Pompey's name was still a strength to the aristocrats. They were followed and crushed at *Philippi* in Macedonia (42 B.C.) by the forces of the West led by Mark Antony (one of Caesar's officers) and Octavius Caesar, an adopted son of the first Imperator. Then Octavius and Antony divided the Roman world between themselves. Soon each

was plotting for the other's share. The East had fallen to Antony. In Egypt he became infatuated with Cleopatra. He bestowed rich provinces upon her, and, it was rumored, he planned to supplant Rome by Alexandria as chief capital. The West turned to Octavius as its champion. In 31, the rivals met in the naval battle of *Actium* off the coast of Greece. Early in the battle, Cleopatra took flight with the Egyptian ships. The infatuated Antony followed, deserting his fleet and army. Once more the West had won. Cleopatra, last of the Ptolemies, soon took poison rather than grace Octavius' triumph and Egypt became a Roman province.

Battle of Actium

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 50–54; and on Caesar's constructive work, Warde-Fowler's *Caesar*, 326–359. Dr. Davis' *Friend of Caesar* (fiction) and Plutarch's *Lives* of Caesar, Pompeius, and Cicero make admirable reading.

FACT DRILLS

1. List of important battles in Roman history to this point, with results of each.

2. *Dates.* Continued drill on the list given on p. 147. Add the following and group other dates around these:

510(?) B.C. "Expulsion" of the kings.

390(?) B.C. Sack of Rome by the Gauls; and in like manner, the events for 367, 266, 146, 133, 49, 31 B.C.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EMPERORS OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES, 31 B.C.–180 A.D.

Augustus, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.

Octavius spent the first two years after Actium in restoring order in the East. On his return to Rome in 29 B.C., the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed, in token of the reign peace.[1] By prudent and generous measures, he soon brought back prosperity to long distracted Italy, and in 27 he laid down his office of triumvir (which had become a *sole* dictatorship) and declared *the Republic restored.* In fact, *the Empire was safely established.*

Under republican forms

Republican *forms*, indeed, were respected even more scrupulously than by Julius Caesar. But supreme power lay in Octavius' hands as Imperator, — master of the legions. This office he kept, and the Senate now added to it the new title *Augustus*, which had before been used only of the gods. It is by this name that he is thenceforth known. He was so popular that he did not need the open support of the army — which he stationed mostly on the frontiers. He lived more simply than many a noble, and walked the streets like any citizen, charming all whom he met by his frankness and courtesy.

Augustus ruled forty-five years after Actium, carrying out the policies of the great Julius, and renewing, for the last time, the work of founding colonies outside Italy. Peace reigned; order was established; industry revived. Marshes were drained, and roads were built. A census of the whole Empire was taken, and many far-distant communities were granted Roman citizenship. Augustus himself tells us, in a famous inscription that in *one* year he began the rebuilding of eighty-two temples; and of Rome he said, — "I found it brick, and

[1] These gates were always open when the Romans were engaged in any war. In all Roman history, they had been closed only twice before, — and one of these times was in the legendary reign of King Numa.

have left it marble." He was also a generous patron of literature and art. The "Augustan Age" is the golden age of Latin literature.

Worship of the dead Augustus

At the death of Augustus, the Senate decreed him divine honors. Temples were erected in his honor, and he was worshiped as a god. Such worship seems impious to us, but to the Romans it was connected with the idea of ancestor worship and with the worship of ancient heroes, and was a way of recognizing the Emperor as "the father of all his people." The practice was adopted for the successors of Augustus, and this worship of dead emperors soon became a general and widespread religious rite, the only religion common to the whole Roman world, — binding together the dwellers on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Tiber, the Rhone, and the Tagus.

AUGUSTUS CAESAR. — A statue now in the Vatican, Rome.

And that of Christ

But shortly before this worship began, when the reign of Augustus was a little more than half gone, there was born in a manger in an obscure hamlet of a distant corner of the Roman world, the child Jesus, whose religion, after some centuries, was to replace the worship of dead emperors and all other religious faiths of the pagan world.

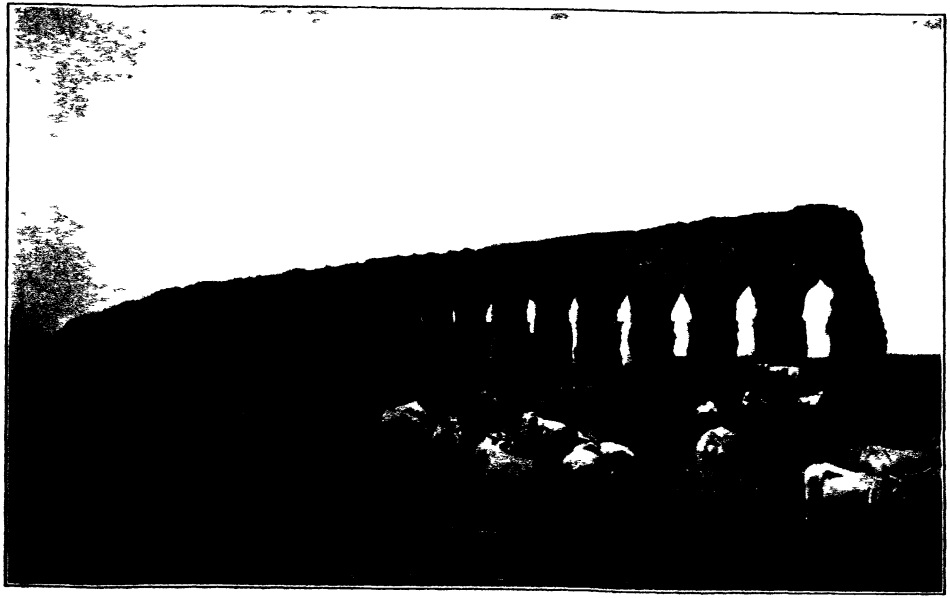
At Augustus' death, every one recognized that some one must be appointed to succeed him, and the Senate at once granted

PLATE XXXI

ABOVE. — ROMAN FORUM, northeast side, to-day.

BELOW. — ROMAN FORUM, same as above, as it was in Roman times, according to the "restoration," by Benvenuti.

PLATE XXXII



Ruins of the Aqueduct of Claudius, Crossing the Plain of Latium — The water was brought forty miles from distant Apennine lakes to Rome, and for the final ten miles it was carried on arches like these.

his titles and authority to his stepson Tiberius, whom he had "*recommended*" to them. Tiberius was stern, morose, suspicious, but an able, conscientious ruler. The nobles of the capital conspired against him, and were punished cruelly. The populace of Rome, too, hated him because he abolished the Assembly where they had sold their votes, and because he refused to amuse them with gladiatorial sports. Therefore Tiberius established a permanent body of soldiers (*praetorian guards*) in the capital; *and he encouraged a system of paid spies.* With reason the people of Rome looked upon him as a gloomy tyrant. *But in the provinces he was proverbial for fairness, kindness, and good government.* "A good shepherd shears his sheep, he does not flay them," was one of his sayings. In this reign occurred *the crucifixion of Christ.*

Tiberius, 14–37 A.D.

Tiberius had adopted a grand nephew as his heir, and the Senate confirmed the appointment. This youth (Caligula) had been a promising boy; but now he suddenly became an insane monster, and was slain finally by officers of his guard.

Caligula, 37–41

Caligula had named no successor. For a moment the Senate hoped to restore the old Republic; but *the praetorians* (devoted to the great Julian line) *hailed Claudius*, an uncle of Caligula, *as Imperator*, and the Senate had to confirm the appointment. Claudius had been a timid, awkward scholar and an author of tiresome books; but now he gave his time faithfully to the hard work of governing, with good results. His reign is famous for a *great extension of citizenship* to provincials, for *legislation to protect slaves* against cruel masters, and for the *conquest of southern Britain.*

Claudius, 41–54

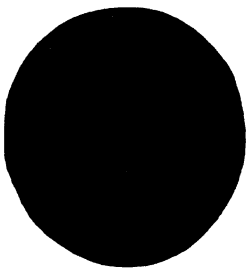
Nero, Claudius' stepson, became Emperor as a likable boy of sixteen. He had been trained by the philosopher *Seneca* (p. 226), and for two thirds of his reign he was guided by wise ministers. He cared little for affairs of government, but was fond of art, and ridiculously vain of his skill in music and poetry and he sought popular applause also as a gladiator. After some years his fears, together with a total lack of principle, led him

Nero, 54–68

to crime and tyranny. Wealthy nobles were put to death in numbers, and their property confiscated, Seneca himself being among the victims.

The burning of Rome

During this reign, *half of Rome was laid in ashes* by the "Great Fire" (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 65). In the densely populated parts of the city, many-storied, cheap, flimsy tenement houses projected their upper floors nearly across the narrow, crooked thoroughfares, so that the fire leaped easily from side to side. For six days and nights the flames raged unchecked, surging in billows over the slopes and through the valleys of the Seven Hills. By some, Nero was believed to have ordered the destruction, in order that he might rebuild in more magnificent fashion. On better authority he was reported to have at least enjoyed the spectacle from the roof of his palace, singing a poem he had composed on the "Burning of Troy."



BRONZE COIN OF NERO — to commemorate the closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus (cf. p. 211, note).

Nero's persecution of Christians

The new sect of Christians also were accused of starting the fire, out of their supposed "hatred for the human race," and because they had so often declared that a fiery destruction of the world was coming. To turn attention from himself, Nero took up the charge against them, and carried out the *first persecution of the Christians*, one of the most cruel in all history. Victims, tarred with pitch, were burned as torches in the imperial gardens, to light the indecent revelry of the court at night; and others, clothed in the skins of animals, were torn by dogs for the amusement of the mob. The persecution, however, was confined to the capital.

Nero's disgraceful rule finally roused the legions on the frontiers to rebel; and to avoid capture, he stabbed himself, exclaiming, "What a pity for such an artist to die!"

The year 69 A.D. was one of wild confusion and war between

several rivals. Finally the powerful legions in Syria "proclaimed" their general, Flavius Vespasianus, who quickly became master of the Empire. He and his sons are known as *Flavians*[1] (from his first name). He was the grandson of a Sabine laborer, and was blunt and coarse, but honest, industrious, and capable. He hated sham; and at the end, as he felt the hand of death

Vespasian, 70–79

DETAIL FROM THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS (see Plate XXXIV facing 217), showing Jewish captives and the seven-branched candlestick taken from the Temple at Jerusalem.

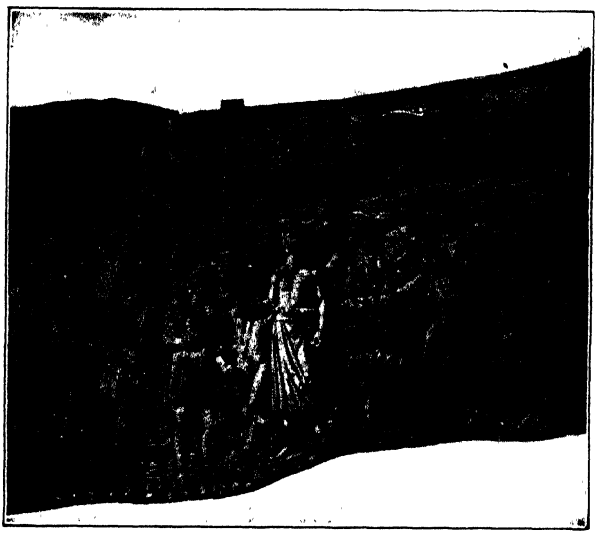
upon him, he said, with grim irony, "I think I am becoming a god," — in allusion to the worship of dead emperors.

In this reign came the destruction of Jerusalem. Judea had been made a tributary state by Pompey (63 B.C.), and in 4 A.D. it became a Roman province. But the Jews were restless under foreign rule, and in the year 66, in Nero's time, a national uprising drove out the Roman officers. This rebellion was now put down by Vespasian and his son Titus. In 70 A.D. Titus captured Jerusalem, after a stubborn siege. He had offered

[1] The preceding five emperors (descendants-in-law of Julius Caesar) are known as the *Julian* line. They had been Romans; the Flavians came from Italy outside Rome. *Their successors were provincials.*

Siege and destruction of Jerusalem

liberal terms; but the starving Jews made a frenzied resistance, and when the walls were finally stormed, many of them slew their women and children and died in the flames. The miserable remnant for the most part were sold into slavery. (Only recently, during the World War, was a project started to re-establish a Jewish state in Palestine.)



DETAIL FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN (see Plate XXXIII opposite): Trajan sacrificing a bull at the bridge over the Danube, just completed by his soldiers. This bridge was a remarkable structure, — probably the most wonderful bridge in the world until the era of iron and steel bridgework.

Pompeii destroyed by Vesuvius

Titus had been associated in the government with his father. The most famous event of his two years' reign was the *destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum by Vesuvius* (Plate XXIV).

Domitian, 81–96

Domitian, younger brother of Titus, was a strong, stern ruler. He built a famous wall 336 miles long, to complete the northern boundary from the Rhine to the Danube — a line of forts joined to one another by earthen ramparts; and he took the office of *Censor for life*, and so could legally make and unmake senators at will. This led the Roman nobles to conspire against him and finally he was assassinated

PLATE XXXIII

TRAJAN'S COLUMN, commemorating the Dacian conquest. It is 100 feet high, and the spiral bands of sculpture that circle it contain 2500 figures. It is the finest survival of a favorite Roman form of monument. Cf. p. 32 for an earlier model. See a detail on page 216.

TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS (showing the Colosseum in the distance). (Cf. Plate XXXVII facing p. 228.) The *triumphal* arch, spanning a city street like a gate, was a favorite decorative application of the arch by the Romans to commemorate victories. For an Egyptian model, see illustration after p. 10. Napoleon's famous Arch of Triumph at Paris is a modern imitation. For the position of the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum, see Plate facing p. 201. For detail, see p. 215.

The Senate chose the next ruler from its own number; and that emperor with his four successors are known as the *five good emperors*. The first of the five was *Nerva*, an aged senator *of Spanish descent*, who died after a kindly rule of sixteen months. **Nerva, 96–98**

Trajan, the adopted son of Nerva, was a *Spaniard* and a great general. He conquered and colonized *Dacia*, a vast district north of the Danube, and then attacked the Parthians in Asia, adding new provinces *beyond the Euphrates. These victories mark the greatest extent of the Roman Empire.* **Trajan, 98–117**

Hadrian, a Spanish kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him. Wisely and courageously, he abandoned most of Trajan's conquests in Asia (disregarding the sneers and murmurs of nobles and populace), and withdrew the frontier there to the old line of the Euphrates, more easily defended. He looked to the fortification of other exposed frontiers. His most famous work of this kind was a wall in Britain, from the Solway to the Tyne, to keep out the unconquered Picts of the northern highlands.[1] **Hadrian, 117–138**

Hadrian spent most of his twenty years' rule in inspecting the provinces. Now he is in Britain, now in Dacia; again in Gaul, or in Africa, Syria, or Egypt. He spent several months in Asia Minor, and in Macedonia; and twice he visited Athens, his favorite city, which he adorned with splendid buildings.

Hadrian was followed by Antoninus Pius, a pure and gentle spirit, the chief feature of whose peaceful rule was legislation *to prevent cruelty to slaves*. On the evening of his death, when asked by the officer of the guard for the watchword for the night, Antoninus gave the word *Equanimity*, which might have served as the motto of his life. (Davis' *Readings* gives a noble tribute to his character by his successor.) **Antoninus Pius, 138–161**

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nephew and adopted son of

[1] This "Wall of Hadrian" was seventy miles long, extending almost from sea to sea. Considerable portions can still be traced. It consisted of three distinct parts: (1) a twenty-foot stone wall and ditch, on the north; (2) a double earthen rampart and ditch, about one hundred and twenty yards to the south; and (3) between wall and rampart a series of fourteen fortified camps connected by a road.

Marcus Aurelius, 161–180

Antoninus Pius, was a *philosopher and student*. He belonged to the Stoic school, but in him that stern philosophy was softened by a gracious gentleness. His tastes made him wish to continue in his father's footsteps, but he had fallen upon harsher times. The barbarians renewed their attacks upon the Danube, the Rhine, and the Euphrates. The emperor and his lieu-

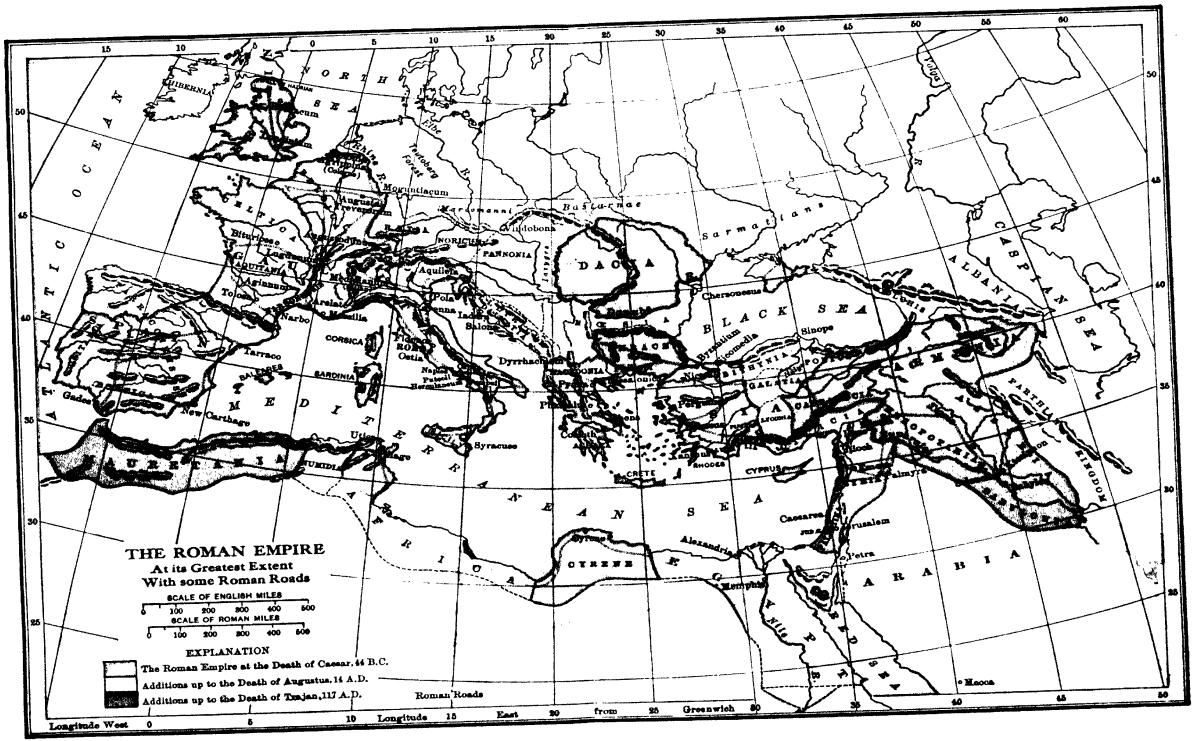
RUINS OF A TEMPLE TO ZEUS AT ATHENS BUILT BY HADRIAN.—Note the Corinthian style (p. 72) and the Acropolis in the background.

tenants beat them back, only at the cost of almost incessant war; and the gentle philosopher lived and wrote and died in camp. A great Asiatic plague, too, depopulated the Empire and demoralized society. The populace thought the disease a visitation from offended gods, and were frantically excited against the unpopular sect of Christians who refused to worship the gods of Rome. Thus the reign of the kindly Aurelius was marked by a cruel persecution.

Commodus, 180–192

Marcus Aurelius' son, Commodus, was an infamous wretch whose reign begins the period of decay.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 56 (Augustus' own account of his work) and No. 59, and Capes' *Early Empire*, especially ch. i.


THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
Longitude West from Greenwich East
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARABIA
HIBERNIA
BRITANNIA
GALLIA
GERMANIA
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DACIA
SARMATIANS
CORSICA
SARDINIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
CYRENE
EGYPT
Rome
Carthage
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Mecca

CHAPTER XXV

THE EARLY EMPIRE: GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

*Republican Rome had little to do . . . with modern life: **imperial Rome, everything**.* — STILLÉ.

The early emperors did not invent much *new* political machinery. Following the example of Julius Caesar, each one merely *concentrated in his own person* the most important offices of the Republic, — *powers which had originally been intended to check one another.* He could *appoint and degrade senators;* he led the debates in the Senate — and *could* control its decrees, which had become the chief means of lawmaking. He appointed the governors of the provinces, the generals of the legions, the city prefect, the head of the city police, and the prefect of the praetorians. Each successor of Augustus was hailed *Imperator Caesar Augustus.* (The title *Caesar* survived till recently, in *Kaiser* and in *Tsar.*)

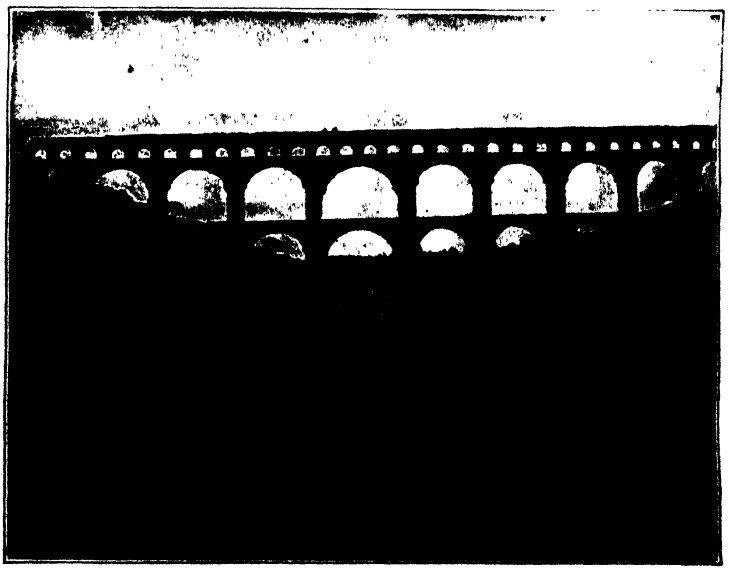
The "Principate"

The Roman world was a broad belt of land stretching east and west, from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, with the Mediterranean for its central highway. On the south it was bounded by sandy deserts, African and Arabian; on the north, by stormy waters; and at the weaker gaps — on the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and at the Walls of Domitian and Hadrian — stood mighty sleepless legions to watch and ward.

Life under the Empire concentrated in "municipia"

Within this vast territory, about as large as the United States, were 75,000,000 people. They lived mostly in cities (municipia) large and small, throbbing with industry and with intellectual life and possessing some *local* self-government in those municipal institutions they were to pass on to us. Stockaded villages had changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved roads. Roman irrigation made part of the African desert the garden of the world (where to-day

only desolate ruins mock the eye), and the symbol of Africa was a gracious virgin with arms filled with sheaves of golden grain. Gaul (France) was Romanized late, after Julius Cæsar; but in the third century A.D. that district had 116 flourishing cities, with public baths, temples, aqueducts,[1] roads, and famous schools that drew Roman youth even from the Tiber's banks.



AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE, built about 150 A.D. by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from mountain springs 25 miles distant; *present condition* of the long gray structure, where it crosses the Gard River. Water pipes were carried through hills by tunnels and across streams and valleys on arches like these. This aqueduct has vanished (its stones used for other buildings) except for this part; but here it is still possible to walk through the pipes on the top row of arches.

Most towns were places of 20,000 people or less, and usually each one was merely the center of a farming district; but there were also a few great centers of trade, — Rome, with perhaps 2,000,000 people; Alexandria (in Egypt) and Antioch (in Asia)

[1] The water supply of many large cities was better than that of large cities to-day, and the same is true of public baths — which in Rome could care for 60,000 people at a time.

with 500,000 each; and Corinth, Carthage, Ephesus, and Lyons, with some 250,000 apiece.

Industry and trade

These commercial cities were likewise centers of manufactures. The Emperor Hadrian visited Alexandria (about 125 A.D.) and wrote in a letter: "No one is idle; some work glass; some make paper (papyrus); some weave linen. Money is the only god." The looms of Sidon and the other old Phoenician cities turned forth ceaselessly their precious purple cloths. Miletus, Rhodes, and other Greek cities of the Asiatic coast were famous for their woolen manufactures. Syrian factories poured silks, costly tapestries, and fine leather into western Europe. Each town had many gilds of artisans (p. 171). In Rome the bakers' gild listed 254 shops; and the silversmiths of Ephesus were numerous enough (*Acts* xix, 23-41) to stir up a formidable riot. (Slaves did most of the unskilled labor; and a baker or mason would have two or three or a dozen to work under his direction.)

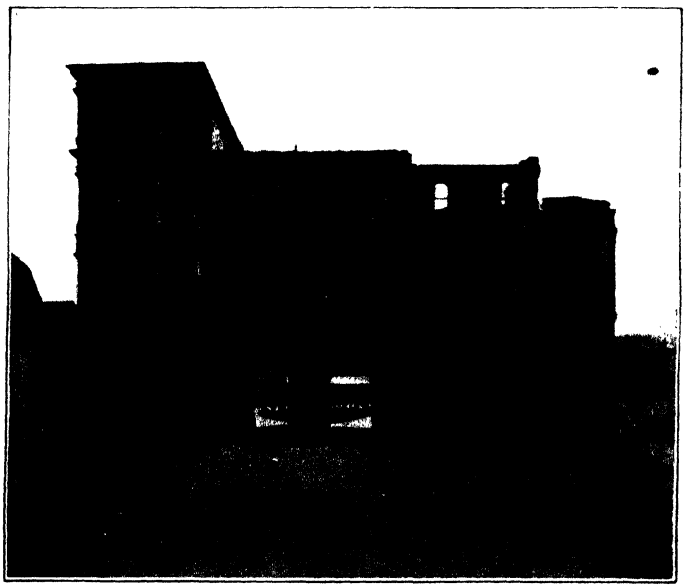
Communication by sea and land

The roads were safe. Piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again until the days of Columbus. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails (ships not very different from those in which Columbus was to cross the Atlantic). The grand military roads ran in trunk-lines — a thousand miles at a stretch — from every frontier toward the central heart of the Empire, with a dense network of branches in every province. Guidebooks described routes and distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day. Private travel from the Thames to the Euphrates was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until the age of railroads, less than a century ago.

Commerce

The products of one region of the Empire were known in every other part. Women of the Swiss mountains wore jewelry made by the silversmiths of Ephesus; and gentlemen in Britain and in Cilicia drank wines made in Italy. One merchant of Phrygia (in Asia Minor) asserts on his gravestone that he had sailed 'around Greece to Italy seventy-two times."

And men traveled for pleasure as well as for business. One language answered all needs from London to Babylon, and it was as common for the gentleman of Gaul to visit the wonders of Rome or of the Nile as for the American to-day to spend a summer in England or France. (Quite in modern fashion, such travelers defaced precious monuments with scrawls. The colossal



THE BLACK GATE (*Porta Nigra*), a Roman structure at Trier (Trèves). Cf. text on p. 223. — That same frontier city contains other famous Roman ruins: cf. *Early Progress*, p. 380.

Egyptian statue pictured after p. 27 bears a scratched inscription that a certain Roman "Gemullus with his dear wife Rufilla" had visited it.)

There was also a vast commerce with regions *beyond the boundaries of the Empire*. As English and Dutch traders, three hundred years ago, journeyed far into the savage interior of America for better bargains in furs, so the indomitable Roman traders pressed on into regions where the Roman legions never camped. From the Baltic shores they brought back amber, fur, and

flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to adorn their heads. Such goods the trader bought cheaply with toys and trinkets and wine. A Latin poet speaks of "many merchants" who reaped "immense riches" by daring voyages over the Indian Ocean "to the mouth of the Ganges." India, Ceylon, and Malaysia sent to Europe indigo, spices, pearls, sapphires, drawing away, in return, vast sums of Roman gold and silver. And from shadowy realms beyond India came the silk yarn that kept the Syrian looms busy. Chinese annals tell of Roman traders bringing to Canton glass and metal wares, amber, and drugs — and speak also of an embassy from Marcus Aurelius.

The world becomes Roman

In 212 A.D. the long process of extending citizenship was completed by an imperial decree making all *free* inhabitants of the Empire full citizens. This wiped out all remaining distinctions between Italy and the former "provinces"; and the later emperors were more at home at York or Cologne or at some capital by the Black Sea than at old Rome — which perhaps they visited only once or twice for some solemn pageant.

Peace and prosperity for 200 years

This widespread, happy society rested in "the good Roman peace" for more than two hundred years, — from the reign of Augustus Caesar through that of Marcus Aurelius, or from 31 B.C. to 180 A.D. No other part of the world so large has ever known such unbroken prosperity and such freedom from the waste and horror of war for so long a time. *Few troops were seen within the Empire*, and "the distant clash of arms [with barbarians] on the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands."

The "Roman" army had become a body of disciplined mercenaries, with intense pride in the Roman name. More and more the legions were renewed by enlistment on the frontiers where they were stationed, and in the third century barbarians became a large part of the army. From the hungry foes surging against its walls, the Empire drew the guardians of its peace. At the expiration of their twenty years with the eagles,[1] the

[1] The Roman military standard became the model for late European governments that claimed to succeed Rome.

veterans became Roman citizens, no matter where recruited; and commonly they were settled in colonies with grants of land. Thus they helped mix the many races of Rome into one. Spanish troops in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Gauls in Africa, Africans in Armenia, settled and married far from the lands of their birth.

A few of the emperors at Rome, like Nero and Caligula, were weak or wicked; but their follies and vices concerned only the nobles of the capital. The Empire as a whole went on with little change during their short reigns. To the vast body of the people of the Roman world, the crimes of an occasional tyrant were unknown. To them he seemed (like the good emperors) merely the symbol of the peace and prosperity which enfolded them.

Unity of the Roman world

In language, and somewhat in culture, *the West remained Latin, and the East,*[1] *Greek;* but trade, travel, and the mild and just Roman law made the world one in feeling. Briton, African, Asiatic, knew one another only as Romans. An Egyptian Greek of the period expressed this world-wide patriotism in a noble ode, closing, —

> "Though we tread Rhone's or Orontes'[2] shore,
> Yet are we all one nation evermore."

Architecture

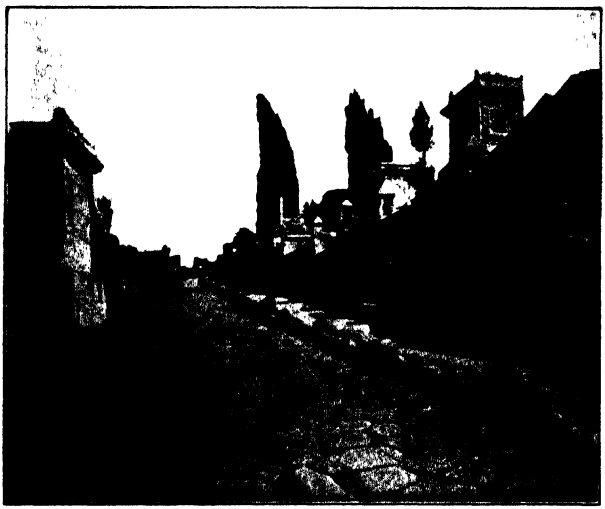
Painting and sculpture followed the old Greek models; but *the* Roman art was architecture. Many of the world's most famous buildings belong to the Early Empire. Roman architecture had more massive grandeur, and was fonder of ornament, than the Greek. Instead of the simple Doric or Ionic columns it commonly used the rich Corinthian, and it added, for its own especial features, the noble Roman arch and the dome.

The universities and grammar schools

Rome, Alexandria, and Athens were the three great centers of learning. Each had its *university*, with vast libraries and many professorships. Vespasian began the practice of paying salaries from the public treasury, and under Marcus Aurelius the government began to provide *permanent endowments* (of

[1] The Adriatic may be taken as a convenient line of division (p. 182).
[2] A river of Asia Minor.

PLATE XXXV



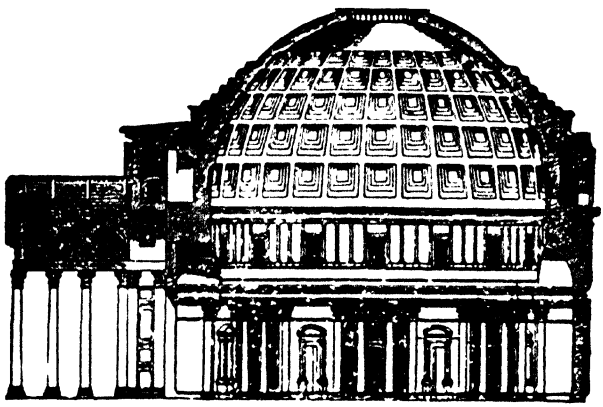
THE WAY OF TOMBS AT POMPEII. — Each Roman city buried its dead outside one of its gates along the highway, which therefore was lined for a great distance with marble monuments or the simpler raised headstones that are also shown in this picture. The ruins shown alongside the Appian Way (p. 166) are tombs and monuments. The disorders of later centuries destroyed most of these monuments in Italy, though we do still have many interesting inscriptions from them. At Pompeii the volcanic covering preserved them almost intact. A husband inscribes upon his wife's monument: "only once did she cause me sorrow, and that was by her death." Another praises in his wife "purity, loyalty, affection, a sense of duty, a gentle nature, and whatever other qualities God would wish to give woman." The tombstone of a poor physician declares that "to all the needy he gave his services without charge." See also pp 226–7.

THE PANTHEON TO-DAY: "Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods." (Read the rest of Byron's fine description in Canto IV of Childe Harold.) Agrippa, victor of Actium and chief minister of Augustus, built this temple in the Campus Martius; and it was rebuilt, in its present form, by Hadrian — who, however, left the inscription in honor of Agrippa. The structure is 132 feet in diameter and of the same height, surmounted by a majestic dome that originally flashed with tiles of bronze. The interior is broadly flooded with light from an aperture in the dome 26 feet in diameter. The inside walls were formed of splendid columns of yellow marble, with gleaming white capitals supporting noble arches, upon which again rested more pillars and another row of arches — up to the base of the dome (see section opposite). Under the arches, in pillared recesses, stood the statues of the gods of all religions, for this grand temple was symbolic of the grander toleration and unity of the Roman world. Time has dealt gently with it, and almost alone of the buildings of its day it has lasted to ours, to be used now as a Christian church.

which only the *income* could be used each year), as we do for our universities. The leading subjects were Latin and Greek *literature, rhetoric, philosophy, music, arithmetic,*[1] *geometry,* and *astronomy.*[2] *Law* was a specialty at Rome, and *medicine* at Alexandria. Every important city in the Empire had its well-equipped grammar school, corresponding to an advanced high school or small college; and like the universities, to which they led, they had permanent endowments from the Roman government.

Schools for the poor

All this education was for the upper classes, but occasionally bright boys from the lower classes found some wealthy patron



CROSS-SECTION OF THE PANTHEON.

to send them to a good school, and rich men and women sometimes bequeathed money to schools in their home cities for the education of poor children. Davis' *Readings* (II, No. 80) tells of such an endowment, and (No. 79) repeats Horace's story of how his father, a poor farmer, gave him the education that made it possible for him to become one of the most famous of poets.

[1] Arithmetic was an advanced subject when Roman numerals were used.

[2] The first three subjects, the literary group, were the *trivium;* the last four, the mathematical group, were the *quadrivium.*

Literature

Literature played a small part in Roman life until just before the Empire. The following lists of names for the four periods, down to Marcus Aurelius, are for reference only.

1. The "Age of Cicero," gave us *Lucretius*, perhaps the most sublime of all Latin poets, and *Caesar's* concise historical narrative. *Cicero* himself remains the foremost orator of Rome and the chief master of the graceful Latin prose essay.

2. For the "Augustan Age" only a few of the many important writers can be mentioned. *Horace* (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote graceful odes and playful satires. *Vergil* (from Cisalpine Gaul), the chief Roman poet, is best known to schoolboys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics*, exquisite poems of country life. *Livy* (Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote great *histories* of Rome. *Strabo* (living at Alexandria) produced a geography of the Roman world, and speculated on the possibility of a continent in the Atlantic between Europe and Asia. *The last two authors wrote in Greek.*

3. To the second half of the first century belong another host of great names: among them, *Pliny the Elder (of Cisalpine Gaul)*, a scientist who perished at the eruption of Vesuvius in his zeal to observe the phenomena; the Stoic philosophers *Epictetus*, a Phrygian slave, and *Seneca*, a noble of Spanish birth.

4. For the second century, we have the charming *Letters* of *Pliny the Younger*, a Cisalpine Gaul; the satirical poetry of the Italian *Juvenal;* the philosophical and religious *Thoughts* of *Marcus Aurelius*, the histories and biographies (*in Greek*) of *Appian*, an Alexandrian, of *Plutarch*, a Boeotian, and (in Latin) of the Roman *Tacitus*. Science is represented chiefly by *Galen*, an Asiatic, who wrote Greek treatises on medicine, and by *Ptolemy*, an Egyptian astronomer, whose geography was the standard authority until the time of Columbus. (Ptolemy unhappily abandoned the truer teachings of Aristarchus and Eratosthenes (p. 146), and taught that the heavens revolved about the earth for their center.)

Morals under the Empire

Under the Empire morals grew gentle, and manners were refined. The *Letters* of Pliny reveal a society high-minded, polite, and virtuous. Pliny himself is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, and genial courtesy. Marcus Aurelius shows like qualities on the throne. The philosopher Epictetus shows them in a slave. Funeral inscriptions show tender affection. Over the grave of a little girl there is inscribed, — "She rests here in the soft cradle of the Earth . . . comely, charming, keen of mind, gay in talk

and play. If there be ought of compassion in the gods, bear her aloft to the light." In the *Thoughts*[1] of Marcus Aurelius the emperor thanks the gods "for a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, and good friends," and (stating his obligations to various associates), — "From my mother I learned piety, and to abstain not merely from evil deeds but from evil thoughts." Again a jotting in camp (on the borders of Germany) reads, — "When thou wishest to delight thyself think of the virtues of those who live with thee."

Broader human sympathies

Sympathies broadened. The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for a feeling of human brotherhood. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." The age prided itself, justly, upon its progress and its humanity, much as our own does. The Emperor Trajan instructed a provincial governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age*." There was a vast amount of private and public charity, with homes for orphans and hospitals for the poor. Woman, too, won more freedom than she was to find again until after 1850 A.D. The profession of medicine was open to her, and law recognized her as the equal of man.

MARCUS AURELIUS, a bust now in the Capitoline Museum.

More humane law

This broad humanity was reflected in imperial law. The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women, children,

[1] One of the world's noblest books, closer to the spirit of Christ than any other pagan writing. Davis' *Readings* gives some excellent extracts.

and even dumb beasts shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized. From the Empire dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal" became a law maxim, through the great jurist Ulpian. Slavery, he argued, had been created only by the lower law, enacted not by nature but by man. Therefore, if one man claimed another as his slave, the benefit of any possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed. (It is curious to remember that the rule was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave laws from 1793 to the Civil War.)

The dark side

True, there was a darker side. During some reigns the court was rank with hideous debauchery, and at all times the rabble of Rome, made up of the off-scourings of all peoples, was ignorant and vicious. Some evil customs that shock us were part of the age. To avoid cost and trouble, the lower classes, with horrible frequency and indifference, exposed their infants to die. Satirists, as in our own day, railed at the growth of divorce among the rich. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world. At the gladiatorial sports — so strong is fashion — delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater without shrinking at the agonies of the dying.

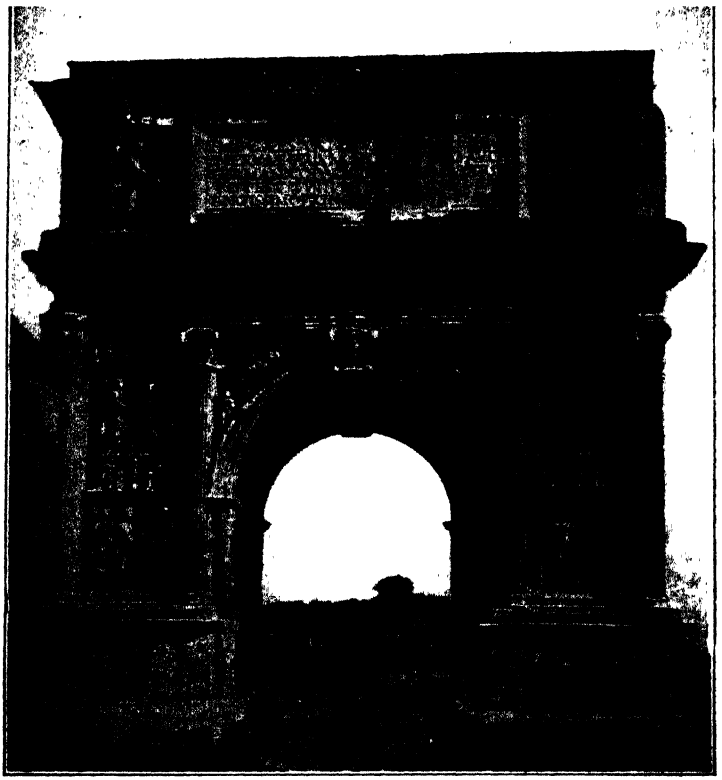
FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, to No. 108. For those who wish to read further on this important period, the best and most readable material will be found in Jones' *Roman Empire* (an excellent one-volume work), chs. i-vi; Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Antonines*; Thomas' *Roman Life*; Preston and Dodge's *Private Life of the Romans*; or Johnston's *Private Life of the Romans*.

PLATE XXXVII

ABOVE. — THE COLOSSEUM (*Flavian Amphitheater*) AT ROME, built by Vespasian and Titus. It covers six acres, and the walls rise 150 feet. It seated 45,000 spectators. For centuries, in the Middle Ages, its ruins were used as a stone quarry for palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size prevented complete destruction. Cf. page 208, and Plate XXXIX.

BELOW. — INTERIOR VIEW OF THE COLOSSEUM. The human figures in the arena give some idea of the size of the building.

PLATE XXXVIII



TRAJAN'S TRIUMPHAL ARCH at Beneventum in South Italy, commemorating his victories in the East (cf. p. 217).

CHAPTER XXVI

THE LATER EMPIRE

The hopeless feature of the Roman Empire was the absence of liberty. The Roman world, in the first two centuries, was happy, contented, prosperous, and well-governed, but not free. Even its virtues had something of a servile tone. Moreover, throughout the provinces, as in Italy earlier, great landlords were crowding the small farmers off the land, and that yeoman class were giving way to slave or serf tillers of the soil.

Decline in the third century

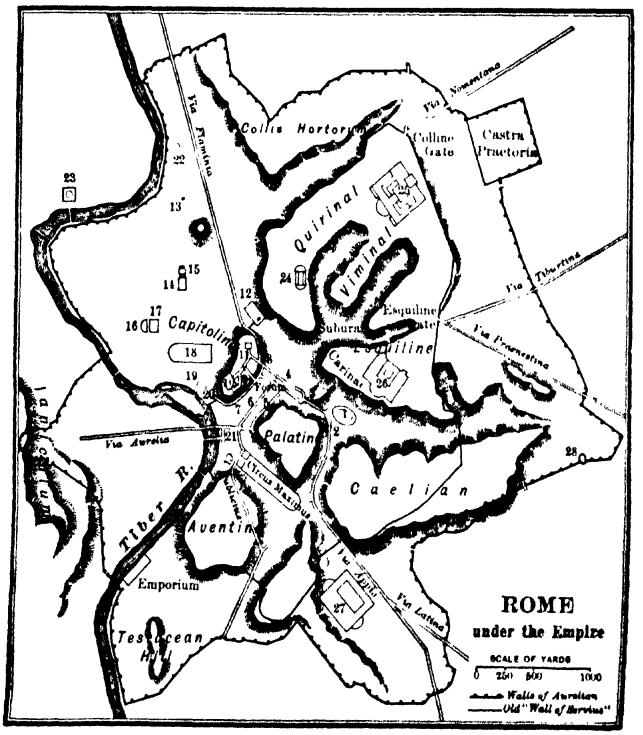
And so *the third century began a period of swift decline.* For a time despotism had served as a medicine for anarchy (p. 206), but now its poison began to show. Weak or vicious rulers followed one another in ruinous succession. The throne became the sport of the soldiery. *Ninety-two years* (193–284 A.D.) *saw twenty-seven "barrack emperors"* set up by the army. All but four of these were slain in some revolt, and two of those four fell in battle against invading barbarians.

Aurelian, 270–275

Happily, the army wearied of disorder, and in 270 it set a great leader upon the throne. Aurelian was an Illyrian peasant who had risen from the ranks. He ruled only five years, but his achievements rival those of the five years of the first Caesar. He reorganized the army and restored the boundaries, driving back the barbarians beyond the Danube and the Rhine, but abandoning Dacia (beyond the Danube) to the Teutonic Goths. Zenobia, the great queen who had set up a rival Arabian empire at Palmyra, he brought captive to Rome and he recovered Gaul, which some time before had broken away into a separate kingdom.

At one moment in this busy reign, the Alemanni penetrated to the Po, and threw Italy into a panic. No hostile army had been seen in that peninsula since Hannibal — for almost five hundred years — and the proud capital had spread out

unguarded far beyond her early ramparts. Aurelian repulsed the invaders and then built new walls about Rome, — a somber symbol of a new age.



1. Colosseum.
2. Arch of Constantine.
3. Arch of Titus.
4. Via Sacra.
5. Via Nova.
6. Vicus Tuscus.
7. Vicus Jugarius.
8. Arch of Septimius Severus.
9. Clivus Capitolinus.
10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
11. Arch.
12. Column of Trajan.
13. Column of Antoninus.
14. Baths of Agrippa.
15. Pantheon.
16. Theater of Pompey.
17. Portico of Pompey.
18. Circus Flaminius.
19. Theater of Marcellus.
20. Forum Holitorium.
21. Forum Boarium.
22. Mausoleum of Augustus
23. Mausoleum of Hadrian.
24. Baths of Constantine.
25. Baths of Diocletian.
26. Baths of Titus.
27. Baths of Caracalla.
28. Amphitheatrum Castrense.

Reorganization by Diocletian, 284-305

Just as Aurelian was ready to take up internal reorganization, death snatched him away, and the task fell to his first strong successor, *Diocletian*, grandson of an Illyrian slave. For more

convenient administration, this ruler divided the Roman world into an East and a West, along the dividing lines between the old Greek and Latin civilizations; and each half he subdivided again and again into units of several grades — praefectures, dioceses, provinces. To care for these divisions, he then created a series of officers in regular grades, as in an army. Each was placed under the immediate direction of the one just above him, and the lines all converged from below to the emperor. Each official sifted all business that came to him from his subordinates, and sent on to his superior only the more important matters. *The earlier, loosely organized despotism had become a vast centralized despotism*, a highly complex machine, which fixed responsibility precisely and distributed duties in a workable way.

Despotism was now *avowed*. Diocletian cast off the Republican cloak of Augustus and adopted even the *forms* of Oriental monarchy. He wore a diadem of gems and robes of silk and gold, and fenced himself with multitudes of functionaries and elaborate ceremonial. The highest nobles, if allowed to approach him, had to prostrate themselves at his feet.

And the change was in more than form. The Senate became merely a city council for Rome: its advice was no longer asked in lawmaking. The emperor made laws by publishing *edicts*, or by sending a *rescript* (set of directions) to provincial governors. (The only other source of new law lay in the interpretation of old law by judges appointed by the emperor.)

Excursus: "Centralization" and "Absolutism"

It is desirable for students to discuss fully these forms of government. "Absolutism" refers to the *source of power:* in an absolute monarchy, supreme power is in the hands of one person. "Centralization" refers to the *kind of administration.* A centralized administration is one carried on by officials of many grades, all *appointed from above. Absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together.* A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Russia in past centuries.

Under a Napoleon or a Diocletian, a centralized government may produce rapid benefits. But *it does nothing to educate the people politically. Local self-government is often provokingly slow, but it is surer in the long run.*

Crushing weight of the bureaucratic despotism

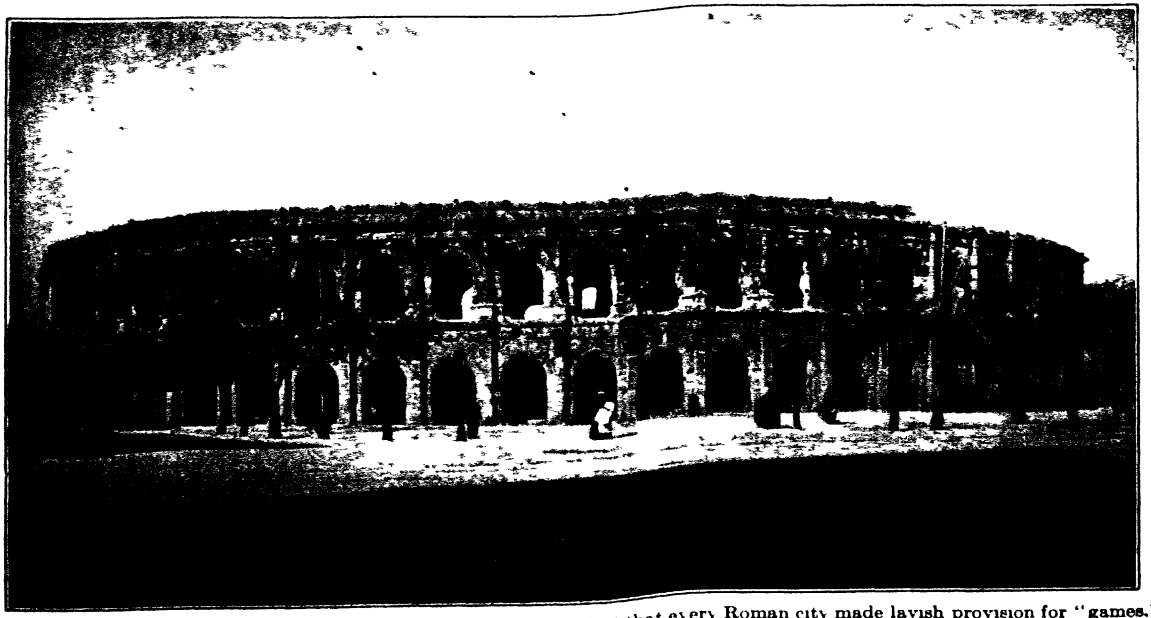
The fourth century showed outward prosperity, but this appearance was deceitful. *The system of Diocletian warded off invasion: but its own weight was crushing.* The Empire had become "a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine. It collected taxes *in order* to fight barbarians. But the time came when people feared the tax-collector more than the barbarians, as the complex government came to cost more and more. About 400 A.D., the Empire began to crumble before barbarian attacks less formidable than many that had been rebuffed in early centuries. *Secret forces had been sapping the strength and health of the Roman world.*

Decline of population: slavery

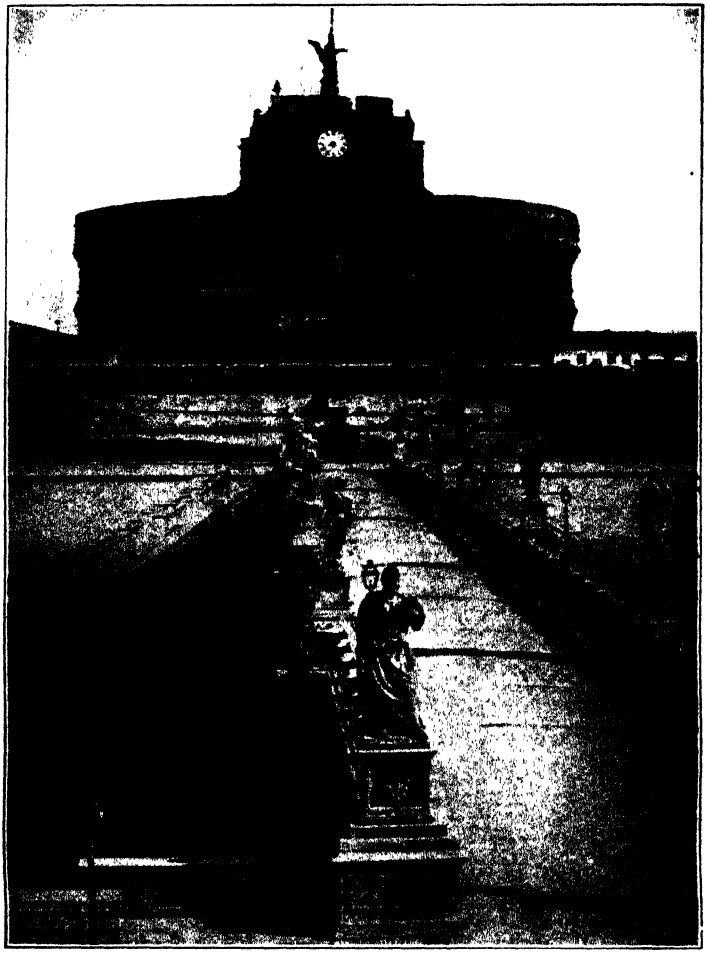
1. For the century following the pestilence of Marcus Aurelius' reign, a series of terrible Asiatic plagues swept off vast numbers; but *population had already begun to decline.* The main cause of this decay, probably, was the widespread slave system. The wealthy classes of society do not have large families. Our population to-day grows mainly from the working class. But in the Roman Empire the place of free workingmen was taken mainly by slaves. Slaves rarely had families; and if they had, the master commonly "exposed" slave children to die, since it was easier and cheaper to buy a new slave, from among captive barbarians, than to rear one. Besides, the competition of slave labor ground into the dust what free labor there was; so that free working people could not afford to raise large families, but were driven to the cruel practice of exposing their infants. Year after year, "the human harvest was bad."

2. The pernicious alliance between the money power and the government had grown closer. True, Diocletian for a time sought to break it, charging that *the ruinous rise in the cost of living* was due to combinations of capitalists to raise prices. He accused such combinations of "raging avarice"

PLATE XXXIX



ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT NÎMES — Another illustration of the fact that every Roman city made lavish provision for "games."



TOMB OF HADRIAN (locate on map, p. 230). When the Vandals from Africa (p. 245) sacked Rome (455 A.D.), this structure was used as a citadel, and the marble statues that originally crowned it were hurled down on the barbarians. In strange contrast with this ornate mausoleum are the simple and dainty lines Hadrian addressed to his soul as he felt death upon him:

"Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away,
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one, —
Never to play again, never to play?"

and "unbridled desire for plunder," and, in a vain attempt to check the evil, he tried to fix by edict the highest price it should be lawful to ask for each of some eight hundred articles of daily use. Such an effort (in that day at least) was doomed to fail. But it was the only effort of the government (after Caesar's time) to interfere on the side of the poor. No serious attempt was made, after the early days of the Empire, to build up a new free peasantry by giving farms to the unemployed millions of the cities, as Gracchus and Caesar had tried to do. The noble landlords who shared among themselves the wide domains of Africa, Gaul, and Spain would have fought fiercely any attempt by the government to recover part of their domains to make homes for free settlers.

No serious "back-to-the-land" movement

But there is another side to the question. In the days of Gracchus and of Caesar, the city mob was made up, in good part, of ex-farmers, or of their sons, who had been driven from the land against their will. But long before Diocletian's day, the rabble of Rome or Alexandria had *lost all touch with country life*. Sure of free doles of grain, sleeping in gateways, perhaps, but spending their days in the splendid free public baths or in the terrible fascination of gladiatorial games or of the chariot races, they could no longer be drawn to the simple life and hard labor of the farm — even if farming had continued profitable. We know that to-day, in America, hundreds of thousands of stalwart men prefer want and misery on the crowded sidewalks and under the white blaze of city lights, with a chance to squander a rare dime on "the movies," to the monotony and loneliness of a comfortable living in the country. So in the ancient world, it was probably too late, when the Empire came, to wean the mob from its city life.

3. The classes of society were becoming fixed. At the top was the emperor. At the bottom were peasantry, artisans, and slaves, to produce food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between were two aristocracies, — a small imperial nobility of great landlords, and an inferior local nobility in each city.

Approach to a caste system

The landlord nobles had many special privileges. Through their influence upon the government and by bribery of officials

"Privilege" of the great lords

they escaped most of the burden of taxation — which they were better able to bear than the unhappy classes that paid.

The smaller nobility

The local nobility (curials) were the families of the senate class in their respective cities. They, too, *had some special privileges.* They could not be drafted into the army or subjected to bodily punishment. They were compelled, however, to undergo great expenses in connection with the offices they had to fill. And, in particular, they were made responsible for the collection of the imperial taxes in their districts.

SERFS MAKING BREAD IN ROMAN GAUL.

This burden finally became so crushing that many curials tried desperately to evade it, — even by sinking into a lower class, or by flight to the barbarians. Then, to secure the revenue, law made them an hereditary class. They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to move from one city to another, or even to travel without permission.

The old middle class disappeared

Between these local nobles and the artisan class, there had been, in the day of the Early Empire, a much larger middle class of small land-owners, merchants, bankers, and professional men. This middle class had now almost disappeared. Some were compelled by law to take up the duties of the vanishing curials. More, in the financial ruin of the period, sank into the working class.

The artisans

The condition of artisans had become desperate. An edict of Diocletian's regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received not more than one tenth the wages of an American

workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least one third as much as in our time. His family rarely knew the taste of eggs or fresh meat. And now the law forbade him to change his trade.

Farm labor grows into serfdom

The peasantry had become serfs. That is, they were bound to their labor on the soil, and changed masters with the land they tilled.

When the Empire *began*, the system of great estates, which had blighted Italy earlier, had begun also to curse the provinces. Free labor disappeared before slave labor; grain culture decreased, and large areas of land ceased to be tilled. To help remedy this state of affairs, and to keep up the food supply, the emperors introduced a new class of *hereditary* farm laborers. After successful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as serfs.

The serfs were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it; nor could it be taken from them so long as they paid the landlord a fixed rent in labor and produce. This growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to hold his place. That class more and more sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfdom.

Lack of money

4. A fourth great evil was the lack of money. The Empire did not have sufficient supplies of precious metals for the demands of business; and what money there was was steadily drained away to India and the distant Orient (p. 222). Even the imperial officers were forced to take part of their salaries in produce, — robes, horses, grain. Trade began to go back to the primitive form of barter; and it became harder and harder to collect taxes.

Peaceful infusion of barbarians

5. Only one measure helped fill up the gaps in population. This was the introduction of barbarians from without. The Roman army had long been mostly made up of Germans; and (beside the captive colonies) conquered barbarians had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier prov-

inces, while whole friendly tribes had been admitted peacefully into depopulated districts. But all this had a danger of its own. True the Germans so admitted took on Roman civilization; but they kept up some feeling for their kindred beyond the Rhine. *The barrier between the civilized world and its assailants was melting away.*

BODY-GUARD OF MARCUS AURELIUS, made up of Germans. — From Aurelius' Triumphal Arch.

The Empire no longer able to resist outside barbarians

In the third and fourth centuries there were no more great poets or men of letters. Learning and patriotism both declined. Society began to fall into rigid castes, — the serf bound to his spot of land, the artisan to his trade, the curial to his office. Freedom of movement was lost. To the last, the legions were strong in discipline and pride, and ready to meet any odds. But more and more *there was dearth of money and dearth of men to fill the legions or to pay them. The Empire had become a shell.*

For five hundred years, outside barbarians had been tossing wildly about the great natural walls of the civilized world. Sometimes they had broken in for a moment, but always to be destroyed by some Marius, Caesar, Aurelius, or Aurelian. In the fifth century they broke in to stay — *but not until the Roman world had become Christian.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 109–119. *Additional:* Pelham's *Outlines*, 577–586.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

Roman society and the early Christians

The first Roman writer to make any definite mention of the Christians is Tacitus, in 115 A.D.; and it is plain that (like all fashionable Roman society much later) he had heard only misleading slander of them, for he refers to them merely as "haters of the human race" and practicers of a "pernicious superstition." But from the *Book of Acts* we know that at least fifty years earlier there were Christian congregations *among the poor* in nearly all the large cities of the eastern part of the Empire. The religion of mercy and gentleness and hope appealed first to the weak and downtrodden.

For three centuries Roman society and government despised the sect of Christians, and often persecuted them; but still the gentler spirit of the age, and its idea of human brotherhood, and especially the unity of the world under one government and one culture, prepared the way for the victory of the church. If Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy had remained split up in hundreds of petty states with varying languages and customs, Paul and other early missionaries could not so readily have made their way from city to city, or have been able to speak to their audiences.

Causes of persecution

Four causes help to explain the persecutions. 1. Rome tolerated and supported all religions; but, in return, she expected all inhabitants of the Empire to tolerate and support the religion of the Empire, including the worship of the emperors. The Christians alone refused to do this, proclaiming that all worship but their own was sinful.

Secret societies

2. Secret societies were feared and forbidden by the Empire, on political grounds. Even the enlightened Trajan instructed Pliny to forbid the organization of a *firemen's company* in a

large city of his province, because such associations were likely to become "factious assemblies." But the church of that day was a vast, highly organized, widely diffused, secret society.

"Pacifists"

3. In the third place, the Christians kept apart from most public amusements, either because those amusements were immoral, like the "gladiatorial games," or because they were connected with festivals to heathen gods. This made Christians seem unsocial. Also, because Christ had preached peace, many Christians refused to join the legions, or to fight, if drafted. This was near to treason, inasmuch as a prime duty of the Roman world was to repel barbarism. Some of these extreme "pacifists" and "conscientious objectors" irritated their neighbors by even refusing to illuminate their houses or garland their portals in honor of national triumphs.

Slander

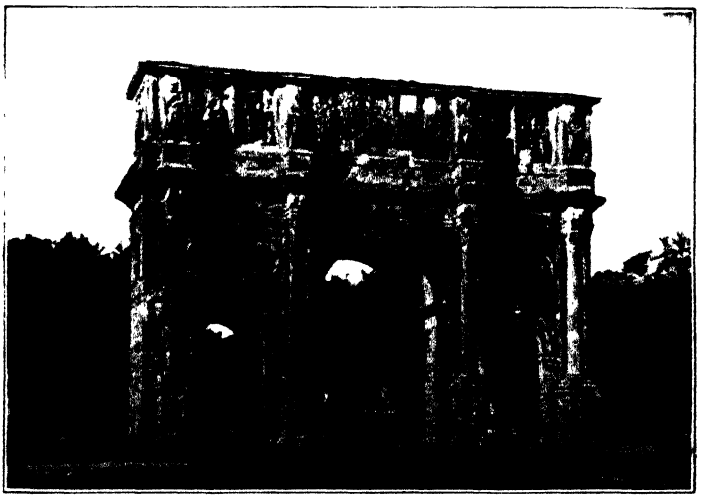
4. Clean lives marked the early Christians, to a notable degree. Every sin was punished before the whole congregation. The church was a vast association for mutual helpfulness in pure living. Any member who was known to have worshiped pagan gods, or blasphemed, or borne false witness, was dismissed from Christian fellowship. But, strangely enough, *pagan society knew nothing of this side of the early church.* The Jews accused the Christians of all sorts of crimes, and, particularly, of horrible orgies in the secret "love-feasts" (communion suppers). If a child disappeared — lost or kidnapped by some slave-hunter — the rumor spread at once that it had been eaten by the Christians in their private feasts. Such accusations were accepted, carelessly, by Roman society, because the Christian meetings were secret and because there had really been licentious rites in some religions from the East that Rome had been forced to crush.

Attitude of the government toward persecution

The first century, except for the horrors in Rome under Nero, afforded no persecution until its very close, and then only a slight one. Under Trajan we see spasmodic *local* persecutions, not instigated by the government. On the whole, during the second century, the Christians were legally subject to punishment; but the law against them was rarely enforced.

Still it is well to remember that even then many noble men and women chose to die in torture rather than deny their faith.

The third century was an age of anarchy and decay. The few able rulers strove strenuously to restore society to its ancient order. One great obstacle to this restoration seemed to them to be this new religion, with its hostility to Roman patriotism. This century, accordingly, was an age of definitely planned persecution. But by this time Christianity was too strong, and had come to count nobles and rulers in its ranks.



TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME, 312 A.D., commemorating the victory of Milvian Bridge.

In 305, Diocletian abdicated the throne (in the midst of the most terrible of all persecutions of the Christians); and for eight years civil war raged between claimants for the imperial power, more than one of them bidding for the favor of the growing church. In 312 A.D. at the battle of the *Milvian Bridge* in north Italy the mastery of the world fell to *Constantine the Great*. Constantine's father, while ruler in Britain and Gaul, had been distinctly favorable to the Christians, and on the eve of his decisive battle Constantine adopted the

Cross as a symbol upon his standards. (See Davis' *Readings* for the story of his dream.)

Constantine makes Christianity a favored religion

The Christians still were less than one tenth the population of the Empire; but they were energetic and enthusiastic; they were massed in the great cities which held the keys to political power; and they were admirably organized for united action.

Causes and stages

It is not likely that Constantine gave much thought to the truth of Christian doctrine, and we know that he did not practice Christian virtues. (He put to death cruelly his wife and a son, and had a rival assassinated.) But he was wise enough to recognize the good policy of allying this rising power to himself against his rivals. He may have seen, also, in a broader and unselfish way, the folly of trying to restore the old pagan world, and have felt the need of establishing harmony between the government and this new power within the Empire, so as to utilize its strength instead of always combating it. So, in 313, a few months after Milvian Bridge, from his capital at Milan, Constantine issued the famous decree known as the *Edict of Milan:* "We grant to the Christians *and to all others* free choice to follow the mode of worship they may wish, in order that *whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist* may be propitious to us and to all who live under our government."

Edict of Milan, 313 A.D.

This edict established *religious toleration*, and put an end forever to pagan persecution of the Christians. At a later time Constantine showed many favors to the church, granting money for its buildings, and exempting the clergy from taxation (as was done with teachers in the schools). But, as head of the Roman state, he continued to make public sacrifices to the pagan gods.

Licinius attempts to restore paganism

After ten years came a struggle between Constantine and a rival, Licinius, for power. This was also the final conflict between Christianity and paganism. The followers of the old faiths rallied around Licinius, and the victory of Constantine was accepted as a verdict in favor of Christianity.

In 392, Theodosius the Great, who had already ruled for many years as emperor in the East, became sole emperor. *He*

made Christianity the *only* State religion, *prohibiting all pagan*[1] *worship on pain of death.* In out-of-the-way corners of the Empire, paganism lived on for a century more; but in the more settled districts zealous worshipers of Christ destroyed the old temples and sometimes put to death the worshipers of the old gods and teachers of the old philosophical schools.

Persecutions by the Christians

CONSTANTINE'S TRIUMPHAL COLUMN AT CONSTANTINOPLE — a beautiful piece of porphyry originally bearing the emperor's statue in bronze on its summit (until 1105 A.D.). Constantine removed the capital of the Empire from Rome to Byzantium, which he rebuilt with great magnificence and renamed Constantinople ("Constantine's City"). One of his motives, it is said, was to have a capital more easily Christianized than Rome with her old pagan glories.

Almost at once, too, the Christians began to use force to prevent differences of opinion among themselves. When the leaders tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the *orthodox doctrine*, and the views of the minority became *heresy* — to be crushed out in blood, if need were.

Early heresies

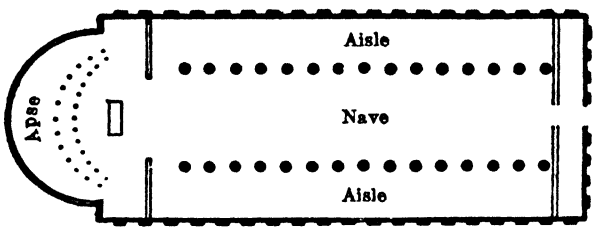
Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ. Thus, back in Constantine's time, *Arius*, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. *Athanasius*, of the same city, asserted that Christ was not only divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal

The Nicene Creed

[1] Pagan is from a Latin word meaning *rustic*. In like manner, later, the Christianized Germans called the remaining adherents of the old worship *heathens* ("heath-dwellers").

in all respects, — "of the same substance" and "co-eternal." The struggle waxed fierce and divided Christendom into opposing camps. But Constantine desired union in the church. (If it split into hostile fragments, his political reasons for favoring it would be gone.) Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the Empire to the first great council of the whole church, at Nicaea, in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement. Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius. His doctrine, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom; and Arius and his followers (unless they recanted) were put to death or driven to seek refuge with the barbarians — many of whom they converted to Arian Christianity.

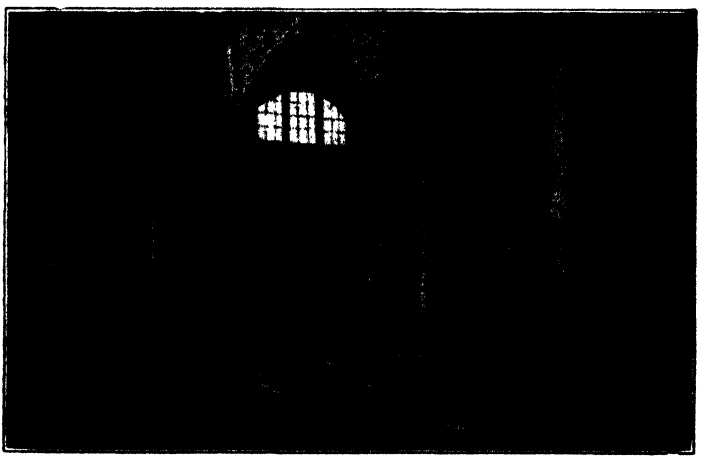
The victory of Christianity no doubt was in part a compromise, like every great change. Paganism reacted upon Christianity and made the church in some degree imperial



General Plan of a Basilica.

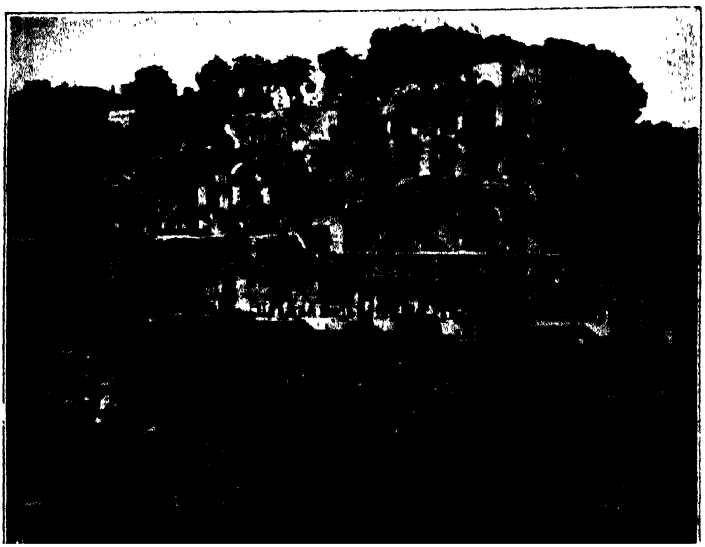
and pagan. But there was immense gain. The new religion mitigated slavery, built up a vast and beneficent system of charity, abolished the gladiatorial games and the "exposure" of infants, and lessened the terribly common practice of suicide — branding that act as one of the worst of crimes; and it purified and strengthened the souls of hosts of common men and women.

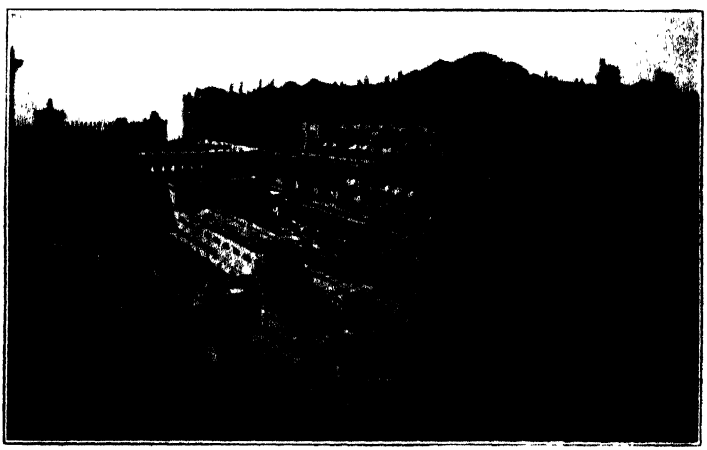
The fourth century, even more than the third, was a time of intellectual decay. There were no poets and no new science,



ABOVE. — RUINS OF CONSTANTINE'S BASILICA.

BELOW. — INTERIOR OF THE SAME "RESTORED." — The basilica (from a Greek word meaning the king's judgment hall) became the favorite Roman form for law courts just before the Empire came in. When the Christians came to power, they adopted this type of building for their churches, and *adapted* many pagan structures for that purpose. Cf. *Early Progress*. p. 408.





ABOVE. — RUINS OF "THE PALACE OF THE CAESARS" on the Palatine Hill, built by Tiberius and Caligula.

BELOW. — A "RESTORATION" of the Palace of the Caesars, by Benvenuti.

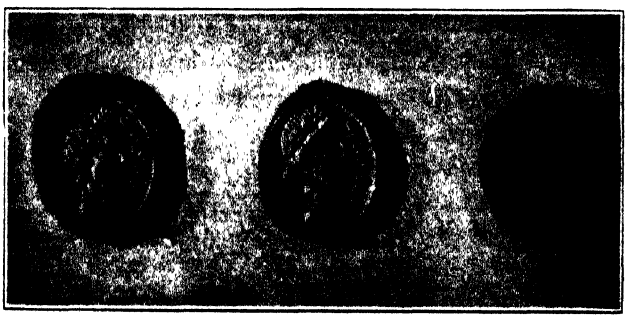
while even the old were neglected. Pagan *poetry*, beautiful as it was, was filled with immoral stories of the old gods, and the Christians feared contamination from it (as the Puritans of the seventeenth century did from the plays of Shakespeare). The contempt for pagan science had less excuse. The spherical form of the earth was well known to the Greeks (p. 146), but the early Christians demolished the idea, asking, "If the earth be round, how can all men see Christ at his coming?" The church was soon to become the mother and sole protector of a new learning, but it bears part of the blame for the loss of the old.

Dislike and fear of pagan learning

Review Exercise

1. Add to the list of dates 180, 284, 325.
2. Extend list of terms for fact drill.
3. Memorize a characterization of the periods of the Empire; *i.e.*

   First and second centuries: peace, prosperity, good government.
   Third century: decline — material, political, intellectual.
   Fourth century: revival of imperial power; victory of the Christian church; social and intellectual decline.
   Fifth and sixth (in advance): barbarian conquest.



Roman Coins of the Empire. — Many have been found in the Orient.

PART VI — ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE

400-1500

CHAPTER XXVIII

MERGING OF ROMAN AND TEUTON, 378-800 A.D.

I. FOUR CENTURIES OF CONFUSION

The savage Teutons

East of the Rhine there had long roamed many "forest peoples," whom the Romans called Germans, or *Teutons*. These barbarians were tall, huge of limb, white-skinned, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes. To the short dark-skinned races of Roman Europe, they seemed tawny giants. The tribes nearest the Empire had taken on a little civilization, and had begun to form large combinations under the rule of kings. The more distant tribes were still savage and unorganized. In general, they were not far above the level of the better North American Indians in our colonial period.

Government of village and tribe

The government of the Teutons is described for us by the Roman historian Tacitus. A tribe lived in villages scattered in forests. *The village and the tribe each had its Assembly* and its hereditary chief. *The tribal chief*, or king, *was surrounded by his council of village chiefs.* To quote Tacitus:

> "On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community. . . . They assemble on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. . . . Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard, and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade than their authority to command. If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur. If it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms." (Cf. early Greek organization.)

Invasion by the West Goths

The first Teutonic people to establish itself within the old Empire was the West Goths. These barbarians *in 378* defeated and slew a Roman Emperor at *Adrianople*, almost under the walls of Constantinople, and then roamed and ravaged at will for a generation in the Balkan lands. *In 410*, they entered Italy and sacked Rome (just 800 years after the sack by the Gauls), and then moved west into Spain, where they found the Vandals — another Teuton race who had entered Spain through Gaul from across the Rhine. Driving the Vandals into Africa, the West Goths set up in Spain the first firm Teutonic kingdom.

Other Teutonic invaders

Meanwhile, other Teutons had begun to swarm across the Rhine. Finally, after frightful destruction, the East Goths established themselves in Italy; the Burgundians, in the valley of the Rhone; the Angles and Saxons, in Britain; the Franks, in northern Gaul. This "wandering of the peoples" filled the fifth century and part of the sixth.

Slav Europe and Teutonic Europe

These two terrible centuries brought on the stage also another new race, — *the Slavs;* and the opening of the following century brought *Mohammedanism* (pp. 253 ff.). But of these three forces, *we are concerned almost alone with the Teutons.* Mohammedanism, as we shall see, seized swiftly upon all the old historic ground in Asia and Africa; but these countries have had little touch since with our Western civilization. South of the Danube, Slavic tribes settled up almost to the walls of Constantinople, where the Roman Empire still maintained itself. *Southeastern Europe became Slavic-Greek*, just as Western Europe had become Teutonic-Roman. But, until very recently, Southeastern Europe has had little bearing upon the Western world. *The two halves of Europe fell apart*, with the Adriatic for the dividing line, — along the old cleavage between Latin and Greek civilizations. In all the centuries since, human progress has come almost wholly from the Western Romano-Teutonic Europe — and from its recent offshoots.

The invasions brought overwhelming destruction upon this

The invasions overthrow the old civilization

Western world, — the most complete catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. Civilization, it is true, had been declining before they began; but they tremendously accelerated the movement, and prevented any revival of the old culture in the West.

And when the invaders had entered into possession, and so ceased to destroy, two new causes of decline appeared: (1) *The new ruling classes were densely ignorant.* They cared nothing for the survivals of literature and science. Few of them could read, or write even their names. Much of the old civilization was allowed to decay because they could not understand its use. (2) *The language of everyday speech was growing away from the literary language* in which all the remains of the old knowledge were preserved. The language of learning became "dead." It was known only to the clergy, and to most of them at this period very imperfectly.

The "Dark Ages," 400–800

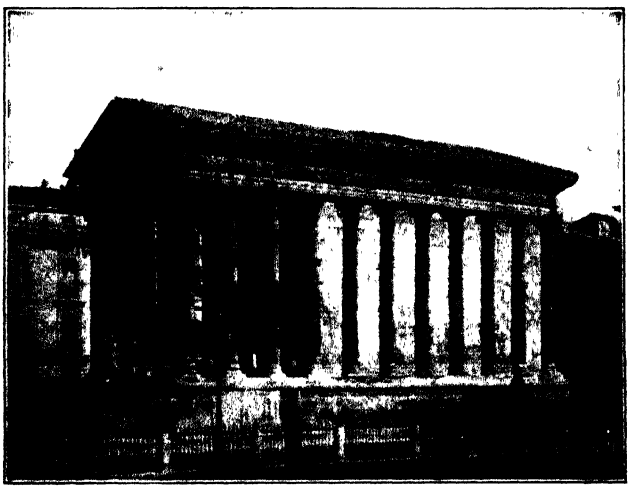
The fifth and sixth centuries brought the Teuton into the Roman world; the seventh and eighth centuries fused Roman and Teuton elements into a new "Western Europe." For the whole four hundred years of these "Dark Ages" (400–800), Europe remained a dreary scene of violence, lawlessness, and ignorance. The old Roman schools disappeared, and classical literature seemed to be extinct. There was no tranquil leisure, and therefore no study. There was little security, and therefore little work. The Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons gained.

Survivals of Roman civilization in towns and in the church

But after all, the invasions did not uproot civilization. The conquests were made by small numbers, and, outside Britain, they did not greatly change the character of the population. The conquerors settled among ten or fifty times their own numbers. At first they were the rulers, and almost the only large land-owners. But *the towns*, so far as they survived, *remained Roman*, and, almost unnoticed by the ruling classes, they preserved some parts of the old culture and handicrafts. *The old population, too, for a long time furnished all the clergy.*

From this class — the sole possessors of the art of writing and keeping records — the Teutonic lords had to draw secretaries and confidential officers; and by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization.

Most important of all, *the church itself lived on much in the old way.* Necessarily it suffered somewhat in the general degradation of the age; but, on the whole, it protected the weak, and stood for peace, industry, and right living. In the darkest



A Roman Temple as It Survives To-day in Nîmes in Southern France (Maison Carrée).

of those dark centuries there were great numbers of priests and monks inspired with zeal for righteousness and love for men.

The "Greek Empire"

The preservation of Roman law we owe mainly to a source outside Western Europe. The Roman Empire lived on in part of Eastern Europe and in Asia, with its capital at Constantinople. Cut off from *Latin* Europe, that Empire now grew more and more Greek and Oriental, and after 500 A.D. we usually speak of it as "the Greek Empire."

The Justinian Code

In the sixth century, after long decline, the Empire fell for a time to a capable ruler, *Justinian the Great* (527–565), whose most famous work was *a codification of the Roman law.* In

the course of centuries, that law had become an intolerable maze. Now a commission of able lawyers put the whole mass into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly. Justinian also reconquered Italy for the Empire, and so the code was established in that land. Thence, through the church, and some centuries later through a new class of lawyers, it spread over the West.

Lombards and Greeks in Italy

Justinian's conquest of Italy had another result less happy. His generals destroyed a promising kingdom of the East Goths in Italy. Then (568), immediately after the great emperor's death, a new German people, *the savage Lombards*, swarmed into the peninsula. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley, which we still call Lombardy; but various Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered also in other parts. The Empire kept (1) the "Exarchate of Ravenna" on the Adriatic; (2) Rome, with a little territory about it; and (3) the extreme south. *Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled, was at last divided between them and shattered into fragments in the process.*

A Silver Coin of Justinian.

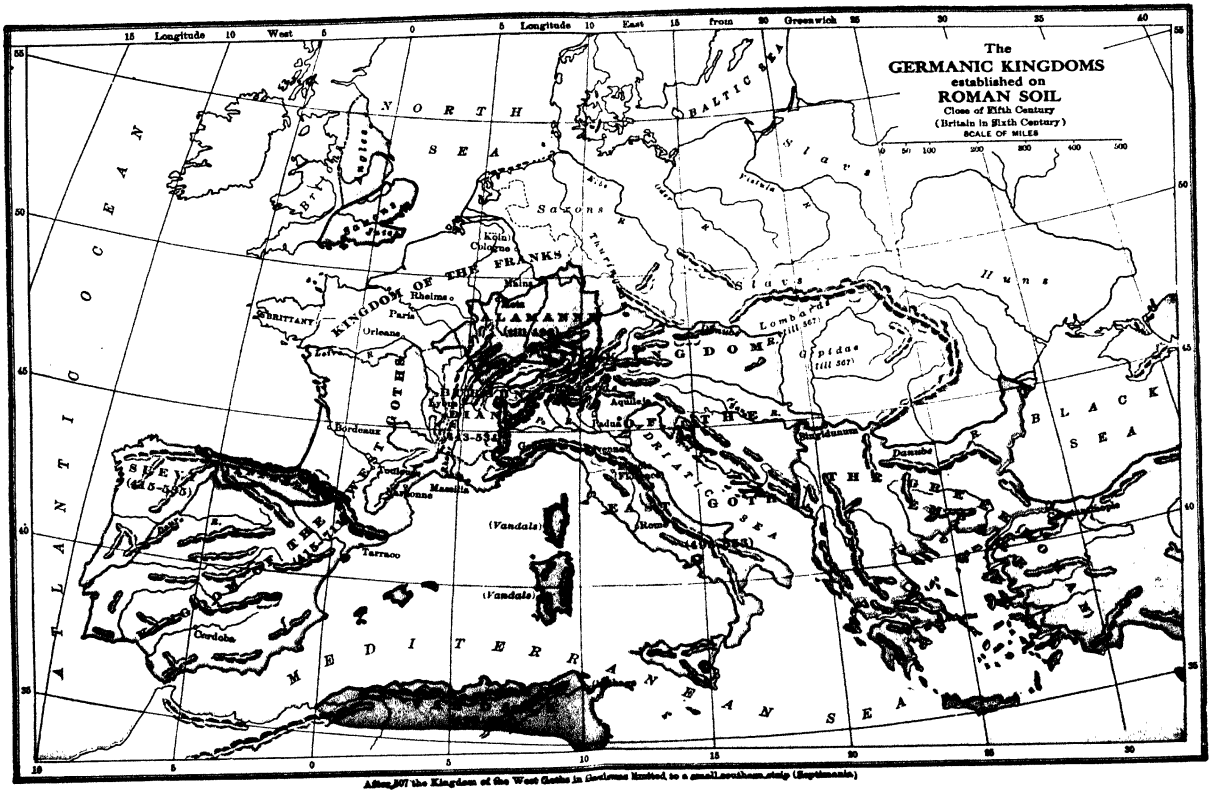
Teutonic law

When the barbarians came into the Empire, their law was only unwritten custom. Much of it remained so, especially in Britain. But, under Roman influence, the conquerors soon put parts of their law into written codes. Two common features of these codes throw interesting sidelights on the times.

1. *Offenses were atoned for by money-payments*, varying from a small amount for cutting off the joint of a finger, to the wergeld (man-money), or payment for taking a man's life.

2. When a man wished to prove himself innocent, or another man guilty, he did not try to bring evidence, as we do. *Proof consisted in an appeal to God to show the right.*

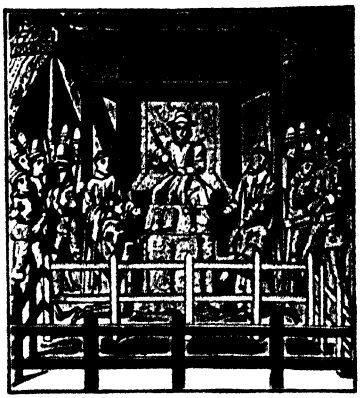
Thus in the *trial by compurgation*, the accuser and accused swore solemnly to their statements, and each was backed by "compurgators," — not witnesses, but persons who swore they



After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in Gaul was limited to a small southern strip (Septimania)

believed their man was telling the truth. To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance, as in the boyish survival, — "Cross my heart and hope to die."

Trial by ordeal



TRIAL BY COMBAT — the religious preliminary. Each champion is making oath of the justice of his cause. From a fifteenth-century manuscript.

In *trial by ordeal*, the accused tried to clear himself by being thrown bound into water. Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance; and if his flesh was uninjured, when examined some days later, he was declared innocent. All these ordeals were under the charge of the clergy and were preceded by sacred exercises. Such tests could be made, too, by deputy: hence our phrase to "go through fire and water" for a friend.

TRIAL BY COMBAT — companion piece to the preceding cut.

Among the fighting class, the favorite trial came to be the *trial by combat*, — a judicial duel in which God was expected to "show the right."

Growing law

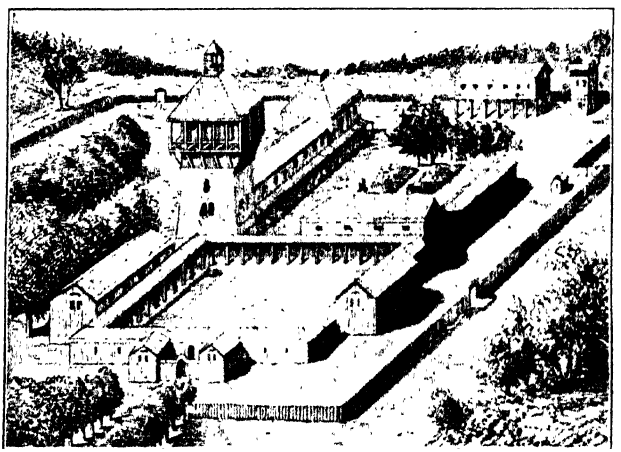
The Teutons introduced once more a system of *growing* law. Codification preserved the Roman law, but crystallized it. Teutonic law, despite its codes, remained for a long time crude and unsystematic; but it contained possibilities of further growth. The

importance of this fact has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," the basis of our American legal system.

The conquest modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. Three changes call for attention.

The conquest modifies Teutonic institutions

1. *The Teutonic kings became more absolute.* At first they were little more than especially honored military chiefs, at the head of rude democracies. In the conquests, they secured large shares of confiscated land, so that they could reward their supporters and build up a strong personal following. More-



SEVENTH CENTURY VILLA (in wood) IN NORTH GAUL, as "restored" by Parmentier. The palisades inclose, it will be noticed, not only the dwellings for the human inhabitants (with a lofty watch tower), but also vegetable gardens and extensive barns for cattle.

over, the Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence. (With all its excellences, the Roman law was imbued with the principle of despotism. A favorite maxim was, — "What the prince wills has the force of law.")

2. *A new nobility of service appeared.* The king rewarded his most trusted followers with grants of lands, and made them rulers (counts and dukes) over large districts.

3. *The assemblies of freemen decreased in importance.* They

survived in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields"; but they shrank into gatherings of nobles and officials.

Life in Western Europe, 700 A.D.

Everyday life in the seventh century *was harsh and mean.* The Teutonic conquerors disliked the close streets of a Roman town; but the villa, the residence of a Roman country gentleman, was the Roman institution which they could most nearly appreciate. The new Teutonic kings (and their nobles also) lived not in town palaces, but in rude but spacious wooden dwellings on extensive farmsteads in the midst of forests.

Population shrunken

Population had shrunken terribly, even since the worst times of the Roman Empire. In the north, most towns had been destroyed. Those that were rebuilt (on a small scale), surrounded by rude palisades, were valued chiefly for refuge, and for convenient nearness to a church or cathedral. (In the south, it is true, the old cities lived on, with a considerable degree of the old Roman city life.)

Life of the poor

Everywhere, the great majority of the people were the poor folk who tilled the land for neighboring masters. Most of these toilers lived in mud hovels, or in cabins of rough boards, without floors and with roofs covered with reeds or straw. At the best, little more of their produce remained to them than barely enough to support life; they were constantly subject to the arbitrary will of rough masters; and at frequent intervals they suffered terribly from pestilence and famine.

Monasticism

In the old East, holiness was believed to be related to withdrawal from the world and to disregard for pleasure and for natural instincts, even love for mother, wife, and child. This unnatural tendency invaded Eastern Christianity, and, in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts, there arose a class of tens of thousands of Christian *hermits*, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body.

In some cases these fugitives from society united into small societies with common rules of life; and in the latter part of the fourth century the idea of *religious communities* was trans-

planted to the West, where the long anarchy following the invasions made such a life peculiarly inviting.

European monasticism, however, differed widely from its model in the East. The monks of the West, within their quiet walls, wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness, but in active and incessant work. Their motto was, "To work is to pray." *In the seventh century, the majority of cultured and refined men and women in Western Europe lived within monastic walls.* Monks did not go out into the world to save it; but their doors were open to all who came for help. For centuries of violence and brutality, the thousands of monasteries that dotted Western Europe were the only almhouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools, and the sole refuge of learning.

THE ABBEY OF CITEAUX. — From a miniature in a twelfth century manuscript. (*Abbey* is the name for a large monastery.) Note the grain fields in the background, which were largely cultivated by the monks themselves.

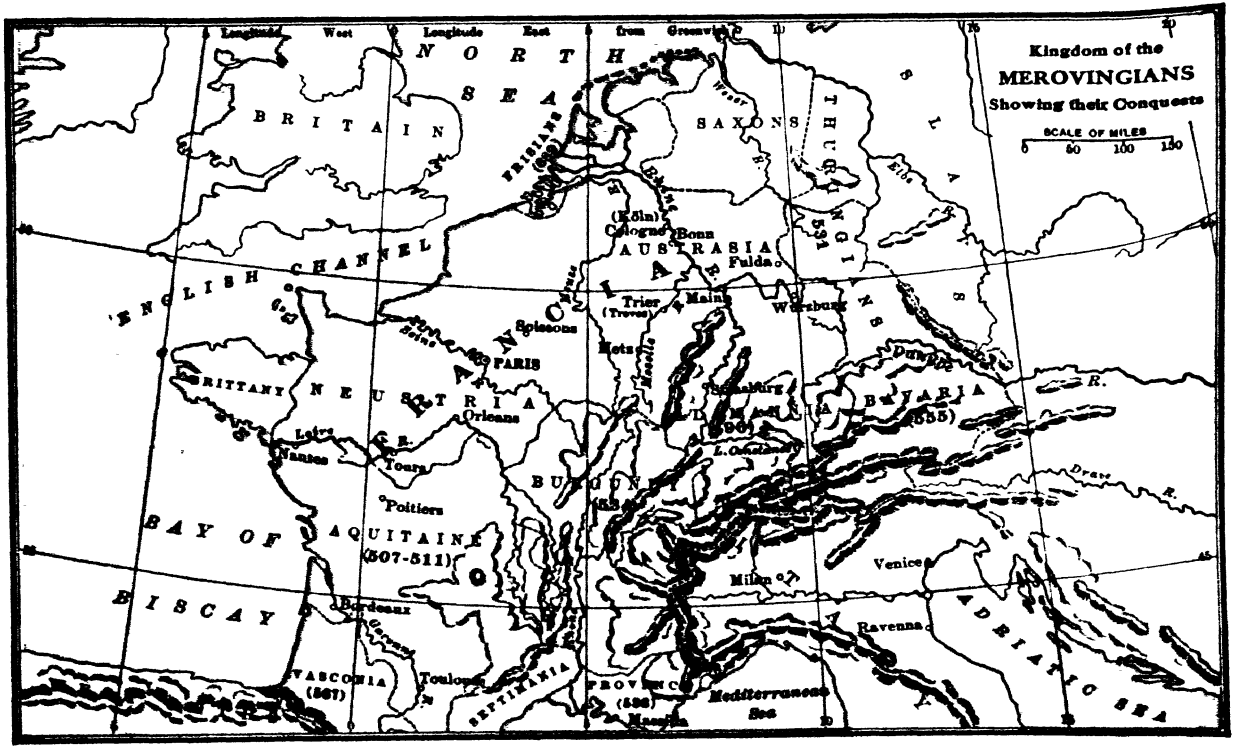
II. FRANKS, MOHAMMEDANS, AND POPES

During the two centuries of fusion (p. 246), two organizing powers grew up in Europe — *the Frankish state* and *the Papacy;* and one great danger appeared — *Mohammedanism.*

Rise of the Franks

The growth of the Frankish state was due mainly to *Clovis,* a ferocious and treacherous Teutonic savage of shrewd intellect. *In 481,* Clovis became king of one of the several little tribes of Franks on the lower Rhine. Fifty years later, thanks to a long-continued policy of war, assassination, and perfidy, his sons ruled an empire comprising nearly all modern France, the Netherlands, and much of western Germany.

This new Frankish empire remained for three centuries not


Kingdom of the
MEROVINGIANS
Showing their Conquests
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Longitude West
Longitude East
from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BRITAIN
FRISIANS
SAXONS
THURINGIANS
SLAVS
ENGLISH CHANNEL
AUSTRASIA
Cologne
Bonn
Fulda
Trier
(Treves)
Main
Würzburg
Spires
Metz
Moselle
Seine
PARIS
NEUSTRIA
BRITTANY
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
Tours
Poitiers
BURGUNDY
BAVARIA
(555)
Danube
R.
Drave R.
BAY OF BISCAY
AQUITAINE
(507-511)
Bordeaux
Garonne
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
VASCONIA
(587)
Toulouse
SEPTIMANIA
PROVENCE
(536)
Mediterranean Sea

only the greatest power in Western Europe but practically the only power. The Gothic state in Spain was in decay. Italy was in fragments. England (Britain) remained a medley of small warring states (p. 268). Germany, east of the Frankish empire, held only savage and unorganized tribes. For two of these centuries the family of Clovis kept the throne, — a story of greed, treachery, and murder, and, toward the end, of dismal, swinish indolence. The last of these kings were mere phantom rulers, known as "Do-nothings," and all real power was held by a *mayor of the palace.* The empire of the Franks seemed about to dissolve in anarchy. Especially did German Bavaria and Roman Aquitaine attempt complete independence under native dukes. But about the year 700 a great mayor, Charles, known as Martel ("the Hammer"), by crushing blows right and left began to restore union and order.

The "Do-nothing" kings

The Frankish state re-united by Martel

And none too soon. For the Mohammedans now attacked Europe. Except for Martel's long pounding, there would have been no Christian power able to withstand their onset — and Englishmen and Americans to-day might be readers of the Mohammedan Koran instead of the Christian Bible.

A century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising material, built a mighty power in Arabia. Until that time, Arabia had had little to do with human progress. It was mainly desert, with strips of tillable land near the Red Sea, — where also there were a few small cities. Elsewhere the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's hair tents, living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors, and worshiping sticks and stones. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of *Mohammed.*

Arabia before Mohammed

Mohammed was born at Mecca about 570. He never learned to read; but his speech was forceful, and his manner pleasing and stately. He was given to occasional periods of religious ecstasy, praying alone in the desert for days at a time (as indeed many Arabs did); and in such a lonely vigil, when he was

Mohammed, 570–632

a respected merchant forty years old, God appeared to him (he said) in a wondrous vision, revealing to him a higher religion.

Moral teachings of Mohammed

The Koran (see extracts in Ogg's *Source Book*), the "sacred book" made up of his teachings, taught a higher morality than the Arabs had known (much of it similar to Jewish teachings, with which he had become acquainted in his travels as a merchant); but it accepted also certain evil customs of the time, such as slavery and polygamy.

The Hegira, 622 A.D.

For twelve years the new faith grew slowly. A few friends accepted Mohammed at once as a prophet; but the bulk of his fellow townsfolk jeered at the claim, and when he continued to order them to put away their stone idols, they drove him from Mecca. This flight is "the Hegira" (*622* A.D.).

Mohammed makes converts by the sword

But Mohammed converted the tribes of the desert, and then took up the sword. His fierce warriors proved themselves almost irresistible, conquering many a time against overwhelming odds. They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death, which he could neither delay nor hasten, and they rejoiced in death in battle as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise.

Rapid growth of the faith

Before his death, ten years after the Hegira, Mohammed was master of all Arabia. Eighty years later, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic, — rulers of a realm more extensive than that of Rome at its height. Within the span of one human life, the Mohammedans had won all the old Asiatic empire of Alexander the Great, and all North Africa besides; and drawing together the sweeping horns of their mighty crescent, they were already trying to enter Europe from both east and west across the narrow straits of the Hellespont and Gibraltar.

The Saracens attack Europe

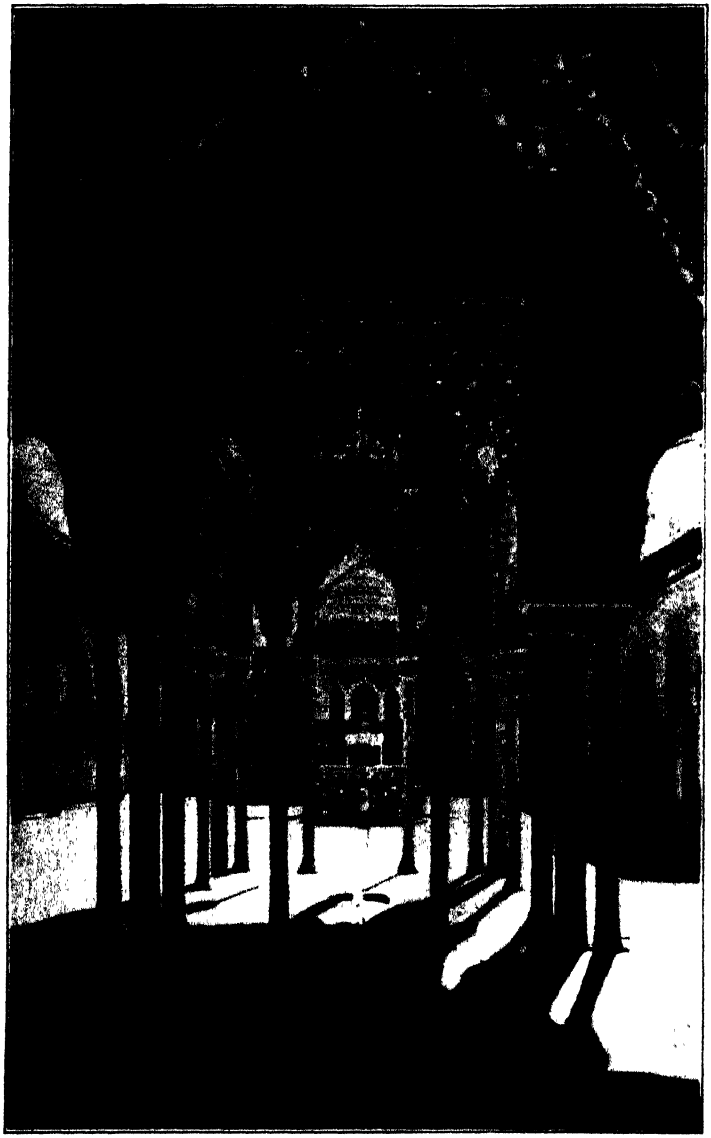
The most formidable attacks wore themselves away (672 and 717) about the walls of the City of Constantine; but in 711 the Arabs did enter Spain and were soon masters of that peninsula, except for remote mountain fastnesses. Then, pouring across the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul to the Loire. Now, indeed, it "seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full."

PLATE XLIII

ABOVE. — THE DAMASCUS GATE IN THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM TO-DAY — as rebuilt by the Saracens after their conquest in the seventh century.

BELOW. — A VIEW OF JERUSALEM TO-DAY from Mt. Scopus where Titus encamped when he besieged the city (p. 215). The Saracenic walls, of which one gate is shown above, can be clearly seen. After the Arab conquest the city remained in Mohammedan hands, except for about one hundred years during the Crusades (pp. 294–297), until the closing days of the World War.

PLATE XLIV



THE COURT OF LIONS IN THE PALACE OF ALHAMBRA AT GRANADA, SPAIN.

But the danger completed the reunion of the Frankish state. The duke of Aquitaine, long in revolt against Frankish rule, fled to the camp of Charles Martel for aid against the Mohammedan; and, in 732, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" with his close array of mailed infantry met the Arab host. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in October, the gallant, turbaned horsemen of the Saracens hurled themselves in vain against the Franks' stern wall of iron. At night the surviving Arabs stole silently from their camp and fled back behind the shelter of the Pyrenees.

Battle of Tours, 732 A.D.

This Battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is *the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion.* A few years later, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires, and the critical danger to Western civilization for the time passed away.

The Frankish state had saved Europe from Africa. Next it allied to itself the papacy. We must now trace the rise of that power.

Claims of the Roman papacy to headship

As the first Christian missionaries spread out beyond Judea and came to a new province, they naturally went first to the chief city there. Thus the capital of the province became the seat of the first church in the district. From this mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from each city there sprouted outlying parishes.

At the head of each *parish* was a *priest* (assisted usually by deacons and subdeacons to care for the poor). The head of a *city church* was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the rural churches of the neighborhood. The bishop of the *mother church in the capital city* exercised great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop* or *metropolitan;* and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops to a central council.

The more powerful of these archbishops (known as *patriarchs*) gradually won authority over others; and by the fourth century all the East was divided among the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, while

all the West came under the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Rome's advantages in the Western church

Very early the last of these had put forth a vigorous claim — as spiritual successor to St. Peter, alleged founder of the church at Rome — to supremacy over all the Christian church. Rome had advantages that helped to make good this claim. (1) Men thought of Rome as the world-capital. (2) The Latin half of the Empire had no other church founded by an Apostle; nor did it contain any other great city: Rome's rivals were all east of the Adriatic. (3) The decline of the Roman Empire in the West, after the barbarian invasions, left the pope[1] less liable to interference from the imperial government than the Eastern bishops were. (4) A long line of remarkable popes, by their wise statesmanship and their missionary zeal, confirmed the position of Rome as head of the Western churches.

Even in the West, however, until about 700 A.D., most men looked upon the bishop of Rome only as one among five great patriarchs, though the most loved and trusted one. But in the eighth century Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens; and, soon afterward, *remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches*, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

The "Great Schism" leaves Rome mistress in the Western church

This "Great Schism" followed the ancient lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures; but the occasion for actual separation was a dispute over the use of images (the "iconoclast," or image-breaking, question). An influential party in the Greek Empire desired to abolish the use of images, which, they felt, the ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. A great reforming emperor, *Leo the Isaurian*, put himself at the head of the movement, and ordered all images removed from the churches. The West believed in their use as aids to worship; and the pope forbade obedience to the order of the emperor. The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

This left Rome the unquestioned head of the Latin church, the spiritual lord of Western Europe. At the same time, too,

[1] The name pope ("papa") was at first only a term of affectionate respect ("father"). It did not become an *official* term until 1085.

the pope was growing into a temporal[1] *sovereign* over a small state in Italy. In the break-up of that peninsula (p. 248), the imperial governor kept his capital at Ravenna, safe amid the marshes of the Adriatic coast. Thus he was soon cut off, by Lombard states, from Rome, which with neighboring territory still belonged to the Empire. Bishops always held considerable civil authority. This new condition left the bishop of Rome

The pope becomes a temporal prince

Cloisters of St. John Lateran. This church stands on the site of the first papal church. It adjoins the Lateran palace, the official residence of the popes until 1377.

the *only* lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district; and the difficulty of communication with Constantinople (and the weakness of the emperors) made him in practice *an independent ruler*. After the split between Greek and Latin churches, this independence was openly avowed.

At once, however, the new papal state was threatened with conquest by the neighboring Lombards, who already had seized

Popes and Lombards

[1] *Temporal*, in this sense, is used to apply to matters of *this* world, in contrast to the *spiritual* matters of the world *eternal*.

the Exarchate of Ravenna. The popes appealed to the Franks for aid against Lombard attack. The Frankish mayors needed papal sanction for their own plans just then; and so *the two organizing forces of Western Europe joined hands.*

Alliance of Franks and papacy

The Frankish mayor now was Pippin the Short, son of Charles Martel. This ruler felt that he bore the burdens of kingship, and he wished to take to himself also its name and dignity. Such a step needed powerful sanction. So, in 750, Pippin sent an embassy to the pope to ask whether this was "a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks." The pope replied, "It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather then he who is falsely called so." Thereupon Pippin shut up the last shadow-king of the house of Clovis in a monastery, and himself assumed the crown.

A little later, Pope Stephen visited the Frankish court and solemnly consecrated Pippin king. All earlier Teutonic kings had held their kingship by will of their people; but Stephen anointed Pippin, as the old Hebrew prophets did the Hebrew kings. This began for European monarchs their "sacred" character as "the Lord's anointed." On his part, Pippin made Lombardy a tributary state and gave to the pope that territory which the Lombard king had recently seized from Ravenna. This "Donation of Pippin" created the modern principality of "the Papal States" — to last until 1870.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The closing numbers of Davis' *Readings*, II, contain excellent source material on this period. See, too, Ogg's *Source Book*, especially for Mohammedanism. If time is found for other library work, the following books are among the most useful: Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chs. i-vii; Hodgkin's *Theodoric the Goth;* Muir's *Mohammed;* Sargeant's *The Franks.*

CHAPTER XXIX

CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

"A patch of light in the vast gloom."

Pippin, King of the Franks, died in 768, and was succeeded by his son Karl the Great, known in his own day as Carolus Magnus, and best known to us by the French form *Charlemagne*.

Charlemagne, 768–814

Charlemagne was a statesman rather than a fighter; but he found his realm still threatened by barbarian Germans on the east and by Mohammedan Moors on the south, and his long reign of a half century was filled with ceaseless border wars. He thrust back the Saracens to the Ebro, redeeming a strip of Spain; and, in a long pounding of thirty years, he subdued the heathen Saxons amid the marshes and trackless wilderness between the lower Rhine and the Elbe. All this district, so long a peril to the civilized world, was colonized by Frankish pioneers and planted with Christian churches. In such bloody and violent ways *Charlemagne laid the foundation for modern Germany.*

Repulse of barbarian danger: civilization expanded

SEAL OF CHARLEMAGNE. (This is the nearest approach we have to a likeness of Charlemagne. The so-called "pictures" of Charlemagne in many books are purely imaginative, by artists of later centuries.)

Other foes engaged energy the great king would rather have given to reconstruction. The vassal Lombard king attacked the pope. After fruitless expostulation, Charlemagne marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's "Donation," and at Pavia placed the Iron Crown of Lombardy upon his own head, as King of Italy. And when restless Bavaria once more rebelled, that district was at last thoroughly subdued.

Thus Visigoth in northern Spain, Burgund in south Gaul,

"Buffer" states on the east

Lombard in Italy, and the more newly "civilized" Bavarian and Saxon in Germany, along with the dominant Franks — *all the surviving Teutonic peoples* except the Norsemen in the Scandinavian lands and the Angles and Saxons in Britain — *were fused in one Christian Romano-Teutonic state.* Beyond this "Western Europe," to the east, stretched away savage and heathen Avars and Slavs, still hurling themselves from time to time against the barriers of the civilized world. Charlemagne made no attempt to *embody* these inharmonious elements in his realm; but, toward the close, he did reduce the first line of peoples beyond the Elbe and the Danube into *tributary states* to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.

"Emperor of the Romans," 800 A.D.

But no mere "King of the Franks" could hold in lasting allegiance the minds of Visigoth, Lombard, Bavarian, and Saxon, and of the old Roman populations among whom they dwelt. And so *Charlemagne now strengthened his authority* over his empire *by reviving in the West the dignity and magic name of the Roman Empire,* ruling at once from the old world-capital, Rome on the Latin Tiber, and from his new capital, the German Aachen near the Rhine.

There was already a "Roman Emperor" at Constantinople, whose authority, *in theory,* extended over all Christendom; but just at this time, Irene, the empress-mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI, and seized the imperial power. To most minds, East and West, it seemed monstrous that a wicked *woman* should pretend to the scepter of the world; and, on Christmas Day, 800 A.D., as Charlemagne at Rome knelt in prayer at the altar, Pope Leo III placed upon his head a gold crown, saluting him "Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans." This deed was at once ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude without.

The two Empires

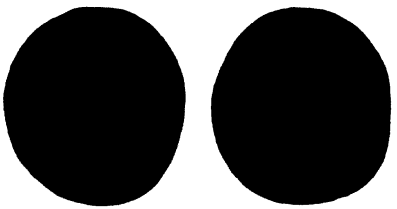
In theory, Rome had chosen a successor to Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople. In actual fact, however, *the deed of Leo and Charlemagne divided the Christian world into two rival empires,* each calling itself *the* Roman Empire. After a time men had to recognize this fact, — as they had to recognize

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST
Frankish State before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's Additions
Tributary States
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
MOHAMMEDANS:
Emirate of Cordova
Caliphate of Bagdad
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 5 West 0 5 10 Longitude 15 East 20 from 25 Greenwich 30 35 40 45
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Novgorod
Kief
Constantinople
Cherson
Trebizond
Alexandria
Tripoli
Tunis
Carthage
Rome
Venice
Ravenna
Milan
Pavia
Verona
Aquileia
Salzburg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Mayence
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Paris
London
Canterbury
Dublin
Lisbon
Toledo
Cordova
Seville
Barcelona
Marseilles
Narbonne
Bordeaux
Nantes
Rouen
Bayeux
Tours
Orleans
Lyons
Geneva
Basle
Worms
Fulda
Hildesheim
Bremen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Ratzeburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Corvey
Paderborn
Minden
Osnabruck
Utrecht
Nimeguen
Ghent
Bruges
Boulogne
Dunkirk
Amiens
Soissons
Rheims
Metz
Treves
Strasburg
Spires
Fulda
Bohemia
Prague
Ratisbon
Salzburg
Carinthia
Pannonia
Danube R.
Bulgaria
Thessalonica
Athens
Corinth
Sparta
Peloponnesus
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Tyre
Sidon
Damascus
Jerusalem
Gaza
Alexandria
Cairo
Nile R.
Tripoli
Carthage
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Fez
Tangier
Ceuta
Gibraltar
Straits of Gibraltar
Balearic Is.
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
Palermo
Messina
Naples
Capua
Benevento
Spoleto
Rome
Ravenna
Venice

that there were two branches of the Christian church; but to the men of the West, *their* Empire, like their church, remained the only legitimate one. In plain fact, *neither Empire was really Roman.* The Eastern grew more and more Oriental, and the Western more Teutonic.

Poverty and misery of Europe, 800 A.D.

The glory and prosperity of the old Empire had not been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. *In 800, the West was still ignorant and wretched.* Roads had fallen to ruin, and murderous brigands infested those that remained. Money was little known, and trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was the primitive agriculture of the serfs. Even Charlemagne could raise no "taxes." He exacted "service in person" in war and peace; and the other support of his court came mainly from the produce of the royal farms scattered through the kingdom. Partly to make sure of this revenue in the cheapest way, and more to attend to the wants of his vast realms, Charlemagne and his court were always on the move. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, or dreams of encountering such hardship on the road.



SILVER COIN OF CHARLEMAGNE. The obverse side shows the Latin form of his name. Note the rudeness of the engraving compared with that of Justinian's coin on p. 248, or older coins, pp. 162, 177, 243, etc.

The "Mayfields" of the Franks

To keep in closer touch with popular feeling in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen *could* attend. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of nobles and churchmen. To these assemblies were read the *capitularies*, or collections of laws, decreed by the king. (*Lawmaking was in the hands of the king.* At the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him mildly the force of public opinion.)

Attempts to revive learning

Charlemagne made brave attempts also to revive learning. He never learned to write, but he spoke and read Latin, and he understood some Greek. For his age he was an educated man; and he wished earnestly to make more learning possible for others. Nearly every noble, and many of the clergy, were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor. There seemed no place to begin. Still much was done. For teachers Charlemagne sought out learned men in South Italy, where Roman civilization best survived, and he opened schools in monasteries and at bishops' seats for the instruction of all children who could come to them — even the children of serfs. Some of these schools, as at Tours and Orleans, lived on through the Middle Ages.[1]

The world in 800 A.D.

In the early part of the eighth century there were four great forces contending for Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the papacy. By the year 800, Charles Martel and Charles the Great had excluded the first two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire. For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be one of the most important forces in Europe. Barbarism and anarchy were again to break in, after the death of the great Charles; but the imperial idea, to which he had given new life, was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against anarchy in behalf of order and progress.

Charlemagne himself towers above all other men from the fifth century to the fifteenth — easily the greatest figure of a thousand years. He stands for five mighty movements. He widened the area of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire in the West for the outward form of this state, reorganized church and society, and began a revival of learning. He wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and of Teutonic society into a new civilization. *In his Empire were fused the various streams*

[1] The term "Middle Ages" is used for the centuries from 400 to 1500, or from the Teutonic invasions to the discovery of America. These centuries cover that "Medieval" period which intervenes between the distinctly *Ancient* and the distinctly *Modern* period.

of influence which the earlier world contributed to our modern world.

Scene of "history" shifted to "Western Europe"

The scene of history had shifted to the West once more, and this time it had shrunken in size. Some Teutonic districts outside the old Roman world had been added; but vast areas of the Roman territory itself had been abandoned. The Euphrates, the Nile, the Eastern Mediterranean, all Asia with Eastern Europe to the Adriatic, and Africa with Western Europe to the Pyrenees, were gone. The Mediterranean, the central highway of the old Roman world, had become an ill-defended moat between Christian Europe and Mohammedan Africa; and its ancient place was taken over, as well as might be, by the Rhine and the North Sea.

We can now sum up the inheritance with which "Western Europe" began.

Our debt to the ancient world.

Through Rome the Western peoples were the heirs of *Greek mind* and *Oriental hand*, including most of those mechanical arts which had been built up in dim centuries by Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phoenician; and though much of this inheritance, both intellectual and material, was forgotten or neglected for hundreds of years, most of it was finally to be recovered. Rome also passed on *Christianity* and its church organization.

Rome herself had contributed (1) a universal language, which was long to serve as a common medium of learning and intercourse for all the peoples of Western Europe; (2) Roman law; (3) municipal institutions, in southern Europe; (4) the imperial idea — the conception of one, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the world owed obedience.

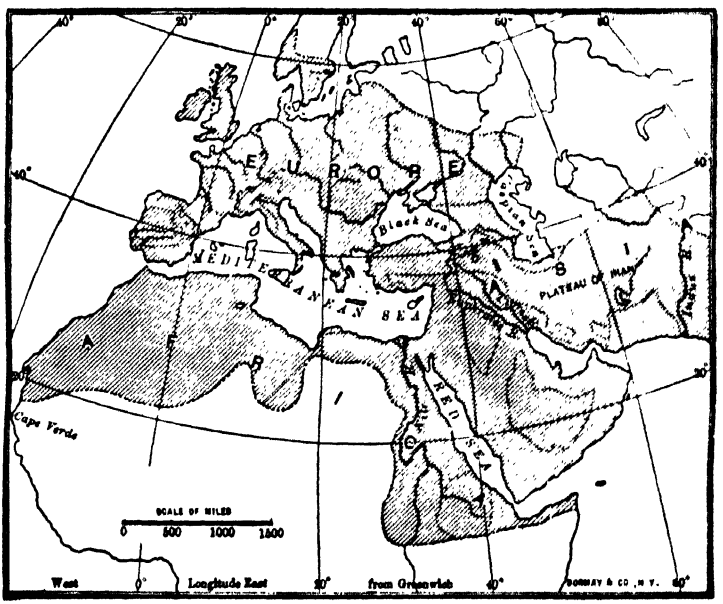
The fresh blood of the Teutons[1] reinvigorated the old races, and so provided the men who for centuries were to do the

[1] The use of the words *German* and *Teuton* in the above treatment calls for a word of caution. The *mingling* of Teutonic and Roman elements in our civilisation took place not in Germany but in the lands we call England, France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain. The people who brought the Teutonic contributions into those lands were not the ancestors of the modern Germans — any more than were other Teutons, like the Danes and Swedes, who never entered Germany.

world's work. *The Teutons* contributed, too, certain definite ideas and institutions: (1) a new sense of personal independence; (2) a bond of personal loyalty between chieftain and follower, in contrast with the old Roman loyalty to the state; (3) a new *chance* for democracy, especially in the popular assemblies of different grades in England.

Out of Roman and Teutonic elements there had already developed a new serf organization of labor; a new nobility; and a new Romano-Teutonic kingship — and now there was to grow out of them a new feudalism (ch. xxx).

For Further Reading. — Ogg's *Source Book*, ch. x; Hodgkin's *Charles the Great;* Davis' *Charlemagne;* Masterman's *Dawn of Mediæval Europe.*



The Fields of Ancient History.

REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Saxony
Frisians
Sorabians (Sorbs)
Franconia
Bohemia
Moravia
Bavaria
Pannonian Mark
Carinthia
Lombard
Croatia
Servia
Tuscany
Aquitania
Neustria
Brittany
Gascony
Septimania
Provincia
Burgundia
Alamannia (Suabia)
Aachen
Köln (Cologne)
Frankfort
Mainz (Moguntia)
Regensburg (Ratisbon)
Prague
Worms
Metz
Verdun
Rheims
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Lyon
Geneva
Milan
Pavia
Venice
Ravenna
Rome
Beneventum
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Narbonne
Marseilles
Barcelona
Saragossa
Navarre
Asturia
Moors
Ebro R.
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Danube R.
Inn R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Meuse R.
Saone R.
Seine R.
Garonne R.
Lech R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Moselle R.
Aar R.
Adige R.
Brenta R.
Piave R.
Tagliamento R.
Isonzo R.
Ticino R.
Oglio R.
Mincio R.
Adda R.
Lake Constance
Lake Garda
Lake Como
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Iseo
Lake Orta
Lake Varese
Lake Neuchatel
Lake Geneva
Lake Zurich
Lake Walenstadt
Lake Wallen
Lake Thun
Lake Brienz
Lake Lucerne
Lake Zug
Lake Sempach
Lake Hallwil
Lake Aegeri
Lake Sarnen
Lake Alpnach
Lake Lungern
Lake Brienz
Lake Thun
Lake Wallen
Lake Walenstadt
Lake Zurich
Lake Zug
Lake Lucerne

CHAPTER XXX

THE FEUDAL AGE, 800–1300

I. THE NEW BARBARIAN ATTACK

"*From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us.*" — PRAYER IN CHURCH SERVICE OF TENTH CENTURY.

The division of Verdun, 843 A.D.

Charlemagne died in 814, and his empire did not long outlive him. His brilliant attempt to bring Western Europe into order and union was followed by a dismal period of reaction and turmoil, while his ignoble descendants sought only to see who could grab the largest slices of the realm. The most important of these selfish contests closed *in 843* with the *Treaty of Verdun*.

Beginnings of France and Germany

This treaty *begins the map of modern Europe*. Lothair, Charlemagne's eldest grandson, held the title Emperor, and so he was now given North Italy and a narrow strip of land from Italy to the North Sea — that he might keep the two imperial capitals, Rome and Aachen. The rest of the Empire, lying east and west of this middle strip, was broken into two kingdoms for Lothair's two brothers.

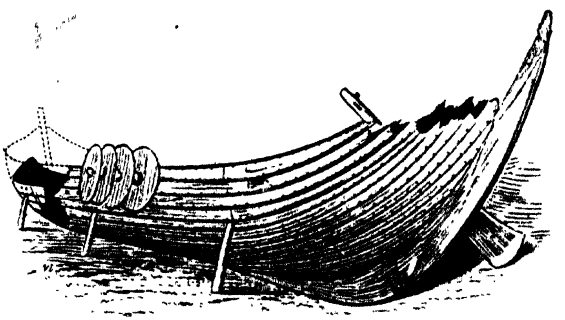
Degenerate Carolingians

The eastern kingdom was purely German. In the western, the Teutonic rulers were being absorbed rapidly into the older Roman and Gallic populations, to grow into France. Lothair's unwieldy "Middle Europe" proved the weakest of the three. Italy fell away at once. Then the northern portion, part French, part German, crumbled into "little states" that con-

fused the map of Europe for centuries, most of them to be absorbed finally by more powerful neighbors.

New barbarian inroads

For a century after Verdun, political history remained a bloody tangle of treacherous family quarrels, while the descendants of the Hammer and the Great were known as the Bald, the Simple, the Fat, the Lazy. And now distracted Europe was imperiled by a new danger from without. Once more barbarian invasions threatened the civilized world. On the east, hordes of wild *Slavs* and of wilder *Hungarians* broke across the frontiers, ravaged Germany, and penetrated sometimes even to Rome or to Toulouse in southern France; the *Mohammedan*



REMAINS OF A VIKING SHIP found buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It is of oak, unpainted, 79′ 4″ by 16½′; 6 feet deep in the middle.

Moors from Africa attacked Italy and Sicily, establishing themselves firmly in many districts; and fierce *Norse* pirates harried every coast.

The Norsemen

The Norsemen were a new branch of the Teutons, and the fiercest and wildest of that race. They dwelt in the Scandinavian peninsulas, and were still heathen. They had taken no part in the earlier Teutonic invasions; but, in the ninth century, population was becoming too crowded for their bleak lands, and they were driven to seek new homes. Some of them colonized distant Iceland, but the greater number resorted to raiding richer countries. The Swedes conquered Finns and

Slavs on the east, while Danish and Norse "Vikings" ("sons of the fiords") set forth upon "the pathway of the swans," in fleets, sometimes of hundreds of boats, to harry western Europe. Driving their light craft far up the rivers, they then seized horses and ravaged at will, sacking cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Tours, Cologne, and stabling their steeds in the cathedral of Aachen about the tomb of Charlemagne.

At last, like the earlier Teutons, the Norsemen from plunderers became conquerors. They settled the Orkneys and Shetlands and patches on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and finally established themselves in the north of France — named, from them, *Normandy* — and in the east of England.

II. BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND

The Teutonic conquest of Britain, 449–600 A.D.

We must go back to note how Britain had become England. In 408 the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy against the threatened invasion by the Goths (p. 245). This left the dismayed Romanized Britons to defend themselves as best they could against the wild Celts[1] from the Scottish mountains and the Teutonic *Angles* and *Saxons* from the sea side. The Britons called in these Teutons to beat off the other foe, and (449) these dangerous protectors began to take the land for their own, — in many little kingdoms.

The conquest slow and thorough

This conquest, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. It took the Teutons a century and a half (till about 600) to master the *eastern half* of the island. *Coming by sea*, they came necessarily in small bands. They were still *pagans:* so they spread ruthless destruction and provoked desperate resistance. Moreover Britain had been less completely Romanized than the continental provinces were: there was more forest and marsh, and fewer Roman roads; hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands. And *because the conquest was slow, it was thorough.* Eastern England became strictly a Teutonic land. Roman institutions and language vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain or enslaved.

[1] *Celt* includes the Highland Scots, the Irish, the Gauls of France, and the native Britons of Britain before the Teutonic conquest.

About 600 A.D. Christian missionaries from Rome (and some from Ireland) converted these heathen conquerors. And in

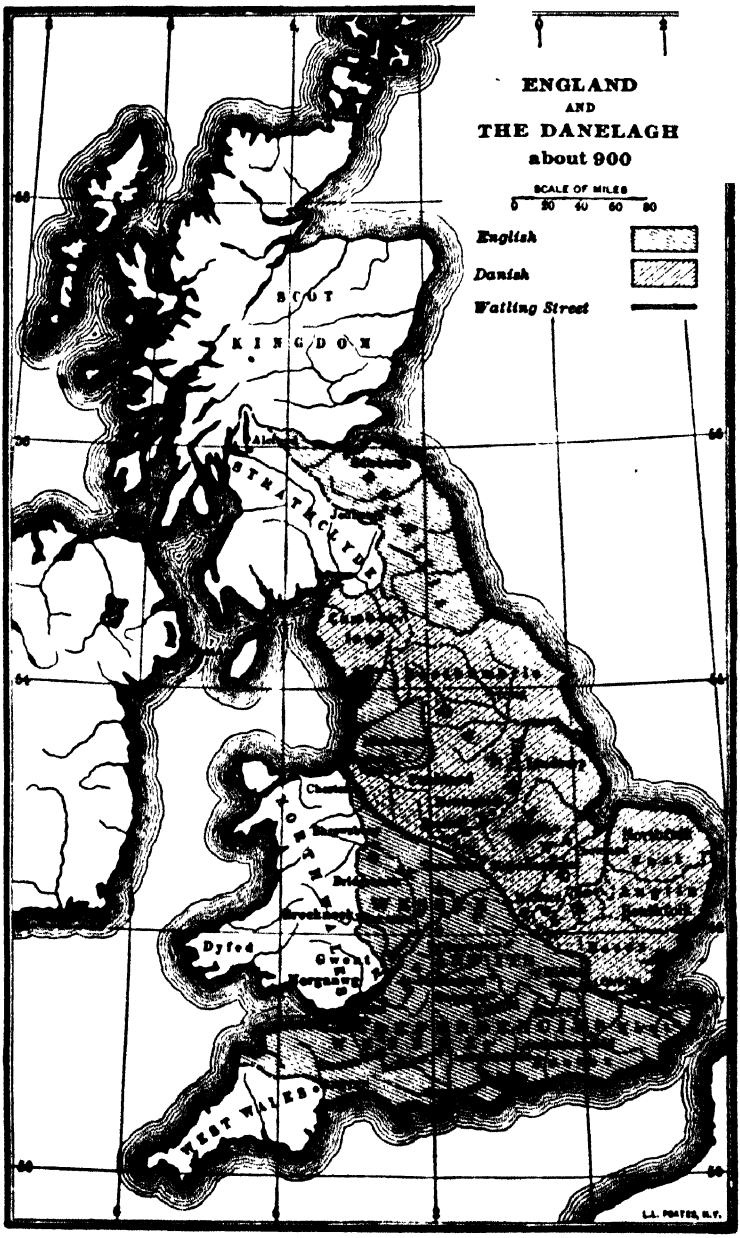
ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, NEAR CANTERBURY. — From a photograph. Parts of the building are very old and may have belonged to a church of the Roman period. At all events, on this site was the first Christian church used by Augustine and his fellow missionaries, sent out by Pope Gregory to convert the Teutonic states in Britain. Queen Bertha, a Frankish princess, who had married the heathen king of Kent, secured them this privilege. Her tomb is shown in the church.

the middle of the ninth century *Egbert, king of the West Saxons* (Wessex, in South England), made himself also king of the Angles (English) and finally *brought all the Teutonic parts of the island under his authority* as head king. Then came the Danish invasions.

The Danes in England

PLOWING — from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum.

In 871, after a great battle in which the king of Wessex was slain, the Danes became for a time masters of England. The power of Wessex was soon revived however by Alfred the Great (871–901). The Danes were defeated, baptized, and shut off in the "Danelaw" northeast of Watling Street (an old Roman


ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOTTISH KINGDOM
STRATHCLYDE
WEST WALES
Dyfed
Gwent
Morgannwg
L.L. POATES, R.I.

road from London to Chester); and all the Teutonic states in South England now willingly accepted the rule of Wessex for protection against the Dane. Alfred gave the rest of his splendid life to heal the wounds of his kingdom, and, more successfully than Charlemagne, to revive learning in a barbarous age — though at first there could be found "not one priest" in the kingdom who could understand the church services that he mumbled by rote — and Alfred's sons and grandson, in a measure, reconquered Danish England.

Alfred the Great

III. FEUDALISM

"A protest of barbarism against barbarism." — TAINE.

After Charlemagne, the ninth century on the continent became a time of indescribable horror. The strong robbed the weak, and brigands worked their will in plunder and torture. *But out of this anarchy emerged a new social order.* Here and there, and in ever growing numbers, some petty chief — retired bandit, rude huntsman, or old officer of a king — planted himself firmly on a small domain, fortifying a stockaded house and gathering a troop of fighters under him to protect it. By so doing, he became the protector of others. The neighborhood turned gladly to any strong man as its defender and master. Weaker landlords surrendered ("commended") their lands to him, receiving them back

The anarchy of the ninth century forces Europe into feudalism

ENTRANCE TO A FEUDAL CASTLE. — From Gautier's *La Chevalerie*. The *draw-bridge* crossed the *moat*, or ditch, that surrounded a castle. When it was raised, the *portcullis* (whose massive iron teeth can be seen in the doorway) was let fall.

as "*fiefs.*" They became his *vassals;* he became their *lord.* The former "free peasants," on the lord's own lands and on the lands of his vassals, saw that they were no longer at the mercy of any chance marauder. They ventured again to plow and sow, and perhaps they were permitted in part to reap. On their part, they cultivated also the lord's crop, and paid him dues for house, for cattle, and for each sale or inheritance. The village became his village; the inhabitants, his *villeins.* Fugitive wretches, too, without the old resident's claim to consideration, gathered on the lord's lands to receive such measure

BODIAM CASTLE IN ENGLAND — a well-preserved medieval structure.

of mercy as he might grant, and usually sank into the class of *serfs* of whom there were already many on all estates.

Origin of the feudal privileges of the nobles

In return for the protection he gave, the lord assumed great privileges, unspeakably obnoxious in later centuries, but in their origin connected with some benefit. The noble slew the wild beast — and came to have the sole right to hunt. As organizer of labor, he forced the villeins to build the mill (*his* mill), the oven, the ferry, the bridge, the highway; then he took toll for the use of each — and later he demolished mills that the villeins wished to build for themselves.

Finally each district had its body of *mailed horsemen* and its circle of frowning *castles*. These two features typify the new order — which we call feudalism.

The feudal castle

"Castles" rose at every ford and above each mountain pass and on every hill commanding a fertile plain. At first they were mere wooden blockhouses, but soon they grew into those enormous structures of massive stone, crowned by frowning battlements and inclosing many acres, whose picturesque gray ruins still dot the landscape in Europe.

And the ironclad cavalry

Upon even the early castle, the Norse invader spent his force in vain; while each such fortress was ready to pour forth its band of trained men-at-arms (horsemen in mail) to cut off stragglers and hold the fords. The raider's day was over — but meanwhile the old Teutonic militia, in which every freeman had his place, had given way to an ironclad cavalry, the resistless weapon of a new feudal aristocracy, which could ride down foot-soldiers (*infantry*) at will — till the invention of gunpowder, centuries later, helped again to make fighting men equal.

KNIGHT IN PLATE ARMOR, visor up. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire*. Plate armor came in only about 1300, succeeding lighter chain mail.

Feudal "decentralization"

Each petty district was practically independent of every other district. The king had been expected to protect every corner of his realm. Actually he had protected only some central district; but under feudalism each little chieftain proved able to protect his small corner, when he had seized the king's powers there. His territory was a little state. The great nobles coined money and made war like very kings. Indeed *a vassal owed allegiance to his overlords* two or more grades above him *only through the one overlord just above him.* He must follow his

immediate lord to war against them and even against his king.

Economic causes of feudalism

This *decentralization* was the result not only of military needs but also of economic[1] needs — of the lack of money and the lack of roads. The rich man's wealth was all in land; and he could make his land pay him only by renting it out for services or for produce. "Nobles" paid him for parts of it by fighting for him. Workers paid him for other parts by raising and harvesting his crops and by giving him part of their own. A man without land was glad to pay so for the use of some in one way or the other.

Feudal land-holding

In theory, *the holder of any piece of land was a tenant of some higher landlord.* The king was the supreme landlord. He let out most of the land of the kingdom, on terms of military service, to great vassals. Each of these parceled out most of what he received, on like terms, to smaller vassals; and so on, perhaps through six or seven steps, until the smallest division was reached that could support a mailed horseman.

Lords and vassals

But in practice there was no such regularity. The various grades were interlocked in the most confusing way. Except for the smallest knights, all landlords of the fighting class were "suzerains" (liege lords); and, except perhaps the king, all were vassals. There was no great social distinction between lord and vassals. The "vassal" was always a "noble," and his service was always "honorable," — never to be confounded with the "ignoble" service paid by serfs and villeins.

The relation between suzerain and vassal had the character of a bargain for mutual advantage. The vassal was to present himself at the call of his lord to serve in war, with followers according to the size of his fief, but only for short terms and usually not to go "out of the realm." He must also serve in the lord's "court" twice or thrice a year, to advise in matters of policy and to give judgment in disputes between vassals. He did not pay "taxes," in our sense, but on frequent occasions he did have to make to the lord certain financial contributions — "reliefs" and "aids." The lord, on his part, was bound to

[1] *Economics* refers to wealth, as *politics* does to government.

defend his vassal, to treat him justly, and to see that he found just treatment from his co-vassals.

Private war

Feudal theory, then, paid elaborate regard to rights; but *feudal practice was mainly a matter of force.* It was not easy to enforce the decisions of the crude courts against a noble offender who chose to resist, and in any case war was thought the most honorable way to settle disputes. Like the trial by combat, it was considered an appeal to the judgment of God. "Private wars," between noble and noble, became a chief evil of the age. They hindered the growth of industry, and commonly they hurt neutral parties more than belligerents. There was little actual suffering by the warring nobles, and very little heroism. The weaker party usually shut itself up in its castle. The stronger side ravaged the villages in the neighborhood, driving off the cattle and perhaps torturing the peasants for their small hidden treasures, and outraging the women.

The feudal manor

Clergy and *nobles*, praying class and fighting class, were supported by a vastly larger number of "ignoble" *workers*, who were usually referred to only as other live stock might be mentioned. Each noble had to keep some of his land for the support of his own household and for other revenue. This "domain" land was cultivated by the lord's serfs and villeins, under direction of a bailiff, or steward. The peasant workers did not live in scattered farmhouses, each on its own field; they were grouped in little villages of twenty or fifty dwellings, as in Europe to-day. *Such a village, with its adjoining "fields," was a "manor."*

Each manor had its church, at a little distance, and usually its manor house — the lord's castle on a hill above the other dwellings, or maybe a house only a trifle better than the homes of the villeins, used by the lord's steward. At one end of the street stood the lord's smithy; and near by, on some convenient stream, was the lord's mill.

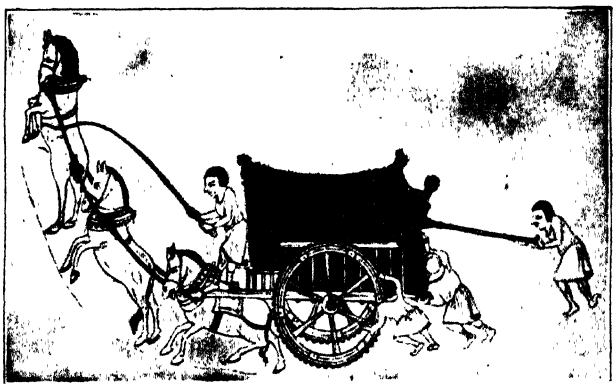
Serfs and villeins

As in the last Roman days (p. 235), the *serf* was bound to the soil by law: he could not leave it, but neither could he be sold apart from it. He had his own bit of ground to cultivate,

at such times as the lord's bailiff did not call him to labor on the lord's land. Usually the bailiff summoned the serfs in turn, each for two or for three days each week; but in harvest or haying he might keep them all busy, to the ruin of their own little crops. If the serf did get a crop, he had to pay a large part of it for the use of his land. He paid also a multitude of other dues and fines — sometimes in money, but usually "in kind," — eggs, a goose, a cock, a calf, a portion of grain.

Homes of the peasants

The *villein* was a step higher. He was "free" in person. That is, he could leave his land and change lords at will; but



A Reaper's Cart Going up Hill. — After a fourteenth century manuscript. The force of men and horses, and the character of the wheels, indicates the nature of the roads. (The steepness of the hill is exaggerated, to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.)

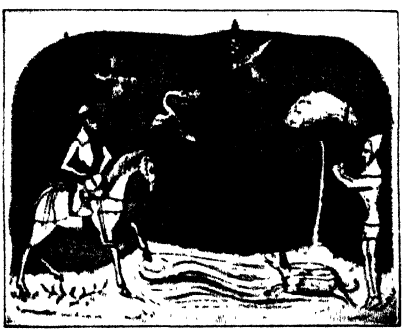
he had to have *some* lord. The landless and masterless man was an outlaw, at the mercy of any lord. In profits from labor and in manner of life there was little to choose between serf and villein. The homes, serf's or villein's, were low, filthy, earth-floored, straw-thatched, one-room hovels of wood and sticks plastered together with mud, without window or chimney (except a hole in the roof). These homes straggled along either side of an irregular lane, where poultry, pigs, and children played together in the dirt. Behind each house was its weedy garden patch, and its low stable.

Small as the house was it was not cluttered with furniture. A handmill for grinding meal, or at least a stone mortar in which to crush grain, a pot and kettle, possibly a feather bed, one or two rude benches, and a few tools for the peasant's work, made up the contents of even the well-to-do homes.

Cultivation of the land in common

Farming was very crude. *The plowland was divided into three great "fields."* These were unfenced, and lay about the village at any convenient spots. One field was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips, each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long" and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. Usually the strips were separated by "balks," or ridges of turf. A peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. (See cut, p. 252.)



FALCONRY. — From a medieval manuscript reproduced by Lacroix. A falconer, to capture and train young hawks to bring game to the master, was among the most trusted underofficials of each castle.

This kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Three-fold the seed, or six bushels of wheat to the acre, was a good crop in the thirteenth century. There were of course extensive pasture and wood lands for the cattle and swine.

Farm animals were small. The wooden plow required eight

Small variety in food

oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. Carts were few and cumbrous. There was little or no cultivation of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes a few turnips and cabbages and carrots, rather uneatable varieties probably, were grown in garden plots behind the houses. Well-to-do peasants had a hive of bees in the garden plot. Honey was the chief luxury of the poor: sugar was still unknown in Europe. It was difficult to carry enough animals through the winter for the necessary farm work and breeding; so those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food caused loathsome diseases.

Life in the manor

Each village was a world by itself. Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market the three outside products needed, — salt, millstones, and iron for the plowshares and for other tools. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it.

A Court Fool. — After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

Life in the castle

The noble classes lived a life hardly more attractive to us. They dwelt in gloomy fortresses over dark dungeons where prisoners rotted. They had fighting for business, and hunting with hound and hawk, and playing at fighting (in tournament and joust), for pleasures. The ladies busied themselves over tapestries and embroideries, in the chambers. Gay pages flitted through the halls, or played at chess in the deep windows. And in the courtyard lounged gruff men-at-arms, ready with blind obedience to follow the lord of the castle on any foray or even in an attack upon their king.

The noble hunted for food, quite as much as for sport, and

he did not suffer from lack of fresh meat. The game in forest and stream was his: for a common man to kill deer or hare or wild duck or trout, was to lose hand or eyes or life. Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household, visitors, and dependents gathered about them on seats and benches, with nice respect for rank, — the master and his noblest guests at the head, on a raised platform, or "dais," and the lowest servants toward the bottom of the long line. A profusion of food in many courses, especially at the midday "dinner," was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars were favorite roasts, and huge venison "pies" were a common dish.

Hunting

Feasting and story telling

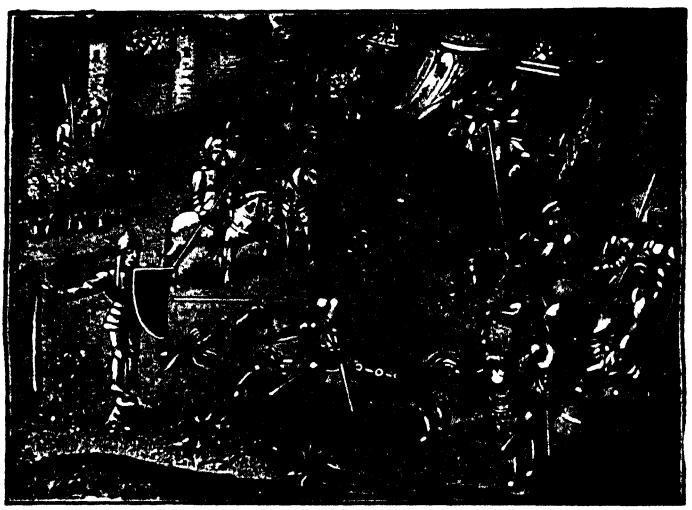
JUGGLERS IN SWORD-DANCE. — From a medieval manuscript.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbled up and rolled between the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables. The food was washed down with huge draughts of wine, usually diluted with water. Intervals between courses were filled with story telling and song, or by rude jokes from the lord's "fool," or perhaps traveling jugglers were brought in to perform.

This grim life had its romantic side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry* (from the French *cheval*, horse) which has come to stand for the whole institution of *knighthood*. From the age of seven to that of fifteen, a noble boy usually served as a *page* in some castle (commonly not his own father's), where he was trained daily in the use of light arms (cut on p. 278) and

where he waited upon the ladies, — who in return taught him courtesy.

Then for five or six years as a *squire*, the youth attended upon the lord of the castle, overseeing, too, in the field and in the hunt, the care of the lord's horse and armor. Then he was ready to become a *knight* — after a solemn religious ceremony — by receiving the *accolade* (a light blow upon his shoulder as he



THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN. — This shows an important part of the schooling of noble children. The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

knelt) from some older knight. More honored, but rarer, was the noble who was dubbed knight by some famous leader on the field of victory for distinguished bravery.

Chivalry has been called "the flower of feudalism." True, its virtues (bravery and devotion to ladies — *of noble birth*) were carried to fantastic extremes; and true, too, its spirit was wholly a class spirit, recognizing no obligation outside the noble class. Still chivalry did soften manners and help somewhat in that brutal age to elevate woman, and it had much to do with

creating our idea of a gentleman. Toward the year 1400, the English poet Chaucer gives this picture of his ideal knight:

"A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the time that he first began
To riden out, he lovéd chivalry,
Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy. . .
And tho that he was worthy, he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maid.
And never yet no villainy he said.
In all his life, unto no manner wight.
He was a very perfect, gentle knight."

FOR FURTHER READING. — Excellent "source" material may be found in Robinson's *Readings* or in Ogg's *Source Book*, and in Lamer's *The Boy's Froissart*.

Historical fiction upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, although they give a false glamour to the age. They should be corrected by "Mark Twain's" *Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*. Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow* and Conan Doyle's *White Company*. Charlotte Yonge's *Little Duke* and Stockton's *Story of Viteau* are good for young students and will be enjoyed by older ones.

IV. THE CHURCH IN THE FEUDAL AGE

The church also a government

The church in the feudal age was not only a religious organization: it was *also a government*. Its officers exercised many powers that have now been handed over to civil[1] officers. Public order depended upon it almost as completely as did private morals. With its spiritual thunders and the threat of its curse, it often protected the widow and orphan, and others in danger of oppression, from brutal barons who had respect for no earthly power.

The bishop

All Christendom was made up of *parishes*, — the smallest church units (p. 255). A group of parishes made up the *diocese* of a *bishop*. Nearly every town of any consequence in the twelfth century was a bishop's seat. The bishop was the mainspring in church government. He was revered as the successor of the apostles, and was subject only to the guidance of

[1] *Civil* is used very commonly in contrast to *ecclesiastical*.

the pope (successor to the chief of the apostles). Originally, the bishop's special duty had been to oversee the parish priests; but, with the growth of the church, he had come to have other functions. He was a great feudal landlord, owing military service to one or more suzerains, and holding power over many temporal vassals; he had charge of extensive church property in his diocese, and of the collection of church revenues; and he looked after the enforcement of the laws of the church.

Bishops' courts

This "canon law" had grown into a complex system. To administer justice under it, each bishop held a court, made up of trained churchmen. This court had jurisdiction not merely over matters pertaining to the church: it tried any case that involved a clergyman or any one else under the special protection of the church. To help in these duties, the bishop had a body of assistant clergy called *canons*. On the death of the bishop, this body (the "cathedral chapter") chose his successor, — subject perhaps to the approval of some king or other temporal ruler.

Benefit of clergy

This right of the clergy to be tried in clerical courts was known as "benefit of clergy." The practice had its good side. Ordinary courts and ordinary law partook of the violent and ferocious life of the age. Trials were rude; and ghastly punishments were inflicted for trivial offenses, — often, no doubt, upon the innocent. It was a gain when the peaceful and moral part of society secured the right to trial in more intelligent courts and by more civilized codes.

But the church law was too mild to deal with serious crimes. Its advantages tempted men to "take Holy Orders," until, besides the preaching clergy and the monks, the land swarmed with "clerics" who were really only lawyers, secretaries, scholars, teachers, or mere adventurers. Some of these, by their crimes, brought disgrace upon the church and danger to the state.

The archbishop

A number of dioceses made up a province. Over each province, seated in its most important city, was an archbishop, with general supervision over the other bishops of the province. His court, too, heard appeals from theirs.

The pope

At the head of all this hierarchy stood the *pope*, the spiritual monarch of Christendom. He was *supreme lawgiver, supreme judge, supreme executive*. He issued new laws in the form of *bulls* (so-called from the gold seal, or *bulla*, on the documents), and he set aside old laws by his *dispensations*, — as when it seemed best to him to permit cousins to marry (a thing forbidden by the canon law). His court heard appeals from the courts of bishop and archbishop, and likewise from many of the temporal courts of Christendom. Now and then he set aside appointments of bishops and other clergy, and himself filled the vacancies. At times he also sent *legates* into different countries, to represent his authority directly. A legate could revoke the judgment of a bishop's court, remove bishops, and haughtily command obedience from kings, quite as Shakspere pictures in his *King John*. For aid in his high office the pope gathered about him a "college"(collection) of cardinals. At first this body comprised only seven bishops of Rome and its vicinity; but it grew to include great churchmen in all countries.

College of cardinals

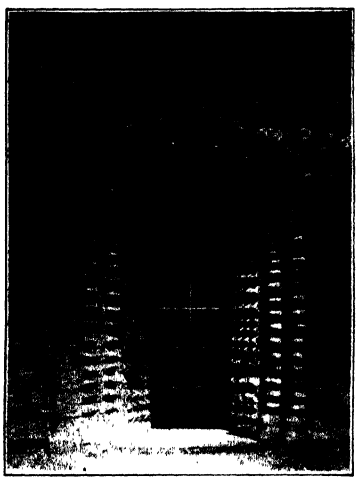
Excommunication

To compel obedience, bishops and pope had two mighty weapons — excommunication and interdict. An excommunicated man was shut out from all religious communion. He could attend no church service, receive no sacrament, and at death, if still unforgiven, his body could not receive Christian burial. Excommunication was also a boycott for all social and business relations. If obeyed by the community, it cut a man off absolutely from all communication with his fellows, and made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty, and his very presence was shunned like the pestilence. What excommunication was to the individual, the interdict was to a district or a nation. Churches were closed, and no religious ceremonies were permitted, except the rites of baptism and of extreme unction. No marriage could be performed, and there could be no burial in consecrated ground. "The dead were left unburied, and the living were unblessed."

Interdict

The democracy of the church

Thus the church was a vast centralized monarchy, with its regular officers, its laws and legislatures and judges, its taxes, its terrible punishments — and its promise of eternal reward. And yet this government was more democratic in spirit than feudal society was. Men of humblest birth often rose to its loftiest offices. Gregory VII, who set his foot upon the neck of the mightiest king in Europe, was the son of a poor peasant. The church was the only part of society in the Middle Ages where study and intellectual ability could lift a poor boy to power — and so it was recruited from the best minds.



NORMAN DOORWAY (the West Portal) OF IFFLEY CHURCH, a small but beautiful twelfth-century church in a little English village near Oxford. Norman architecture used the round arch and much plain but effective ornament. It was soon to give way to the Gothic. See p. 304.

The village priest

Of all this mighty organization, the village priest brought the church closest home to the mass of the people. The great ecclesiastics — bishops, archbishops, and abbots — were often from the noble class by birth, and in any case they always became part of the aristocracy. But the rural priest was commonly a peasant in origin, and he often remained essentially a peasant in his life, — marrying in the village (until the eleventh century), and working in the fields with his neighbors. He was a peasant with a somewhat better income than his fellows, with a little learning, a revered position, and with great power for good. He christened, absolved, married, and buried his parishioners, looked after their bodily welfare so far as he knew how, comforted the heart-sore and wretched, and taught all, by word and example, to hold fast to right living. *The church building was also the social center of the parish.* Near it, on

Sunday, between the sacred services, the people found their chief recreation in sports and games. And from its steps the priest gave to them what news they received from the outside world, reading aloud there, too, any rare letter that some adventurous wanderer might be able to get written for him by some stranger-priest.

The friars and town life

In the twelfth century, when, as we shall see, towns began to grow up, these did not fit into the old organization of the church Neither parish priests nor monks took care of the religious needs of the crowded populations. The poorer inhabitants were miserable in body, too, beyond all words, — fever and plague stricken, perishing of want and filth. Early in the thirteenth century, these conditions called forth a religious revival, with the rise of two new religious orders — *the Franciscan and the Dominican brotherhoods*. These "begging friars" went forth, two and two, to the poor and the outcasts, to act as healers and preachers. They were *missionary* monks.

V. ENGLAND IN THE FEUDAL AGE

Local self-government and the idea of representation in Saxon England

Long before the year 1000 *the Saxons* in England had *learned to work* many forms of *local* self-government — to manage many of their own affairs at their own doors, not only in village (manor) "courts," but also in courts (assemblies) of the larger units, the hundreds and shires (counties). Moreover, they *had become familiar* with the practice of sending a sort of *representative* from the village to these larger assemblies — since all men could not attend these in person.

Saxon feudalism

True, after the year 900 an irregular Saxon feudalism had been growing up; and these local "courts" had fallen largely under the control of neighboring landlords. Still enough activity among the people themselves survived so that these assemblies, with their representative principle, were to prove the cradle of later English *and American* liberty.

The Norman Conquest, 1066

In 1066 came the Norman Conquest. A century and a half before, Norse pirates had settled in a province of northern France. In that district of Normandy (p. 267), they had

quickly become leaders in Frankish "civilization," and now they transplanted it among the ruder Saxons of England, along with much new blood and new elements in language and important contributions in government.

A more efficient *central* government

Since the time of Alfred, the chief dangers to England had been (1) a possible splitting apart of Danish north and Saxon south, and (2) the growth of feudal anarchy. The Norman crushed the old north and south into one, and built up a cen-

BATTLE OF HASTINGS. — From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 20 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. The scene given here pertains to the close of the battle. Harold, the Saxon king, supported by his chosen "huscarles," is making the final stand, beneath the Dragon standard, against the Norman horse led by Duke William, afterward known as the Conqueror.

tral government strong enough to control the feudal nobles and to prevent them from dividing the kingly power among themselves. Local institutions, in the main, remained Saxon, but the central government gained a new efficiency from the Norman genius for organization.

A thousand-year struggle for liberty

At the same time, the Norman kings were not supreme enough to become absolute despots. This was chiefly because, through dread of the new royal power, conquering Norman noble and conquered Saxon people drew together quickly into *an English nation — the first true nation of Europe.* Then, in

centuries of slow, determined progress, this new nation won constitutional liberty.

> "Lance and torch and tumult, steel and gray-goose wing,
> Wrenched it, inch and ell and all, slowly from the king."

And not merely by fighting in the field was this liberty won, but, even more, by countless almost unrecorded martyrdoms of heroic and often nameless men, on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or, harder still, in broken lives and ruined homes. Thus did Englishmen, at a great price, work out, first of all peoples for a large territory, the union of a strong central government and of free institutions.

Reforms of Henry II in the law courts

The Conquest drew isolated England back into the thick of continental politics. *Henry II* (1154–1189) was the most powerful monarch of Europe, ruling not only England but more than half France as well — as a nominal vassal of the French king. Still all the really important results of his long and busy reign came in England. Preëminent stands out the organization of the English courts of justice, with *circuit* judges to spread a "common" law throughout the entire realm — in place of the varying local customs found in feudal courts in the continental countries. At this same time came the development of our grand jury and also of our trial jury. Henry's reforms, as completed a century later by the great Edward, gave us the English judicial system of the present day in almost every particular.

Circuit judges and the Common Law

The first Norman king had carried out a great census (recorded in *Domesday Book*) of the people and the resources of the realm. In compiling this census, he relied mainly (in the Norman ignorance of the land) upon a body of sworn men (*jurors*) in each neighborhood. This was an old Norman custom; but, while it disappeared in Normandy, it had a wonderful development in England. Succeeding kings used it in hundreds of cases of which we have record for like though less important cases, and probably it was the biggest *one* element in the appearance of representative government (p. 288).

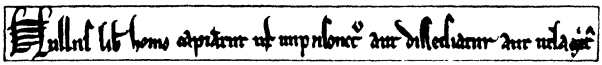
Between the great Henry and the even greater Edward came three weak, would-be tyrants — Richard, John, and the third

Henry. The misrule of John resulted in Magna Carta; that of Henry, in the first true Parliament.

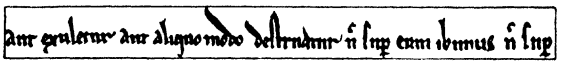
Magna Carta, 1215

1. In *1215*, in a grassy meadow of the Thames called *Runnymede*, the tyrant John, backed only by a few mercenaries and confronted by a people in arms, found himself forced to sign the Great Charter, "the first great document in the Bible of English Liberties."

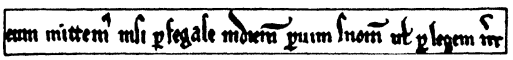
In the main, the charter merely restated ancient liberties; but the closing provision expressly sanctioned rebellion against



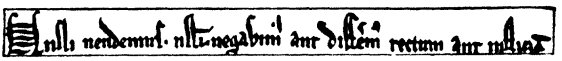
Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,



aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon



eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA. — The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

a king who should refuse to obey it. That is, *it set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries during the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But in *this* charter, *the barons promised to their dependents the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king,* and *special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins.* In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" it thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have

And American liberty

passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

The charter defined the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage[1] or other unusual "aid" from his vassals without the consent of the Great Council, — and since all vassals of the king could attend this Council, this provision established the *principle, No taxation without the consent of the taxed.* It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of *habeas corpus.* It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose his oxen or plow, and so foreshadowed our modern laws providing that *legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools.* Two notable provisions are shown on p. 286.

The beginnings of Parliament

2. Henry II and Edward I were the two great "lawgivers" among the English kings. But Henry carried his many reforms, not by royal decrees, but by a series of "assizes" (codes) drawn up by the Great Council; and Edward carried his in an even longer series of "statutes" enacted by a new national legislature which we call Parliament.

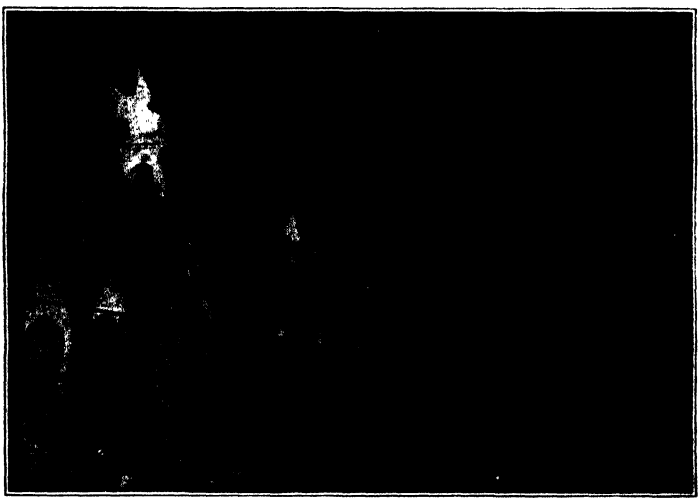
Some sort of "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the *Witan* (or meeting of Wisemen) sanctioned codes of laws and even deposed and elected kings. It consisted of large land-owners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some mingling of more democratic elements, and it was far more powerful than the Frankish Mayfield (p. 261).

After the Conquest, the Witan gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. This was a feudal gathering — made up of lords and bishops, resembling the Witan, but more aristocratic, and less powerful. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in practice that body was merely the king's mouthpiece until Henry II raised it to real importance.

All who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief,"

[1] A sort of war tax recently introduced in the place of military service.

or "barons") were entitled to attend the Council, but only the "great barons" ever came. Magna Carta directed that thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county. Still the smaller barons failed to assemble; and in the troubles of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs had been directed to see to it that each county *sent* knights to the



CLOISTERS OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL — a shaded walk surrounding the inner court ("close") except where the walls of the Cathedral itself form the inclosure. Cf. Plate L, facing p. 313.

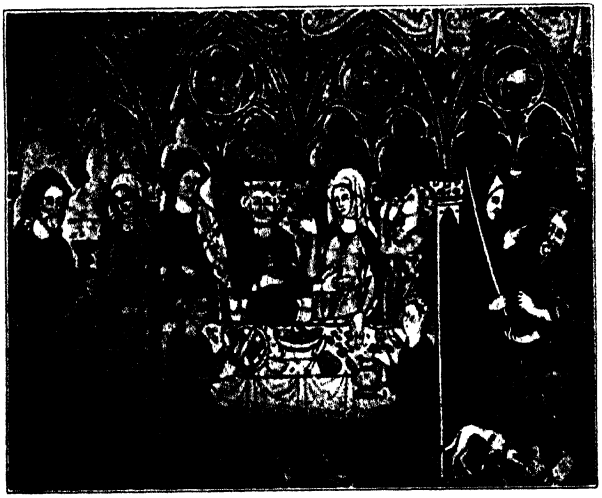
gathering. *Thus a representative element was introduced into the national assembly.*

This was a natural step for *Englishmen*. The *principle* of representative government was no way new to them. It had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The "four men" of each township present in court of hundred or shire spoke for all their township. The sworn "jurors" of a shire who gave testimony in compiling Domesday Book under William I or "presented" offenders for trial under Henry II or did the many other things the Norman kings called on them to do (p. 285),

spoke for the whole shire. *England was familiar with the practice of selecting certain men from a community to speak for the community as a whole.* The same principle was now applied in a larger, central gathering, for *all* England.

The Parliaments of 1265 and 1295

Then in 1265 the glorious rebel, *Simon of Montfort*, gave us a real "Parliament." He had been leading the people against the weak, ill-ruling Henry III, and had made him prisoner, and now he called a national assembly to settle the government



ENGLISH FAMILY DINNER. — From a fourteenth-century manuscript. Note the dogs, the musicians, and the barefooted monk, at whom the jester is directing some witticism. Observe, too, that the Norman round arch (p. 282, based upon the Roman) has been superseded by the *pointed* arch of the Gothic style (p. 304).

This time not only was each shire invited to send two knights, but each borough (town) to send two burgesses, to sit with the usual lords. Simon wanted the moral support of the *nation*, and so he replaced *the "Great Council of royal vassals" by a "Parliament" representing the whole people. In 1295* after some variations, *Edward I adopted this model of Simon's;* and for the first time in history representative government was firmly established for a nation.

The two "Houses"

Half a century later, Parliament divided into *two* Houses. At first all sat together. Had this continued, the townsmen would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been about as bad if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against the other. But England followed a different course: the great peers, lay and spiritual, who were summoned by individual letters, made a "House of Lords," while the representative elements — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *English People* is the best one book on this period.

VI. OTHER LANDS IN THE FEUDAL AGE

France in the feudal age

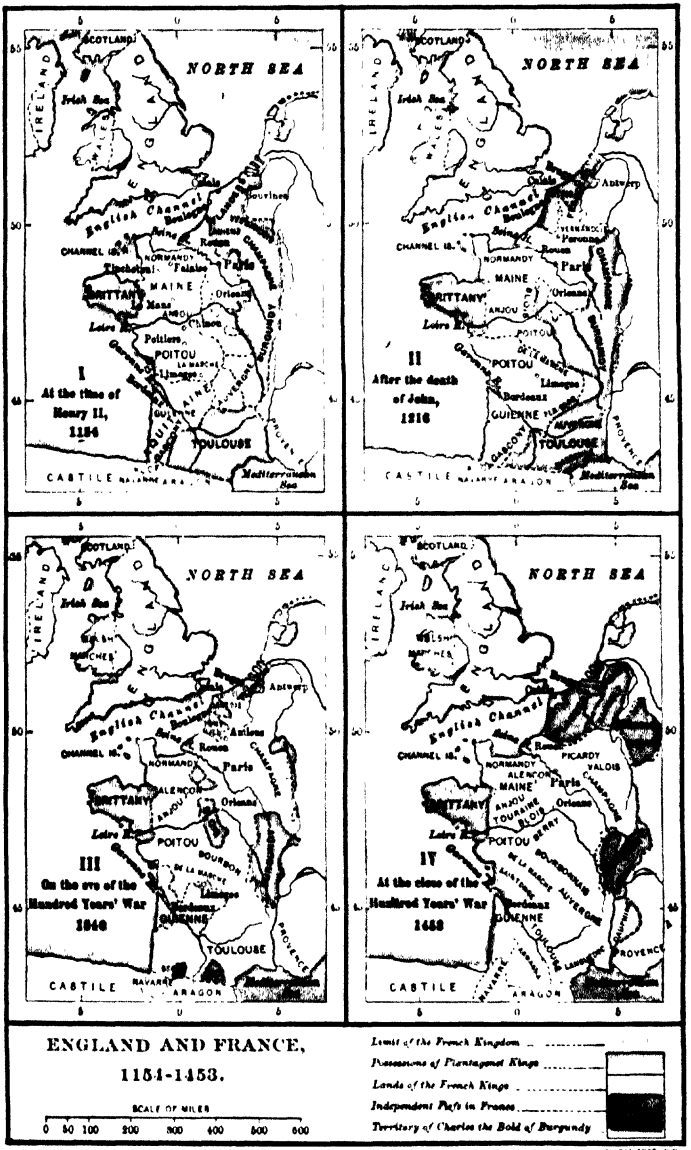
In 987 in France the degenerate Carolingian[1] line gave way to Hugh Capet, founder of the long line of *Capetian* kings. Hugh Capet found France broken into feudal fragments. These, in the next three centuries, he and his descendants welded into a new French nation. *It was not the people* here who fused themselves into a nation in a long struggle against royal despotism, as in England: *it was the kings who made the French nation*, in a long struggle against feudal anarchy within and foreign conquest from without.

Growth of the king's territory

Philip Augustus (1180–1223) at the opening of his reign ruled directly only one twelfth of modern France — only one sixth as much of it as was then ruled by Henry II of England — and held not one seaport. At the close of his reign Philip ruled directly two thirds of France. The consolidation of the realm was mainly completed by his grandson, *Louis IX* (St. Louis), and by Louis' grandson, *Philip the Fair* (1285–1314).

And as the kings won the soil of France piece by piece, so too they added gradually to the royal power, until this *Philip*

[1] The name Carolingian, from Carolus, the Latin form of Charles, is applied to all the rulers of Charlemagne's line.



L.L. POATES, 1908, N.Y.

the Fair and his successors were the most autocratic sovereigns in Europe in their day. France was divided into districts ruled by royal officers. Each such appointed officer, as representative of the king, held vast power, appointing *all* inferior officers in his district, collecting the royal revenues, and controlling the administration in every detail. These royal officers were chosen from men of humble birth — that they might not aspire too much.

Growth of royal power

The feudal lords had lost all authority except over their serfs and villeins: the small vassals and the townsmen were protected now from their rapacity and capricious tyranny. In England this escape had come, a little earlier, through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law; and Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came through the despotic power intrusted to their officers by the absolute French kings; *and for centuries Frenchmen came to trust autocracy as Englishmen trusted law.*

The Estates General

This contrast is shown, in part, in the history of the French institution which most resembled the English Parliament. Philip the Fair completed his reforms by adding respresentatives of the towns to the nobles and clergy in the Great Council of France. This brought together all three "estates"; and the gathering was called the *Estates General*, to distinguish it from smaller gatherings in the separate provinces. The first meeting in this form was held in 1302, only a few years after the "Model Parliament" in England. But Philip and his successors used the Estates General only as a convenient taxing machine. *It never became a governing body, as the English Parliament did.* It lacked root in *local* custom; nor did the French people know how to value it. The kings assembled the Estates General only when they chose, and easily controlled it. When they no longer needed it, *the meetings grew rarer, and finally ceased, without protest by the people.*

Germany in the feudal age

In Germany the Carolingian line died out even sooner than in France, and then the princes chose a Saxon duke for King of the Germans. The second of these Saxon kings was Otto I

(936–973). His first great work was to end forever the barbarian inroads. The nomad Hungarians (p. 266) once more broke across the eastern border in enormous numbers. Otto crushed them with horrible slaughter at the battle of Lechfeld. Soon after, the Hungarians adopted Christianity and settled down in modern Hungary.

Expansion to the east

Otto followed up his success. Year by year, he forced farther back the Slavs from his eastern borders, and established "marks" (a name for a border state) along that whole frontier. On the extreme southeast was the Eastmark (against the Hungarians), to grow into modern Austria, while the Mark of Brandenburg on the northeast (against the Slavs) was to grow into modern Prussia. Now, too, began a new colonizing movement which soon *extended Germany from the Elbe to the Oder* and carried swarms of German settlers among even the savage Prussians and the Slavs of the heathen Baltic coast.

False ambition of the German kings

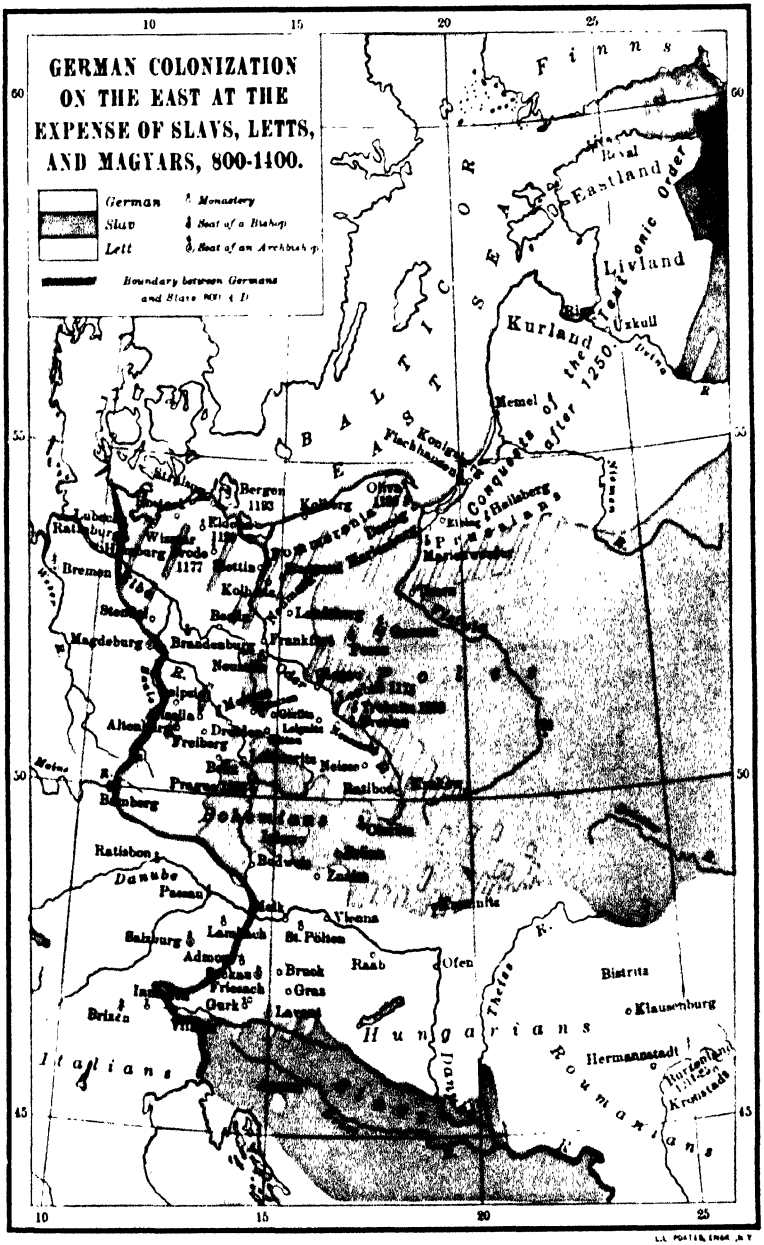
It should have been the work of the German kings to foster this defensive colonization along their barbarous eastern borders, and to fuse the Germans themselves into a true nation. But Otto and his successors were drawn from this work, so well begun, by greedy dreams of wider empire.

Otto and the Holy Roman Empire, 962

For half a century the Empire in the West had lapsed. Otto was tempted to restore it — as a mask for seizing upon Italy. That unhappy land had no shadow of union. Saracens from Africa contested the south with the Greek Empire and the Lombards, and the north was devastated by ferocious wars between petty states. Otto invaded Italy, and *in 962* had himself consecrated by the pope at Rome as "Emperor of the Romans."

Popes and Emperors

The restored Empire did not include all "Western Europe," as Charlemagne's Empire did in its day. France was outside, as were new Christian kingdoms in England, Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary. As a physical power it rested wholly on *German* military prowess. And it was "the *Holy* Roman Empire of the German People." It claimed to share the headship of Christendom with the papacy. But the relation between Emperors and Popes was not defined; there followed three centuries of fatal struggle.


GERMAN COLONIZATION ON THE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS, AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.
German
Slav
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs
Finns
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Kurland
Memel
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250
BALTIC SEA
Bergen
Kolberg
Stettin
Bremen
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Frankfort
Leipsic
Dresden
Prague
Bohemians
Ratisbon
Danube
Passau
Linz
Salzburg
Lambach
St. Pölten
Vienna
Admont
Bruck
Raab
Ofen
Friesach
Gratz
Gork
Brixen
Italians
Hungarians
Bistritz
Klausenburg
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Roumanians
Theiss
Danube

Ruin to both Germany and Italy

During these three centuries the history of Germany was bound up with that of Italy. This connection brought to Germany somewhat of the culture and art of the ancient world; but in government and industry it spelled ruin. Otto was merely the first of a long line of German kings who led splendid German armies across the Alps, to melt away in fever beneath the Italian sun. German strength was frittered away in foreign squabbles, and the chance to make a German nation was lost for nine hundred years.

No better were the results to Italy. A German king, however much a "Roman" Emperor, could enter Italy only with a German army at his back. The southern land was a conquered province, ruled by uncouth northern barbarians. True, at last the Popes won, and expelled the Germans; but only by calling in Frenchman and Spaniard, and making Italy for centuries more the battle ground and battle prize of Europe.

The period of "Fist-law" in Germany, 1254–1273

In 1254 the last German ruler was driven from Italy. *The Empire ceased to be either "Holy" or "Roman." Thereafter it was wholly German. And even the German kingdom seemed extinct.* For twenty years (1254–1273) there was no Emperor, and no king, in Germany. This was the period of "Fist-law." Germany dissolved into more than 300 petty states — "free cities," duchies, marks, counties. (Cf. maps after pp. 296, 314.)

CHAPTER XXXI

THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES, 1100-1300

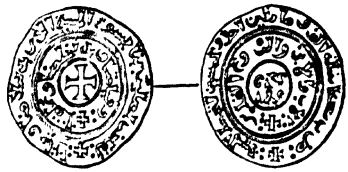
I. THE CRUSADES

Mohammedan culture during Europe's "Dark Ages"

From 1100 to 1300 A.D., all Western Europe was deeply moved by one common impulse. The Mohammedans (pp. 253–255) still ruled from the Pyrenees to the Ganges. They had utilized the old culture of Persia and of Greece. Their governments were as good as the Oriental world had ever known. Their roads and canals encouraged commerce and bound together distant regions. Their magnificent cities were built with a peculiar and beautiful architecture, characterized by the horse-shoe arch, the dome, the turret, the graceful minaret, and a rich ornament of "arabesque." Their manufactures were the finest in the world, both for beautiful design and for delicate workmanship. We still speak of "Toledo" blades, and "Morocco" leather, while "muslins" and "damasks" recall their superior processes at Mosul and Damascus. Europe was soon to owe to them these products, with many other things long-forgotten or new, — spices, oranges, lemons, rice, sugar cane, dates, asparagus, sesame, buckwheat, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, calicoes, satins, the crossbow, the windmill.

In intellectual lines Arab superiority was no less marked. While Europe had only a few monastic schools to light its "Dark Ages," the Arabs had great universities, where philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, were subjects of special study. The old Chaldean astrology was becoming true astronomy in the hands of the Arabians of Spain, and the heavens still keep a thick sprinkling of Arabic names, like *Aldebaran*, while common terms in our texts on astronomy (*azimuth, zenith, nadir*) bear like testimony. From India the Arabs brought the "Arabic" notation, while Europe was still struggling with

clumsy Roman numerals. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin; and while Europe still treated disease from the viewpoint of an Indian "medicine man," the Saracens had established, on Greek foundations, a real science of medicine. But in the eleventh century, political supremacy in the Mohammedan world fell to the Turks, a barbarous Tartar people from beyond the Jaxartes. The Arab culture survived long enough to be transplanted into Europe, but in its own home it was doomed to swift decay.



A BYZANT (Bezant). — A gold coin issued by the emperors at Constantinople in the Middle Ages. This coin had a wide circulation, especially from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, in the countries of Western Europe, where, with the exception of Spain, these lands had no gold currency of their own.

The Turkish peril in the East

The Turks were mighty soldiers, and they *began a new era of Mohammedan conquest.* Almost at once the greater part of the Greek Empire fell into their hands. They overran Asia Minor, almost to the gates of Constantinople. In terror, the Greek Emperor turned to Western Christendom for aid; and this appeal was the signal for two centuries of war, "Cross" against "Crescent."

The Greek Empire calls on the West to save it from the Turk

CRUSADER taking the vow.

This call for aid against the infidel would have produced little effect, however, if Western Europe had not had deep grievances of its own against the Turk. Pilgrimages to holy shrines were a leading feature of medieval life. Good men made them to satisfy religious enthusiasm; evil men, to secure forgiveness for crime; sick men, to heal bodily ills. A pilgrimage was an act of worship. Chief of all pilgrimages, of course, was

The Turks abuse Christian pilgrims

that to the land where Christ had lived and to the tomb where His body had been laid. The Saracens had permitted these pilgrimages; but the Turks, when they captured Jerusalem from the Arabs, began at once to persecute all Christians there.

The Crusades

Thus began those movements of *armed* pilgrims which we call the Crusades. Each crusader marched in part to save Eastern Christians, partly to avenge pilgrims from the West; and partly to make his own pilgrimage to the holiest of shrines. Mingled with these motives, too, was the spirit of adventure and the greed for gain in land or gold.

From 1096 to almost 1300 there was constant fighting in the East between Christian and Mohammedan. Europe, which in the ninth century had been helpless against plundering heathen bands, had now grown strong enough to pour into Asia for two hundred years a ceaseless stream of mailed knights, with countless followers. For almost the first half of that period the Christians did hold all or most of the Holy Land, broken into various "Latin" principalities, and defended against the reviving Mohammedan power by "Orders" of fighting monks — the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Order. But at the end, the Mohammedans had expelled Europe wholly from Asia.

Importance of the Crusades

This was mainly because Europe had outgrown the crusading movement. The Crusades themselves had created a new Europe. Trade had grown, and society was no longer so exclusively made up of fighters. The *indirect results* of the Crusades were vastly more important than the recovery of

Intellectual results

Palestine would have been. New energies were awakened; new worlds of thought opened. The intellectual horizon widened. *The crusaders brought back new gains in science, art, architecture, medical skill;* and *Europe had learned that there was more to learn.* Many Oriental products (p. 294) became almost

Growth of Commerce

necessaries of life. Some of them were soon grown or manufactured in Europe. Others, like spices, could not be produced there; and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously. In the absence of fresh meat in winter and of our modern root-foods (p. 276), spices became of immense

GERMANY AND ITALY
During the Interregnum
1254-1278
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
NORTH SEA
FRANCE
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
POLAND
BAVARIA
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
POMERELIA
PRUSSIA
FLANDERS
LOWER LORRAINE
UPPER LORRAINE
FRANCHE COMTE
SAVOY
SWABIA
CARINTHIA
AQUILEIA
MORAVIA
SILESIA
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
DALMATIA
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Lyons
CORSICA
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Gulf of Taranto
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Prague
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Venice
Genoa
Florence
Naples
Palermo
Messina
Trieste
Ratisbon
Nuremberg
Augsburg
Basle
Strasburg
Metz
Liege
Cologne
Treves
Mayence
Frankfort
Dresden
Leipsic
Breslau
Posen
Cracow
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Ghent
Bruges
Arles
Nice
Pisa
Verona
Milan
Turin
Aquila
Elba
Ajaccio
Cagliari
Syracuse
Dantzic
Konigsberg
Thorn
Ulm
Ratisbon
Passau
Salzburg
Innspruck
Coblentz
Worms
Spires
Besancon
Lyons
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulouse
Montpellier
Perpignan
Barcelona
Valencia
Majorca
Minorca
Tunis
Sicily
Malta
Corfu
Ragusa
Spalatro
Zara
Aquileia
Padua
Ferrara
Bologna
Rimini
Ancona
Perugia
Rome
Capua
Gaeta
Salerno
Otranto
Brindisi
Bari
Foggia
Benevento
Sardinia
Corsica
Elba
Sicily
Malta
Corfu
Ragusa
Spalatro
Zara
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Zara
Aquileia
Padua
Ferrara
Bologna
Rimini
Ancona
Perugia
Rome
Capua
Gaeta
Salerno
Otranto
Brindisi
Bari
Foggia
Benevento

importance for the table. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less affected. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning, and so Europe adopted the Arabic numerals. *Money replaced bart r.* Bankers appeared, alongside the old Jew money-lenders; and coinage increased.

Feudalism undermined

All this undermined both the economic and the military basis of feudalism. Money made it unnecessary for the tenant to pay rent in *service*, and enabled the kings to collect "taxes," so as to maintain standing armies. Moreover, the Crusades swept away the old feudal nobility directly. Hundreds of thousands of barons and knights squandered their possessions in preparing for the expedition, and then left their bones in Palestine. The ground was cleared for the rising city democracies and the new monarchies.

And these two new forces at first were allies. The "third estate" wanted order, and the kings could help secure it. The kings wanted money, and the third estate could supply it. Kings and towns joined hands to reduce feudalism to a form. True, a new nobility grew up — but it had only the honors of the old, without its power.

II. RISE OF THE TOWNS, 1100–1300

The towns and the feudal lords

From 500 to 1100 A.D. the three figures in European life had been the tonsured priest, the mailed horseman, and the field laborer, stunted and bent. *In the twelfth century,* alongside priest, noble, and peasant *there stood out* a fourth figure — *the sturdy, resolute, self-confident burgher.* The age of the Crusades was also the age of the rise of towns.

Origin of the towns

In Italy and southern France, some old Roman towns had lived along, with shrunken population, subject to neighboring lords. Under the new commercial conditions after 1200, these districts became dotted once more with self-governing cities, with municipal institutions molded, in part at least, upon those brought down from Roman times. Elsewhere the towns were mainly new growths — from peasant villages. Most were

small. Very few had more than four or five thousand people.

Town charters won in two centuries of revolt

At first each inhabitant of a growing town remained directly dependent upon the town's feudal lord. The first advance toward freedom was to change this individual dependence into *collective* dependence. The town demanded the right to "bargain collectively" (through its elected officers) with the lord as to services and dues, to be paid by the whole town, not by individual citizens; and after two centuries of revolt (1100–1300), by stubborn heroism and by wise use of their wealth, they had won charters guaranteeing this and greater privileges.

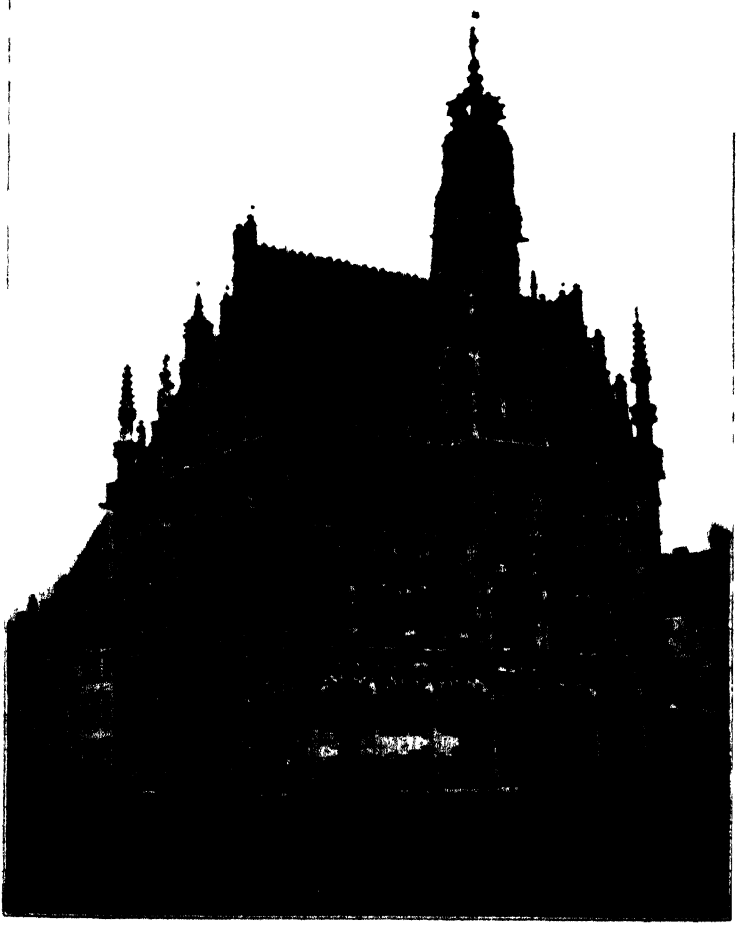
SIEGE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN: the summons to surrender. — From a sixteenth-century copper engraving.

Town life in the feudal age

Town life showed new wants, new comforts, new occupations. Thatched hovels, with dirt floors, gave way to comfortable, and even stately, burghers' homes. Universal misery and squalor among the industrial classes were replaced, for a large part of the population, by happy comfort. There followed a lavish expenditure for town halls and cathedrals and for civic feasts and shows.

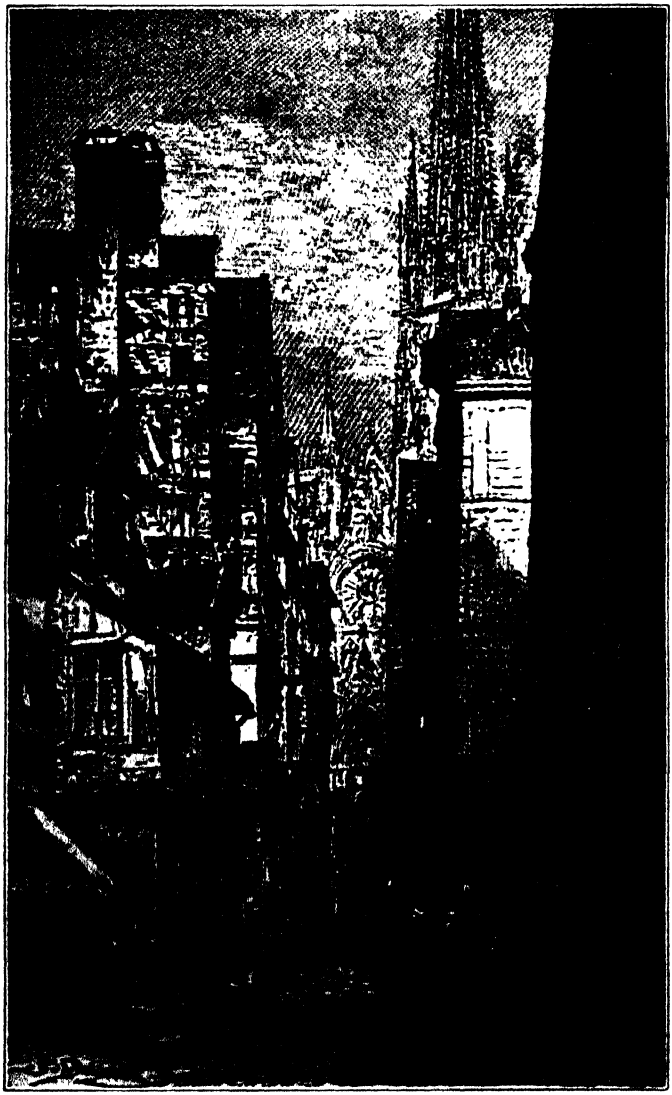
Still, the medieval European city fell far behind the ancient Roman city or the contemporary Arabian city. There were no street lights at night, no city water supply, no sewerage, no street-cleaning, no paving. The necessity of inclosing the town within lofty stone walls crowded it into small space, so that streets were always narrow and dark. Dead animals rotted in these streets; pigsties or loose swine obstructed them; and on one occasion in the fifteenth century a German emperor, warmly welcomed in a loyal city, was almost swallowed up, horse and rider, in the bottomless filth. Within doors, too, the material prosperity was not for all. Says Dr. Jessopp, "The sediment

PLATE XLV



OWN HALL (*Hôtel de Ville*) AT OUDENARDE, BELGIUM, built in the thi teenth century and still in use. See also page 318.

PLATE XLVI



OLD STREET IN ROUEN. — Present condition. Probably the appearance has changed little since the fourteenth century. The Cathedral is visible where the street at its further end opens into the square.

of the town population was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease, and dull despair."

There was no adequate police system, and street fights were constant. At night, no well-to-do citizen stirred abroad without his armor and his guard of stout apprentice lads; and he had to fortify and guard his house at all times. The citizen, however safe from feudal tyranny, lived in bondage to countless necessary but annoying town regulations. When "curfew" rang, he must "cover his fire" and put out lights — a precaution against conflagration particularly necessary because of the crowded narrow streets, the flimsy houses, and the absence of fire companies and of adequate water supply. His clothing, and his wife's, must be no richer than that prescribed for their particular station. He must serve his turn as "watch" in belfry tower, on the walls, or in the streets at night. And in his daily labor he must work and buy and sell only according to the minute regulations of his gild.

Craft and merchant gilds

Each medieval town had its *merchant gild* and its many *craft gilds*. These latter were unions of artisans, — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, bow-makers, drapers, tanners, and so on. They seem to have grown out of the old Roman gilds. York, a small English city of some two or three thousand people, had fifty such gilds. Cologne had eighty. Even the homes of a gild were grouped together. One street was the street of the armorers; another, of the goldsmiths; and so on.

Each craft gild contained three classes of members, — masters, journeymen, and apprentices. *The master* owned a shop, — probably part of the house where his family lived, — and employed one or more journeymen, besides a band of apprentices. *Apprentices* were boys or youths bound out by their parents for a term of years to learn the trade. They lived in the master's house, ate at his table, and he furnished their clothing and taught them "all he knew." After six or seven years, when his term of service was up, the apprentice became *a free journeyman*, working for wages. For the next few years he traveled from place to place, practicing his trade in various cities, to see the world and to perfect himself in his "mystery,"

as the secrets of the trade were called. If he could save the small amount of money needed, he finally set up a shop of his own and became *a master*. As a master, he continued to work with his own hands, living among his dependents with a more or less paternal care over them.

The gild was not organized, as the modern trade-union is, to regulate the relations of workmen to employers. It was a *brotherhood*, containing both workmen and employers. Its purposes were (1) to prevent competition (and so all who practiced the trade were forced to enter the gild and abide by its rules); (2) to prevent monopoly of materials or of opportunity by any of its members (and so each "brother" had a right to share in any purchase by another, and no one could sell except at appointed times and places); (3) to keep up the price (which was fixed by the gild); and (4) *to maintain a high standard of goods* (and so the gild punished severely all adulterations, the mixing of poor wool with good, and the giving short weight). *Thus the gild aimed to protect both producer and consumer.*

A Medieval Cooper's Workshop, from an early sixteenth-century engraving.

The gild was also a fraternal insurance society. Moreover, it had social features, and indeed it often originated as a social club for men engaged in the same trade. Throughout the Middle Ages the gild feasts were the chief events in the lives of gild members.

For a time it seemed that Europe might be dominated by city leagues, like ancient Greece. *The Hanseatic League*

(eighty North German towns, with "factories" in foreign cities over all North Europe) fought at times with the mightiest kings, and won. Similar unions of free towns appeared in every land. But in Italy, by 1350, nearly every city had fallen under the rule of a tyrant; in France they came completely under the despotic power of the king; in Germany they became only one more element in the political chaos; in England they never secured the extreme independence which they possessed for a time in other lands; Europe moved on to a *national* life.

III. LEARNING AND ART, 1100–1300

Few schools in the "Dark Ages"

The "Dark Ages" (500 to 1100) saw a gleam of promise in Charlemagne's day, and some remarkable English and Irish schools flourished just before Charlemagne, and again in the day of Alfred. But these were mere points of light in a vast gloom. As a whole, for six hundred years the only schools were those connected with monasteries and cathedrals; and these aimed only to fit for the duties of the clergy.

Rise of the universities after 1100

About 1100, Europe began to stir from this intellectual torpor. Some of the new towns set up trades schools, with instruction in the language of the people; and in leading cities, in France, Italy, and England, the medieval university appeared. By 1400, fifty universities dotted Europe, some of them with many thousand students. *A fifth figure came into European life: alongside peasant, knight, priest, townsman*, there moved now in cap and gown *the lay student or learned "doctor,"* the forerunner of the modern "professional man."

The universities ruled by tradition, not by reason

But the universities did not make good their first promise. The University of Paris, the first medieval university, had grown up about a great teacher, *Abelard*. Abelard was a fearless seeker after truth. Alone among the scholars of his age, he dared to call "reason" the test of truth, even in the matter of church doctrines. *But the church* condemned this heresy, and *forced the rising universities to forswear "reason" for "authority."* This stifled all inquiry. When the intellectual rebirth of Europe finally came, after those two centuries, it came from outside university walls.

The Schoolmen

The method of reasoning used in the universities is called *scholasticism*. It was like the reasoning we use in geometry, — *deducing* a truth from given premises or axioms. This method ignores observation and experiment and investigation, and has no value, by itself, except in mathematics. It has never discovered a truth in nature or in man. The men of the universities (*Schoolmen*) did not use it in mathematics. They tried to use it by turning it upon their own minds, and their arguments were mainly quibbles upon verbal distinctions. Much

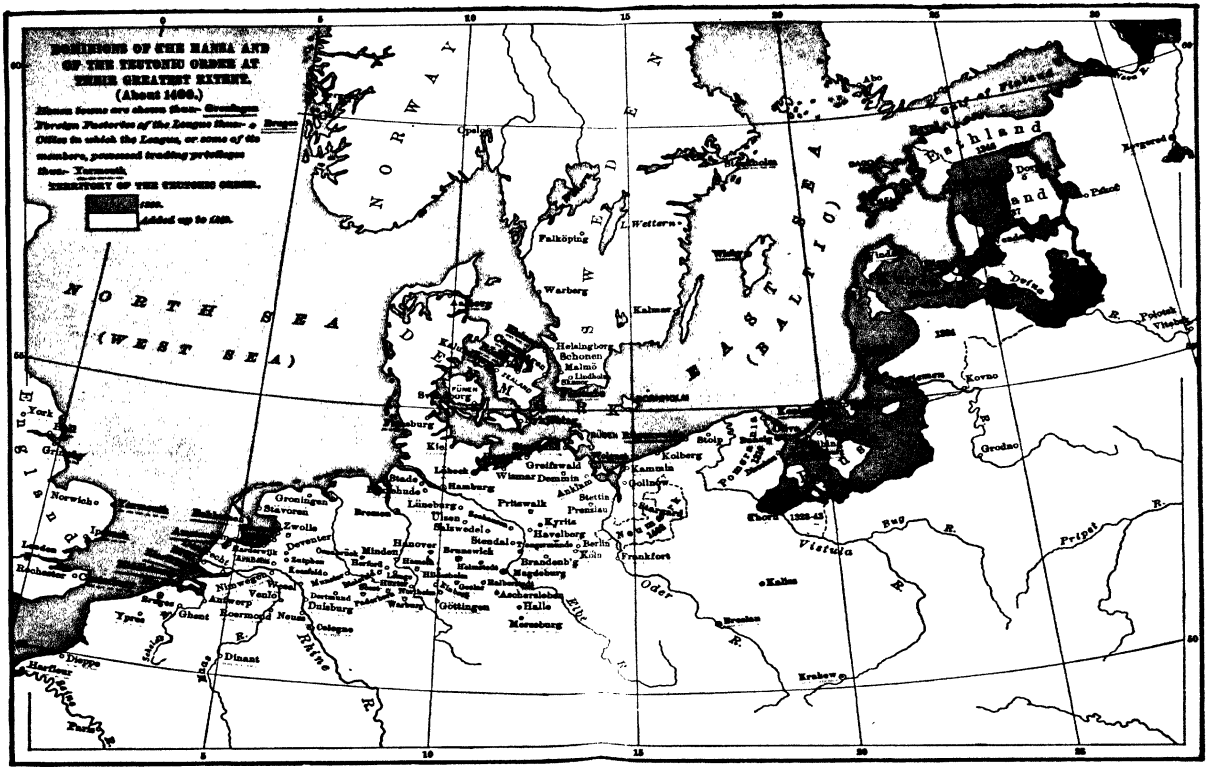
WORKSHOP OF ETIENNE DELAULNE, a celebrated goldsmith at Paris in the sixteenth century. Drawn and engraved by himself.

time they spent in playing with such questions as, How many spirits can dance at one time upon the point of a needle?

The last of the famous Schoolmen was Duns the Scot, who died in 1308. In that day there was no higher praise for a young scholar than to call him "a Duns." Before many years, when a new scientific method had come in (pp. 324 ff.), the term came to be our "dunce."

Medieval science

A very little "science" crept into Europe by 1200 from the Arabs, mainly in astronomy and chemistry. But the astronomy


POSSESSIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT.
(About 1400.)
Hanseatic towns are shown thus: Bruges
Foreign Factories of the League thus: Bergen
Cities in which the League, or some of the members, possessed trading privileges thus: Yarmouth.
POSSESSIONS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
added up to 1410.
NORTH SEA (WEST SEA)
BALTIC SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
ENGLAND
Gulf of Finland
Livland
Estland
Kurland
Preussen
Polnisch Preussen
Pomerellen
Ermland
Culmerland
Neumark
Samland
Nogat R.
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Pripet R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Maas R.
Scheldt R.
Seine R.
Thames R.
Humber R.
Wash
Yarmouth
Norwich
London
Rochester
Dover
Calais
Boulogne
Dieppe
Harfleur
Rouen
York
Grimsby
Lincoln
Cambridge
Ipswich
Colchester
Canterbury
Ghent
Ypres
Bruges
Antwerp
Ostend
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Dinant
Namur
Liège
Aachen
Cologne
Bonn
Coblenz
Mainz
Worms
Frankfort
Nuremberg
Prague
Halle
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Stettin
Pritzwalk
Prenzlau
Havelberg
Kyritz
Ruppin
Stendal
Salzwedel
Ulzen
Lüneburg
Hamburg
Stade
Bremen
Verden
Minden
Hanover
Brunswick
Hildesheim
Göttingen
Osnabrück
Münster
Dülmen
Coesfeld
Borken
Wesel
Duisburg
Essen
Soest
Dortmund
Paderborn
Warburg
Corvey
Hameln
Nienburg
Osnabrück
Groningen
Stavoren
Zwolle
Deventer
Kampen
Enschede
Arnhem
Nimwegen
Utrecht
Amersfoort
Gouda
Leyden
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Alkmaar
Enkhuizen
Hoorn
Medemblik
Edam
Monnikendam
Purmerend
Oudewater
Schoonhoven
Gorkum
Dordrecht
Rotterdam
Delft
Schiedam
Vlaardingen
Brielle
Goes
Middelburg
Veere
Flushing
Sluys
Aardenburg
Ostend
Nieuport
Dixmude
Courtrai
Oudenarde
Lille
Arras
Abbeville
Amiens
Beauvais
Gisors
Rouen
Harfleur
Caudebec
Lisieux
Falaise
Caen
Bayeux
Cherbourg
Valognes
Carentan
St. Lô
Coutances
Avranches
Mont St. Michel
Dol
St. Malo
Dinan
Rennes
Vannes
Quimperlé
Quimper
Brest
Morlaix
Lannion
Guingamp
Tréguier
St. Brieuc
Lamballe
Dinan
Jersey
Guernsey
Alderney
Sark
Falköping
Warberg
Helsingborg
Malmö
Lindholm
Schonen
Kalmar
Wisby
Gotland
Oeland
Visby
Stockholm
Upsala
Westeras
Kolberg
Cammin
Gollnow
Stolp
Lauenburg
Rügenwalde
Danzig
Marienburg
Elbing
Thorn
Graudenz
Kulm
Strasburg
Neidenburg
Soldau
Mewe
Dirschau
Pr. Stargard
Neustadt
Putzig
Hela
Memel
Tilsit
Ragnit
Insterburg
Gumbinnen
Pillau
Königsberg
Tapiau
Wehlau
Labiau
Memel
Polangen
Windau
Goldingen
Libau
Mitau
Riga
Dünaburg
Wenden
Fellin
Dorpat
Reval
Narva
Pernau
Arensburg
Hapsal
Baltisch Port
Pleskau
Novgorod
Ladoga L.
Kexholm
Wiborg
Abo
Helsingfors
Tammerfors
Biarmia
Lapland
Finland
Russland
Kovno
Grodno
Brest
Pinsk
Kalisch
Posen
Gnesen
Bromberg
Thorn
Culm
Graudenz
Marienwerder
Riesenburg
Rosenberg
Osterode
Allenstein
Neidenburg
Lyck
Johannisburg
Rastenburg
Heilsberg
Braunsberg
Frauenburg
Elbing
Marienburg
Dirschau
Danzig
Neustadt
Putzig
Hela
Rügenwalde
Stolp
Lauenburg
Cammin
Gollnow
Kolberg
Greifswald
Wismar
Demmin
Anklam
Pritzwalk
Prenzlau
Stettin
Ruppin
Kyritz
Havelberg
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Aschersleben
Halle
Merseburg
Zeitz
Naumburg
Weissenfels
Leipzig
Torgau
Wittenberg
Dessau
Bernburg
Köthen
Zerbst
Jüterbog
Luckau
Lübben
Cottbus
Guben
Crossen
Frankfort
Landsberg
Soldin
Arnswalde
Pyritz
Stargard
Pr. Stargard
Neustadt
Putzig
Hela
Danzig
Marienburg
Elbing
Frauenburg
Braunsberg
Heilsberg
Rastenburg
Johannisburg
Lyck
Neidenburg
Soldau
Mewe
Dirschau

was mostly astrology (p. 38). And chemistry (alchemy) was little more than a search for the "philosopher's stone," which should change common metals into gold, or for the "elixir of life," a drink to make man immortal. Both astrologers and alchemists mingled their studies with magic incantations and were generally believed to have sold their souls to the Devil in return for forbidden knowledge.

A forerunner of true science

No doubt there were many men, whose names we have never heard, who were trying through those weary centuries really to study into the secrets of nature in a scientific way, by experiment. The greatest man of this kind before 1300 was *Roger Bacon*, an English Franciscan. While Duns Scotus was admired and courted by all the world, Roger Bacon was living in loneliness and poverty, noticed only to be persecuted or reviled. He spent his life in trying to point out the lacks of the Schoolmen's method and to teach true scientific principles. Fourteen years he lay in dungeons, for his opinions. When at liberty, he worked devotedly, but under heavy handicaps. More than once he sought all over Europe for a copy of some book he needed — when a modern scholar in like case would need only to send a note to the nearest bookseller. He wrote upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic. He learned much about explosives, and is said to have invented gunpowder. It is believed, too, that he used lenses as a telescope. Apparently he foresaw the possibility of using steam as a motive power. Certainly he prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed" without horses or sails, and also that man would learn to sail the air. His "Great Work" was a cyclopedia of the knowledge of his time in geography, mathematics, music, and physics. But Roger Bacon lived a century too soon for his own good, and found no successful disciples.

Literature in the speech of the people after 1200

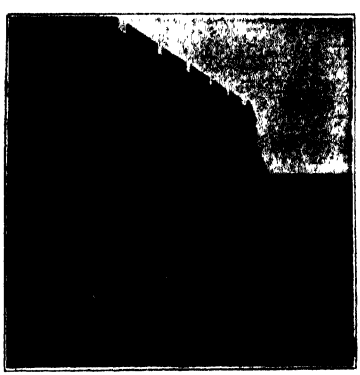
Latin, a mongrel Latin, too, was the sole language of the university and of learning; and until 1200, except for the songs of wandering minstrels, it was practically the *only* language of any kind of literature. About that time, however, in various

lands *popular poetry of a high order began to appear in the language of everyday speech:* the Song of the Cid in Spanish; the love songs of the Troubadours in French and of the Minnesingers in German; the Divine Comedy of Dante in Italian; and, toward 1400, the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer in New English, with Wyclif's translation of the Bible into the same tongue.

Art in the Middle Ages

Classical art was lost, through the Dark Ages, as completely as classical learning. *Medieval painting* existed only in rude altar pieces, representing stiff saints and Madonnas, where even the flowing draperies could not hide the artist's ignorance of how to draw the human body. On a minute scale, to be sure, there was some better work. Monks "illuminated" missals with tiny brushes in brilliant colors, and sometimes with beauty and delicacy.

Architecture, too, was rude until after 1100. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the heavy *Romanesque* style gave way to the *Gothic*, and the world gained one of its wonders in the Gothic cathedral — "a religious aspiration in stone." (See especially the following Plates XLVII, XLVIII, and explanations, and also Plate L and page 288.)

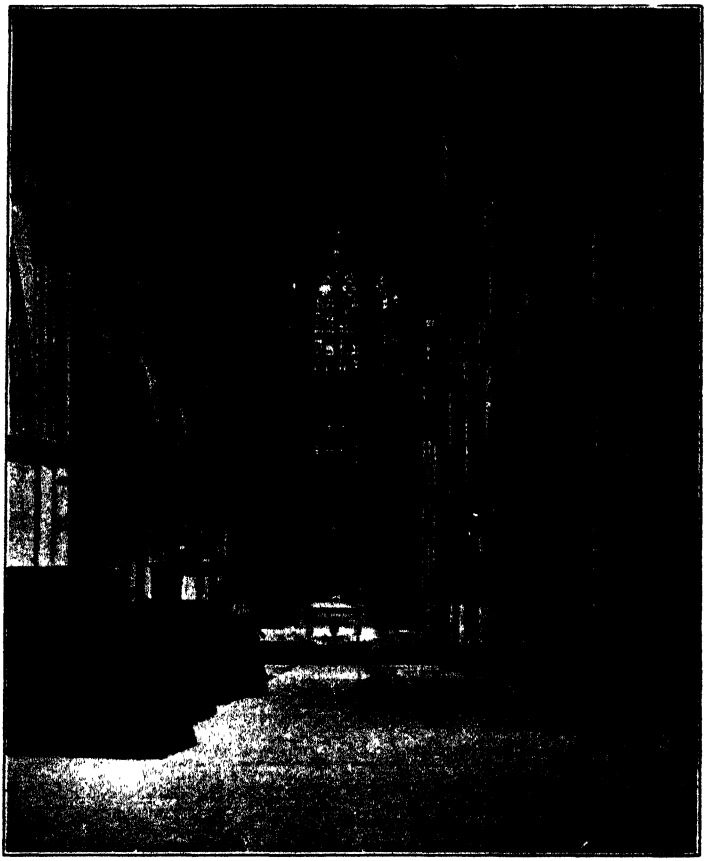


FLYING BUTTRESSES from the upper wall of Norwich Cathedral.

This device meets the "side-thrust" of the roof, and so permitted the architect to cut out most of the upper wall into the tall windows here shown. These *flying* buttresses carry that "thrust" to the top of the *lower* wall (see any of the Cathedral cuts), where in turn it is met, in part, by *solid* buttresses reaching from the ground wall to the top. These lower buttresses are not in themselves beautiful, though they make possible other beautiful arrangements (see Plates following); but the flying buttresses themselves are a strikingly beautiful feature.

RHEIMS CATHEDRAL. — This supremely beautiful example of Gothic architecture (p. 304), dating back almost to the year 1200, was wantonly injured by German shells in the World War. Until 1100, the rather rude architecture of Western Europe was the *Romanesque*, based upon Roman remains and marked by the *round* arch and massive walls. The early architects knew no better way to carry the weight of immense stone roofs; nor did they dare weaken their gloomy walls even by cutting out *large* windows. In the 13th century, that Romanesque style was replaced by a new French style called *Gothic*. The architect, a better engineer now, had learned two new devices to carry his roofs. (See Plate XLVIII.)

PLATE XLVIII



THE CATHEDRAL AT METZ. — A beautiful example of Gothic architecture, begun in the thirteenth century. (The piles of chairs are interesting as showing the method of seating, even to-day, in European cathedrals, where pews are practially unknown. The cathedrals are open all day, but the chairs are used only during special services.)

The weight of the roof is carried by *gathering* it at certain points, by using *converging* arches, which rested on *groups* of mighty pillars. The *side thrust* upon the walls was met, too, by placing *buttresses* at critical points. Thus the Gothic architect could use a lighter, more varied, more graceful *pointed* arch, with tall windows ornamented curiously with *tracery* (openings in the stonework) and with moldings. He could also use stained glass, since now he had light enough; and the old round ceilings gave way to *vaulted ceilings*, where the ribs of converging arches intersected one another. The tower too, with its heaven-pointing spire, replaced the Roman dome. See Plate facing 313.

PART VII — AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER XXXII

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

The Hundred Years' War (1338–1453)

We left the story of England with the great Edward, who had the wisdom to adopt and perfect the Parliament of the rebel Simon. In 1327 Parliament deposed the weak second Edward. Then the third Edward began the Hundred Years' War with France (1338–1453). On the surface, this war was a struggle between kings for prestige and territory: but at bottom *it was a commercial struggle.* Every country, in that day, shackled foreign merchants with absurd restrictions and ruinous tolls. England wanted to sell her wool freely in Flemish towns and to buy Bordeaux wines freely in the south of France; and the easiest way to get access to these markets seemed to be to conquer France.

A BOMBARD. — From a sixteenth-century German woodcut. An old chronicler tells us that at Crécy the English had some small "bombards," which, with fire and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses.* These first cannons were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the powder was very weak. A century later they began to be used to batter down castles and city walls It was longer still before firearms replaced the bow for infantry.

France ravaged

The war was waged on French soil. The English won brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, ravaging crops, burning peasant villages, turning the country into a black-

ened desert in the usual fashion of warfare in those chivalrous days, and bringing home much plunder — robes, furs, feather beds, kitchen utensils, some rich plate, and some coin from the ransom of "noble" prisoners. The whole century of horrible and meaningless slaughter had just one gleam of promise for the future world. This was given by the battle of Crécy. An English army was trapped apparently by five times their number. But the English yeomen — men of the six-foot bow and yard-long shafts feathered from gray-goose wings — coolly faced the ponderous mass of French knights, repulsed charge after charge of that gallantest chivalry of Europe, and won back for the world the long-lost equality of the footman with the feudal horseman in war (1346).

Battle of Crécy, 1346

The Black Death

For a time, toward 1400, the war languished because pestilence was slaying men faster than steel could. The Black Death, most famous of famous plagues, had been devastating the continent for years, moving west from Asia. At least a third of the population of Europe was carried off by it. Then, in the year after Crécy, the returned victors brought it to England, where, almost at a blow, it swept away half the nation.

And the decay of serfdom in England

This loss fell most heavily of course upon the working classes, but it helped those left alive to rise out of serfdom, — a movement already well under way there. The lack of labor doubled wages, too, and so brought in a higher standard of living.

True, Parliament tried, in the interest of the landlords, to keep down the laborers by foolish and tyrannical laws, — forbidding them to leave the parish where they lived or to take more wages than had been customary in the past, and ordering them under cruel penalties to serve any one who offered them the old wages. There were many individual cases, too, of bitter tyranny, where some lord, by legal trickery or by outright violence, forced half-freed villeins back into serfdom. Thus among the peasants there was long smoldering a fierce and just discontent.

Another set of causes fanned this discontent into flame. The huge wealth of the church and the worldliness of the greater clergy were becoming a common scandal. Even the gentle

Chaucer (p. 304), court poet though he was, wrote in keen raillery of these faults. More serious and less happy men could not dismiss them with a jest. The priest, John Wyclif, a famous lecturer at the University of Oxford, preached vigorously against such abuses, and finally attacked even some central teachings of the church. He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation,[1] and insisted that even ignorant men might know the will of God, through the Bible, without priestly intervention. Accordingly, with his companions, he made the first complete translation of the Bible into English; and his disciples wrote out many copies (printing was still a century in the future) and distributed them throughout the land.

Wyclif and the Lollards

These disciples called themselves "poor preachers." Their enemies called them "Lollards" (babblers). Some of them exaggerated their master's teachings against wealth, and called for the abolition of all rank and property. John Ball, one of these "mad preachers," attacked the privileges of the gentry in rude rhymes that rang through England from shore to shore, —

John Ball

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

"This priest," says Froissart, a contemporary chronicler, "used oftentimes to go and preach when the people in the villages were coming out from mass; and he would make them gather about him, and would say thus: 'Good people, things go not well in England, nor will, till everything be in common and there no more be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve, . . . but they are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs, while we shiver in rags; they have wine, and spices, and fair bread; and we, oat cake and straw, and water to drink; they dwell in fine houses, and we have the pain and travail, the rain and the wind in the fields. From our labor they keep their state. Yet we are their bondmen; and unless we serve them readily, we are beaten.' And so the people would murmur one with the other in the fields, and in the ways as they met together, affirming that John Ball spoke truth."

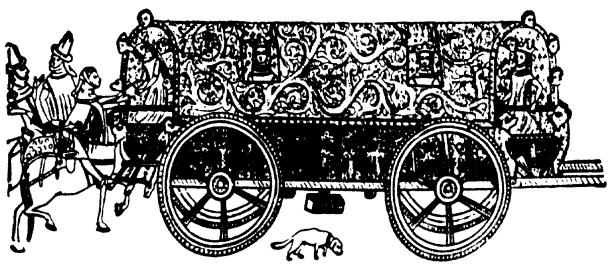
In 1377 Edward's grandson, Richard II, came to the throne as a mere boy; and, while the government was in confusion,

[1] That at the Mass the bread and wine were changed miraculously into the very flesh and blood of Christ.

The Peasant Rising of 1381

and England in this seething discontent, Parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing unfairly upon the poor. This match set the realm ablaze — in the "Peasant Rising of 1381." With amazing suddenness, from all sides, the peasants, rudely armed, marched upon London; and in a few days the king and kingdom were in their hands.

The special demand of the peasantry was that all labor-rents should be changed into *fixed* money rents. They sacked some castles and manor houses, destroying the "manor rolls" (the written evidence of *services* due on the estate); and they put to death a few nobles and their lawyer tools. Women and children



AN ENGLISH CARRIAGE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. — *After Jusserand's English Wayfaring Life; from a fourteenth-century psalter.* This carriage is represented as drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such a carriage was a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen.

were nowhere injured, and there was no attempt at general pillage and massacre, such as usually go with servile insurrections in other lands. *The revolt was marked by the moderation of men who had a reasonable program of reform.*

Wat the Tyler

Unhappily the peasants lacked organization. Their chief leader, *Wat the Tyler*, was murdered treacherously, in a conference — "under a flag of truce" as we would say. "Kill!" shouted Wat's followers; "they have murdered our captain!" But the young Richard rode forward fearlessly to their front. "What need ye, my masters!" he called; "I am your king and captain." "We will that you free us forever," shouted the peasant army, "us and our land; and that we be never more named serfs." "I grant it," replied the boy, and by such

pledges and by promise of free pardon he persuaded them to go home. For days a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises.

The upper-class treachery and revenge

But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, bearing to each one a copy of the king's treacherous charter, the property classes rallied and took a bloody vengeance. Parliament declared, indeed, that Richard's promise was void, because he could not give away the gentry's property — the services due them — without their consent. Richard caught gladly at this excuse. Quite willing to dishonor his word to mere villeins, he marched triumphantly through England at the head of forty thousand men, stamping out all hope of another rising by ruthless execution of old leaders. Seven thousand men were put to death in cold blood. The men of Essex met him with copies of his charters, declaring that they were free Englishmen. "Villeins you were," answered Richard, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide; and not your old bondage, but a worse." None the less, the emancipation began again soon with fresh force; and, *by 1450, villeinage had passed away in England.*

Growth of Parliament's power

The growth of Parliament during the Hundred Years' War was almost as important as the rise of the peasants out of bondage. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask for many grants of money. Parliament supplied the king generously; but it took advantage of his needs to secure new powers.

(1) It established the principle that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply" and at last transformed its "petitions" for such redress into "bills." (2) In the closing years of Edward III the *Good Parliament* (1376) "impeached" and removed his ministers, using the forms that have been common in impeachments ever since in English-speaking countries. And (3) *when Richard II tried to overawe Parliament with his soldiery*, England rose against him, and the Parliament of 1399 deposed him, electing a cousin (Henry of Lancaster) in his place. (4) In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, under the Lan-

castrian Henrys (IV, V, VI), the House of Commons made good its claims that all money bills must originate with it, and (5) secured the right to judge of the election of its own members.

Liberties of Englishmen

(6) Parliament repeatedly compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and appoint new ones satisfactory to it, and (7) several times fixed the succession to the throne. (8) Freedom of speech in Parliament and freedom from arrest, except by the order of Parliament itself, became recognized privileges of all members.

Thus under the Lancastrians there was established in the breasts of the English middle classes a proud consciousness of

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1399, which deposed Richard II. — From a contemporary manuscript. The faces are probably portraits.

English liberty as a precious inheritance. With right they believed it superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. Wrote Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, in his *In Praise of the Laws of England*, for the instruction of Henry's son:

"A king of England at his pleasure cannot make any alteration in the laws of the land without the consent of his subjects, nor burden them against their wills with strange impositions. . . . Rejoice, therefore, my good Prince, that such is the law of the kingdom you are to inherit,

because it will afford both to you and to your subjects the greatest security and satisfaction. . . . [The king] is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws. For this end *he has the delegation of power from the people*, and he has no just claims to any other power."

The Wars of the Roses, 1454–1471

Then came the ruinous Wars of the Roses in England. This civil war was not merely a struggle for power between rival lords as Shakspere pictures it: in large measure, it was the final battle between the old feudal spirit, strong in the north of England, and the towns, strong in the south. The towns won. The remnants of the old nobility were swept away in battle or by the headsman's ax. But the middle classes were not yet ready to grasp the government, and *the fruits of victory fell for a time to the new Tudor monarchs*, Henry VII and Henry VIII. These rulers were more absolute than any preceding English kings. England entered the modern period under a "New Monarchy."

GUY'S TOWER, — THE KEEP OF WARWICK CASTLE: the Earl of Warwick was a prominent leader in the Wars of the Roses. Read Bulwer's *Last of the Barons*.

The "New Monarchy" of the Tudors

The *forms* of free government saved

Still these Tudors were not "divine-right" monarchs; and they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional forms — and so did not challenge popular opposition. True they called Parliament rarely — and only to use it as a tool. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through it, saved the forms of constitutional government. At a later time, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain that, in crushing the feudal forces, the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

France came out of the Hundred Years' War, after unspeakable suffering among the poor and after vast destruction of property,

French monarchy strengthened

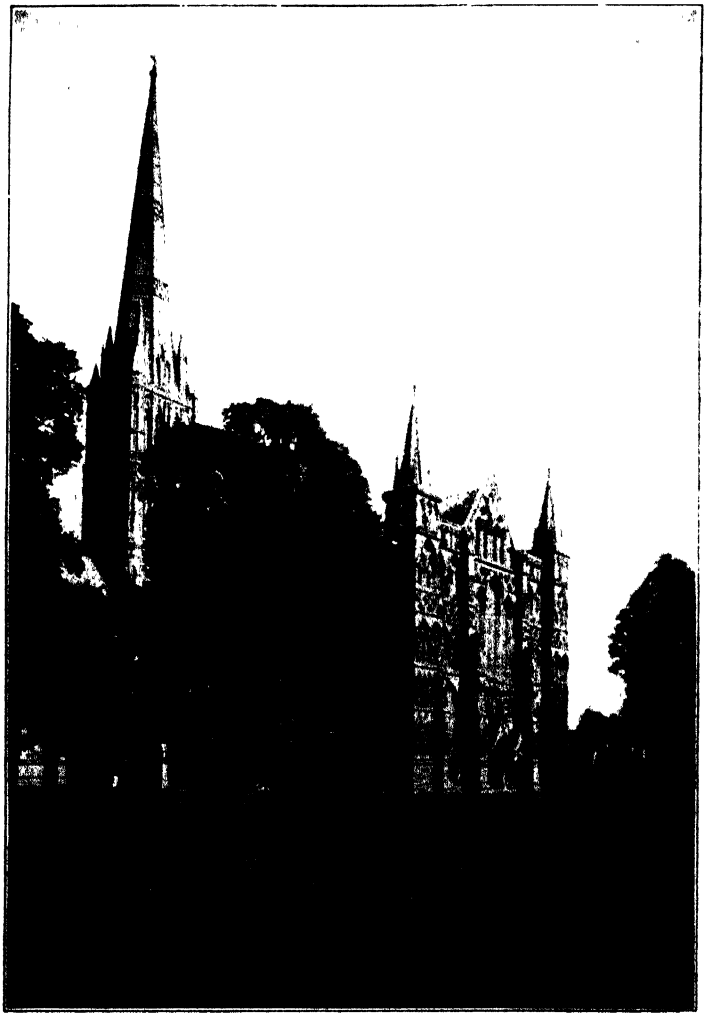
with territory consolidated, with a new patriotism binding her people into one (a patriotism that had blossomed in Joan of Arc, the peasant girl liberator of her country), and with her kings stronger than ever. Her industrious peasantry, not for the last time, amazed Europe by their rapid restoration of prosperity in a wasted land. *Louis XI* (1461–1483) kept a small but efficient standing army, with a train of artillery that could easily batter the castle of any feudal rebel about his ears. His reign left France the most powerful single state in Europe.

For Further Reading. — Green's *English People* continues to be the most desirable general narrative. Lanier's *The Boy's Froissart* gives an entertaining contemporary story of the period. Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars* pictures the desolation of the Black Death. Clemens' ("Mark Twain's") *Joan of Arc* is history in a novel's form.

PLATE XLIX

JOAN OF ARC relieving Orleans from the besieging English. This unschooled French peasant girl heard divine "voices," she was persuaded, calling her to free her country from the English invader. How she did this may best be read in Mark Twain's *Joan of Arc*. This painting portrays an early victory which roused the French people from their despair to follow the "Holy Maid of Orleans." Finally, when her work was really done, Joan fell into English hands and was burned as a witch, after a trial marked by her gentle firmness and purity and heroic endurance. History places her foremost among French heroes; and recently (May, 1920) she was canonized by Pope Benedict XV.

PLATE L



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, a fine example of early English Gothic, 1200-1250 (The glorious elms of the Cathedral Close are now gone — cut for lumber during the World War.) The stone spire rises 404 feet from the ground. To carry such immense weight was a great engineering problem. Cf. text at bottom of Plates XLVII, XLVIII, to see how such problems were solved in this new style of architecture. Toward the extreme right one side of the cloisters is just visible (cf. p. 288).

CHAPTER XXXIII

OTHER STATES OF THE PERIOD

Meantime the papacy was losing power. About 1300, both England and France challenged the papal overlordship in matters of *government*. (Neither questioned the pope's authority in religious matters.) The kings needed more revenue, and were trying to introduce systems of national taxation — in place of the outgrown feudal revenues. The clergy had been exempt from feudal services; but they owned so much of the wealth of the two countries that the kings insisted upon their paying their share of the new taxes. *Pope Boniface VIII* (1296) issued a bull forbidding any prince to impose taxes on the clergy without papal consent, and threatening excommunication against all clergy who paid.

The conflict in France

But when the English clergy, trusting in this decree, refused to pay taxes, Edward I outlawed them until they submitted. In France Philip the Fair (p. 290) forbade any payment to the pope, and arrested the papal legate. Boniface threatened to depose the king. A few days later, a company of French soldiers made Boniface prisoner; and the chagrin of the old man at the insult probably hastened his death (1303).

"The Babylonian Captivity"

Philip then secured the election of a French pope, who removed the papal capital from Rome to Avignon, in southern France. Here the popes remained for seventy years (1309–1377), in "the Babylonian Captivity of the church." *Of course the papacy lost public respect.* It was no longer an impartial umpire. Politically it had sunk into a mere tool of the French kings, and the enemies of France could not be expected to show it reverence. In Italy, too, the Papal States themselves fell into anarchy, and there was danger that the popes might lose that principality.

Rival "popes"

In 1377, to save the papal territory, Gregory XI visited Rome. This act brought on a greater disaster even than the exile itself. Gregory died while at Rome. The cardinals were obliged at once to choose a successor. They were Frenchmen (as all high church offices had been given to Frenchmen during the scandal of the Captivity); but even French cardinals did not dare disregard the savage demands of the people of Rome for an Italian pope, and so they chose Urban VI. Urban established himself in the old papal seat at Rome; but, a few months later, the cardinals assembled again, declared that the choice of Urban was void because made under compulsion, and elected a French pope, Clement VII, who promptly returned to Avignon.

Urban and Clement excommunicated each other, each devoting to the devil all the supporters of the other. Which pope should good Christians obey? The answer was determined mainly by political considerations. France obeyed Clement; England and Germany obeyed Urban.

The Lollard heresy

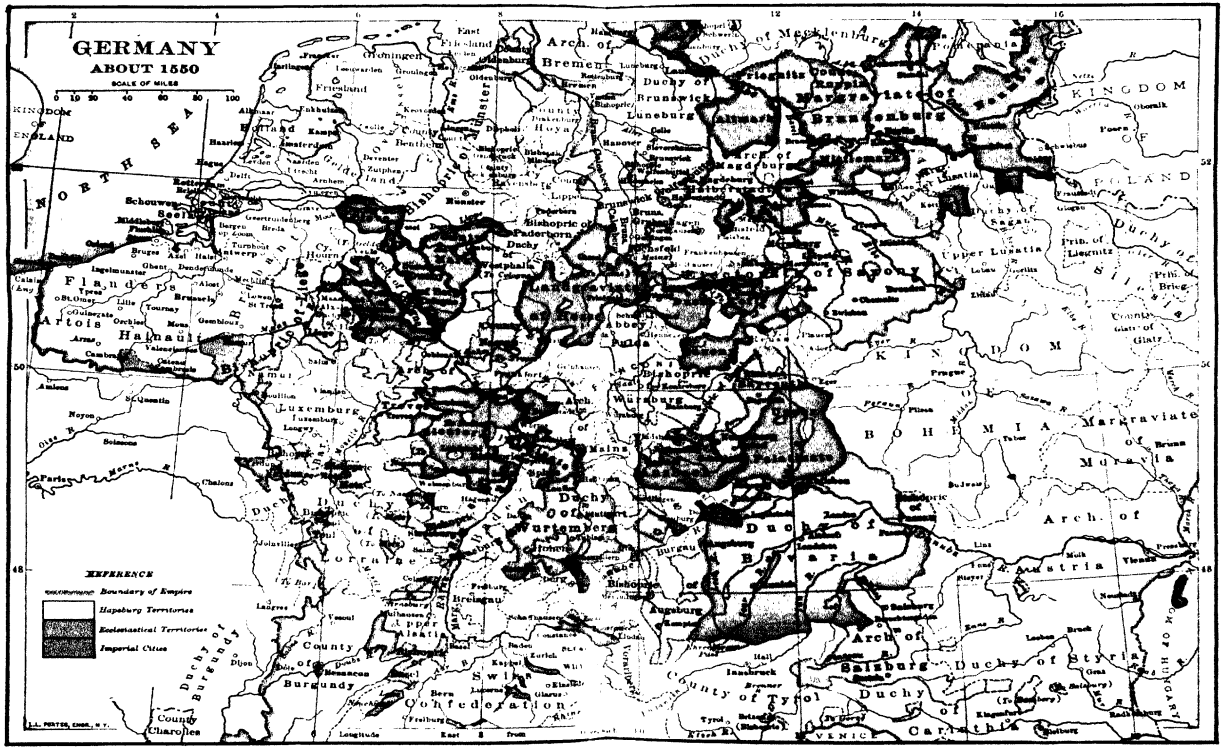
This condition encouraged other disunion movements. *The Wyclif movement* in England (p. 307) took place toward the close of the exile at Avignon. The church declared Wyclif a heretic; but he was protected during his life by one of King Edward's sons. Soon after Wyclif's death, however, the Lancastrian monarchs began to persecute his followers. In 1401, for the first time, an Englishman was burned for heresy, and the Lollards finally disappeared. But meantime, the seeds of the heresy had been scattered in a distant part of Europe. Richard II of England married a princess of Bohemia, and some of her attendants *carried the teachings of Wyclif to the Bohemian University of Prague*.

The Hussite heresy

About 1400, *John Hus*, a professor at Prague, became a leader in a radical "reform" much after Wyclif's example, and the movement spread rapidly over much of Bohemia.

The Council of Constance, 1414

Great and good men everywhere, especially in the powerful universities, began now to call for a General Council as the only means to restore unity of church government and doctrine; and finally one of the popes called the Council of Constance (1414). Five thousand delegates were present, representing all Christendom. With recesses, the Council sat for four years. It


GERMANY
ABOUT 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 60 80 100
REFERENCE
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities
NORTH SEA
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
Friesland
Arch. of Bremen
Duchy of Brunswick Lunebourg
Arch. of Magdeburg
Margravate of Brandenburg
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Duchy of Silesia
Duchy of Saxony
Upper Lusatia
Prin. of Liegnitz
Prin. of Brieg
Flanders
Artois
Hainault
Brabant
Namur
Luxemburg
Arch. of Cologne
Bishopric of Paderborn
Duchy of Westphalia
Bishopric of Munster
Bishopric of Liege
Bishopric of Wurtzburg
Arch. of Mainz
Duchy of Wurtemberg
Duchy of Bavaria
Arch. of Salzburg
Duchy of Styria
Duchy of Carinthia
County of Tyrol
Arch. of Austria
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Margraviate of Moravia
Duchy of Burgundy
County Palatine
County Charolois
Switzerland
Confederation
Augsburg
Ulm
Ratisbon
Nuremberg
Frankfort
Cologne
Trier
Metz
Strasburg
Basle
Zurich
Berne
Geneva
Lausanne
Innsbruck
Brixen
Trent
Prague
Vienna
Salzburg
Gratz
Laybach
Trieste
VENICE
Longitude East 3 from

induced one pope to resign his office, and it deposed the other claimants. Then it restored unity by electing a new pope, Martin V, to rule from Rome.

Next the Council turned its attention to restoring church doctrine. John Hus was present, under a "safe conduct" from the Emperor. His teachings were declared heresy; but neither persuasion nor threats could move him to recant. "It is better for me to die," he said, "than to fall into the hands of the Lord by deserting the truth." Despite the Emperor's solemn pledge for his safety, Hus was burned at the stake, and his ashes were scattered in the Rhine (1415). Then Wyclif's doctrines, too, were condemned; and, to make thorough work, his ashes were disinterred from their resting place and scattered on the river Swift.

The last popes of the Middle Ages

These vigorous measures did not wholly succeed. Hus became a national hero to Bohemia. That country rose in arms against the church. A crusade was preached against the heretics, and years of cruel war followed; but some survivals of Hussite teachings lasted on into the period of the Protestant Revolt a century later. *The papacy never regained its earlier authority over kings.* Nicholas V (1447) showed himself a learned scholar, eager to advance learning, as well as a pure and gentle man. Pius II (1455) strove to arouse a new crusade against the Turks, who had at last captured Constantinople; but his complete failure proved (in his own words) that Europe "looked on pope and emperor alike as names in a story." Some of the succeeding popes, like the notorious Borgia (Alexander VI, 1492–1503), were busied mainly as Italian princes, building up their temporal principality by intrigue and craft such as was common at that day in Italian politics.

Germany and the Hapsburgs

The "Holy Roman Empire," it has been explained, had come to mean merely *Germany.* The anarchy of the "Fist-law" period was checked in 1273 by the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg as Emperor. Rudolph was a petty count of a rude district in the Alps ("Hawks' nest"), and the princes had chosen him because they thought him too weak to rule them. The king of

Bohemia, indeed, refused to recognize him as Emperor. Rudolph attacked Bohemia, and seized from it the duchy of Austria, which until recently has remained the chief seat of the Hapsburgs. In other ways he showed the now-familiar Hapsburg zeal to widen his personal domain. "Sit firm on Thy throne, O Lord," prayed one bishop, "or the Count of Hapsburg will shove Thee off."

After Rudolph's death, the princes of the Empire (the Electoral College) passed the throne from family to family — until, in 1438, after a long line of Bohemian rulers, the imperial dignity came back to the Hapsburgs by the election of Albert, Duke of Austria. From this time, so long as the title endured, *the "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire" was of the House of Austria*, and election became a form only.

Maximilian I (1493–1519), the one romantic hero of the Hapsburg race, made a noble effort to bring Germany abreast of England and France. In the end he failed utterly, and *Germany entered the Modern Age a loose confederacy of many petty sovereign states grouped about Austria.*

Spain at the end of the Middle Ages

The Mohammedan invasion of 711 (p. 254), separated the development of *Spain* from that of the rest of Europe. For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees."

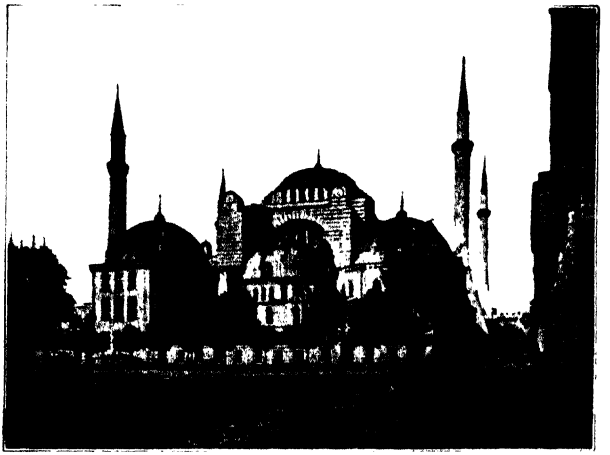
The wave of Moorish invasion, however, left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and in these districts several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against Infidel. The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, unfitted for industrial civilization, intensely patriotic, and blindly devoted to the church.

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had

PLATE LI

ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing in the foreground Maximilian of Austria, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip (p. 320). The original is in colors.

PLATE LII



CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, built by Justinian upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. The whole interior is lined with costly, many-colored marbles. The interior view shows only a part of the vast dome, with eighteen of the forty windows which run about its circumference of some 340 feet. In 1453 the building became a Mohammedan mosque (p. 317). (The pointed minarets adjoining are Saracenic.)

formed the three countries, Portugal, Aragon, and Castile. Nearly a century later, the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon united the two larger states, and in 1492 their combined power captured Granada, the last Moorish stronghold. In the year that Columbus discovered America under Spanish auspices, Spain at home achieved national union and national independence. During the next two reigns, *the Spanish monarchy*, financed by the treasures of Mexico and Peru, *became the most absolute in Europe*.

The Turks and south-eastern Europe

While the civilized Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, barbarous *Mohammedan Turks were gaining southeastern Europe*. They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont first in 1346. Constantinople held out for a century more, a Christian island encompassed by seas of Mohammedanism. But at *Kossova* (1389), the Turks completed the overthrow of the Serbs, and a few years later a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Hungarians and Poles. Then, in 1453, *Mahomet the Conqueror* entered Constantinople through the breach where the heroic Constantine Palaeologus, last of the Greek emperors, died sword in hand.

The Turks, incapable of civilization, always remained a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, whom their rule blighted. After 1453, Constantinople was the capital of their empire. That empire continued to expand for a century more (until about 1550), and for a time it seemed as though nothing could save Western Europe. *Venice on sea, and Hungary by land, were long the two chief outposts of Christendom*, and, almost unaided, they kept up ceaseless warfare to check the Mohammedan invaders. For a time, Hungary was conquered, and then Austria became the bulwark for Western Europe.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands (Low Countries) did not form an independent state in the Middle Ages. They were made up of a group of provinces, part of them fiefs of the Empire, part of them French fiefs. The southern portion has become modern Belgium; the northern part, modern Holland. The land is a low, level tract, and in the Middle Ages it was more densely packed with teeming

cities than any other part of Europe. The inhabitants were a sturdy, independent, slow, industrious, persistent people. Ghent claimed eighty thousand citizens able to bear arms, while Ypres is said to have employed two hundred thousand people in the weaving of cloth. Wealth so abounded that the "counts" of this little district excelled most of the kings of Europe in magnificence.

Trade and manufactures

Many of the cities, like Rotter*dam* and Amster*dam*, were built on land wrested from the sea by dikes, and they took

HALL OF THE CLOTHMAKERS' GILD AT YPRES. — Begun, 1200; finished, 1364; destroyed by the Germans in the World War.

naturally to commerce. In their markets, the merchants from Italy and the south of Europe exchanged wares with the Hansa merchants of the Baltic. And the Netherland towns were workshops even more than they were trading rooms. "Nothing reached their shores," says one historian, "but received a more perfect finish: what was coarse and almost worthless, became transmuted into something beautiful and good." Matthew Paris, a thirteenth-century English chronicler, exclaimed that "the whole world was clothed in English wool *manufactured in Flanders.*"

During the Hundred Years' War, the dukes of Burgundy became masters of Flanders. When Louis XI of France (p. 312) seized the rest of Burgundy from its last duke, Charles the Bold, the Flemish towns wisely chose to remain faithful to Mary, the daughter of Charles. Mary married the young Maximilian of Hapsburg (p. 316), and *the Netherlands passed to the House of Austria.*

The "New Monarchies" in Europe

The rise of "monarchic states" is the political change that marks the close of the Middle Ages. At the moment it seemed a disaster to many great and good men, like the Italian Dante, who had their minds fixed on the old ideal of a united Christendom. But, since the days of the old Roman empire, Europe had never known a true union. *The real mission of each of the new monarchies*, whether the monarchs saw it yet or not, *was to weld all the classes within its land into one people with a common patriotism.*

We have noted the rise of new powerful monarchies in England, France, Spain, and Austria. Like governments had appeared in Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. Two small lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, were loosely connected with the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy. Two great lands had no part in the movement: until 1250, Germany and Italy had been the center of interest; but their claim for universal rule had left them broken in fragments. Not for centuries were they to reach this new form of united monarchic government. *Leadership, therefore, passed from them to France, Spain, and England,* — the three countries in which the new movement was most advanced. In Italy, soon after 1250 the city republics (p. 300) fell under the rule of "tyrants"; and by 1450 the many petty divisions had been brought under one or another of "Five Great States" — the Kingdom of Sicily, the Papal States, Milan, Florence, and Venice. Then France and Spain waged wars for the mastery of these; and Spain was left mistress of Sicily and Naples.

France and Spain in Italy

Now swift steps brought the Hapsburg power within sight of a world-monarchy. Ferdinand of Aragon had married one daugh-

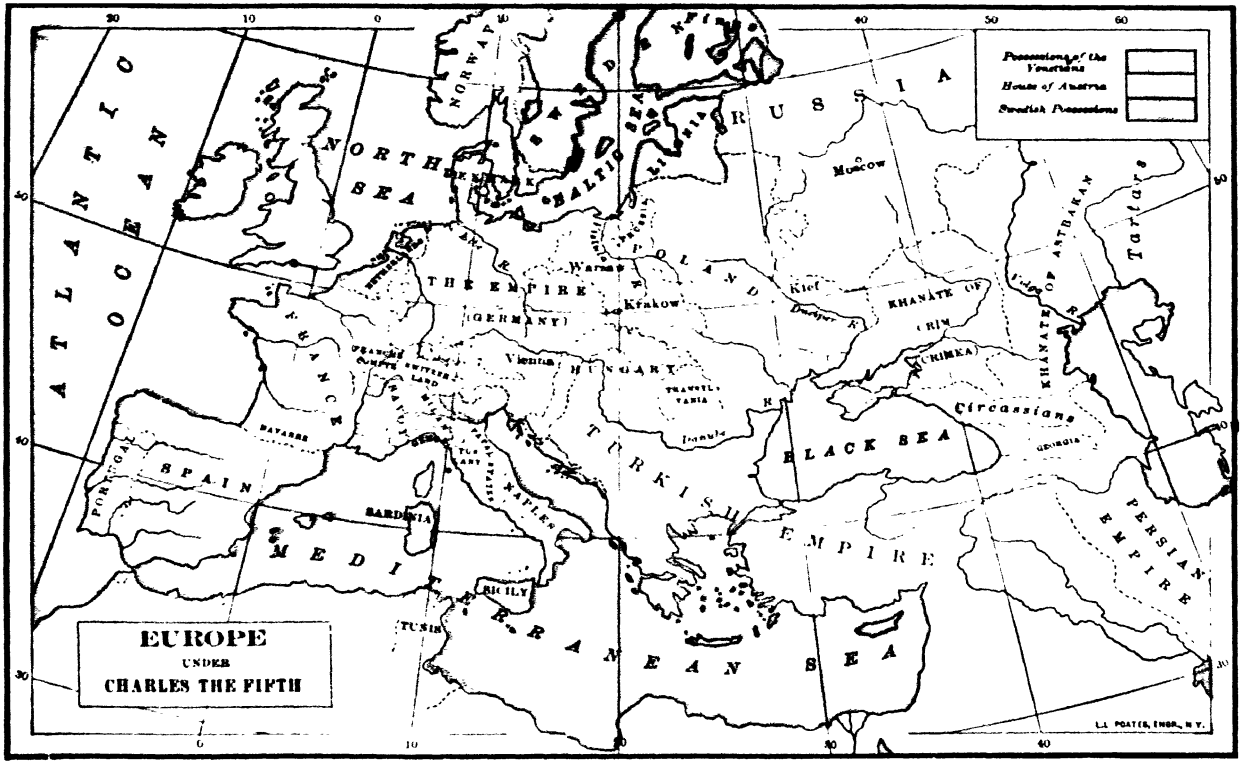
The danger of a world-despotism

ter to the young English prince soon to become Henry VIII, and another to Philip of Hapsburg, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (p. 319). From this last marriage, in 1500, was born a child, Charles. Philip had been ruler of the Netherlands through his mother, Mary; and his early death left those rich districts to Charles while yet a boy. In 1516 Charles also succeeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, as king of Sicily and Naples and as king of Spain, with the gold-producing realms in America that had just become Spain's. Three years later he succeeded his other grandfather, Maximilian, as the hereditary ruler of Austria, with its many dependent provinces. Then, still a boy of nineteen, Charles became a candidate for the title of Emperor, which Maximilian's death had left vacant; and his wealth (or that of his Flemish merchants) enabled him to win against his rivals Francis of France and Henry VIII of England.

Thus Charles I of Spain, at twenty, became also Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and for a while it seemed possible that he might more than restore the empire of the first great Charles (Charlemagne). Compact France, at first, was his only obstacle; and no time was lost by Charles and the French Francis I in joining battle. The battle of Pavia left Francis a captive, and France apparently at the Hapsburg's feet. *But just then* (1520) *an obscure monk in Germany* burned a papal bull and started a movement which split Germany and Europe at once into opposing camps, and *rendered forever vain the dream of restoring the old imperial unity of Christendom.* When a world union comes, we see now, it is to come as a union of *free peoples.*

Failure of Charles

We must turn back once more to note the intellectual change that ended the Middle Ages and prepared the way for that revolt within the church.


EUROPE
UNDER
CHARLES THE FIFTH
Possessions of the Venetians
House of Austria
Swedish Possessions
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
Moscow
THE EMPIRE
(GERMANY)
POLAND
Warsaw
Kraków
Kief
Dniepr R.
KHANATE OF CRIM (CRIMEA)
KHANATE OF ASTRAKAN
Tartars
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
NAVARRE
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE COMPTE
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
MILAN
VENICE
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Ionian Is.
TURKISH EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
Circassians
GEORGIA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SARDINIA
SICILY
TUNIS
L.L. POATER, ENGR., N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE RENAISSANCE

The five hundred years from 800 to 1300 make up the Age of Feudalism. The first three centuries (800–1100) were a continuation of the "Dark Ages" of the barbarian invasion, after the brief interruption by Charlemagne. In those gloomy three hundred years we noted the grim feudal system at its height, the medieval church, serf labor, the destructive strife between empire and papacy, and, at the close, the Norman conquest of England.

The periods within the feudal age

(1) The Dark Ages

The year 1100 was the threshold over which we passed from those centuries of gloom *to two centuries of fruitful progress.* That Age of the Crusades saw also the rise of towns, of universities, of popular literatures, of Gothic architecture in cathedrals and town halls, of the growth of France out of feudal fragments into one kingdom, and of the rise of courts and of Parliament in England.

(2) The Crusades

The year 1300 introduced three centuries of still more rapid advance. *The period 1300–1600 we call the Age of the Renaissance, because those centuries are marked by a "rebirth" of a long-forgotten way of looking at life.* That old way had expressed itself in the art and literature of the ancient Greeks. Accordingly, the men of the new age were passionately enthusiastic over all remains of the old classical period. The fundamental characteristic of the Renaissance, however, was not its devotion to the past, but its joyous self-trust in the present. The men of the Renaissance cared for the ancient culture because they found there what they themselves thought and felt.

The age of the Renaissance

Relation to "Ancient" culture

Between those classical times and the fourteenth century there had intervened centuries of very different life — which we have been studying. Those "Middle Ages" had *three marks* on the intellectual side. (1) Ignorance was general; and

The Renaissance and the feudal age

even the learned followed slavishly in the footsteps of some intellectual master. (2) Man *as an individual* counted for little: in all his activities he was part of some gild or order or corporation. (3) Interest in the future life was so intense that many good men neglected the present life. Beauty in nature was little regarded, or regarded as a temptation of the devil.

The Renaissance changed all this. (1) For blind obedience to authority, it substituted the free inquiring way in which the Ancients had looked at things. (2) Men developed new self-reliance and self-confidence, and a fresh and lively originality. And (3) they awoke to delight in flower and sky and mountain, in the beauty of the human body, in all the pleasures of the natural world.

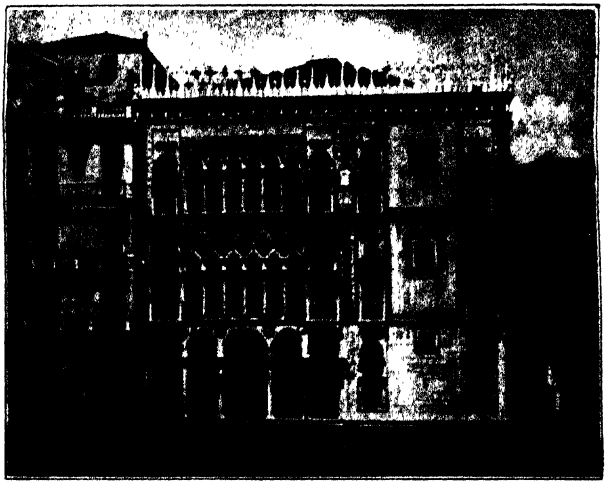
The Renaissance begins in Italy

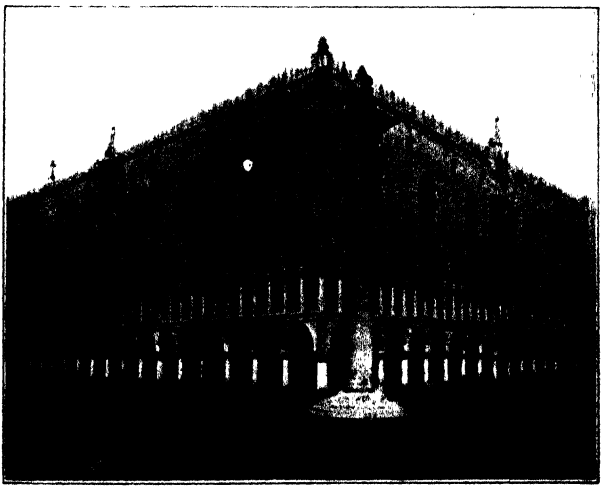
This transformation — one of the two or three most wonderful changes in all history — began first in Italy. It was well over in that land by 1550; while it hardly began in England until 1500, and there it lasted through Shakspere's age, to about 1600.

Italy was the natural home for a revival in literature and art. Vergil had been read by a few Italian scholars all down the Middle Ages. The Italian language was nearer the Latin than any other European language was, and more manuscripts of the ancient Roman writers survived in Italy than elsewhere in Western Europe. Thus the Italian *Petrarch* (1304–1374) stands out the first great champion of the coming age. His graceful sonnets are a famous part of Italian poetry, but his real work was as a tireless critic of the medieval system. He attacked vehemently the superstitions and false science of the day; he ridiculed the universities, with their blind reverence for "authority," as "nests of gloomy ignorance." And he did more than destroy. He, and his disciples after him, began enthusiastic search for classical manuscripts and other remains, to recover what the ancients had possessed of art and knowledge, and so brought back the study of Greek to Italy.

After 1400, the increasing peril from the Turk (and the high prices paid by princely Italian collectors) led many Greek scholars to flee from the East with precious manuscripts. And

PLATE LIII

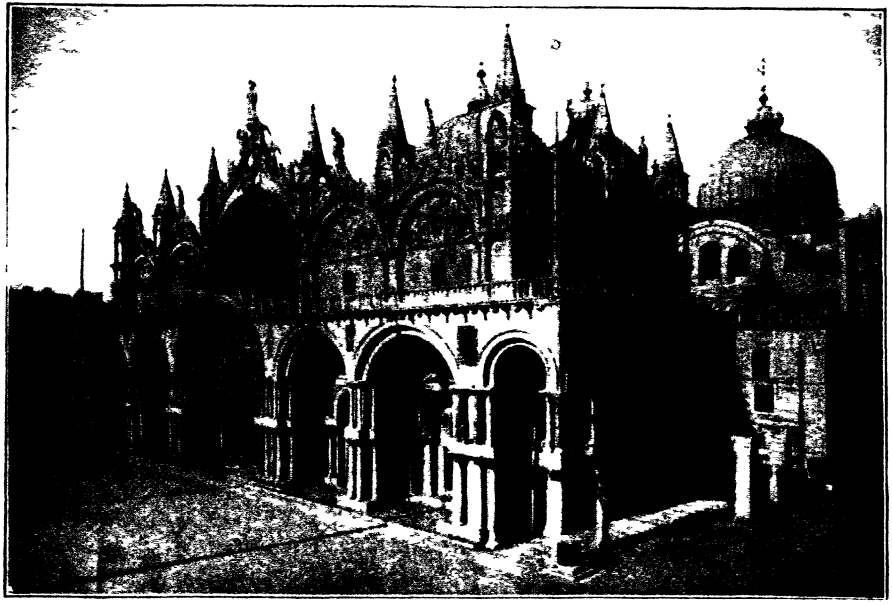




ABOVE. — CA D'ORO, a Venetian Palace built in the thirteenth century.

BELOW. — THE PALACE OF THE DOGES (*Ducal Palace*) at Venice. Venetian architecture was based upon the Romanesque, modified by the Saracenic from the south and east and by the Gothic from the north and west. Cf. St. Marks, facing p. 322.

PLATE LIV

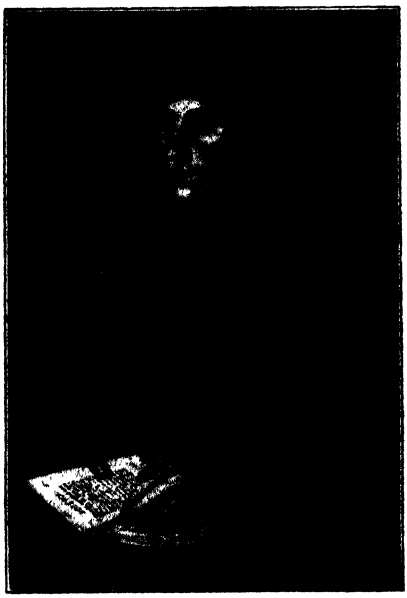


ST. MARK'S, VENICE — Ruskin calls this the central building of the world " Do you find any explanation for that strong phrase in the comment on Venetian architecture on Plate LIII?

when Constantinople fell, Greek learning "emigrated to Italy." Soon the new enthusiasm for the classics (*humanism*) captured even the universities — which at first withstood it fiercely.

Painting and sculpture were reborn, with the rebirth of delight in life. Italian painting culminated in the years from 1470 to 1550. To these eighty years belongs the work of Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Perugino, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Correggio. A little later came the great periods of Dutch and Spanish painting. (The new development in this art in all these lands was made possible, of course, by new methods of preparing oil paints, invented by the Van Eycks in Holland, so that it was possible to paint upon canvas, instead of only upon walls and ceilings.)

Renaissance art in Italy



ERASMUS, a portrait by Holbein.

In the north of Europe the Renaissance was religious and scientific rather than artistic. A little before 1500, the "New Learning" from Italy was welcomed by an enthusiastic group of young scholars in England, known as the "Oxford Reformers." In Italy, Petrarch and his followers had started the new science of "historical criticism," — a careful study of old and corrupted documents to find out their original form and true meaning. The Oxford Reformers developed this science into a means of correcting evils and errors that had crept into religion.

The religious and scientific Renaissance in the North

This was especially true of Erasmus, a Hollander living in

Erasmus, 1466–1536

England. In 1516 he published the New Testament *in the original Greek*, with a careful Latin translation, and with critical notes. Now, for the first time, ordinary scholars could test the accuracy of the common translation (the Vulgate) in use in the church. Afterward Erasmus edited the writings of many early Christian Fathers, to show the character of *early* Christianity. In another sort of works, as in his *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus lashed the false learning and foolish methods of the monks and Schoolmen. He has been called "the Scholar of the Reformation." But Erasmus did not break away from the great mother church. Instead, he worked, with beautiful charity and patience and largeness of view, for reform *within* it.

Sir Thomas More

Another leader of the Oxford Reformers was Sir Thomas More, one of the noblest Englishmen of any age. He was a distinguished scholar — his learning brightened by a gentle and pervading humor — and a man of great personal charm. In the year that Erasmus published his Greek Testament, More issued his *Description of the Republic of Utopia* ("Nowhere"). He portrays, with burning sympathy, the miseries of the English peasantry, and points accusingly to the barbarous social and political conditions of his time by contrasting with them the conditions in "Nowhere" — where the people elect their government (which accordingly is devoted solely to their welfare), possess good homes, work short hours, enjoy absolute freedom of speech, high intellectual culture, and universal happiness, with all property in common. *Utopia* was the first of the many modern attempts to picture, in the guise of fiction, an ideal state of society.

Inventions bring a new age

More immediate and direct influence upon the mighty change to a new age came from a number of new inventions connected with the Renaissance movement. *The telescope* revealed other worlds in the heavens. *The mariner's compass* enabled Columbus to discover a New World on the old earth. *Gunpowder* (p. 305), which found its first serious use in the wars between Charles V and Francis I, gave the final blow to dying feudalism. And *printing* did more to create a new society

than gunpowder could to destroy the old. Two of these new movements call for special notice.

1. Early medieval manuscripts were all written on *parchments*. These were costly and hard to obtain in any desirable quantity. About 1300, to be sure, a cheaper *paper* was introduced by the Saracens; but all books had still to be *written* by the pen. Soon after 1400, engravers began to make the reproduction of books cheaper by engraving each page on a block of wood (as the Chinese seem to have done centuries earlier). This was still costly. But now, about 1450, John Gutenberg, at Mainz, found out how to "cast" *separate* metal type in molds.

This invention of *movable* type reduced the price of books at once to a twentieth their old cost. It came, too, at a happy moment. It preserved the precious works recovered by the Humanists; and soon it was to spread broadcast the new thought of the Reformation.

New geographical discoveries

2. The ancients had *played* with the notion of sailing around the earth. Aristotle speaks of "persons" who held that it might be possible; and Strabo, a Roman geographer, suggested that one or more continents might lie in the Atlantic between Europe and Asia. But during the Middle Ages men had come to believe that the known habitable earth was bounded on all sides by an uninhabitable and untraversable world, — on the north by snow and ice, on the south by a fiery zone, on the west by watery wastes stretching down an inclined plane, up which men might not return, and on the east by a dim land of fog and fen, the abode of strange and terrible monsters. The Indian Ocean, too, was thought to be a *lake*, encompassed by the shores of Asia and Africa.

These false views had been partly corrected by a better geographical knowledge of Asia, gained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Louis IX of France sent Friar Rubruk as ambassador to the court of the Tartar Khan in central Asia (1264 A.D.); and the friar on his return reported that he had heard of a *navigable ocean east of Cathay* (China), with a marvelously wealthy island, Zipango (Japan).

This rumor made a leap in men's thought. Friar Bacon in

England (p. 303) at once raised the question whether this eastern ocean might not be the same as the one that washed Europe on the west and whether men might not reach Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic. Indeed, Bacon wrote a book to support these conjectures, adding many opinions of the Ancients; and extensive extracts from this volume were copied into a later book, which was to become a favorite of Columbus. Such speculation implies that *scholars* understood the sphericity of the earth. Saracenic schools had preserved the old Greek knowledge in this matter, and some European thinkers had been familiar with it, even in the "Dark Ages."

MONK TEACHING THE GLOBE, — an illustration in a thirteenth-century manuscript.

Now this became more than a curious question. The Crusades, we have seen, had given a new impulse to trade with the Orient, but in the fifteenth century, the progress of the Turks threatened the old trade routes. Constantinople, the emporium for the route by the Black Sea, fell into their hands, and each year their power crept farther south in Asia, endangering the remaining route by the Red Sea. Under these circumstances *the question was forced home to Europe whether or not a new route could be found.*

Discoveries of Henry the Navigator

The Portuguese, under Prince Henry the Navigator, had already been engaged in building up a Portuguese empire in Africa and in the islands of the Atlantic (Azores, Canary, and Verde[1]); *and about 1470 they began to attempt to reach India by sailing around Africa.* In 1486 a Portuguese captain, *Bartholomew Diaz,* while engaged in this attempt, was carried far to the south in a storm, and on his return to the coast he found it *on his left hand* as he moved toward the north. He followed

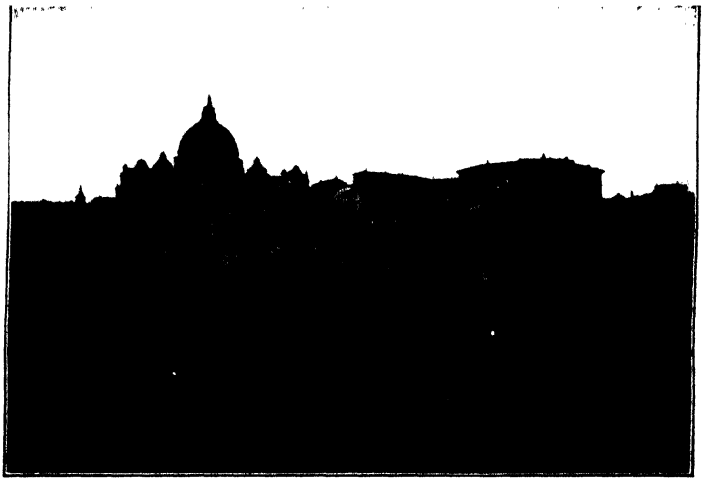
[1] The name "Cape Verde" indicates the surprise of the discoverers (1450) at verdure so far south.

COLUMBUS BEFORE ISABELLA

several hundred miles, well into the Indian Ocean. Then his sailors compelled him to turn back to Portugal. India was not actually reached until the expedition of Vasco da Gama in 1498, after more memorable voyages in another direction.

Columbus and America

One of the sailors with Diaz in 1486, when in this way he rounded the Cape of "Good Hope," was a Bartholomew Columbus, whose brother *Christopher* also had sailed on several Portuguese voyages. Now, however, for some years, Christopher Columbus had devoted himself to the more daring theory that India could be reached by sailing west into the open Atlantic. Portugal, well content with her monopoly of African exploration, refused to assist him to try his plan. Henry VII of England also declined to furnish him ships. But finally, the high-minded Isabella of Castile, while the siege of Granada was in progress, fitted out his small fleet, and *in 1492 Columbus* revealed to Europe the continent of America — soon to be a chief factor in that "new world" toward which the old earth was now so swiftly spinning.



ST. PETER'S, ROME. — The interior view shows the nave (central aisle) as one enters, looking east. On the right of the exterior view is shown the Vatican, the papal residence.

St. Peter's was not completed until far into the seventeenth century, but it owes most of its glory to the work upon it of artists of the late Renaissance period, like Raphael and Michael Angelo. The form of this greatest of churches is that of a cross, surmounted, at the junction of the arms, by a dome 138 feet across, the dominating feature of the building and probably the most famous dome in the world.

PART VIII — THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, 1520-1648

CHAPTER XXXV

THE REFORMATION UPON THE CONTINENT

I. LUTHERANISM

The need for religious reform

The later references to the church have involved some mention of abuses growing up within it (pp. 306, 315). Good Christians lamented those abuses. A few broad-minded, genial men, like Erasmus, strove earnestly to *reform* them. Less patient, more impetuous men broke away from the old church in a revolt which became the Protestant "Reformation."

Special abuses in Germany

The revolt began in Germany. That land lacked a strong government to protect it, and so its hard-won, little wealth was drained away to richer Italy by papal taxes of many sorts. Nowhere else was this condition so serious. From peasant to prince, the German people had long grumbled as they paid, and they needed only a leader to rise against papal control.

Martin Luther, 1483–1546

Martin Luther, son of a Thuringian peasant-miner, became that leader. Luther was a born fighter, — a straightforward man, with a blunt, homely way that sometimes degenerated into coarseness. As an Augustinian friar, his effective preaching had attracted the attention of Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who made him a professor of theology in the new University of Wittenberg.

Luther and the sale of indulgences

Luther's revolt *began* in his opposition to the sale of indulgences. The pope was rebuilding St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome with great magnificence. To help raise money for that purpose, a German archbishop had licensed John Tetzel, a Dominican, to grant indulgences. The practice was an old one, arising easily out of the doctrine of "penance." The authorized

teaching of the church was, that, in reward for some pious act — or for the gift of money for a pious purpose — a sinner *who had truly repented and who had, so far as possible, atoned for his sins,* might have the punishment due *in purgatory* remitted by the church. The ignorant masses, unable to read the Latin documents, often thought that such an "indulgence" was an *unconditional* pardon, — contrary to the doctrine of the church; and some professional "pardoners," who peddled such "letters," encouraged this gross error. Tetzel was a special offender in this way. A rude German rhyme, ascribed to him, runs, "The money rattles in the box; the soul from purgatory flies." More than a hundred years before, the bright-souled Chaucer had given the only bitter lines in his *Canterbury Tales* to the Pardoner with his wallet "bret-full of pardons, come from Rome all hot." Now a visit of Tetzel to Wittenberg, with a batch of these papal letters, aroused Luther to more vehement protest.

Luther's theses arouse Germany

On a Sunday in October, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the Wittenberg church ninety-five "theses" (statements) against the practice of selling indulgences, upon which he challenged all comers to debate. That door was the usual university bulletin board where it was customary for one scholar to challenge others to debate. But Luther's act had consequences far beyond the university. The theses were *in Latin*, the regular university language; but the printing press scattered copies broadcast *in German*, and in a few days they were being discussed hotly over all Germany.

Luther and the Pope

Soon, however, this matter dropped out of sight. The papal legate in Germany reprimanded Tetzel sternly for his gross mispractice; and the church corrected the abuse. But, meanwhile, Luther adopted more radical opinions; and in 1519 he *denied the authority of the pope, appealing instead to the Bible as the sole rule of conduct and belief.*[1] Then when at last a papal

[1] Luther *tried* to substitute one authority for another. But the Bible is capable of many interpretations. His appeal to the Bible as the sole authority meant Luther's understanding of the Bible. In the mouth of another man, however, the same appeal meant that other's understanding of the book. So, *unintentionally*, the Protestant revolt came to stand for *the right of individual judgment.*

bull ordered him to recant and to burn his heretical writings, *Luther burned instead the papal bull* in a bonfire of other writings of the church, before the town gate *in December, 1520,* while a crowd of students and townsfolk brought fuel.

Luther burns the papal bull

LUTHER'S DEFIANCE AT WORMS, — a modern painting by Von Werner.

The pope appealed to the young emperor, Charles V (p. 320) to punish the heretic. Germany was in uproar. The Emperor called an imperial Diet[1] at Worms (1521) and summoned Luther to be present, pledging safe conduct. Friends tried to dissuade Luther from going, pointing to the fate of Hus a century before; but he replied merely, "I would go on if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." At the Diet he was confronted with scornful contempt by the great dignitaries of the church and of the empire. But to the haughty command that he recant, he answered firmly, "Unless I am proven wrong by Scripture or plain reason . . . my conscience is caught in the word of God. . . . Here I stand. As God is my help, I can no otherwise."

Luther at Worms

[1] The German *Diet* in early times contained only nobles. In the fourteenth century, representatives of the "free cities" were admitted. Then the Diet sat usually in three Houses, Electors (the seven great princes), Princes (of second rank), and City Representatives. It never gained any real place in the government of the Empire.

A German Bible

Charles kept his pledge; but a month later the Diet pronounced against Luther the "ban of the Empire," ordering that he be seized for execution. The friendly Frederick of Saxony, however, had had him seized, on his way homeward, and carried into hiding in the castle of Wartburg. Most of his followers

LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WARTBURG. — The desk is the one at which he penned his translation of the Bible. The broken plaster commemorates an interesting incident. Believing that Satan had come to tempt him, Luther hurled his ink bottle at the apparition. The ink splashed the plaster; and visitors have picked off pieces of the bespattered wall for souvenirs. Luther's picture, above the desk, is a modern addition to the room.

mourned him as dead; but in this refuge Luther translated the New Testament into strong and simple German. While he was still in hiding, his teachings were accepted by whole communities. Priests married; nuns and monks left their convents; powerful princes joined the new communion, sometimes from honest conviction, sometimes as an excuse for seizing church lands.

Lutheranism wins the North German princes

In 1522, Luther left his retreat to guide the movement again in person and to restrain it from going further than he liked. Changes in religion, he urged, should be made only *by the governments*, not by the people: and he preserved all that he could of the old church services and organization, establishing them on essentially the basis on which they still stand in the Lutheran church. *By 1530, that church had won North Germany.*

The peasant rising in 1525

Meantime the revolt against the old church had led to the growth of some extreme sects of wild fanatics; and in 1525 there had been a great rising of the peasants, demanding, "in the name of God's justice," the abolition of serfdom and the right of each parish to choose its own pastor. The peasants in Germany were in a much more deplorable condition than in England, and, when they found arms in their hands, in several places they avenged centuries of cruel oppression by massacres of old masters.

Luther preaches a war against the peasants

Luther, fearing discredit for his new church, called furiously on the princes to put down this rising with the sword — to "smite, strangle, or stab"; and the movement was stamped out brutally in blood, with ghastly scenes that infinitely surpassed in horror any excesses by the ignorant peasants themselves. The whole peasant class was crushed down to a level far lower than before, — lower than anywhere else in Europe, — where they were to remain helpless for almost three hundred years.

Foreign wars keep Charles V from acting

In 1529 another Diet reaffirmed the decree of Worms. Against this condemnation the Lutherans presented a formal protest — which gave them the name *Protestant*. Charles V, the young emperor, was a zealous churchman, and if his hands had been free, he would have crushed Lutheranism at its birth. But even while the Diet of Worms was condemning Luther, the Spanish towns were rising in revolt and Francis I of France was seizing Italian territory (p. 320), and very soon Solyman the Magnificent (the Turkish Sultan) invaded Austria. Charles promptly crushed the ancient liberties of the Spanish towns; but the wars against France and the Turk, with only brief truces, filled the next twenty-three years (1521–1544).

When Charles *did* find his hands free for Germany, Protestantism was too strong even for his power, and he was forced to accept the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which left each prince of the Empire free to choose the religion for his province. (The people were expected docilely to accept the religion of their ruler.)

Abdication of Charles

The Protestants in their danger had sought aid from the French king; and France for her reward had seized some German districts, including the city of Metz. Chagrined at the loss, and disheartened by the split within the Empire, Charles abdicated his many crowns in 1556. His brother *Ferdinand* became ruler of Austria, and soon after was chosen Emperor. Charles' son, *Philip II*, received the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, and Spanish America. There were now *two* Hapsburg Houses, one in Spain, one in Austria. *France feared that she might be crushed between them*, and became eager to take advantage of any chance to weaken them.

II. CALVINISM — IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

While Lutheranism was winning North Germany (and Scandinavia), another form of Protestantism, *Calvinism*, was growing up in Switzerland and, for a time, in France and even in the west of Germany.

Zwingli and Luther

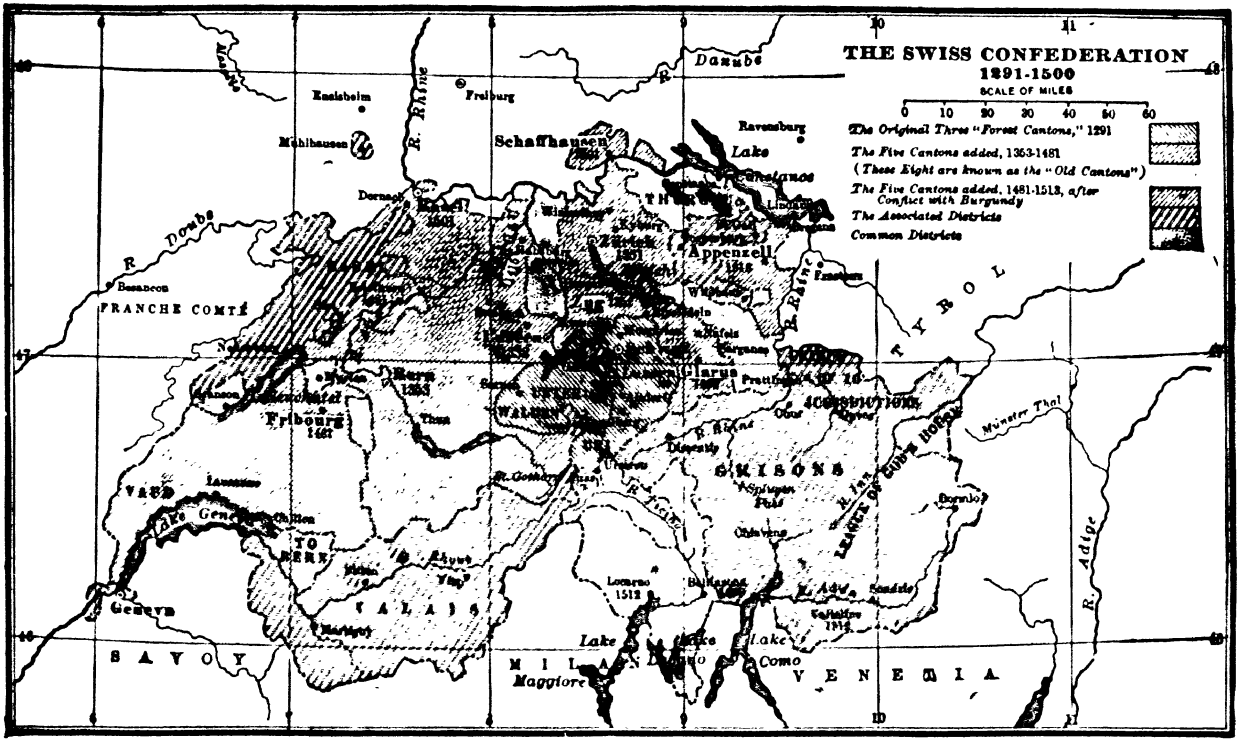
This movement was started in 1519 (the year *before* Luther burned the papal bull), by *Zwingli*, a priest at Zürich, in Switzerland. Zwingli was far more radical than Luther. Luther *tried to keep everything* of the old worship and doctrine *that he did not think forbidden* by the Bible. But Zwingli *refused to keep anything* of the old *that he did not think absolutely commanded* by the Bible. He also organized a strict system of church discipline which severely punished gaming, swearing, drunkenness, and some innocent sports. Before continuing this story, however, it is best to learn a little about Swiss history.

Rise of Switzerland

The sturdy peasantry of the Swiss mountains preserved much of the ancient Teutonic independence and democracy even in the feudal age, though their districts had fallen under

PLATE LVI

CHARLES V AT THE BATTLE OF MUHLBERG, — a painting by the contemporary Venetian artist Titian. This painting (now in Madrid) pictures the Emperor at the summit of his power, in 1547, — and just before the collapse. Shortly before, he had forced the French king to sue for peace, and had won a truce from the Turk. In the battle of Muhlberg (aided by the defection of Maurice of Saxony from the Protestant princes) he for the moment crushed Protestantism in Germany. But Maurice again changed sides, the Protestants rallied; and a few months later Charles fled from Germany, barely escaping capture.


THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
1291-1500
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
Rheinfelden
Mühlhausen
Freiburg
R. Rhine
Schaffhausen
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Donaueschingen
Danube
Basel 1501
Zürich 1351
Appenzell 1513
Besançon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Bern 1353
Fribourg 1481
Solothurn
Aarau
Lucerne
Glarus 1352
Chur
GRISONS
Engadine
Lake Geneva
Geneva
VAUD
VALAIS
SAVOY
Lake Maggiore
MILAN
Lake Como
VENETIA
TYROL
Munster Thal
R. Adige

the control (more or less strict) of neighboring nobles. Some small "cantons" in the German Alps belonged to the Hapsburg Counts. When Rudolph of Hapsburg (p. 315) became duke of distant Austria, he left these former possessions to subordinate officials — who oppressed the people. Accordingly, *in 1294* three "forest cantons" — *Uri, Schwyz,* and *Unterwalden* — united in a "perpetual league" for mutual defense. For two centuries, from time to time, the Hapsburgs sent armies against this union; and soon the league against oppression by the lord's agents became a league for full independence. Freedom was finally established by two great victories, — Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386) — to which belong the legends of William Tell and of Winkelried.

Meantime, other neighboring districts had rebelled against feudal overlords and joined the league; and some of these new members were city-states — Bern, Zürich, and Luzern, richer and more aristocratic than the original cantons of farmer folk. The union remained a *loose* confederacy (mainly to manage foreign wars). The cantons sometimes quarreled among themselves — as over this matter of the Reformation. (Indeed Zwingli fell in 1531 in a battle between Zurich and the original three cantons, which had remained Catholic.) But *there was no powerful central government to stamp out the new movement.*

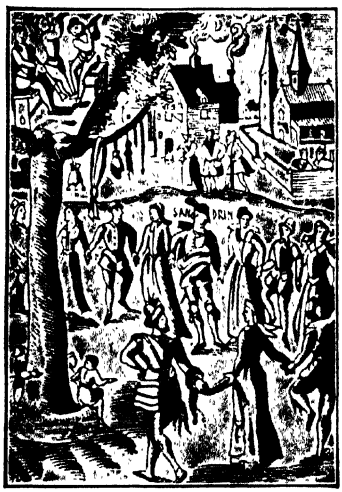
John Calvin at Geneva

Now *Geneva*, a French town in the Alps, quarreled with its feudal lord, and, for its greater safety, joined the Swiss league. Its former lord had been a Catholic bishop; and so Geneva welcomed the new doctrines of Zwingli. Five years after the death of that leader, *John Calvin* (a fugitive from France because of religious heresy) found refuge at Geneva, and soon became there an absolute dictator over both church and government. Geneva became a Puritan "theocracy," "with Calvin for its pope."

Calvinism in Scotland, England, and America

This remarkable man was a young French scholar of sternly logical mind. He became the father of Puritan theology and of the Presbyterian church, with its synods and presbyteries. Undoubtedly he took the law of Moses rather than the spirit of Christ for the basis of his legislation: but his writings in-

fluenced profoundly his own and future times. Ardent reformers from all Europe flocked to Geneva to imbibe his teachings, and then returned *to spread Calvinism in their own lands.* From Geneva came the seeds of *Scotch Presbyterianism,* of *the great Puritan movement within the English church* (soon to be treated), of *the leading Protestant movement among the Dutch,* and of the *Huguenot church of France.* It is from the French Calvin, not the German Luther, that modern liberal Protestantism has sprung. True, Calvin did not believe in democracy, and he taught that for "subjects" to resist even a wicked ruler was "to resist God;" but, in spite of this teaching, in the course of historical movements, Calvinism became the ally of political freedom in Holland, England, and America.



A VILLAGE MAYPOLE FESTIVAL of the sixteenth century, such as Calvin condemned.

III. CATHOLICISM KEEPS THE SOUTH OF EUROPE

The "Counter-Reformation"

For a time, Protestantism promised to win also the south of Europe; but *Spain, Italy, France, Bohemia, and South Germany were finally saved to Catholicism.*

This was *mainly* because the old church quickly purged itself of old abuses. At first Erasmus and other Humanists had been interested in the work of Luther. But when it became plain that that movement was breaking up the unity of Christendom, they were violently repelled by it. Disruption into warring sects, they felt, was a greater evil than existing faults. They continued to work, however, with even greater zeal than before, for *reform within the church.* Such reform was finally carried

out by the *Council of Trent* (1545-1563). That great body did not change Catholic forms; but it defined some doctrines more exactly, and infused a greater moral energy into the church.

The Jesuits

The new religious enthusiasm within the Catholic world gave birth, also, to several new religious orders. The most important of these was the "Order of Jesus" (Jesuits), founded in 1534 by *Ignatius Loyola*, a gallant Spanish gentleman of deep religious feeling. The Jesuits stood to the friars somewhat as the friars stood to the older monks. Holding fast like the friars to an intensely religious private life, *they represented a further advance into the world of public affairs*. Their members mingled with men in *all* capacities. Especially did they distinguish themselves as *statesmen* and as *teachers*. Their schools were the best in Europe, and many a Protestant youth was drawn back by them to Catholicism; and their many devoted missionaries among the heathen in the New World won vast regions to Christianity and Catholicism.

The Inquisition

Unhappily less praiseworthy forces had a share in the victory of Catholicism. Religious wars, we shall see (p. 348 ff.), in large part kept France, Bohemia, and South Germany Catholic; and elsewhere the final success of the Catholic church in crushing out Protestantism was due in part to *the Inquisition*.

Origin three centuries earlier

The Inquisition dated back to the twelfth century. At that time the church had suffered one of its periods of decline; and discontent with its corruption had given rise to several small heresies. The most important of these sects were *the Albigenses* in southeastern France. They rejected some church doctrines, and they rebelled against church government by pope and priesthood — so that an old by-word, "I had rather be a Jew," became, for them, "I had rather be a priest"!

The church had made many vain attempts to reclaim these heretics, and finally, the great reforming pope, Innocent III, proclaimed a "holy war" against them, declaring them "more wicked than Saracens." The feudal nobles of northern France rallied gladly to this war, hungry for the rich plunder of the more civilized south; and a twenty years' struggle, marked by ferocious massacres, crushed the heretics. When *open* re-

sistance ceased in desolated Languedoc, the pope set up a special court to hunt out and exterminate any *secret* heretics remaining there. Soon afterward, *this court*, enlarged and reorganized, *became a regular part of the government of the church for suppressing heresy.* In this final form it is commonly known as the *Spanish* Inquisition, though it held sway also in Portugal and Italy.

The Spanish Inquisition and Protestantism

In the south of Europe, now, the Inquisition became one means of stifling the new Protestant heresies. The court seldom confronted the accused with his accuser, or allowed him witnesses of his choosing; and it extorted confession by cruel tortures, carried to a point where human courage could not endure. The property of the convicted went to enrich the church, and the heretic himself was handed over to the government for death by fire. *Persecution of unbelievers was characteristic of the age. It disgraced every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic.* But no Protestant land possessed a device so admirably calculated to accomplish its purpose as the Inquisition.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Beard's *Martin Luther*, or (briefer but excellent) Lindsay's *Luther and the German Reformation;* Ward's *The Counter-Reformation;* Robinson's *Readings in European History*, for source material. Parkman's histories, especially *Pioneers of New France* (chs. v and vi) and *Jesuits in North America* (ch. ii) contain interesting accounts of Jesuit missionaries. If available, the scholarly *Catholic Encyclopedia* should be consulted for its articles on "Luther" and "Indulgences."

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND AND THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

Henry VIII and his quarrel with the pope

In England Henry VIII[1] had shown himself zealous against Luther, and had even written a book to controvert Luther's teaching, in return for which the pope had conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." A little later, however, Henry desired a divorce from his wife, the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V (p. 320). Catherine's only child was a girl (Mary), and Henry was anxious for a son. More to the point, he wished to marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court.

A Church of England

After long negotiation, the pope refused to grant the divorce. Thereupon Henry put himself in the place of the pope so far as his island was concerned, and secured the divorce from his own courts. The clergy and people were then forbidden to

[1] Cf. p. 311. The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family. (Three of Henry VIII's wives, by whom he had no children, are not shown.)

(1) HENRY VII (1485-1509)

Margaret (m. James IV of Scotland)	(2) HENRY VIII (1509-1547)	Mary (grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
James V of Scotland		
Mary Queen of Scots	(4) MARY (1553-1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)	(5) ELIZABETH (1558-1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(6) JAMES I of England (1603-1625) the first *Stuart* king		(3) EDWARD VI (1547-1553) (son of Jane Seymour)

make any further payments to "the Bishop of Rome" (1532), and an "Act of Supremacy" declared Henry the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." When Parliament passed these laws, the Augsburg Confession had just been put into form; and Calvin was about to take up Zwingli's work.

Thus in England, separation from Rome was due at first to personal motives of the monarch. *So far there had been no attack on the religious doctrines* of the old church, *and Henry wished none.* But his chief advisers, especially Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had strong Protestant leanings; and so *some additional measures were secured.* The doctrine of purgatory was declared false; an English translation of the Bible was placed in every church; and the old Latin service was replaced, in part, by a service in English.

Dissolution of the monasteries

Most of England accepted these changes calmly, and even the clergy made no serious resistance, as a class, to the overthrow of the pope's power; but the monasteries were centers of criticism. Henry determined to root out resistance, and to enrich himself, by their utter ruin; and, at the king's wish, Parliament dissolved the seven hundred such institutions in England. A little of their wealth was set aside to found schools and hospitals (in place of the work in such lines formerly done by the monasteries themselves), but Henry seized most of the monastic lands for the crown. Then he parceled out parts of them, shrewdly, to new nobles and the gentry. Thousands of influential families were enriched by such gifts, and became centers of hostility to any reconciliation with Rome that would ruin their private fortunes.

Henry burns Protestants and hangs Catholics

These changes were as far as Henry would go; and, to the close of his long reign, he beheaded "traitors" who recognized papal headship, and burned "heretics" who denied papal doctrines. In one day, in 1540, three "heretics" and three "traitors" suffered death. The most famous martyr was the Catholic Sir Thomas More (p. 324).

Edward VI, 1547–1553

Henry was succeeded by his son Edward VI. The new king was a boy of nine, and during his short reign the government was held by a rapacious clique of Protestant lords.

Partly to secure fresh plunder, these men tried to carry England into the full current of the Protestant movement. Priests were allowed to marry. The use of the old litany, and of incense, holy water, and the surplice, was forbidden. Commissioners to carry out these commands throughout England sometimes broke the stained glass windows of sacred buildings and tore from the pedestals the carved forms of saints. Rebellion was put down cruelly and several Catholics were burned as heretics and conspirators, — among them Father Forest, who was roasted barbarously in a swinging iron cradle over a slow fire.

Sir Thomas More — After Rubens' copy of Holbein's portrait.

During this period, the *English Prayer Book* was put into substantially its present form, under the direction of Cranmer (p. 340); and articles of faith were adopted which inclined toward Calvinistic doctrine.

Queen Mary tries to restore Catholicism, 1553–1558

Henry had had Parliament fix the order in which his children should be entitled to succeed him; and so when Edward died at fifteen, the throne passed to his elder half-sister, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Mary was an earnest Catholic, and felt an intense personal repugnance for the Protestant movement which had begun in England by the disgrace of her mother. The nation was still overwhelmingly Catholic in feeling. The Protestants were active, organized, and influential; but they were few in numbers, and Mary had no

difficulty in doing away with the Protestant innovations of her brother's time. But *she wanted* more than this: she wished to undo her father's work, and *to restore England to its allegiance to the pope*. Parliament readily voted the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, but it refused stubbornly to restore the church lands. Finally the pope wisely waived this point. Then the nation was solemnly absolved, and received back into the Roman church.

Mary's persecutions

But Mary destroyed her work by marrying Philip of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V, and *by a bloody persecution of Protestants*. All English patriots dreaded, with much reason, lest little England be made a mere province of the world-wide Spanish rule; and even zealous Catholics shuddered at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition, looming up behind the Queen's hated Spanish bridegroom.

Mary's persecution in itself was quite enough to rouse popular fear and hatred. *In a few months*, more than two hundred and seventy martyrs were burned, — nearly half the entire number that suffered death for conscience' sake (avowedly) in all English history. Catholics had died for their faith under both Henry and Edward; but *there had been no such piling up of executions;* and, moreover, most of those Catholic victims had been put to death, *nominally*, not for religious opinions, but as detested traitors; and the executions (with a very few exceptions) had taken place not by fire but by the more familiar headsman's ax. England had taken calmly the persecutions by these preceding sovereigns, but it was now deeply stirred. The most famous martyrs were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. Latimer had preached in approval of the torture of Father Forest; but now he showed at least that he too knew how to die a hero. "Play the man, Master Ridley," he called out to his companion as they approached the stake; "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

Mary's unpopularity

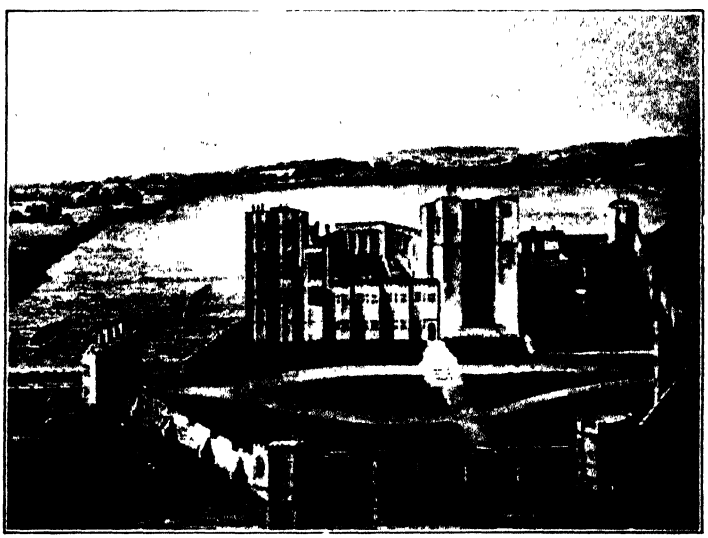
Other causes, too, made the Queen unpopular. To please her husband, she led England into a silly and disastrous war with France, and then managed it blunderingly. England had

PLATE LVII

ABOVE — TINTERN ABBEY TO-DAY (The road is modern)

BELOW — TEWKSBURY ABBEY TO-DAY: one of the very few such structures to escape ruin.

PLATE LVIII



ABOVE. — RUINS OF KENILWORTH CASTLE TO-DAY.

BELOW. — KENILWORTH IN 1620, from a fresco painting of that year. Queen Elizabeth gave this castle to her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, who entertained the Queen there with a splendid pageant described in Scott's *Kenilworth*. The walls enclosed seven acres.

never seemed more contemptible to other nations; and apparently, it was doomed to become the prey of Spain or France. Mary died after a troubled reign of five years. As Henry's parliaments had arranged, she was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1603

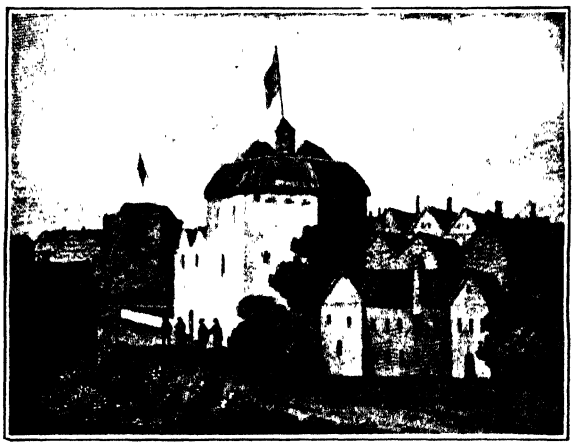
Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. From her father, she had a strong body, a powerful intellect, an imperious will, and dauntless courage; and from both parents, a sort of bold beauty and a strain of coarseness. She had grown up in Henry's court among the men of the New Learning, and was probably the best educated woman of her century, — speaking several languages and reading both Latin and Greek. She has been called "a true child of the Renaissance," too, in her freedom from moral scruple. To Elizabeth, says a great historian, "a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty."

She was often vacillating in policy; but she was a keen judge of men, and had the good sense to keep about her a group of wise and patriotic counselors. Above all, she had a deep love for her country. After more than forty years of rule, she said proudly, and, on the whole, truly, — "I do call God to witness, never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my subjects' good."

The Elizabethan Renaissance

And England repaid her love with a passionate and romantic devotion to its "Virgin Queen." Except for her counselors, men knew little of Elizabeth's deceit and vulgarity and weaknesses. They saw only that her long reign had piloted England safely through a maze of foreign perils, and had built up its power and dignity abroad and its unity and prosperity at home, while her court was made glorious by splendid bands of statesmen, warriors, and poets. Except for the "Oxford Reformers" (p. 323), England had lagged behind in the early Renaissance, but now *the Elizabethan Renaissance* gave that land a first place in the movement. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene*. And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakspere* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that

counted such other shining names as *Marlowe*, *Greene*, *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, and *Ben Jonson*. Not less splendid, possibly even more important, was the scientific progress of *Harvey* and



SHAKSPERE'S THEATER, *The Globe*. - This structure was built in 1599, and was burned in 1613 from a fire caused by discharge of "cannon" in a presentation of the play of *Henry VIII*

Francis Bacon (p. 358). Amid the petty squabbles of succeeding reigns, England looked back with longing to "the spacious days of great Elizabeth."

The "Elizabethan Settlement"

When Elizabeth came to the throne, at least two thirds of England was still Catholic in doctrine. Elizabeth herself had no liking for Protestantism, while she did like the pomp and ceremonial of the old church. She wanted neither the system of her sister nor that of her brother, but would have preferred to go back to that of her father. But the extreme Catholic party did not recognize her mother's marriage as valid, and so denied Elizabeth's claim to the throne. This forced her to throw herself into the hands of the Protestants. She gave all chief offices in church and state to that active, intelligent, well-organized minority; and the "Elizabethan Settlement" established the English Episcopal church much as it still stands. At about the

same time, *John Knox* brought Calvinism from Geneva to Scotland, and organized *the Scotch Presbyterian church*.

Early in Elizabeth's reign, an "Act of Uniformity" had ordered all people to attend the Protestant worship, under threat of extreme penalties; but for many years this act was

The Act of Uniformity

QUEEN ELIZABETH AT TILBURY, — exhorting the land forces gathered there to resist a Spanish landing. The rallying of the Catholic gentry to this gathering, with their retainers, insured England's safety, even if the Armada had not been destroyed at sea.

not enforced strictly. After Catholic plots against her throne began, however, Elizabeth adopted strong measures. Many leading Catholics were fined and imprisoned for refusing to attend the English church. And, under a new law, Catholic priests, and others who made converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, were declared guilty of *treason*. Many martyrs suffered torture on the rack and death on the scaffold — nearly as many as had died in the persecution of "Bloody Mary";

Persecution of Catholic "traitors"

but Elizabeth, like her brother, succeeded in making such executions *appear* punishment of *traitors*.

The Spanish Armada, 1588

England was constantly threatened by the two great powers of Europe, Catholic France and Spain. Neither, however, was willing to see the other gain England; and by skillfully playing off one against the other, Elizabeth kept peace for many years and gained time for England to grow strong. Gradually it became more and more clear that the real foe was Spain. Then Elizabeth secretly gave aid to the Dutch, who were in rebellion against Philip II of Spain (p. 348); and finally Philip launched his "Invincible Armada" for the conquest of England (1588). English ships of all sorts — mostly little merchant vessels hastily transformed into a war navy — gathered in the Channel; and, to the amazement of the world, the small but swift and better handled English vessels completely outfought the great Spanish navy in a splendid nine days' sea fight. Spain never recovered her supremacy on the sea, — *and the way was prepared for the English colonization of America.*

England becomes Protestant

To the chagrin of Spanish king and Roman pope, the mass of English Catholics had proved more English than papal, and had rallied gallantly to the Queen; and, for young Englishmen, *the splendid struggle made Protestantism and patriotism seem much the same thing.* The rising generation became largely Protestant; and before Elizabeth's death, even the Puritan doctrines from Geneva and from Presbyterian Scotland had begun to spread widely among the people.

Ireland, the third part of the British Isles, remained Catholic. Henry II (p. 285) had tried to conquer Ireland; but, until the time of the Tudors, the English really held only a little strip of land ("the English Pale") near Dublin. The rest of Ireland remained in the hands of native chieftains; but constant war rooted out the old beginnings of Irish culture.

Ireland remains Catholic

Henry VIII established English authority over most of the island and destroyed the monasteries, the chief remaining centers of industry and learning. Shortly before the Armada, Spain made attempts to use the island as a base from which

to attack England. Alarmed to frenzy by this deadly peril at their back door, Elizabeth's generals then completed the military subjugation with atrocious cruelties. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were killed, or perished of famine in the Irish bogs; and great districts of the country were given to English nobles and gentry. Incessant feuds continued between the peasantry and these absentee landlords, and the Irish nation looked on the attempt to introduce the Church of England as a part of the hated English tyranny. As English patriotism became identified with Protestantism, so, even more completely, Irish patriotism became identified with Catholicism.

For Further Reading.—Green's *History of the English People* is the best general account.

CHAPTER XXXVII

A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS

Philip II of Spain

When Philip II succeeded his father (p. 334) as king of Spain and of the Sicilies, and master of the Netherlands, he was *the most powerful and most absolute monarch in Europe*. The Spanish infantry were the finest soldiery in the world. The Spanish navy was the unquestioned mistress of the ocean. Each year the great "gold fleet" filled Philip's coffers from the exhaustless wealth of the Americas. In 1580 the ruling family in Portugal died out, and that throne (with Portugal's East India empire) was seized by Philip.[1] The Spanish boast that the sun never set upon Spanish dominions became literal fact.

The Dutch Rebellion

Philip himself was a plodding, cautious toiler — despotic, cruel, unscrupulous. Charles V had disregarded the old liberties of the Netherlands and had set up the Inquisition in that country with frightful consequences. Philip continued his father's abuses, without possessing any of his redeeming qualities in Dutch eyes. He was a foreign master — not a Hollander by birth as Charles had been — and he ruled from a distance and through Spanish officers. Finally, Protestant and Catholic nobles joined in demands for reform and especially that they might be ruled by officers from their own people. Philip's reply was to send the stern Spanish general, *Alva*, with a veteran army, to enforce submission. Alva's *Council of Blood* declared almost the whole population guilty of rebellion, and deserving of death with confiscation of goods. This atrocious sentence was enforced by butchery of great numbers — especially of the wealthy classes — and in 1568 a revolt began.

Alva's Council of Blood

The struggle between the little disunited provinces and the huge world-empire lasted forty years. In the beginning the conflict

[1] Portugal reëstablished her independence, by revolt, in 1640.

was for political liberty, but it soon became also a religious struggle. It was waged with an exasperated and relentless fury that made it a byword for ferocity even in that brutal age. City after city was given up to indiscriminate rapine and massacre, with deeds of horror indescribable. Over against this dark

FRANCIS DRAKE KNIGHTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH on the deck of his ship, the Golden Hind, at his return from raiding Spanish America in his voyage round the globe (1581) — From a contemporary drawing by Sir John Gilbert. Expeditions of this kind were one way in which Englishmen showed their sympathy for Holland while England was still nominally neutral. Of course they had much to do with provoking Spain to the attack by the Armada.

side stands the stubborn heroism of the Dutch people, who saved not themselves only, but also the cause of Protestantism and of political liberty for the world.

William of Orange

William, Prince of Orange, was the central hero of the conflict. Because he foiled his enemies so often by wisely keeping his plans to himself, he is known as *William the Silent;* and his persistency and statesmanship have fitly earned him the name "the Dutch Washington." Again and again, he seemed to be crushed; but from each defeat he snatched a new chance for victory.

The Relief of Leyden, 1574

The turning point of the war was the relief of Leyden. For many months the city had been closely besieged. The people had devoured the cats and rats and were dying grimly of starvation. Once they murmured, but the heroic burgomaster (mayor) shamed them, declaring they might have his body to eat, but while he lived they should never surrender to the Spanish butchers. All attempts to relieve the perishing town had failed. But fifteen miles away, on the North Sea, rode a Dutch fleet with supplies. Then William the Silent cut the dikes and let in the ocean on the land. Over wide districts the prosperity of years was engulfed in ruin; but the waves swept also over the Spanish camp, and upon the invading sea the relieving ships rode to the city gates. Dutch liberty was saved.

England aids Holland

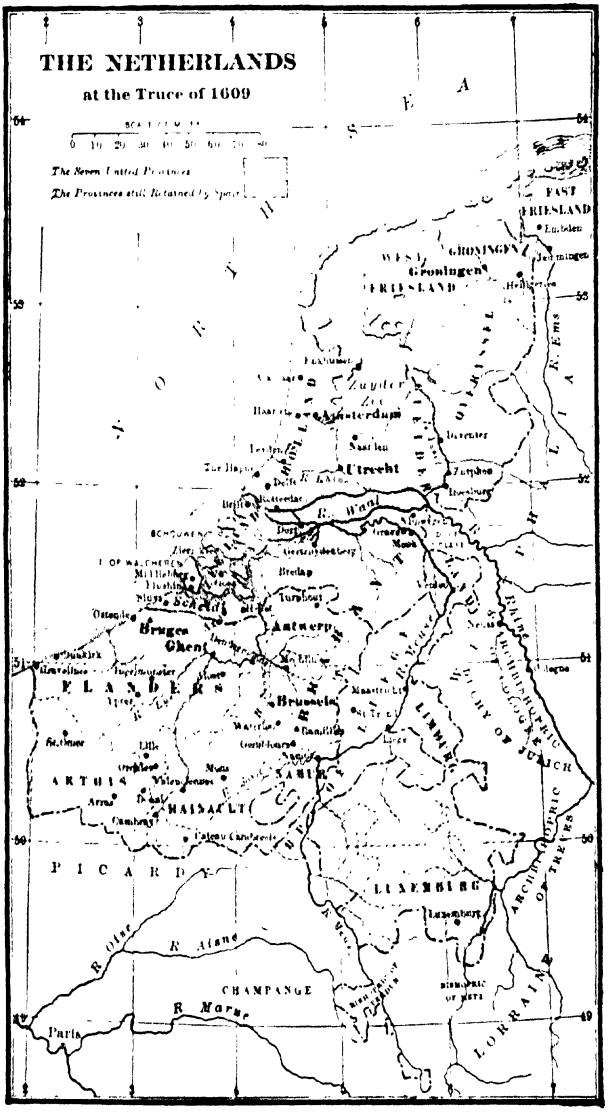
Holland had been fighting England's battle as well as her own: only the Dutch war had kept Philip from attacking England. Englishmen knew this; and, for years, hundreds of English volunteers had been flocking to join the Dutch army. Elizabeth herself had many times helped the Dutch by secret supplies of money, and now in 1585 she sent a small English army to their aid. This was the immediate signal for the Spanish Armada; and the overthrow of Spain's naval supremacy by the splendid English sea dogs (p. 346) added tremendously to Holland's chances. True, the ten southern provinces of the old Netherlands finally gave up the struggle, and returned to Spanish allegiance. (They were largely French in race and Catholic in religion. Protestantism was now completely stamped out in them. After this time, they are known as the Spanish Netherlands, and finally as modern Belgium.) But the seven northern provinces — Dutch in blood and Protestant in religion — maintained the conflict, and won their independence as The United Provinces, or the Dutch Republic.[1]

Dutch Independence

Holland's splendid period

The most marvelous feature of the struggle between the little Dutch state and Spain was that Holland grew wealthy during the contest, although the stage of the desolating war. The

[1] The government consisted of a representative "States General" and a "Stadtholder" (President). The most important of the seven provinces was Holland, by whose name the union was often known.


THE NETHERLANDS
at the Truce of 1609
The Seven United Provinces
The Provinces still Retained by Spain
FAST FRIESLAND
GRONINGEN
Groningen
WEST FRIESLAND
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Haarlem
Leyden
Delft
Rotterdam
Dort
Zutphen
Deventer
Arnhem
Breda
Bergen
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Mons
Namur
Liege
Tournay
Lille
Arras
Cambray
Valenciennes
Luxemburg
Metz
Paris
Rheims
Chalons
Soissons
FLANDERS
ARTOIS
HAINAULT
PICARDY
CHAMPANGE
LUXEMBURG
LORRAIN
R. Ems
R. Rhine
R. Meuse
R. Aisne
R. Marne
R. Oise
R. Scheld
R. Waal
Zuyder Zee
ISLE OF WALCHEREN
Middleburg
Flushing
Sluys
Ostende
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Calais
Boulogne
Abbeville
Amiens
Montreuil
Hesdin
Aire
Bethune
Douay
Orchies
Tournay
Ypres
Courtray
Oudenarde
Mons
Maestricht
Tongres
Namur
Charleroy
Dinant
Huy
Liege
Waterloo
Genappe
Nivelle
Binche
Soignies
Ath
Conde
Valenciennes
Cambray
Bapaume
Peronne
Ham
Guise
Rocroy
Sedan
Mezieres
Stenay
Montmedy
Thionville
Longwy
Arlon
Virton
Diedenhofen
Metz
Toul
Nancy
Vaucouleurs
Bar le Duc
Verdun
Clermont
Rethel
Laon
Soissons
Meaux
Paris
Rheims
Chalons
Vitry
Epernay
Chateau Thierry
Montmirail
Provins
Nogent
Troyes
Sens
Auxerre
Joigny
Montereau
Melun
Fontainebleau
Etampes
Dourdan
Rambouillet
Chartres
Dreux
Evreux
Pontoise
Mantes
Meulan
St. Germain
Versailles
Meudon
Bois de Boulogne
Montmartre
St. Denis
Vincennes
Charenton
Corbeil
Montlhery
Arpajon
Longjumeau
Palaiseau
Chevreuse
Dampierre
Limours
Monthleri
Milly
Nemours
Moret
Fontainebleau
Melun
Lagny
Meaux
Crecy
Coulommiers
Rozoy
Montmirail
Chateau Thierry
Dormans
Epernay
Rheims
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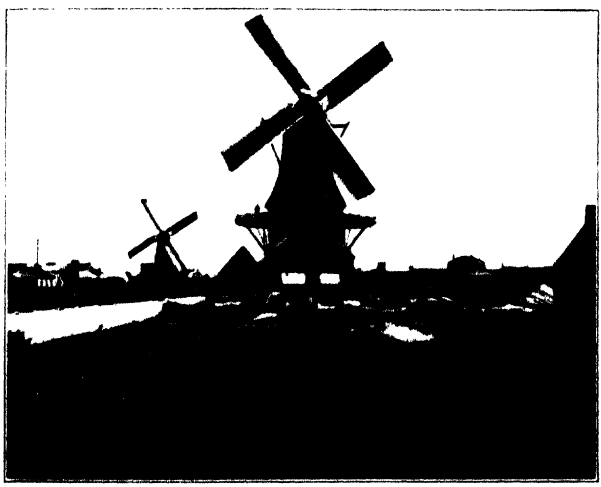
Dormans
Epernay
Rheims
Chalons
Vitry
Bar le Duc
Verdun
Clermont
Rethel
Laon
Soissons
Meaux
Paris

Dutch drew their riches not from the wasted land, but from the sea; and during the war they plundered the possessions of Spain in the East Indies. The little republic built up a vast colonial empire; and, especially after Spain's naval supremacy had been engulfed with the Armada, the Dutch held almost a monopoly



Dutch Windmills (near Molen). — In the sixteenth century, as now, such windmills in great numbers were used to pump surplus water out of the canals back into the ocean. They are a characteristic feature of that country "where the hulls of ships at anchor on the sea are higher than the steeples of the churches."

of the Asiatic trade for all Europe. One hundred thousand of their three million people lived constantly upon the sea. Success in so heroic a war stimulated the people to a wonderful activity. Holland taught all Europe scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as the science of navigation, and in the seventeenth century her presses put forth more books than all the rest of Europe.

Spain's decay

On the other hand, Spain sank rapidly into a second-rate power. The bigot, Philip III, drove into exile the Christianized Moors, the descendants of those Mohammedans left behind when the Moorish *political* power had been driven out. They

numbered perhaps a twentieth of the entire population, — and they were the foremost agriculturists and almost the sole skilled artisans and manufacturers. Their pitiless expulsion inflicted a deadly blow upon the prosperity of Spain. For a time the wealth she drew from America concealed her fall. But after the Armada she never played a great part in Europe, and, *living on the plunder of the New World*, she failed to develop the industrial life which alone could furnish a true prosperity. Moreover, the Inquisition steadily "sifted out the most flexible minds and the stoutest hearts," until a once virile race sank into apathy and decay.

Religious war in France, 1562–1598

Another religious struggle (1562–1598) long desolated France — between the Huguenots (the French Calvinists) and their persecutors. This strife was complicated by personal rivalries between groups of great lords, and, even worse than the other wars of the period, it was marked by assassinations and treacheries — the most horrible of which was the famous *Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day* (August 24, 1572) in which 10,000 Huguenots perished.

Henry IV

Their leader, however, young Henry of Navarre, escaped, and, on the death of the childless French king in 1589, he became heir to the throne. Philip of Spain, to prevent his accession, gave aid to the Catholic lords; but now Philip met the third of the great leaders on whom his schemes went to wreck. Henry drove the Spanish army in shameful rout from France in the dashing cavalry battle of *Ivry*. Then, to secure Paris, which he had long besieged (and to give peace to his distracted country), he accepted Catholicism, declaring lightly that "so fair a city" was "well worth a mass."

Edict of Nantes

In 1598 Henry's Edict of Nantes established toleration for the Huguenots. (1) They were granted full equality before the law. (Before this, the forms of oaths required in law courts had been such as a Protestant could not take, and therefore a Huguenot could not sue to recover property.) (2) They were to have perfect liberty of conscience *in private*, and to enjoy the privilege of *public* worship except in the cathedral cities. And (3) certain

PLATE LIX

HENRY IV. — visited unexpectedly by the stately Spanish ambassador. "Is your business pressing?" asked the king. "No; well, then, we will first finish our game." A modern painting by Jean Ingres.

PLATE LX

RICHELIEU ON THE MOLE AT LA ROCHELLE. — La Rochelle was a Huguenot seaport, and it held out through a desperate eight months' siege. Richelieu captured it only after shutting it off from the sea by an immense dike, or mole. This painting, by Henri Motte, shows Richelieu in military garb at a critical moment in an attack upon this structure by Huguenot ships.

towns were handed over to them, to hold with their own garrisons, as security for their rights.

Henry and Sully

Henry IV proved one of the greatest of French kings, and he was one of the most loved. With his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, he set himself to restore prosperity to desolated France. Roads and canals were built; new trades were fostered; and the industry of the French people once more with marvelous rapidity removed the evil results of the long strife.

Cardinal Richelieu

Henry's son, Louis XIII, came to the throne in 1610 as a boy of nine. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of *Cardinal Richelieu*, the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu was a sincere patriot, and, though an earnest Catholic, his statesmanship was guided by political, not by religious, motives. He crushed the great nobles and he waged war upon the Huguenots to deprive them of their garrisoned towns, which menaced the unity of France. But when he had captured their cities and held the Huguenots at his mercy, he kept toward them in full the other pledges of the Edict of Nantes. At the same time, he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, in the religious war that was going on in Germany, and so secured a chance to seize territory from the Empire for France.

The Thirty Years' War in Germany

The period of the religious wars in the Netherlands and France had been a period of uneasy peace in Germany; but now came in that land the last of the great religious wars — just a hundred years after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg.

This *Thirty Years' War* (1618-1648) arose directly out of an attempt of Protestant Bohemia to make itself independent of the Catholic Hapsburg Empire. Bohemian independence lasted only a few weeks; but this was long enough to call all Germany into two armed camps. The Protestant German princes, however, showed themselves disunited and timid; and, had the war been left to Germany, a Catholic victory would soon have been assured. But *all over Europe sincere and religious Protestants felt deeply and truly that the war against the Catholic Hapsburgs was their own war* — much as all free peoples felt

in the World War when liberty was imperiled by Hohenzollern autocracy. First Denmark (1625–1629) and then Sweden (1630) entered the field in behalf of the Protestant cause; and at last (1635–1648), for more selfish reasons, Catholic France under Richelieu threw its weight also against the Hapsburgs who so long had ringed France about with hostile arms.

Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus

The war was marked by the careers of four great generals, — Tilly and Wallenstein on the imperial side, and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, "the Lion of the North," and Mansfeld, on the side of the Protestants. Gustavus was at once great and admirable; but he fell at the battle of Lützen (1632) in the moment of victory; and thereafter the struggle was as dreary as it was terrible. Mansfeld and Wallenstein from the first deliberately adopted the policy of *making the war pay, by supporting their armies everywhere upon the country;* but during the short career of Gustavus, his blond Swede giants were held in admirable discipline, with the nearest approach to a regular commissariat that had been known since Roman times. (Gustavus' success, too, was due largely to new tactics. Muskets, fired by a "match" and discharged from a "rest," had become an important portion of every army; but troops were still massed in the old fashion that had prevailed when pikemen were the chief infantry. Gustavus was the first general to adapt the arrangement of his troops to the new weapons.)

Devastation of Germany

The calamities the war brought were monstrous. Season by season, for a generation, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two thirds the movable property of Germany were swept away.* In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. In Bohemia, thirty thousand happy villages had shrunk to six thousand miserable ones, and the rich promise of the great University of Prague was ruined. Everywhere populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs.

PLATE LXI

THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LUTZEN. — A painting by Ludwig Braun. In the moment of victory King Gustavus charged forward too far, and was surrounded by a group of the enemy's horse.

Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

Peace of Westphalia

The war was closed by the Peace of Westphalia, — drawn up by a congress of ambassadors from nearly every European power. This treaty contained three distinct classes of stipulations: provisions for religious peace in Germany; territorial rewards for France and Sweden; and provisions to secure the independence of the German princes against the Empire.

1. *The principle of the Peace of Augsburg was reaffirmed and extended.* Each sovereign prince in Germany was to choose his religion; and his subjects were to have three years to conform to his choice or to withdraw from his realm.[1]

2. *Sweden*, which was already a great Baltic power, extending around both the east and west shores of that sea (p. 266), *secured also much of the south coast* (with control over German commerce): Pomerania — with the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser — was the payment she received for her part in the war. *France annexed most of Alsace*, with some fortresses on the German bank of the Rhine. (The Congress also expressly recognized *the independence of Switzerland and of the Dutch Provinces.*)

3. The Empire lost more than mere territory. The separate states were given the right to form alliances with one another *or even with foreign powers.* The imperial Diet became *avowedly* a gathering of ambassadors for discussion, not for government: no state was to be bound by decisions there without its own consent.

Conditions at the close of the religious wars

The religious wars filled a century — from the struggle between the German princes and Charles V (1546) to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). *They left the Romance*[2] *South of Europe Catholic, and the Teutonic North Protestant.* France emerged, more united than ever, quite equal in power to any two states of

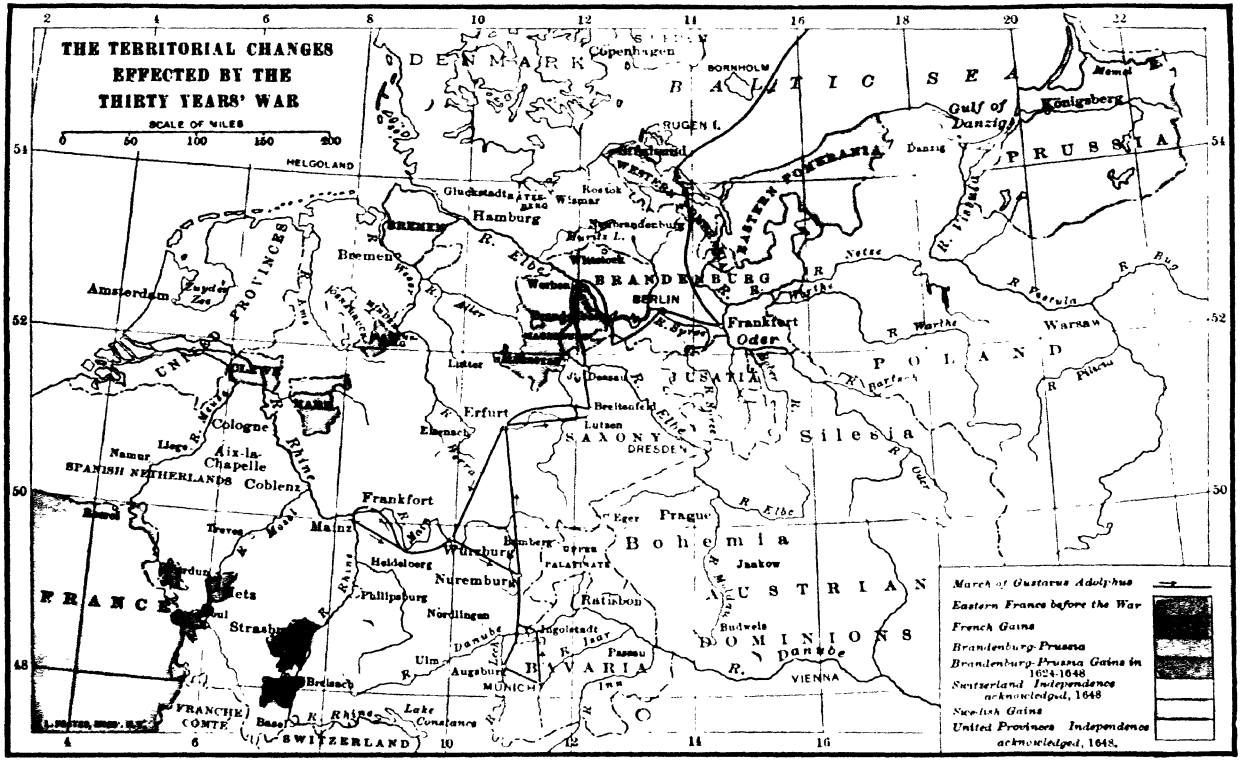
[1] Many of the South German Protestants were then driven into exile by their Catholic lords. This was the first cause of the coming to America of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

[2] *Romance* is a term applied to those European peoples and languages closely related to the old Roman rule — like the Italians, Spanish, and French.

Europe. England and Sweden had both risen into "Great Powers." Two new federal republics had been added to the European family of nations, — Switzerland and the United Provinces; and the second of these was one of the leading "Powers." The danger of a universal Hapsburg empire was forever gone. Spain, the property of one Hapsburg branch, had sunk to a third-rate power; the Holy Roman Empire, the realm of the other branch, was an open sham. Far to the east loomed indistinctly a huge and growing Russian state.

EXERCISE. — Dates to be added to the list for drill, — 1520, 1588, 1648.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *The Student's Motley* is an admirable and brief condensation of the American Motley's great history of the Dutch Republic. Willert's *Henry of Navarre* is a brilliant story.


THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES
EFFECTED BY THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Danzig
Königsberg
PRUSSIA
Memel
Danzig
HELGOLAND
Hamburg
Bremen
Amsterdam
UNITED PROVINCES
BRANDENBURG
BERLIN
Frankfort Oder
Warsaw
POLAND
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Coblenz
Frankfort
Mainz
Erfurt
SAXONY
DRESDEN
Silesia
Prague
Bohemia
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
FRANCE
Metz
Strasburg
Nuremburg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
MUNICH
BAVARIA
Ulm
Vienna
Danube
Rhine
Switzerland
Lake Constance
FRANCHE COMTE
March of Gustavus Adolphus
Eastern France before the War
French Gains
Brandenburg-Prussia
Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1624-1648
Switzerland Independence acknowledged, 1648
Swedish Gains
United Provinces Independence acknowledged, 1648.

PART IX — FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1648-1789

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SCIENCE AND TRADE

The hundred years of ruinous religious wars and bloody persecution, almost without notice at the time, was also an age of splendid advance in science and in trade, — changes either of which was to modify the life of men and women in the future more than the wars of Wallenstein and Gustavus.

I. SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

Copernicus and the solar system

The true astronomy of Aristarchus (p. 146) had long been lost, and all through the Middle Ages men believed the earth the center of the universe with sun and stars revolving around it. But in 1543 a Polish astronomer, Copernicus, published a book proving that the earth was only one member of a solar system which had the sun for a center.

From fear of persecution, Copernicus had kept his discovery to himself for many years — until just before his death, when the "religious wars" were just beginning. Those wars themselves checked study and discovery in parts of Europe; and persecution, for a while, repressed scientific discoveries in Catholic countries. At the opening of the Renaissance (p. 315) the popes had been the foremost patrons of the new learning; but now the reaction against the Protestant revolt had thrown control into conservative hands, and the church used its tremendous powers to stifle new scientific discoveries.

Still much was done. In Elizabeth's day in England, the physician, William Harvey, discovered the truth about the

Harvey and the circulation of the blood

circulation of the blood,[1] and so made possible modern medicine. And in Italy Galileo discovered the laws of falling bodies and of the pendulum (as they are now taught in our text-books on physics), invented the thermometer, and, taking a hint from a Dutch plaything, constructed the first real telescope. With this, in 1610, he *demonstrated* the truth of Copernicus' teachings by showing the "phases" of the planet Venus in its revolution about the sun. True, Galileo was summoned to Rome by the pope, imprisoned, and forced publicly to recant his teaching that the earth moved around the sun; but, as he rose from his knees, he is said to have murmured, "None the less it does move."

Galileo

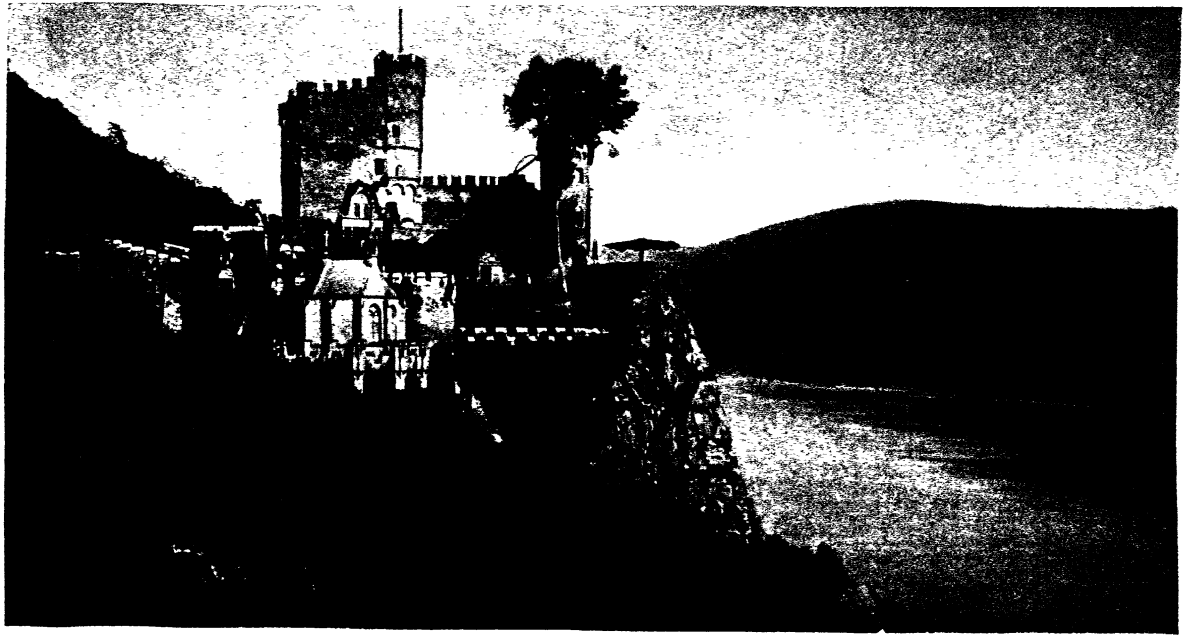
The method of experiment

And more important than any specific discovery about sun or the human body was the discovery of *a new way of finding out truth* about the world. For centuries scholars had tried to learn only by reading ancient *authorities*, and perhaps by *reasoning* a little further, in their own minds, upon what these authorities taught. But the new discoveries had been made in another way; and now, Francis Bacon, in England, set forth eloquently the necessity of *experiment* to discover new facts. And before 1700, in Italy, France, and England, great *scientific societies* were founded, to encourage scientific investigation.

II. "BUSINESS" BECOMES A FORCE IN LIFE

The second great change that marked this otherwise dismal century was the growing influence in human life of what we call *business*. "Business" had been almost unknown and wholly without influence during the early Middle Ages, and during the later centuries of that period it had existed upon a small scale only. How the barbarian invasions and the violence of the "Dark Ages" destroyed the old Roman town life in Western Europe has been briefly told, and also how after the Crusades a new trade began to build towns anew. But for some centuries,

[1] For centuries men had believed that the bright blood of the arteries and the dark blood of the veins were two *distinct* systems (one from the heart, the other from the liver). Harvey proved that this was all one system and that the dark blood was purified in the lungs.



RHEINSTEIN, A MEDIEVAL CASTLE ON THE RHINE.

by our standards, these new towns were few and small, even in proportion to the small population of Europe in that day.

During the Middle Ages there were five special hindrances to trade.

Hindrances to "business" in the Middle Ages: feudal violence

1. The first was the continued violence of the feudal baron, who long looked upon the trader as an escaped serf and therefore as his natural prey. In England, noble and townsman were far less hostile than on the continent; but an event in England, as late as the time of Edward I (1300), shows this class war even there. The town of Boston was holding a great fair.[1] Citizens, of course, guarded its gates zealously against any hostile intruders, but an armed band of country gentlemen (of the "noble" class) got through in the disguise of play actors. When darkness fell, they began their horrible work of murder and plunder. They fired every booth, slaughtered the merchants, and hurried the booty to ships ready at the quay. The horror-stricken people of other towns told how streams of molten gold mingled with rivers of blood in the gutters.

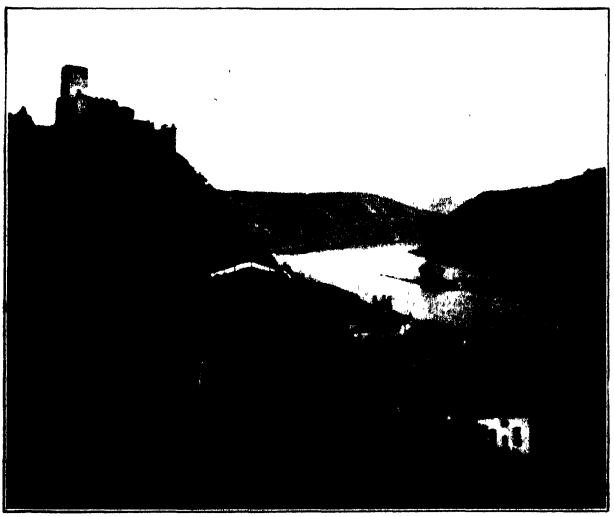
True, King Edward, under whose license the fair had been promised protection, proved strong enough to hang the leaders of these "gentlemen." But in Germany, at the same period, like events followed one another in horrible panorama. The towns shut out the "noble knights" by walls and guards. But from their castle crags the knights swooped down upon unwary townsmen who ventured too near, and even upon armed caravans of traders, to rob and murder, or to carry off for ransom. Such unhappy captives were loaded with rusty chains that ate into the flesh, and were left in damp and filthy dungeons — so that to "rot a peasant" became a by-word.[2]

[1] Large cities, at fixed times, held great fairs, lasting many days, for all the small places in the neighboring regions, — since the villages and small towns had either no shops or small ones with few goods. Merchants from all the kingdom — and, indeed, sometimes from all Europe, — journeyed to such fairs with their goods, to reap a harvest from the country folk who crowded about their booths. The town took toll for these booths, and usually itself paid king or noble a license fee for security.

[2] At sea the trader's perils were even greater. There were as yet no lighthouses and no charts to mark dangerous reefs, and the waters swarmed with pirates, led often by some neighboring noble.

Tolls

2. Gradually, the robber barons learned that it did not *pay* to kill the goose that laid golden eggs, and the land pirates softened their methods. The new monarchies, too, put an end to feudal violence. But the trader, though no longer likely to be robbed of all his goods at one time, was still compelled to surrender parts of them repeatedly in *tolls* at every bridge or



Ruins of a Rhine Castle, above a modern town.

ferry or ford, at the gate of every town, at the foot of every castle hill by which the rough pack-horse trail wound its way. The *collection* of such tolls, too, was marked often by all sorts of vexatious delays and by intentional injury to the remaining goods, unless the helpless trader bribed the official who did the work with added goods or coin for his private use. (Such tolls grew up by custom, imposed by *local* authorities. They had no sanction from any central or national government; but neither did the governments materially interfere to abolish them until toward 1700. In England this evil never reached such serious proportions as on the continent.)

Lack of money

3. And when the patient trader had carried his diminished wares past all these perils to people who wished to buy, too

often the would-be customers had no money. Wealth they had, perhaps, in land or in goods, but not in any portable form that the trader could afford to take in pay. This lack of money was for centuries (pp. 235, 272) a serious hindrance. In Europe the ancient mines of gold and silver were exhausted, and there was no supply of precious metals from which to coin enough money for the demands of trade.

Idle money, "usury"

4. A large part of what little money there was remained in hiding, buried perhaps in the earth for safe keeping. The man who had coin, but who did not need to use it himself, had no inducement, as now, to lend it to some one who did want to use it. *Interest* ("usury") *was unlawful.* The whole Christian world believed that God forbade man to take pay for the use of money. Therefore the Jews (outside this Christian faith) were the only money-lenders of the Middle Ages until almost the close; and they, robbed at every turn themselves by king and baron, loaned only at ruinous rates rising usually to about fifty per cent a year.[1]

To be sure, in the thirteenth century Italian money-lenders (*Lombards*) began in a small degree to supply the place of modern bank loans by a quaint evasion of the belief about usury. They established moneyed colonies in the chief towns of Europe,[2] and loaned money on good security without interest for a short time (a week or a month, perhaps); but, when not repaid on time, they then exacted a heavy penalty, previously agreed upon, *for each month's delay.* The Christian world found it convenient to accept this subterfuge, but it was still some centuries before the old beliefs and laws against usury were *openly* abandoned.

[1] The Christian world in the most un-Christian spirit despised and persecuted the whole Jewish race on the ground that some of their distant ancestors had persecuted Jesus. In every Western European land, a Jew was compelled by law to wear a special cap or other clothing to mark his race, and to live in a special quarter of the towns in which he was permitted to live at all (the Ghetto). He was forbidden to own land or to enter any trade gild, and so was forced to live by lending money — which increased the popular hatred and led to many massacres in England and France like those which the Jews have had to suffer in recent years in Russia and Poland.

[2] "Lombard Street" in London has remained a great money center.

Crude banking methods

In some other respects, too, the Lombards revived for Western Europe the elementary banking system of the old Roman Empire (see *Ancient World*), which had never died entirely in Italy and the Greek Empire. A merchant in Boulogne might come to owe a London merchant a large sum. To carry the coin from one city to another for each transaction grew more and more impossible as business grew. But now the Boulogne merchant merely paid the amount into the Lombard "bank" in his city (plus some "premium" for the bank's service) and received a written "order" for the money on a London Lombard house. This written "bill of exchange" would then be sent to the London creditor, who could get his money on presenting it at his London "bank." The London bank would have frequent occasion, in like fashion, to sell drafts upon the Boulogne bank. Then at some convenient time the two banking houses would settle their *balance* in coin; but the amount to be carried from one to the other would be small, compared to the total amount of business it represented. This practice was a tremendous help to business — far short as it fell of our complicated "credit" systems by which we make one dollar do the work of many dollars.

Gild restrictions

5. And finally the gild rules absolutely prevented what we call "wholesale" business in most towns. Those rules (for a "just price" and to prevent monopoly) had been highly beneficial when they were adopted, but now they were hindrances to the new methods called for by the conditions of the new day.

A summary of the growth of trade to 1500 A.D.

In spite of all such obstacles trade had grown slowly from the Crusades to Columbus. Even in the Dark Ages, Venice and Genoa and a few other Italian cities had kept some of their ancient trade with the Orient — by fleets of ships that met the Arabian caravans on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; and after the Crusades this trade spread west from Italy down the Rhine through Germany and France and the Netherlands, and thence across the Channel to England, and, through the Hansa merchants, even to the Baltic lands. This trade, too, had made life over in Western Europe, not merely by bringing in new

luxuries and comforts, but much more by stirring men up to *new activities* and by awakening *new energies*. The isolation of the old manor and village life vanished, and its dull apathy went with it. To satisfy desires for the new foreign products, the people of the village must themselves produce more than before, and usually something different from before, in order to have wherewith to buy. So new manufactures were built up; and soon, in many places, the men of the West began to manufacture for themselves the coveted glassware and silks and velvets and fine linens which at first had come only through rare traders. Thus, for the more energetic and stronger of the town people, *life became more hopeful and more strenuous*, as well as vastly more comfortable.

Trade needs help in the discovery of new worlds

Most of these commodities, however, were still supplied by trade with the East; and some things, like sugar, drugs, and spices, could be secured in no other way. How the old routes for this trade were closed one by one in the fifteenth century, and how the demand for new trade routes played a part in the raising of the curtain upon new worlds, east and west, has been told. And then indeed, after 1500, and especially after 1600, did trade come into its kingdom. The new monarchies (p. 319) stamped out feudal plunder and soon checked feudal tolls; the growing banking system furnished credits and security; and now the rich mines of Mexico and Peru poured a steady stream of gold and silver into Spain, whence the needed coin filtered into other parts of Europe to fertilize trade. The merchants,[1] each with his retinue of adventurous and loyal ship-captains at sea and of skilled and trusted clerks on land, rose suddenly into a new estate — as distinct from the ordinary burgher as the burgher three centuries before had seemed from the villein. In 1350, a royal inquiry listed only 169 merchants in England. In 1600, twenty times that number were occupied with the Holland trade alone, while large stock-companies of other merchants were trading with Russia, India, and North America. France, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark, each had its "East India Company," and most of these countries had trading companies

Business "in the saddle"

[1] A *merchant* was a trader with a foreign country.

chartered by the kings for trade with other distant parts of the earth. Single merchants, too, sometimes owned large fleets for such trade, like Shakspere's Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice.*

Except for land, this class had more wealth by far than the nobles themselves, and lived with greater comfort. The kings, too, found the merchants a convenient source of revenue, and were inclined to favor them against the less profitable though socially superior nobles. Rising merchant class and decaying noble class hated and feared each other. Indeed, the merchants, alive to new ideas, made the strength of the Reformation everywhere outside of Germany; and the cruelty of the Spanish nobles toward the Dutch Protestants, and of French nobles toward the Huguenots, was due in part to their detestation for these ambitious rivals.

A great social change, like the rise of this new business society, is likely to be accompanied, for a time at least, by a sad depression of some other class. This social fact is illustrated by the story of *English industry*, in this age.

The change in English rural industry

The golden age for English peasants was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of villeinage. The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue (p. 310) boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasantry: "They [English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things needful to make life easy and happy."

The "inclosures" after 1500 A.D.

The large landlords had been relatively less prosperous. Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage, they were "land-poor." They paid high wages, while under the wasteful common-field system, crops were small. But by 1500 a change began which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the

peasants. This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep-raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets, and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by a few hands, so that the high wages mattered less; and profits proved so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the great landlords; and even these were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields." Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures," and often they inclosed also the woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, lamented these conditions bitterly:

"A careless and unsatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; *or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they be so worried that they be compelled to sell.* . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Passing of the free farmers

Other statesmen, too, bewailed that sheep should take the place of the yeomanry who had won Crécy, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing; nor did peasant risings and riots help. Inclosures went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied; the growth of town populations raised the price of grain; and the land changes created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics. But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages in England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of the peasants, driven from their homes, became "sturdy beggars" (tramps); *and all laborers were*

thrust down to a lower standard of life, because the cost of food and clothing rose twice as fast as wages. Indeed, the gentleman "justices of the peace," *appointed* by the crown, were given power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in batches. In fifty years, in the glorious day of Shakspere and Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed.

Growth of manufactures

Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. From the time of the Yorkist kings, the sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth welcomed gladly the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by the persecution of the Huguenots. Colonies of these foreign artisans were given their special quarter in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up there their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Soon, English wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

And of commerce

And in turn, this manufacturing fostered commerce. By 1600, England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products, to distant markets. And then, by purchase of land and by royal gifts from the confiscated church property, the members of the new merchant class rose into the new gentry, and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

End of the gild system in England

At the same time the rapid growth of manufactures worked a favorable change in the life of the workers. The gild system, with its vexing rules, broke down in England (though retained much longer on the continent), and was replaced by the so-called "domestic system." Manufacturing was still carried on by hand, and mainly in the master's house; but the masters secured freedom from gild control and rapidly introduced improved methods. Nearly two centuries later in Paris a hatter won great popularity by making better hats than his competitors, — mixing silk with his wool; but his jealous gild brothers had his

entire stock destroyed, completely ruining him, because he had broken the gild rules requiring that hats should be made of "pure wool." This illustrates only one of the countless outgrown restrictions from which English manufacturers escaped about 1600.

The "Mercantile" theory

But the very success of Europe in winning the long-needed money for its trade had led men into *a new and mischievous delusion*. For some two hundred years after 1600, every one who thought upon such matters at all, believed that money (instead of being merely a convenient measure for wealth) was itself the only real wealth. Under the influence of this "Mercantile" theory, the new nations began at once to build up new barriers against foreign trade — less hurtful, to be sure, than the old feudal toll system, but harmful enough to curse the world down to the present day. Governments long believed that the only way a country could get riches was not by producing more goods or by saving more of what it had, but by getting more gold and silver *money*.

Each country accordingly sought to avoid bringing in imports — as though it could always sell without ever buying. Each sought, too, to get colonial possessions in the new worlds that might supply it with gold and silver, or at least with those articles which otherwise had to be imported from foreign lands. And, of course, each tried to keep its colonies from buying from any one but the "mother" country. This false "political economy" was soon to lead to a century of new wars, and still hinders real brotherhood among men.

EXERCISE. — Compare this English inclosure movement with that in Italy in the time of the Gracchi, and explain why finally it was less ruinous.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PURITANISM AND POLITICS IN ENGLAND

I. UNDER THE FIRST STUARTS, 1603-1642

The English church in 1600

England escaped a strictly "religious" war; but for two generations after 1600 *the burning questions in politics as in religion had to do with Puritanism.* Within the established Episcopal church the *dominant* party had strong "High-church" leanings. It wished to restore so far as possible the ceremonial of the old Catholic church, and it taught that the government of the church by bishops had been directly ordained by God. This party was ardently supported by the royal "head of the church" — Elizabeth, James, Charles, in turn; but it was engaged in constant struggle with a large, aggressive Puritan party. The same two parties had also sharp political differences, and the strife finally became civil war.

"Low-church" Puritans

Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition to each other, — the influential "Low-church" element within the church, and the despised Separatists outside of it. The Low-churchmen had no wish to separate church and state. They wanted one national church — a Low-church church — to which everybody within England should be forced to conform. They desired also to introduce more preaching into the service, to simplify ceremonies, and to abolish altogether certain customs which they called "Romish," — the use of the surplice, and of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (some of them) of the prayer-book. There was even *a subdivision among them inclined to the Presbyterian church government,* as it existed in Scotland.

The Separatists

The Independents, or "Puritans of the Separation," believed that there should be *no* national church, but that each local religious organization should be a little democratic society, wholly *separate* from the civil government, and even

independent of other churches. These Independents were the Puritans of the Puritans. To all other sects they seemed mere anarchists in religion. Elizabeth persecuted them savagely, and her successor continued that policy. Some of the Independent churches fled to Holland; and one of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America (the "Pilgrims" of 1620).

Political conditions in 1600

Political liberty in England had fallen low under the Tudors (p. 311); but, *after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely, only because they made use of constitutional forms* and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them just where to stop. Moreover, toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils were past, men spoke again boldly of checks upon the royal power.

The "divine-right" Stuart kings

Elizabeth was succeeded by *James I* (James Stuart), already king of Scotland (footnote, p. 339). James was learned and conceited, — "the wisest fool in Christendom," as Henry IV of France called him. He believed sincerely in the "divine right" of kings. That is, he believed that the king, as God's anointed, was the source of law and could not himself be controlled by law. He wrote a pompous and tiresome book to prove this. He and his son after him were despots *on principle*.

And the English people

The nation had been growing restive under the cloaked, beneficent, elastic tyranny of the strong Tudors: naturally it rose in fierce opposition against the noisy, needless, and uncompromising tyranny of the weak Stuarts.

The germs of political parties

There were, as yet, no *organized* political parties. But there was a *court party*, devoted to the royal power, consisting of most of the nobles and of the "High-church" clergy; and an opposition *country party*, consisting of the merchants, the mass of country gentry, and the Puritan element generally. *The issue between the two was promptly stated.* Even before his first Parliament met, James I, in a famous utterance, summed up his theory: "As it is atheism and blas-

phemy in a creature to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to question what a king can do." This became the tone of the court party. When Parliament assembled, it took the first chance to answer these new claims. The king, as usual, opened Parliament with a "speech from the throne." As usual, the Speaker of the Commons replied; but, in place of the usual thanks to his majesty, he reminded James bluntly that in England the royal power was limited. "New laws," said the Speaker, "cannot be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed . . . by any other power than this high court of Parliament." The Commons backed up this speech by a long paper, asserting that the privileges of Englishmen were their inheritance "no less than their lands and goods."

Struggle between James I and Parliament

James seldom called Parliaments after this, and only when he had to have money. Fortunately, the regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of government called for more money than in former times. *Both Elizabeth and James were poor.* Elizabeth, however, had been economical and thrifty. James was careless and wasteful, and could not get along without new taxes.

Freedom of speech in Parliament

Thus Parliament was able to hold its own. It insisted stubbornly on its control of taxation, on freedom of speech, and on its right to impeach the king's ministers. In the Parliament of 1621, the Commons expressed dissatisfaction with a marriage that James had planned for his son Charles with a Spanish princess. James roughly forbade them to discuss such "high matters of state." "Let us resort to our prayers," said one of the members, "and then consider this great business." The outcome of the consideration was a resolution, "(1) that the liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England; and (2) that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the state, the church, the defense of the realm, the making and maintenance of laws, and the redress of grievances, which happen daily within

this realm, are proper subjects for debate in Parliament; and (3) that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, *every member of the Commons . . . has freedom of speech* . . . to bring to conclusion the same."

James tore out this page of the records and dissolved Parliament. But Prince Charles was personally insulted by the Spanish court, where he had gone to visit the princess; and in the last year of James' life the prince succeeded in forcing him into war with Spain — to the boundless joy of the nation.

The early Parliaments of Charles I

In March, 1625, in the midst of shame and disgrace because of mismanagement of the war, James died. In May, *Charles I* met his first Parliament. He quarreled with it at once, dissolved it, and turned to an eager prosecution of the war, trusting to win the nation to his side by glorious victory. Ignominious failure, instead, forced him to meet his second Parliament in 1626.

Sir John Eliot and the "responsibility" of the king's ministers

It is now that Sir John Eliot stands forth as leader of the patriots. Eliot stood for the control of the king's ministers by Parliament. Everything else, he saw, was likely to prove worthless, if the executive could not be held responsible. The *king's person* could not be so held, except by revolution, but *his ministers* might be *impeached;* and, under fear of this, they might be held in control. So Eliot persuaded the Commons to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favorite and the instrument of much past tyranny. Charles stopped the proceedings by casting Eliot into prison — in plain defiance of parliamentary privileges — and dissolving Parliament.

The king tries "benevolences"

The king fell back upon "benevolences" ("good-will" *gifts*) to raise a revenue. This was a device that *originated* during the Wars of the Roses. Henry VIII, absolute as he was, had renounced the practice. Now Charles revived and *extended* it, ordering *his sheriffs in the county courts to ask benevolences from all taxpayers.* But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for Parliament.

The "forced loan"

Then the king tried a "forced loan." This was a tax thinly disguised by the false promise to repay it. The king's

party used both force and persuasion. Pulpits, manned now by the anti-Puritan party, rang with the cry that to resist the king was eternal damnation. As a patriot of the time put it, the "High-church" clergy "improved the highwayman's formula into 'Your money or your life *eternal.*'" And Charles made use of more immediate penalties. Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their defenseless homes; and two hundred English gentlemen were confined in disgraceful prisons, to subdue their obstinacy. One young squire, John Hampden, who had based his refusal to pay upon a clause in Magna Carta, was rewarded with so close an imprisonment that, his kinsman tells us, "he never did look the same man after."

England resists

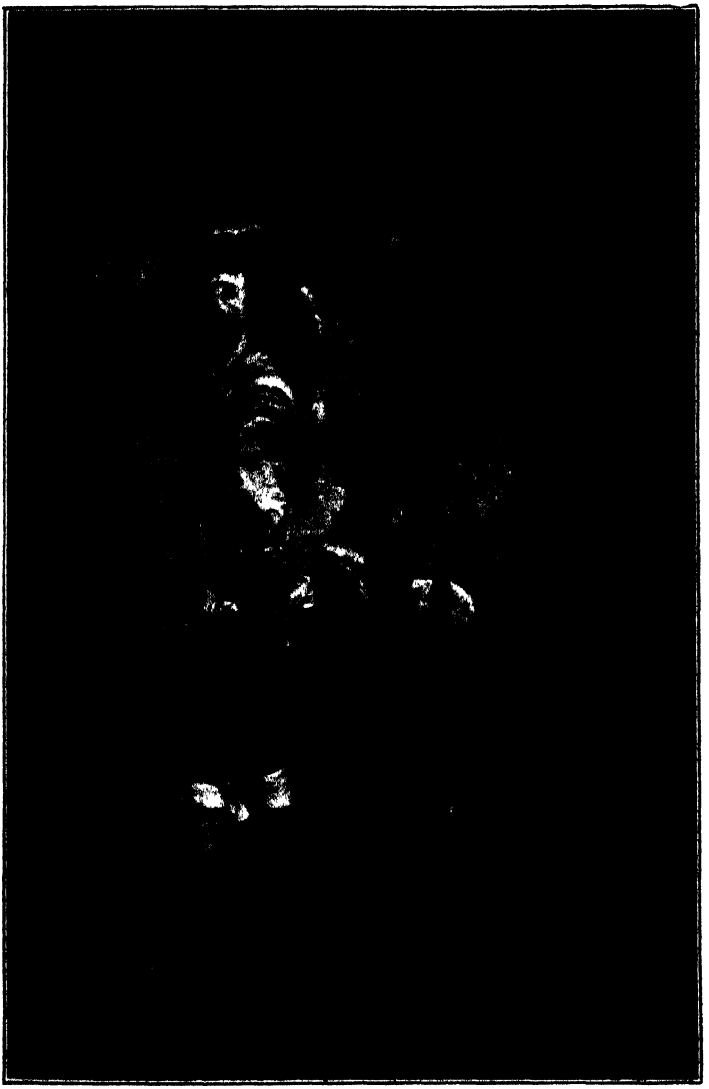
The forced loan raised little revenue: and with an armament poorly fitted out, Buckingham sailed against France (with which his blundering policy had brought England into war). For the third time in four years an English army was wasted to no purpose; and sunk in debt and shame, Charles met his third Parliament in 1628. Before the elections, the imprisoned country gentlemen were released, and *some seventy of them* (all who appeared as candidates) *sat in the new Parliament,* in spite of the royal efforts to prevent their election.

Parliament of 1628

Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security in future. The king offered to give his *word* that such things should not occur again, but was reminded that he had already given his *oath* at his coronation. Finally Parliament passed "the Petition of Right," a document that ranks with Magna Carta in the history of English liberty. This great law first recited the ancient statutes, from Magna Carta down, against arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary taxation, quartering of soldiery upon the people in time of peace, and against forced loans and benevolences. Then it named the frequent violations of right in these respects in recent years. And finally it declared all such infringements illegal.

And the "Petition of Right"

PLATE LXII



CHARLES I attended by the Marquis of Hamilton; the famous painting by Van Dyck, who spent much time at Charles' court.

PLATE LXIII

CROMWELL VISITING MILTON, finds him composing music. — This painting by David Neal represents an event in the lives of these neighboring country gentlemen before the days of the Long Parliament.

Eliot's resolutions

After evasive delays, Charles felt compelled to give his consent (and accordingly the "petition" became a great statute); but at once, in a recess of Parliament, he broke the provisions regarding taxes. Parliament reassembled in bitter humor. Heedless of the king's plea for money, it turned to punish the officers who had acted as his agents in recent infringements of the law. The Speaker stopped this business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.[1] Men knew that it would not be permitted to meet again, and there followed a striking scene. The Speaker was thrust back into his chair and held there;[2] the doors were locked against the king's messenger; and Eliot in a ringing speech moved a series of resolutions which were to form the platform of the liberal party in the dark years to come. Royalist members cried, Traitor! Traitor! Swords were drawn. Outside, an usher pounded at the door with a message of dissolution from the king. But the bulk of the members sternly voted the resolutions, declaring *traitors to England* (1) any one who should bring in innovations in religion without the consent of Parliament, (2) any minister who should advise the illegal levy of taxes, (3) any officer who should aid in their collection, and (4) every citizen who should voluntarily pay them.

Eliot's death

And in the moment's hush, when the great deed was done, Eliot's voice was heard once more, and for the last time, in that hall: "For myself, I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honorable assembly, where I now leave off, I will begin again." Then the doors swung open, and the angry crowd surged out. Eliot passed to the Tower, to die there a prisoner four years later. But Eliot's friends remembered his words; and, when another Parliament did meet, where he had left off, *they began again.*

[1] The king could *adjourn* the Parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no Parliament could meet until he had called for new elections.

[2] If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

"No Parliament" years

First, however, England passed through a gloomy period. No Parliament met for eleven years (1629–1640), and the king's edicts were the only law. Charles sought, too, ingeniously to find new ways to get money, and his lawyers invented the device of "ship-money." In time of invasion, seaboard counties had now and then been called upon by earlier kings to furnish ships for the national navy. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "*ship-money* tax" from *all* England in *time of peace.*

John Hampden and the "ship-money" tax

John Hampden (p. 372) refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his lands, and the famous *ship-money case* went to the courts (1637). The slavish judges decided for the king — as had been expected. The king's friends were jubilant, seeing in the new tax "an everlasting supply on all occasions"; but Hampden had won the moral victory he sought. The twelve-day argument of the lawyers attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of despotism in its naked hideousness. It declared that there was *no power to check the king's authority* over his subjects, — their persons or their money, — "For," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of Parliament makes any difference.*" If England submitted now, she would deserve slavery.

Laud and Wentworth

The chief servants of the crown during this period were Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth had been one of the leaders in securing the Petition of Right, but soon afterward he passed over to the side of the king and became Earl of Strafford. His old associates looked upon him as a traitor to the cause of liberty.

Laud was an extreme High-churchman and a conscientious bigot. He reformed the discipline of the church and ennobled the ritual; but he persecuted the Puritan clergy cruelly, with imprisonment and even by the cutting off of ears. (As a result of this and of the political discouragement, that sect founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Practically all the immigration this colony received, before the American Revolution, came in the ten years 1630–1640, while Charles ruled without Parliament.)

The Scottish Covenanters

In 1638 Laud tried to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian Scotland. (Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own Parliament, laws, and church. The union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king.) But when the clergyman of the great church at Edinburgh appeared first in surplice, prayer-book in hand, Jenny Geddes, a servant girl, hurled her stool at his head, crying, — "Out, priest! Dost say mass at my lug [ear]!" The service broke up in wild disorder, and there followed a strange scene in the churchyard where stern, grizzled men drew blood from their arms, wherewith to sign their names to a "Solemn Oath and Covenant" to defend their own form of religion with their lives. This Covenant spread swiftly over all Lowland Scotland, and the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border.

The Long Parliament

Charles' system of absolutism fell like a house of cards. He could get no help from England without a Parliament; and (November, 1640) he called *the Long Parliament*. The great leaders of that famous assembly were the Commoners *Pym, Hampden, Sir Harry Vane*,[1] and, somewhat later, *Cromwell*. Pym took the place of Eliot, and promptly indicated that the Commons were the real rulers of England. When the Lords tried to delay reform, he brought them to time by his veiled threat: he "should be sorry if the House of Commons had to save England *alone*."

And Eliot's old program

The Scots remained encamped in England; so the king had to assent to Parliament's bills. Parliament first made itself safe by a law *that it could be dissolved only by its own vote*. Then it began where Eliot had left off, and sternly put into action the principles of his last resolutions. Laud, who had "brought in innovations in religion," and Wentworth, who had advised and helped carry out the king's policy, were condemned to death as traitors. The lawyers who had advised ship-money, and the judges who had declared it legal, were cast into prison or driven into banishment. And forty committees

[1] Vane had lived in Massachusetts and had been governor there.

were appointed, one for each county, to secure the punishment of the lesser officers concerned in the illegal acts of the government. These measures filled the first year,[1] and so far the Commons had been united.

Parliament hesitates

But now a split began. Moderate men thought enough had been done. To do more, they feared, would mean revolution and anarchy. So they drew nearer to the king. On the other hand, more far-sighted leaders, like Pym and Hampden, saw the necessity of securing safeguards for the future, since the king's promises were worthless.

Pym's "Remonstrance"

Pym brought matters to a head by introducing a Grand Remonstrance, — a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in further measures against the king, proposing, in particular, that the king's choice of ministers (his chancellor, and so on) should be subject to the approval of Parliament. After an all-night debate, marked by bitter speech and even by the drawing of swords, the Commons adopted the Remonstrance *by the narrow majority of eleven votes*, amid a scene of wild confusion (November 22, 1641). Said Cromwell, as the House broke up, "If it had failed, I should have sold all I possess to-morrow, and never seen England more."

Charles' attempt to seize "the five members"

Charles tried to reverse this small majority by destroying Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the invading Scots. No doubt they had been technically guilty of treason. But such "treason" against Charles was the noblest loyalty to England. The Commons paid no attention to the king's charges; and *so Charles entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize "the five members."* News of his coming had preceded him; and, at the order of the House, the five had withdrawn. But the despotic attempt, and weak failure, consolidated the opposition. London rose in arms, and sent trainbands to guard Parliament. And Parliament now demanded that the king give it *control of the*

[1] The trial of Laud came later, but he was already a prisoner.

PLATE LXIV

CHARLES I ORDERS THE SPEAKER OF THE COMMONS TO POINT OUT THE FIVE MEMBERS. — (The Commons are in uproar; but note that in the king's presence they have removed their hats, which they usually wore; cf. pp. 379, 385.) A painting by the American artist, Copley.

PLATE LXV

OLIVER CROMWELL in armor. — A painting from life by Robert Walker.
Cf. plate facing p. 378.

militia and of the education of the royal princes. Charles withdrew to the conservative North, and unfurled the standard of civil war (1642).

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *English People* (or his *Short History*) is thrillingly interesting for this and the following periods.

II. THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE "REVOLUTION"

The Civil War, 1642–1645

Many men who had gone with Parliament in its reforms, now chose the king's side rather than open rebellion. The majority of the gentry sided with the king, while in general the merchant and manufacturing classes, the shopkeepers and the yeomanry fought for Parliament. At the same time, the struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king's party took the name "Cavaliers" from the court nobles; while the parliamentarians were called "Round Heads," in derision, from the cropped hair of the London 'prentice lads. (The portrait of Cromwell shows that Puritan *gentlemen* did not crop their hair. Short hair was a "class" mark.)

Cromwell's Ironsides

At first Charles was successful. Shopboys could not stand before the chivalry of the "Cavaliers." But *Oliver Cromwell*, a colonel in the parliamentary army, had raised a troop known as *Ironsides*. He saw that the only force Parliament could oppose to the habitual bravery of the English gentleman was the religious enthusiasm of the extreme Puritans. Accordingly, he drew his recruits from the Independents of the east of England, — mostly yeoman farmers. They were men of godly lives, who fell on their knees for prayer before battle, and then charged with the old Hebrew battle psalms upon their lips. By this troop the great battle of Marston Moor was won. Then Cromwell was put in chief command. He reorganized the whole army upon this "*New Model*"; and the victory of *Naseby* (1645) virtually closed the war.

Quarrel between Independents and Presbyterians

When the war began, many Episcopalians in Parliament withdrew to join the king. This left the Presbyterians almost in control. Before long this party was strengthened still further by the need of buying the aid of Presbyterian Scotland.

Then Parliament made the English church Presbyterian. Soon, it began to *compel* all men to accept this form of worship. On this point, the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent "New Model" quarreled. Charles, now a prisoner, tried to play off one against the other. "Be quite easy," he wrote his wife, "as to the concessions I may grant. When the time comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and, instead of a silken garter [the badge of an honorary order of knighthood] I will fit them with a hempen halter."

But now the real government of England was in the army. A council of officers, with Cromwell for their head, prepared plans; and the whole army "sought the Lord" regarding them in monster prayer-meetings, and quickly stamped out the royalist and Presbyterian risings. Then, under order from the council of officers, Colonel Pride "purged" the House of Commons by expelling 143 Presbyterians. After "Pride's Purge" (December, 1648), Parliament rarely had an attendance of more than sixty — out of an original membership of some five hundred. The "Rump" were all Independents, and their leader was Vane. (Pym and Hampden had died some time before.)

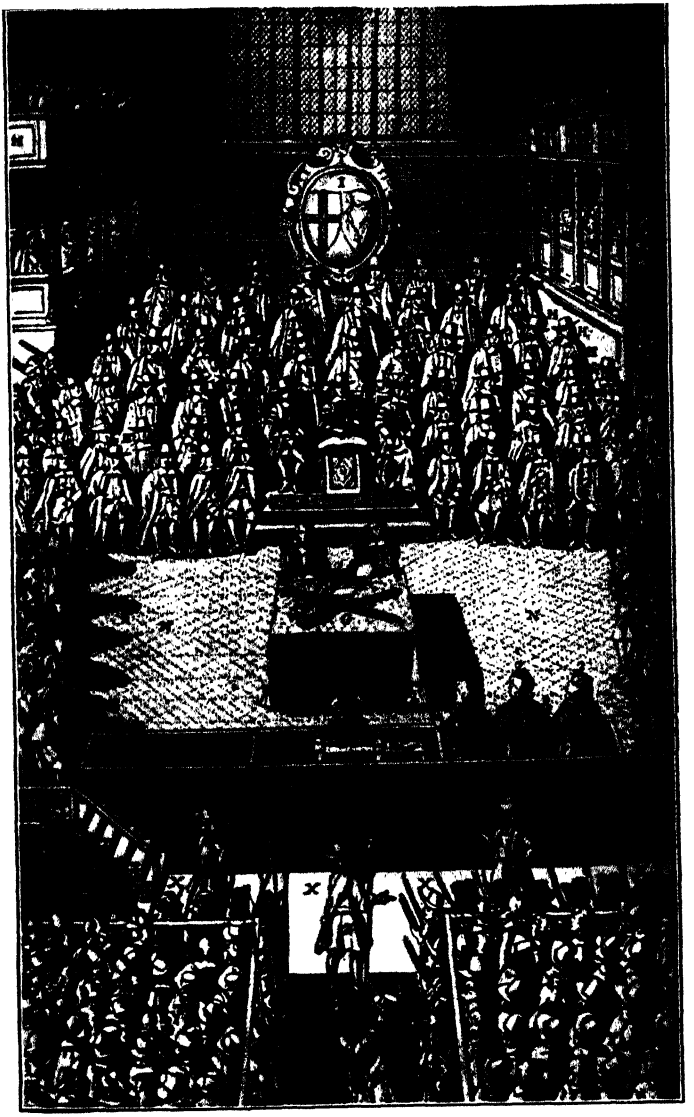
The Commonwealth, 1648–1654

This remnant of Parliament, backed by the army, *abolished monarchy and the House of Lords*, and brought "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," to trial for treason to England. Charles was executed, January 20, 1649, dying with better grace than he had lived. Then the "Rump" Parliament abolished Presbyterianism as a state church, and ***declared England a republic***, under the name of the Commonwealth. "*The people*," said a famous resolution, "*are, under God, the original of all just power;* and the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power in this nation."

Battle of Worcester

The Scots were not ready for such radical measures, and they were offended by the overthrow of Presbyterianism. So they crowned the son of the dead king as Charles II, and invaded England. Cromwell crushed them at Worcester, and the young "King of Scots" escaped to the continent.

PLATE LXVI



TRIAL OF CHARLES I. — An engraving in Nelson's "True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I," published in 1684, and reproduced in Green's *English People*.

The Rump ruled four years more, but it was only the shadow of the Parliament chosen thirteen years before. Cromwell urged a new Parliament. Finally the Rump agreed to call one, but planned to give places in that body to

GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1651. — the British Isles on one side, the nation (represented by the House of Commons) on the reverse. From Green's *English People*.

all its own members *without reëlection*. Learning of this scheme, Cromwell hurried to the House with a file of musketeers and dissolved it in a stormy scene (1653).

The real trouble was that, though the Independents had won control by the discipline of their army, they were after all only a small fraction of the nation. Cromwell tried for a while to get a new Parliament that would adopt a constitution, but the assemblies proved dilatory and fractious; and finally the *army officers* drew up a constitution. This "Instrument of Government" made Cromwell practically a dictator, under the title Lord Protector (1654).

Cromwell's rule was stained by shameful cruelties in Ireland; but in other respects it was wise and firm. He made England once more a Great Power, peaceful at home and respected abroad; and he gave freedom of worship to all *Protestant* sects, — a more liberal policy in religion than could be found anywhere else in that age except in Holland and in Roger Williams' little colony just founded in Rhode Island. At the best, however, this government was a government of force.

The noble experiment of a republic had failed miserably in the hands of its friends; and, on Cromwell's death, the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II in *"the Restoration" of 1660.*

The Restoration of 1660

With the Restoration, the great age of Puritanism closed. The court, and the young cavaliers all over the land gave themselves up to shameful licentiousness. (But, in just this age of defeat, Puritanism found its highest expression in literature. *John Milton*, years before, had given noble poems to the world — like his *L'Allegro* — but for many years he had abandoned poetry to work in Cromwell's Council and splendidly to champion the Puritan cause and freedom of speech in prose pamphlets. Now, a blind, disappointed old man, he composed *Paradise Lost.* And *John Bunyan*, a dissenting minister, lying in jail under the persecuting laws of the new government, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress.*)

BLAKE'S VICTORY OVER VON TROMP at Plymouth in 1653. — Shortly before, Von Tromp, the Dutch admiral, had roundly defeated the British, and sailed up the Thames with a broom at his masthead. Blake's victory restored England's naval supremacy. This painting is by a recent French artist, Jules Noël.

The Episcopal church restored

The established church became again Episcopalian, as it has since remained. In the reaction against Puritan rule, the new Parliament passed *many cruel acts of persecution. All dissenters* — Catholic and Protestant — were excluded from the right to hold municipal office; and all religious worship except the Episcopalian was punished with severe penalties.

Political liberty preserved

In spite of all this, the *political* principles for which the early Puritan Parliaments of Charles I had contended were victorious. Charles knew he could never get another Parliament so much to his mind as the one that had been elected in the fervor of welcome at his restoration; and so he shrewdly kept that "Cavalier Parliament" through most of his reign — till 1679. But even this Parliament insisted strenuously on Parliament's sole right to impose taxes, regulate the church, and control foreign policy; and Charles' second Parliament adopted the great Habeas Corpus Act, which still secures Englishmen against arbitrary imprisonment — such as had been so common under Charles' father. (The *principle* of this act was older than Magna Carta; but the law of Charles' time first provided *adequate machinery*, much as we have it in America to-day, *to enforce the principle*.)

Charles II, 1660–1685

Charles II was careless, indolent, selfish, extravagant, witty. He is known as the "Merry Monarch." One of his courtiers described him in jesting rhyme as a king "who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one." There is reason to think, however, that beneath his merry exterior Charles was nursing plans for tyranny far more dangerous than his father's; but he died suddenly (1685) before he was ready to act.

Beginning of political parties

Real political parties first appeared toward the close of this reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic of narrow, despotic temper. The more radical members of Parliament introduced a bill to exclude him from the throne: and their supporters throughout England sent up monster petitions to have the bill made law. The Catholics and the more conservative part of Parliament, especially those who believed that Parliament had no right to change the succession, sent up counter-petitions expressing horror at the proposal. These "Abhorrers" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the extreme Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs reviled their opponents as *Tories* (bog-trotters), a name for the ragged Irish rebels who had supported the Catholic and royal policy in the Civil War. The bill failed; but the

Whigs and Tories

rough division into parties remained. In general, *the Whigs believed in the supremacy of Parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories* sustained the royal authority and *wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people*.

James II, 1685–1688

James II lacked his brother's tact. He arbitrarily "suspended" the laws against Catholics, tried to intimidate the law courts, and rapidly increased the standing army. It was believed that he meant to make the established church Catholic; and this belief prepared England for revolution. The Whig leaders called for aid to *William of Orange*, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James' daughter Mary. William landed with a handful of troops. James found himself utterly deserted, even by his army, and fled to France.

The "Glorious Revolution"

The *story* of this Revolution of 1688 is not a noble one. Selfishness and deceit mark every step. William of Orange is the only fine character on either side. As Macaulay says, it was "an age of *great measures* and *little men*"; and the term "glorious," which English historians have applied to the Revolution, must be taken to belong to results only.

The Bill of Rights

Those *results* were of mighty import. A Convention-Parliament declared the throne vacant, drew up the great Declaration of Rights, the "third great document in the Bible of English Liberties" (stating once more the fundamental liberties of Englishmen), and elected William and Mary joint sovereigns *on condition of their assenting to the Declaration*. The supremacy of Parliament over the king was once more firmly established. *The new sovereigns*, like the old Lancastrians (and like all English sovereigns since) *had only a parliamentary title* to the throne. (The next regular Parliament enacted the *Declaration* of Rights into a "Bill of Rights.")

William III, 1688–1702

William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent. He ranks among England's greatest kings, but he was a foreigner, and unpopular. (He spoke only his native Dutch, not English.) His reign was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While Stadtholder

of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV's schemes (p. 392); and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne.

This began the "Second Hundred Years' War" between France and England. With slight intervals, the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and progress at home. Just in the first years, however, some great steps forward were taken — which were properly part of the Revolution.

Religious reform was embodied in the *Act of Toleration* of 1689, in which, at William's insistence, Parliament granted freedom of *worship* to *Protestant* dissenters (though even these most favored dissenters from the English church did not yet secure the right to hold office or to enter the universities.) The chief gains in *political* liberty come under four heads.

1. Judges were made independent of the king (removable only by Parliament).

2. A triennial bill ordered that a new Parliament should be elected at least once in three years. (In 1716, the term was made *seven* years, and in 1911 it was reduced to five.)

3. Parliament adopted the simple device of granting money for government expenses only for a year at a time (instead of for the lifetime of the sovereign), and *only after all other business had been attended to.* Thenceforward, Parliaments have been assembled each year, and they have practically fixed their own adjournments.

4. The greatest problem of parliamentary government (as Sir John Eliot had seen) was to control the "king's ministers" and make them really the ministers of Parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such action could be secured only by a serious struggle, and against notorious offenders. Some way was wanted to secure ministers acceptable to Parliament *easily* and *at all times.*

Beginning of cabinet government

This desired "cabinet government" was secured *indirectly* through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried

to unite the kingdom, and balance Whigs and Tories, by keeping the leaders of both parties among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which Parliament felt toward his measures, and by the danger of a deadlock between king and Parliament at critical times. Then a shrewd political schemer suggested to the king that he should choose *all* his advisers and assistants from the Whigs, who had a majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support their proposals, instead of blocking all measures. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by replacing his "cabinet" with leading Tories. *This was the beginning of ministerial government*, or of "responsible ministries."

William, however, was a powerful ruler. He was not a tyrant in any way; but he believed in a king's authority, and *he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers the "king's ministers"* — to carry out his policy. Queen Anne, Mary's sister, (1702–1714) tried to maintain a similar control over her ministry. But, like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children; and the crown passed by a new *Act of Settlement* to a great-grandson of James I, the German George I, who was already Elector of Hanover. (This law, like the earlier one providing for the succession of Anne, excluded nearer heirs because they were Catholics.)

Growth of cabinet government under the Georges

Neither George I nor his son George II spoke English; and so far as they cared for matters of government at all, they were interested in their German principality rather than in England. During the half-century (1714–1760) of these stupid German Georges, the government of England was left to the group of ministers.

Sir Robert Walpole

Unhappily, Parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742, *ruled largely by unblushing corruption.* Said he cynically, "Every man has his price." During his rule, *it was not a parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority.* (The same method, used only a little

PLATE LXVII

WHITE'S CHOCOLATE HOUSE. — a painting by William Hogarth in 1733. Hogarth was a "pictorial satirist," who portrayed strikingly the follies of his age. Several of his paintings picture tavern life. "White's" was the most celebrated resort in London. (Some fifty years later it grew into the first *private* "Club.")

There was a separate gambling room at White's in Hogarth's time, but here the dice are represented in use also in the public room The picture is the sixth in a famous series, known as *The Rake's Progress*. The central figure in front is the leading character of the series, — now cursing frenziedly at the completion of his financial ruin. At the small table to the left, a well-known nobleman is writing an I. O. U., to secure more gold from a waiting usurer. On the further side, another money lender is counting gold into the hand of an eager borrower. All these gamblers are so absorbed in their gaming that they have failed to notice flames that have broken out — so that a street "watch," with staff and lantern, has just rushed in to arouse them to the danger. One other feature of the time is symbolized by the portrait of a noted highwayman (in riding boots and with pistol and mask protruding from his pocket) seated by the fireplace, so lost in thought that the boy with the glass cannot get his attention. Such "gentlemen of the road" were not unknown in London taverns.

less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed Parliament and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.)

England grows into Great Britain

Meantime England had become Great Britain. James I (1603) had joined Scotland and England under one crown. In 1707 this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by the "Act of Union," adopted by the Parliaments of both countries. Scotland gave up her separate legislature, and became part of the "United Kingdom," with the right to send members to the English Parliament and to keep her own established Presbyterian church. Halfway between these two dates, Cromwell completed the conquest of Ireland. And that same seventeenth century had seen a vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. — From part of a painting by Hogarth in 1730. (For an account of the artist, see Plate opposite.) The figures in the foreground are Sir *Robert Walpole* and the Speaker (Onslow). Several other faces also are portraits. Note the wigs, the cocked hats (worn by all members except when addressing the House), and the quill pen in the hand of the clerk. The representation of the hall is perhaps the best we have of the old hall in which the Commons sat before the erection of the present Parliament buildings.

FOR FURTHER READING. — It is desirable for reading students to continue Green at least through the Revolution of 1688. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a splendid story which touches some passages in the history of the closing seventeenth century.

EXERCISE. — The dates in English seventeenth-century history are important for an understanding of early American history: especially, 1603 (accession of James I); 1629–1640 (No-Parliament period); 1648–1660 (Commonwealth); 1660 (Restoration); 1688 (Revolution).

CHAPTER XL

EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO NEW WORLDS

The center of historical interest shifts westward

Columbus and Da Gama (pp. 326–327) had doubled the size of the known earth, added a new stir to European thought, and revolutionized the distribution of wealth in Europe. The center of historical interest shifted westward once more. The Mediterranean, for two thousand years the one great highway between Europe and the Orient, gave way to the Atlantic and the "passage round the Cape." The cities of Italy lost their leadership both in commerce and in art, while vast gain fell to the seaboard countries on the Atlantic. For a hundred years, it is true, direct gains were confined to the two countries which had begun the explorations. Portugal built up a rich empire in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise, the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.

Spain in America

The story of Spain's conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, marred by ferocious cruelty. Not till twenty years after the discovery did the Spaniards advance to the mainland of America for settlement; but, once begun, her handful of adventurers swooped north and south. By 1550, she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), all Central America, Mexico, the Californias far up the Pacific coast, and the Floridas.

Defeat of the Armada,

Nor was Spain content with this huge empire. She was planning grandly to occupy the Mississippi valley and the Appalachian slope in America, and to seize Holland and England in Europe; but in 1588 she received her fatal check, at the hands of the English sea dogs, in the ruin of her Invincible Armada.

France in America

For a time France seemed most likely to succeed Spain as mistress in *North* America. In 1608 Champlain founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec. Soon canoe-fleets of traders and missionaries were coasting the shores of the Great Lakes

and establishing stations at various points still known by French names. Finally, in 1682, after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up a French claim to the entire valley. From that time New France consisted of

La Salle Taking Possession of the Mississippi Valley (under the name *Louisiana*) for France. — This picture, exhibited by Marchand at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, is faithful to La Salle's account. The act was performed at the mouth of the river, with legal attestation; and to it are traced land titles over much of the valley to-day.

a colony on the St. Lawrence, in the far north, and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

French advantages

It is easy to point out certain French advantages in the race with England for North America. At home French statesmen worked steadily to build a French empire in the New World, while the English government for the most part ignored English colonies. The thought of such empire for their country, too, inspired French explorers in the wilderness — splendid patriots like Champlain, Ribault, and La Salle. France also sent forth

the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. Moreover, the French could deal with the natives better than the stiffer, less sympathetic English could; and the French leaders were men of far-reaching views.

Weak points in French colonization

But though *the French colonies* were strong in the leaders, they *were weak in* some vital matters that depended on the mass of the colonists. They lacked *homes, individual enterprise, and political life.*

Lack of homes

1. Except for a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these colonists turned instead to trapping and the fur trade, and adopted Indian habits.

Paternalism in industry

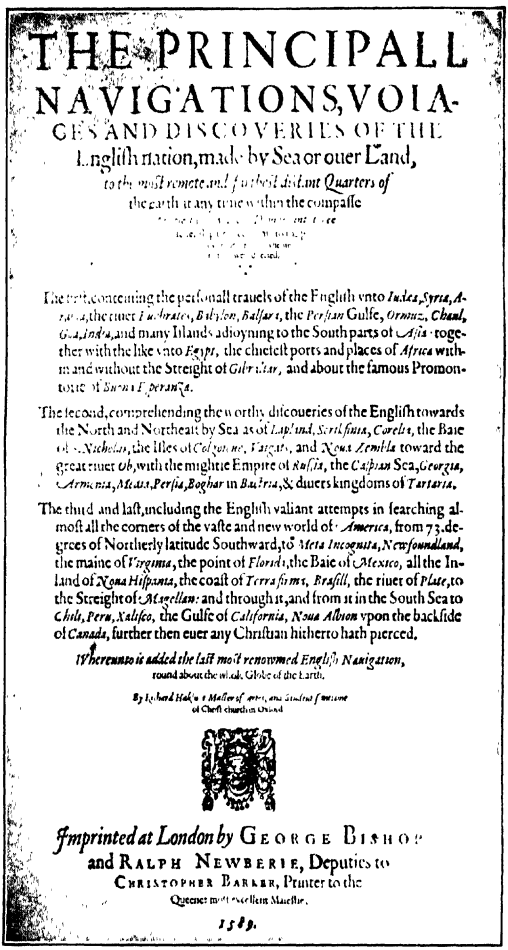
2. Paternalism smothered private enterprise. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by silly restrictions, and hampered by silly encouragements. The rulers did everything. "Send us money to build storehouses" ran the begging letters of the colonial governors to the French king. "Send us a teacher to make sailors. We want a surgeon." And so, at various times, requests for brickmakers, iron-workers, pilots. New France got the help she asked; but she did not learn to walk alone.

Lack of political life

3. Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism; and, in New France, as a French writer (Tocqueville) says, "this deformity was seen as though magnified by a microscope." No public meetings could be held without special license from the governor; and, if licensed, they could do nothing worth while. The governor's ordinances (not the people) regulated pew rent, the order in which dignitaries should sit in church, the number of cattle a man might keep, the pay of chimney sweeps, the charges in inns, and so on. "It is of greatest importance," wrote one official, "that the people should not be at liberty to speak their minds."

Worse than that — the people had no minds to speak. In 1672, Frontenac, the greatest governor of New France, tried to

PLATE LXVIII



THE PRINCIPALL
NAVIGATIONS, VOIA-
GES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE
English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land,
to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of
the earth at any time within the compasse

The first, conteining the personall trauels of the English vnto *Iudea, Syria, Arabia*, the riuer *Euphrates, Babylon, Balsara*, the *Persian* Gulfe, *Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India*, and many Ilands adioyning to the South parts of *Asia*: together with the like vnto *Egypt*, the chiefest ports and places of *Africa* within and without the Streight of *Gibraltar*, and about the famous Promontorie of *Bona Esperança*.

The second, comprehending the worthy discoueries of the English towards the North and Northeast by Sea as of *Lapland, Scrilfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of *Nicholas*, the Iles of *Colgoeue, Vaigats*, and *Noua Zembla* toward the great riuer *Ob*, with the mightie Empire of *Russia*, the *Caspian* Sea, *Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar* in *Bactria*, & diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*.

The third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of *America*, from 73. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita, Newfoundland*, the maine of *Virginia*, the point of *Florida*, the Baie of *Mexico*, all the Inland of *Noua Hispania*, the coast of *Terra firma, Brasill*, the riuer of *Plate*, to the Streight of *Magellan*: and through it, and from it in the South Sea to *Chili, Peru, Xalisco*, the Gulfe of *California, Noua Albion* vpon the backside of *Canada*, further then euer any Christian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the last most renowmed English Nauigation,
round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Iohn Hakluyt Maister of arte, and sometime student of Christ-church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by GEORGE BISHOP
and RALPH NEWBERIE, Deputies to
CHRISTOPHER BARKER, Printer to the
Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

1589.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES. — Richard Hakluyt was an English clergyman deeply interested in forwarding the colonization of America. At Raleigh's suggestion he had written a pamphlet, *Western Planting*, in 1783, in which he used the phrase quoted in our text about putting "a byt" in an enemy's mouth.

introduce a colonial assembly — with power at least of discussion. The home government sternly disapproved this mild innovation, reminding Frontenac that at home the kings had done away with the old States General (p. 291), and directing him to remember that it was "proper that each should speak for himself, and no one for the whole." The plan fell to pieces; *the people cared so little for it that they made no effort to save it.*

England's rivalry with Spain in America

Very different was the fringe of English colonies that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half gone, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. Out of that rivalry English America was born — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual adventurous patriots. Reckless and picturesque freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves, and injury to the foe, by raiding the wide-flung realms of New Spain, while the more far-sighted Gilbert and Raleigh strove to "put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth" by establishing English colonies in America.

Motives of English promoters at home

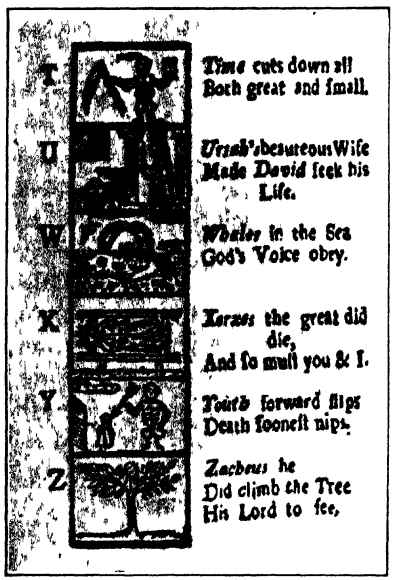
These first attempts came to nothing because the energies of the nation were drained by the exhausting struggle with the might of Spain in Europe. Then James became king, and sought Spanish friendship; but Englishmen, beginning to fear lest their chance for empire was slipping through their fingers, insisted all the more that England should not now abandon Virginia, — "this one enterprise left unto these days."

Motives of colonists

Moreover, England needed an outlet for "crowded" population,[1] and the more enterprising of the hard-pressed yeomanry were glad to seek new homes beyond seas. This class furnished most of the manual labor in the early colonies. But captains and capitalists, too, were needed; and a new condition in England just after the death of Elizabeth turned some of the best of the middle class toward American adventure. Until James made peace

[1] Only a tenth of the present population, but more than the islands could support under the crude industrial system of that date. Cf. p. 365.

with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (p. 350) or made the "gentlemen-adventurers" who under commanders like Drake paralyzed the vast domain of New Spain with fear. Now these men sought occupation and fortune in colonizing America, still attacking the old enemy, and in his weakest point



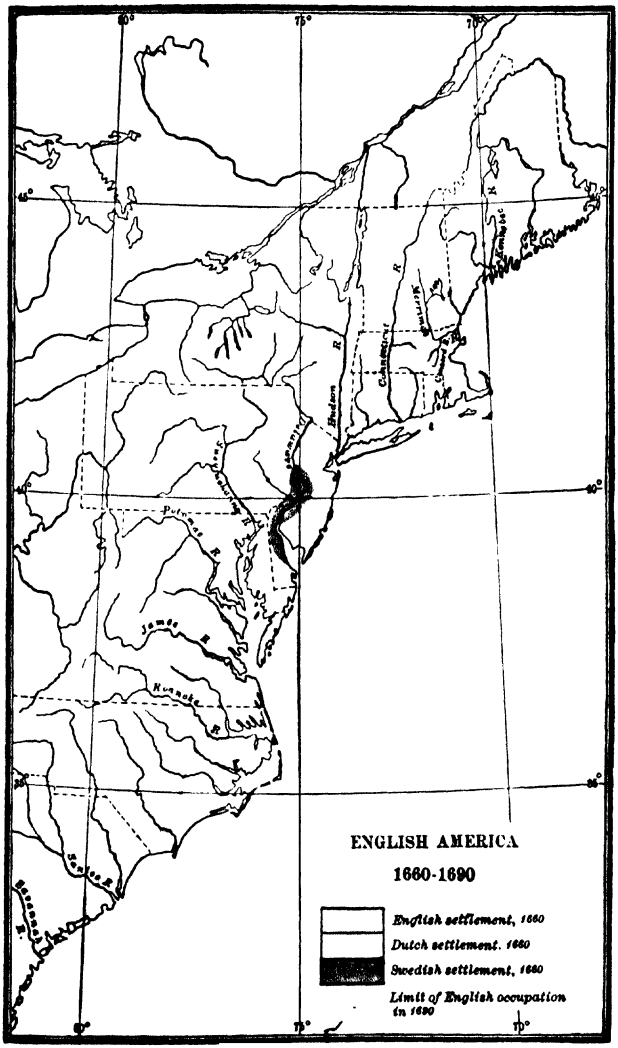
A PAGE FROM THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER published in 1680. — This textbook held its place in the schools in New England until after the American Revolution. Those schools were one of the two or three most significant features of the English colonies.

Puritanism

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign, *Puritanism was added to the colonizing forces*, and, before the Long Parliament met, there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic shore. After this, the *leading* motive for colonization was a desire to win a better home or more wealth, though late in the century, religious persecution in England played its part again in founding Pennsylvania. And so, from one cause or another, at the time of the "Revolution of 1688," the *English settlements in America had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies, reaching from the Penobscot to the Savannah, with a total population of a quarter of a million.*

England's success

These colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law, with


ENGLISH AMERICA
1660-1690
English settlement, 1660
Dutch settlement, 1660
Swedish settlement, 1660
Limit of English occupation in 1690
Hudson R.
Connecticut R.
Delaware R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Potomac R.
Savannah R.
Kennebec R.
Merrimac R.
Penobscot R.
Androscoggin R.
Kennebec R.
Penobscot R.
Saco R.
Piscataqua R.
Merrimac R.
Connecticut R.
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomac R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Savannah R.
80°
75°
70°
45°
40°
35°

its guarantees for jury trial, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties (such as were known in no other colonies for two hundred years), and they all possessed their own self-governing representative assemblies, modeled on the English Parliament.

Transfer of English freedom to America

Moreover, not all England, but only *the more democratic part of English life, was transplanted to America.* No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop ever made part of colonial America. And that part of English society which did come was *drawn toward still greater democracy by the presence here of unlimited free land.* When the Puritan gentlemen, who at first made up the governing body in Massachusetts colony, tried to fix wages for carpenters by law, as the gentry did in England (p. 366), the New England carpenters simply ceased to do carpenter work and became farmers. Thus wages rose, spite of aristocratic efforts to hold them down. Free land helped to maintain equality in industry, and so in politics; and the English colonies from the first began to diverge from the old home in the direction of even greater freedom.

Democratic tendencies intensified

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars.

CHAPTER XLI

DESPOTS AND WARS

1. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV, 1643–1715

The "Balance of Power"

Toward the close of the "religious" Thirty Years' War, we saw Catholic France aid Protestant Germany and Holland to break the power of Catholic Austria and Spain. Statesmen had begun to make it their chief object to keep any one country from becoming too strong for its neighbors' safety; and these wars and alliances to destroy or to maintain the *Balance of Power* were the mark of the next hundred years — complicated soon by commercial greed for the control of the new worlds.

Threatened by France

For long after 1648, France, more than any other country, endangered the unstable "Balance"! In 1643 the throne of that country fell to Louis XIV. During the early years of this reign, *Colbert*, the great minister of the king, introduced economy into the finances, encouraged new manufactures, removed many of the absurd tolls that vexed trade, built roads and canals, and watched zealously over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 Louis began a series of wars that filled most of the next forty years. During that half-century, despotic France threatened freedom for the world, as Spain had done a century before, and as Hohenzollern Germany has recently been threatening it.

First series of wars of Louis XIV

In the first twelve years of war, Louis sought to seize territory on his northeastern frontier. The Dutch Republic was his chief obstacle. The Dutch intrusted their government to William of Orange (afterward William III of England; p. 382). With grim determination William finally let in the North Sea to drive out the French armies. Meantime he toiled ceaselessly in building up against France an alliance of European powers, until Louis was compelled to accept peace with only slight gains of territory from the Spanish Netherlands.

THE FRENCH IN HEIDELBERG, — a painting by Fedor Dietz. By the order of Louis, the French armies deliberately depopulated large districts. A striking passage of Macaulay tells the fate of one Rhine province: "The commander announced to near half a million human beings that he granted them *three days' grace*. . . . Soon the roads and fields were black with innumerable men, women, and children, fleeing from their homes. . . . Flames went up from every market place, every parish church, every county seat" Many of these fugitives finally came to America.

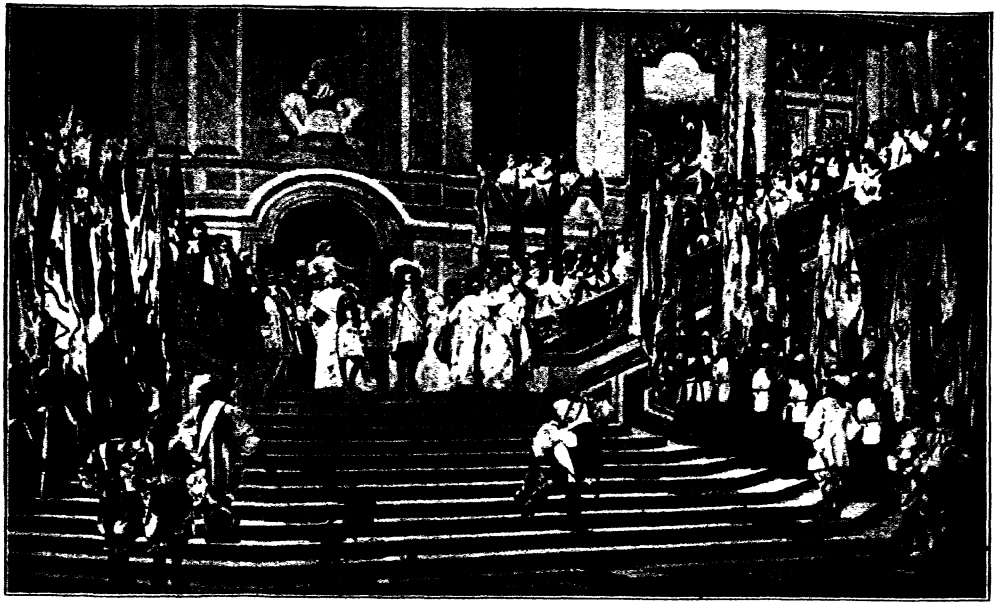


PLATE LXX

LOUIS XIV AND HIS COURT RECEIVING "THE GREAT CONDÉ" after his victory at Seneffe — This Prince of Condé (1621–1686) must not be confused with his Huguenot ancestor of the preceding century. He was a typical French noble of the age, capable, fearless, ostentatious, domineering. He was a famous general from the age of twenty, and, at fifty-three, in his victory at Seneffe over William of Orange, he still was so daring a fighter that he had three horses killed under him.

The Edict of Nantes revoked

During ten years of truce that followed, Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine — including the "free city" of Strassburg. But the important event of this period was his treatment of the Huguenots. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, and tried to compel the Huguenots to accept Catholicism. Dragoons were quartered in the Huguenot districts, and terrible persecutions fell upon those who refused to abandon their faith. Protestantism did finally disappear from France. But, though Louis tried to prevent any heretic from leaving France alive, tens of thousands (perhaps 300,000 in all) escaped to Holland, Prussia, England, and America.[1] The effect on France corresponded in a measure to the effect of the expulsion of the Moriscoes (pp. 351–2) on Spain.

Later wars of Louis XIV

A second series of wars began in 1689 (p. 383). As before, the French armies were invincible in the field; but, as before, William checked Louis by building up a general European alliance. England had now taken Holland's place as the center of opposition to French despotism. Louis fought mainly to get more Rhine territory; *but this time he kept no gains.* This war is known in American history as "King William's War." *The struggle had widened from a mere European war into a Titanic conflict between France and England for world-empire.*

The "Spanish Succession"

Next, Louis eagerly seized a chance to put one of his grandsons on the vacant Spanish throne, as Philip V, exclaiming exultantly, "The Pyrenees no longer exist." But Europe united against France and Spain in the "War of the Spanish Succession," known in American history as "Queen Anne's War." In this struggle, for the first time, success in the field lay with the Allies. The English *Marlborough* and the Hapsburg *Prince Eugene* won terrible victories over the armies of France, at *Blenheim* in Bavaria, and at *Ramillies*, *Oudenarde*, and *Malplaquet* in Belgium, the suffering battleground of the rival kings.

[1] In America the Huguenots went mainly to the Carolinas; but some old Virginia families trace their origin to this immigration. In New York John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were both of Huguenot descent. And in Massachusetts the Huguenot influence is suggested by the names of Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and Governor Bowdoin.

Peace of Utrecht

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) left Philip king of Spain, but he had to renounce for himself and his heirs all claim upon the French throne. *France gained no territory in Europe*, and in America *she lost Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England. England also acquired command of the Mediterranean*, by securing from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca. Spain lost all her European possessions outside her own peninsula*, ceding her *Netherland provinces, the kingdom of Sicily and Naples*, and *the great Duchy of Milan* in North Italy, *to Austria.*

Exhaustion of France

Louis XIV dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (*Grand Monarque*); but his wars exhausted France. At the close of his reign, the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which *more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created.*

French leadership in Europe

Intellectually, however, France was now the acknowledged leader of Europe. The court of Louis XIV was the model on which every court in Europe sought to form itself. French thought, French fashions, the French language, became the common property of all polite society.

The age of despots

"*I am the state*" is a famous saying ascribed to Louis XIV. Whether he said it or not, he might have done so with perfect truth. So might almost any monarch of his day, outside of England. Louis called the English Parliament "an intolerable evil." If England and Holland had not withstood his ambitious dreams of empire, free government would then have perished from the earth.

II. THE RISE OF RUSSIA

Russia and the Tartar Conquest of 1223

Early Russian history is a blank or a mass of legends. We know that before the year 900, there was a prince at Moscow ruling over the Russian Slavs from Novgorod to Kiev. Toward the close of the next century, Greek Christianity was introduced from Constantinople, and Greek civilization began slowly to make progress among the Russians. But about 1200, a great military leader appeared among the heathen Tartars who peopled

the vast plains to the East. Taking the title *Genghis Khan* (Lord of Lords), he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs. In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia; but ten years later the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province. Again Western Europe was saved only by the death of a Mongol emperor. Soon after, the huge Tartar realm fell into fragments. But the whole Russian realm has felt ever since the baleful influence of the long Tartar dominion.

Ivan the Terrible

In 1480 a tributary Russian prince threw off the Tartar yoke, and one of his near successors, Ivan the Terrible, took the title *Tsar* (p. 219). Under this Ivan, by 1550, when the religious wars were beginning in Western Europe, Russia reached from the inland Caspian northward and westward over much of the vast eastern plain of Europe, stretching even into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks still shut it off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (p. 355); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany. The Tsars imitated the Tartar khans in their rule and court; and the Russian people were Asiatic in dress, manners, and thought.

Peter the Great, 1689–1725

To make this Russia a *European* Power was the work of Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world he had admired at a distance. In Holland, as a workman in the navy yards, he studied shipbuilding. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military

organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

Peter "Europeanizes" Russia

With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." *The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Oriental.*

Expansion toward the open seas

Peter was more successful in starting Russia on her march toward the European seas, to get "windows to look out upon Europe." On the south, he himself made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, from his day to the opening of the World War, Constantinople was a chief goal of Russian ambition. The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, winning the east coast of the Baltic *as far north as the Gulf of Finland.* This district had been colonized, three centuries before, by German nobles (map after 302), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. In this new territory Peter founded St. Petersburg, renamed *Petrograd* in 1914.

Peter reaches the Baltic

Later growth to 1800

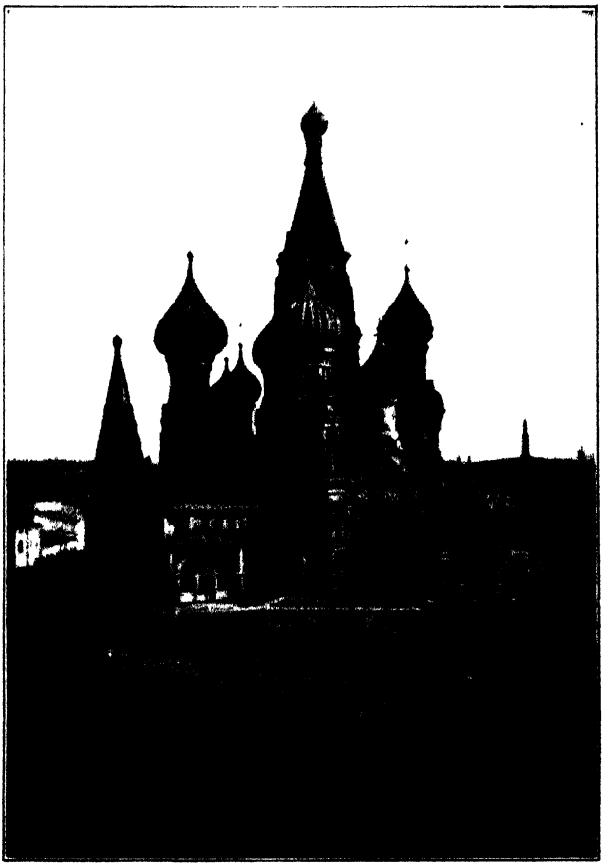
The next important acquisition of territory was under the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter, who seized part of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under Catherine II, Russia made great progress on the south along the Black Sea, and on the west at the expense of Poland (p. 401). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

III. PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

Frederick of Hohenzollern, Elector of Brandenburg

Brandenburg was a little district in the northeast of Germany which became prominent in the twelfth century as a bulwark

PLATE LXXI



St Basil's Church, Moscow, — built in 1554-1557, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. The structure was painted brilliantly in all the colors of the rainbow. It shows Oriental characteristics and some influence from the Byzantine architecture.

PLATE LXXII

THE GREAT ELECTOR WELCOMING HUGUENOT REFUGEES, — a modern painting by Hugo Vogel.

against the Slavs. About 1200, the ruler became one of the Electors (p. 316) of the Empire. In 1415, the first line of Brandenburg Electors ran out; and *Frederick of Hohenzollern*, a petty count in the Alps (like the Hapsburgs a century and a half before), *bought* Brandenburg from the *Emperor*.

The Hohenzollerns gain Prussia

Shortly after 1600 the Elector of Brandenburg fell heir to two considerable principalities, — the duchy of Cleves on the extreme west of Germany, and the *duchy of Prussia outside the Empire* on the extreme east. (Prussia was the name of a Slav and Lett district which the Teutonic Knights had conquered in the fourteenth century from the heathen Slavs, and which they held as vassals of the king of Poland.)

The "Great Elector" and the Thirty Years' War

Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War, Frederick William, "the Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg — a coarse, cruel, treacherous, shrewd ruler. The Protestants were getting the upper hand in the war. Frederick William joined them, and, at the Peace of Westphalia he secured eastern Pomerania (p. 355), bringing *Brandenburg to the sea*.

Paternal despotism

The "Great Elector" now crushed out all local assemblies of nobles in his provinces, and all local privileges. Then he built up an army among the largest and best in Europe, much more costly than his poor realms could well support. He was shrewd enough, however, to see the need of caring for the material welfare of his subjects, if they were to be able to support his selfish plans; and so *his long reign* (1640–1688) *marks the beginning of the boasted Hohenzollern policy of "good government."* He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged better agriculture, and welcomed to his realms, with their manufactures, the Huguenot fugitives from France.

The kingly title

Frederick, son and successor of the Great Elector, was besought by Austria to join the alliance against Louis XIV (p. 393). In reward for his aid, he then secured the Emperor's consent to his changing the title "Elector of Brandenburg" for the more stately one of "King in Prussia" (1701). The second king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was a rude "drill sergeant," memorable only as the stupid father of Frederick the Great. He did, however, expend what intellect he had, and what money

he could wring from his subjects, in enlarging the Prussian army; and he had a curious passion for collecting *tall* soldiers from all over Europe.

Frederick II, 1740–1786

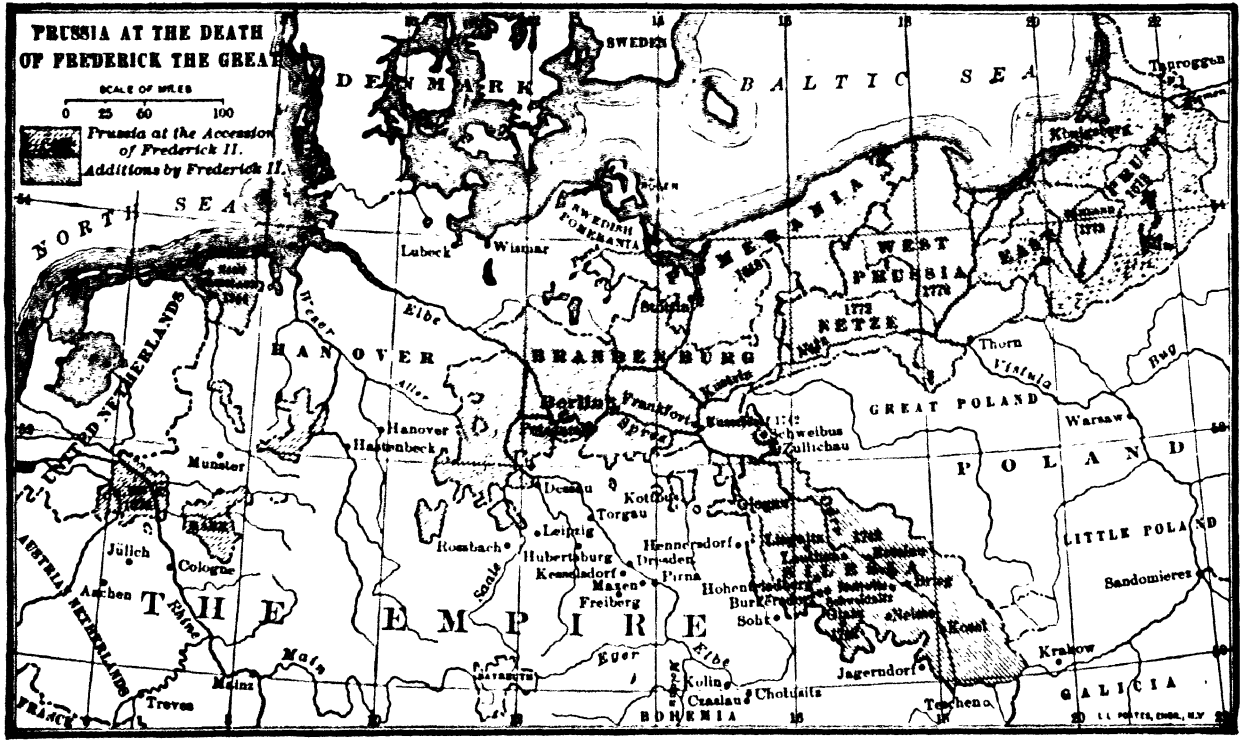
Frederick II ("the Great") ascended the Prussian throne in 1740. In the same year the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI, died without a male heir, and Frederick began his long reign by an unjust but profitable war. The Emperor Charles had secured solemn pledges from the powers of Europe, *including Prussia*, that his young daughter, Maria Theresa, should succeed to his Austrian possessions. But now, with his perfectly prepared army, *without having even declared war*, on a trumped-up claim, Frederick seized Silesia, an Austrian province.

This treacherous act was the signal for a general onslaught to divide the Austrian realms. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, each hurried to snatch some morsel of the booty. But Maria Theresa displayed courage and ability, and she secured aid from Holland and England. This "War of the Austrian Succession" closed in 1748. Frederick had shown himself greedy and unscrupulous, but also the greatest general of the age. He kept Silesia. Prussia now reached down into the heart of Germany, and had become the great rival of Austria.

Much more important, though less striking, *was the contest outside Europe*. In America a New England expedition captured the French fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, Dupleix, captured the English stations. The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position, both in America and Asia, but *the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast continents*. Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions wholly insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideas should hold the New Worlds.

The "Seven Years' War," 1756–1763

In 1756 Austria began a war of revenge. Maria Theresa had secured the alliance of Russia, Sweden, and even of her old enemy, France. Four great armies invaded Prussia from different directions, and Frederick's throne seemed to totter. His


PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
SWEDISH POMERANIA
Lubeck
Wismar
MECKLENBURG
WEST PRUSSIA
1772
EAST PRUSSIA
1772
Konigsberg
Tarragon
NETZE
Thorn
Vistula
Bug
Elbe
Weser
HANOVER
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Frankfort
Spree
Oder
Warsaw
GREAT POLAND
POLAND
Hanover
Hastenbeck
Munster
Minden
Deutz
Cologne
Julich
Aachen
Dessau
Kotbus
Torgau
Leipzig
Rosbach
Hubertsburg
Dresden
Hennersdorf
Kesselsdorf
Pirna
Freiberg
Maxen
Hohenfriedberg
Burkersdorf
Soor
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Brieg
Glogau
Sandomierez
LITTLE POLAND
Krakow
GALICIA
Jagerndorf
Teschen
Kolin
Czaslau
Chotusitz
BOHEMIA
Treves
Mainz
Mosa
Saale
Ruhr
Lippe
Ems
Weser
Aller
Elbe
Euer
Main
BAYREUTH
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
THE EMPIRE

THE LAST RALLY OF TIPPOO SAHIB, — the Indian leader in the final struggle against England in the eighteenth century. From a drawing by a French artist, Émile Bayard.

swift action and his military genius saved his country, in the victories of *Rossbach* and *Leuthen*. And the next year England entered the struggle as his ally. England and France had remained practically at war in America and India through the brief interval between the two European wars. Braddock's campaign in America (1754) took place during this interval; and now that France had changed to Austria's side, England saw no choice but to support Prussia.

England wins America and India from France

In America this "Seven Years' War" is known as the "French and Indian War." The struggle was literally world-wide. Red men scalped one another by the Great Lakes of North America, and Black men fought in Senegal in Africa; while Frenchmen and Englishmen grappled in India as well as in Germany, and their fleets engaged on every sea. Still the European conflict in the main decided the wider results. William Pitt, the English minister, who was working to build up a great British empire, declared that in Germany he would conquer America from France. He did so. England furnished the funds, and her navy swept the seas. Frederick and Prussia, supported by English subsidies, furnished the troops and the generalship for the European battles. The striking figures of the struggle are (1) Pitt, the great English imperialist, the directing genius of the war; (2) Frederick of Prussia, the military genius, who won Pitt's victories in Germany; (3) Wolfe, who won French America from the great Montcalm; and (4) Clive, who established England's supremacy in India.

The Peace of 1763

The treaty of Paris, in 1763, *left Europe without change*. But *in India* the French retained only a few unfortified trading posts. *In America*, England received Florida from Spain, and Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley from France. France ceded to Spain the western half of the Mississippi Valley, in compensation for the losses Spain had incurred as her ally; and, except for her West Indian islands, *she herself ceased to be an American power*. Spain still held South America and half North America, but her vast bulk was plainly decaying day by day. Holland's wide colonial empire, too, was in decline. *England stood forth as the leading world-power.*

Why England won America

The struggle in America had really been a war, not between Montcalm and Wolfe, but between two kinds of colonization. Man for man, the French settlers were more successful woodsmen and Indian fighters than their English rivals; but *they could not build a state so well.* They got a good start first; but, after a century of fostering care (p. 388) *the French colonies did not grow.* When the final conflict began, in 1754, *France, with a home population four times that of England, had only one twentieth as many colonists in America as England had* — 60,000 to about 1,200,000. Moreover, despite her heroic leaders, the mass of French colonists had too little political activity to care much what country they belonged to, so long as they were treated decently. Wolfe's one victory at Quebec settled the fate of the continent. The lack of political vitality and of individual enterprise in industry was the fatal weakness of New France. The opposite qualities made England successful. Says John Fiske: "*It is to the self-government of England, and to no lesser cause, that we are to look for the secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance.*"

The American Revolution

The American Revolution is the next chapter in this series of wars. That war began because the English government unwisely insisted upon managing Americ[illegible]airs after the Americans were quite able to take [illegible]. Its real importance, even to Europe, lay [illegible]ent of an independent American nation and [illegible]and, after a while, to improve her system of co[illegible]nt. But at the time, France and Spain saw in [illegible]volution a chance to revenge themselves upon England [illegible]ping the best part of her empire to break away.[1]

[1] The English colonial system in America had not been cruel or tyrannical nor *seriously* hampering in industry. Indeed, on both the industrial and political side, it was vastly more liberal than was the colonial policy of any other country in that age. But after Canada fell to England (p. 399), so that the colonists in the English colonies no longer feared French conquest, they began to resent even the slight interference of the English government. The freest people of the age, they were ready and anxious for more freedom. Cf. West's *American People*, pp. 185–191.

England did lose most of her empire in America; but she came out of the war with gains as well as losses. She had been fighting, not America alone, but France, Spain, Holland, *and* America. Theodore Roosevelt has put finely the result and character of this wider struggle (*Gouverneur Morris*, 116):

"England, hemmed in by the ring of her foes, fronted them with a grand courage. . . . In America, alone, the tide ran too strong to be turned. But Holland was stripped of all her colonies; in the East, Sir Eyre Coote beat down Hyder Ali, and taught Moslem and Hindoo alike that they could not shake off the grasp of the iron hands that held India; Rodney won back for his country the supremacy of the ocean in that great sea-fight where he shattered the splendid French navy; and the long siege of Gibraltar [p. 394] closed with the crushing overthrow of the assailants. So, with bloody honor, England ended the most disastrous war she had ever waged."

Crossed Swords of Colonel William Prescott and Captain John Linzee, who fought on opposite sides at Bunker Hill. A grandson of Prescott and a granddaughter of Linzee married, and their offspring mounted these heirlooms in this way "in token of international friendship and family alliance." Now in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

"Partition" of Poland

Just before the American Revolution began, Russia, Prussia, and Austria united to murder the old kingdom of Poland and to divide the carcass. The anarchy of Poland gave its neighbors excuse. The population consisted of about twelve million degraded serfs, and one hundred thousand selfish, oligarchic nobles. The latter constituted the government. They met in occasional Diets, and, when the throne became vacant, they elected the figurehead king. Unanimous consent was required for any vote in the Diet, — *each noble possessing the right of veto.*

Under such conditions, the Powers of Europe had begun to play with Poland at will. Catherine II of Russia determined to seize a large part of the country. Frederick II persuaded

his old enemy, Austria, to join him in compelling Catherine to share the booty. The "First Partition," in 1772, pared off a rind about the heart. The Second and Third Partitions (1793, 1795), which "assassinated the kingdom," had not even the pretext of misgovernment in Poland. The Poles had undertaken sweeping reforms, and the nation made a gallant defense under its hero-leader Kosciusko; but the giant robbers wiped Poland off the map. *Russia gained far the greatest part of the territory, and she now bordered Germany on the east, as France did on the west.*

Frederick "the Great" in peace

Frederick II's reign doubled the size of Prussia — but at the terrible cost of frontiers made only of fortresses and bayonets. Frederick had shown himself a greedy robber and a military genius. With brutal cynicism he avowed absolute freedom from moral principle where a question of Prussia's power was at stake. Success, he declared, justified any means. This faithlessness he practiced, as well as taught; and his success made this policy the creed of later Hohenzollerns.

But there was another side to Frederick's life, which, more properly than his wars or his diplomacy, earns him his title of "the Great." Most of his forty-six years' reign was passed in peace, and he proved a father to his people. The beneficent work of the Great Elector was taken up and carried forward vigorously. Prussia was transformed. Wealth and comfort increased by leaps, and the condition of even the serfs was improved. Unlike all the earlier Hohenzollerns, Frederick was also a patron of literature — though he admired only the artificial French style of the age — and he was himself an author.

The "benevolent despots"

Frederick is a type of the "crowned philosophers," or "benevolent despots," who sat upon the thrones of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, just before the French Revolution. Under the influence of a new enlightened sentiment, government underwent a marvelous change. It was just as autocratic as before, — no more *by* the people than before, — but despots did try to govern *for* the people, not for themselves.

Frederick's genius and tireless energy accomplished something for a time; but *on the whole the monarchs made lamentable failures*. One man was powerless to lift the inert weight of a nation. The clergy and nobles, jealous for their privileges, opposed and thwarted the royal will. Except in England and France, there was no large middle class to supply friendly officials and sympathy. The kings, too, wished no participation by the people in the reforms: everything was to come from above. When the "benevolent despots" had to choose between benevolence and despotism they always chose despotism.

FURTHER READING upon the subject of the last two chapters may profitably be confined to the struggle for the New Worlds. The student should read Parkman's Works, especially his *Montcalm and Wolfe* and his *Half Century of Conflict*. The following biographies, too, are good: Wilson's *Clive*, Bradley's *Wolfe*, Morley's *Walpole*.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact Drills.
   a. *Dates* with their significance: 1713, 1740, 1763, 1783.
   b. *List six important battles* between 1500 and 1789.
2. Review by countries, with "catch-words," from 1500, or from some convenient event of about that date.
3. Make a brief paragraph statement for the period 1648–1787, to include the changes in territory and in the relative power of the different European states.

PART X—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

You must teach that the French Revolution was an unmitigated crime against God and man. — WILHELM II to teachers of history.

The Revolution was a creating force, even more than a destroying one. —FREDERIC HARRISON.

CHAPTER XLII

FRANCE (AND EUROPE) BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

"Revolutions break through in the weakest places"

The "benevolent despots" had failed to reform society: now in France the people were to try for themselves. In that country the people were better off than anywhere else on the continent. They had risen far enough to see the possibility of rising further. But even there the social arrangements were atrocious. One per cent of the twenty-five million people were "privileged" drones (nobles and clergy), owning much more than half of all the wealth. Ninety-four per cent were cruelly oppressed workers, robbed of youth and life by crushing toil and insufficient food. Between these extremes came a small ambitious "middle class," fairly prosperous and intelligent, but excluded from political influence, bearing a ruinous taxation, and bitterly discontented. This class (much larger than in any other continental country) was to furnish the ideas and most of the leaders for the Revolution.

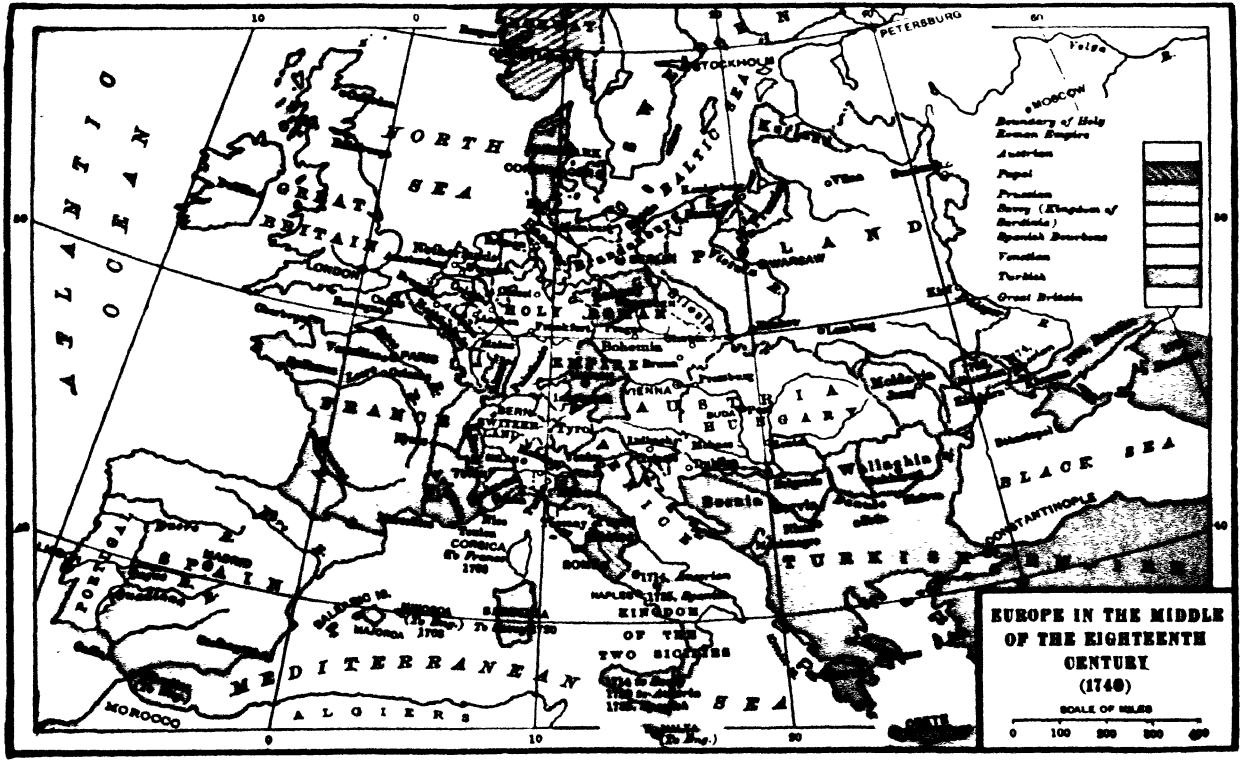
The middle class

The nobles and clergy

The privileged nobles no longer rendered service to society. They had become mere spenders and courtiers, largely *absentee* landlords, not even living on their estates. The *higher* clergy (bishops and abbots) were the younger sons of the same noble families. They, too, squandered their immense revenues at court in idle luxury or vice, turning over their duties to subordinates on paltry pay. (The Revolution found the village priests mostly on the side of the people.)

The peasants

Over much of France the peasants lived in hideous misery. Famine was chronic in that fertile land, as in Russia in more


EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TURKISH EMPIRE
POLAND
RUSSIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
PETERSBURG
MOSCOW
STOCKHOLM
CONSTANTINOPLE
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
CORSICA
MAJORCA
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Papal
Prussian
Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia)
Spanish Bourbons
Venetian
Turkish
Great Britain

recent years. *Taxation and feudal extortion discouraged farming.* A fourth of the land lay waste. Of the rest, the tillage was little better than a thousand years before, with a yield a third less than in England. And if crops failed in one province, starvation followed (because of poor roads, and high tolls, and poverty, and the government's carelessness) although neighboring provinces might possess abundance. One royal official describes how, even in ordinary times, "the children *very commonly* die" because of the coarse bread of bran and acorns on which they fed.

True, conditions varied greatly in different parts of France. In some districts the peasants were fairly prosperous, and as a whole they were far ahead of the peasants in Germany or Italy or Spain or Austria. They played a part in the Revolution *because they had already progressed far enough to feel discontent.*

Survivals of serfdom

Serfdom lingered in Alsace and Lorraine, — regions seized from Germany not long before (pp. 355, 393 ff.). Elsewhere the peasants had risen into villeinage somewhat like that in England before the uprising of 1381, four centuries before. Even when the peasant owned his garden spot, *he owned it subject to many ancient feudal obligations.* He could not sell it without paying for his lord's consent, or sell any of his crop except in the lord's market, with tolls for the privilege. Commonly, he could still grind his grain only at the lord's mill, leaving one sixteenth the flour, and he could bake only in the lord's oven, leaving a loaf each time in pay. Under no circumstances might he injure the rabbits or pigeons or deer that devoured his crop. On penalty of death, he might not carry a gun, even to kill wolves. He could not enter his own field to till it, when the pheasants were hatching or the rabbits were young. Year after year the crops were trampled by huntsmen or devoured by game.

Crushing taxes

Added to all this was the frightful royal taxation. Louis XIV, we have seen, left France burdened with a huge war debt. The dissolute Louis XV wasted as much in vice as his predecessor had wasted in war, while much of the rest of the revenue was given away in pensions to unworthy favorites, or stolen by

corrupt officials. (All receipts from taxation were subject to the king's order — as if they had been merely his private banking account. No report was made to the nation, but some facts leaked out. On the eve of the Revolution, three maiden aunts of the king were receiving yearly nearly half a million dollars in our values merely for *their food* — most of which amount, of course, went to enrich dishonest stewards.)

Emptied in these shameful ways, the treasury was filled in ways quite as shameful. The clergy were wholly exempt from taxation by law; and the nobles escaped from some taxes by law, from others by bribery and intimidation. Said the richest man in France frankly — "I *make arrangements* with the officials, and pay only what I wish." Full payment was made only by those least able to pay.

Forced labor

Various clumsy devices, too, made the *collection* needlessly burdensome. Two of the many direct taxes were especially offensive in this respect. (1) Roads and canals were built and kept up by forced unpaid labor (the corvée). At the call of an official the peasant must leave his own work for this, no matter how critical the time. (2) The main revenue came from a tax assessed upon peasant villages *only* and fixed each year *arbitrarily* by the government. On one occasion, an official wrote: "The people of this village are stout, and there are chicken feathers before the doors. The taxes here should be greatly increased next year." So, too, if a villager lived in a better house than his neighbors, the officials made him pay a larger share of the common village tax. So the peasants concealed jealously what few comforts they had, and left their cottages in ruins.

"Rack" taxation

It is estimated that a peasant paid half his income in *direct taxes to the government*. Feudal dues and church tithes raised these payments to four fifths his income. And from the remaining fifth, he had not only to support his family but also to pay various *indirect* taxes. The most famous of these was the *gabelle*, the tax upon salt,[1] which raised the price of salt to four, ten, or twenty times its first value. Every family was compelled

The salt tax

[1] The man who *sold* the salt paid the tax to the government. The man who bought salt had of course to pay back the tax in a higher price. A tax collected in this way is called an *indirect* tax.

by law to purchase from the government at least seven pounds a year for each member over seven years of age, and thousands of persons every year were hanged or sent to the galleys for trying to evade this law. (Even then, only a fifth of the amount collected ever reached the treasury. Like the tax on candles, fish, flour, and other necessities, the salt tax was "farmed" to collectors, who paid the government a certain amount and then took for their profit what they could get above that amount.)

Complex tariffs

Another class of vexatious taxes were the still remaining tolls on goods required *not only at the frontier* of France, but again and again, at the border of each province and even at the gate of each town. Fish, so great a necessity in a Catholic country, paid *thirteen times their first cost* in such tolls on their way to Paris from the coast.

The government

The government was a *centralized* despotism (p. 231). Directly about the king was a *Council of State*. Subject to the king's approval, it fixed taxes, drew up edicts, and ruled France. Its members were appointed by the king, and held office only at his pleasure. At the head of each province was a governor appointed by the king. Subject to the royal power, he was an unchecked despot. In the parish the mayor or syndic was sometimes chosen by the people, sometimes appointed by the governor; but in either case the governor could remove him at will. The parish assembly could not meet without the governor's permission, and it could not take any action by itself. Had the wind damaged the parish steeple? The parish might *petition* for permission to repair it, — at their own expense, of course. The governor would send the petition, with his recommendation, to the Council of State at Paris, and a reply might be expected only after long delays, when perhaps the damage was beyond repair.

Arbitrary imprisonment

Personal liberty, too, was wholly at the mercy of this arbitrary government. Any man might be sent to prison without trial, merely by a "letter" with the royal seal. Not only were "*letters of the seal*" used to remove political offenders: they were

also *sold*, to private men who wished to get rid of rivals. The government of Louis XV issued 150,000 such letters. Usually the imprisonments were for a few months; but sometimes the victim was virtually forgotten and left to die in prison. Arthur Young, an English traveler in France just before the Revolution, tells of an *Englishman* who had been kept in a French prison thirty years, although not even the government held a record of the reason.

An inefficient despotism

This despotic government was clumsy and inefficient. France was still a patchwork of territories which the kings had seized piece by piece. Each province had its own laws and customs, its own privileges and partial exemptions from certain taxes. The shadows of old local governments had lost their power *for action*, but remained powerful to *delay and obstruct* united action. Voltaire (p. 409) complained that in a journey one changed laws as often as he changed horses.

The spirit of change

"A revolution requires not only abuses but also ideas." In France the combustibles were ready, and so were the men of ideas, to apply the match. Science had upset all old ideas about the world outside man. The telescope had proved that other planets like our earth revolved around the sun, and that myriads of other suns whirled through boundless space. The English *Newton* had shown how this vast universe is bound together by unvarying "laws." The microscope had revealed an undreamed-of world of minute life in air and earth and water all around us; and air, earth, water (and fire) themselves had changed their nature. The Ancients had taught that they were the "original elements" out of which everything else was made up. But the French *Lavoisier*, founder of modern chemistry, had lately decomposed water and air into gases, and shown that fire was a union of one of these gases with earthy carbon. Tradition and authority had been proved silly in the world of matter: perhaps they were not always right in the world of human society.

English writers, enjoying freedom of speech and of the press, had *begun* a revolt against the authority of the past; but their

speculations were now carried much farther by French writers, who quickly spread their influence over all Europe. *About 1750 there began an age of dazzling brilliancy in French literature and scholarship.* Never before had any country seen so many and so famous men of letters at one time. Of the scores, we can mention only two.

Voltaire and his associates

VOLTAIRE. — The bust by Houdon.

1. *Voltaire* had already won his fame in 1750, and he ruled as the intellectual monarch of Europe for thirty years more. He came from the middle class. As a young man, he had been imprisoned for libel by a "letter of the seal"; and a dissipated noble, angered by a witticism, had hired a band of ruffians to beat him nearly to death. Some years of exile he spent in England, where, he says, he "learned to think." He had biting satire, mocking wit, keen reasoning, and incisive, vigorous style. He railed at absentee bishops of licentious lives; he questioned the privileges of the nobles; and he exposed pitilessly the iniquity of the gabelle and of the "letters of the seal." The church seemed to him the chief foe to human progress; and in his invective against its abuses he sometimes confused it with Christianity itself. Most of his work was destructive; but there was no chance to build up in Europe until much of the old was torn down. Voltaire's lifelong exposure of the folly and wrong of religious persecution had much to do with creating the free atmosphere in which we live to-day. Says our American Lowell, "We owe half our liberty to that leering old mocker."

Rousseau and democracy

2. Voltaire and his fellows admired the constitutional monarchy of England; but they looked for reform from some enlightened despot, rather than from free government. One alone among them stood for democracy. This was *Rousseau*. He wrote much that was absurd about an ideal "state of nature" before men "invented governments"; but he taught, more forcefully than any man before him, the sovereignty of the whole people. His famous book (*The Social Contract*, 1762) opens with the words, "Man was born free, but he is now everywhere in chains"; and it argues passionately that it is man's right and duty to recover freedom. Rousseau's moral earnestness and enthusiasm made his doctrine almost a religion with his disciples.[1]

Louis XVI

In 1774 the dissolute but able Louis XV was succeeded by the well-disposed but irresolute Louis XVI. This prince had a vague notion of what was right and a general desire to do it, but he lacked moral courage and energy. The queen was Marie Antoinette, daughter of the great Maria Theresa of Austria. She was young and high-spirited but ignorant and frivolous.

Marie Antoinette

Turgot's reforms

Reform began, and finally the Revolution began, because the royal treasury was bankrupt. Louis called to his aid *Turgot*, a successful Provincial governor already famous as a reformer. This officer now cut down ruthlessly the frivolous expenses of the court, and abolished the corvée, the remaining tolls on commerce, and the outgrown gild system. He *planned* more far-reaching reforms — to recast the whole system of taxes so that the rich should pay their share, and to abolish feudal dues. But the courtiers grumbled, and the queen cast black looks upon the reformer who interfered with her gayeties; and so after a few months the weak king dismissed the man "with a whole *pacific* Revolution in his head."

[1] Some years before the French Revolution began, the ideas, and even some of the phrases, of Rousseau began to have a powerful influence in America. Rousseau, however, drew these ideas to a great extent from John Locke and other English writers of the seventeenth century, and we cannot always tell whether reference to natural equality in a document of the American Revolution is affected by Rousseau or directly by the older English literature.

Still in 1776 Louis called to the helm Necker, a successful banker and another reformer. Necker was not a great statesman like Turgot, but he had liberal views and a good business head. His difficulties, however, were tremendously augmented in 1778 when Louis joined America against England (p. 400). The new expense of this war made it plainly impossible (on the old plans) to pay even the interest on the national debt. Necker suggested sweeping reform in taxation, along Turgot's lines; but the loud outcry of the nobles caused the king to dismiss him also from office (1781). *Necker, however, had let the nation know just how it was being plundered.* He had *published* a "report" on the finances, showing who paid the taxes and how much, and how the revenues were wasted. This paper was read eagerly and angrily by the middle class. **Necker**

For a few years more the king's ministers kept the government and the court going by borrowing unscrupulously with no prospect of paying. But the time came when not even the king's promise could induce any one to lend. Taxes must yield more; and Louis learned at last the teaching of Turgot and Necker — that the only way to raise more money by taxes was to tax those who had more wherewith to pay. The privileged orders, however, had not learned this lesson. When the king begged, and finally ordered, them to give up their exemptions, they tried to evade the issue by arguing that the only authority with rightful power to impose *new* taxes was the States General. Unwittingly they had invoked a power that was to destroy them. The almost forgotten States General (p. 291) had not met since 1614. Now the middle class took up the cry for it until the name rang through France. In August of 1788 the king surrendered. He recalled Necker and called a States General.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Some material may be found in Robinson's *Readings*. Of modern accounts the student should read either Shailer Mathews' *French Revolution*, 1–110, or Mrs. Gardiner's *French Revolution*, 1–32.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE REVOLUTION IN PEACE

Election of the States General

For the election of the States General, the government marked France off into many districts. The nobles of each district came together and chose certain delegates from their "order"; the clergy did likewise; and all other taxpayers in the district were allowed to vote for an electoral college, which then chose delegates for their class — "the third estate."

There had been vehement discussion as to how the Estates General should vote. Anciently the three orders sat in separate "houses," each having one vote. Under that arrangement, nobles and clergy (representing only a fraction of the nation) would have two thirds the power. Accordingly there was a loud demand from the middle class, and from liberal nobles like Lafayette (recently returned from America), (1) that the third estate should have as many delegates as the other two orders combined, and (2) that the three estates should sit and act as one body. The king finally granted the "double representation" (300 nobles, 300 clergy, 600 of the third estate); but at once tried to make this concession worse than useless by requiring the three orders to act as three separate units.

One house or three

May 5, 1789, Louis formally opened the States General at Versailles — the favorite royal residence, twelve miles southwest from Paris. His address made it plain that he expected the estates to grant him new taxes, and promptly disperse. After this address the nobles and clergy withdrew from the hall (as the king desired) and "organized" as separate chambers; but the third estate, with skillful generalship, insisted at first that it could not act while so many "*deputies of the nation*" were absent, and sent pressing invitations to the others to join in one assembly so as to get at work "to save

France." This deadlock continued for many weeks. Finally (June 17) when further delay was plainly dangerous, the third estate voted that even without the "absent" delegates its members practically represented the nation. Accordingly, still inviting the other delegates to join, *it organized as a "National Assembly." This was a revolution. It changed a gathering of feudal "Estates" into an assembly representing the nation as one whole. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent of Europe.*

The National Assembly

Two days later, the National Assembly was joined by half the clergy and by a few nobles. But the next morning the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging, to prepare for a "royal session." Plainly the king was about to interfere. The delegates adjourned to a tennis court near by, and there with stern enthusiasm they unanimously took a memorable oath *never to separate until they had established a constitution.*[1]

The Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1789

As anticipated, however, Louis summoned the three estates to meet him and ordered them to organize as *separate bodies* and to vote certain *specified* reforms. When he left the hall, the nobles and higher clergy followed. *The new "National Assembly" kept their seats.* There was a moment of uncertainty; but Mirabeau, a noble who had abandoned his order, rose to remind the delegates of their great oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reëntering, asked haughtily, if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. "Yes," broke in Mirabeau's thunder; "but go tell your master that *we are here by the power of the people*, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: "Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, *on whose part soever the same be commanded.*"

Vacillation of the king

The king's vacillation prevented conflict. Paris was rising in arms, and when the regular troops were ordered to fire on the

[1] The idea of a written constitution had come to France from America. See West's *Modern Progress*, 271.

mob, they rang their musket butts sullenly on the pavement, muttering, "We are the army *of the Nation!*"[1] The next day forty-seven nobles joined the Assembly, and in a week *the king ordered the rest to do so.*

Attempt at counter-revolution

The courtiers still planned a counter-revolution, and again won over the weak king. To overawe the Assembly (and probably to seize liberal leaders) he assembled near Paris several regiments of German and Swiss mercenaries, who could be depended upon to obey orders. On Mirabeau's motion the Assembly bluntly requested the king to remove this threat. Louis answered by dismissing and exiling Necker, who had opposed the court policy.

This was on the evening of July 11. About noon the next day, the news was whispered on the streets. *Camille Desmoulins*, a young journalist, pistol in hand leaped upon a table in one of the public gardens, exclaiming, "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a St. Bartholomew of patriots. To arms! To arms!" By night the streets bristled with barricades against the charge of the king's cavalry, and the crowds were sacking gunshops for arms. *Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels*, and two days later *the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.*

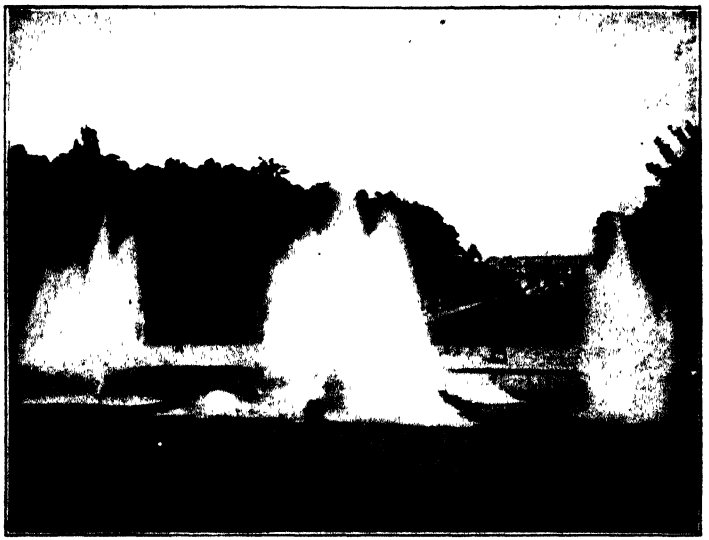
Fall of the Bastille, July 14

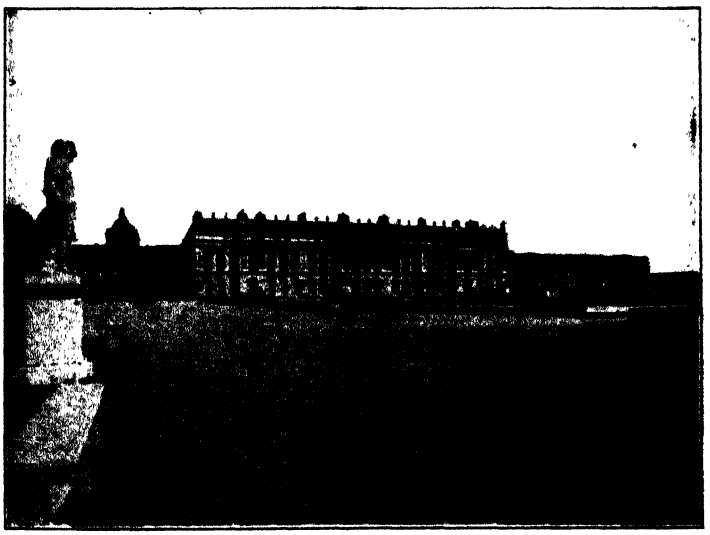
The Bastille was the great "state prison" for political offenders and victims of "letters of the seal." Thus it was a detested symbol of the "Old Régime." It had been used as an arsenal, and the rebels went to it at first only to demand arms. Refused admission and fired upon, they made a frantic attack. The fortress was virtually impregnable; but after some hours of wild onslaught, it surrendered to an almost unarmed force, — "taken," as Carlyle says, "like Jericho, by miraculous sound." The anniversary of its destruction is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty, like our July 4.

This rising of Paris had saved the Assembly. The most hated of the courtiers fled from France in terror. The king visited

[1] Some of these regiments had served recently in America. Arthur Young (p. 408) had already declared, — "The American revolution has laid the foundations for another one in France."

PLATE LXXIV





ABOVE. — FOUNTAINS IN THE VERSAILLES GARDENS.

BELOW. — THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES. — The palace and park (and the road from Paris) were built by Louis XIV at enormous expense.

PLATE LXXV

FRENCH PEASANTS IN 1789, MARCHING TO MURDER "ARISTOCRATS." — A painting by a contemporary Russian artist, Paul Swedomsky.

Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away his troops, *accepted the tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, *as the national colors*, and recalled Necker.

The fall of the Bastille gave the signal for a brief mob-rule over all France. In towns the mobs demolished *local* "bastilles." In the country the lower peasantry and bands of vagabonds plundered and demolished castles. Each district had its carnival of plunder. The king could not restore order, because the machinery of the government had collapsed; but everywhere the middle class organized to put down anarchy — and so really saved the Revolution. All over France the electoral colleges (p. 412) had met from time to time to keep in touch with their delegates or to send them instructions: and now, in the failure of the royal government, these representative bodies made themselves into local governments. Their first act in each district was to organize the middle-class inhabitants into armed patrols to restore order. (This militia became permanent — sanctioned soon by the National Assembly as "National Guards," with Lafayette as supreme commander.)

Local anarchy

Put down by middle class organization

FALL OF THE BASTILLE — From a drawing by Prieur.

Meantime, on the evening of *August 4*, the report of a committee on the disorders throughout the country had stirred the

August 4: abolition of privilege

Assembly deeply. A young noble, who had served in America with Lafayette, declared that the commotion was all due to the special privileges of his class, and, with impassioned oratory, he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, the liberal nobles followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his order, — game laws, dovecotes, tithes, exclusive right to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions, — and each proposal was promptly voted, with enthusiastic applause. The work was done hastily, but it was noble and necessary, and *it has never been undone. August 4 ended feudalism and established legal equality in France.* (This removal of abuses was one reason why anarchy was so easily suppressed.)

"March of the women," October 5, 1789

After these fruitful three months (May 5–August 4, 1789), the Assembly spent two years more in revolutionizing France and in drawing up a new constitution. Once more only it was endangered by the king. Early in October he again collected troops near Versailles, and at a military banquet (it was reported) young officers, to win the favor of court ladies, trampled upon the tricolor. The Paris mob (still loyal to the king) began to demand that Louis should come to Paris, to be near the Assembly and away from evil counselors. One riotous expedition to bring him to the capital was turned back by the National Guards; but thousands of the women of the market place then set out on a like attempt, in a wild, hungry,[1] haggard rout, followed by the riffraff of the city.

Lafayette permitted the movement to go on, until there came near being a terrible massacre at Versailles; but his tardy arrival, late at night, with twenty thousand National Guards, restored order. The king yielded to the demands of the crowd and to the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris, — the mob dancing in wild joy along the road before the royal carriage, carrying on pikes the heads of some slain soldiers, and

[1] France was in the grip of famine when the States General met — due to a succession of poor harvests; and the general confusion had prevented a rapid recovery.

shouting jocularly, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy."

The king's brothers and some 150,000 nobles fled from France, — and soon were trying in foreign lands to stir up war against their country. Nearly a fourth of the Assembly, too, withdrew, declaring that that body was no longer free. And it is true that from this time mobs in the galleries and in the streets did sometimes intimidate conservative speakers. During the rest of its life, danger to the Assembly came from this source, not from the court.

The "Emigrant' nobles

One man in the Assembly never hesitated to oppose the mob, and often won it to his side. *Mirabeau* was the great man of the National Assembly. He was a profound statesman, with marvelous oratory and dauntless courage. (Unhappily his arrogance made him enemies among close associates: both Necker and Lafayette hated him.) Mirabeau thought the revolution had gone far enough, and he wished to preserve the remaining royal power so as to prevent anarchy. He urged the king to accept the new constitution in good faith and to surround himself with a liberal ministry acceptable to the Assembly. Indeed, as the mob grew more and more violent, Mirabeau wished Louis to leave Paris (where he was practically a prisoner) and appeal to the country provinces against the capital. But while the king hesitated, Mirabeau died suddenly, broken down by work and dissolute living.

Mirabeau

Then Louis decided to flee, not to French provinces, but to *Austria*, to raise war against the reforms of the Revolution. The plot failed. The royal family did get out of Paris (Louis disguised as a valet), but, through the king's indecision, they were recognized and brought back. Then followed another popular rising — with much excuse — to induce the Assembly to dethrone the king and set up a republic. Crowds of workingmen with women and children flocked out to the Champs de Mars (an open space near the city where the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille had just been celebrated) to sign a petition for this action. The municipal authorities forbade the gathering; and finally La-

Attempted escape of the king

Massacre of the Champs de Mars, July 17, 1791

fayette's National Guards dispersed the jeering but unarmed mob with deadly volleys.

This massacre marks a sharp division between the working class and the middle class. For the time, the latter carried the day. September 14, 1791, Louis took a solemn oath to uphold the new constitution, and was restored to power.

The Constitution of 1791

The Constitution of 1791 opened with a noble "Declaration of the Rights of Man" — suggested no doubt by the Bills of Rights in some of the American state constitutions. It proclaimed: (1) "Men are born equal *in rights*, and remain so"; (2) "Law is the expression of the will of all the people; every citizen has a right to share in making it; and it must be the same for all." And so on, through a number of provisions. Frenchmen were declared equal before the law, and equally eligible to public office. Hereditary titles and all special privileges were abolished. Jury trial, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press were established. The great Declaration has justified the boast of the Assembly — that it "shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

A constitutional monarchy under middle-class control

The Declaration of Rights cared for *personal* liberties. The arrangements concerning the government secured a very large amount of *political* liberty. (1) The *Central government* was made to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of *one* House elected anew once in two years. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures so decided. (2) For *local government*, the historic "provinces," with their troublesome peculiar privileges, were swept away. France was divided into 83 "departments" of nearly equal size. Each "department," and each of the "communes" (villages or towns) of which it was made up, chose a council and an executive with very complete control over local affairs. (3) The *franchise* was given to all taxpayers, but the higher elective *offices* were open only to men of considerable wealth. This device of *graded property qualifications* secured control to the middle class. (The same device was common in America. None of our states then had manhood suffrage.)

Church and state

Church and state had always been united in France, and they were now made even more so. The government assumed the duty of paying the clergy and keeping up the churches, and *clergy of all grades were made elective.* Unfortunately they were required to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution in a form repulsive to many sincere Catholics. Only four of the old bishops took the oath; and two thirds of the parish priests, including the most sincere and conscientious among them, were driven into opposition to the Revolution. The greatest error of the Assembly was in arraying religion against patriotism.

Peasant land-owners

Great good, however, followed from one other feature of this arrangement. The nation took possession of the church lands — one fifth of all France — and sold them. In the outcome, the lands passed in small parcels into the hands of the peasantry and the middle class, and so laid the foundation for future prosperity. France became a land of small farmers, and the peasantry rose to a higher standard of comfort than such a class in Europe had ever known.

EXERCISE. — 1. Point out both direct and indirect ways in which the American Revolution helped prepare for the French Revolution. 2. Compare the methods of the middle class and the nobles of France in 1789 with those of corresponding classes in Russia in 1917. 3. Compare the "suspensive" veto (p. 418) with the American plan of getting rid of the old "absolute" veto. Which plan is in use to-day in the most free governments? 4. Can the franchise provision of the Constitution of 1791 be reconciled with the Declaration of Rights?

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best one-volume history of the Revolution is that by Shailer Mathews. Next comes Mrs. Gardiner's, more conservative and less interesting. There are excellent treatments in H. Morse Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, and in Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*. The best of the larger works in English is H. Morse Stephens' *History of the French Revolution*. Carlyle's *French Revolution* remains the most powerful and vivid presentation, but it can be used to best advantage after some preliminary study upon the age. Among the biographies, the following are especially good: Belloc's *Danton*, Willert's *Mirabeau*, Blind's *Madam Roland*, and Morley's Robespierre (in *Miscellanies*, I). For fiction, Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* and Victor Hugo's *Ninety-Three* are notable. Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* contains interesting source material, like the Tennis Court Oath and many of the "decrees" referred to in this book.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE REVOLUTION IN WAR TIME

The Legislative Assembly, September of 1791 to April of 1792

As the constitution directed, France at once chose a Legislative Assembly (September, 1791) of nearly 750 members. The great bulk of the nation had accepted the Revolution enthusiastically; but they considered it over, and they had not learned the need of ceaseless vigilance in politics. A very large part therefore took no part in the election. At first, however, about two thirds the delegates seemed to represent this part of the nation. Their leaders were known as *Constitutionalists* (supporters of the constitution as it stood). *Outside*[1] the Assembly, this party was led by Lafayette, now the most influential man in France.

Constitutionalists

Girondists and Jacobins

A small minority of the nation would have preferred a more liberal constitution — with manhood franchise and perhaps a republican government. These few "radicals" won a third of the seats in the Assembly because of their organization in "Jacobin" clubs.[2] (No other party had any organization whatever.) The most prominent leaders of this group were called the *Girondists* (because several of them came from the Gironde Department). They were hot-headed, eloquent young men given to lofty speaking of fine sentiments, but not fit for swift and decisive action.

Marat, Danton, Robespierre

One small section of extreme Jacobins — only about a dozen, known as the *Mountain* because of their elevated seats at one side of the gathering — held men of a different stamp. Here sat Marat and Danton. Marat was a physician of eminence,

[1] The old Assembly had generously but unwisely made its delegates ineligible to the following one. Thus the Legislative Assembly was made up of inexperienced men.

[2] A radical club which sprang up in Paris in the fall of 1789 took this name from its meeting place. Soon it established daughter societies in other cities, and kept up close correspondence with them on political matters. These daughter clubs showed a disciplined obedience to the mother society.

with a sincere pity for the poor. He was jealous and suspicious, however, and became half-crazed under the strain of the Revolution. As early as 1789 his paper ("The Friend of the People") began to preach assassination of aristocrats. *Danton* was a lawyer of Paris. He became prominent early in the Jacobin clubs, and his rude eloquence and his control over the mob won him the name "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." He was a man of rugged and forceful nature and a born leader — with little patience for the fine speechifying of the Girondists where deeds were needed.

Robespierre

Outside the Assembly there was a third leader of this radical group. Before the Revolution, *Robespierre* had been a precise young lawyer in a provincial town. He had risen to a judgeship — the highest position he could ever expect to attain — but he had resigned his office *because he had conscientious scruples against imposing a death penalty* upon a criminal. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Rousseau. He was narrow, dull, envious, pedantic; but logical, incorruptible, sincere. In the preceding Assembly, Mirabeau had said of him, — "That man is dangerous; he will go far; *he believes every word he says.*"

Foreign perils

The new Assembly, still with tremendous problems at home to solve, found itself at once threatened with foreign war. The emigrant nobles (p. 417), breathing vengeance, were gathering on the Rhine frontier under the protection of German princes, raising and drilling mercenary troops. They had secret sympathizers within France; and in the early winter a treasonable plot to betray to them the key to France, the great fortress of Strassburg, all but succeeded. The danger was real. The Assembly sternly and promptly condemned to death all Emigrants who should not return to France before a certain date; *but the king vetoed the decree.*

The Revolution and European kings

Moreover, the king's brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold, had already sent to the sovereigns of Europe a circular note, calling for common action against the Revolution, inasmuch as the cause of Louis was "*the cause of kings.*" The Revolution stood for a new social order. Its cause was "the cause of peo-

ples"; and the kings felt that they must crush it before it spread.

The Assembly accepts war

The Legislative Assembly properly demanded of Leopold that he disperse the armies of the Emigrants and that he apologize for his statements. Leopold replied with a counter-demand for a change in the French government such as to secure Europe against the spread of revolution. This insolent attempt of a German potentate to dictate the policy of the French people aroused a natural tempest of scorn and wrath; and (April, 1792) France declared war.

The king's vetoes

The French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province, p. 394), but were rolled back in defeat. The German powers, however, were busy robbing Poland (p. 402), and a few weeks more for preparation were given France. During these weeks, the Assembly decreed the banishment of all priests who refused to take the oath to the constitution (many of whom were spies), and it provided for a camp of twenty thousand chosen patriots to guard the capital. *Louis vetoed both Acts.* By June, France was girdled with foes. The Empire, Prussia, and Savoy (a powerful state in North Italy) were in arms. Naples and Spain were soon to join. Sweden and Russia both offered to do so, if they were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion. The French troops were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, the army was demoralized by the resignation of many officers *in the face of the enemy*, and still more by a justifiable suspicion that many of those remaining sympathized with the invaders. Within France, too, were royalist risings and plots; and the king was using his veto to prevent effective resistance. The queen — whom the Paris mob now styled "the Austrian Woman" — had even betrayed the French plan of campaign.

France girdled with foes

Brunswick's Proclamation: July 25

Brunswick, the Prussian commander, counted upon a holiday march to Paris. July 25 he issued a famous proclamation declaring (1) that the allies entered France to restore Louis to his place, (2) *that all men taken with arms in their hands should be hanged,*

and (3) that, if Louis were injured, he would "inflict a memorable vengeance" by delivering up Paris to military execution.

This bluster, with its threat of Prussian "frightfulness," was fatal to the king. France rose in rage. But before the new troops marched to the front, *they insisted upon guarding against enemies in the rear.* Louis must not be left free to paralyze action, again, at some critical moment, by his veto. Constitutionalists and Girondists alike stood by the king, but the Jacobin radicals carried their point by insurrection. Led by Danton, they forcibly displaced the middle-class municipal council of Paris with a new government; and this "Commune of Paris" prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for *August 10.* After confusing his guards with contradictory orders, the king and his family fled to the Assembly, leaving the faithful Swiss regiment to be massacred. Bloody from this slaughter, the rebels forced their way into the hall of the Assembly. Two thirds of the deputies had fled, and the "rump" of Girondists and Jacobins now decreed the deposition of Louis, and the immediate election, by *manhood suffrage*, of a Convention to frame a new government. Lafayette (commander of the French army on the Rhine) tried to lead his troops against Paris to restore the king. He found his army ready, instead, to arrest him; and so he fled to the Austrians — by whom he was cast into prison, to remain there until freed years later by Napoleon's victories.

August 10: Louis deposed

The rising of August 10 had been caused by the fear of foreign invasion and of treason at home. Three weeks later the same causes led to one of the most terrible events in history. The "Commune of Paris," under Danton's leadership, had packed the prisons with three thousand "suspected" aristocrats. Then came the terrifying news of the shameful surrender of Longwy and Verdun, — two great frontier fortresses guarding the road to Paris. The new Paris volunteers hesitated to go to the front, lest the numerous prisoners recently arrested should now break out and avenge themselves upon the city. So, while Danton was hurrying recruits to meet Brunswick, the frenzied mob attacked the prisons, organized rude lynch courts, and on Sep-

Surrender of Verdun

And the "September Massacres"

tember 2, 3, and 4, massacred a thousand of the prisoners with only the shadow of a trial.

Whether the Jacobin leaders had a secret hand in *starting* these atrocious executions, we do not know. Certainly they did not try to stop them; but neither did any other body of persons. Says Carlyle: "Very desirable indeed that Paris had interfered, yet not unnatural that it stood looking on in stupor. Paris is in death-panic . . . gibbets at its door. Whosoever in Paris hath heart to front death finds it more pressing to do so fighting the Prussians than fighting the slayers of aristocrats." The Jacobins, however, did openly *accept* the massacres, when committed, as a useful means of terrifying the royalist plotters. When the Assembly talked of punishment, Danton excused the deed. "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid," he cried. ". . . Blast my memory, but let France be free."

Freed from internal peril, France turned upon her foes splendidly. September 20 the advancing Prussians were checked at *Valmy;* and November 9 the victory of *Jemmapes*, the first real pitched battle of the war, opened the Austrian Netherlands to French conquest. Another French army had already entered Germany, and a third had occupied Nice and Savoy. These successes of raw French volunteers over the veterans of Europe called forth an orgy of democratic enthusiasm. The new National Convention (September 21, 1792) became at once, in Danton's phrase, "a general committee of insurrection for all nations." It ordered a manifesto *in all languages*, offering the alliance of the French nation to all peoples who wished to recover their liberties; and French generals, entering a foreign country, were ordered "*to abolish serfdom, nobility, and all monopolies and privileges, and to aid in setting up a new government upon principles of popular sovereignty.*" One fiery orator flamed out, — "Despots march against us with fire and sword. We will bear against them Liberty!"

The Revolutionary propaganda

Starving and ragged, but *welcomed by the invaded peoples*, the French armies sowed over Europe the seed of civil and political liberty. *The Revolution was no longer merely French.* It took

ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING THE *Marseillaise* for the first time before the Mayor of Strassburg, at whose suggestion the young officer had just composed this greatest of all war songs (words and music) for the Strassburg volunteers (1792). The name comes from the accident that in Paris (which soon went wild over the song) it was sung first by a band of six hundred young volunteers just arrived from Marseilles.

on the zeal of a proselyting religion, and spread its principles by fire and sword.

The First French Republic

France at large had not willed the deposition of Louis, but it now ratified that deed. When the new Convention met, the Constitutionalist party had disappeared. The great majority of the delegates were followers of the Girondists; but on *the Mountain* sat Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, with a somewhat larger following than before. *On its first afternoon* the Convention declared monarchy abolished, and enthusiastically established "The French Republic, One and Indivisible."

Execution of the king

The radicals were bent also upon punishing Louis. They were convinced of his treason, and they wished to make reconciliation with the old order of things impossible. Said Danton: "The allied kings march against us. Let us hurl at their feet, as the gage of battle, the head of a king." The Girondists wished to save Louis' life, but they were intimidated by the galleries; and "Louis Capet" was condemned to death for "treason to the nation."

Constitution of the Year I

Then the Convention proposed a new written constitution for the Republic. This document was extremely democratic. It swept away all the checks of indirect elections and property qualifications, and made all citizens "equally sovereign." Further, it made all acts of the legislature subject to a "referendum." This *Constitution of the Year I*[1] was itself submitted to such a referendum, and *was adopted by the nation*. No country had ever had so democratic a constitution. *Nor had any great nation ever before adopted its government by direct vote of the people.*

The constitution, however, never went into operation. The Convention suspended it, declaring that France was in danger, and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until war was over. (This was one of the first demonstrations in history of the fundamental truth that war is a despot's game, and that democracies can play it successfully only by ceasing, for the time, at least, to be democracies.)

[1] The Convention established for the time a new Revolutionary calendar, — a good topic for a student to report upon.

Treason and dissension

France was indeed in danger. The execution of the king was one factor in deciding England, Spain, Holland, Naples, and Portugal to join the war against France, and it offended many French patriots. Dumouriez, an able but unscrupulous general, who had succeeded Lafayette as the chief military leader, tried to play traitor, in the spring of 1793, by surrendering Belgian fortresses to the Austrians and by leading his army to Paris to restore the monarchy. *His troops refused to follow him*, and he fled to the enemy; but Belgium was lost for a time and once more the frontier was open to attack.

The Girondists give way to the Jacobins

Ever since the Convention met, dissension had threatened between the Gironde majority and the Mountain. The Mountain was supported by the masses of Paris; but, outside the capital, the Girondists were much the stronger, and they now took the moment of foreign danger to press the quarrel to a head. They accused Marat of stirring up the September massacres, and persuaded the Convention to order his trial. Then they were mad enough to charge Danton with *royalist* conspiracy.

Danton, who was straining his mighty strength to send reinforcements to the front, pleaded at first for union; but, when this proved vain, he turned savagely upon his assailants. "You were right," he cried to his friends on the Mountain. "There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them; saved in spite of them."

And while the Girondists debated, the Mountain acted. It was weak in the Convention, but it was supreme in the galleries and in the streets and in the Commune of Paris. The Commune, which had carried the Revolution of August 10 against the Legislative Assembly, now marched its forces against the Convention (June 2, 1793) and held it prisoner until it passed a decree imprisoning thirty of the leading Girondists. Others of that party fled, and *the Jacobin Mountain was left in power.*

Gironde rebellion and foreign invasion

Fugitive Girondists now aroused the provinces against the Jacobin capital, and gathered armies at Marseilles, Bordeaux, Caën. Lyons, the second city in France, even raised the white flag of the monarchy, and opened its gates to an Austrian army,

and the great port of Toulon admitted an English fleet. Elsewhere, too, royalist revolt reared its head. Especially in the remote province of Vendée (in ancient Brittany), the simple, half-savage peasants were still slavishly devoted to king, priest, and hereditary lord, and they rose now in wild rebellion against the Republic. The Convention, with Paris and a score of the central Departments, faced the other three fourths of France as well as the rest of Europe.

And the Committee of Public Safety

So far, the Revolutionists had been afraid of a real executive, as a danger to freedom; but these new perils forced the Convention to intrust power to a despotic "Committee of Public Safety," with twelve members, — all from the Mountain. The Convention made all other national committees and officers the servants of this great Committee, and ordered even the municipal officials over France to give it implicit obedience.

The Committee were not trained administrators, but they were men of practical business sagacity and of tremendous energy, — such men as a revolution must finally toss to the top. In the war office, *Carnot* "organized victory"; beside him, in the treasury, labored *Cambon*, with his stern motto, "War to the manorhouse: peace to the hut"; while a group of such men as *Robespierre* and *St. Just* sought to direct the Revolution so as to refashion France according to new ideals of democracy and of welfare for the common man.

Order, union, and victory

Nearly a hundred "Deputies *on Mission*" were sent out from the Convention to all parts of France to enforce obedience to the Committee. They reported every ten days to the Committee; but, subject to its approval, they exercised despotic power, — replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money or supplies for the national use, imprisoning and condemning to death. Never has a despotism been more efficient. In October Lyons was captured and ordered *razed to the ground*. Toulon was taken, despite English aid, and punished sternly. Other centers of revolt, paralyzed with fear, yielded. Order and union were restored. Before the year closed, French armies had taken the offensive once more on all frontiers.

The "Long Terror"

To secure this union, the Committee had used terrible means. Early in September of 1793 it adopted "Terror" as a deliberate policy. This "Long Terror" was a very different thing from the "Short Terror" of the mob, a year before. The Paris prisons were crowded again with "Suspects"; and *each day* the Revolutionary tribunal, after farcical trials, sent batches of them to the guillotine.[1] Among the victims were the queen, many aristocrats, and also many Constitutionalists and Girondists — heroes of 1791 and 1792. In some of the revolted districts, too, submission was followed by horrible executions; and at Nantes the cruelty of *Carrier*, the Deputy on Mission, half-crazed with blood, inflicted upon the Revolution an indelible stain. Over much of France, to be sure, the Terror was only a name, and the rule of the Deputies on Mission was supported ardently by the people. Still, in all, some fifteen thousand executions took place during the fourteen months of the Terror — one of many horrible blots on human history.

Violence only an incident due to foreign peril

At the same time, this bloodshed is not the significant thing about the Revolution. Indeed it was not the product of the Revolution itself, but of foreign war. Literature has been filled with hysterics about it. It is well for us to shudder — but there is no danger that we shall not, for those who suffered were *the few* who "knew how to shriek." The danger is that we forget the relief to the *dumb multitudes* who had endured worse tortures for centuries. And if the Convention destroyed much, it built up vastly more. The grim, silent, tense-browed men of the Committee worked eighteen hours out of every twenty-four. Daily, they carried their lives in their hands; and so they worked swiftly and ruthlessly. But while Carnot, "Organizer of Victory," was creating the splendid army that saved liberty from despots, his associates were laying the foundations for a new and better society. Mainly on their proposals, the Convention made satisfactory provision for the public debt that had crushed the old monarchy. It adopted *the beginning* of a simple and

Positive reform

[1] Just before the Revolution a humane Dr. Guillotin had invented a new device to behead criminals — a heavy knife sliding down swiftly between upright supports. This "guillotine" was much more merciful than the older practice of beheading with an ax in a headsman's hands.

just code of laws. It abolished imprisonment for debt and gave property rights to women, forty years ahead of England or America. It accepted the metric system of weights and measures, abolished slavery in French colonies, instituted the first Normal School, the Polytechnic School of France, the Conservatory of France, the famous Institute of France, and the National Library, and *planned* also a comprehensive system of public instruction,[1] the improvement of the hospitals and of the prisons, and the reform of youthful criminals.

But now the Jacobins broke into factions.

Jacobin factions devour one another

1. The Paris Commune closed all Christian worship in the capital, substituting a ribald "worship of reason." These extremists were led by the coarse *Hébert*, who clamored for more blood — wholesale execution of all defenders of private property. Robespierre denounced Hébert — who then tried once more to raise the Paris mob against the Assembly. This time the Assembly won; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his friends to the guillotine (March, 1794).

2. At the other extreme, Danton had been urging for months that the Terror was no longer needed in a victorious and tranquil France. In April, Robespierre accused him of conspiracy and sent him to the guillotine.

For the next three months, Robespierre seemed sole master. He reopened the churches, and offset Hébert's Festival to Reason by making the Convention celebrate a solemn "Festival to the Supreme Being." [2]

Robespierre's dictatorship

Then he hurried his plans to create a new France — which he imagined could be done quickly by education. "We must entirely refashion a people whom we wish to make free," said his decree, — "destroy its prejudices, alter its habits, root up its vices, purify its desires. The state, therefore, must lay hold of every human being at its birth and direct its education with powerful hand." One of his ardent disciples exclaimed that he

[1] Said Danton, "Next to bread, education is the first need of the people."

[2] Robespierre was not a Christian, but a deist, like Voltaire: that is, he believed in an all-good creator revealed in nature.

would blow out his own brains at once if he did not believe it possible by "a school of the nation" to remodel the French people so that it should possess "the happiness of virtue, of moderation, of comfort — the happiness that springs from the enjoyment of the necessary without the superfluous. . . . The luxury of a cabin and of a field tilled by your own hands, a cart, a thatched roof, — such is happiness."

And his fall

To clear the ground for putting these fine theories into practice, Robespierre intensified the Terror, until the number of executions rose to two hundred a week in Paris. Leaders in the Convention trembled for their own safety, and at last they turned savagely upon the monster. On July 27, 1794, when Robespierre rose to speak, he was greeted by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" Astounded, he stammered confusedly; and a delegate cried, — "See, the blood of Danton chokes him!" Quickly he was tried and guillotined, with a hundred adherents.

The Directory, 1795–1799

The Terror now ended, and in the following March (1795) the survivors of the delegates expelled two years before were readmitted to the Convention. The populace was disarmed, and the National Guards were reorganized, to consist again of the propertied classes only. The restored middle-class supremacy was then confirmed by a new "Constitution of the Year III." The government so established is called *The Directory*. This was the name of the new *executive* of the Republic, — a committee of five, chosen by the legislature. The legislature became a two-house body, elected by voters with property qualifications.

"A whiff of grapeshot"

A popular vote ratified this constitution; but, at the last moment, the expiring Convention decreed that its members should sit in the new legislature without submitting to reëlection. Secret royalists took advantage of this unpopular act to stir up the Paris mob against the government, and the revolt was joined even by 20,000 National Guards. The Directory was in panic. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the Conven-

tion hall, and mowed down the attacking columns with "a whiff of grapeshot" (October 5, 1795).

The Directory remained in power four years more; but the chief interest for this period centers in the rise of the officer who had saved it, — and whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

EXERCISE. — Discuss parallels and contrasts between the course of the French Revolution and that of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Do you recall any event in English history similar to the self-perpetuating act of the Convention at its close?

CHAPTER XLV

BONAPARTE AND THE CONSULATE, 1795–1804

Expansion before Bonaparte

France had already made great gains of territory. On the northeast, *Belgium had been annexed, with the vote of its people. Nice* and *Savoy*, on the southeast, had been added, in like manner. *The eastern frontier had been moved to the Rhine. Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.

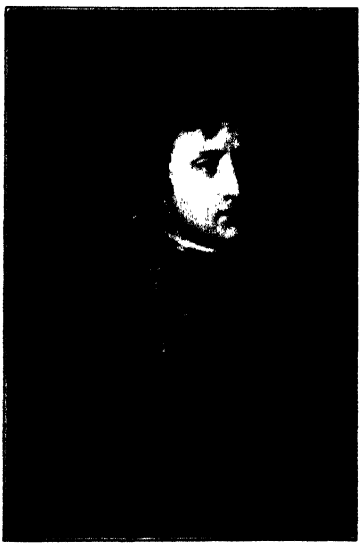
Bonaparte in Italy

The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously. Two splendid armies were sent into Germany, and a small, ill-supplied force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. The genius of the young general (then twenty-seven years old) made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war. By swift marches he separated his enemies, won battle after battle, and by July was master of Italy. During the next year four fresh Austrian armies, each larger than Bonaparte's, were sent across the Alps, only to meet destruction at his hands; and in 1797 he dictated the *Peace of Campo Formio*, which for a time closed the war on the continent.

To the Italians, Bonaparte posed at first as a deliverer, with magnificent promises of a free national life. He did sweep away serfdom, and, in place of old oligarchic states, set up some "republics"; but at the same time he perfidiously tricked the ancient state of Venice into war, and afterward coolly traded it away to Austria. Upon even the most friendly states, too, he levied huge contributions for the coffers of France and the private pockets of the Directory and to enrich his soldiers. Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts he ravished from Italian libraries and galleries, and sent to Paris, to gratify French vanity; and when the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate "frightfulness."

Character of Napoleon Bonaparte

The Italian campaigns first showed Napoleon Bonaparte to the world. He was an Italian, born in Corsica in 1769. In that same year, Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (p 427); and his brilliant defense of the Directory against the rising of 1795 won him the command of the "Army of Italy."



BONAPARTE AT ARCOLA. — The French troops were breaking at a critical point, when the young general forced his way to the front, caught a falling standard, and by his presence, restored the fortune of the day. After the painting by Gros.

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of history. He was also one of the greatest of civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," with wonderful grasp of details, — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling; but, like Frederick II of Prussia, he was utterly unscrupulous and deliberately rejected all claims of morality. "Morality," said he, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His generalship lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of move-

ment, and in massing his troops against some one weak point of an enemy. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins his victories with our legs." In early life he may have been a sincere republican; but he hated anarchy and disorder, and, before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the French people's earlier ardor for liberty into a passion for military glory and plunder.

Bonaparte in Egypt

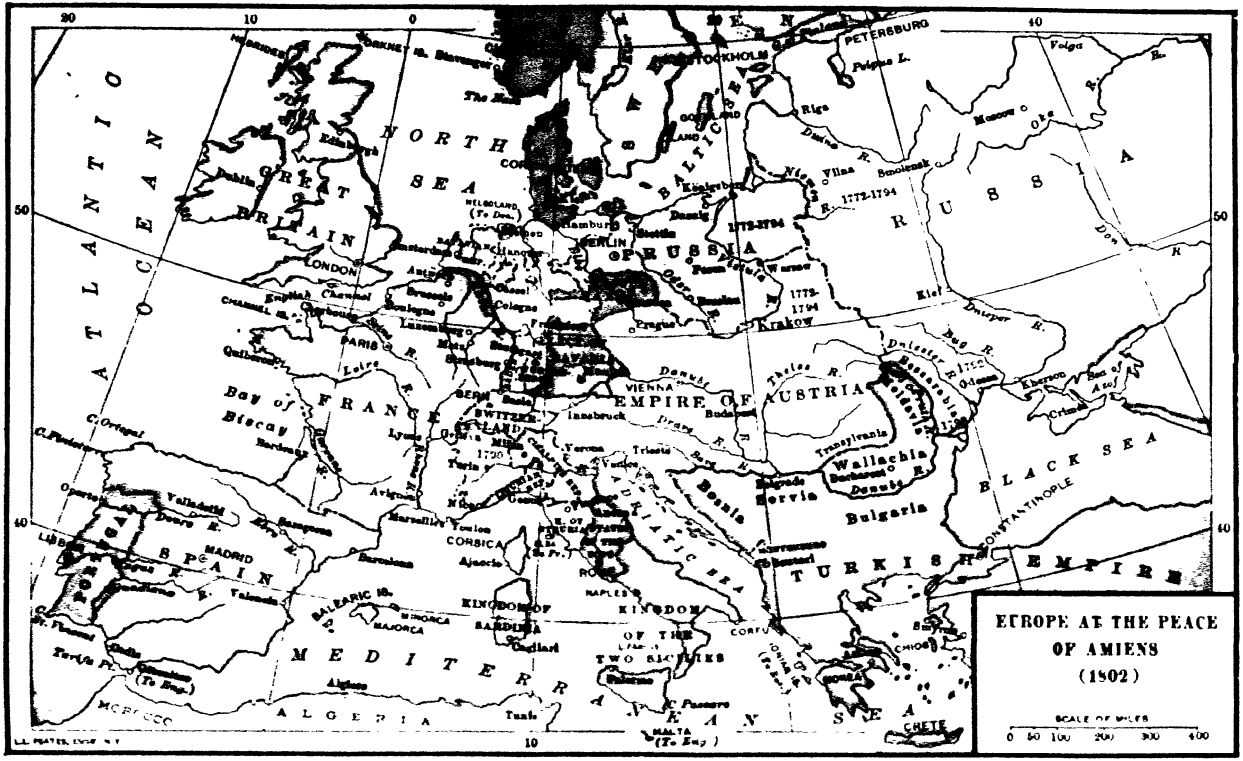
England alone continued the war against France; and in 1798 Bonaparte persuaded the Directory to let him attack Egypt, as a step toward attacking England in India. He won a series of brilliant battles in Egypt; but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under *Nelson*, in the *Battle of the Nile*, and his gorgeous dreams of Oriental empire faded away.

BONAPARTE DISSOLVES THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY — From a contemporary print

Escape to France

Without hesitation Bonaparte deserted his doomed army, and escaped to France, where he saw new opportunities. War on the continent had been renewed. In 1798 England had succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition; and so far, in the new war, the campaigns had gone against France. Bonaparte's failure in distant Egypt was not comprehended, and the French people welcomed him as a savior.

Moreover, *the Directory had proven disgracefully corrupt.*


EUROPE AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
LONDON
PARIS
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
SPAIN
MADRID
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
BALEARIC Is.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
NAPLES
ROME
MALTA (To Eng.)
CRETE
CONSTANTINOPLE
BLACK SEA
TURKISH EMPIRE
Bulgaria
Servia
Wallachia
Bosnia
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
VIENNA
BERLIN
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
SWITZERLAND
Cologne
Hamburg
Krakow
Prague
Warsaw
RUSSIA
PETERSBURG
STOCKHOLM
Riga
Moscow
Smolensk
Kiev
Volga R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Dniester R.
Odessa
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Pruth R.
Danube R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Po R.
Ebro R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Rhone R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Gibraltar
Malta
Corfu
Ionian Is.
Candia
Cyprus
Rhodes
Smyrna
Constantinople
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Turin
Lyons
Marseilles
Toulon
Barcelona
Madrid
Lisbon
Oporto
Cadiz
Seville
Algiers
Tunis
Malta
Naples
Rome
Corsica
Sardinia
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Balearic Is.
Gibraltar
Tangier
Fez
Mequinez
Morocco
Algiers
Tunis
Bona
Oran
Ajaccio
Bastia
Leghorn
Genoa
Florence
Bologna
Ancona
Brindisi
Otranto
Taranto
Messina
Palermo
Syracuse
Trapani
Cagliari
Sassari
Alghero
Porto Ferrajo
Elba
Capraia
Gorgona
Pianosa
Monte Cristo
Ponza
Ischia
Capri
Procida
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica

Each of three years in succession — 1797, 1798, 1799 — the elections had gone against it; but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*, or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting. Now Bonaparte used a *coup d'état*[1] against it. His troops purged the legislature of members hostile to his plan; and a Rump, made up of Bonaparte's adherents, abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two others as *consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and to Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred, the French people accepted the constitution that virtually made Bonaparte dictator.

Overthrow of the Directory: Bonaparte, First Consul

Bonaparte's first work as consul was to crush foreign foes. In 1800 he won a dazzling victory over the Austrians at *Marengo* in Italy, and General Moreau crushed another Austrian army at *Hohenlinden* in Bavaria. One by one the allies laid down their arms, and in 1802 the *Peace of Amiens* won peace even from England — which had been in arms against France since 1793.

By the "Constitution of the Year VIII" (1800) Napoleon, as First Consul, was really a dictator. The legislature was little more than a debating society, and could not even propose a law without his consent. The government was said to "rest on manhood suffrage," but only as "*refined* by successive filtrations." The 5,000,000 adult male citizens chose 500,000 "Communal Notables"; these chose 50,000 "Departmental Notables"; and these chose 5000 "National Notables." But all these elections elected nobody. The executive was to *appoint* communal officers from the 500,000, departmental officers from the 50,000, and members of the legislature from the 5000.

Centralization intensified

Thus *local* administration was once more highly centralized,

[1] Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to infractions of the constitution by some part of the government through the use of force. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (p. 376) was something of the sort. The coming century was to see many a *coup d'état* in France, and like phenomena have been common in other European countries.

so that, independent of Bonaparte's will, there did not exist anywhere the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village.[1]

Restoration of order

Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Royalist and Jacobin were welcomed to public employment and to favor; and a hundred and fifty thousand exiles, of the best blood and brain of France, returned, to reinforce the citizen body. Wages rose; the French people built up a vast material prosperity; and the burden of taxes was distributed with fair justice upon all classes. Political liberty was gone; but the economic gains of the Revolution were preserved. An agreement with the pope ("the Concordat") reconciled the Catholic church to the state. All bishops were replaced by new ones *appointed* by Napoleon and consecrated by the pope. The church became Roman again, but it was supported and controlled by the state.

Reforms

The reform work of the great Convention of '93 had been dropped by the Directory. Some parts of it were now taken up again. Public education was organized (on paper); corruption and extravagance in the government gave way to order and efficiency; law was simplified, and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

The "Code Napoléon"

This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention of '93 had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration, swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code. This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation of the law of the State of Louisiana.

[1] This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. But, in the long run, *the result was to be unspeakably disastrous*. The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen, by sharing in the local government, was lost.

Napoleon himself declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever."

The last of the benevolent despots

In all this reconstruction, the controlling mind was that of the First Consul. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. Bonaparte knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habit of thought."

CHAPTER XLVI

NAPOLEON AND THE EMPIRE, 1804–1814

"Emperor Napoleon the First"

Soon Bonaparte made it clear that he meant to seize the trappings of monarchy as well as its power. In 1802 he had himself elected "Consul for Life." He set up a court, with all the forms of monarchy, and began to sign papers by his first name only — Napoleon — as kings sign. Then, in 1804, he obtained another vote of the nation declaring him "Emperor of the French," and he solemnly crowned himself at Paris, with the presence and sanction of the pope, as the successor of Charlemagne.

Plebiscites

Napoleon always claimed that he ruled by the "will of the French people"; and each assumption of power was given a show of ratification by a popular vote, or *plebiscite*. But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question *framed by the master. The nation had no share at any stage in shaping the questions upon which it was to vote;* and even the vote was controlled largely by skillful coercion. A plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the French people tamely surrendered to a despotic master who flattered their vanity and fed their material prosperity.

System of spies

Individuals who resisted found themselves subject to a tyranny worse than that of the old monarchy. Napoleon maintained a vast network of *secret police and spies*, and in ten years he sent thirty-six hundred men to prison or into exile by his mere order. *No book* could be published if it contained

Free speech suppressed

opinions offensive to the emperor. *Newspapers* were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects": they were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagreeable to France," and in political matters they were allowed to publish only such items as were furnished them by the government.

Even *the schools* were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." *Religion*, too, was pressed into service. An *Imperial Catechism* was devised, and used in all schools, expressly to teach the duty of all good Christians to obey the Emperor.[1]

The "Napoleonic wars"

In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. *Europe*, he declared, *needed a single head*, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among lieutenants. He felt, too, that victories and military glory were needful to prevent the French nation from murmuring against his despotism. Naturally, other nations felt that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions as these, war soon broke out afresh. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and there was to be no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall. During the next eleven years, Napoleon fought also three wars with Austria, two with Prussia, two with Russia, a long war with Spain, and various minor conflicts.

The European wars from 1792 to 1802 belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Those from 1803 to 1815 are "Napoleonic wars," due primarily to the ambition of one great military genius. In the first series, Austria was the chief opponent of the Revolution: in the second series, England was the relentless foe of Napoleon.

On the breaking out of war with England, Napoleon prepared a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Boulogne. England was threatened with overwhelming invasion if she should lose command of the Channel even for a few hours; but all Napoleon's attempts to get together a fleet to compete with England's failed.

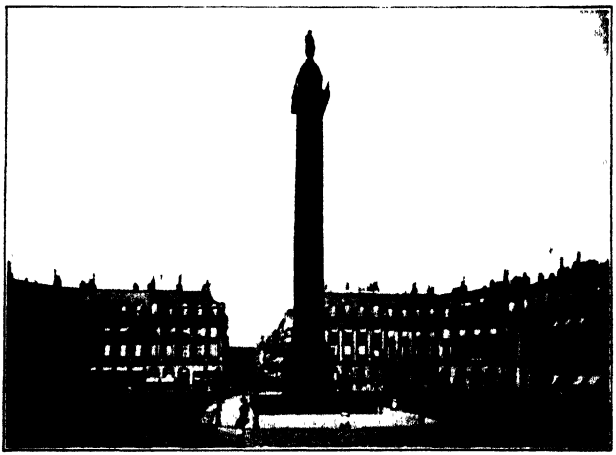
In 1805 Austria and Russia joined England in the war. With immediate decision, Napoleon transferred his forces from the Channel to the Danube, annihilated two great armies, at *Ulm* and *Austerlitz*, and, entering Vienna as a conqueror, forced

[1] Extracts are given in Anderson's *Documents*, No. 65.

Austria to a humiliating peace. Prussia had maintained her neutrality for eleven years; but now, with his hands free, Napoleon goaded her into war, crushed her absolutely at *Jena* (October, 1806), occupied Berlin, and soon afterward dictated a peace that reduced Prussia one half in size and bound her to France as a vassal state.

Peace of Tilsit

Less decisive conflicts with Russia were followed by the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). The Russian and French emperors met in a long interview, and Tsar Alexander was so impressed by



THE VENDÔME COLUMN — made from Russian and Austrian cannon captured in the Austerlitz campaign. The figures on the spirals represent scenes in that campaign, and upon the summit, 142 feet high, stands a statue of Napoleon. The name Vendôme comes from the name of the public square. Napoleon, like the later Hohenzollerns, was fond of imitating the memorial works of the Roman world-empire.

Napoleon's genius, that, from an enemy, he became a friend and ally. France, it was understood, was to rule Western Europe; Russia might aggrandize herself in the Eastern half at the expense of Sweden and Turkey; and the two Powers were to unite in ruining England by shutting out her commerce from the continent.

Trafalgar

England had proved as supreme on the seas as Napoleon on land. *In 1805*, at *Trafalgar*, off the coast of Spain, Nelson

destroyed the last great fleet that Napoleon collected. Soon afterward a secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit agreed that Denmark (then a considerable naval power) should be made to add her fleet to the French; but the English government struck first. It demanded the surrender of the Danish fleet into English hands until the war should close, and finally it compelled the delivery by bombarding Copenhagen.

Napoleon's "Continental System"

After this, Napoleon could not strike at England with his armies, and he fell back upon an attempt to ruin her by crushing her commerce. All the ports of the continent were to be closed to her goods, and Napoleon stirred French scientists into desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the goods shut out of the continent. (One valuable result followed. The English cruisers prevented the importation into France of West-India cane sugar; but it was discovered that sugar could be made from the beet, and the raising of the sugar-beet became a leading industry in France.)

This "Continental System" did inflict damage upon England, but it carried greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. At times, even the French armies had to be clothed in smuggled English goods, and they marched into Russia in 1812 (p. 446) in English shoes.

"War of 1812" in America

England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coast of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures, both France and England ignored the rights of neutral states. One result was the War of 1812 in America. In this struggle, unhappily, we let ourselves be drawn into fighting upon the side of the European despot, against the only champion of freedom, and upon the whole, into fighting that power which we had least reason to fight.[1] Happily, in that day, America's part could not be decisive, and the contest did not much affect the European result.

[1] As if, in 1914-1918, we had let Germany draw us to her side, as she hoped, because the English blockade of Germany hurt our commerce.

Napoleon and the Spanish people

Portugal refused to obey Napoleon's order to confiscate the English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon's armies occupied the kingdom. From this act, Napoleon passed to the seizure of Spain, placing his brother Joseph upon the throne. But the proud and patriotic Spanish people rose in a "War for Liberation." England seized her opportunity, and sent an army under Wellesley (afterward Duke of Wellington) to support this "Peninsular revolt." To the end, this struggle continued to drain Napoleon's resources. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

NAPOLEON IN 1811.

Napoleon after Wagram

In 1809, encouraged by the Spanish rising, Austria once more entered the lists, but a defeat at *Wagram* forced her again to submission. Napoleon now married a princess of Austria. He was anxious for an heir, and so divorced his former wife, Josephine, who had borne him no children, to make way for marriage with a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. This union of the Revolutionary emperor with the proud Hapsburg house marks in some respects the summit of his power.

Napoleon's new map of Europe

At the moment, the Spanish campaigns seemed trivial; and after Wagram, Napoleon was supreme in Central Europe. This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory. The most important may be grouped under four heads.

1. *The Batavian Republic* (p. 432) was converted into the Kingdom of Holland, with Napoleon's brother Louis for its

sovereign. Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing the Continental System rigidly, Napoleon deposed him, and *annexed Holland to France*, along with the whole north coast of Germany as far as Denmark.

2. *In Italy* the new republics and the old petty states were disposed of, one after another. Even the pope was deprived of his principality. When these changes were complete, Italy lay in three fairly equal divisions. *In the south* Napoleon's brother, Joseph, ruled as King of Naples; and when Joseph was promoted in 1809 to the throne of Spain, he was succeeded in Naples by Murat, one of Napoleon's generals. *In the northeast* was the "Kingdom of Italy," with Napoleon himself as king — as Charlemagne and Otto and their successors had been "kings of Italy"! *The rest of the peninsula was made a part of France*, and was organized as a French Department.

3. *The Illyrian provinces* on the eastern coast of the Adriatic were annexed directly to France.

4. Most important of all were the changes in *Germany*. To comprehend the significance of Napoleon's work there, one must first grasp the bewildering conditions *before* his interference. *Until Napoleon, there was no true political Germany.* The Holy Roman Empire was made up of:

Germany before Napoleon

(1) Two "great states," Austria and Prussia, each of them half Slavonic in blood; (2) some thirty states of the "second rank," like Bavaria; (3) about two hundred and fifty *petty* states of the "third order" (many of them under bishops or archbishops), ranging in size from a small duchy to a large farm, but averaging a few thousand inhabitants; (4) some fifteen hundred "knights of the empire," who in England would have been country squires, but who in Germany were really independent monarchs, with an average territory of three square miles, and some three hundred subjects apiece, over whom they held power of life and death; and (5) about fifty-six "free cities," all in misrule, governed by narrow aristocracies.

Each of the two hundred and fifty states of the "third rank," like the larger ones, was *an absolute monarchy*, with its own laws, its own mimic court and army, its own coinage, and its crowd

of pedantic officials. The "Sovereign Count" of Leimburg Styrum-Wilhelmsdorf kept a standing army of one colonel, nine lower officers, and two privates! Each of the fifteen hundred "knights" had his own system of tariffs and taxes.

Moreover, many a state of the second or third order *consisted of several fragments* [1] (obtained by accidents of marriage or war), *sometimes widely scattered*, — some of them perhaps wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation. No map can do justice to the quaint confusion of this region, about the size of Texas, thus broken into eighteen hundred governments varying from an empire to a small estate, and scattered in fragments within fragments. (Map after p. 314.)

Napoleon's beginnings of consolidation

Napoleon reduced Austria to an inland state, and halved Prussia, thrusting it east of the Elbe, and, further, turning its recent Polish acquisitions into a new Duchy of Warsaw. As another check upon the two leading states, Napoleon augmented the states of the second rank, raising several into kingdoms. And, from a general hatred for disorder and anarchy, he encouraged all these states to absorb the ecclesiastical realms and the territories of the knights and of the petty principalities within or adjoining their borders, along with nearly all the "free cities." *Thus the "political crazy quilt" of eighteen hundred states was simplified to thirty-eight states.* (This tremendous consolidation, surviving the rearrangements after Napoleon's fall, paved the way for later German unity.)

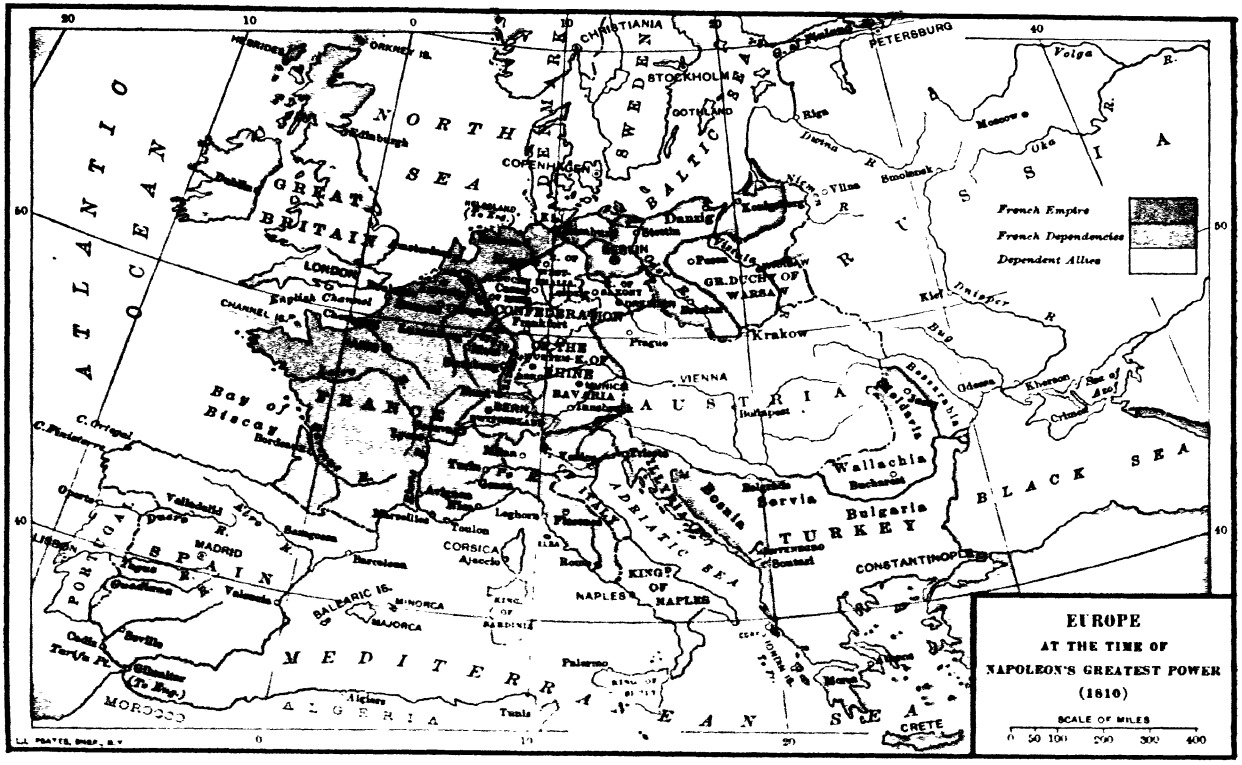
End of the Holy Roman Empire

Nearly all these German states, except Austria and Prussia, were leagued in the "Confederation of the Rhine," under Napoleon as "Protector." This amounted to a dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1806 Francis II laid down that venerable title. Napoleon himself posed as the successor of the Roman emperors. Francis was allowed to console himself with the title "Emperor of Austria," for his *hereditary* realms, instead of his previous title there, "Arch-Duke of Austria."

Social reform in Germany

Napoleon's influence, too, began great *social* reforms in Germany. In the Confederation of the Rhine and in many kingdoms

[1] As indicated by such compound names as the one above.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
LONDON
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MADRID
Lisbon
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
Tunis
CORSICA
Ajaccio
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
SARDINIA
KING OF NAPLES
NAPLES
Palermo
ADRIATIC SEA
Venice
Trieste
Milan
Turin
Lyons
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Geneva
Berne
Switzerland
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
KINGDOM OF BAVARIA
Munich
Frankfort
Prague
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
Hungary
Budapest
Krakow
GR. DUCHY OF WARSAW
Berlin
Prussia
Danzig
Konigsberg
Vilna
Minsk
Kiev
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Bessarabia
Odessa
Wallachia
Bucharest
Bosnia
Servia
Bulgaria
TURKEY
CONSTANTINOPLE
BLACK SEA
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Kherson
RUSSIA
Moscow
Volga R.
Oka R.
Dwina R.
Riga
Archangel
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Edinburgh
COPENHAGEN
DENMARK
STOCKHOLM
GOTHLAND
CHRISTIANIA
PETERSBURG
G. of Finland
French Empire
French Dependencies
Dependent Allies
EUROPE
AT THE TIME OF
NAPOLEON'S GREATEST POWER
(1810)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400

of Napoleon's brothers and generals, serfdom and feudalism were abolished, and civil equality and the "Code Napoléon" were introduced. Everywhere, too, the administration of justice was made cheap and simple, and the old clumsy and corrupt methods of government gave way to efficiency.

Stein in Prussia

Most striking of all was the reform in Prussia. In that state, reform came from a Prussian minister, and was adopted in order to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the French yoke. Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly rotten. The guiding spirit in a new Prussian ministry was *Stein*, who labored to fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and regenerating Germany. The serfs were changed into free peasant-landowners; the caste distinctions in society were broken down: some self-government was granted to the towns; and many of the best principles of the French reforms were adopted. Napoleon's insolence and the domination of the French armies at last had forced part of Germany into the beginning of a new national patriotism; and that patriotism began to arm itself by borrowing weapons from the arsenal of the French Revolution.

Greatest extent of Napoleon's sway

In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Ocean to the Rhine, including not only the France we know, but also Belgium, half of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory, — while from this central body two outward-curving arms reached toward the east, one along the North Sea to the Danish Peninsula, and the other down the coast of Italy past Rome.

This vast territory was *all organized in French Departments*. The rest of Italy and half the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies; and Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends.

But Russia was growing hostile. Alexander was offended by the partial restoration of Poland (as the Duchy of Warsaw).

The Continental System, too, was growing more and more burdensome. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the Tsar refused longer to enforce the "System."

The "Retreat from Moscow"

Napoleon at once declared war. In 1812 he invaded Russia and penetrated to Moscow. The Russians set fire to the city, so that it should not afford him winter quarters; but, with rare indecision, he stayed there five weeks, hoping in vain that the Tsar would offer to submit. Then, too late, in the middle of

RISING OF THE PRUSSIANS AGAINST NAPOLEON IN 1813. — The people were often rallied by their pastors, as represented here by the Prussian artist, Arthur Kampf.

October, when the Russian winter was already upon them, the French began the terrible "Retreat from Moscow," fighting desperately each foot of the way against cold, starvation, and clouds of Cossack cavalry. Nine weeks later, twenty thousand miserable scarecrows recrossed the Niemen. The "Grand Army," a half million strong, had left its bones among Russian snows.

Battle of Leipzig

The Russians kept up the pursuit into Germany, and the enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced its government to declare against Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students in a "war of liberation."

PLATE LXXVII

NAPOLEON'S RETREAT FROM MOSCOW. — a painting by Verestchagin, a Russian artist who is credited with having used his art in several large pictures especially to arouse the world to a sense of the horrors of war.

Women gave their jewels and even their hair, to buy arms and supplies. The next summer, Austria also took up arms. By tremendous efforts, Napoleon raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France, and for a time he kept the field victoriously in Germany; but in October, 1813, he met crushing defeat at *Leipzig*, in the "Battle of the Nations."

Fall of Napoleon

Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings fled from their thrones, and most of the small states now joined his enemies. England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, acting in close concert, took to themselves the name "The Allies." They now offered to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. When these terms were haughtily refused, the Allies invaded France at several points, and, in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, they entered Paris victoriously in March, 1814, and dictated peace.

Napoleon was given a large allowance, and granted the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the French throne, one of the Emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, *promised a constitution* to France, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII.[1] To make this arrangement popular, the Allies granted liberal terms of peace. France kept her territory as it was before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had exacted repeatedly from other countries; nor did they even take back the works of art that French armies had plundered from so many famous galleries in Europe.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best brief accounts are Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, and Rose's *Napoleon the First*. Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* has an admirable selection of source material.

[1] The son of Louis XVI had died in prison at Paris in 1795. According to the theory that he began to reign upon his father's death in 1793, he is known as Louis XVII.

PART XI — REACTION, 1815-1848

CHAPTER XLVII

REACTION IN THE SADDLE, 1815-1820

I. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Political chaos in Europe

Napoleon had wiped away the old map of Europe, and now *his* map fell to pieces. All the districts which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without governments. The *old* rulers of these states were clamoring for restoration. Other rulers wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. There was also a fear pervading Europe that from France either new and dangerous "Revolutionary" ideas or a new military conqueror might overrun the world. To settle these problems — to arrange for "restoration," "reparation," and "guarantees" — the four "Allies" invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a "Peace Congress."

The Congress of Vienna

The *Congress of Vienna* assembled in November, 1814. The crowd of smaller monarchs and princes were entertained by their Austrian host in a constant round of masques and revels, while the four great Allies (Russia, Austria, Prussia, England) did the work in private committee. From time to time, as they reached agreements, they announced results to the Congress for public ratification.

The territorial rearrangements fall under three heads.

1. *Italy was left in twelve states, and Germany in thirty-eight.* These were all *restored* to their old ruling families. (The other phases of the "restoration" can be treated most conveniently in the next chapter.)

Territorial rearrangements: "restorations"

Guarantee against French attack

2. *The states along the French frontier were strengthened,* as one "*guarantee*" against future aggression by France. (1) Holland was made into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, under the House of Orange, and Belgium was added to it, although the Belgians wished to be independent and objected very strongly to being made Dutch. (2) Nice and Savoy were given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia,[1] to which was added also the old Republic of Genoa. (3) German territory west of the Rhine, now taken back from France, was divided between Prussia and Bavaria. (4) The Congress guaranteed the "neutrality" of Switzerland, promising that all would join in punishing any country which in future wars should march troops through that state. Thus the entire European frontier next France from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, was powerfully guarded.

3. *The remaining rearrangements had to do,* directly or indirectly, *with "compensating" the Allies* for their exertions and losses. Under cover of high-sounding phrases about founding "a durable peace based upon a just division of power," the Congress became "a Congress for loot" and began a disgraceful scramble for spoils.

Plunder for the Allies

(1) *England* had stood out alone for years against the whole power of Napoleon, and she had incurred an enormous national debt by acting as paymaster of the various coalitions. In repayment she now kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial acquisitions, mainly from the old Dutch empire, which she had occupied during the war. This left England the one great colonial power. Spain and Holland still had some possessions outside Europe; but their holdings were insignificant beside England's.

(2) *Austria* received back all her lost territory except distant Belgium, in place of which she accepted Venetia and Lombardy — much to the distaste of the inhabitants of those districts.

(3) Alexander, Tsar of Russia, secured Finland from Sweden;

[1] Sardinia had been part of the "Piedmont" ("Foot of the Mountain") state in North Italy. When Savoy, and the rest of that state upon the mainland, fell to France, Sardinia remained for a time the sole possession of the "House of Savoy," and afterward gave its name to the whole of the restored state.

and he demanded also further reward in Poland. The Duchy of Warsaw (p. 444), he insisted, should be made into a kingdom of Poland, and he should be the king. *But this plan conflicted with Prussian ambition.*

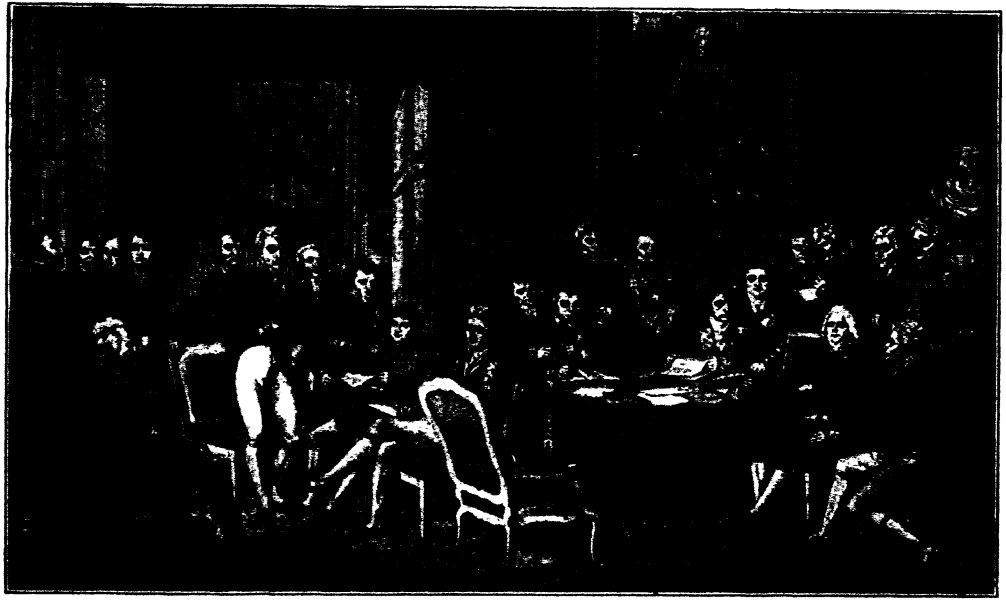
(4) *Prussia* gained Pomerania from Sweden; but the Prussian king insisted also upon regaining the Polish provinces that Napoleon had taken from him for the Duchy of Warsaw. Alexander promised to aid Prussia to get Saxony instead. The king of Saxony had been a zealous ally of Napoleon to the last; and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to make an exception in his case to the careful respect shown by the conquerors to all other "legitimate rulers."

The Allies nearly fall out

Prussia was ready to accept this; but Austria feared such extension of Prussia toward the heart of Germany, and vehemently opposed the plan. England took her side. Thus the four Allies were divided, Russia and Prussia against Austria and England, and came to the verge of war with one another. Perhaps the most interesting result of this was the way in which *France wormed her way back into the European circle.* The Allies had meant to give that "outlaw nation" no voice whatever at the peace table. But Talleyrand, the shrewd French diplomat, was present at Vienna as a looker-on; and now, by offering French aid to Austria and England at a critical moment, he won a place for his country in the Congress. Finally a compromise was made — the more readily that Napoleon had broken loose. In addition to her gain of Pomerania, Prussia took *half* of Saxony and considerable German territory, recovered from France, *west* of the Rhine.

It should be noted that *Sweden,* which in the *time of Peter the Great had surrounded the Baltic, had now retired wholly into the northern peninsula.* There, however, she found some compensation. *Denmark* (which had been the ally of Napoleon) *now had to surrender Norway, and this land the Congress of Vienna turned over to Sweden* in return for Finland and Pomerania. How, out of this arrangement, the Norwegians won independence in a ninety years' struggle is told in a later chapter, — one of the finest stories of the nineteenth century.

PLATE LXXVIII



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. — An authorized painting by Jean Isabey.

PLATE LXXIX

NAPOLEON AT WATERLOO, watching the annihilation of his Guards in the last charge. — The painter (Steuben) has expressed the idea conveyed by Victor Hugo's words, — "The great somnambulist of a shattered dream."

Napoleon's brief return: "The Hundred Days"

During the dissensions regarding Saxony, the Congress was startled by the news that Napoleon had left Elba. A few months of Bourbon rule had filled France with unrest. The Tricolor, under which Frenchmen had marched in triumph into nearly every capital in Europe, had been replaced by the Bourbon White flag, and many Napoleonic officers had been dismissed from the army to make way for returned Emigrants, who for twenty years had fought against France. Thus the army was restless. The extreme Royalists were talking, too, of restoring the land of the church and of the Emigrants, though it had passed for a generation into other hands. In consequence, the peasants and the middle class were uneasy.

Napoleon, learning how matters stood, landed in France, almost unattended. The forces sent to capture him *joined his standard;* and in a few days, he entered Paris in triumph, without firing a shot. The king and the old Emigrants emigrated again. Napoleon offered a liberal constitution, and France accepted it by an overwhelming plebiscite.

Waterloo

The Allies, however, declared unrelenting war upon Napoleon as "the disturber of the peace of Europe." No time was given him for preparation. After a brief rule, he was crushed at *Waterloo* by the English under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher (June 18, 1815), and sent this time to hopeless exile, under guard, on the distant volcanic rock of St. Helena in the South Atlantic.

Mild terms for France

The Allies reëntered Paris, "bringing Louis XVIII in their baggage," as the French wits put it, and *dictated to France a new treaty,* much more severe than that of 1814. Prussia, indeed, urged that France should be dismembered, as she herself had been after Jena. Some Prussian papers talked of killing off the whole French people "like mad dogs," and moderate statesmen wished to take Alsace and Lorraine (as Bismarck did do fifty years later) and other territory that had been seized from Germany by Louis XIV. But Alexander and England insisted on milder punishment; and France was required only (1) to give up some small strips of land containing about a half-million people, (2) to pay a small war indemnity ($140,000,000), and

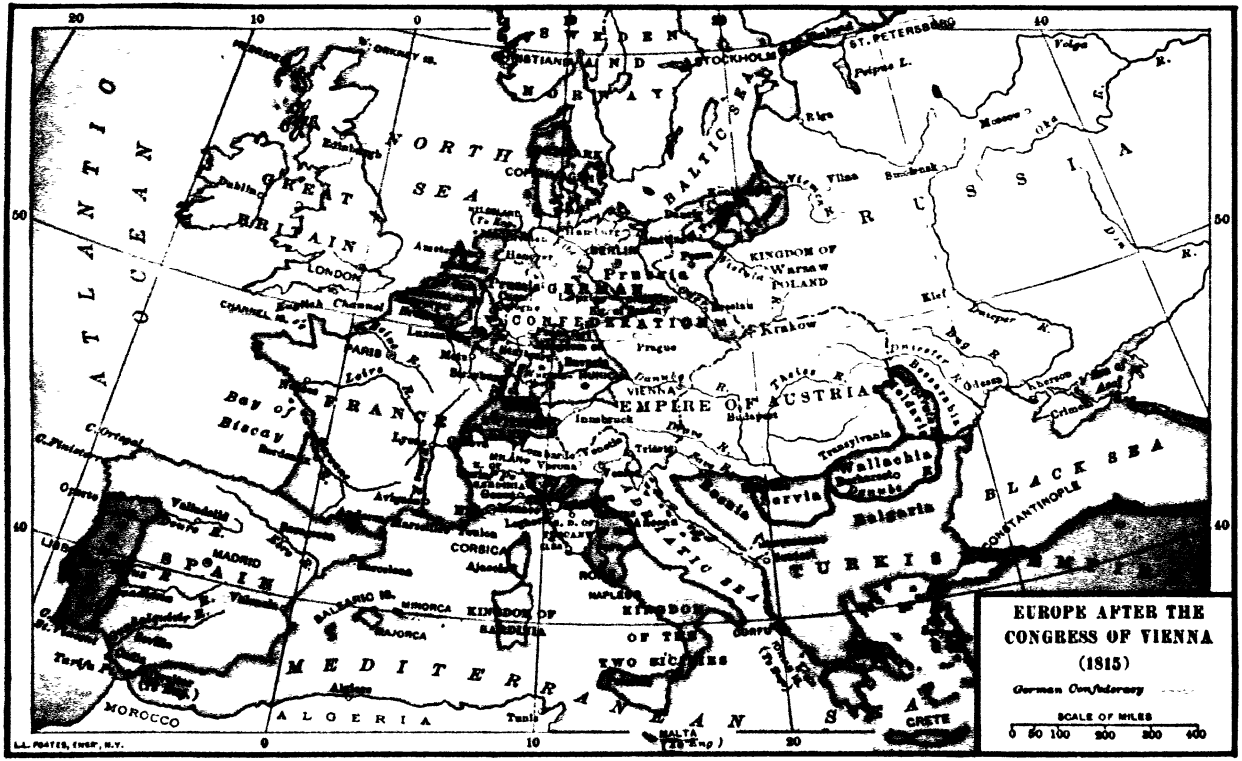
(3) to restore the works of art which Napoleon's armies had plundered from European galleries.

A peace of kings, not of peoples

During the "Hundred Days," of Napoleon's rule, the Congress finished its work. *That "assemblage of princes and lackeys" stood for reaction.* As an English historian says, — "It complacently set to work to turn back the hands of time to the historic hour at which they stood before the Bastille fell." *It represented kings, not peoples.* All the republics which had appeared since the French Revolution, and also the *old* republics (the United Provinces, Venice, and Genoa), were given to

NAPOLEON AFTER SURRENDER. — Fearing that the other allies might take his life after Waterloo, he hastened to surrender to the British frigate *Bellerophon*

monarchs. "Republics," said the Austrian Metternich (p. 453), "seem to have gone out of fashion." Switzerland was the only republic left in Europe, — and it was given an inefficient, loose union, far less effective than it had enjoyed under Napoleon's supremacy. *Peoples were never consulted.* The Congress transferred Belgians, Norwegians, Poles, Venetians, from freedom to a master, or from one master to another, — in every case *against their fierce resentment.* The next hundred years were to be busied very largely in undoing this work — until not one stone of the building was left upon another.


EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
(1815)
German Confederacy
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
GERMANY
CONFEDERATION
KINGDOM OF POLAND
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TURKEY
GREECE
SERVIA
BULGARIA
WALLACHIA
MOLDAVIA
TRANSYLVANIA
BOHEMIA
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
SARDINIA
CORSICA
MALTA
CRETE
LONDON
PARIS
BERLIN
VIENNA
PRAGUE
MADRID
CONSTANTINOPLE
ST. PETERSBURG
STOCKHOLM
CHRISTIANIA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea

II. THE RULE OF METTERNICH

Absurdities of the reaction after 1815

For five years, reaction and despotism held the stage. In many states, especially in the pettier ones, the restoration of the old rulers was accompanied by ludicrous absurdities. The princes who had scampered away before the French eagles came back to show that they had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." They set out to ignore the past twenty years. In France a school history spoke of Austerlitz as "a victory gained by General Bonaparte, a lieutenant of the king"! The king of Sardinia restored serfdom. The Papal States and Spain again set up the Inquisition. In some places French plants were uprooted from the botanical gardens, and street lamps and vaccination were abolished because they were "French improvements."

The statesmen of the Great Powers must have smiled to themselves at some of these extremes; but they, too, almost universally strove to suppress progress. Five states — Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England — really determined the policy of Europe. The first four were "divine right" monarchies. Louis XVIII *gave* France a limited Charter, but it carefully preserved the theory of divine right. That theory, of course, could have no place in England, where the monarchy rested on the Revolution of 1688; but even in England the Whigs were discredited, because they had sympathized at first with the French Revolution. For some years the government there was in the hands of the Tory party, which was bitterly opposed to progress.

Metternich, the evil genius of the reaction

"The rule of Napoleon was succeeded by the rule of Metternich" — the Austrian minister. Metternich was subtle, adroit, industrious, witty, unscrupulous. His political creed he summed up thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. . . . Government is no more a subject for debate than religion is." The "new ideas" of democracy and equality and nationality[1] ought never to have been allowed to get into

[1] The sentiment of nationality is the feeling among all the people of one race, speech, and country that they should make one political state, or be-

Europe, he said; but, since they were *in*, the business of governments must be to keep them *down*.

The Liberals of Europe had greeted Napoleon's overthrow with joyous acclaim; but soon it seemed that Waterloo had simply "replaced one insolent giant by a swarm of swaggering pygmies." The Allied despots had roused the peoples, with promises of constitutions, to overthrow a rival despot, and then they betrayed the peoples and recalled their promises only as a jest. A few months after Waterloo, the English poet Byron lamented that "the chain of banded nations has been broke in vain by the accord of raised-up millions"; and, "standing on an Empire's dust" at the scene of the great battle, and noting "How that red rain has made the *harvest* grow," he mused:

> "*Gaul* may champ the bit and foam in fetters,
> But is *Earth* more free?
> Did nations combat to make *one* submit,
> Or league to teach *all* kings true sovereignty? . . .
> Then o'er *one* fallen despot boast no more."

The Germanic Confederation

Metternich's *chief* victory at the Congress of Vienna lay in *the new organization of Germany*. No one thought of restoring the discredited Holy Roman Empire. Liberal Germany, represented by Stein (p. 445), had hoped for a *real* union, either in a consolidated German Empire or in a new federal state. But Metternich saw that in a true *German* empire, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria, the largest of all, might play them off against one another. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because it would limit their sovereignties. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress, with these princes of the small states, and won. The thirty-eight German states were organized into a "Germanic Confederation," *a loose league of* thirty-four sovereign princes and of the governments of the surviving "free cities," — Hamburg,

come a "nation." This feeling tended to draw all Germans into one German state, and all Italians into one Italian state. In any conglomerate state, like Austria in that day, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force.

Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort. Each state controlled its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy, — although they did promise not to make war upon one another. The *one* organ of the Confederation was a Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was merely *a standing conference of ambassadors* appointed by the sovereigns: no important action could be taken without the consent of *every* state.

A few constitutions

But though the chance for making one German nation had been lost, *the Liberals still hoped*, for a time, for free political institutions in *the separate states*. Within the next four years, moderately liberal constitutions *were* granted in several states, especially in South Germany, where the people had been greatly influenced by the French Revolution. Frederick William III of Prussia, also, appointed a committee to draw up the constitution that he had twice promised solemnly in the war of liberation. But he was a vacillating man, greatly influenced by the nobles, who railed bitterly at the idea of free institutions; and after the committee had dawdled along for four years, he repudiated his pledge.

Disappointment and radical agitation

Outside the Rhine districts the Liberals were made up of writers, journalists, students, professors, and a few others from the small educated middle class. In the universities, professors and students organized societies (*Burschenschaften*) to agitate for German freedom and union. Some boyish demonstrations by such societies threw sober statesmen into spasms of fear, and seemed to them to prelude a revolutionary "Reign of Terror." Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened also by the foolish crimes of some Liberal enthusiasts. A small section of radical agitators preached that even assassination in the cause of liberty was right; and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to be drawing the Tsar away from his earlier liberal sympathies.

The Karlsbad Decrees

Metternich was prompt to seize the chance. He at once called the leading sovereigns of Germany to a conference at Karlsbad. There he secured their approval for a series of resolutions, which he afterward forced through the Diet at Frankfort. These

Karlsbad Decrees of 1819 were especially directed against *free speech* in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret societies among students; they appointed a government official in every university to discharge any professor who should preach doctrines "hostile to the public order"; they set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter; they created a standing committee to hunt down conspiracies; and these despotic purposes were enforced for many years by the exile or cruel imprisonment of thousands of high-souled youths and gentle scholars, — for singing patriotic songs or for wearing black, red, and orange (the colors of the old Empire), which had become the symbol of German unity.[1]

FOR FURTHER READING. — The most desirable general treatment of the nineteenth century for high schools is Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*. Duplicate copies of this work will be better than a multiplicity of references; but students should have access also to Andrews' *Modern Europe*, Seignobos' *Europe Since 1814*, and Carlton Hayes' *Modern Europe*, II.

EXERCISE. — Add to the list of dates 1776, 1789, 1815.

[1] These colors had been used as the flag of the patriotic uprising against Napoleon in 1814; but their use was now punished severely — even in such ingeniously evasive combinations as a black coat, a yellow (straw) hat, and a red vest!

CHAPTER XLVIII

UNSUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONS, 1820–1830

The history of the nineteenth century is the history of the influences which the French Revolution left. — FREDERIC HARRISON.

No land touched by the French Revolution was ever again quite the same. — FREDERICK A. OGG.

The Spanish "Constitution of 1812"

The first attacks upon Metternich's system came from the south of Europe. The Spanish patriots who rose in 1808 against Napoleon (p. 442) found themselves without a government. Their king was in the hands of the French. The insurgent leaders came largely from the small, educated middle class, who had been converted to the ideals of the early French Revolution. These leaders set up a representative assembly (the Cortes), and, in 1812, they adopted the liberal "Constitution of 1812" (modeled upon the French Constitution of 1791).

Independence of Spanish America

Meantime, when Napoleon seized Spain, the Spanish American states refused to recognize his authority, and so became virtually independent, under governments of their own. At first, most of these new governments were in name loyal to the Spanish crown. During the next few years, however, the Spanish Americans experienced the benefits of freedom and of free trade with the world, and began to follow the example of the United States, which had so recently been merely a group of European colonies. By 1820, all the Spanish states on the continent of America had become virtually independent nations.

Restoration of Ferdinand

After the fall of Napoleon, the Spanish king, Ferdinand, returned to his throne. He had promised to maintain the new constitution; but he soon broke his pledges, restored all the old iniquities, and cruelly persecuted the Liberal heroes of the "war of liberation." In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the re-

The Spanish Revolution of 1820

volted colonies; but one of the regiments, instead of embarking, raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded, and restored the constitution.

Revolution spreads through the south of Europe

This Spanish Revolution of 1820 became the signal for like attempts in other states. Before the year closed, *Portugal* and *Naples* both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. Early in the next year, the people and army of Piedmont rebelled, to secure a constitution for the Kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy and Venetia stirred restlessly in the grasp of Austria. And the Greeks began a long struggle for independence against Turkey.

We have seen how Metternich used the Germanic Confederacy, designed for protection against foreign attack, to stifle liberalism in Germany. We are now to observe how he adroitly twisted an alliance of monarchs from its original purpose in order to crush these revolutions in Southern Europe.

Intervention by "the Holy Alliance"

After Waterloo, while the four "Allies" were still in Paris (November 20, 1815), they agreed to preserve their union and to hold meetings from time to time. The purpose was to guard against any future aggression by France. But when the revolutions of 1820 began, Metternich assembled the *absolute* sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia in a *"Congress" at Troppau*, where they signed a declaration that they would unite to put down revolution against any established government.

England protests

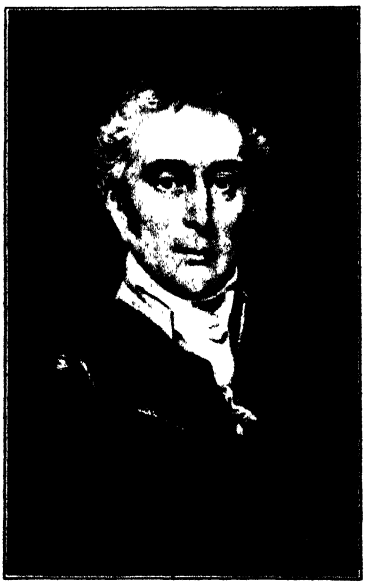
England protested, both before and after the meeting, declaring that each nation should manage its internal affairs as it chose, and on this issue, she now withdrew from the alliance of 1815 — which from this time is known popularly as *the Holy Alliance*.[1]

Spanish constitutionalism crushed

Undaunted by England's opposition, the banded despots promptly marched overwhelming armies into Italy and restored absolutism in both Naples and Piedmont; and then, flushed with success, determined next to overthrow also the Spanish

[1] The confusion which explains this name is discussed in West's *Modern Progress*, 342.

constitution, from which the "contagion of liberty" had spread. In 1822, at a *Congress at Verona*, they were joined by France. England again protested vigorously. The French representative tried to reconcile England by pleading that a constitution might be all very well in Spain, but that it should be a constitution *granted by the king*, not one *forced upon him* by rebels against his authority. Wellington, the English representative, Tory though he was, fitly answered this "divine right" plea: "Do you not know, sir, that it is not kings who make constitutions, but constitutions that make kings!"



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

But on land, England could do no more than protest, and, with the sanction of the "crowned conspirators of Verona," a French army restored the old absolutism in Spain. The "Holy Alliance" planned also to restore monarchic control in the revolted Spanish colonies. But here they failed. On the sea England was supreme; and she made it known that she would oppose the intended expedition with all her great might. Once more, as in Napoleon's day and in Philip II's, the English sea power saved liberty.

Spanish America saved by England and the Monroe Doctrine

America shares in the credit of checking the despots. Canning, the English minister, urged the United States to join England in an alliance to protect Spanish America. The United States chose to act without formal alliance,[1] but did act along the same lines. President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823 announced to the world that this country would oppose any

[1] See West's *American People*, p. 425 ff.

attempt of the despotic Powers to extend their "political system" to America.[1]

Greek independence secured

Almost at once Metternich met another check, in the affairs of Greece. The rising there had been accompanied by terrible massacres of all Turks dwelling in the country, and the exasperated Turkish government was now putting down the rebellion by a war of extermination. For a time Metternich hoped to bring about intervention by the allied Powers to restore Turkish authority; but he failed from two causes.

1. *The educated classes of Western Europe had been nourished mainly on the ancient Greek literature*, and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to the glorious ancient war against the Persians. The man who did most to widen this sympathy was Byron, the English poet, who closed a career of mingled genius and generosity and wrongdoing by a noble self-devotion, giving fortune and life to the Greek cause. Numbers of volunteers, aroused by his passionate lyrics, followed him to fight for Greek liberty, and before any government had taken action, the Turks complained that they had to contend with all Europe.

2. *The Russian people felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their co-religionists*, and a deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes, so that the Tsar could not join in open intervention against the revolution.

Battle of Navarino

Finally, indeed, intervention came, but *for* the Greeks. The English, French, and Russian fleets had proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce, so as to permit negotiation. The three fleets were acting together under the lead of the English admiral, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance, and chiefly through the excited feelings of the common sailors, the fleets came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of *Navarino* (October, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disown him. So the three Powers forced Turkey to grant independence to the Greeks.

[1] This is one part of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

Elsewhere, however, Metternich was triumphant. For ten years after the overthrow of the gallant Spanish Revolution, the reactionists had things their own way from England to Greece. *The next attack on Metternich's system came from France in 1830.*

The French Charter of 1815

When Louis XVIII became king of France (p. 447) he knew that the people must have some assurance of those personal liberties which they had won in the Revolution. Accordingly he *gave* to the nation the "Charter of 1815." In this way he saved the theory of "divine right"; and the preamble expressly declared the king the source of all authority. Still this grant gave the people of France more freedom than any other large country on the continent then had, — confirming religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech, and freedom of the press. *Political* liberty, however, was extremely limited. There was provided a legislature of two Houses, — the *Peers* (appointed by the king) and the Deputies; but the property qualification for voting was put so high that only about one out of seventy adult males had any voice in the elections. Moreover, the king kept an *absolute veto* and the *sole right to propose laws*, along with Napoleon's system of control over all *local* administration.

Charles X

In 1824 the shrewd Louis was succeeded by his arbitrary and extremely reactionary brother, Charles X. Now the government curtailed the freedom of the press, closed the historical lectures of Guizot (a very moderate Liberal), and plundered $200,000,000 from the treasury for returned Emigrants. It was plain, too, that the king was bent upon restoring to the church its old lands and its old control over education, and upon punishing the old Revolutionists.

In 1827 came the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, and, despite the narrow electorate, that body had a large majority of Liberals, vehemently opposed to the king's policy. Charles tried to disregard that majority and to keep his old ministers in power; but (March 2, 1830) the Assembly, by a vote of 221 to 182, adopted a bold address calling for the dismissal of the ministry, — "that menace to public safety." Charles instead

dissolved the Chamber. Public interest was intense, and the aged Lafayette journeyed through France to organize the Liberals for the next contest at the polls. The new elections in June destroyed the reactionary party. Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reëlected, and the Liberals gained also fifty of the remaining seats.

The "July Ordinances" of 1830

Twice defeated by the votes of even the oligarchic landlords, but no whit daunted, the stubborn monarch tried a *coup d'état*. He suspended the Charter by a series of edicts, known as the July Ordinances. These Ordinances (1) forbade the publication of newspapers without royal approval, (2) dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and (3) *promulgated a new law* for elections so as to put control into the hands of a still smaller class of great landlords.

The "July Days"

The Ordinances were published July 26, 1830. That day, forty-one journalists of Paris, led by the young Thiers,[1] printed a protest, declaring the Ordinances illegal and calling upon France to resist them. The journalists had in mind only *legal* resistance, not violence; but there were in Paris a few old Revolutionists who were ready to go further. The same evening these radicals appointed "Committees of Insurrection" for the various districts of the city. The next morning angry crowds thronged the streets, and threw up barricades out of paving stones. That night Lafayette reached Paris, to take charge of the revolt. The regular troops made only half-hearted resistance. They lacked good leadership, and they hated to fire on the rebel flag, — *the old tricolor*. About four thousand men were slain in three days' fighting. Then Charles fled to England. *Outside Paris, there was no fighting, but the nation gladly accepted this "Second French Revolution."*

The end of divine right in France

A limited monarchy

The "divine-right monarchy" in France was now replaced by a constitutional kingship. The legislature, which Charles had tried to dissolve, restored the tricolor as the flag of France, made the Charter into a more liberal constitution, and then

[1] Thiers had been preaching boldly in his newspaper the English constitutional doctrine, — "The king *reigns*; he does not *govern*."

PLATE LXXX

A Paris Barricade in 1830. — by the contemporary French artist, Georges Cain.

offered the crown to Louis Philippe[1] (a distant cousin of Charles), *on condition that he accept this amended Charter.* The old Charter had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added the words, "*and by the will of the nation.*"

The Charter amended

In this vital respect, the Second French Revolution corresponded to the English Revolution of 1688. In other ways it did not go so far. It did give to the legislature the right to introduce bills, and it doubled the number of voters, extending the franchise to all who paid forty dollars in direct taxes; but *this still left twenty-nine men out of thirty without votes.*

Spread of revolution

The revolution was not confined to France. For a moment, Metternich's system tottered over Europe. Belgium broke away from the king of Holland, to whom the Congress of Vienna had given it. Poland rose against the Tsar, to whom the Congress had given it. The *states of Italy* rose against Austria and the Austrian satellites, to whom the Congress had given them. And in Germany there were uprisings in all absolutist states, to demand the constitutions which the Congress had *not* given.

Gains and losses in 1830

The final gains, however, were not vast. Belgium did become an independent monarchy, with the most liberal constitution on the continent. And France, besides her own gains, was definitely lost to the Holy Alliance of divine-right despots. (Indeed France joined England in protecting Belgium by arms against "intervention" — so that Metternich called London and Paris "the two mad-houses of Europe.") But Tsar Nicholas crushed the Poles, took away the constitution that Alexander had given them during his rule, and made Alexander's "Kingdom of Poland" into a mere Russian province. Austria crushed the Italian revolts; and then, his hands free once more, Metternich restored "order" (and despotism) in the disturbed German states.

[1] As a youth Louis Philippe had taken the side of the First Revolution in 1789, and had fought gallantly in the French Revolutionary armies, until the extremists drove him into exile. Then, instead of joining the royalist emigrants in their attacks on France, he had fled to England and America, — where he earned his living by teaching French.

Still, reaction had lost much of its confidence; and when the next year of revolutions came, Metternich's system fell forever in Western Europe. That successful "Revolution of 1848" began in France, but it was the work of a new class of workingmen, — factory workers, — who themselves were the product of a new industrial system that had grown up first in England. We must go back for that story.

CHAPTER XLIX

ENGLAND AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The "Industrial Revolution"

While France was giving the world her first great social and political revolution, with noise and blood, toward the close of the eighteenth century, England had been working out quietly an even greater revolution which was to change the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children over all the world. This "revolution" was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done; so we call it "the Industrial Revolution." It was not wrought by kings, or generals, but by humble workers busied in homely toil, puzzling day after day over wheels and belts and rollers and levers, seeking some way to save time.

Little change in industry for 1000 ye before 1750

Our life and labor differ far more widely from that of our great-great-grandfathers in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from that of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Voltaire and George Washington, men raised grain, and wove cloth, and carried their spare products to market, in almost precisely the same way in which these things had been done for six thousand years.

The revolution in English agriculture

The first improvements came in England. Early in the eighteenth century, landlords there had introduced *a better system of "crop-rotation,"* raising roots like beets and turnips on the field formerly left fallow (p. 275). The added root crops made it possible *to feed more cattle* — which furnished more manure, which increased *all* crops. *Mechanical* invention in agriculture came a little later. In 1785 the *first threshing machine* was invented, and enterprising "gentlemen farmers" soon began to use it; but it was exceedingly crude. The *cradle scythe* — a hand tool, but a vast improvement on the old sickle for harvesting grain — was

patented *in America* in 1803. The *cast-iron plow*[1] appeared about 1800, permitting deeper plowing and more rapid work; but for some time, even in America, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground.

The revolution in transportation

When these changes in agricultural *production* were just beginning there came also a change in transportation. Merchandise had been carried from place to place on pack horses; and travel was on horseback, or (on a few roads) by clumsy slow six-horse coaches. But about 1750 England began building "turnpikes" (with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from travelers to keep up repairs); a Scotch engineer, MacAdam, gave his name to "Macadamized" roads; and soon extensive canals (with "locks" to permit a boat to pass from one level to another) began to care for most of the bulky commerce.

Weaving and spinning

The change that was really to revolutionize society, however, came in *manufacturing*, and first in spinning. In Queen Elizabeth's time, the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the distaff and spindle, as among the Stone-Age women. But in the seventeenth century in England, the distaff was replaced by the *spinning wheel*, — run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however (such as may now and then still be found tucked away in an old attic), drew out only *one thread at a time*. To spin thread enough to weave into the cloth for a family's clothing was a serious task. Weavers didn't get thread fast enough, and in 1761 the English Royal Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures offered a prize for an invention for swifter spinning. Three years later, in 1764 (just before Parliament passed the Stamp Act), an English weaver, *James Hargreaves*, noticed that his wife's spinning wheel, tipped over on the floor, kept whirling away for a surprising time. Taking a hint from this new position, he invented a machine where one wheel turned eight spindles, and spun *eight threads*, instead of one. Hargreaves called the new machine the "Jenny," from his wife's name.

[1] Improvements on the plow began with experiments on the shape of the mold board by Thomas Jefferson in Virginia.

The thread was not satisfactory, however, for all parts of cloth manufacture; but in 1775 *Richard Arkwright*, a barber and peddler, devised a new sort of spinner without spindles. He ran

Water power for hand powe

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A SPINNING WHEEL found in use recently in a Swiss home.

his wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates, to draw out the thread; and he drove these rollers *by water power*, not by hand, and so called his machine a "*Water Frame*." Four years later (1779), *Samuel Crompton*, an English weaver, ingeniously combined the best features of the "Jenny" and the

"Water Frame" into a new machine which he called "*the mule*" — in honor of this mixed parentage. With "the mule," one spinner could spin *two hundred threads at a time*.

Now the *weavers* could not keep up. They were still using the hand loom, older than history. Threads were drawn out length-

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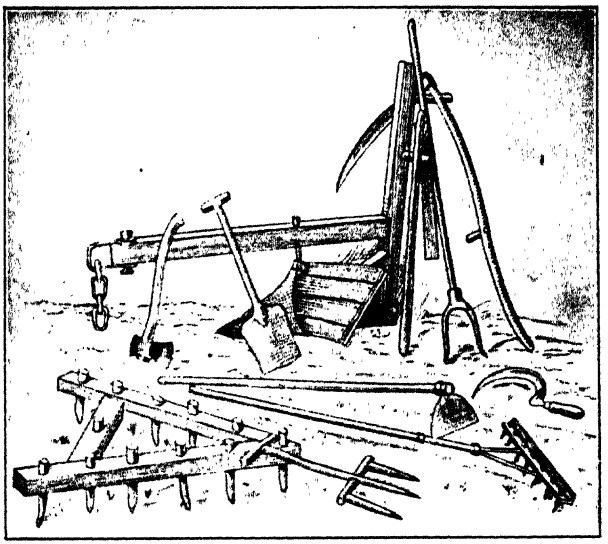
A PRIMITIVE LOOM in use in Japan to-day.

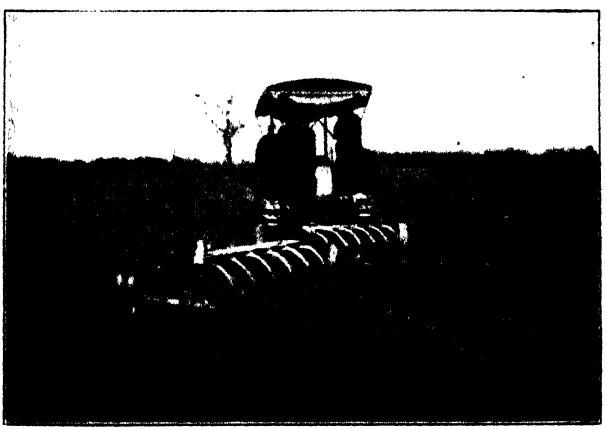
wise on a frame, so making the warp. Then the weaver drove his shuttle by hand back and forth between those threads with the woof (cross threads). But now (1784) *Edmund Cartwright*, a clergyman of the Church of England, patented a "*power loom*," in which the shuttle *threw itself back and forth automatically;* and by later improvements it became possible for one man to weave more cloth in 1800 than two hundred could in 1770.

The cotton gin and the supply of cotton

The next need was more cotton ready to spin. Eli Whitney, in America, met this by inventing his *Cotton Gin*, wherewith one slave could clean as much cotton fiber from the seed as three hundred had been able to clean before. At almost the same time

PLATE LXXXI

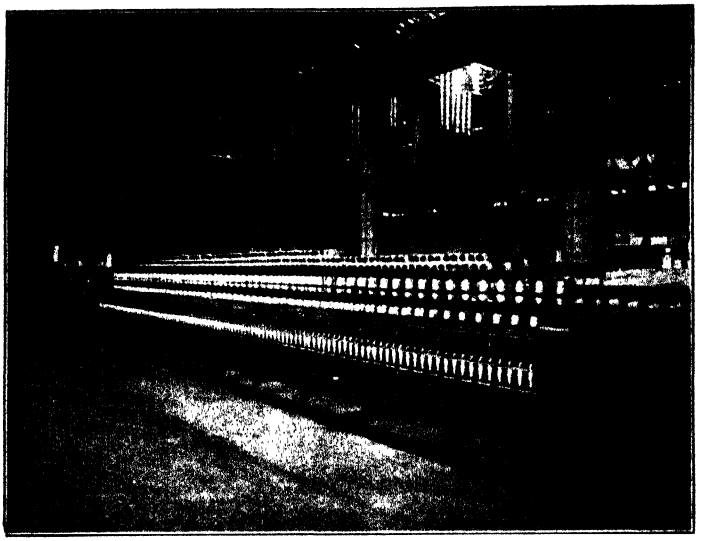


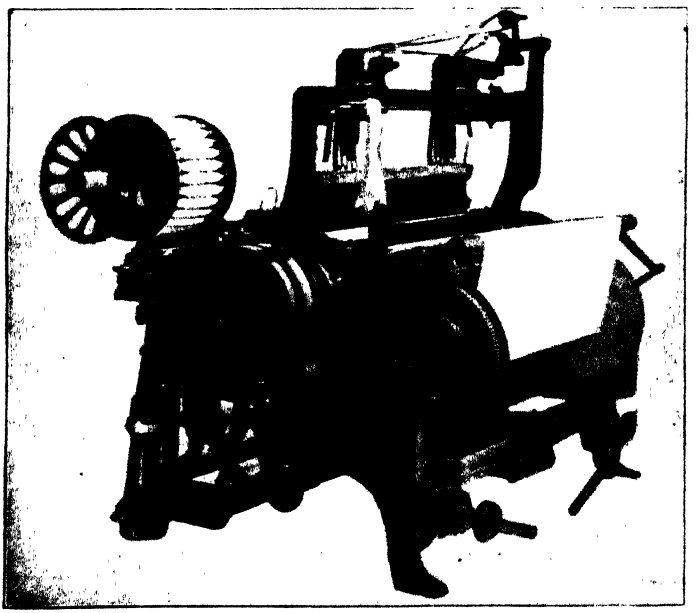


ABOVE. — FARM TOOLS IN 1800. — There were none others except the wagon — and the new and very rare (and very crude) threshing machine.

BELOW. — MODERN PLOWING. — These two cuts suggest only faintly the change that a hundred years has worked in agriculture. The tractor, steam or gasoline, is an American invention. Note the width of the swath. The movement forward is far more rapid than any horse team can go with *one* plowshare. Note the comfort in which the men work. And the difference between the plows of 1800 and of 1900 is less striking than the difference between the *amount* of farm machinery then and now.

PLATE LXXXII



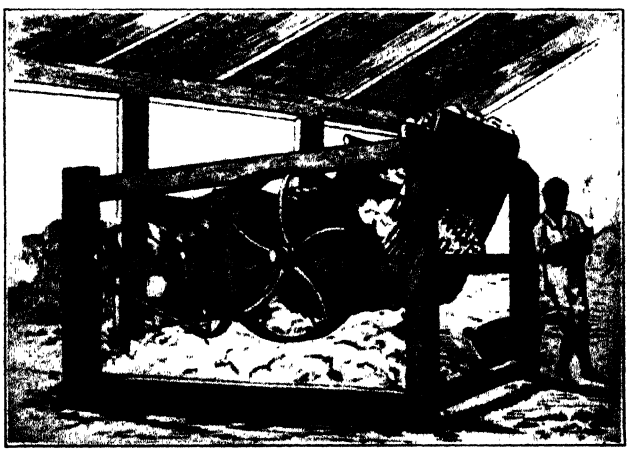


ABOVE. — TWENTIETH-CENTURY SPINNING MACHINERY — which, with very little human labor, spins thousands of threads at once.
BELOW. — A MODERN POWER LOOM.

a way was found to bleach cloth swiftly, by chemicals, instead of slowly by air and sun as formerly.

Then came James Watt to supply a new power to run this new machinery. Before 1300, Roger Bacon had speculated on the expansive power of steam as a motive power, and a nobleman of Charles I's time constructed a steam engine that pumped water. Inventor and invention perished

The steam engine



Courtesy of the Library of Congress

AN EARLY COTTON GIN.

in the Civil War that followed;[1] but, a hundred years later, steam engines began to be used in England to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow; and they wasted steam and fuel. James Watt, an instrument-maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785, he had constructed engines that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and *which could transmit their power to wheels* (and so drive machinery) by an arrangement of shafts and cranks. In 1785 steam was first used to drive spinning machinery. Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in

[1] George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* tells the story.

England than water wheels, and four had found their way to America.

Improvements in working iron

One more series of inventions completed this wonderful circle of the eighteenth century. Engines and power machines could be built in a satisfactory manner only from iron; but the manufacture of iron was still slow and costly, and the product was poor stuff. In 1790, however, steam began to be used to furnish a new blowing apparatus which gave a *steady blast* of air, in place of the old bellows and like arrangements. This soon made possible more rapid and more perfect work in iron. New and better ways, too, were found to change the brittle "castings" into malleable "wrought" iron.

Thus, by 1800, the "age of steam and iron" had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe was closed against it some years longer by Napoleon's Continental System.

This is the convenient place to note two applications of the steam engine to locomotion, and also a few other inventions of the following half-century — more in America now than in England.

The steamboat

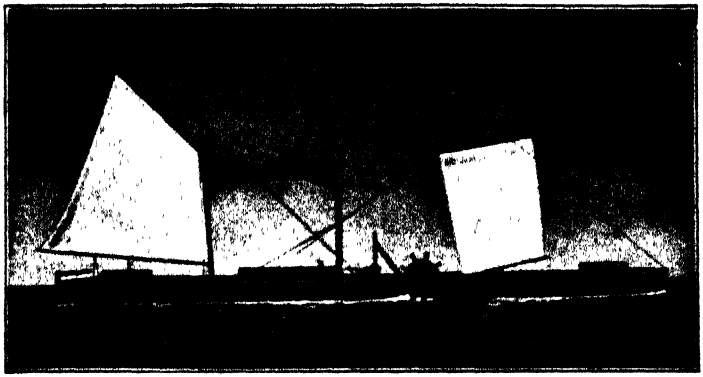
In America the chief need was to apply steam to *locomotion*, and first (with our tremendous distances and lack of roads) to locomotion *by water*. As early as 1787 James Rumsey of Virginia ran a steamboat on the Potomac, and at almost the same time John Fitch and Oliver Evans did the like on the Susquehanna at Philadelphia. But no one of these neglected and broken-hearted geniuses could find capital willing to back the invention. Some twenty years later, however, Robert Fulton was more fortunate.[1] He secured money from Chancellor Livingstone of New York: and in 1807 his *Clermont* made its trial trip *up* the Hudson, 150 miles in 32 hours.

The railway

Since steam could drive boats, why not coaches on land? *Horse* tramways had been used in England for many years to carry coal from a mine to a canal, and soon after 1800 a Cor-

[1] Fulton offered his invention first to Napoleon, as a means of transporting his waiting troops from Boulogne to England (p. 439). Happily, Napoleon thought him a faker.

PLATE LXXXIII



ABOVE. — FULTON'S *Clermont*. — From a model in the National Museum at Washington.

BELOW. — The modern steamship *Britannic* of the White Star Line.

PLATE LXXXIV

NEW YORK CITY, "down town": Woolworth Building (right), Municipal Building (center), Brooklyn Bridge (right), Manhattan Bridge (left), Brooklyn beyond East River. This official photo of the Air Service of the United States Army shows the effect of the use of steel in city architecture

nishman used a *stationary* steam engine to furnish the power for a *short* tramway. But the problem was to get a *traveling* engine. In 1814 George Stephenson succeeded in building a "locomotive" able to haul coal carts on tramways, and in 1825 a passenger line (twelve miles long) was opened in England. In 1833 a steam railway carried passengers from London to Liverpool in ten hours (a four-hour ride now), whereas the stage coach took sixty. The railway age had begun.

Other leading industrial inventions — to 1850

And in many other ways, soon after 1800, mechanical invention began to affect life. From the beginning of George Washington's administration to 1812, the American Patent Office registered less than eighty new inventions a year. From 1812 to 1820 the number rose to about 200 a year, and in 1830 there were 544 new patents issued. Twenty years later the thousand mark was passed, and in 1860 there were five thousand. A like movement, if not quite so swift, was taking place also in England.

These inventions mostly *saved time* or *helped to make life more comfortable or more attractive*. A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass. The *McCormick reaper* (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1831, and soon multiplied the farmer's efficiency in the harvest field by twenty. (This released many men from food-production, and made more possible the growth of cities and of manufactures.) *Planing mills* created a new industry in woodworking. "*Colt's revolver*" (1835) replaced the one-shot "pistol." *Iron stoves* began to rival the ancient fireplace, especially for cooking. *Friction matches*, invented in England in 1827, were the first improvement on prehistoric methods of making fire. Illuminating gas, for lighting city streets, made better order possible at night, and helped improve public morals. In 1838 the English *Great Western* (with *screw propeller* instead of side paddles, and with coal to heat its boilers) *established steam navigation between Europe and America*. The same year saw the first successful use of huge *steam hammers*, and of anthracite coal for smelting iron. In 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, began photography with his "daguerreotype." Still earlier, a French chemist had invented the canning

of foods. In 1841 Dr. Crawford W. Long first demonstrated the value of *ether as an anesthetic*, — an incomparable boon to suffering men and women. The *magnetic telegraph*, invented in 1835, was made effective in 1844. The Howe *sewing machine* was patented in 1846; and the next year saw the first *rotary printing press*.

The latest phases of the Industrial Revolution — which has never ceased — will be noted when we reach the "Age of Electricity"; but it is convenient to treat here two of the chief developments of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Bessemer steel

1. The rapidly growing use of machinery called insistently for still better material than ordinary iron. Steel, an alloy of iron and carbon about midway in structure between cast iron and wrought iron, had been prized for centuries; but no way was known to produce it rapidly out of iron ore. The Bessemer process (invented in England) made steel available and relatively cheap. This invention gave a tremendous impulse to all forms of industry, transforming even the landscape, with our lofty "iron" [steel] bridges, and the exterior of our cities, with our modern "sky-scrapers."

Petroleum

2. Coal became the chief manufacturing fuel about 1800; but before the close of the nineteenth century its place in many industries was challenged by mineral oil, or petroleum. Mineral oil had been known in small quantities, and was used as a liniment ("Seneca Oil") before 1850. The first gushing oil well was discovered in western Pennsylvania in 1859, and the use of oil for light, heat, and power began. "To strike oil" soon became a byword for success — equivalent to a "ship come home" in the days of primitive commerce. Of recent years all the great industrial nations have been increasingly concerned about the future supply of this indispensable commodity, looking covetously toward the rich but undeveloped oil districts of Mexico, Roumania, and Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER L

THE REVOLUTION IN THE LIVES OF THE WORKERS

With machinery and steam power, one laborer was soon able to produce more wealth than hundreds had produced by the old hand processes. This ought to have been pure gain for all the world, and especially it should have meant more comfort and more leisure for the workers. *Part of the increased wealth* did go, *indirectly*, to the common gain, in lower prices. Every one could soon buy cloth and hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution. But, even yet, the workers have failed to get their fair share of the world's gain; and for many of them, while the Industrial Revolution was young, it meant, not higher life, but lower life.

Workmen under the old "domestic system"

Under the "domestic system" (p. 366) all manufactures had been handmade (as the word "manufacture" signifies). Hours of labor were long and profits were small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But workmen worked in their own homes, under reasonably wholesome conditions. Their labor was varied. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil. Their condition resembled that of the farmer of to-day more than that of the modern factory worker. Usually, too, the artisan's home had its garden plot, from which he drew part of his living, and in which he could spend much labor profitably in a dull season for his trade.

The new factory system

But the machinery of the new industrial age was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their old tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. It all passed into the hands of wealthy men, who hired workers ("operatives") to "operate" it. *This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor.* As the old slave system gave way to serfdom in agriculture and to a gild organization

in manufactures, and as gilds gave way to the domestic system, so now the domestic system gave way to the present capitalist system, or wage system, or factory system.

The new "capitalist"

The capitalist manufacturer was a new figure in European life, appearing first in England, alongside the country gentlemen and the merchant princes. He was not himself a workman, like the old "master." He was only an "employer." He erected great factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary "raw material" (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), paid wages, and took the profits.

The new "proletariat"

And if the capitalist was a new figure in middle-class society, *the capitalless and landless worker* was a much more significant new figure in the "lower classes." He now furnished nothing but his hands. Moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children — especially in all cloth manufactures, where the work consisted largely in turning a lever, or tying broken threads, or cleaning machinery. Until the operatives learned how to combine, so as to bargain collectively, the capitalist could fix wages and hours and conditions as he pleased.

Cleavage between classes

The capitalist, too, had no personal contact with his workmen. He employed, not two or three, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands, whose names even he did not know except on the payroll. There was no chance for understanding between him and his "hands." Under the gild and domestic systems, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be "masters"; and at all times they lived on terms of constant intercourse with their masters, who worked side by side with them, and had a sort of fatherly guardianship over them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class; but on the whole, a permanent line separated the two classes.

These features of the capitalist system we still have with us. But another group of changes, less inevitable, were for a time exceedingly disastrous. As the factory came in, the worker changed his whole manner of life for the worse. He had to reach

his place of work by sunrise or earlier, and stay there till sunset or dusk. So the employer built long blocks of ugly tenements near the factory for rent; and the workmen moved from their village homes, with garden spots and fresh air and varied industry, into these crowded and squalid city quarters. In 1750 England was still a rural country, with only five towns of more than 5000 people. In 1801 more than a hundred towns counted 5000 people, and the total population had nearly doubled.

Tenement life

England was the first country to face the problems created by this rapid growth of city populations; and in England for a time no one saw these problems clearly. The employers, most directly responsible, felt no responsibility, and were engaged in an exciting race for wealth. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage-collection. Science had not learned how to care for these needs, and law had not begun to wrestle with them. The masses of factory workers and their families dwelt in den-like garrets and cellars — a family stuffed indecently into a squalid unwholesome room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and disease and misery and vice. In 1837 one tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars.

Little better was the factory itself. Carpenters and masons commonly worked *from sunrise to sunset* — or even from dawn to dark — just as farm laborers often do still. Such long hours for toil were terribly hard: but they could be endured when spent in fresh air, amid out-door scenes, in interesting and varied activity. But this long labor day was now carried into the factory. There it was unendurable and ruinous, because of foul air, poor light, nerve-racking noise of dangerous, limb-tearing machinery, the more monotonous character of factory labor — the workman spending his day in repeating over and over one simple set of motions, — and because there it crushed women and children.

Long hours and monotonous labor

The long day

This was true even in America, when factories grew up here after 1815. Many years ago, Professor Ely of Wisconsin University wrote (*Labor Movement in America*, 49): "The length of actual labor [in 1832] in the Eagle Mill at Griswold [Connect-

Illustrations from America in 1830

icut] was fifteen hours and ten minutes. The regulations at Paterson, New Jersey, required women and children to be at work at half-past four in the morning. . . . Operatives were taxed by the manufacturers for the support of churches. . . . Women and children were urged on by the use of the rawhide."

Child slavery in England

In England, conditions were at first worse than this. Parish authorities had power to take children from pauper families and apprentice them to employers; and dissolute parents sometimes sold their children into service by written contracts. In the years just before 1800, gangs of helpless little ones from six and seven years upwards, secured in this way by greedy contractors, were *auctioned off*, thousands at a time, into ghastly slavery. They received no wages. They were clothed in rags. They had too little food, and only the coarsest. They were driven to toil sixteen hours a day, in some places by inhuman tortures. They had no holiday except Sunday; and their few hours for sleep were spent in dirty beds from which other relays of little workers had just been turned out. Schooling or play there was none; and the poor waifs grew up — girls as well as boys — if they lived at all, amid shocking and brutal immorality.

The beginnings of reform

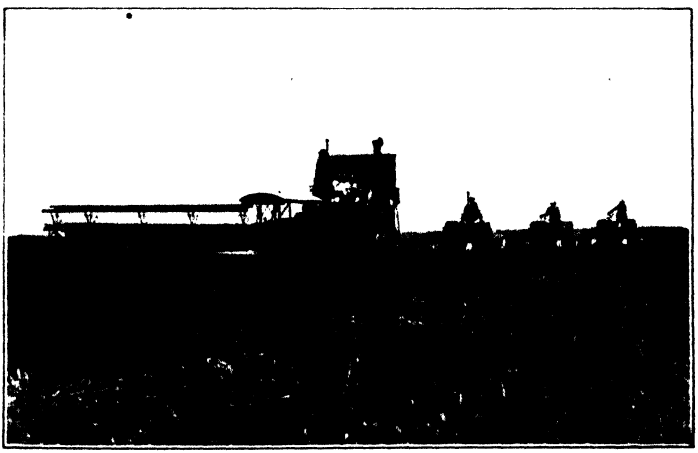
In 1800 a terrible epidemic among children in factory districts aroused public attention; and Parliament "reduced" the hours of labor for children-apprentices to *twelve* a day. In 1819 and in 1831 laws were passed to shorten hours also for other child employees — who were supposed to be looked after by their parents. But these laws were ill-enforced; and until after 1833 (p. 520) the mass of factory children continued to be "sad, dejected, cadaverous creatures," among whom at any great factory, said a careful observer, "the crippled and distorted forms were to be counted by hundreds." [1]

The "let-alone" theory of economics

The revolution in work and in the workers' lives brought with it a revolution in thought. A group of writers put into form a new doctrine about the production of wealth — which very largely replaced the old Mercantilist political economy. The

[1] Read Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children*.

PLATE LXXXV



ABOVE. — HARVESTING IN 1831, with McCormick's first successful horse reaper, — a tremendous advance upon the old hand sickle. (The self-binder had not yet been invented.)

BELOW. — HARVESTING TO-DAY. This tractor-drawn combine cuts and threshes the grain in one operation, covering on an average of a hundred acres a day. The three small tractors are plowing the field for the next crop. Power machinery has displaced most of the horses and great numbers of farm laborers in the agricultural sections of the country. (Cf. also cuts facing page 468.)

leader of the new teaching was Adam Smith in England. His *Wealth of Nations* (published in 1776) taught that "laws" of "supply and demand" were "natural laws" in society, and could not be meddled with except to do harm. Prices and wages and all conditions of labor were to be regulated wholly by this "law." This would secure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Government must keep hands off, unless called in as a policeman to keep order.

This became known as the "Manchester doctrine," because so universal in that early center of manufactures. It is also called by a French name, — *Laissez faire* ("let it go"). English *merchants*, also, accepted it, in their hatred of the old restrictions upon trade; and it soon became almost a religion to the *town* middle class. It suited the strong and prosperous, but it was utterly unchristian in its corollary, "The devil take the hindmost." It produced happiness for a few, and misery "for the greatest numbers." The horrible conditions of the new factory towns were its first fruits. Some thinkers began to call this political economy a "dismal science," and, in search of a cure for social ills, to swing over to some form of *socialism*.

Early socialism

The early socialists were moved by a deep love for humanity and by a passionate hatred for suffering and injustice, but they were not scientific thinkers. They believed that rich and poor could be induced by argument to set up a society of common goods and brotherly love, such as More had pictured in *Utopia*. Usually they thought that, in the new arrangement, society would be broken up into many small communistic units of a few hundred or a few thousand people each; and one of the leaders, Robert Owen (a Scotch manufacturer), spent his fortune in establishing model coöperative communities of that sort, as at New Harmony in Indiana. (All Owen's settlements failed; but his work gave a great impulse to the later coöperative societies.)

Marxian socialism

Modern socialists look back upon these early efforts as well-meant efforts of dreamers, and trace their present doctrine to Karl Marx. Marx was born in 1818 in Germany. He attended the University of Berlin, and was intended by his family for a university professor; but his radical ideas kept him from obtain-

ing such a position. He began to publish his works on socialism about 1847. Germany and then France drove him away as a dangerous disturber of order; and he spent the last half of his life in England.

Marx threw aside the idea that benevolent persons could introduce a new era of coöperation by agreement. He believed, however, that a new coöperative organization of society was going to succeed the present individualistic organization as inevitably as that had followed the gild and slave organization,

Steel Works in Pueblo, Colorado.

through tendencies in economic development that could not be controlled. All history, he said, had been the story of class struggles. Ancient society was a contest between master and slave; medieval society, between lord and serf; present society, between capitalist and workers. The workers, he was sure, will win, when they learn to unite.

Modern socialism points out that a few capitalists *control* the means of producing wealth. This, they argue, is the essential evil in industrial conditions. Their remedy is *to have society step into the place of those few,* taking over the ownership and management (1) of natural resources (mines, oil wells, water power,

etc.); (2) of transportation; (3) of all machinery employed in large-scale production. They do not wish to divide up property, or to keep individuals from owning houses, libraries, carriages, pictures, jewels, of their own. That is, they do not wish to abolish private ownership of the things we use to support life or to make life more enjoyable, but only of those things we use to produce more wealth.

"Direct action"

Unfortunately a large division of socialists have abandoned the ballot in favor of "direct action." By this they do not mean, most of them, bombs or bullets, but they do mean industrial *compulsion* of society through "general strikes." To succeed in this, they aim first to organize all workers in each great industry, unskilled as well as skilled, into "one big union." This program originated with the French "Syndicalists" a few years ago, and has been adopted by the "I. W. W." in America. Society tends, naturally, to meet these threats of compulsion with harsh repression. However, the world congress of socialists in 1920 (the "Second International") distinctly repudiated these methods and clearly affirmed its faith in persuasion and the ballot.

Students who pay any attention to socialism admit that its ideals are noble, and that it has rendered a real service by calling attention forcefully to cruel evils in our society. But the great majority of thinkers have little faith in its *remedies*, and do not believe that the socialist program would work as its advocates teach. Most constructive thinkers hope to lessen the ills of society without surrendering private enterprise and individual initiative to any such degree as the socialists think necessary.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On the Industrial Revolution, — Slater's *Modern England* (American edition), especially the introduction; Alsopp's *English Industrial History*, Part IV; Byrn's *Progress of Invention;* Kirkup's *History of Socialism.*

PART XII — CONTINENTAL EUROPE REARRANGED, 1848-1871

CHAPTER LI

"THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS," 1848

I. IN FRANCE

The middle-class monarchy

In France the divine-right monarchy, we have seen, gave way in 1830 to *a constitutional monarchy*. Louis Philippe (p. 463) liked to be called "the Citizen King." He walked the streets in the dress of a prosperous shopkeeper, a green cotton umbrella under his arm, chatting cordially with passers-by. *He had little understanding*, however, of the needs of France, or *of the feelings of the masses below the shopkeeping class*. For eighteen years (1830-1848) the favor of the middle class upheld his throne. Only the richest citizens shared in political power (p. 463); but the whole middle class held military power in the National Guards — to which no workingmen were admitted.

In the legislature there were two main parties. Thiers (p. 462) led the more liberal one, which wished the monarch to be a figurehead, as in England; Guizot (p. 461), the conservative leader, wanted to leave the king the real executive, and to resist all further liberalizing of the government. (Both Guizot and Thiers were famous historians.)

Guizot's policy of stagnation, 1840-1848

From 1840 to 1848, Guizot was chief minister. France was undergoing rapid industrial growth, and needed tranquillity and reforms. Guizot gave it tranquillity. His ministry was the most stable government that France had known since the days of Napoleon. But, in his desire for tranquillity, he opposed all reform. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt

tax, to extend education, to reform the outgrown postal system, to improve the prisons, to care for youthful criminals, were alike suppressed. He kept France not so much tranquil as stagnant.

"Placemen": organized corruption

Thus, after a time, the bright, brainy public men were nearly all driven into opposition. But Guizot could not be overthrown by lawful means. The franchise was too narrow; and (incorruptible and austere himself) he had organized the vast patronage of the government for public corruption. Less than 200,000 men could vote, and the government had 300,000 offices to buy voters with.[1] At one time, half the legislature held considerable revenues at Guizot's will.

Narrow electorate

The Liberals try to appeal to public opinion

In the matter of *political* reform Thiers' party asked only (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, and (2) to widen the franchise so that *one man out of twenty* could vote. Guizot smothered both proposals. Finally the Liberals began to appeal to that vast part of the nation that had no vote. They planned a series of mass meetings, to bring public opinion to bear on the legislature. Guizot forbade these meetings — and brought on a revolution.

This "Revolution of 1848" was the work of the class of factory workers that had been growing up, almost unnoticed by political leaders of either party. Until 1825, when the Industrial Revolution was fairly complete in England, it had not begun upon the continent. Cloth manufactures there were still carried on under the "domestic system." *But in the next ten years*, 5000 power-looms were installed in French factories; and in ten years more, the number had grown to 30,000. By 1845, a large factory population had grown up in cities like Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris. Moreover, more than the working class then in any other land, the alert, intellectually nimble French workingmen were influenced by the new socialism. Their chief spokesman was *Louis Blanc*, an ardent young editor, who

The new "socialism" among the workmen of Paris

[1] The government appointed not only *national* officials (post officers, custom-house collectors, etc.) but also all *local* officers, like our county treasurers and city police.

preached especially "*the right to work.*" Every man, he urged, had a right to employment. To insure that right, he wished the nation to establish workshops in different trades and give employment in them to all who wished it and who could not get it elsewhere. (In the end, according to his plan, the workers would manage the workshops.)

Blanc was an unselfish, high-minded man, moved by deep pity for the suffering masses; and his proposals were urged with moderation of word and style. But among his followers there were a few crack-brained enthusiasts and some criminally selfish adventurers; and large numbers of the workingmen had adopted phrases, not only about the "right to work," but also about "the crime of private property," as a sort of religious creed. This class was now to appear as a political power.

The "February days"

In 1848 the Liberals appointed a monster political demonstration in Paris for February 22 — choosing that day in honor of the American celebration. At the last moment the government forbade the meeting. The leaders obeyed and stayed away; but the streets were filled all day with angry crowds, shouting "Down with Guizot!" The National Guards, when called out to disperse the mob, themselves took up the cry. The next day Guizot resigned.

The last of the Capetians

Peace seemed restored; but that night a collision occurred between some troops and the mob; and the Radicals seized the chance. The bodies of a few slain men were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city in carts, while fervid orators called the people to rise against a monarchy that massacred French citizens. By the morning of the 24th, the streets bristled with barricades and the mob was marching on the Tuileries. Louis Philippe fled to England, disguised as a "Mr. Smith." The "February days" saw the end of the thousand-year old Capetian monarchy.

The Provisional Government of 1848

The mob had taken up the cry for a republic. Before dispersing, a few liberal members of the legislature had appointed a radical committee as a "Provisional Government" — with Lamartine, the poet-historian, as its guiding force. This body of course was to call a convention to make a new constitution;

but meantime it must govern France, and especially it must at once restore order, bury the dead, care for the wounded, and secure food for the great city, wherein all ordinary business had ceased, — all this with no police force at its call.

The first session (begun while the mob was still flourishing bloody butcher-knives in the legislative hall) lasted sixty hours. One hundred thousand revolutionists still packed the street without, and "delegations" repeatedly forced their way in, to make wild demands. Said one spokesman: "We demand the extermination of property and of capitalists; the instant establishment of community of goods; the proscription of the rich, the merchants, those of every condition above that of wage-earners; . . . and finally the acceptance of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat, to the people its victory, to all foreign governments invasion."

Lamartine grew faint with exhaustion and want of food. His face was scratched by a bayonet thrust. But his fine courage and wit and persuasive eloquence won victory. To help appease the mob, however, the Government hastily adopted a number of radical decrees, writing them hurriedly upon scraps of paper and throwing them from a window to the crowd. One declared France a Republic. Another abolished the House of Peers. Still others established manhood suffrage, shortened the working day to ten hours, and *affirmed the duty of the state to give every man a chance to work.*

The "shop" army

A few days later, the decree recognizing the "right to work" was given more specific meaning by the establishment of "national workshops" (on paper) for the unemployed. In the business panic that followed the Revolution, great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The government now organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a "workshop army," in brigades, companies, and squads, — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle. Over one hundred thousand men, many of them from other cities, were soon enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, *the government had no employment ready for such a number.* The experiment was not

in any sense a fair trial of the socialistic idea: it was a way of keeping order and of feeding a destitute army of the unemployed.

The new Assembly

A new "Constituent Assembly," elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The Revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but it felt no enthusiasm for a republic and it abhorred the "Reds" and the socialists. This, too, was the temper of the Assembly. It accepted the Revolution, but it was bent upon putting down the Radicals. Almost its first work (after making military preparation) was to abolish the workshop army — without notice and without any provision for the absorption of the men into other employments. A conservative French statesman has styled this "a brutal, unjust, blundering end to a foolish experiment." The men of the workshop army rose. They comprised the great body of the workingmen of Paris, and they were aided by their semi-military organization. The conflict raged for four days, — the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. Twenty thousand men perished; but in the outcome, the superior discipline and equipment of the Assembly's troops crushed the socialists. Eleven thousand prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood or transported for life — another of those cruel and senseless "White Terrors" which develop bitter class hatreds.

The Paris workmen crushed

The Constitution of "the Second Republic"

The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. The document was made public in November. It was not submitted to a popular vote. It provided for a legislature of one house, and for a four-year president, both to be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later, *Louis Napoleon*, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president of this "Second French Republic" by an overwhelming majority.

"The Napoleonic legend"

Napoleon's political capital was his name. A group of brilliant propagandists of whom, strangely enough, Thiers was chief, had created a "Napoleonic legend," representing the rule of the First Napoleon as a period of glory and prosperity, broken only by wars forced upon France by the jealousy of other rulers. These ideas had become a blind faith for great masses in France.

Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become a laughing-stock to Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of socialism, his name seemed the symbol of order.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AT BOULOGNE. — This painting by Carl Deutsch commemorates one of Napoleon's ludicrous attempts to arouse a rebellion in his favor during the rule of Louis Philippe. After this "invasion," he was kept in prison for some years.

II. CENTRAL EUROPE IN '48

The "March days" in Central Europe

'Forty-eight was "the year of revolutions." In January, Metternich, now an old man, wrote to a friend, "The world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, the *February* rising in Paris gave the signal for *March* risings in other lands. Metternich fled from Vienna hidden in a laundry cart; and all over Europe thrones tottered — except in stable free England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia and Turkey on the east. Within a few days, in Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, to save their crowns, the kings granted new constitutions and many liberties. In every one of the German states, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in Italy in the leading states, — Sardinia, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples. In all these countries the administration passed for a time to the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform.

A. The Revolution in the Austrian Empire

The Revolution in the Austrian realms

March 13, two weeks after the French rising, the students of the University of Vienna and the populace of the city rose in street riots, calling for a constitution. The emperor promised this and other reforms, and appointed a liberal ministry.

But the Austrian Empire was a vast conglomerate. It included many peoples and several distinct states. The Austrians proper were Germans. They made the bulk of the inhabitants in the old duchy of Austria, and they were the ruling class elsewhere in the Empire. Still they made up less than one fourth of all the inhabitants. In Bohemia *the bulk* of the people were the *native Slavs* (Czechs); and in the eastern half of the Empire, the Hungarians were dominant. *Hungary itself, however, was also a conglomerate state.* In its *border* districts, the *Slav* peoples (Croats, Serbs, Slavonians) made the larger part of the population.

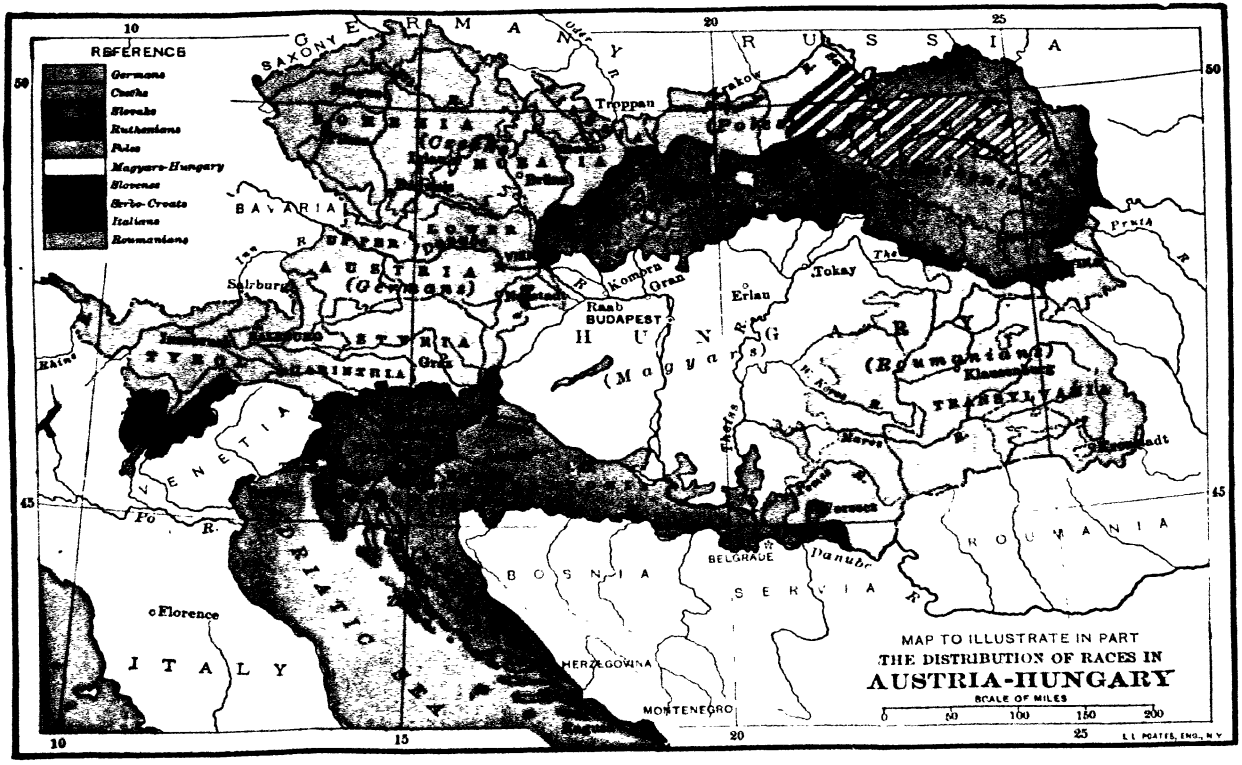
In Bohemia and Hungary the March risings were not merely for constitutional government but also for Bohemian and Hungarian home rule. The emperor skillfully conciliated both states by granting constitutional governments with a large measure of home-rule and the official use of their own languages (instead of German); and then he used the time so gained to crush national movements in Italy (pp. 489–490).

Race jealousies aid autocracy

He had no intention, however, of keeping his sworn promises, and *race jealousy* quickly played into his hand. The German Liberals dreaded Slav rule, especially in Bohemia, where many Germans lived. Soon, disturbances there between the two races gave the emperor excuse to interfere; and, in July (the army now ready) the emperor replaced the constitution he had just given to Bohemia by military rule. Alarmed at this sign of reaction, the Radicals rose again in Vienna, and got possession of the city (October); but the triumphant army (recalled from Bohemia) captured the capital after a savage bombardment. Then absolutism was restored in the central government also.

The Hungarian Republic falls

Hungary remained to be dealt with. Here, too, race jealousies aided despotism. The Slavs wanted independence from the Hungarians; and if they had to be subject at all, they preferred


REFERENCE
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Magyars-Hungary
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians
Roumanians
GERMANY
RUSSIA
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
(Germans)
SALZBURG
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
VENETIA
HUNGARY
(Magyars)
TRANSYLVANIA
(Roumanians)
BUDAPEST
Troppau
Cracow
Tokay
Erlau
Raab
Gran
Komorn
Klausenburg
Hermannstadt
Mares R.
Theiss R.
Danube R.
Drave R.
Inn R.
Elbe R.
Pruth R.
Po R.
Adriatic Sea
BELGRADE
SERVIA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
MONTENEGRO
ROUMANIA
ITALY
Florence
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE IN PART
THE DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
L.L. MOATES, ENG., N.Y.

German rule from distant Vienna rather than Hungarian rule from Budapest. The Hungarians discovered that the emperor had been fomenting a rebellion of the Croats against them; and accordingly they declared Hungary a republic, chose the hero *Kossuth* president, and waged a gallant war for full independence. But the Tsar in accordance with the compact between the monarchs of the Holy Alliance, sent a Russian army of 150,000 men to aid Austria, and Hungary was crushed (April–August, 1849).

It remained only for Austria to reëstablish her authority in Germany, which had been left for a time to the Liberals.

B. In Germany

The March Revolution in Prussia

Even Prussia in '48 had its scenes of blood and slaughter. In Berlin, from March 13 to March 18, excited middle-class crowds thronged the streets; and on the last of these days, in some way never clearly understood, a sharp conflict took place with the troops. The army inflicted terrible slaughter on the unorganized citizens; but Frederick William IV was neither resolute enough nor cold-hearted enough to follow up his victory. To pacify the people, he sent into temporary exile his brother William, who had commanded the troops; and he took part in a procession in honor of the slain, wearing the red, gold, and black colors of the German patriots. Then he called a Prussian parliament to draw up a constitution, and declared his purpose to put himself at the head of the movement for German national union.

The Frankfort Assembly

Meantime, a "people's movement" for German unity had got under way. Early in March, prominent German Liberals gathered at Heidelberg and called a German National Assembly; and May 18 at Frankfort the first representative Assembly of Germany came together. But unhappily even this gathering did not really represent the whole German people, but only a small middle class of "intellectuals." The nobility — with a few rare exceptions — held wholly aloof, and the peasantry were too slavish to have any sympathy with the movement.

The Assembly was made up, too, of pedants and theorists,

inexperienced in public affairs; and it wasted six precious months in debating a bill of rights — while all chance of winning rights was slipping away. Over all Germany the commercial class was growing hostile, because of the long-continued business panic; and the vacillating Prussian king had dissolved the new Prussian parliament he had called — *giving* to Prussia instead a very conservative "divine-right" constitution. In other German states, too, the rulers were overthrowing liberal ministries that had been set up in the March days.

In October, the Frankfort Assembly took up the work of making a *national* constitution. It wrangled through the fall and winter (1) as to whether the new Germany should be a republic or a monarchy, and (2) whether it should or should not include despotic Austria. Meantime Austria at last got her hands free, and announced bluntly that she would permit no union into which she did not enter (with all her non-German provinces).

The people's movement fails

Then the Radicals gave up the impossible republic, and at last the Assembly decided for a consolidated "German Empire," offering the imperial crown to Frederick William of Prussia. But it was six months too late. The Prussian king felt a growing aversion to the movement which, a few months before, he had called "the glorious German revolution"; and, after some hesitation, he declined the crown "bespattered with the blood and mire of revolution." In despair the Radicals then resorted to arms to set up a republic. They were promptly crushed; the National Assembly vanished in the spring of 1849; and many German Liberals, like Carl Schurz, fled, for their lives, to America. The "people's" attempt to make a German nation had failed.

The "Humiliation of Olmütz"

Frederick William then put himself at the head of a half-hearted "league" of twenty-eight *princes* of North Germany. Austria insisted that this league dissolve. Austrian and Prussian troops met, but the Prussian army was ill-prepared; and finally Frederick William made ignominious submission in a conference at Olmütz (November, 1850). *Austria then restored the Germanic Confederation of 1815.*

C. The Revolution of '48 in Italy

Italy had been in fragments for more than thirteen hundred years — though there had always been ardent patriots to dream of a new Italian nation. Napoleon reduced the number of petty states somewhat; and when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon, an English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independence." At the same time Austrian proclamations announced to the Italians, "We come to you as liberators. . . . You shall be an independent nation."

Italy and the Congress of Vienna

The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises. Even the Napoleonic improvements were undone. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces (p. 449), and most of the rest of the peninsula was handed over to Austrian influence. Bourbon rule was restored in the south over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Dukes, dependent upon Austria, were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and Naples lay the restored Papal States, with the government in close sympathy with Austria. True, the northwest was given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia under a native line of monarchs, to whom the people were loyally attached; but even there until 1848 the government was a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is a mere geographical expression."

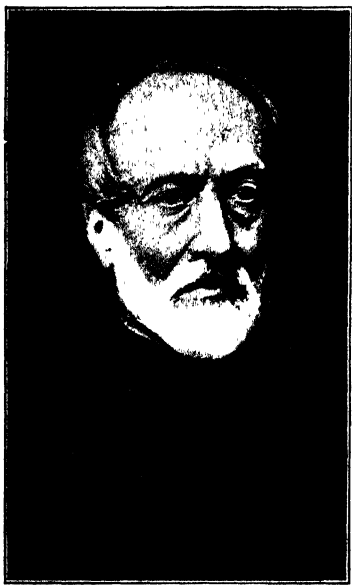
"Young Italy"

The story of the Italian revolutions of 1820 and the Holy Alliance has been told. In 1830, after the July Revolution in Paris, new revolutions broke out in the Papal States and the small duchies, but these movements also were soon put down by Austria. The ten years from 1830 to 1840, however, did see the organization of the widespread secret society, "Young Italy," by Mazzini. Mazzini was a lawyer of Genoa and a revolutionary enthusiast who was to play, in freeing Italy, a part somewhat like that of Garrison and Phillips in preparing for the American Civil War. His words and writings worked wonderfully upon the younger Italians of the educated classes for *a united Italian Republic.*

Thus when the revolutions of 1848 broke out, Italy was ready

Italian revolutions in '48

to strike. In 1820–1821, the extremities of the peninsula had been shaken; in 1830, the middle states; in 1848, there was no foot of Italian soil not convulsed; and this time the revolutionists sought *union* as ardently as *freedom*. On the news of Metternich's flight, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian garrisons. Then Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, gave his people a constitution and put himself at the head of a movement to expel Austria. The pope and the rulers of Tuscany and Naples promised loyal aid. Venice and other small states in the north voted enthusiastically for incorporation into Sardinia.



JOSEPH MAZZINI.

Defeats at Custozza and Novara

But the king of Naples was dishonest in his promises; and even the liberal and patriotic pope (Pius IX) was not ready to break fully with Austria. Except for a few thousand volunteer soldiers, Charles Albert got no help from Italy south of Lombardy; and, July 15, 1848, he was defeated at *Custozza*. Then the movement passed into the hands of the Radicals. Venice and Florence each set up a republic; and in February, 1849, the citizens of Rome, led by Mazzini, drove away the pope and proclaimed the "Roman Republic."

These republican movements succeeded, for the hour, only because Austria was busied in Bohemia and Hungary (p. 486). But soon a strong Austrian army was sent to Italy. Charles Albert took the field once more, but was defeated decisively at *Novara* (March, 1849); and Venice was captured in August

after gallant resistance. Louis Napoleon restored the pope to his Roman principality, and left a French garrison there for his protection during the next twenty years, to 1870.

But, unlike Germany, Italy had failed only because of crushing interference from without; and the splendid attempt had proved that "United Italy" had become the passionate faith of a whole people.

Mazzini's challenge to victorious reaction

This well-grounded faith for a free Italy, and for a free Europe, was finely spoken to the world by Mazzini, with splendid courage, in the very hour of discouraging defeat. Mazzini had barely escaped with his life; but in 1849, from his refuge in England, while less fortunate associates were dying in Italy on scaffolds and under tortures in dungeons, he uttered to the exultant forces of reaction a clear-sounding challenge:

> "Our victory is certain; I declare it with the profoundest conviction, here in exile, and precisely when monarchical reaction appears most insolently secure. What matters the triumph of an hour? What matters it that by concentrating all your means of action, availing yourselves of every artifice, turning to your account those prejudices and jealousies of race which yet for a while endure, and spreading distrust, egotism, and corruption, you have repulsed our forces and restored the former order of things? *Can you restore men's faith in it*, or do you think you can long maintain it by brute force alone, now that all faith in it is extinct? . . . Threatened and undermined on every side, *can you hold all Europe forever in a state of siege?*"

For Further Reading on 1848. — Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 152–186. Andrews and Seignobos have good accounts; Phillips' *European History, 1815–1899*, is excellent for 1848.

CHAPTER LII

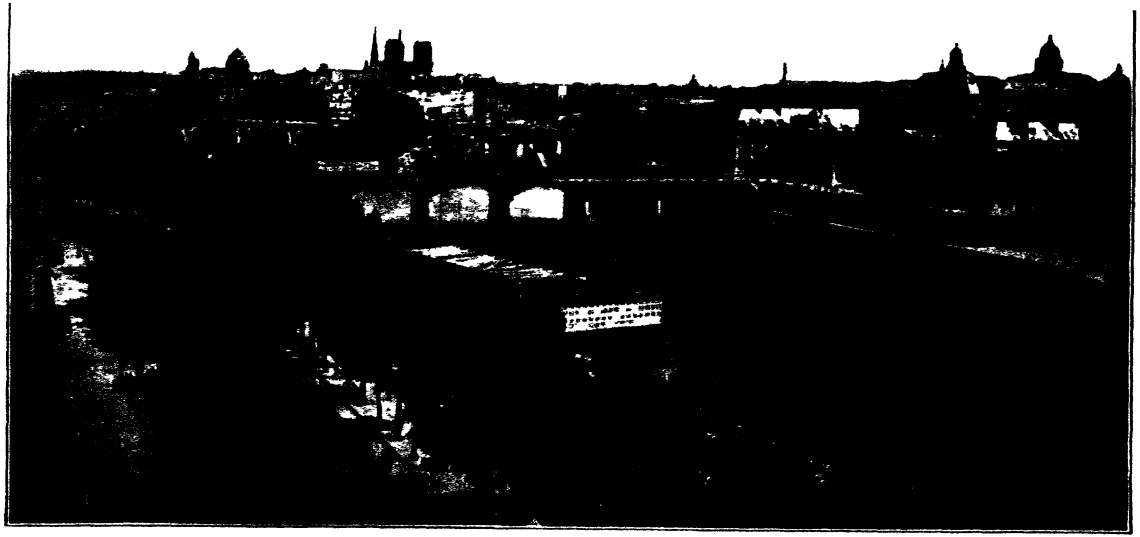
FROM THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS TO THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Except to the few men of faith, the risings of '48 seemed to have been in vain. True, feudalism was at last gone forever, even from Austria, and the Holy Alliance was finally disrupted by the rivalry between Prussia and Austria. But in government, the "restoration" appeared complete. The Revolution had closed in Italy with Novara (March, 1849), in the Austrian realms with the fall of the Hungarian Republic (July, 1849), and in Germany with the "humiliation of Olmütz" (November, 1850). In France it was swiftly going, and was to disappear in 1851 (p. 493). For the next generation, interest on the continent centered in three lands,— France, Italy, Germany. And of these only Italy made true progress.

I. FRANCE: THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1852-1870

The shame of France: "Napoleon the Little"

In 1830 and in 1848, France had led liberal Europe; but for the next twenty years after she had crushed so bloodily the workingmen of Paris, her story is one of shame. Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic, was constantly at loggerheads with the Assembly. From the first, he plotted to overthrow the republican constitution — to which he had sworn fidelity — and to make himself master of France. The Assembly played into his hand. In 1849 it passed a reactionary law which disfranchised a large part of the workingmen of the cities. *After the law had been passed,* Napoleon criticized it vehemently, so as to appear to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the artisans made the middle class fear a revolution; and that class turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. Thus the chief elements in the state dreaded the approaching close of Napoleon's presidency.



A VIEW OF PARIS, taken from the Louvre The cathedral far to the left is Notre Dame The Paris Pantheon (with its dome) shows on the right The central portions of old European cities (built up solidly before the age of Bessemer steel) rarely show "sky-scrapers" Cf cut facing 471.

The constitution forbade a reëlection; and an attempt to amend this clause was defeated by the Assembly. Thus that body had now seriously offended both the artisan class and the middle class, and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity. All important offices were put into the hands of his tools and his trusted friends; and on *December 2, 1851*, he carried out the most striking *coup d'état* in all French history. **The *coup d'état***

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly — were privately arrested and imprisoned; and all the printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and the establishment of a new government with Napoleon at its head. The Assembly tried to meet, but was dispersed. During the following days a few Radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets; but these were carried by the troops with pitiless slaughter; batches of prisoners were shot down after surrender; the Radical districts of France were put under martial law; and thousands of men were transported to penal settlements, virtually without trial.

A few days later, the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution making Napoleon president for ten years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of seven and a half millions out of eight millions; and in November of 1852, *a nearly unanimous vote made the daring adventurer Emperor of the French*, under the title *Napoleon III*. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.) **Ratified by France**

The "Second Empire" was modeled closely upon that of Napoleon I. During its early years, *political life* was suspended. The people, it is true, elected a Legislative Chamber, but that body could consider no bill that had not been put before it by the Emperor and his Council. Its function was merely to register edicts. **"Elections" under the Empire**

At the election of a "legislature," too, the government presented for every position an "official candidate," for whom

the way was made easy. Opposing candidates could not hold public meetings, nor hire the distribution of circulars. They were seriously hampered even in the use of the mails, and their placards were torn down by the police, or industriously covered by the official bill-poster for the government candidate. The ballot boxes, too, were supervised by the *police*. Moreover Napoleon subsidized a large number of newspapers, and suppressed all that were unfavorable to him.

"FRANCE IS TRANQUIL" (a favorite phrase with Napoleon III). A cartoon from *Harper's Magazine*.

No personal liberty

Personal liberty, also, was wholly at the mercy of the government. The servants of prominent men were likely to be the paid spies of the police. Under the "Law of Public Security" (1858), Napoleon could *legally* send "suspects," *without trial*, to linger through a slow death in tropical penal colonies (as he had been doing *illegally* before).

Napoleon accepted by France

Because of "prosperity"

Still Napoleon seems honestly to have deceived himself into the belief that he was "a democratic chief." His government, he insisted, rested upon manhood suffrage in elections and plebiscites. In partial recompense for loss of liberty, too, he gave to France great material progress. Industry was encouraged. Leading cities were rebuilt upon a more magnificent scale; and Paris, with widened streets, shaded boulevards, and glorious public buildings, was made the most beautiful capital in the world. Asylums and hospitals were founded; schools were encouraged, and school libraries were established; and vast public works throughout the Empire afforded employment to the working classes. France secured her full share of the increase of wealth and comfort that came to the world so rapidly during those years. The shame is that France was

bribed to accept the despicable despotism of Napoleon by this prosperity — and by the tinsel sham of "glory" in war.

And military glory

In 1852 Napoleon had declared, "The Empire is Peace"; but, in order to keep the favor of the army and of the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire, he was impelled to war. For forty years, — ever since the fall of Napoleon I, — Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them, and for a time his victories dazzled France, especially in the *Crimean* and the *Italian* wars.

The Crimean War, 1854–6

1. In 1854 Russia and Turkey were at war in the Black Sea. Through Napoleon's intrigues, France and England joined Turkey. The struggle was waged mainly in Crimea, and took its name from that peninsula. Russia was defeated. No important permanent results were achieved; but Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading Powers at the Congress of Paris to make peace, and France seemed again to have become the arbiter in European politics.

The Italian War of 1859

2. In 1859 Napoleon joined the Kingdom of Sardinia in a war against Austria to free Italy. He won striking victories at Magenta and Solferino, near the scene of the early triumphs of the First Napoleon over the same foe,— and then he made unexpected peace, to the dismay and wrath of the half-freed Italians. For his pay, Napoleon forced Italy to cede him the provinces of Nice and Savoy (pp. 424, 449).

Blunders in Napoleon's later foreign policy

But the second half of Napoleon's rule was a series of humiliations and blunders. (1) Napoleon favored the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War, and repeatedly urged England, in vain, to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. (2) In 1863 he entered upon a disastrous scheme to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to set up as "Emperor of Mexico" his protégé, Maximilian, an Austrian prince, brother of the Austrian Emperor. Napoleon expected to secure a larger share of the Mexican trade for France, and to forward a union of the Latin peoples of Europe and America, under French leadership. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, but his purpose seemed trium-

phant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon was obliged to comply. (Soon afterwards Maximilian was overthrown by the Mexicans, captured, and shot.) (3) More serious still were a number of checks in Napoleon's attempts on the Rhine frontier. That story will be told a little later.

II. THE MAKING OF ITALY, 1849–1861

Victor Emmanuel II

Meantime Italy had been made. The night after Novara (p. 490), Charles Albert abdicated the crown of Sardinia, and his son, *Victor Emmanuel II*, became king. The young prince was an intense patriot. A popular story told how, as he rallied his shattered regiment at the close of the fatal day of Novara, and withdrew sullenly from the bloody field, covering the retreat, he shook his clenched fist at the victorious Austrian ranks with the solemn vow,— "By the Almighty, my Italy shall yet be!"

The new king was put at once to a sharp test. His father had given to the kingdom a liberal constitution (p. 490). Austria demanded that Victor abolish it. If he would do so, he could have easy terms of peace, with Austrian military support against any revolt. At the same time the inexperienced Sardinian parliament was embarrassing him by foolish opposition and criticism. Victor Emmanuel nobly refused the Austrian bribe, and had to submit to severe terms from Austria and a heavy indemnity. But a frank appeal to his people for support gave him a new loyal parliament, which ratified the peace, and his conduct won him the title of "the Honest King."

Cavour

Austria, which Sardinia wished to expel from Italy, had 37,000,000 people. Sardinia was poor and had only 5,000,000 people. The king and his great minister, Cavour, bent all energies to strengthening Sardinia for another struggle and to securing allies outside Italy. Victor Emmanuel was a soldier. Cavour was the statesman whose brain was to guide the making of Italy. The king's part was loyally and steadily to support him. Exiles and fugitive Liberals from other Italian states were welcomed at the Sardinian court and were often given high

office there, *so that the government seemed to belong to the whole peninsula*. Cavour carried through the parliament many social reforms; and, in 1854, he sent a small but excellent Sardinian army to assist the allies against Russia in the Crimean War (p. 495). Many friendly Liberals condemned this last act as immoral. But Cavour at least had a political reason. He wished to prove that Sardinia was a military power, and to win a place for her in European conferences.

And the Crimean War

Cavour — From Desmaison's lithograph.

Cavour at the Congress of Paris

At the Congress of Paris in 1856 (p. 495) this policy bore fruit. Cavour sat there in full equality with the representatives of the Great Powers; and, despite Austria's protests, he secured attention for a convincing statement of the needs of Italy. Upon all minds he impressed forcefully *that Italian unrest could never cease, nor European peace be secure, so long as Austria remained in the peninsula.*

Three years later this diplomatic game was won. As a young man, Louis Napoleon had been involved in the plots of 1830 for Italian freedom. Cavour now drew him into a secret alliance. In return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French, Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia *if Cavour could provoke Austria into beginning a war.*

The French alliance

Austria played into Cavour's hand by demanding, as a war ultimatum, that Italy reduce her army. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of Magenta and Solferino

Sardinia absorbs Lombardy

(p. 495) drove Austria forever out of Lombardy, which was promptly incorporated into Sardinia. *This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy.* The population of the growing state had risen at a stroke from five millions to eight. *Venetia remained in Austria's hands,* but Napoleon suddenly made peace. He had no wish that Italy should be one strong, consolidated nation; and he began to see that a *free* Italy would be a *united* Italy.

Sardinia absorbs the duchies

The Italians felt that they had been betrayed by "the infamous treaty";[1] but more had already been accomplished than the mere freeing of Lombardy. At the beginning of the war, the peoples of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany had driven out their dukes (dependents of Austria), and voted for incorporation in Sardinia. At the peace, Napoleon had promised Austria that the dukes should be restored, but he had stipulated that Austria should not use force against the duchies. For eight months this situation continued, while Cavour played a second delicate diplomatic game with Napoleon, finally persuading him to leave the matter to a plebiscite. In March, 1860, the three duchies by almost unanimous vote declared again for annexation. *This was the second step in expansion,* — and the first example in Europe of "self-determination," as we now use the phrase. Sardinia was enlarged once more by one third. It had now become a state of eleven million people.

Garibaldi adds South Italy

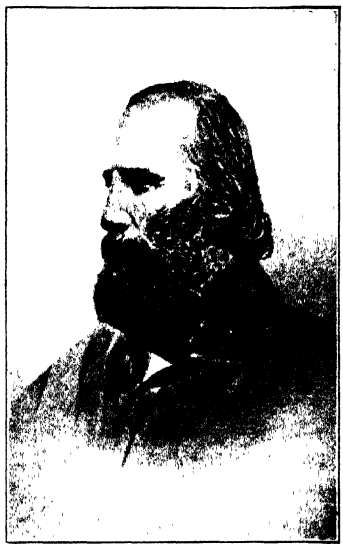
The next advance was due in its beginning to Garibaldi (a gallant republican soldier in the Revolution of 1848), who had now given his allegiance loyally to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, Garibaldi sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow-adventurers, to arouse rebellion in Sicily. Cavour thought it needful to make a show of trying to stop the expedition; but Garibaldi landed safely, won Sicily and South Italy almost without bloodshed, and, with universal acclaim, proclaimed Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy."

By this third step, "Sardinia" had expanded into "Italy," with a population of twenty-two millions. In February of

[1] Read James Russell Lowell's *Villafranca,* to get an idea of the wrath of freedom-loving men at Napoleon's betrayal.

1861 the first "Italian parliament" met at Turin and enthusiastically confirmed the establishment of the "Kingdom of Italy." Cavour's statesmanship was triumphant. Five months later, the great minister was dead, broken down by the terrible strain of his work. His last words were, "Italy is made — all is safe."

Rome, with some adjoining territory remained the dominion of the pope; and Venetia was still Austrian. The acquisition of these two provinces by Italy was intertwined with the making of Germany.



GARIBALDI.[1]

FOR FURTHER READING. — Bolton King's *Italian Unity* is the best single work. Good accounts will be found in Probyn's *Italy*, Bolton King's *Mazzini*, Dicey's *Victor Emmanuel*, or Cesaresco's *Cavour*. Hayes, Hazen, Andrews, Seignobos, all contain brief treatments.

EXERCISE. — Trace the expansion of Sardinia on map facing p. 632.

SPECIAL REPORT. — Garibaldi's life and adventures.

III. THE MAKING OF GERMANY, 1861-1871

Napoleon III ruled France for some twenty years. During the first ten years, Cavour made the Kingdom of Italy. Dur- **William I of Prussia**

[1] JOSEPH GARIBALDI (1807-1882) had been active in the plots of secret societies against Austrian rule before 1830. When the revolutions of that year failed, he escaped to South America, to fight for liberty in various struggles in that continent. 'Forty-eight called him back to Italy, where he fought, beside Mazzini, for a Roman republic. Fleeing to New York, he earned a living for some years as a candle-maker. He came back to Italy to fight for freedom in the war of 1859 and the text tells his famous exploit of 1860. Ten years later he fought for France against Prussian conquest (p. 544), and then spent the remaining years of his life on a small country estate. The photograph pictures him in this closing period.

ing the next ten, Bismarck, by far less justifiable methods, was to make a German Empire.

"'Forty-nine" had shown Prussia as the only nucleus in that day for a German nation; and even from Prussia nothing could be expected as long as Frederick William IV reigned. But in 1861 that king was succeeded by his brother, *William I.* This was the prince who had been banished for a time in 1848 to satisfy the Liberals (p. 487). That party had nicknamed him "Prince Cartridge." He was a conservative of the old school, and he had bitterly opposed the mild constitutional concessions of his brother. But he had tingled with indignation at the humiliation of Olmütz; and he hoped with all his heart for German unity. He believed that this unity could be made only after expelling Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

The Prussian army system

The Prussian army differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old class, — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reinforced at need by raw levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia. In 1807, after Jena, Napoleon had required Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak, by passing fresh bodies of Prussians through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given only two years' service. Part of each regiment was dismissed each year and its place filled with new levies. These in turn took on regular military discipline, while those who had passed out were held as a reserve.

Neglected, 1815–1861

After the Napoleonic wars, Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make the entire male population a trained army, but it had not been fully followed up. Since 1815, population had doubled, but the army had been left upon the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so many thousand men each year reached military age without being summoned to the ranks.

King William's first efforts were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits

each year. To do this required a large increase in taxes. But the Prussian parliament (Landtag) was jealous of military power in the hands of a sovereign hostile to constitutional liberty, and it resolutely refused money. Then William found a minister to carry out his will, parliament or no.

Otto von Bismarck

This man, who was to be the German Cavour, was Otto von Bismarck. Thirteen years earlier, Count Bismarck had been known as a grim and violent leader of the "Junkers," the extreme conservative party made up of young landed aristocrats. When he was announced as the head of a new ministry, the Liberals ominously prophesied a *coup d'état*. Something *like* a *coup d'état* did take place. William stood steadfastly by his minister; and for four years Bismarck ruled and collected taxes unconstitutionally. Over and over again, the Landtag demanded his dismissal, and the Liberals threatened to hang him, — as very probably they would have done if power had fallen to them by another revolution. Bismarck in turn railed at them contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood and iron." For years he grimly went on, muzzling the press, bullying or dissolving parliaments, and overriding the national will roughshod.

The army reorganized

Meantime, the army was greatly augmented, so that practically every able-bodied Prussian became a soldier with *three* years' training in camp. First of any large army, too, this new Prussian army was supplied with the new invention of breech-loading repeating rifles, instead of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders; and *Von Moltke*, the Prussian "chief of staff," made it the most perfect military machine in Europe.

Bismarck's "trilogy" of wars

From the first, Bismarck intended that this reconstructed army should expel Austria from Germany and force the princes of the rest of Germany into a true national union. It had not been possible for him to *avow* his purpose; but time was growing precious, and he began to look anxiously for a chance to use his new tool. By a series of master-strokes of unscrupulous and daring diplomacy, he brought on three wars in the next seven years.

The Danish War of 1864

1. Taking advantage of an obscure dispute, he induced Austria to join in seizing from Denmark the duchies of Sleswig and Holstein — to which neither robber state had the shadow of a claim.

The War with Austria (Six Weeks' War) in 1866

2. He then forced Austria into war by insisting brazenly upon keeping all the booty for Prussia — although the German Diet almost unanimously declared war against Prussia as "the wanton disturber of the national peace." In three days the Prussian army seized Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony, and in three weeks it crushed Austria at Sadowa in Bohemia. Prussia then consolidated her scattered territory by annexing Hesse, Hanover, Nassau, and Frankfort, along with Sleswig-Holstein. This raised her population to 30,000,000 (cf. maps after pp. 402, 502). Moreover, Austria was compelled to withdraw wholly from German affairs — in which Prussia was left without a rival — and the Confederation of 1815 was replaced by two federations. The first was the *North German Confederation* — not a loose league but a true federal state with much the same constitution as the later German Empire. The second was made up of four South German states (Bavaria and Württemberg the principal ones), organized like the old Confederation — of which indeed it was a survival.

The Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1

3. To fuse these two German leagues into one was the main purpose of Bismarck's third war. Before both the preceding struggles Bismarck had tricked Louis Napoleon into giving him a free hand — allowing Napoleon "to deceive himself" with the expectation that Prussia would permit France to annex Rhine territory in compensation for Prussia's gains. Napoleon now wrote to Bismarck, suggesting that France annex part of Bavaria. Bismarck was already planning war with France, and this proposal delivered Napoleon into his hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states, and it *terrified them into a secret alliance* with Prussia. Then Bismarck hurried on the clash with France with characteristic craft, not hesitating even to use practical forgery.[1]

After all, however, Bismarck's trickery succeeded only be-

[1] See the story in some detail in West's *Modern Progress*, 420–1.

GROWTH OF
PRUSSIA
1815-1867
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Prussia 1807-1813
Territory recovered in 1815
New Acquisitions 1815
Acquisitions of William I
Berlin
Prague
Warsaw
Posen
Breslau
Königsberg
Danzig
Stettin
Magdeburg
Hanover
Cologne
Frankfort
Nuremberg
Munich
Vienna
Dresden
Leipzig
Hamburg
Bremen
Amsterdam
Brussels
Metz
Strasburg
Zurich
Trieste
Cracow
Lemberg
Buda-Pesth
Konigratz
Sadowa
Gitschin
Skalitz
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Glogau
Thorn
Gnesen
Kalisch
Kalisz
Kalisch
Kalisz
Kalisch
Kalisz

cause of the folly and envy of the rulers of France. French militarism looked with jealousy upon the rise of a German nation; and Napoleon was bent desperately upon retrieving his tottering reputation by dazzling victories. Thus Bismarck found it possible to irritate the French government into declaring war (July 19, 1870).

The arrogance and inefficiency of Napoleon's government

True, a few French statesmen had kept their heads, declaring that France was not ready for war. But Napoleon's war-minister answered such objections by the boast, "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's shoestring"; and France, which for centuries had never been beaten by *one* foe, shouted lightheartedly, "On to Berlin." The first attempts to move troops, however, showed that the French government was honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency.

"German efficiency" surprises the world

Marked, indeed, was the contrast between this French inefficiency and the "German efficiency," now revealed to Europe. Twelve days after the declaration of war (August 1), Germany had massed one and a quarter million of trained troops on the Rhine. The world then had never seen such perfection of military preparation. Carlyle wrote, "It took away the breath of Europe." The Prussians won victory after victory. One of the two main French armies – 173,000 men – was securely shut up in *Metz;* September 2, the other, of 130,000 men, was captured at *Sedan*, with Napoleon in person;[1] and the Prussians pressed on to the siege of Paris.

The German Empire

Out of the war clouds emerged a new German Empire. In the preceding war, after Sadowa, Bismarck suddenly found himself the idol of the Prussian Liberals who had been reviling and opposing him. When military autocracy had apparently proved profitable, they abandoned their old opposition to it. So now all Germany. The South-German peoples went wild with enthusiasm for Prussia. By a series of swift treaties, while this feeling was at its height, Bismarck brought them all into the North German Confederation. Then he arranged that the king of Bavaria and other leading German rulers should ask King

[1] Napoleon remained a prisoner of war for a few months, and soon afterward died in England.

William to take the title of *German Emperor*. And on January 18, 1871, while the siege of Paris was still going on, in the ancient palace of French kings at Versailles, William solemnly assumed that title.

PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE — From the painting by Von Werner. Compare with the humiliation of the German envoys in the same place forty years later, when that Empire, born of war, had been destroyed by another war of its making; see Plate CX.

Bismarck's methods: the moral question

Germany had been made not merely by "blood and iron," but also by fraud and falsehood. One can hardly tell the story of such gigantic audacity and successful trickery without seeming to glorify it. Bismarck did not work for low or personal ends. The national union which he made had to come before the German people could reach the best elements of modern life. But he sought his end by base means. His *methods* were distinctly meaner than Cavour's; and his success tended to lower the tone of morality among nations. "Treaties," he said, "are scraps of paper"; and again, "when Prussia's power is in question I know no law." His policy of fraud and violence, too, while successful at the moment, left Germany troubled with burning questions, and burdened with the crushing weight of militarism and with the rule of the police and the drill sergeant in private life (pp. 560–563). In his hate for democracy and in his contempt for international morality, he started the

new Empire upon the road which, forty years later, plunged it into the abyss.

Bismarck's wars at least brought permanent good to Italy. That country was allied to Prussia in the "Six Weeks' War," and the treaty of peace gave her Venetia. Then at the outbreak of war in 1870, Napoleon was obliged to withdraw his garrison from Rome (p. 491). Victor Emmanuel's troops at once marched into the ancient capital, and the Roman citizens ratified this consummation of the union of Italy by an almost unanimous vote.

Italy wins Rome in 1870

The later story of France and Germany can be best understood after studying the growth of constitutional government in England.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 240–306. Headlam's *Bismarck*, and his *Germany from 1815 to 1889*, are excellent.

PART XIII — ENGLAND, 1815-1914: REFORM WITHOUT REVOLUTION

England in the nineteenth century served as a political model for Europe. The English ***developed*** *constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. Other nations* ***have only imitated*** *them.* — SEIGNOBOS.

CHAPTER LIII

THE "FIRST REFORM BILL," 1832

Political retrogression of the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century, we have seen, England acquired a world-empire and gave the world the Industrial Revolution. But, in political matters, that century was singularly uninteresting. Except for *accidental* progress in the matter of ministerial government (p. 383 ff.), England actually went backward politically. *Parliament* had never been democratic in make-up, and, after 1688, it *shriveled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords.*

"Virtual representation"

Ireland sent 100 members to the House of Commons, and Scotland 45. Each of the 40 English counties, large or small, sent two. The remaining four hundred came from "parliamentary boroughs" in England and Wales. The old kings had summoned representatives from whatever boroughs they pleased; but a borough which had once sent representatives had the right, by custom, to send them always afterward. At first the power to "summon" new boroughs was used wisely to recognize new towns as they grew up. But the Tudor monarchs, in order better to manage parliaments, had summoned representatives from many little hamlets — "pocket boroughs," owned or controlled by some lord of the court party.

PLATE LXXXVII

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, London, seen from the Thames, with the twin towers of Westminster Abbey in the distance. See cut facing p. 520.

PLATE LXXXVIII

HUMORS OF A COUNTRY ELECTION, — the third of a series of four plates of that name by Hogarth (plate after p. 384) in 1755, just after a bitterly contested election. The present scene represents the polling at a late stage. The English franchise was as fantastic as it was limited, — complicated by ancient customs. (Thus Weymouth, with only a few score voters in all, had twenty, some of them paupers, whose right came from a claim to share in a sixpence part of the rent of some ancient village property!) The blind and maimed from the almshouse are being brought to the polls. The voter in the foreground is plainly an imbecile and unable to walk. Over his shoulder the man in a cocked hat and laces is trying to recall to him the name of his candidate. Somewhat in the background we have a symbolic representation of *Britannia* in her broken-down coach of state, helpless, while coachman and footman gamble at cards.

With all this keen satire, Hogarth was a true lover of beauty. This plate, spite of its ugly theme, has a lovely setting and many gracious lines.

This bad condition was made worse by natural causes. In Elizabeth's time the south of England, with its fertile soil and its ports on the Channel, had been the most populous part; but in the eighteenth century, with the growth of manufactures, population shifted to the coal and iron regions of the north and west, where great cities grew up, like Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield. And these *new* towns had no representation in Parliament.

Unrepresented cities

Conditions had become unspeakably unfair and corrupt. *Dunwich* was under the waves of the North Sea, which had gradually encroached upon the land. But a descendant of an ancient owner of the soil possessed the right to row out with the sheriff on election day and choose himself as representative to Parliament for the submerged town. *Old Sarum* was once a cathedral city on the summit of a lofty hill; but new Sarum, or Salisbury, a few miles away on the plain, drew the population and the cathedral to itself until not a vestige of the old town remained. Then the grandfather of William Pitt bought the soil where Old Sarum had stood, and it was for this "pocket borough" that the great Pitt entered Parliament. So, *Gatton* was a park, and *Corfe Castle* a picturesque ruin, — each with a representative in Parliament. Bosseney in Cornwall had three cottages. It had, however, nine voters, eight of them in one family; and these voters elected two members to Parliament. On the other hand, Portsmouth, with 46,000 people, had only 103 voters.

And represented ruins

In the many small "pocket boroughs," the few voters, dependent upon a neighboring landlord, always elected his nominee. Large places had sometimes a like character. In 1828, at Newark, the Duke of Newcastle drove out 587 tenants who had ventured to vote against his candidate. ("Have I not a right," said he, "to do what I like with my own?") So the Duke of Norfolk filled eleven seats; and fully two thirds of the whole House of Commons were really the appointees of great landlords.

"Pocket boroughs"

Many other places were "rotten boroughs." That is, the few voters sold the seats in Parliament as a regular part of their

"Rotten boroughs"

private revenue. In 1766 Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bidder. Moreover, all voting was viva-voce, and the polls were held open for two weeks — so that there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

Reform checked by foreign war, 1689–1815

The House of Commons had become hardly more representative than the House of Lords. As the English historian Macaulay said, the "boasted representative system" of England had decayed into "a monstrous system of *represented ruins*

CANVASSING FOR VOTES IN "GUZZLEDOWN" — This is Number 2 in Hogarth's "Humors of a Country Election" Cf. Plate LXXXVIII.

and *unrepresented cities*." The reason why no reform had been secured was that from 1689 to 1815 all energies went to the long French wars. In the twelve years (1763–1775), between the "Seven Years' War" and the American Revolution, the Whig leaders, like William Pitt, did attempt wise changes. But George III was determined to prevent reform. He felt that his two indolent and gross predecessors had allowed kingly power to slip from their hands (p. 384). He meant to get it back, and to "be a king" in fact as well as in name, as his mother had

George III opposes reform

urged him. To do this, he must be able to control Parliament. It would be easier to control it as it was then, than to control a Parliament that really represented the nation.

Relation to the American Revolution

And therefore, when just at this time the Americans began to cry, "No taxation without representation," King George felt it needful to put them down. If their claim were allowed, so must be the demand of Manchester and other new towns in England for representation in Parliament. But if the American demand could be made to seem a treasonable one, on the part of a distant group of rebels, then the king could check the movement in England.

The American victory seemed at first to have won victory for English freedom also. Even before peace was declared, the younger Pitt asserted vehemently: Parliament "is not representative of the people of Great Britain; it is representative of nominal boroughs, and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals." This condition, he declared, alone had made it possible for the government to wage against America "this unjust, cruel, wicked, and diabolical war." In the years that immediately followed the war, Pitt introduced three different bills for reform. But, before anything was accomplished, came the French Revolution; and soon the violence of the Revolutionists in France turned the whole English middle class definitely against change — and projects for reform slumbered for forty years more (1790–1830). This unhappy check came just when the evils of the Industrial Revolution were becoming serious. But *the Tory party, which carried England stubbornly to victory through the tremendous wars against Napoleon, was totally unfitted to cope with internal questions*, and looked on every time-sanctioned abuse as sacred.

Reform checked by hatred for the French Revolution

Tory reaction after the Napoleonic wars

The peace of 1815 was followed by a general business depression, — the first modern "panic." Large parts of the working classes had no work and no food. This resulted in labor riots and in political agitation. The Tory government met such movements by stern laws, forbidding public meetings (without consent of magistrates) under penalty of death; suspending

habeas corpus (for the last time in England until the World War); and suppressing debating societies.

Some early reform movements

The year 1821 marks the beginning of slow gains for reform. In 1825 Parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in labor unions — which had always before been treated as *conspiracies*. In 1828 political rights were restored to Protestant dissenters (Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists); and the next year the same justice was secured for Catholics. The atrocious laws regarding capital punishment, too, were modified by striking the death penalty from 100 offenses.[1]

Struggle for parliamentary reform begins in 1830

Then, in 1830, George IV was succeeded by his brother William IV, a more liberal-minded king; and the French Revolution of the same year, by its *moderation* and by its success, strengthened the reform party in England. A new Parliament was at once chosen; and the Whigs promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation. The prime minister was the Tory *Wellington*, the hero of Waterloo. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he did not believe the existing representation "could be improved"! This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of Parliament; and the Whigs came into power with *Earl Grey* as prime minister, and with Lord John Russell as leader in the Commons.[2]

Fall of Wellington

The Whig leaders

Lord Russell drew a moderate bill for the reform of Parliament. *Representation was to be distributed somewhat more fairly* by taking about 150 members away from rotten or pocket boroughs and assigning them to new places that needed representation; and the *suffrage was extended* to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth $50 a year, and to the "farmer" class. (Farm laborers were left out; as were

[1] The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some Parliament had fixed a death penalty for it, and no later Parliament had ever revised the code. In 1660 the number of "capital crimes" was fifty (three and a half times as many as there were in New England at the same time under the much slandered "blue laws"), and by 1800 the number had risen to over two hundred. To steal a sheep, to snatch a handkerchief out of a woman's hand, to cut down trees in an orchard, were all punishable by death.

[2] Russell was the son of a duke, and his title of Lord at this time was only a "courtesy title."

the town artisan class, living as its members did in tenements or as lodgers.)

The king *forced* to yield to his Ministers

To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the foundations of society. Fierce debates lasted month after month. In March of 1831 the ministry carried the "second reading" by a majority of *one* vote. It was plain that the Whig majority was not large enough to save the bill from hostile amendment. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve, and "appeal to the country" for better support. The king was bitterly opposed to this plan. A passionate scene took place between him and his ministers, but he was forced to give way — and so, incidentally, it was settled that the ministry, not the king, dissolves Parliament. (*This means that Parliament really dissolves itself.*)

Lords and Commons

The Whigs went into the new campaign with the cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Despite the unrepresentative nature of Parliament, they won an overwhelming majority. In June Lord Russell introduced the bill again. In September it passed the Commons, 345 to 239. Then the Lords calmly voted it down. One session of the second Parliament was wasted. The nation cried out passionately against the House of Lords. There was much violence, and England seemed on the verge of revolution.

The "Eleven Days"

In December the same Parliament met for a new session. Lord Russell introduced the same bill for the third time. It passed the Commons by an increased majority. This time the Lords did not venture altogether to throw it out, but they tacked on hostile amendments. The king had always had power to make new peers at will. Lord Grey now demanded from the king authority to create enough new peers to save the bill. William refused. Grey resigned. For eleven days England had no government. The Tories tried to form a ministry, but could get no majority. Angry mobs stormed about the king's carriage in the streets, and the Whig leaders went so far as secretly to prepare for civil war.

Finally the king recalled the Whig ministry. He was still

The Lords become an *inferior* house

unwilling to create new peers, but he offered to use his personal influence to get the upper House to pass the bill. Happily, Earl Grey was firm to show where real sovereignty lay; and the king was compelled to sign the paper (still exhibited in the British Museum) on which the earl had written, "The King grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill." This ended the struggle. It was not needful actually to make new peers. The Tory lords withdrew from the sessions, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

Incidentally the long contest had settled two points in the constitution:

It had shown how the Commons could control the Lords.

The "king's ministers" become the nation's executive

It had shown that the ministers are not the king's ministry, except in name, but that they are really the ministry, or servants, of the House of Commons. This principle has never since been threatened. The king acts only through the ministers. Even the speech he reads at the opening of Parliament is written for him.

Excursus on ministerial government

The way in which a change in ministry is brought about should be clearly understood. If the ministry is outvoted on any matter of importance, it must resign. If it does not do so, and claims to be in doubt whether it has really lost its majority, its opponents will test the matter by moving a vote of "lack of confidence." If this carries, the ministry takes it as a mandate to resign. There is only one alternative: If the ministry believes that the nation will support it, it may dissolve Parliament, and "appeal to the country." If the new Parliament gives it a majority, it may go on. If not, it must at once give way to a new ministry.

In form, the new ministry is chosen by the king; but in reality, he simply names those whom the will of the majority in the Commons has plainly pointed out. Indeed, he names only one man, whom he asks to "form a government." This man becomes *prime minister*, and selects the other ministers. In a parliamentary election, Englishmen really vote also for the next prime minister, just as truly, *and about as directly*, as we in this country

vote for our President. If the king asks any one else to form a ministry but the man whom the Commons have accepted as their leader, probably the man asked will respectfully decline. If he tries to act, he will fail to get other strong men to join him, and his ministry will at once fail. If there is any real uncertainty as to which one of several men is leader, the matter is settled by conference among the leaders, and the new ministry, of course, includes all of them.

A curious feature to an American student is that all this complex procedure *rests only on custom* — nowhere on a written constitution. Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department — Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, and so on. The leading assistants in all these departments — some forty people now — are included in the ministry. About twenty of the forty, — holding the chief positions, — make the inner circle which is called the Cabinet. *The Cabinet* is really "the Government," and is often referred to by that title. It *is the real executive; and it is also the "steering committee" of the legislature.* In their private meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policy. In Parliament they introduce bills and advocate them. As ministers, they carry out the plans agreed upon. In these changes, *the king's veto has disappeared.* The last veto was by Queen Anne in 1707.

Thus we have two types of democratic government in the world, both developed by English-speaking peoples. They differ from each other mainly in regard to the executive. In the United States, the executive is a president, or governor, *independent of the legislature.* The other republics upon this continent have adopted this American type. In England, the executive has become practically a steering committee of the legislature. This type is the one adopted by most of the free governments of the world outside America.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The most brilliant story is Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, 25–83. Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, 9–52, is excellent.

CHAPTER LIV

REFORM IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

The "Victorian age"

In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, whose reign filled the next *sixty-four years*. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl of eighteen years. She was not brilliant, but she grew into a worthy, sensible woman, of excellent moral influence. (In 1840 she married Albert, the ruler of a small German principality; and their happy and lovely family life was an example new to European courts for generations.) The remaining two thirds of the century was, for all the world, an era of prosperity, intellectual glory and moral refinement, democratic progress and social reform, and vast expansion of civilization. In all this advance, England held a first place.

English politics

The Reform Bill of 1832 had given the vote to one out of six grown men (five times as liberal as the French franchise after the Revolution of 1830). *Political power had passed from a narrow landed oligarchy to a broad middle-class aristocracy.* Political parties soon took new names. "Conservative" began to replace "Tory," and "Liberal" replaced "Whig." From 1832 to 1874, except for short intervals, the Liberals were in power, carrying a long list of social reforms. Finally the Conservatives, too, adopted a liberal policy toward social reform, and secured longer leases of power. The following table of administrations will be convenient for reference:

Table of administrations

	Liberals	*Conservatives*		*Liberals*	*Conservatives*
1830–34	Grey		1846–52	Russell	
1834–35		Peel	1852		Derby
1835–41	Melbourne		1852–58	(1) Aberdeen (2) Palmerston	
1841–46		Peel	1858–59		Derby

	Liberals	*Conservatives*
1859–66	(1) Palmerston (2) Russell	
1866–68		Derby
1868–74	Gladstone	
1874–80		Disraeli
1880–85	Gladstone	
1885–86		Salisbury
1886	Gladstone	
1886–92		Salisbury
1892–95	(1) Gladstone (2) Rosebery	
1895–1906		(1) Salisbury (2) Balfour
1906	Campbell-Bannerman Asquith (to 1915)	
[1915–1918	A coalition war-ministry, led by Lloyd George]	
1919–1922	A coalition ministry, mainly Conservatives, led by Lloyd George.	
1922		(1) Bonar Law (2) Stanley Baldwin

Disraeli and Gladstone

The man who did most to educate the Conservatives into this new attitude was the Jew, *Disraeli*. He was an author, a brilliant genius, and a shrewd politician. Some critics called him "a Conservative with Radical opinions," while others insisted that he had no principles in politics.

An even more important political figure was Disraeli's great adversary, *William E. Gladstone*. Gladstone entered Parliament in 1833, at the first election after the Reform Bill, and soon proved himself a powerful orator and a master of debate. He was then an extreme Tory. By degrees he grew Liberal, and thirty years later he succeeded Lord Russell as the unchallenged leader of that party. For thirty years more he held that place — four times prime minister. His early friends accused him bitterly as treacherous; but the world at large accepted his own simple explanation of his changes, — "I was brought up to distrust liberty; I learned to believe in it."

I. POLITICAL REFORM

Working-class discontent after 1832

The Tories at once accepted the result of 1832, as the Conservative party in England always does when a new reform has once been forced upon them. *But they planted themselves upon it as a finality.* Even the Whigs agreed for many years in this "finality" view so far as *political* reform was concerned. A few eager Radicals in Parliament for a time kept up a cry for a more liberal franchise, but soon even they gave up the contest, to take part in the great *social* legislation of the period.

The trade-union movement

True, the *masses of workingmen* knew that the victory of 1832 had been won largely by their sympathy and public demonstrations, and they felt that they had been cheated of the fruits.[1] This class continued restless; but they lacked leadership, and, in ordinary times, their claims secured little attention. At first, they turned to trade unions, and sought to get better wages and shorter hours by strikes. But employers united, dismissed all union workmen, and, aided by the conservative courts, stamped out the movement for many years. A strike by a union the courts held a "conspiracy," and in 1837 they transported six labor leaders to the Australian penal settlements.

The Chartist agitation

Then the Radicals turned again to politics. There were two marked periods of agitation at intervals of nearly twenty years, — just before 1848 and again before 1867. The earlier is the famous *Chartist movement*. Even before the First Reform Bill, there had been an extensive agitation for a more radical change, and the extremists had fixed upon six points to struggle for: (1) manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualification for membership in Parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the ballot, and (6) annual elections. In 1837 the Radicals renewed their agitation, and these "Six Points" were embodied in a proposed *Charter*. Five of them have since become law, and the sixth is no longer of any consequence; but to the ordinary Liberal of 1840 these demands seemed to prelude revolution and anarchy.

"Forty-eight" was the critical year. The Chartists adopted a resolution, "All labor shall cease until the people's Charter becomes the law of the land." But this first attempt at a "general strike" for political purposes, along with accompanying plans for monster petitions and processions, fizzled out, with no disturbance that called for anything more than a few extra policemen. The "year of revolutions" left England unmoved, and the Chartist movement died.

The next agitation took its rise from the suffering of the unemployed while the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for English factories, and it was strengthened by the

[1] There is an admirable treatment in Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, ch. ii.

victory of the democratic North in that war over the aristocratic South. This time no one dreamed of force. The Liberals, under Russell, introduced a reform measure, but lost power because they did not go far enough. Then, said Disraeli, cynically, "If the country is bound to have reform, *we* might as well give it to them" — and stay in office. Thus *the "Second Reform Bill"* (passed *in 1867* by a Conservative ministry) extended the franchise to *the artisan class* (all householders and all *lodgers* who paid ten pounds a year for their rooms). This raised the number of voters to over *three millions*, or to something over half the adult male population. The *unskilled laborers* in town and country, and the male house-servants, still had no votes; but England had taken a tremendous step toward democracy.

The Second Reform Bill, 1867: England a democracy

This victory of 1867, like that of 1832, was followed by a period of sweeping legislation for social reform, — mainly in Gladstone's Liberal ministry, 1868–1874 (p. 523). Then, after a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and chiefly concerned with foreign matters (p. 523), Gladstone took office again, and the "Third Reform Bill" (1884) in large measure enfranchised the unskilled laborer and the servant class. This raised the electorate to *over six millions*, and (except for unmarried sons without property, living in the father's family, and for laborers living in very cheap houses) it gave votes to practically all self-supporting men, leaving out only about one seventh the adult males. The next year, Parliament did away with the chief remaining *inequalities in representation* by dividing England into parliamentary districts, like our congressional districts.

The Third Reform Bill, 1884

Three other reforms in this period made English politics clean and honest.

In 1870 the secret ballot was introduced. The form adopted was the excellent one known as the Australian ballot, from its use in Victoria. (Most of the States of our Union have since then adopted the same model.)

Other reforms in politics

Between 1855 and 1870, the civil service was thoroughly reformed. In earlier years, public offices had been given to reward political

partisans, in as disgraceful a degree as ever marked American politics. But since 1870, appointments have always been made after competitive examinations, and there has been no removal of appointed officials for party reasons.

Bribery in elections, direct and also indirect, was effectively checked by the "Corrupt Practices Prevention Act" of 1883, drawn along lines more recently adopted in the United States.

Local government reform

The extension of the franchise in the "Reform" bills applied only to *parliamentary* elections. But local government also called for reform. It had been highly aristocratic. It was not *centralized*, as in France; but each *rural* unit (county or parish) was in the hands of the *local* aristocracy, while the *town* government (usually vested in a self-elected mayor and council, holding office for life) had become exceedingly selfish and corrupt and had proved wholly indifferent to the pressing needs of the growing city populations.

Reform in town government begins in 1835

But in 1835 a Municipal Reform Bill provided that 183 boroughs (indicated by name) should each have a municipal council *elected by all who paid local taxes.* The Lords went wild with dismay at this "gigantic innovation," and by votes of 6 to 1, they amended nearly every clause in the bill so as to make it worthless. The Commons refused the amendments; and after a four months' struggle the Lords yielded. From time to time, new towns were added to the list; and finally, in 1882, it was provided that *any* town might adopt this form of government for itself. Since 1835, English town government has been honest, efficient, and enlightened, — a model to all other democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils. The appointed officials, like the city engineer, city health officer, and so on, are men of high professional standing, who are never appointed or removed for political purposes.

Parish, District, and County Councils

In the rural units the rule of the country gentry had been free from corruption, and it lasted until the latter part of the century. It had not been particularly enlightened, however, and in 1888 and 1894 the *County Council Bill* and the *Parish Councils Bill* made *local government thoroughly democratic.* (1) The

parish has a primary assembly (*parish meeting*). (2) Parishes with more than three hundred people have also an elective *Parish Council.* (3) Larger subdivisions of the county, known as Districts, have elective *District Councils.* And (4) at the top is the elective *County Council.* The powers of all these local bodies are very great.

QUEEN VICTORIA, late in life.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On the Second and Third Reform Bills, interesting treatments are to be found in Hazen, Rose, McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times,* and in the younger McCarthy's *England under Gladstone.* Beard's *English Historians,* 566–581 and 582–593, is admirable. On the Chartists, Rose, 84–146; Hazen, 446–450.

II. SOCIAL REFORM

Social reforms just after the First Reform Bill

The thirties were a period of humanitarian agitation, as well as of democratic advance. *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice, in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present; Mrs. Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems; and Parliament responded to the same impulse.

After carrying the Reform Bill of 1832, Earl Grey's ministry (1) freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, *paying the colonists for their loss*[1]; (2) began to free the hardly less miserable "white slaves" of the English factory towns, by a new era of factory legislation (p. 520); (3) freed the Irish peasants

[1] SPECIAL REPORT: Wilberforce, and his work for emancipation.

from the obligation of paying tithes to support the Episcopalian clergy, whom they hated; (4) abolished the pillory and the whipping post, and began to reform the foul and inhuman conditions in the prisons; (5) began the reform of local government (p. 518); and (6) made a first step toward public education, by a national grant of £20,000 a year to church schools.

The Factory Act of 1833

The most important legislation of the century was the *labor and factory legislation* here begun. Gradually Englishmen had awakened to the ugly fact that the new factory system was ruining, not only the souls, but also the *bodies* of hundreds of thousands of women and children, so as to threaten national degeneracy. In 1833, among the first acts of the "Reformed Parliament," Lord Ashley (Earl of Shaftesbury)[1] secured a factory law limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week (or twelve hours on five days and nine hours on Saturdays), and strictly forbidding the *employment of children under nine (!)*

The Factory Act of 1847

In 1847 a still greater factory law limited the labor of women and "young persons" (between 14 and 16) to *ten hours a day* with only half-time for "children" (between 9 and 14) and with provision for schooling in the vacant half of the day. (Indirectly this law fixed a limit upon the hours of men also, because, after the women and children had all left a factory, it was not profitable to keep the machinery going. *Thus ten hours became the factory working-day* many years before this goal was reached generally in America.)

Later factory acts

Of the long series of later acts, the most important is the great *Act of 1901*, which revised and advanced the factory legislation of the preceding century. Since 1901, no child under 12 can be employed at all in any sort of factory or workshop; and for employees between 12 and 16, a physician must certify that there is no danger of physical injury from the employment.[2]

[1] Special report upon his work for reform.

[2] For Further Reading.— Gibbin's *Industrial History of England*, 175–176, and Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 224–262. Vivid statements are given also in Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, *History of Our Own Times*, and *England in the Nineteenth Century*.

PLATE LXXXIX

WESTMINSTER ABBEY (really a cathedral, not an abbey), England's "Temple of Fame." The south transept (seen toward the extreme right) contains the "Poets' Corner," — true holy ground for all English-speaking peoples.

PLATE XC

SIR ROBERT PEEL speaking for the Repeal of the Corn Laws before the amazed House of Commons. A painting by T. Walter Wilson.

Workman's Compensation Act

These acts have been accompanied by many provisions to secure good lighting and ventilation in factories and workshops, and to prevent accidents from machinery, by compelling the employer to fence it in with every possible care. In 1880 an *Employers' Liability Act* made it easy for a workman to secure compensation for any injury for which he was not himself to blame; and in 1897 a still more generous *Workman's Compensation Act* secured such compensation for the workmen by a simple process without lawsuits. (These acts have been copied in the last few years by progressive American States.)

The old "Corn Laws"

The short Conservative ministry of Peel (1841–1846) was marked by the abolition of the Corn Laws. Those laws had put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. Their aim was to encourage the raising of foodstuffs in England, so as to make sure of a home supply; and during the Napoleonic war this policy perhaps had been justifiable. The money profits, however, had always gone mainly to the landlords, who enacted the laws in Parliament and who raised rents high enough to confiscate the benefits which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. After the rapid growth in population had made it impossible for England to produce enough food for her people anyway, the landlords' monopoly of breadstuffs had become an intolerable burden upon the starving multitudes.

The needless misery among this class finally aroused great moral indignation. In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League, organized by *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*, carried on a campaign of education through the press and by means of great public meetings. The manufacturing capitalists were made to see that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, for the benefit of the landlords — since to enable their workmen to live, they had to pay higher wages than would otherwise have been necessary. And so the selfish interests of this influential manufacturing class were thrown to the side of this particular reform.

Finally, in 1846, a huge calamity was added to the same side. This was *the Irish Famine*. The population of Ireland had been increasing rapidly, until it amounted to over eight millions.

The Irish Famine forces free trade in food

The greater part were poor peasants, living in misery, with the potato for almost their sole food. Suddenly, in 1846, in a night, came a blight that ruined the crop for the year; and, despite generous gifts of food from all the world, two million people died of starvation.[1]

The government in England had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this terrible event in Ireland forced it to act. Peel decided to let food in free; and, despite bitter opposition from the landlords of his own party, the reform was adopted.

One interesting result of the bitter feeling of the Tory landlords was the passing of the factory act of 1847 (p. 520). That much-needed reform had been vehemently opposed by *manufacturing* Liberals, like John Bright, who urged (1) that it would oblige manufacturers to reduce wages and raise prices; (2) that it took from the workman his "freedom of contract" (!); and (3) that it would ruin English industry and drive capital away to countries where there was no such "mischievous legislation." But the landlord Tories, who had just been beaten by Bright on the Corn Laws, grimly took their revenge by forcing this other reform upon the manufacturing capitalists. The story shows that neither division of the capitalist class could see any needs of the working class that conflicted with their own unjust profits.

Free trade adopted as a policy

Peel was soon overthrown by a party revolt, but the Liberals took up his work and carried it farther. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, *by 1852, England had become a "free trade" country.* For the next half century this policy was never seriously questioned in England. Soon after 1900, however, some Conservative leaders began to advocate a policy of "fair trade," or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures; and in 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made its campaigns on this issue; but so far (1921) it has not won.

After the enfranchisement of the artisan class by the Reform Bill of 1867, came Gladstone's great reform administration

[1] A million more emigrated to America in the next four years (1847–1850). This was the first large immigration of Catholic Irish to this country.

(1868–1874), which rivals in importance that of Earl Grey in the thirties. It established alongside the old private and parochial schools a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, Board Schools.[1] It abolished purchase of office in the army, and completed the civil service reform (p. 517). It introduced the ballot (p. 517). It opened English universities to others than the members of the Church of England. It passed further factory laws. It definitely repealed the old conspiracy laws, under which labor unions had been persecuted, and it gave legal rights to such unions, permitting them to incorporate and secure the rights at law of an individual. It also arranged honorably the Alabama Arbitration Treaty with the United States. It "disendowed" and "disestablished" the English Church in Ireland, and carried through important land reforms for Ireland (pp. 526–527).

Gladstone's reform administration, 1868–1874

But, despite the trade-union law, Gladstone offended the labor party by a new law regarding strikes. This law recognized the right of a union to strike, but made criminal any show of intimidation. It forbade strikers to revile those who remained at work; and it is reported that under the law seven women were sent to prison for crying "Bah!" at a workman who had deserted the strikers. The ministry lost more and more of its support, and finally Gladstone "dissolved." In the election, the labor unions voted for the Conservatives; and that party secured a large majority, for the first time since 1832.

The labor unions desert Gladstone

Then followed *Disraeli's administration of 1874–1880 with its "dazzling foreign policy."* The only reform at home was the promised repeal of the law against strikes. Gladstone's ministry had been exceedingly peaceful and honorable in dealing with foreign nations. Disraeli, leader of the new ministry, characterized this attitude as weak, and said that it had "compromised

Disraeli's imperialistic administration, 1874–1880

[1] So called because they are managed by elected Boards. (The term "public school" in England had been appropriated by the great secondary schools, like Rugby, though there is no public control over them.) The Board Schools have revolutionized the English working-class. In 1850, more than a third of the newly married couples had to sign their names in the marriage registers with their "marks"; but in 1903 only two per cent were unable to write their names.

the honor" of England. He adopted an aggressive foreign policy, and tried to excite English patriotism by "jingo"[1] utterances and conduct. By act of Parliament, Queen Victoria was declared "Empress of India"; the Boers of the Transvaal were incited to war, so that England might seize their lands; and in 1878, when Russia conquered Turkey (p. 623) and seemed about to exclude the Turks from Europe, Disraeli interfered. He got together a Congress of the Powers at Berlin, and saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia off from the Mediterranean.

DISRAELI, LORD BEACONSFIELD, late in his career.

Gladstone's second ministry, 1880–1885

Gladstone came forth from retirement to carry on a great campaign against this policy of supporting the Turk in his mastery over the Christian populations of southeastern Europe. His appeal to the moral sense of the English people was successful; and in the election of 1880 the Liberals secured an overwhelming majority. The evil work of the Congress of Berlin could not now be undone; but Gladstone's new ministry passed the Third Reform Bill and it also completed the purification of English politics by adopting the law against "Corrupt Practices" (p. 518). Soon, however, this Liberal ministry found itself occupied with Irish questions, about which English politics were to revolve for the next fifteen years.

[1] This word comes from a popular music hall song of 1878:

"We don't want to fight; but, by jingo, if we do
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
We've got the money, too."

III. ENGLAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

Cromwell and William III

The tragic story of Ireland to the close of Elizabeth's day has been told. Said an English poet-historian of that time, "If it had been practised in Hell as it has been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub." Just before the Civil War in England, the goaded Irish rose in fierce rebellion. A little later the merciless hand of Cromwell restored order with a cruelty which makes his name a by-word in Ireland to-day. Toward the close of the century, the Irish sided with James II against William III, but were defeated at the *Battle of the Boyne* (1690). The Treaty of Limerick (1691), however, promised them the enjoyment of their own religion and certain other privileges; but these promises were treacherously broken by the English settlers, who controlled the parliament of the island, so that Limerick is known as "the City of the Broken Treaty."

Ireland in the eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century the fate of Ireland was wretched beyond description. In parts of Ulster (the northern province) the population was mainly English. Elsewhere *six sevenths of the land* belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their rents there. Six sevenths *of the people* were Catholic Irish. A few of these, especially in the west, were country gentlemen; a considerable number more were *tenant* farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for Saxon landlords and living in mud hovels, — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

"Rack rent"

Farmers and laborers alike were "tenants at will." That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was always sharp competition to get farms and cottages, and so the landlord could make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he commonly found at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasantry reckless and lazy; and the fact that the law of their masters was used only to oppress them trained them to hate and break the law.

The Rebellion and the "Union"

In 1798 the Irish rebelled. They were promised aid by the French Directory; but the help did not come in time, and the rising was put down with horrible cruelty. A change in the government followed. For several centuries, there had been a separate parliament for Ireland (controlled by the English settlers); but after 1798 *England consolidated the government of the two islands.* The *Act of Union* (1800) abolished the Irish legislature (giving Ireland one hundred representatives in the English Parliament), and made Ireland subject directly to English rule and English officials.

These were the conditions at the opening of the nineteenth century. In 1803 a brilliant young Irishman, *Robert Emmet*, tried to organize a rebellion for Irish independence; but the effort failed miserably, and Emmet died on the scaffold.

Young Ireland

The struggle for the repeal of the Union began in 1830, in the first English Parliament in which Catholics were allowed to sit (p. 510). Forty of the Irish delegation were pledged to work for repeal, and they were led by the dauntless *Daniel O'Connell;* but the Irish famine of 1846 checked the agitation, and just afterward O'Connell died. Then a band of hot-headed young men tried conspiracy, and the fruitless and rather farcical rebellion of Young Ireland marked the year 1848.

And the Fenians

The next twenty years saw no progress. In 1866 came another rebellion, — *the Fenian Conspiracy*, — organized by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. The danger did not become serious, but it convinced many liberal Englishmen that something must be done for Ireland, and Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868–1874 took up the task.

Gladstone's reforms

1. Since the day of Elizabeth, the Episcopal church had held the ancient property of the Catholic church in Ireland, though in 1835 a parliamentary commission failed to find *one* Protestant (except the appointed clergy) in any one of 150 parishes. That foreign church was now *disestablished* (deprived of political privileges) and partially *disendowed* — though it kept its buildings and enough other property to leave it still very rich.

2. This act of partial justice was followed in 1870 by the first

of a long series of important *reforms of the land laws*. Two things were attempted: (1) in case of removal, it was ordered that the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) the government arranged to lend money on long time and at low interest, to the tenants, so that they might buy their little patches of land. In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended and improved these laws until the peasants began to be true land-owners, with a chance to develop new habits of thrift and industry.

Reform and coercion

Meantime, in 1870, a group of Irish members of Parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," and soon afterward the same leaders organized the "Land League," to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For the time, the Liberal ministry frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly on the ground that it encouraged crime against landlords.

Gladstone converted to Home Rule

But suddenly Gladstone made a change of front. In the new Parliament of 1884, eighty-six of Ireland's hundred and five members were "Home Rulers." They began to block *all* legislation; and Gladstone could go on only by securing their alliance. Moreover, *he had become convinced that the only way to govern Ireland was to govern it in coöperation with the Irish, and not in opposition to them.* So in 1886 he adopted the "Home-Rule" plan and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

Gladstone's retirement

The Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and ruin to the Empire, and in this belief they were joined by many of the old Liberals, who took the name of *Liberal Unionists*. The Home-Rule Bill was defeated; but it made the issue in the next election a few years later, and in 1893 Gladstone tried to carry another such measure. This time, the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. The majority for it in the Commons was narrow, and plainly due only to the Irish vote. Thus Gladstone felt that the nation would not support him in any attempt to pass the bill by swamping the Lords with new peers. At this moment his age compelled him

to retire from parliamentary life, and the Liberals, left for a time without a fit leader, went out of power.

Further land reform

The Conservatives and Unionists then tried to conciliate Ireland by extending the policy of government loans to the peasantry to an almost unlimited extent, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism; and they granted a kind of *local* "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils like those in England. The Irish members kept up agitation in Parliament, but for a long time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in Irish Home Rule; and indeed it was plain that nothing could be done until after the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords. This matter was soon forced to the front in connection with English questions (pp. 529 ff.).

GLADSTONE, after retirement.

The Sinn Fein movement

Meantime a group of ardent Irish scholars and poets had begun to revive the use of *Erse* (the ancient Irish language) and to build the old Irish history and legends into a noble and beautiful literature. A new sense of nationality, due largely to this literary revival, soon gave birth to the *Sinn Fein* movement ("Ourselves alone"), calling for complete independence.

CHAPTER LV

RECENT REFORM IN ENGLAND: "WAR UPON POVERTY"

I hope that great advance will be made during this generation toward the time when poverty, with its wretchedness and squalor, will be as remote from the people of this country as are the wolves which once infested its forests. – LLOYD GEORGE, in 1909.

The Conservative rule, 1896–1905

After Gladstone's retirement, the Conservatives held power for ten years (1896–1905). They carried forward some social reforms which they had once bitterly opposed — such as factory reform and Irish-land reform — but they also placed the English Board schools under the control of the established church.

Return of the Liberals to power

In 1905 the Liberals returned to power with a group of new leaders, who still (1921) remain prominent in English public life, — *Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George,* and *Mr. Winston Churchill.* The ministry which contained these men was supported by the largest parliamentary majority which had been seen since the First Reform Bill.

Fifty Labor members in 1905

The same election sent fifty Labor representatives to Parliament, several of them avowed Socialists.

The new ministry sought at once to take the schools back from the control of the church but succeeded only in part — owing to the veto of the Lords. That House, too, ventured to challenge conflict by vetoing a bill that tried to take away the "plural votes" of rich men.[1] To "end or mend" the obstructive House of Lords had been part of the Liberal platform for a quarter of a century. Now the issue was coming to the front. The final clash came over the budget.

[1] The English law permitted a man to vote in as many counties as he held landed property. The defense of this ancient privilege of property had become a matter of intense feeling with the English Conservatives. The Liberals shouted the slogan, "One man, one vote." (Since elections were held all on one day, the actual number of plural votes was not very large; but they remained a hateful class distinction.)

Lloyd George's budget of 1909

Each year the ministry presents a statement of the expenses it intends to incur, and of the taxes it proposes to lay wherewith to meet those expenses. This statement is the budget. In April of 1909 Lloyd George, finance minister, presented a budget which honestly horrified Conservatives, and which was the most socialistic step ever taken up to that time by a great government. (1) A *graduated* income tax took a large part of all incomes over $25,000, and *bore more heavily on unearned incomes than on those earned.* (2) A *graduated* inheritance tax took larger proportions than formerly of inheritances. (3) A much higher tax was placed on land that paid rents and royalties to landlords than on land worked by its owners. (4) Most important of all, there was a provision that when any man sold land for more than it had cost, he must pay one fifth the gain into the national treasury. (This is known as a tax on the "unearned increment," and is a move toward the doctrine of the Single-taxers, who wish the community to take *all* such unearned increment.)

The Conservatives attacked this budget violently as revolutionary. Especially they denounced the distinction regarding unearned incomes as an "invidious assault on the rights of property." Moreover, they claimed that the treasury did not need such vast income as was proposed. As to this last point, Lloyd George declared that he was proposing a "war budget," — for "waging implacable war against poverty." The other accusations were answered forcibly by Mr. Winston Churchill, who frankly declared a man's right to property dependent upon the way in which he obtained it: "Formerly," said he, "the only question by the tax-gatherer was 'How much have you got?' . . . To-day . . . we ask also, '*How did you get it?*'"

The Lords challenge conflict

The budget passed the Commons, but the Lords threw it out by a vote of five to one. For many centuries the upper House had not dared to interfere with a "money bill" (p. 310). Now was the time for the Commons to strike. The ministry "dissolved," in order to appeal to the nation for support in restricting the veto of the House of Lords, and were indorsed by an

enlarged majority. The Lords now passed the budget, but threw out a bill against their veto. Another dissolution and a second election showed the country resolutely behind the ministry; and Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, now announced that, if necessary, 500 new peers would be created to pass the bill.

The Lords lose the veto

Then the helpless Lords passed the law which reduced their House to a nonentity. Under this law of 1911, any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not (and the Speaker of the Commons decides whether a bill is or is not a money bill); and any other bill passed by the Commons *at three successive sessions* becomes law, in spite of a veto by the Lords.

Social insurance, 1911

The Liberals then hastened to push through a program of social reform. In 1908 they had already passed an Old-age Pensions Act giving $1.25 a week to every person over seventy years old with a yearly income of less than £160 — not as a dole of charity but as due reward in payment for a long life of service to the commonweal. An even more important move in the "war against poverty" was now made, in a national insurance act of 1911. This act *compelled* every worker with a yearly income of less than $800 to insure against sickness, and *offered tempting inducements* for such insurance to workers with higher incomes. (The benefits include weekly payments during sickness, *free medical care in health*, and free treatment in state hospitals when sick.) More radical still was a provision insuring workers in certain trades *against unemployment*. A workman out of work, without fault of his own, was promised a weekly sum for a term of fifteen weeks, and free transportation to a place where the free labor-bureaus may find him new work. These acts placed England in the lead of the large nations in the matter of "social insurance."

Other reform before the War

Political reform, too, was pushed forward. In 1911 the maximum duration of Parliaments was limited to five years, instead of seven, and salaries ($2000 a year) were provided for members of Parliament. The same Parliament finally "disestablished" the English church in Wales (where the people were practically all dissenters) and at last passed *Irish Home Rule*. The Lords

vetoed both measures in 1912 and in 1913, but in 1914 they became law over the veto. In Protestant Ulster, however, the Conservative "Unionists" threatened rebellion to prevent Home Rule going into effect. When, a few weeks later, the World War began, the leaders in this program of violence gave it up; but in return the ministry secured an act from Parliament postponing the date when the Home-Rule law should go into operation.

Delay due to the World War

This delay was one of the most unhappy results of the great war. The old hatreds seemed about to be wiped out. Previous reforms by the English Parliament had disestablished the English church in Ireland and had tried honestly to undo the injustice of centuries of English landlordism there by making the Irish peasants again the owners of their own land. A final act of justice seemed about to be performed, which would have left further Irish reform in Irish hands. The delay (along with some other blunders of the English government) produced bitter resentment; and now the Sinn Feiners (p. 528) became the dominant party. On the whole Ireland still did its part nobly in the great war; but some leaders spent their energies instead (sometimes even in plots with German autocracy) in attempts to set up an independent Irish nation. On the other hand, fighting Germany for her life, England used unwise severity in putting down such plots by death sentences. This made any righteous settlement grievously hard.

Ireland since the war

It is most convenient to bring this story down to date at this point. In the first Parliamentary election after the war, the Sinn Feiners displaced the Home Rulers, winning nearly all the seats outside Ulster. Of course they then left their seats vacant. In 1920 Lloyd George carried a new Home-Rule Bill, providing *two* subordinate Irish parliaments. The Ulster parliament organized; but the rest of Ireland would have nothing to do with the plan. For the next two years Ireland was ruled by martial law, with innumerable assassinations and riots and with frightful police retaliation.

At last, however, England had to recognize that the great bulk of the Irish people really were united in their demand for a new national life, and English public opinion began to

rebel against the government's policy of armed repression. (No question, too, this change of feeling was hastened by the very strong and general sympathy for Ireland expressed in America—to whose public opinion England had grown sensitive.) At the same time, few Englishmen felt that in these days of airships and submarines, England could safely run the risk of the neighboring island becoming a base of operations for an enemy in some future war. Independence in all internal arrangements, and even in foreign trade, it was seen, had to be conceded, but along with retention of oversight over foreign political relations.

The settlement of 1922

And suddenly Lloyd George (to the dismay and wrath of the Tory elements in the coalition that had been supporting him) executed one more of his many political somersaults. He called into conference the Irish leaders whom just before he had been hunting down as traitors or felons, agreed with them upon a new plan of government by which Ireland became as independent and self-governing as Canada or Australia, and carried that plan swiftly through the English Parliament. In Ireland an extreme party still stood out for entire separation from the British Empire, but, after some weeks of bitter debate, the Irish Free State parliament ratified this treaty on January 7, 1922. So, it may be hoped, ends the story of one of the longest and cruelest injustices in history.

"Votes for Women": the suffragettes

Meantime suffrage reform had been completed in England. In 1912 the Asquith ministry introduced the "Fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill," extending the suffrage to *all* grown men and establishing the principle "one man, one vote"; but this bill was withdrawn, later, because of complications with the "equal suffrage" movement.

Until 1870, women in England (and in most European lands) had fewer rights than in America. But when the English "Board schools" were created, women were given the right to vote for the Boards, and to serve upon them. In 1888 and 1894 they were given the franchise for the County Councils and Parish Councils, subject to the tax-paying restrictions that applied

to men. Then in 1893 the colony of New Zealand gave women full political rights, and in 1901 the new Australian Commonwealth did so (as the separate Australian States had done or at once did do).

The action of these progressive colonies reacted upon Old England.[1] In 1905 numbers of women there exchanged peaceful agitation for violence, in the campaign for the ballot. They made noisy and threatening demonstrations before the homes of members of the ministry; they broke windows; they invaded the House of Commons in its sittings; and at last they began even to destroy mail boxes and burn empty buildings. The purpose of these *suffragettes* was to center attention on the demand "Votes for women," since, the leaders believed, the demand was sure to be granted if only people could be kept thinking about it. When members of this party of violence were sent to jail, they resorted to a "starvation strike," until the government felt compelled to release them — after trying for a time "forceful feeding." For the time, however, the suffragettes lost public sympathy and alienated many Liberals, so that all franchise reform paused. But when the war of 1914 began, the suffragette leaders called upon their followers to drop all violence while the country was in peril; *and the devoted services of women to the country throughout the war removed the last opposition to equal suffrage.* In 1918 the "Fourth Reform Bill" became law, giving one vote to each man and each woman.

England long a landlord's country

The early years of the twentieth century saw also another act of reparation to a large part of the English people — a matter which requires a backward glance.

In 1700, in spite of the sixteenth-century inclosures (p. 365), England still had some 400,000 yeomen farmers — who, with their families, made nearly half the total population. But by 1800, though population had doubled, this class of independent small holders had vanished, and rural England had become a country of great landlords. The change took place mainly dur-

[1] See also the progress of equal suffrage in other European lands (pp. 578–582) and in America (West's *American People*, 689–690).

ing the final quarter of the century — just when the Industrial Revolution was well under way. The new profits in farming (p. 465) made landlords eager for more land. They controlled Parliament (p. 506); and that body passed law after law *inclosing the "commons," for the benefit of their class.* A rhyme of the day expresses the feeling of the yeomen:

> "The law locks up the man or woman
> Who steals the goose from off the common;
> But leaves the greater villain loose
> Who steals the common from the goose."

The peasant farmers, having lost their old pasture land by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who also alone had money to buy the new machinery coming into use. *Small farmers were compelled to sell out;* while the merchants and new manufacturing capitalists were eager to buy, both because of the new profits in agriculture and because social position and political power in England in that day rested on ownership of land. The dispossessed yeomanry drifted to the new factory towns to swell the unhappy class there (p. 475); or they remained to till the landlord's land, living on his estate as "cottagers," subject to removal at his order.

Classes in rural England

Since this change, until very recently, the classes connected with the land in England have been three, — landlords, *tenant*-farmers, and laborers. The first class comprised a few thousand gentry and nobles. Each such proprietor divided his estate into "farms," of from a hundred to three hundred acres, and leased them out to men with a little capital, who are known as "farmers." This second class worked the land directly, with the aid of the third class, who had no land of their own but who labored for day-wages.

The landlords as a rule prided themselves upon keeping up their estates. They introduced costly machinery and improved methods of agriculture more rapidly than small proprietors could, and they furnished some of the money necessary to put farms and buildings into good condition. Their own stately homes, too, encompassed by rare old parks, gave a beauty to

rural England such as no other country knew. (During the World War, these glorious oaks were cut to furnish lumber for England; and much of this beauty has been lost.) The farmers, compared with the farm-laborers, were an aristocratic and prosperous class; but, of course, they had always been largely influenced by their landlords. And they did not *own* their land. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany; but in no other European country have the peasants ever so completely ceased to be owners of the soil as in nineteenth-century England. In 1876 a parliamentary inquiry found only a quarter of a million (262,886) land-owners with more than an acre apiece (while 1200 men owned a fourth of all England). France, with about the same population, had more than twenty times as many land-owners as England had.

Rebuilding the yeoman class

For many years the Liberal party had tried to remedy this evil by parliamentary "Allotment acts" (1883, 1887, 1892); but the commissioners to carry out such laws always came from the landlord class, and little was done. But after *local* government became democratic (in 1888 and especially in 1894) the local councils began to buy land, or to condemn it at forced sales, and then to turn it over in small holdings to farm laborers on long leases or for purchase on easy terms. This movement has been tremendously accelerated by the need of taking care of unemployed returned soldiers since the World War; and the English people are coming once more to own England.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 265–279; Cross, *History of England*, ch. lvii; Larson, *Short History of England*, 617–639.

CHAPTER LVI

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

The British Empire

Of all peoples the English have been the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semi-barbarous races. In 1776 England lost her most important colonies in North America; but the hundred years of war with France (1689–1815) gave her a new and vaster empire (pp. 399, 449). In the nineteenth century this empire was tremendously expanded again, — mainly by peaceful settlement and daring exploration. In 1914 the British Empire covered nearly fourteen million square miles (nearly a fourth the land area of the globe), and its population numbered four hundred millions, or about one fourth of the whole human race. Forty millions of this number dwelt in the British Isles, and about fifteen millions more of English descent lived in self-governing colonies, — mainly in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The other seven eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples.

The outlying possessions are of two kinds: (1) those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

The self-governing colonies

Some colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The English ministry appoints a *Governor General*, whose powers resemble those of the figurehead monarch in England. *But the people of the colony elect the local legislature; and the real executive is the local*

ministry, "responsible" to the legislature, as the ministry in England is to Parliament.

Crown colonies

In another group of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. This class of "*crown colonies*" comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population is mainly non-European.

India

India is a huge crown colony. The English ministry appoints a Viceroy and a Council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts the English officials are assisted by native officers, and to some extent by elected councils of natives. Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English "agents."

The constant petty wars which formerly were always wasting the land have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent in a century, — and to-day more than three hundred million people dwell in India. England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries. Cotton mills give a Western appearance to parts of that ancient Oriental land. India has 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages); and 6,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades. India is not taxed directly for the benefit of the treasury of the Empire, but her trade is a chief source of British wealth.

The English have been making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare. Still it remains true that the Hindoos cannot understand Western civilization, and they do not like it. Moreover, in the great war, England failed to throw herself generously upon

PLATE XCI

CANADIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA.

PLATE XCII

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RAILROAD STATION, BOMBAY, INDIA. — The purpose of the building is due, of course, to English civilization; but the architecture is native to India.

Indian loyalty; she refused commissions to Hindoos, and lost a great chance to bind that people to her more closely.

Dissatisfaction due to this mistaken English policy, and the new impulse given by the war to all nationalist movements, have led, since 1920, to a remarkable "pacifist" movement for Hindoo independence — which, at this writing (December, 1921) English officers are putting down cruelly.

Egypt

Egypt in name was one of the tributary states of Turkey until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed, restored order, and "occupied" the country.

And the Suez Canal

England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal had been opened in 1869. The gigantic undertaking had been financed by an international stock company. In 1875 Disraeli's administration had bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property. Egypt has been made a base of operation, also, from which English rule has been extended into the Soudan (map facing p. 603) far toward Central Africa.

After 1881, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged; but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice." Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too; and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head. In 1914, during the great European war, England formally announced a full protectorate.

To Egypt itself, English rule was in many ways a decided good. The system of taxation was reformed, so that it became

less burdensome and more productive. The irrigation works were revived and improved, so that Egypt is richer, more populous, and with a more prosperous peasantry, than ever before. At the same time there has grown up a party among the Egyptian people who believe that their country is now quite fit to stand alone — and that it has a right to try. After the World War this situation led to occasional popular risings and stern English repression. Just at this writing (March, 1922) Lloyd George has announced that Egypt is to be set free.

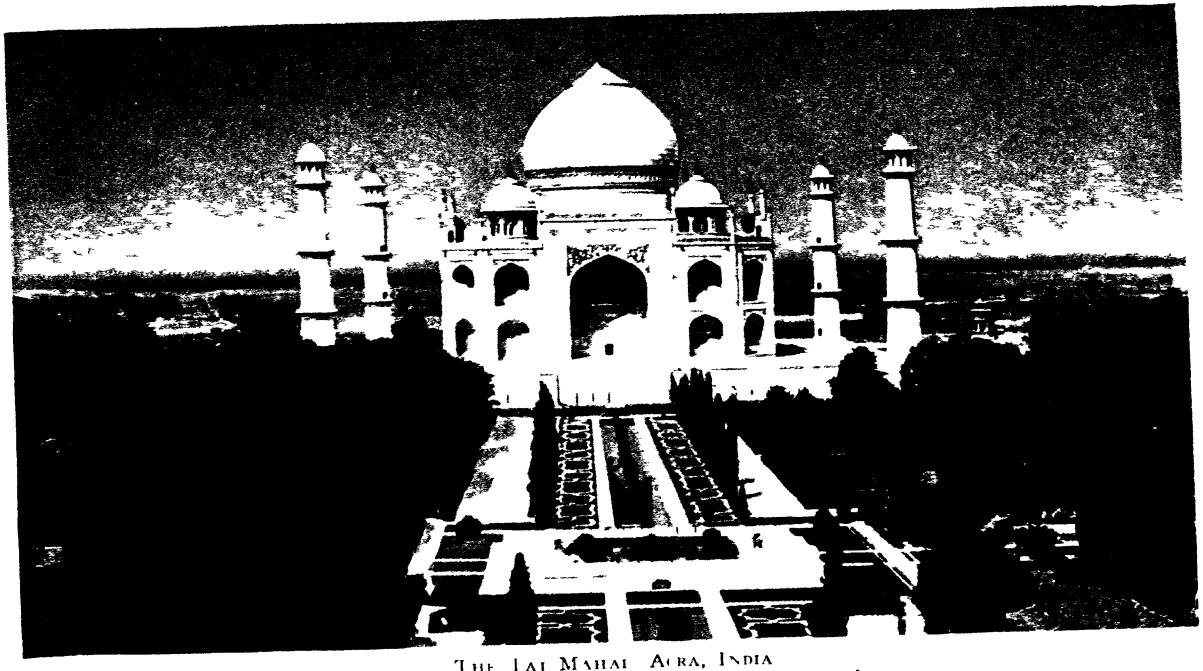
One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the *development of self-government* in the *Anglo-Saxon* colonies of England. The loss of the American colonies had taught a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

The winning of self-government in Canada

This event took place in Canada in 1837. There were then only two "provinces" there. These thinly settled districts lay along the St. Lawrence, and were known as Upper and Lower Canada. They had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776. The accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but an English commissioner, sent over to investigate, *recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels for greater freedom should be granted.* Parliament adopted this recommendation. In 1839 the two provinces were granted "*responsible*" *ministries.* England, in name, retains a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it has never been used. In 1850 a like plan for self-government was granted to the Australian colonies; in 1852 to New Zealand; and in 1872 to Cape Colony in Africa.

Australia begins as a convict camp

The growth of the Australian colonies is a romantic story, worthy of a book to itself. England's original claim rested on landings by Captain Cook in his voyage to the Pacific in 1769. No regular settlement was attempted for half a century, but in 1787 England sent a shipload of *convicts* to the coast of "New



THE TAJ MAHAL AGRA, INDIA
Built by Shah Jhan as a memorial to his favorite wife

South Wales," and repeated this act from time to time for fifty years. After their terms of punishment, many ex-convicts became steady farmers, and finally the English government began to induce other settlers to "go out" by free grants of land and of farming implements. By 1821 the colony had a population of 40,000, and soon it became the main sheep-raising region of the world.

English expansion in Australia

By natural expansion, familiar to students of American history, this colony of New South Wales sent out offshoots, so that by 1859 the continental island was occupied by six English colonies. These Australian commonwealths have been pioneers in democratic progress. Before 1900, every man and *every woman* in each state had the right to vote. The government in each state owned the railroads. The "Australian ballot" and the Torrens system of land transfer came from these colonies; and a powerful Labor party in each has secured other radical reforms — which are seen better still perhaps in New Zealand.

Democratic progress in Australia

New Zealand experiments in industrial democracy

"New Zealand" comprises a group of islands 1200 miles east of Australia. Settled and governed for a time from New South Wales, it became a separate colony in 1840. In 1911 it contained a million English-speaking inhabitants. For many years it has been perhaps the most democratic state in the world. Women secured the right to vote in 1893. Large estates have been broken up into small holdings by heavy taxation. A state "Farmers' Loan Bank" set the example followed in part by the United States in 1913. The most advanced factory laws and "social insurance" laws in the world have been found in New Zealand since 1893 and 1898.

South Africa: the Boers

South Africa was long an unsatisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars (p. 449). English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists "trekked" (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. A few years later the

British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal River. These "Transvaal" Dutch became involved in serious difficulties with the native Zulus, whom they enslaved and treated brutally, and a native rising threatened to exterminate all Europeans in South Africa. Under Disraeli (p. 523) England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers rebelled, and with their magnificent marksmanship destroyed a British force at the *Battle of Majuba Hill*. Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of their independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he withdrew the British claims and left to the Boers of the Transvaal a virtual independence, under British "protection." The exact relations between the two countries, however, were not well defined.

The Boer War

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them all political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and, under Salisbury's Conservative and Imperialistic ministry, was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten; and England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government to her recent foes.

English colonies organized in great federal commonwealths

During the last half-century the English-speaking colonies have made one more great advance in free government. At the time of the American Revolution, "Canada" meant merely the St. Lawrence settlements. In the nineteenth century these

expanded westward, forming a splendid band of states[1] spanning the continent. Then, in 1867, the separate colonies of this British North America organized themselves into *the Dominion of Canada*. This is a *federal state*, similar to the United States, composed now of nine members, with a number of other "Territories." The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry; and each of the eight states has its own local legislature and ministry. *A similar union of the six Australian colonies* into one federal state was agitated for many years; and, after two federal conventions and a popular vote, it *was finally established on the first day of the twentieth century*. Finally, *in 1909*, the four South African states federated, with the name, "*The Union of South Africa*."

Thus three new English nations were formed, — each at its birth large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States at the time when its independence was achieved).

Ties between England and her colonies

The bond which holds together the Anglo-Saxon parts of the Empire is almost wholly one of feeling. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would not dream of trying to hold it. The English statesman, however, who should *invite* Canada to drop out of the Empire, or who should provoke her into doing so, would be universally regarded in England as a traitor to his race.

There is no present danger of separation. The colonists have had no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have had no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward foreign nations. This evil has recently been removed in great part by the recognition of delegates from these colonial countries at the Peace Congress of 1919 and in the League of Nations, so that to-day very commonly the patriotic Canadian or Australian speaks proudly, and with right, not of "the British Empire," but of "the British Commonwealth of Free Nations."

[1] Read Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Lady Merton, Colonist*, to get the spirit the Canada of the West.

PART XIV — CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1871-1914

CHAPTER LVII

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1871-1914

The Government of National Defense

The news of Sedan (p. 503) reached Paris, September 3, 1870. The city had been kept in ignorance of the previous disasters to French arms. Now it went mad with dismay and terror. The next day, aided by a mob invasion of the legislative chamber, a few Radical deputies tumultuously proclaimed the "Third Republic," and set up a provisional *Government of National Defense.*

GAMBETTA AROUSING THE PROVINCES against the Prussian invader. — From a newspaper print of the day.

Second stage of the war

This government tried at first to secure an honorable peace with Germany, protesting, truly, that the French *people* had not willed the war. But when Prussia made it plain that she intended to punish France by taking large slices of her territory, the conflict entered upon a new stage. Paris held out heroically through a four months' siege; and *Gambetta*, a leading member of the Gov-

ernment of Defense, escaped from the beleaguered city in a balloon,[1] to organize a magnificent uprising in the provinces. Exhausted France raised army after army, and amazed the world by her tremendous exertions. But in the end it became apparent that the iron grasp of the German armies could not

BISMARCK DICTATING TERMS TO THIERS IN 1871, — a painting by Von Werner. The figure back of the table is Thiers' associate in the negotiation, Jules Favre, who had led the defense of Paris.

be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; the dogs and rats had been eaten; and on January 28 the city surrendered.

The National Assembly of 1871

There was no government in France with any real authority to make peace; and so an armistice was arranged, to permit the election of a *National Assembly* by manhood suffrage. The Assembly met toward the close of February, 1871, and created a provisional government by electing *Thiers* "Head of the Executive Power of the French Republic." To this government Bismarck dictated harsh terms of peace. The Prussians took Alsace and a part of Lorraine (with the great fortresses of Metz and Strassburg,) and a huge war indemnity of a billion dollars (some four times the cost of the war to Germany).

Bismarck dictates harsh terms

[1] This was long before the day of aëroplanes.

The "Commune of Paris," 1871

Hardly had the National Assembly accepted this peace before it had to meet a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege *all* adult males of Paris had been armed as National Guards. When the siege was over, every one who could get away from the distressed city did temporarily remove (including one hundred and fifty thousand of the *wealthier* National Guards) leaving Paris in control of the radical element. This element, too, kept its arms and its military organization; and it now set up a government of its own by choosing a large "Central Committee."

The National Assembly had established itself at Versailles. The radicals of Paris suspected it of wishing to restore the monarchy. (In fact, a large majority of the members *were* Monarchists, as events were soon to prove.) Moreover, the Assembly had aggrieved the poorer classes of Paris: it had insisted upon the immediate payment of rents and other debts incurred during the siege; and it did away in large measure with the pay of the National Guard, which since the surrender had been a kind of poor-relief. In addition to all this, the Reds and Socialists still remembered bitterly the cruel middle-class vengeance of '48 (p. 484).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like hostile camps. Then, indorsed by another popular election, the Central Committee *set up the Commune and adopted the red flag.*

The supporters of this program wished the central government of France to be merely a loose federation of independent "communes."[1] In 1848 the Paris Radicals had learned that the *country* districts of France were overwhelmingly opposed to Socialism and to "Red Republicanism." But if each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the Radicals hoped to carry out their socialistic policy in at least Paris and other large cities.

[1] So they called themselves "Federals." They are properly described also as "Communards"; but the name "Communist," which is often applied to them, is likely to give a false impression. That latter name is generally used only for those who oppose private property. Many of the Communards were also Communists, but probably the majority of them were not.

But France, though still bleeding from invasion, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle class felt, moreover, that the institution of property itself was at stake, and they confounded all Communards together as criminals seeking to overthrow society. Like attempts to set up

Civil War

Destruction of the Vendôme Column (p. 440) by Communards in 1871; — a sketch by a contemporary Parisian artist. The Communards declared the commemoration of victory in wars of conquest unworthy a free people. The monument was afterward restored.

Communes took place at Marseilles, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Lyons; but they came to little, and the civil war was confined to Paris. April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops that had now returned from captivity in Germany. The struggle lasted two months and was utterly ferocious. The Assembly refused to treat the Communards as regular combatants, and shot down all prisoners. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes left in Paris. These hostages, however, were not harmed until the Commune had been overthrown. Then, in the final disorder, an unauthorized mob did put sixty-three of them to death, — the venerable Archbishop of Paris among them.

The bombardment of Paris by the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been.

Another "White" Terror

Finally the troops forced their way into the city, which was already in flames in many sections. For eight days more, desperate fighting went on in the streets, before the rebellion was put down. Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for many months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to transportation, before the rage of the victorious middle class was sated. There are few darker stains on the page of history than the cruelty and brutality of this middle-class vengeance.

The Assembly monarchic in feeling

The Assembly had been elected simply with a view to making peace. In choosing it, men had thought of nothing else. *It was limited by no constitution, and it had no definite term of office.* Certainly, it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to continue to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.

Monarchic factions fail to unite

At the election, people had chosen conservative candidates, because they wanted men who could be counted upon not to renew the war rashly. The majority of the members proved to be Monarchists; and they failed to set up a king, only because they were divided into three rival groups, — Imperialists (Bonapartists), Orleanists (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and Legitimists (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). These three factions agreed in believing that a new election would increase the strength of the Republicans; and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republican members for dissolution.

Thiers President, 1871–1873

However, now that peace had been made, and the rebellion crushed, the Assembly felt compelled to replace the "provisional government" by *some* more regular form. Accordingly it made Thiers "President of the Republic," but it gave him no fixed term of office because the majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a monarchy at some favorable moment.

This presidency lasted two years (1871–1873), and it saw *France freed from foreign occupation.* Germany had expected the vast war indemnity (which was to be paid in installments) to keep France weak for a long period; and German garrisons

were to remain in France until payment was complete. But France astonished all beholders by her rapid recovery. In eighteen months the indemnity was paid in coin, and the last German soldier had left French soil. The government loans (p. 553) were taken up enthusiastically by all classes of Frenchmen, — in great measure by the industrious and prosperous peasantry.

Last chance of the Monarchists: MacMahon's presidency

In 1873 a momentary coalition of Monarchists and Radicals in the Assembly forced Thiers to resign. In his place the Monarchists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. *For some months a monarchic restoration seemed almost certain.* Legitimists and Orleanists had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The Monarchists had the machinery of the government in their hands, and were just ready to declare the Bourbon heir the King of France, when the two factions split once more on the question of a symbol. The Orleanists wished to keep the tricolor, the flag of the 1830 Monarchy. But the Count of Chambord denounced the tricolor as the "symbol of revolution," and declared that he would not give up the white lilies of the old Bourbon monarchy, the symbol of divine right. On this scruple the chance of the Monarchists came to shipwreck.

The Constitution of the Third Republic

Then, in 1875, despairing of an immediate restoration, the Assembly adopted a constitution. Modified slightly by later amendments, this is the present constitution of the French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people.

The constitution is very brief, because the Monarchist majority preferred to leave the details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt them to a kingly government. The first draft spoke of a "Chief Executive." An amendment changed this title to "President of the Republic"; but the change was adopted by a majority of only *one* in a vote of 705. (*In 1884* a new amendment declared the republican form of government "*not subject to repeal.*")

The legislature consists of two Houses. The Senate contains three hundred members, holding office for nine years, one third going out each third year. (At first, seventy-five of the mem-

bers were to hold office for life, but in 1884 an amendment declared that no more life members should be chosen.) The Deputies (lower House) are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term of four years. To amend the constitution, or to choose a President, *the two Houses meet together, at Versailles*, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name *National Assembly*. A *majority vote* of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

The executive consists of a *president*, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of *the ministry* he appoints. The president has much less power than the president of the United States. The ministers wield enormous power. They direct all legislation, appoint a vast multitude of officers, and carry on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but, in practice, he must name those who will be acceptable to the Deputies. The ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority behind it.

Neither France nor any other European republic gives to its judiciary the power to veto laws as unconstitutional (as our American Supreme Court may do). The legislature itself is the sole judge of the constitutionality of its acts.

The Republic securely established

Even after the adoption of the constitution, the Assembly did not give way at once to a new legislature. But almost every "by-election" (to fill a vacancy) resulted in a victory for the Republicans, and *by 1876* that party had gained a majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly, and *the new elections created a House of Deputies two thirds Republican*. The Senate, with its seventy-five life-members, was still monarchic; and, with its support, MacMahon tried to keep a Monarchist ministry. But under the leadership of the fiery Gambetta, the Deputies *withheld all votes of supply*, until MacMahon appointed a ministry acceptable to it. *In 1879* the renewal of one third the Senate gave the Republicans a majority in that House also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected a Republican president.

For nearly a century, France had passed from revolution to revolution, until the world came to doubt whether any French

government could be stable. The present constitution of France is the eleventh since 1789. Four times between 1792 and 1871 had the Republicans seized Paris; three times they had set up a republic; but never before had they truly represented the deliberate determination of the whole people. In 1879 they came into power, not by violence, but by an eight years' constitutional struggle against the political tricks of an accidental Monarchist majority. *This time it was the Republicans whom the conservative, peace-loving peasantry supported.* Even the World War did not bring any thought of a change in government.

Stability of the Republic

The important units of local government are the Departments and Communes (p. 418). For each Department the Minister of the Interior *appoints* a prefect. Besides general executive power, this officer *appoints* police, postmen, and other local authorities. In each Department there is also a general council (*elected* by manhood suffrage), with control over *local* taxation — except that *its decisions are subject to the approval of the central government.* Indeed, the central government may dissolve a Departmental council at any time, and order a new election.

Local government

The Communes of France (since the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine in the World War) number about forty thousand. They vary in size from great cities to rural villages with only two or three hundred people. Each has a mayor and a council. Until 1884, *the mayor* was appointed by the Minister of the Interior; since 1884, he has been elected by the municipal council. The central government, however, may revise his acts or even remove him from office. *The municipal council* is elected by manhood suffrage; but its acts are subject to the approval of the prefect of the Department or of the central government.

Such conditions do not seem very encouraging at first to an American student; but, as compared with the past in France, the situation is full of promise. Political interest is steadily growing in the Communes, and *Frenchmen are learning more and more to use the field of self-government open to them.*

No bill of rights

Unlike the previous French constitutions, the present constitution has *no "bill of rights."* That is, it has no provisions regarding jury trial, habeas corpus privileges, or the right of free speech. Even if it had, the courts could not protect the individual from arbitrary acts of the government by appealing to such provisions, because, in case of conflict between a citizen and the government, the suit is tried, not in the ordinary courts,

Administrative courts

but in *administrative courts*, made up of government officials. As a rule, the administrative courts mete out fair treatment; but in case of any supposed danger to the government, they *may* become its champions — at the expense of the rights of a citizen.[1] It is only too true, however, that in times of excited feeling other democracies with long bills of rights have shown quite as serious a disregard of personal liberty.

Education

The zeal of the early Revolutionists for education (p. 429) was not given time to produce results; and the restored monarchy gave little attention to public schools. *In 1827 a third of the Communes of France had no primary school whatever*, and nearly a third of the population could neither read nor write. The real growth of popular education dates from the Third Republic. To-day, in every Commune there is a primary school or group of schools. Education is free and compulsory, and the central government appoints teachers and regulates the courses of study. Each Department has an excellent system of secondary schools, called *lycées;* and the higher institutions are among the most famous in the world.

Industry

The advance of industry in the forty-three years between the Franco-Prussian and the World War was enormous. The yearly production of wealth tripled (though the population slightly decreased). Coal mines turned out four times as much coal in 1911 as in 1871, and the number of patents granted in 1911 was five times as many as in 1871. (It is to be kept in mind, too, that Germany had taken from France — in Alsace-Lorraine — its richest iron districts.)

[1] Special report: the Dreyfus trials.

The French peasantry

This progress is the more remarkable when we remember that *France is preëminently an agricultural country.* The peculiar thing about French society, down to the World War, was the number of small land-owners and the prosperity of this landed peasantry. In 1900, more than half the entire population lived on the soil, and three fourths the soil was under crops. The great mass of cultivators owned little farms of from five to fifty acres. France supplied her population with foodstuffs, and exported a large surplus. The subdivision of the soil was carried so far that it was difficult to introduce the best machinery (though neighborhood associations were being founded to own machinery in common). The peasant was intelligent, industrious, thrifty, prosperous, happy, and conservative. He wished to educate his son, and he had a high standard of living, compared with other European peasantry. With five or six children, a farmer owning five or ten acres found it almost impossible to keep up this standard, and to leave his children as well off as he himself had been. Therefore the peasantry have not wished large families, *and for a long time population has been almost stationary.* (By the census of 1911 it was a little under forty millions, and the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, with its two millions of people, somewhat more than balances in numbers the losses in the War.)

Population stationary

A nation of "little capitalists"

Before the War this population was a "nation of little savers," and consequently a nation of money lenders. Through the nineteenth century, England had been the world's banker. In 1900, France was beginning to hold that place. After 1900, when a government wished to "float" a huge loan, or when capitalists wished to finance some vast industrial enterprise, France commonly furnished the cash. England still had more wealth than France; but it was largely "fixed" in long-time investments, while French wealth was held by a great number of people of small means, all seeking constantly for investments. The French national debt was not held, like the American or the English, in 1911, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some 3,000,000 French people, — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, day-laborers, small farmers, — in small amounts.

The French government under the Third Republic had encouraged this tendency of the workingman to "invest" savings, by putting bonds on sale at every village post office in small denominations — as low even as one franc (20 cents). (This admirable plan of encouraging all citizens to become "bondholders" — and "stockholders in the national prosperity" — was adopted by the United States, with the War Savings Stamps, during the World War.)

German invasion in 1914–1918 has made much of the fairest part of France a hideous desert, and has drained the rest of workers and of wealth. Up to this writing (December, 1921) the return of material prosperity is sadly delayed.

French politics: shifting ministries

Politics in France have been, much of the time, upon a lower level than business life. The best minds of France have not been present in the Assembly. That body has been broken into many parties, and the ministries have been kaleidoscopic in their changes. This meant woeful confusion and inefficiency; and the government has suffered from red tape and from a widespread taint of corruption in politics. After 1900 the Socialists gained power rapidly; and, in the election of 1914, they became the largest of the *nine* parties in the Assembly. All recent ministries had contained leading Socialists, but the war called back to power more conservative statesmen — in the war ministry of Clemenceau, "the Tiger."

Loss of the old colonies

About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. Thirteen years later saw her stripped of all possessions outside Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean and in the Antilles and some small ports in India (p. 399). In the nineteenth century France became again a colonial power. In 1830 the government of Charles X took advantage of an insult by the Dey of Algiers to a French consul to seize territory in North Africa. In the middle of the century this foothold had grown, through savage and bloody wars, into complete occupancy of Algeria. The Third Republic introduced civil rule, and since 1880, Algeria has been not so much

A new colonial empire since 1830

French Algeria

a foreign possession, or a colony, as a part of France separated from the rest by a strip of sea. The French make only a small part of the population, it is true, but the country is orderly and civilized. The settled portion, near the coast, is divided into Departments, like those in European France, with representatives in the French legislature. The inland parts are still barbarous and disorderly, but to this long-desolate Barbary *coast*, French rule has restored the fertility and bloom that belonged to it as the garden of the ancient Roman world.

And Tunis

Nearly all the rest of the vast French colonial empire has been secured since the Franco-Prussian War. Algeria was one of five great states on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, — Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt. All five had long been virtually independent Mohammedan kingdoms, though in name they had remained part of the decaying Turkish Empire. And all five, until Europeans stepped in, were in a vicious state of misrule, disorder, and tyranny. We have seen how in 1881 Egypt fell under England's "protection." France quickly regretted that she had so easily given up her claim to share in that rich land, and in the same year she seized gladly upon disorders in Tunis as an excuse for extending her authority, from Algeria eastward, over that country. In 1904 she began in like fashion to extend her sway in North Africa toward the west; establishing a protectorate over part of Morocco.

And Morocco

German rivalry

Before seizing upon Tunis in 1881 — an act sure to arouse violent resentment in Italy, which looked upon Tunis as her own prey — the French government thought it necessary to lay its plans before Bismarck. That astute statesman at that time had not begun to have any colonial ambition for Germany, and he encouraged the French project, welcoming the chance to arouse hostility between France and Italy. (Indeed, with characteristic crookedness, he at the same moment encouraged Italy to hope for Tunis.) Soon afterward, however (p. 567), Germany herself entered the race for colonial empire; and in 1911 an extension of French rule in Morocco almost plunged Europe into war. William II of Germany sent a warship to

Agadir, a harbor of Morocco, and "rattled the saber in the scabbard." But England supported France; and Germany was finally appeased by European consent to her seizing territory in the Kamerun (West Africa) and by the cession to her of part of the French Congo territory.

Other French colonies in Africa

And in Asia

France has huge possessions in other parts of Africa, on both the east and west coasts, besides the great island of Madagascar (map facing p. 603). In America she holds Guiana (Cayenne), with a few ports in the Antilles. In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887 she obtained New Caledonia and several smaller islands. Her most important colonies, outside Africa, are in the peninsula of Indo-China in southeastern Asia. Napoleon III seized Cambodia and Cochin China; and the Third Republic, with little more scruple, seized Tonking in 1884, Anam in 1886, and Siam to the Mekong in a savage war in 1893–1896. For many years, moreover, the "imperialistic" forces in France ("jingo" politicians and some large business interests) have sought an indirect control in Syria much like that which Germany was trying to establish in Asia Minor.

French colonial administration

At the same time, France is not herself a colonizing nation — any more than in the seventeenth century (p. 388). Even in the settled portions of her colonial empire the European population is small. The total area of the colonial possessions is about four million square miles, of which about three and a half million are in Africa. The orderly regions have a share in self-government, and most of them have representatives in the legislature at Paris.

Church and state

Down to the World War, the most critical contest in the Third Republic was the Kulturkampf, the struggle between church and state for the control of education and indeed of other family relations. At the creation of the Third Republic, the state paid the expenses of all organized churches, Catholic, Protestant, or Mohammedan. Seventy-eight per cent of the French people in 1900 were members of the Catholic church;[1] but, even

[1] Mohammedanism is confined to Algeria. Two per cent of the people of France in 1900 were Protestants. Nearly twenty per cent had no church connection.

in so strongly Catholic a land, the people felt much distrust of *political* influence from the Catholic clergy.

This was largely because during the strenuous period from 1871 to 1879 the clergy threw their influence on the side of the Monarchists. Cried Gambetta, in one of his fiery orations, — "Clericalism! That is our foe." Accordingly, when the Republicans came into power, they hastened to weaken the church by taking from it its ancient control over the family. Marriage was made a civil contract (to be performed by a magistrate) instead of a sacrament; divorce was legalized, despite the teachings of the Catholic church against it; and all religious orders were forbidden to teach in either public or private schools.

For a time, *extreme* Catholics were driven into opposition to the government; but the wise Pope Leo XIII moderated the bitterness of the political warfare by recommending that French Catholics "rally" to the Republic and try to get the privileges they needed by influencing legislation (1893). On its side, the government then for a time let some of the anti-clerical laws rest unenforced. But about 1900, the Republicans and Radicals became alarmed again at the evidence of Monarchic sympathies still existing among the aristocracy, and even among army officers, and convinced themselves that these sympathies were due to the remaining clerical influence in the schools. In the years 1901–1903, thousands of church schools were closed by the police, sometimes amid riots and bloodshed. Pope Pius X protested, and deposed two French bishops who had acquiesced in the government's policy. The government recalled its ambassador from the papal court, and prepared a plan which it called "separation of church and state."

A law of 1905 declared the nation the owner of all church property in France. Each religious *congregation*, however, was invited to reorganize as a self-supporting "cultural association," with the permanent *use* of its old property. Protestant churches complied; but such organization was forbidden to Catholics by the pope as incompatible with the principles of the church.

In the elections of 1906, however, the nation gave an over-

whelming indorsement to the whole anti-clerical policy; and then the government evicted great numbers of Catholic clergy from their homes (for refusing to obey the law of 1905) and banished multitudes of them from the country. In 1914, when the great European war began, two thousand of these banished priests returned to France to fight in the ranks against the invaders of their country.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Hazen, Andrews, or Hayes. On the constitution, Lowell's *Greater European Governments*. For recent changes, *The Statesman's Year Book* or *The World Almanac*.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871-1918

The Germanic Confederation of 1814–1867 was a loose confederacy of sovereign states. *The German Empire of 1871–1918 was a federal state.* The central government was strengthened by the change, somewhat as was ours in America when we exchanged our Articles of Confederation for our present Constitution.

A despotic federal state

But this German "federated" Empire was made up not of republican states but of monarchic states (4 kingdoms, 18 duchies, 3 "free cities"). The controlling body in the Empire was the Federal Council, consisting during most of its history of 56 delegates, *appointed* by the rulers of the different states and *directed* from day to day by those princes. This council (Bundesrath) *prepared* measures for the legislature, and had a veto upon all laws.

The Federal Council

The Reichstag

The imperial legislature was the Reichstag — a one-House assembly elected by manhood suffrage. Of the 397 delegates, Prussia had 236. Practically, the power of this assembly was limited to accepting or rejecting proposals from the Bundesrath. Even its control over taxation was incomplete. Most revenue measures were *standing* laws. That is, once passed, they could not be changed without the consent of the Bundesrath. The imperial ministry, appointed by the Emperor, was called "responsible," but not in the English sense: it was not obliged to resign when defeated in the Reichstag.

The Empire a paternal despotism

Militarism

The imperial government was frugal and efficient. It made justice in the courts easy to secure; it guarded against food adulteration long before the rest of the world did; and in other ways it zealously protected the public health. But alongside this watchful paternalism, there were grievous faults. Ger-

many had been made by violence, and the result showed in *the spirit of militarism and in the predominance of the methods of the drill sergeant.* Police rule was all-pervading. Said a keen foreign observer (1896): "To live in Germany always seems to me like a return to the nursery." Even worse was the contemptuous and oftentimes brutal treatment of civilians by army officers. For years the newspapers contained reports of gross and unprovoked insults, and sometimes of violent assaults, by officers upon unoffending citizens, for which it was difficult to obtain redress in the courts. There was no security for personal rights. Trial by jury, freedom of the press, freedom of public meetings, and free speech existed only in a limited degree. To criticize the emperor in the press, ever so lightly, was likely to land the offender in jail for a considerable term.

No security for personal liberty

In theory, the emperor was only the life president of the federation. But this life presidency was *hereditary* in the kings of Prussia. The emperor was head of the army; and through his control over the ministry and over so large a part of the Bundesrath (he appointed the large Prussian delegation) he *controlled all foreign relations* and virtually held a veto upon all domestic legislation. *He held still mightier authority in the Empire from his position as despotic ruler of Prussia.* Prussia had three fifths of the population of the Empire, and more than that part of the power. Her divine-right "constitution" was the one "granted" by the king in '48 (p. 488). It left the king virtually an autocrat in Prussia; and Prussia's power made him an autocrat in the Empire.

The Emperor an autocrat

The Prussian constitution, 1848–1918

Divine-right emperors

At his coronation, *William I* took the crown from the communion table, declaring, "The crown comes only from God, and I have received it from His hands." In 1888 William was succeeded by his son, *Frederick III.* Frederick was an admirer of parliamentary government upon the English pattern; but his three months' reign brought no change in the government.

Kaiser William II

William II, the son of Frederick, returned to the principles of his grandfather. As a youth, he had been a great admirer of Bismarck; but it soon became plain that the two men were each too masterful to work together, and in 1890 the emperor curtly

dismissed the chancellor from office. Thereafter, William II himself directed the policy of the Empire, and he was a greater force in European politics than any other sovereign in Europe. He believed thoroughly in the "divine-right" theory, and he repeatedly stated it in as striking a form as ever did James I of England or Louis XIV of France, two or three centuries ago. In the Visitors' Book in the Town Hall of Munich, he wrote, "The will of the king is the supreme law." In an address to his army, he said: "On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His sword and His Vice-regent." "All-Highest" was a recognized form of address for the emperor. And the phrase ironically attributed to him — "Me und Gott" — is no great exaggeration of the patronizing way in which he often referred to the Almighty as a partner in his enterprises.

Germany and England

Some survey like the foregoing is needful to guard us against the "tyranny of names." England and Germany in 1914 were both "constitutional monarchies"; but that does not mean that they were in any way alike, even in government. They stood at the two poles of government. England had a democratic government, in which the monarchic and aristocratic survivals were practically powerless — mere matters of form; the German Empire was one of the most absolute autocracies in the world. England's ideals were based upon industry and world-peace: Germany's ideals were based upon militarism and conquest. Englishmen thought of the "state" as a condition for the full development of the individual man: Germans thought of individual men as existing primarily for the sake of the absolutist state.

Junkers and capitalists

This divine-right militaristic autocracy was upheld (1) by the landed squires, or junkers, and (2) by the capitalists. The junkers were rural and largely a Prussian class, especially strong toward the east. The capitalists were a new class in Germany. The "industrial revolution," with the factory system, which had grown up in England before 1800 and in France by 1825,

did not begin to make headway in Germany until nearly 1870. Then, indeed, manufactures and trade grew by leaps — aided by the coal and iron of Alsace-Lorraine and by subsidies from the huge war indemnity just then robbed of France.[1] The whole artisan class was trained to "efficiency" in trade schools, — which were distinctly class schools, suited on this German plan to an undemocratic land only, in which the son of an artisan must look for no "higher" station than his father. And on the other hand there appeared a new figure in German life, the princely manufacturing capitalist. After 1880, the thousands of this class took their place — alongside the junker nobility — as a chief support of German autocracy, with a vivid expectation of favors to be received in form of special privileges.

The Prussian army system

German autocracy had also its physical arm. After 1866, the Prussian army system was extended over all Germany. At twenty each man was compelled to enter the ranks for two years' active service. For five years more he was a member of the "active reserves," with two months in camp each year. These reserves were to be called out for regular service in case of war. For twelve years more he was listed in the territorial reserve — liable for garrison duty in time of war, and even for front rank service in special need. Exemption from training was usually allowed to the only son of a dependent widow and to those unfit because of physical defects.

Europe adopts the German army system

The Prussian victories of 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe of the superiority of this system over the old professional armies, and nearly every state in Europe soon adopted it, with slight variations. The burden was enormous — the most woeful waste of human energy the world ever saw — and the direct cost was far less than the indirect cost involved in withdrawing so large a part of each man's best years from productive

[1] All this meant a tremendous growth of cities. Hamburg grew from 350,000 people in 1870 to 1,000,000 in 1910; Berlin from 820,000 to 2,000,000; Essen from 50,000 to 300,000; while many wholly new centers of trade appeared where had been only farming hamlets. The population of the Empire doubled in these forty years, and all this increase was a city increase.

work. (England, trusting to her navy, and the United States, trusting to her position, were the only large countries that dared refuse the crushing burden — and for England the cost of her navy was almost as serious.)

Worse still, this militarism was a constant temptation to war. Rulers could not but regret leaving their costly tools to rust unused. Thousands of ambitious young officers in every land necessarily looked forward to war as a chance to justify their training and their cost, to the nation. And in the whole population, militarism developed a disposition to trust to force in dealing with other nations, rather than to good-will and reason.

Even worse, militarism develops a state of mind hostile to true democracy at home. Men come to exalt the army above the civil authorities, and to adopt a servile attitude toward autocratic army officers. All these evils were found in surprising degree in the German Empire, as compared with the rest of Europe, and in Prussia as compared with the rest of Germany.

Bismarck's rule

For nearly twenty years after the Empire was established, Bismarck directed its course. The "Iron Chancellor" was a ruler of tremendous power of will; but he carried his policy of "blood and iron" into civil affairs — *and failed.* Three contests fill the period.

The struggle with the Catholic church

1. The Empire had brought Catholic and Protestant Germany under one government — which prepared the way for conflict. The first struggle, however, came within the Catholic church. In 1870 a General Council of the church declared the pope infallible (incapable of error) in promulgating doctrines of faith and morals. Many of the German Catholic clergy refused assent to this "innovation" in doctrine (as they regarded it) and took the name of *Old Catholics.* The orthodox bishops attacked this sect vigorously, and expelled instructors in the schools who did not teach the dogma of infallibility.

Then Bismarck stepped in to defend the Old Catholics and to assert the supremacy of the state over the church. Under his influence, the legislature expelled the Jesuits from Germany,

and took marriage and all education, *private* and public (even the education of the clergy) from the control of the church. To enforce these laws, priests were deprived of office, and were even punished by long terms of imprisonment or by exile. When the pope declared that the anti-clerical laws ought not to be obeyed, Bismarck confiscated ecclesiastical salaries and took into the government's hands all the property and revenues of the church. From 1875 to 1879, one fifth the parishes in Prussia had no clergy; schools and seminaries were closed; chairs of theology in the universities were vacant; houses of the clergy were raided by the police; and numbers of men of devoted Christian lives and broad scholarship languished in prison.

This persecution, however, steadily lost favor among the people. A strong and growing "Catholic" party in the Reichstag, "*the Center*," hampered all Bismarck's projects; and finally he was forced to make terms with it, in order to secure the legislation he desired against the Socialists and for tariffs. In 1880 the government began its retreat; and *it abandoned step by step every position it had assumed in the quarrel.*

Bismarck and the Socialists

2. Socialism did not become prominent in Germany until after 1848. German Socialism was founded by Karl Marx (p. 477), but its teachings were thrown among the masses by Lassalle, a brilliant writer and orator. When manhood suffrage was introduced (in the election of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation), the Socialists got their first chance. They held eight seats in the Reichstag of 1867. Faithful to their doctrine of human brotherhood, these men in 1870 earnestly opposed the war with France, especially after it became a war for conquest. This "unpatriotic" attitude resulted in a check. The leaders were tried for treason and condemned to years of imprisonment; and in the first Imperial Reichstag (1871) the party had only two representatives. But in 1874 the number had risen to nine, and in 1877, to twelve.

Repression fails again

Bismarck then began to feel it needful to put down Socialism. His first effort to secure repressive laws from the Reichstag failed, but it called out two attempts by Socialist fanatics to assas-

sinate the emperor (1877, 1878). This played into Bismarck's hands and made the Reichstag ready to go all lengths against the "Red Specter." New laws gave the government authority to dissolve associations, break up meetings, confiscate publications, and imprison or banish suspects *by decree*. Not content with these extraordinary powers, Bismarck made them *retroactive*, and at once banished from Berlin sixty or seventy men who had *formerly* been connected with the Socialists.

The Socialists met this ruthless severity with as much fortitude as the Catholic clergy had shown in their conflict. Socialism for a time became an underground current. In 1881, just after the beginning of the repressive legislation, the Socialist vote fell off somewhat; but in the election of 1884 it had risen to over half a million — much more than ever before — and in 1887 it was over three fourths of a million. Then the repressive laws were allowed to expire. Again the Iron Chancellor had failed.

Bismarck tries state socialism

During the latter part of the struggle, Bismarck used also a wiser policy. He tried to cut the ground from under the feet of the Socialist agitators by improving the condition of the working classes, along lines pointed out by the Socialists themselves. In 1884 he said, — "Give the workingman *the right to work* while he is well, and assure him care when he is sick, and maintenance when he is old, and the Social Democrats will get no hold upon him." In accordance with this program, Bismarck favored the introduction of great public works to afford employment, and he created a state fund to help insure the injured and the aged.

In this "Social insurance," Germany was a pioneer — though England and France have since passed by her. The legislation, however, did not weaken Social Democracy. Indeed the Socialists railed at it as fear-inspired, poor-law legislation. To Bismarck, and to William II, it was the duty of the divine-right government to care for the laborer. To the Social Democrats, it was the right of the laborers themselves to control the government and to care for themselves through it.

Growth of the Socialist party

It is convenient here to carry the topic of Socialism down to the Great War. After 1898 the Socialists were much the largest political party, gaining heavily in every election. In 1912 the total vote, 12,188,000, was split among fifteen parties, but the Socialists cast 4,239,000 of those votes — or more than twice as many as any other party. This was largely, no doubt, because the Socialist conventions had put first in their platforms a number of practical *political and economic measures* which the average American or Englishman would not regard as dangerous, — such as universal suffrage (including "votes for women"), the initiative and referendum, equal electoral districts, payment of members of the Reichstag, and responsibility of the government to the Reichstag.

Bismarck and the frontier peoples

3. Equally violent, and more long-continued, was Bismarck's effort to Germanize the Poles of Posen, the Danes of Sleswig, and the French of Alsace. To each of these subject peoples, Germany forbade the use of its own language. The Sleswig Danes were not allowed to teach any history in their schools prior to the time when they were seized by Prussia. The Poles were tempted by the government to sell their lands to German immigrants; and, when instead they sold cheap to their own race, the lands were seized by the government (with compensation). But even then the Germans whom the government induced to settle in Posen rapidly became Poles in feeling, as those induced to settle in Alsace often became French. To the end, the delegates in the Reichstag from these three districts were always "in opposition" to the government. The Prussian system, begotten of force, had confidence only in force — and so proved itself unfit for the problems of modern life.[1]

Growth of German commerce

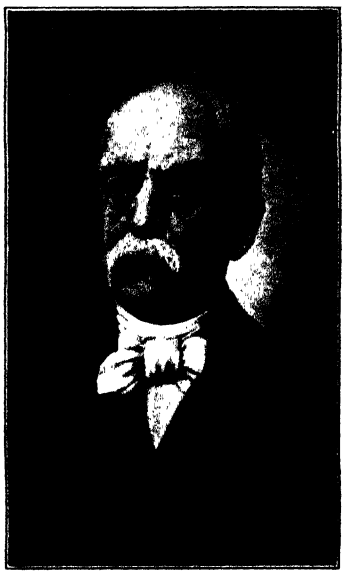
In still another matter, Bismarck's failure was less blamable. The old Germany of his youth had been an agricultural country. Foreign trade had been of little consequence. The new commercial Germany that grew up after 1870 he never felt any

[1] There should be no trouble in distinguishing between this policy of *forceful* Germanization of *un*willing, conquered subjects, and our Americanization, by inducement, of those foreigners who of their own will have sought homes in our midst.

real sympathy for; but after a short resistance, in 1878, he yielded to its demands for high protective tariffs. *But the manufacturing interest began early to call also for a colonial empire*, outside Europe, as a safe and "sole" market; and this demand Bismarck resisted for years.

The demand for a colonial empire

But the manufacturers' demand for colonies was supported also by a people's demand. After 1880 the label "Made in Germany" began to be seen on all sorts of articles in all parts of the world, and before 1900 Germany had passed all countries except England and the United States in manufactures and trade. Still the nation was not content. Population was growing rapidly, and many millions had sought homes in other lands, mainly in the United States and in Argentina and Brazil. And so in 1884, partly to meet the commercial demands of the capitalists, and partly to keep future German emigrants under the German flag, *Bismarck reluctantly adopted the policy of acquiring colonies*.



BISMARCK, after dismissal from office. — From a photograph.

At that time Germany had no possessions outside Europe, and no war navy. But, though late in entering the scramble for foreign possessions, she made rapid progress, especially after the young William II dismissed Bismarck from office in 1890. William stood, not for Bismarck's policy of *preserving* the great existing Germany of that day, but for a new "Pan-German" policy of making Germany greater — by means even more un-

Growth of the colonial empire

And the fall of Bismarck

scrupulous than those Bismarck had used — until she should be world-mistress.

Thereafter the colonial empire mounted by leaps. At the opening of the World War, Germany had vast possessions in Africa, a million square miles in all, mainly on the Guinea coast and in South Africa on both east and west coasts (map facing p. 603), many valuable groups of islands in the Pacific, and the Shantung province of China.[1] None of these acquisitions, however, interested German ambition so deeply as did one other advance — into Asia Minor — which began in earnest about 1900. Germany did not get absolute title to territory there; but she did secure from Turkey various rich concessions, guaranteeing her for long periods the sole right to build and operate railroads and to develop valuable mining and oil resources. This "economic penetration" she expected confidently to convert into full ownership.

Germany the protector of Turkey

To secure such concessions, Germany sought the Turk's favor in shameful ways. A growing moral sense in international matters made it impossible for England after 1880 to bolster longer the dastard Turkish rule over subject Christian peoples; but her old place was taken gladly by Germany, which loaned to the Sultan skilled officers to reorganize his armies and supplied him with the most effective arms against revolt by Christian natives (as in the Turkish war with Greece in 1897 over Cretan freedom).

This important change of English and German policy appeared plainly during the horrible "Armenian Massacres" of 1894–1895. To check a probable move for Armenian independence, the Turkish government turned loose upon that unhappy province — for the first of several times to come — hordes of savage soldiery to carry out a policy of frightfulness by licensed murder, pillage, and ravishment of a peaceful population. At once the English people in monster mass meetings

[1] Two German missionaries were murdered in China in 1897, and the Kaiser made that a pretext for this last seizure. A German Socialist paper in a satirical cartoon represented him as saying, — "If only my missionaries hold out, I may become master of all Asia."

called upon their government to intervene by arms. But Russia, fearful lest *her* Armenians might be encouraged to rebel, supported Turkey; France, just then hostile to England in colonial matters and bound to Russia as an ally, took the same side; and the German emperor chose this moment to send his photograph and that of his wife to the Assassin-in-chief of Turkey, to show his friendly adherence. From his retirement (p. 527) the aged Gladstone once more lifted his voice, urging that even under these hopeless conditions, England should alone take up the work of mercy; but the Tory prime minister, Lord Salisbury, confessing regretfully that in 1854 and 1878 "we put our money on the wrong horse," felt powerless to act.

William II and his navy

This sharp opposition of policy was one reason why Germany came to look upon England as the chief foe to her expansion. Accordingly Kaiser William determined to make Germany a great naval power. He constructed the Kiel Canal, so that the navy might have perfect protection, and so that it might instantly concentrate in either the North Sea or the Baltic, and year by year, against violent Socialist resistance, he forced vast appropriations through the Reichstag to construct more and huger superdreadnoughts.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Dawson's *Bismarck and State Socialism* and Russell's *German Social Democracy* are good treatments of their subjects. Davis' *Roots of the War* is especially good upon the old Germany, pp. 24–38, 162–248.

REVIEW EXERCISE. — Make a "brief," or outline, for the history of Germany from the French Revolution to the World War. Do the like for France and for England.

CHAPTER LIX

OTHER STATES OF CENTRAL EUROPE

I. ITALY

Government

The constitution of Italy is the one given to Sardinia in 1848 (p. 496). It provides for a limited monarchy with a ministry "responsible" to the legislature. Until 1882 voting was restricted by a high property qualification to about one man in seven, but by 1913, by successive steps, virtual manhood franchise had been established. Local government is patterned upon that of France.

Education

In 1861 Italy had no schools except those taught by religious orders, and only 26 per cent of the population (above six years of age) could read and write. The next twenty years, through the introduction of a fair system of free public schools, increased this percentage to 38; and twenty years more, to 44. The higher educational institutions are excellent; and in history and science Italian scholars hold high rank.

The crushing army system

The kingdom of Italy at its birth was far behind the other great states of Europe. Its proper tasks were to provide for public education, to repress brigandage, to build railroads, to foster useful industries, to drain malarial swamps and reclaim abandoned lands, and to develop the abundant water power on the east slope of the Apennines so as to furnish electric power for manufacturing (particularly necessary since Italy has no coal). Progress in all this has been hindered by the poverty of the people and by tremendous expenses for military purposes. Italy was freed by force of arms, in 1859-1861. The new-born state, for many years more, feared that the work might be undone by France or Austria; so it adopted *the usual European military system*, with even longer terms of active service than were required in Germany or France.

Taxation

Taxation is crushing; and yet, much of the time, the government can hardly meet expenses. For many years even before the World War, a fourth of the revenue went to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest was for military purposes, leaving only a small part for the usual and helpful purposes of government. To make ends meet, the government was driven to desperate expedients. Salt and tobacco were made government monopolies; the state ran a lottery; and taxation upon houses, land, and incomes was so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry

Agitation and politics

Economic distress led to political and socialistic agitation. The government at first met this by stern repressive legislation. Socialists and Republicans were imprisoned by hundreds; and for years at a time large parts of Italy were in "state of siege," or under martial law. The Radicals and Socialists, however, gained slowly in the parliament; and after 1900 violent repression was given up. Then at once it appeared, as in France, that the Socialists were a true political party; and they soon became strong even in the ministries. (Cf. p. 666.)

Army, navy, and the colonial empire

A large emigration leaves Italy each year, mainly for Brazil and the Argentine Republic. Partly in hope to retain these emigrants as Italian citizens, the government took up a policy of securing *colonies*. Indeed the new-born kingdom of Italy almost at once began to dream of renewing ancient Italian control in the Mediterranean. Just across from Sicily lay Tunis, one of the rich but anarchic provinces of the decaying Turkish Empire. To be ready to seize this plum when ripe, Italy began to build a navy, and, at crushing cost, she finally made hers among the most powerful in the world. But before she was quite ready to act, France stepped in (p. 555). Bitterly chagrined, Italy then used her military and naval force to secure valuable territory on the coast of Abyssinia (1885), and (1912–1913) to seize Tripoli from Turkey.

Italia Irredenta

Another difficulty about territory long troubled Italy. When Austria gave back "Venetia" to Italy in 1867, it was not by any means the ancient Venetia in extent. Old Venetia had reached down the east coast of the Adriatic, through Dalmatia;

and the modern seaport, Trieste, was still largely Italian in blood — though the country district about it was mainly Slav. Italy desired the Dalmatian coast, with complete control of both sides of the Adriatic.

In this matter, right and wrong were intermingled, so that a just solution of the problem was hardly to be expected. But another part of the same trouble was simpler. "Lombardy," redeemed in 1859, certainly should have included the Trentine district on the south slope of the Alps, with its purely Italian population; but, through the favor of Napoleon III, Austria retained it. This "Italia Irredenta" ("Unredeemed"), along with unredeemed Trieste, was a constant source of danger to European peace down to the World War.

State and church

Italy has also a serious problem in the relations of state and church. In 1870, when Italy took possession of Rome, Pope Pius IX protested against the act as a deed of brigandage — though the citizens of Rome ratified the union by a vote of ninety to one. The government left the pope all the dignity of an independent sovereign, though his territory was reduced to a single palace (the Vatican) and some small estates. Within this domain the pope still keeps his own court, maintains his own diplomatic service, and carries on the machinery of a state. A generous annual income was also set aside for him by the government of Italy, but he has never accepted it.

In common with many zealous Catholics, however, Pope Pius IX felt that to exercise his proper influence as head of the church, he must be an independent temporal prince in fact as well as in form. He refused to recognize the Italian state or to have anything to do with it, never left his palace grounds, and styled himself the "Prisoner of the Vatican." His successors (1921) have followed this policy, and the Catholic clergy have usually approved it. The great majority of the people of Italy, however, though almost unanimously Catholic in religion, have supported the government's policy. For a long time it seemed possible that, in case of a general European war, Austria might restore the old papal states by a partition of Italy.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, TO 1914

Down to the World War, Austria remained "a tangle of races and a Babel of tongues." The peoples spoke eleven distinct languages, besides numerous dialects. A fourth of them were German (11 millions); a fifth Magyar, or Hungarian (9 millions); the rest were Italians, Jews, Illyrians, or Slavs. These Slavs made half the population, but they were broken up into many sub-races. Only the German language was allowed in the schools, the press, or the courts. For a Bohemian to publish a paper in his native language was a crime.

A "tangle of races"

German supremacy to 1866

But in her wars of 1859 and 1866, Austria found her subject peoples a source of weakness rather than of strength, and saw that they rejoiced at her defeats. German Austria at last was given a free parliament; but this did not conciliate the powerful non-German populations; and finally the *two* strongest elements (German and Hungarian) joined hands to help each other keep control over all the others. "Austria-Hungary" became a dual monarchy, a federation of two states. Each half of the Empire had its own constitution, and the two halves had the same monarch and a sort of common legislature.

These arrangements of 1867 sacrificed the Slavs. The Germans remained dominant in the Austrian half of the Empire, and the Magyars in the Hungarian half. The union of the two was not due to any internal ties, but wholly to selfish fears. Without Hungarian troops the Austrian Germans and their emperor could not any longer hold Bohemia in subjection; and without Austria to support her, Hungary would lose her border Slav districts and perhaps be herself absorbed in Slav Europe.

Of course such a union was one of unstable equilibrium. Bohemia continued to demand, if not independence, at least that she be admitted into the imperial federation as an equal third state. The Poles of Austria and of Hungary hoped for a revival of an independent Poland. The Italians longed to be annexed to Italy. The Roumanians of eastern Hungary wished to be joined to free Roumania. The Croats and Slovaks desired

Aspirations of subject peoples

independence or union with Serbia. With the progress of humanity and education, toward the twentieth century, it became less possible for the two dominant races to use the old cruel methods to keep down the subject peoples. For many years, historians had ventured to prophesy that a general European war, if one came, would probably end this ill-sorted conglomerate state.

III SPAIN

Despotism from 1815 to 1833

We have seen that the Holy Alliance restored despotism in Spain in 1823 (p. 459). For the next ten years the Liberals were persecuted vigorously. To own a foreign book was a crime. In 1831 a woman was hanged in Madrid for embroidering on a flag the words, "Law, Liberty, Equality."

"Government by revolution," 1833–1873

The cruel and suspicious King Ferdinand died in 1833; but, for forty years more, Spain passed from revolution to revolution, — none for liberty, each for some ruler or military chieftain — with many "paper constitutions." The government was "government by revolt" — with surprisingly little bloodshed. It has been wittily said that during this period "revolution in Spain became a fine art."

Castelar's presidency

For two years (1873–4) the Republicans got control of the government. They elected one of their leaders, Castelar, president, but they gave him an unworkable constitution. To save his country from bloody anarchy, Castelar after a few months turned his vague legal authority into a beneficent dictatorship. The choice, he saw, lay between bayonet rule in the hands of disciplined troops controlled by good men, and pike rule in the hands of a vicious rabble led by escaped galley slaves. He candidly abandoned his old theories, and with wise energy brought order out of chaos.

It was natural that he should be assailed as a tyrant. When the Cortes reassembled, his old friends passed a vote of lack of confidence. The commander of the troops asked for permission to disperse the Cortes; but, by resigning promptly, Castelar showed that he had no wish to prolong his personal authority. To-day no one doubts his good faith or good judgment, and the

name of this republican statesman-author-dictator stands out as the chief glory of Spain in the nineteenth century.

Constitutional monarchy, 1876. The government

Castelar's resignation was followed by anarchy and more revolutions; but in 1876 the restoration of the monarchy, with the present constitution, introduced Spain to a somewhat more hopeful period. The government in theory rests mainly in the Cortes. This body consists of a Senate and a Congress. Half the senators are *elected*, while the rest are *appointed for life*. The congressmen are elected by *manhood suffrage* (since 1890). The ministry is expected to resign if outvoted in the Cortes, but, in practice, *parliamentary majorities do not yet really make ministries*. Instead, ministries make parliamentary majorities, as in England a century and a half ago (p. 384); but since 1876 no party has "called in the infantry."

Ten years of reform, 1881-1890

Until 1881 the energies of the government went mainly to restoring order. Then, for ten years, reform crowded upon reform. Jury trial was introduced; civil marriage was permitted; popular education was encouraged; the franchise was extended; the slaves in the colonies were freed; and the system of taxation was reformed. As a result, trade has mounted by bounds; manufactures have developed; railroads and telegraphs have been tripled. Population has doubled in the last century, rising from ten millions to twenty, and the growth has been especially rapid in the last decades. Above all, the number of peasant land-owners is rapidly increasing.

Loss of Cuba

Until 1898, the surviving colonial empire (Cuba, the Philippines, and so on) was a drag upon progress. After 1876 a series of efforts was made to give good government and some measure of self-control to Cuba, which had been in incessant and wasting rebellion; but the problem was too difficult to be worked out by a country so backward at home. In 1894 Cuba rose again for independence. Spain made tremendous efforts to hold her, and for some years, at an immense cost, maintained an army of 200,000 men at a distance of 2000 miles from home. The warfare, however, was reducing Cuba to a desert; and finally, in 1898, the United States interfered. The Spanish-American

War resulted in the surrender of all the Spanish colonies, except a few neighboring islands and some districts in northwest Africa.

Poverty and taxation

It may be hoped that this loss will prove a gain. The poverty of the government has been serious. The interest charge on the huge national debt is a crushing burden, and until 1900 the debt itself was constantly growing. Now that Spain no longer has the task of holding distant colonial possessions, she may conclude to reduce her absurd army system and to use the money for the development of the intellect of the people and of the resources of the land. She still has ambitions, however, to extend her colonial possessions in Africa; and she long kept a natural hope that, in case of a general European war, she might regain Gibraltar. This last consideration went far to make her somewhat pro-German in the World War.

Religion and education

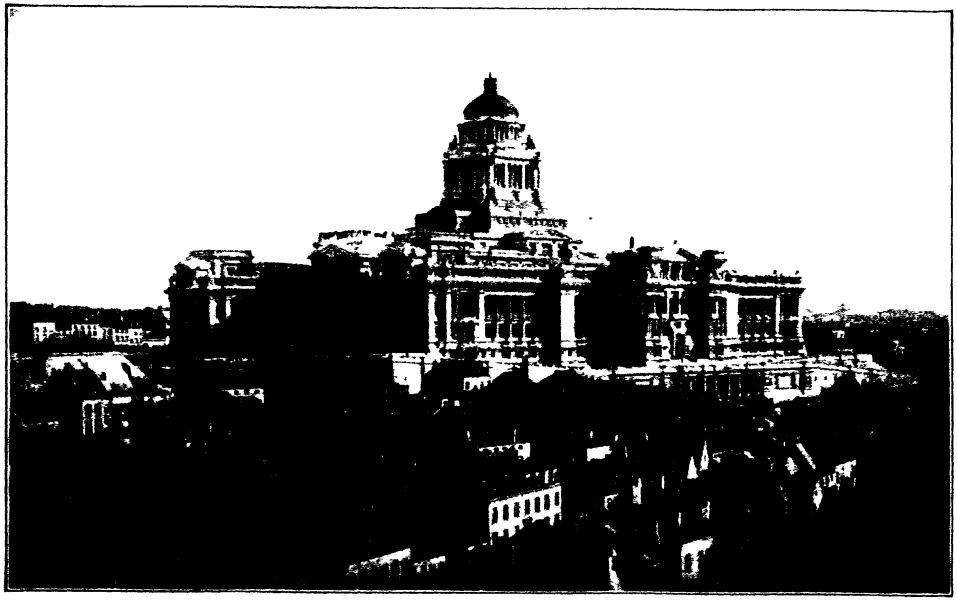
Catholicism is the state religion. Though the constitution promises "freedom of worship," no other religious services are permitted *in public*. In this respect Spain is the most backward of European lands. She is also sadly backward in education. There is a compulsory education law, but it is a paper edict. In 1909 a government investigation found 30,000 towns and villages with no public school whatever, while in 10,000 other places the schools were in hired premises — many of them grossly unfit for the purpose, — connected with slaughter-houses, cemeteries, or stables. The only schools in most of the country, outside these public schools, were "nuns' schools," teaching only the catechism and needlework. Only one fourth of the population could read and write.

Spanish Liberals have wished to change all this radically, (1) by *separating church and state*, and (2) by *excluding clerical control from the schools*. But the introduction of manhood suffrage in 1900 proved disastrous to such reforms. It strengthened the Clericals and Conservatives in the Cortes, because of the absolute obedience paid at elections by the peasants to their priests, and for many years progress in education and in politics has almost ceased.

PLATE XCIII

GIBRALTAR, seen from the Spanish shore. The cliff is lined with concealed batteries.

PLATE XCIV



PALAIS DE JUSTICE, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

IV. THE REPUBLIC OF PORTUGAL

Establishment of the Republic

In 1821, as one of the results of the Spanish revolution of 1820, the king of Portugal accepted a constitution. For many years, however, the country was distracted by revolutions, and by wars between claimants for the crown; but in 1910 a sudden uprising set up a republic, which so far (1921) seems stable. English influence controls foreign relations, so that Portugal is, in practice, almost an English protectorate.

Religion and education

Until 1910 Catholicism was the state religion. Indeed there were only a few hundred people of other faiths in the country. But the Republican government at once established *complete religious freedom*, confiscated the church property, and adopted a plan for the "separation of church and state" like that set up in France in 1906. Education, by law, is universal and gratuitous; but in practice the children of the poor do not attend school. The schools, too, are very poor. Portugal is more illiterate even than Spain.

Present problems

Colonies are still extensive (in the Verde islands, in Africa, and in India), but they do not pay expenses, and it is doubtful whether so poor a country can afford to keep them. Their administration is very bad.

For thirty years the national finances have been on the verge of bankruptcy.

V. BELGIUM

A democratic franchise

The constitution of Belgium is still that of 1831, with a few amendments. The king acts only through "responsible" ministers. In 1831 the franchise rested upon the payment of a high tax; and even in the 'eighties only one man in ten could vote. Agitation began for further extension of the franchise; but the parliament voted down bill after bill. Finally, in 1893 the Labor party declared a general strike, in order to exert political pressure, and the crowds of unemployed men in Brussels about the parliament house threatened serious riots. The militia, too, showed a disposition to side with the rioters. The members of parliament, looking on from the windows, changed their

minds, and quickly passed a new franchise law, providing for *manhood suffrage, with plural votes (one or two extra votes) for wealth and education.* In 1919 (after the World War) plural votes were abolished. The leading political parties are the Clericals and the Laborites, or Socialists.

For many years Belgium ranked among the leading industrial nations. In 1910 the population was seven and a half millions — more than double that in 1815. The people were happy, contented, and prosperous. Then for more than four years (1914–1918) this little land was ravaged by the World War.

VI. DENMARK

The king of Denmark granted a paper constitution in 1848; but real constitutional government began only after the defeat of 1864. Two years of democratic agitation then secured the constitution of 1866. This document promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a Diet (Rigsdag) of two Houses. The Landthing, or upper House, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly members elected on a very high property basis. The Folkthing, or lower House, is elected. In 1901 the vote was given to all self-supporting men, thirty years of age, and in 1915 it was extended to all men and most women. In 1901, after a thirty years' contest, ministries were made responsible to the Representatives.

Coöperation and the high schools

Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and ignorant. Agriculture was backward, and the defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state impoverished. Its people were *forced* to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 15,000 square miles with nearly three millions of people. That is, it has more people than Indiana, in less than half the territory. More than a third of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give

special "short courses" in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial; even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not merely how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. And they have taught the Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation.

Local coöperative societies are found in almost every distinct line of farm industry, — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in farms loans. The local societies are federated into *national* organizations. The central society that markets eggs and dairy products has an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owns its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals.

Thanks to the coöperative system, the profits go to the producers, not to middlemen. Best of all, the Danish peasant, on eight or ten acres of land, is an educated man, cultured because of his intelligent, scientific mastery of his work.

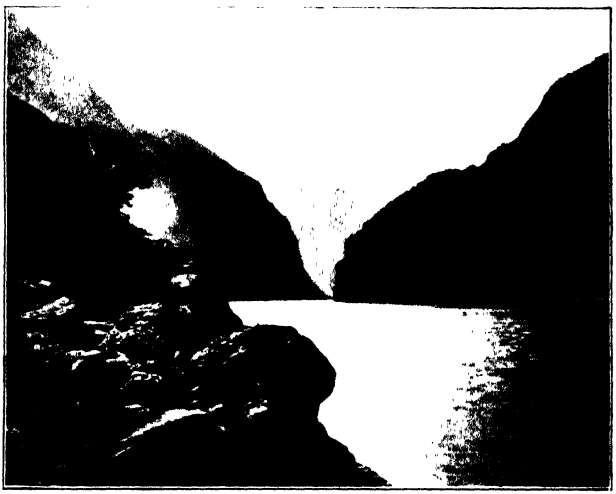
In 1914, Denmark was one of the most prosperous farming countries in the world. But the World War ruined its two chief markets, England and Germany; and now (1923) for several years that little neutral land — industrious, frugal, intelligent — has suffered dire economic distress, through no fault of its own. This is one of the striking evidences of the close interdependence of the different parts of our modern world.

VII NORWAY AND SWEDEN

The "union" of 1814

The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (p. 450), to reward that country for services against Napoleon. But the Norwegian people declined to be bartered from one ruler to another. A Diet or Storthing, assembled at *Eidvold*, declared Norway a sovereign state, and adopted a liberal constitution (*May 17, 1814*). Sweden, backed by the Powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but finally a compromise was arranged. The Diet elected the Swedish king as king of Norway also *on condition that he should recognize the new Norwegian constitution*. That document made

the sittings of the Storthing wholly independent of the king's will, and also provided that the royal veto should have no effect upon a bill passed in three successive sessions.



A Norwegian Fjord, — Sogndal.

Norway's struggle for self-government

The union lasted almost a century, but there was a growing chasm between the two lands. Sweden had a strong aristocracy and a considerable city population. Norway even then had only a weak aristocracy, and was a land of independent peasants and sturdy fisherfolk and sailors. In the early part of the century the Storthing succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king, and in 1884 it established manhood suffrage against his will. Meantime there had begun agitation for a greater amount of self-government.

Storthing and royal vetoes

In 1872–1874 the Storthing passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted. King Oscar II declared that this was an amendment to the constitution. In such a case, he urged, the rule limiting his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, and the king yielded. (Oscar

II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, and his moderation and fairness had much to do on other occasions also with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century.)

This victory made the real executive in Norway Norwegian, for all *internal affairs*. The Storthing passed at once to a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls. But the constitution had left the regulation of *foreign* affairs in the king's hands; and the Swedish party exclaimed with some reason that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries, and that it was unconstitutional. Again King Oscar insisted that on such a matter his veto could not be overridden. Finally in 1905, after twenty years of strenuous struggle, the Storthing by almost unanimous vote declared the union with Sweden dissolved. The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war; but King Oscar was nobly resolute that the two peoples should not imbrue their hands in each other's blood. The Swedish labor unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians declared in favor of independence in a great national referendum, by a vote of 368,000 to 184. Sweden bowed to the decision. *In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples, a peaceful separation was arranged upon friendly terms;* and then independent Norway chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

Norway leads in woman suffrage

In 1901 the Storthing gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. *In 1907* the parliamentary franchise was given to the same class of women. Thus, Norway was the first *sovereign nation* to give the franchise to women.

Swedish reform since 1866

Until late in the nineteenth century Sweden was backward in politics. The Diet was made up, medieval fashion, of *four* estates — nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants — and the king could always play off one class against another. In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two

Houses, but for nearly half a century more the franchise excluded a large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower House of the parliament was given to all adult men, but with "plural" votes for wealth. At the same time women secured the franchise for all matters of *local* government. Then in 1919, sweeping reforms abolished plural voting and established simple universal suffrage for men and women in both national and local affairs.

VIII. THE SWISS REPUBLIC

Condition in 1830

The Congress of Vienna left the Swiss cantons in a loose confederacy (p. 452), not unlike that of the United States before 1789.

The Sonderbund War

The first great change grew out of religious strife. The rich city cantons were Protestant, and after 1830 they became progressive in politics. The old democratic cantons were Catholic, and were coming to be controlled by a new conservative Clerical party. The confederacy seemed ready to split in twain. The final struggle began in Aargau. In this canton, in the election of 1840, the Progressives won. The Clericals rose in revolt. To punish them, after suppressing the rising, the Progressives dissolved the eight monasteries of the canton. This act was contrary to the constitution of the Union; and the seven Catholic cantons in alarm formed a separate league, — the Sonderbund, — and declared that they would protect the Clericals in their rights in any canton where they might be attacked.

The Federal Diet, now controlled by the Progressives, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve; and in 1847 "The Sonderbund War" was begun — seven cantons against fifteen. The despotic Powers of the Holy Alliance were preparing to interfere in behalf of the Sonderbund, but the Unionists (warned and encouraged by the English government) acted with remarkable celerity and crushed the Secessionists in a three weeks' campaign.[1] Metternich still intended to interfere, but the revolu-

[1] There are interesting points of likeness between the civil war in Switzerland and that a little later in the United States. In both countries there

PLATE XCV

MONT BLANC AND CHAMONIX, a typical Alpine town.

tions of 1848 rendered him harmless. Then the Progressives remodeled the constitutions of the conquered cantons, so as to put power into the hands of the Progressives there, and adopted a new national constitution, which made *the union a true Federal Republic.*

The Constitution

The Federal Assembly (national legislature) has two Houses, — *the Council of the States* and *the National Council.* The first consists of two delegates from each canton, chosen by the cantonal legislature. The second House *represents the people of the union*, the members being elected in single districts, like our Representatives. The franchise is given to all adult males, and elections take place on Sundays, so that all may vote. *The Federal Executive* is not a single president, but a committee of seven (*the Federal Council*), chosen by the Federal Assembly.

Each canton, like each of our States, has its own constitution and government. In a few cantons the old folkmoot, or primary Assembly, is still preserved; in the others the legislature consists of one chamber, chosen by manhood suffrage. In each there is an executive *council*, not a *single* governor.

Direct legislation

As a rule, even in modern democratic countries, the people govern themselves only indirectly. They choose representatives (legislatures and governors), and these "delegated" individuals attend directly to matters of government. Switzerland, however, has shown that "direct democracy" can work under modern conditions. The two Swiss devices for this end are known as *the referendum* and *the popular initiative.*

The referendum

The referendum consists merely in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice really originated in America. The State of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and in 1780. The French Revolutionists adopted the practice for

was a conflict between a national and a states sovereignty party. In both, as a result of war, the more progressive part of the nation forced a stronger union upon the more backward portion. In both, too, the states which tried to secede did so in behalf of rights guaranteed them in the old constitution, which they believed to be endangered by their opponents.

their constitutions, and the plebiscites of the Napoleons extended the principle to some other questions besides constitutions. In America, after 1820, nearly all our States used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions and of constitutional amendments.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the constitution of 1848, all constitutional amendments, cantonal or national, *must* be submitted to popular vote, and in some cantons this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws; while, by an amendment of 1874, a certain number of voters *by petition may require the submission of any national law*. (This "optional" referendum has been in use in the separate cantons for most of the nineteenth century.)

The initiative

The popular initiative is a Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill and to *compel* its submission to the people. A little before 1848, this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. By 1870, in nearly all the cantons a small number of voters could introduce any law they desired. In 1891, by amendment, this liberal principle was adopted for the national government: *a petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote.*

Thus the people, without the intervention of the legislature, can frame bills by the initiative, and pass on them by the referendum. These devices for direct legislation are the most important advances made in late years by democracy. (Recently, many of the more progressive States of the American Union have carried them, with the further device of the *recall*, to a higher degree of perfection even than in their Swiss home.)

Place in history

In other respects also Switzerland has made amazing advances and to-day it is one of the most progressive countries in the world. The schools are among the best in Europe: no other country has so little illiteracy. Comfort is well diffused. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than has been known anywhere else in continental Europe during the last forty years. Two thirds of the people are German; but

French and Italian, as well as German, are "official" languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. The universal patriotism of the people is a high testimonial to the strength of free institutions and of the flexible federal principle, in binding together diverse elements. Said President Lowell, of Harvard, a few years ago, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

CHAPTER LX

RUSSIA

Growth of territory

Russia's destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army, in 1813, revealed her tremendous power. In the fifteenth century (p. 395), the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. Expansion, since then, has come partly by colonization, partly by war (pp. 395, 396, 402).

In Asia, Russian advance after 1800 was steady and terrifying. She aimed at ice-free Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south, besides the rich realms of Central Asia and India. In 1858 she reached the Amur, seizing northern Manchuria from China. Two years later she secured Vladivostok — ice-free for most of the year.

The Trans-Siberian Railway

In 1895 the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, and in 1902 that vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostok. This road is more than 5000 miles long,— nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the great steps in the advance of civilization; and it has been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez or Panama canals. Meanwhile Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur (p. 608) and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port (1898).

The danger to India

On the south, just after the opening of the nineteenth century, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus. By the middle of the century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance, and by 1895 she extended a great Trans-Caspian railway to within seventy-five miles of Herat, the "key to India."

Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in Central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the extreme East.

Checked by Japan

In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements, — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but in 1904 the arrogant folly of her military classes plunged her into a war with Japan as unjust as it proved ruinous. To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria (pp. 605–611).

Extent in 1910

Russia still covered eight and a half million square miles (between two and three times the area of the United States), or about one seventh the area of the habitable earth; and she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions — just about equal in number to the whole group of English-speaking peoples.

Revolutionary movements

At the end of the Napoleonic wars, many young Russian officers came back to their homes full of the ideals of the French revolution. The Tsar himself (Alexander I, 1801–1825) had been educated by a liberal French tutor; and for a time, in a weak, sentimental, indecisive way, he favored a liberal policy, and introduced a few reforms. Metternich won him from these tendencies; and then many educated and liberal Russians began to be conspirators against Tsarism.

The serfs

The cause of the conspirators was long hopeless, because it had no interest for the masses. Nowhere else in the world was the gap so complete between upper and lower classes. Four fifths the population of European Russia were serfs, filthy, ignorant, degraded, living in a world wholly apart from that of the small class of educated Russians.

And society

Besides the serfs, the rural population comprised a numerous nobility, who were landed proprietors; and in the cities there were small professional and mercantile classes. For two hun-

dred years (since Peter the Great) these upper classes had had at least a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books, fashions, and largely their ideas, were imported from Paris.

The revolutionary conspirators from these upper classes were romantic dreamers. In December of 1825, the revolutionists attempted a rising. They met with no popular support, and the new Tsar Nicholas (1825–1855) exterminated almost the entire group with brutal executions, often under the knout. This cruelty, however, made "the Decembrists" martyrs to the next generation of generous-minded Russian youth; and their ideas lived on in the great Russian writers of the middle of the century, like Gogol and Turgeniev.

Beginning of the Slavophil movement

The reign of Nicholas I was marked also by the beginning of Slavophilism. This was a movement among the educated classes to establish a native Russian culture, in contrast to the imported Western veneer. The Russians had begun to believe in themselves as the future leaders of a new civilization. They looked forward to a vast Pan-Slav empire (to include Bohemia and the Slav states of the Balkans) which should surpass Western Europe both in power and in the character of its culture. Nicholas gave his support heartily to the Slavophils, in large part because he despised the Western ideas as to liberty and constitutional government.

Reforms of Alexander II

In the closing years of Nicholas, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War (p. 495) revealed the despotic bureaucratic system as weak, when pitted against Western Europe; and this helped the Russian liberals to win to their side the new Tsar, Alexander II (1855–1881). Alexander struck the shackles from the press and the universities, sought to secure just treatment for the Jews, introduced jury trial, established a system of graded representative assemblies in the provinces (the zemstvos), and, in 1861, against the almost unanimous opposition of the nobles, emancipated the fifty million serfs.

Emancipation of the serfs

Not only were the serfs freed from the jurisdiction of the nobles and from obligation to serve them: they were also given

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW; — a view from the Moskvaretzky. "Kremlin" is the Russian name for a city *fortress*, somewhat like the Greek *acropolis*. The walls of the Moscow Kremlin inclose 98 acres, with the most famous temples and palaces of old Moscow and with the modern palace and government buildings in the background.

land. This of course was necessary if the peasants were to live at all. The land, like the serf, was taken from the noble; but not by confiscation, and not enough of it. Each village community (mir) was to pay for its land. The Tsar paid the noble landlord down; and the mir was to repay the Tsar in small installments spread over forty-nine years. Alexander and his liberal friends intended each village to receive at least as much land as the villagers had had for their support while serfs; but the noble officials, who carried out the details, managed to cut down the amount of land and to make the price unduly high. The peasants found themselves at once forced to eke out their scanty income by tilling the land of the neighboring landlord — on his terms. The annual "redemption payments" to the government, too, were excessive. More than half the peasant's labor went to satisfy the tax-collector. By 1890, one third the peasant body had pledged their labor one or more years in advance to the noble landlords — and so had been forced back into a new serfdom. The peasants remained ignorant and wretched, with a death-rate double that of Western Europe. As late as 1900, half their children died under the age of five; and every now and then large districts were devastated by famine — while vast tracts of fertile land lay uncultivated.

And the land problem

The peasants reënslaved

At the emancipation, the peasants refused to believe that the Tsar meant to give them such small allotments; and in countless places they rose in bloody riots against the nobility and the Tsar's officers. The reactionary parts of society urged upon Alexander that such risings were the product of the progressive writers and newspapers he had encouraged. As early as 1862 the Tsar was won to this view, and began to suppress the liberal press. Writers who had thought themselves within the circle of his friendship were imprisoned in secret dungeons or sent to hard labor in Siberian mines, — without trial, merely by decree, — and the brutal police sought to crush out all liberalism by barbarous cruelty.

Alexander's vacillating policy

Persecution of liberals

The liberals, in the 'sixties, had come to include the great body of university students. These youths, — men and women

The Nihilists

of good family, — ardent for the regeneration of their country, now organized societies to spread information about the peasants' misery among the upper classes, and socialistic ideas among the peasants, and in the later 'seventies one branch of these persecuted radicals decided to meet violence with violence. Their secret organization was popularly known as the Nihilist society. They deliberately resolved to sacrifice their own lives to the cause of liberty, and by assassination after assassination they sought to avenge the barbarous persecution of their friends and to terrify the Tsar into granting representative government. Alexander at last decided to grant part of their demands. He prepared a draft of a constitution which was to set up a National Assembly. But the day before this plan was to be announced the Nihilists dynamited him.

Reaction intensified under Alexander III and Nicholas II

Alexander III (1881–1894) returned to the reactionary policy of his grandfather Nicholas. What remained of Alexander II's reforms was undone — except that serfdom could not well be restored in law. The press was subjected to a sterner censorship. University teachers were muzzled, being forbidden to touch upon matters of government in their lectures. Books like Green's *English People* were added to the long list of standard works whose circulation was forbidden. The royal police were given despotic authority to interfere in the affairs of the mirs.

Religious persecution

All this reactionary policy was continued by the next — and the last — of the Tsars, the incompetent *Nicholas II* (1894–1917), and with it was coupled an increase in the despotic attempt to Russianize the border provinces. The Finnish and German Lutherans of the Baltic regions, the Polish Catholics, the Armenian dissenters, the Georgians, and the Jews were all cruelly persecuted. Children were taken from parents to be educated in the Greek faith; native languages were forbidden in schools, churches, newspapers, legal proceedings, or on sign boards; and against the Jews (who had already been cruelly crowded into "the Jewish Pale") bloody "pogroms" were organized *by police officers* with every form of outrage, plunder, torture, and massacre. (It was this persecution that drove

great numbers of Russian Jews to America.) And, in return for the Tsar's aid against heresy, the Russian priests became spies for the autocracy in its political persecution, and betrayed to the police the secrets of the confessional.

Russian church aids despotism

In one respect the Baltic districts had more cause for complaint even than the Jews. Finland, the old German provinces (Livonia, Esthonia, Courland), and Poland all excelled Russia proper in civilization, and *each of them, at its acquisition by Russia, had been solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own language, religion, and laws.* Russianization may sometimes have been a not unmixed evil to barbarous regions on the east; but it was bitterly hard upon these progressive western districts.

Russianization of the Baltic region

By 1890, the police seemed to have crushed all reform agitation and all *open* criticism of the government. But there was an "Underground Russia" where modern ideas were working silently. Many liberals were growing up among the increasing class of lawyers, physicians, professors, and merchants, and, sometimes, among the nobles.

Underground Russia

More important still was the fact that, about 1890, even Russia began to be touched by the industrial revolution. Moscow had been a "sacred city" of churches, marked by spires and minarets. In 1890, it was becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoke-hung chimneys.

The industrial revolution

In such cities Socialism made converts rapidly among the new working class. There were two distinct bodies of these Russian Socialists. The larger body looked forward only to peaceful reform, like the Social Democratic party in other lands. The other was made up of Social-Revolutionists. This was a secret society, perfectly organized, which had absorbed the old Nihilists. It held that violence was necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which choked all attempts at peaceful reform. In this day of perfectly disciplined standing armies, with modern guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain extinction in blood. So the Revolutionists worked by the dagger and the dynamite

And Socialism

bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The society selected its intended victims with careful deliberation; and, when one had been killed, it posted placards proclaiming to the world the list of "crimes" for which he had been "executed." Spite of every precaution, the Revolutionists, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated of the Tsar's tools.

The liberal movement of 1906: "the First Russian Revolution"

The opportunity of the reform forces seemed to have come in 1905. The failure of Russia in the Japanese war showed that the despotic government had been both inefficient and corrupt. High officials had stolen money which should have gone for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies. During the disasters of the war itself, other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the suffering of the wounded. The intelligent classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry were woefully oppressed by war-taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment in the general stagnation of business. The agitation for reform among all these elements became turbulent; and in March, after failing to stifle it in blood, in the massacre of Red Sunday, the Tsar promised a Duma (representative assembly).

Class divisions among the liberals

As after the Emancipation Edict forty-five years before, the Russian people went wild with joy and hope; and again bitter disappointment followed. All Russia had seemed united against autocracy in demands for *political* reform; but now it proved to be divided within itself by a bitter class conflict. The city proletariat was struggling for radical economic change as well as for political reform; especially for shorter hours and higher wages, for which many strikes were then in progress. The middle-class liberals (including most employers of labor) hoped that representative government — with only the grant of more land to the peasants — would remedy Russia's ills. Immediately after issuing the October decree for the Duma, the Tsar threw himself once more into the arms of the reactionary official party, and sought to take advantage of this class

division among the liberals. The prisons were emptied of criminals, who were then organized by the police as "patriots"—better known in history as the Black Hundreds; and within three weeks, in a hundred different places, some 4000 radicals and labor leaders were assassinated.

Reaction at court

This brutal violence gave increased standing among the people to the radical Socialist movement. In all great cities there had been organized a Council of Workmen's Deputies to guide the strikes. These Councils now began to be mighty political forces. The peasants, too, organized Councils of Deputies in many districts, and, in some places, revolutionarily inclined regiments made common cause with peasants and workingmen, and elected Councils of Soldiers' Deputies. This was the birth of the famous *soviets* — a desperate attempt to meet the Tsar's duplicity and brutality by a new working-class government.

The origin of soviets

But these soviet organizations at once began to antagonize the liberal capitalists by ill-timed demands as to hours and wages, enforced by general strikes. *Accordingly the middle classes held aloof*, while the Tsar's government used all its remaining strength in the early winter to crush the new soviets with an indescribably horrible vengeance.

Crushed for the time by the Tsar

In April of 1906, midst gloom and anarchy, with 75,000 of Russia's finest men and women suffering torment in dungeons as political prisoners, and with a cruel famine desolating many provinces, the Duma was at last brought together — the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The Tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively against radical candidates; but the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. The largest party among the members were middle-class liberals, who called themselves *Constitutional Democrats*. The chief leader of this group was Miliukof, and it contained many other men of wise and moderate statesmanship. Next in numbers came the *Peasants*, with a program of moderate Socialism. The extreme Socialists of the towns (*Social Democrats*), had in great measure refused to take part in the elections. Still they counted 25 members.

The Duma of 1906

Of the total of 400, only 28 were avowed supporters of autocracy. The Tsar's repudiation by the nation was complete.

The Duma, after vainly seeking a "responsible" ministry and the abolition of martial law, wisely concentrated its efforts upon securing the state lands for the suffering peasants. The Tsar, now in the hands of intensely reactionary advisers, was "sadly disappointed" that the Duma insisted on meddling in such matters, and (July 21) he dissolved it. Months of anarchy followed. The government fell back upon stern repression and intimidation, *to suppress not only disorder, but also political agitation.* More than a thousand political offenders were executed, and fifty thousand were sent to Siberia or to prison, while the Revolutionists counted up 24,239 others slain by the soldiery in putting down or punishing riots. Prisoners were tortured mercilessly, and in many cases were flogged to death.

Anarchy and violence

The Duma of 1907

A second Duma met March 5, 1907. The surviving liberal members of the former assembly had been made ineligible for election. But this time the Social Democrats went into the campaign in earnest and elected nearly one third the members, in spite of desperate efforts of the police to close their meetings and imprison their leaders. With the remnants of the Constitutional Democrats and the Peasants, there was once more a large majority opposed to the government. In June the Tsar demanded that some sixty Socialist members should be expelled as "traitors"; and when the Duma appointed a committee to investigate, he dissolved it. Then by arbitrary decree he changed the method of electing Dumas so as to put control into the hands of the great landlords. A third and a fourth Duma (1907, 1912), chosen upon this basis, proved properly submissive. The revolution, men said, had been stifled.

PART XV — THE WORLD IN 1914

CHAPTER LXI

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

In spite of certain remaining dark spots on the globe, like Russia, it was usual in 1900 to speak of the preceding hundred years as "the wonderful century." It is true that no thousand years before had seen so much progress. Theodore Roosevelt's day was farther removed from Napoleon's than his from Charlemagne's. And in this mighty transformation the chief agents had been *scientific invention* and *humane sentiment.*

PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

Very wonderful was the scientific advance. The close of the eighteenth century saw those inventions in England that created the age of iron and substituted steam and machinery for hand power in production, so creating the "Industrial Revolution" (pp. 465 ff.). Toward the middle of the next century came a second burst of scientific invention, in which America led, again revolutionizing daily life and in particular applying machinery to *farm* production. Then, towards the close of that same century came the third group of inventions, replacing the age of steam *by the age of electricity*, transforming once more the face of the world and the daily habits of vast populations. Gasoline engines and electric engines furnished new power for locomotion, for factory, and for field. Man explored the sea bottom in submarines and conquered the air. The electric street railway, the automobile, and auto trucks made for cleaner city streets, better country roads, and a vast saving of time and labor. Electric lights helped to

banish crime along with darkness. Telephone, phonograph, wireless telegraphy gave men new power to do and to enjoy. And along with this went such a transformation of all earlier machinery and processes as made those of 1850 quaint curiosities.

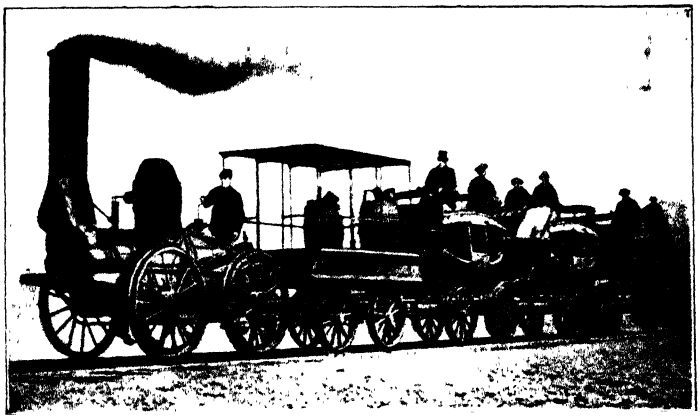
More important than these inventions that affect our bodies and our outer life have been the change in *ideas* about the

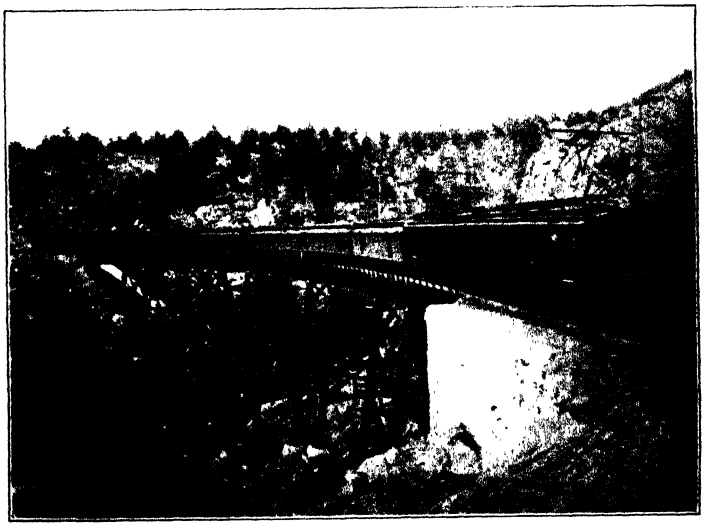
FORGING A RAILWAY CAR AXLE TO-DAY, at the Howard Axle Works, Homestead, Pa. The drop-hammer, about to strike the white-hot axle, weighs three and one half tons Fourteen such hammers are used in these works.

world and man's relation to it, — a change due also to the new science.

A new geology

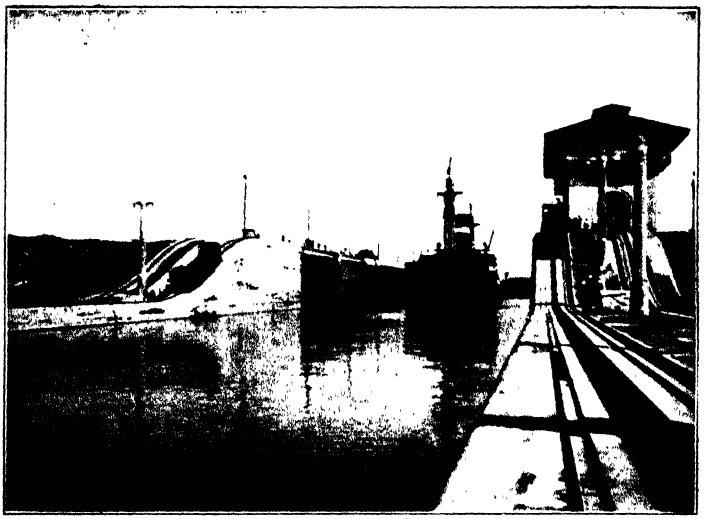
In 1833 *Sir Charles Lyell* published his *Principles of Geology*. Men had believed that the earth was essentially the globe as it came from the hand of God, five or six thousand years before, modified perhaps in places by tremendous convulsions or floods. Lyell explained mountains, plains, valleys, the rock strata, and other geologic features, as the results of the slow action of water, frost, snow, and other forces which we see still





ABOVE — THE "DE WITT CLINTON," the first steam railroad train in America. The first trip (from Albany to Schenectady) was made August 9, 1831, with a *maximum* speed of 15 miles an hour. Note the resemblance of the "coaches" to horse vehicles.

BELOW. — A MODERN ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE on the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Road. Forty-two such engines are in use to haul passengers and freight over the great Continental Divide. This engine weighs 282 tons, has an electrification of 3000 volts, and can haul six and a half million pounds of freight up a stiff grade at 16 miles an hour, or, geared for high speed, can pull a passenger train, like the one here pictured, at a mile a minute on ordinary levels.



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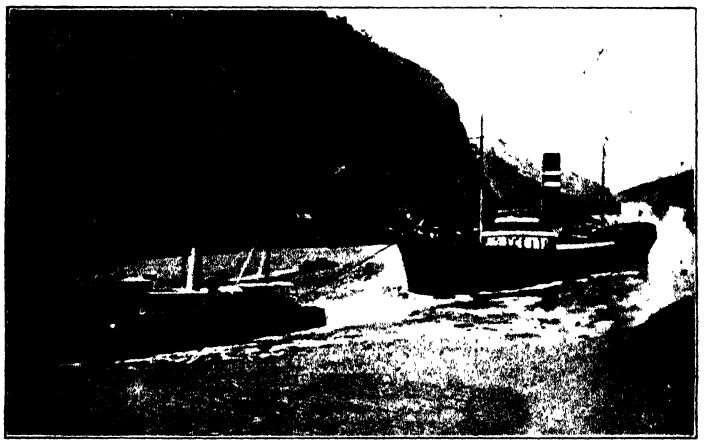

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TWO VIEWS OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

ABOVE. — The Miraflores Locks, with the S.S. *Santa Clara* leaving the upper west chamber under tow of an electric motor, not in sight in the picture.

BELOW. — The first boat through after navigation had been temporarily blocked (in 1916) by "the big slide" from Culebra Hill (shown on the left). The steamer is the *St. Veronica* of Liverpool.

at work about us. This uniformitarian theory (supported by the discovery of fossils in the rocks) quickly induced men to reckon the age of the earth by aeons of time; and soon the discovery of human remains in old geologic strata compelled a new conception of the length of man's life upon the earth.

Evolution

In the study of the animal world a like change was taking place. Here and there some thinker had hinted that the plants and animals we see about us must have all "evolved" by slow changes from one or at least from a few elementary types. In 1859 *Charles Darwin* gave this theory of "evolution" a name in his *Origin of Species by Natural Selection*. The causes that Darwin suggested are no longer regarded as an adequate explanation of the process he described, and scientists have devised various new explanations to supplement or replace Darwin's "survival of the fittest." The general idea, however, of an evolutionary process is widely accepted; but many earnest thinkers combat it as "unproved."

The cellular composition of organic matter

Several years earlier came the discovery (about 1840) that each animal or vegetable organism is made up of minute cells of protoplasm (a living substance of a character resembling gelatine). These cells in each living thing, it was discovered, come from one original parent cell, and develop in different ways according to the nature of the organ they are to form (hair, skin, muscular tissue, etc.). This cell theory made possible a new scientific study of animal life — which is called biology.

Progress in medicine

And biology has produced a new science of medicine. In the 80's the French biologist, Pasteur, broke the way, proving the germ theory of disease, and inventing methods of inoculation against some of the most dreaded forms, like hydrophobia. Devoted disciples followed in his footsteps. During the American occupation of Cuba after the Spanish-American war, Major Walter Reed showed that ordinary malaria and the deadly yellow fever alike were spread by the bite of mosquitoes. In like manner it has been proved that certain fleas, carried by rats, spread the bubonic plague. In 1903 Dr. Charles W. Stiles proved that the inefficiency and low vitality of the "poor Whites" in the southern United States were due to the parasitic

hookworm. The special causes of typhoid and tuberculosis have become well known; and as this passage is being written, the germ that causes the dreaded infantile paralysis has been discovered. Each such discovery has enabled men to fight disease more successfully. It is not improbable that in the not distant future all deadly contagious diseases may be practically banished from the earth, — as, according to medical journals, yellow fever is just now banished. Between 1850 and 1900 the average human life in civilized lands was lengthened by a fourth, and population was trebled.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

A new human solidarity

This larger and better life of the early twentieth century, too, was bound together, for good and for ill, in a new human solidarity. Our big world is more compact than the small world of 1800 was. Ox-cart and pack-horse have been replaced as carriers by long lines of cars moving thousands of tons of all kinds of freight swiftly across continents. For bulkier commerce the most distant "East" and "West" have been brought near together by the Suez Canal (opened in 1869) and the Panama Canal (built by the United States and opened in 1914);[1] while now the more precious articles and mails begin to be moved as by magic in airships, as Tennyson dreamed when in his youth he—

> "Saw the heavens fill with commerce — argosies of magic sails,
> Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

New methods of banking make it possible to transfer credit in an instant, by wire or wireless, between the most distant portions of the earth; and lines of communication are so organized that it costs no more to send a letter or parcel around the earth than around the nearest street corner. The Minnesota farmer's market is not Minneapolis, but the world. The Australian sheep-raiser, the Kansas farmer, the South African miner, the New York merchant, the London banker, are parts of one industrial organism.

All this solidarity means *one more revolution in industry.* The age of small individual enterprise has given way to an era of

[1] Special reports upon this building and on present use of these routes.

vast consolidation of capital and management — department stores, mighty corporations, huge trusts, flouring centers like Minneapolis, meat-packing centers like Chicago, money centers like Wall Street. And this consolidation has brought incalculable saving of wealth in economy of management and in utilization of old wastes into by-products.

The new unity of society, too, has its *moral* side. Any happening of consequence is known within the hour in London, Petrograd, Peking, New York, San Francisco, and, within a day, in almost every hamlet where civilized men live. A world opinion shapes itself, in ordinary times, as promptly as village opinion could be brought to bear upon an individual citizen a century ago.

A dark side

But even before the horrible catastrophe of the World War, it was plain enough that *all this modern progress had a darker side.* True, there was more life, and better life; and there was more wealth to support life. The workers, too, though they got too little of that wealth, got vastly more than in 1800. An industrious, healthy artisan of to-day usually has a more enjoyable life than a great noble a century ago. Still the industrial organization which produced wealth with gratifying rapidity failed to distribute it *equitably.* The world had become rich; but multitudes of workers remained ominously poor. And this modern poverty is harder to bear than that of earlier times because it is less necessary. Then there was little wealth to divide. Now the poor man is jostled by ostentatious affluence and vicious waste.

Failure as yet to distribute wealth

The demand for "social justice"

Throughout the civilized world earnest men and women, as never before in history, had begun to band themselves into many kinds of "social uplift" organizations to relieve or remove this misery. Until toward the close of the nineteenth century such movements were mainly charitable in their character. Then they began to work, not merely to treat the social disease, but to remove its cause. They ceased to call for charity, and began to work for social justice — for some improved organization of industry that should secure to the worker a larger share of the product of his labor and so insure him against the need of

charity. Enlightened thinkers and statesmen entered upon a new and more promising "war against poverty," recognizing also that such a course was necessary, not merely for the welfare of the poor, but also for the salvation of all society.

CHAPTER LXII

WORLD POLITICS TO 1914

I. ENCROACHMENTS UPON AFRICA AND ASIA

Trade essential to modern civilization

Modern civilization is based upon "industrialism." The greater the industrial development of a country, the more employment and better pay for its workingmen, and the more profit for its capitalists. Now the life blood of industrialism is trade: trade not merely with civilized nations, but (sometimes much more) with tropical and subtropical countries for oil, rubber, ivory, minerals, and other raw materials needed by factories in civilized lands. Moreover, thanks to modern factory processes, every industrial country (which can get adequate supplies of raw materials) has a much greater factory *output* than its own people can buy. The factories cannot keep running full speed without *outside* markets in which to sell. In the industrial states, too (before the World War), wealth accumulated faster, at times, than it could be invested profitably, — so that capitalists were anxious for outside investments, especially in countries with naturally rich but as yet undeveloped resources.

Causes of "imperial" policies

Add to these facts a fourth fact, — that in most of the rich tropical and subtropical regions there have been (until lately) no strong states to protect the inhabitants against outside encroachments — and we have the main explanations of the rivalries among the great civilized nations for colonial empire. Each seeks the largest possible part of the world's raw materials for its factories to work up into finished products, the largest markets for those products (all the better if a sole, or exclusive, market), and the best "concessions" from semi-barbarous states to its capitalists for exclusive rights to build railroads or develop mines.

Imperialism and war

This "imperialism" (or desire for empire for the sake of trade) has been the underlying cause of most modern wars[1] And yet, under existing conditions, it is useless to blame any one nation for trying to grab the oil of Mesopotamia, the coal of China, the ivory of the Congo, or the rubber of Mexico. The blame lies in the amazing fact that the nations have not made more serious attempts to change the system of commercial cannibalism. Rightly seen, the vast raw wealth of the globe belongs to no one or two arbitrary political divisions of the globe's population: it is the heritage of the whole world, present and *to come*. When we grow civilized enough, there will be some world-organization to conserve these resources and to see that all nations may share on some basis of equal opportunity or of need. True, this is much to expect while each nation still permits grasping individuals to engross within its own borders that natural wealth that should belong to all its people. But, if the task is great, so is the need. It must be solved, if civilization is to survive. Until there is such a world organization, annihilating world-war will not cease to threaten. The real work of a League of Nations will be not so much to "enforce peace," to *forbid war*, as to remove the chief excuse for war by doing justice among the peoples.

In the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century, trade rivalry became world-wide war. From 1689 to 1783, France and England wrestled incessantly for world empire, grappling on every continent and every sea; while, as allies of this one or of that, the other powers grasped at crumbs of European booty. The close saw France almost stripped of her old dependencies; and, a little later, when she seemed helpless in her Revolution, England sought to complete the victory. Then for a while Napoleon seemed likely to regain the Mississippi valley and India; but Waterloo left England "the mightiest nation upon earth," for some seventy years without an aggressive rival for world dominion. During that period, other European nations got along somehow because trade had not yet become the supremely vital thing it was soon to be. But steam and electricity were swiftly drawing the globe's most distant provinces into intimate unity, and, with the spread of the Industrial Revolution (p. 561), world trade was taking on a new importance. Accordingly, after 1871, the new industrial French Republic began to seek ex-

In the nineteenth century

[1] For ancient war also, cf. pp. 35, 124, 174, and elsewhere.

pansion in north Africa and southeastern Asia; and in 1884, at the Congress of Berlin, the new industrial German Empire gave notice that thenceforth it meant to share in the plunder. The next quarter-century saw a mad scramble between Germany, France, and the already partially sated England for the world's remaining rich provinces defended only by "inferior" races. European politics were suddenly merged in world politics. The possession of petty counties on the Rhine or the Danube ceased to interest peoples who had fixed their eyes on vast continents.

New world-problems

Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States or England. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine. *Africa*, however, was largely unappropriated, and now its seizure was swift. In 1880 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European; in 1891 (except for Liberia and Abyssinia) the continent was mapped out between European claimants (map opposite) — mainly between England, France, and Germany, though Belgium held the "Congo Free State," a rich territory of 1,000,000 square miles in the heart of the continent with 30,000,000 native inhabitants. (It must be understood, however, that, except for English South Africa, and part of French Algeria, European *settlement* has not entered the continent to any considerable degree, nor have the natives been Europeanized.)

Partition of Africa

Europe in Asia

By 1890, also, the partition of Asia was well under way — though in this continent too, except for a few trading stations, there has been no real European "colonization." Central and northern Asia had become Russian; the vast, densely populated peninsula of India (with adjoining Burma) was English; the southeastern peninsula was mainly French. Of the five remaining native states, Afghanistan, Persia, and Siam were merely weak and helpless survivals permitted to exist by cautious European diplomacy as "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other; and, before the century closed, the Turkish Empire (p. 623) and even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces.

Here we must note that in the closing years of the nineteenth

The United States a World Power

century two new actors appeared to dispute world empire with the old claimants. A war between Japan and China (p. 605) revealed despised Japan as a great modernized World Power that must henceforth be reckoned with, especially in Asiatic questions; and the Spanish-American War of 1898 brought the United States to the door of Asia. The United States had been sufficiently occupied for a hundred years in appropriating and developing her own vast territory from ocean to ocean, and had resolutely kept herself free from European complications; but now, her great task accomplished, she had already begun to reach out for the islands of the sea and for Asiatic trade. Then during the war with Spain, she annexed Hawaii and at the close she retained the Philippines.

II. JAPAN

Land and people

Japan proper consists of a crescent-shaped group of islands with an area a fourth larger than the entire British Isles. Population is only slightly larger than the British, but it increases rapidly and it is already much more "crowded," because only a small part of the land is tillable (much of that only with immense toil, in terraces of built-up soil on steep mountain sides), and because factory industry, though now growing rapidly, is still far less developed than in America or Europe. Accordingly, labor is very cheap, and the standard of living is low. In spite of this, the short, brown people have remarkably vigorous and well-developed bodies and strong, alert intellects. Their manners are marked by Oriental courtesy (which our ruder Western world sometimes looks upon as extravagant if not deceitful), and naturally many of their customs are strange and even shocking to Europeans and Americans.

Westernization

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan kept herself sealed against the outside world. For two centuries, even to trade with foreigners had been punishable with death. The Mikado (emperor) was absolute and was worshiped as a god; and a small class of feudal nobles, backed by numerous hereditary military retainers (*samurai*) kept the common people in a bondage not unlike that in ancient Egypt. But in 1853 Commodore

Perry, under orders from the United States government, by a show of force secured the opening of Japanese ports to American trade.

Humiliated by this demonstration of the superior strength of Western civilization, the intelligent Japanese swiftly adopted many of its features. Before the close of the century, army, navy, schools, and industry were made over on Western models. Even sooner, feudalism and serfdom were abolished; and in 1889 a liberal Mikado proclaimed a constitution which created a parliament and ministry at least as powerful as that then existing in the German Empire. In recent years the ministry *tends* more and more to become truly "responsible"; and a progressive labor movement is likely to become a factor in politics. At the same time, it remains true that, since the fall of German and Russian autocracy in the World War, Japan is nearer a military despotism than is any other great power.

Revealed a World Power: Chinese War of 1894–1895

Soon after Japan had become Westernized, she began to look eagerly for colonial acquisitions — partly as an outlet for her overcrowded population; and in 1894 her attempts to secure new privileges in the neighboring kingdom of Korea (a dependency of China) brought on war with the huge Chinese Empire. The Chinese fought with their usual fanatic bravery; but their arms and organization were Oriental, and little Japan won swift victory on land and sea. China agreed to cede not only Korea with the neighboring Port Arthur, but also the island of Formosa. But Japan in Korea would have forever blocked the natural Russian ambition for an ice-free Pacific port, and now the Russian Tsar, backed by France, insisted that Japan should renounce Korea and Port Arthur (which meant virtually that China should turn these districts over to Russia instead of to Japan).

Russian rivalry

Japan was unprepared for war with European powers, and was wise enough to yield for the time; but she began at once to make ready patiently and skillfully for a struggle with Russia — which came ten years later (p. 609). Meantime the European powers felt at least obliged to recognize Japan more nearly as an equal. A series of new treaties removed various restrictions

which had interfered with Japanese control of her own trade, and also abolished the European courts which had been set up within her territory to try cases in which Europeans were interested. Then in 1902 Japanese diplomacy secured a twenty-year defensive treaty with England, in which each party agreed to aid the other in war if it were engaged with more than one power. (This meant that when the war with Russia should come, Japan would have only Russia to deal with.)

Anglo-Japanese pact of 1902

III. CHINA

Land and people

Including its many outlying and loosely dependent districts (like Thibet and Mongolia) China has an area and a population about equal to those of Europe; but China proper, containing half the area and three fourths the population, consists of eighteen provinces in the basins of the Hwangho and Yangtse river systems. Here, near the coast especially, population is densely crowded, considering the backward nature of industry. Most of the soil of China proper is fertile; but, in the absence of suitable means of transportation and communication, agricultural produce away from the coast has little value. The mineral deposits (including coal and oil) are probably the richest in the world; but, except for recent "concessions" to Europeans, they are almost untouched.

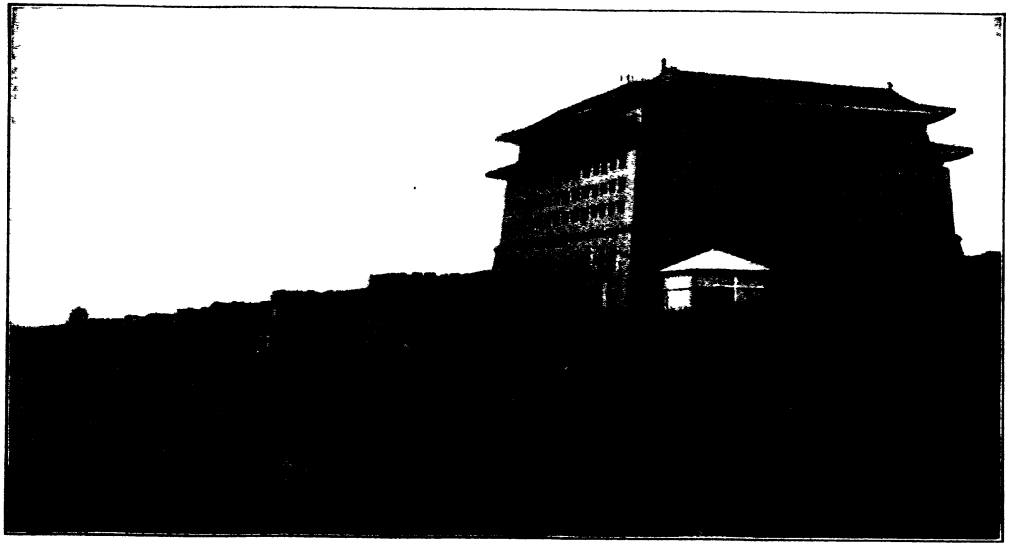
Even in China proper, the people belong to many distinct tribes with quite different dialects and with little in common except their patriotic pride in their common Chinese civilization and their contempt for all outside "barbarians." The Chinese civilization was old before that of Rome began. Printing, gunpowder, paper, delicate work in silks and in "chinaware," the mariner's compass, were all known in China for centuries before they appeared in Europe. The individual Chinamen, too, are industrious and energetic. *But for the past 2000 years, Chinese culture has made no advance.*

Stagnant civilization

Three causes help to explain this stationary or stagnant character of Chinese civilization. (1) The very complex system of picture writing, employing thousands of symbols instead of only twenty-six, imprisons the mind of the educated class. This

HASEDERA TEMPLE, PROVINCE OF GAMATO, JAPAN. — Number eight of the thirty-three places sacred to Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, who, according to Japanese belief, divided herself into parts in order to minister to as many as possible, in accordance with their particular need.

PLATE C



THE WALL OF PEKING, CHINA. — The wall is thirty miles in circumference That part which surrounds the Manchu or Tartar city is fifty feet high, sixty feet through at the base, and forty at the top The part surrounding the Chinese city is thirty feet high, twenty-five through at the base, and fifteen at the top. Each of the sixteen gates is surmounted by a high tower with numerous port holes

is the more serious because the educated class of mandarins is also the ruling and the official class. There is no hereditary nobility in China; the mandarin class is open to any youth who acquires the necessary ability to read and to pass a satisfactory examination in certain sacred books. But the strenuous attention which all mandarin youth must give for so many formative years to the mere *forms of words*, and then to *memorizing* books of maxims, works against interest in new ideas.

(2) Perhaps as a result of this, Confucius, the moral teacher of China, who about 500 B.C. compiled and arranged these sacred volumes, makes reverence for ancestors and for precedent fundamental virtues. To men so trained, innovation becomes a sin.

(3) Moreover, China for thousands of years was effectively shut off from all other civilized countries by almost impassable deserts and mountains, so that she received no new ideas from without.

In the seventeenth century the Mongol Tartar rule over China (p. 395) was succeeded by the rule of the *Manchus* (a conquering tribe from north-central Asia). An early monarch of this line compelled every Chinaman to wear his hair in a queue as a sign of subjection. This line of emperors continued absolute — *in form* — down to our own time; but very soon after the conquest the real management of the empire reverted to the mandarin class.

European trade

After the voyage of Da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope, European traders began to try for admission into Cathay (China) to secure its tea and silk in exchange for Western goods. The Chinese government, however, for three centuries permitted these foreigners to deal only in the one port of Canton — where Portuguese, Dutch, and English established posts. The English found the greatest profits in bringing in opium from India. The Chinese government saw that this drug was ruining thousands of its people, and, very properly, in 1839 it tried to stop that trade altogether. The English government then entered upon the "Opium War," and it was supported (it is instructive

The Opium War

to note) by English public opinion, which ignorantly supposed that England at most was merely breaking through barbarous trade restrictions — as the United States was soon to do in Japan (p. 605).

England of course was speedily victorious, and the treaty of peace forced China to cede the island of Hongkong (which is still British) and to open to foreign commerce a number of important ports. The helpless Empire was soon compelled also to admit Christian missionaries and to permit foreigners to travel through its realms.

Disintegration

Next came the actual seizure of whole outlying provinces — Burma by England, much of Indo-China by France, and the valley of the Amur by Russia. After the Jap-Chinese War of 1894–5, too, Russia, in return for her "protection," induced China to "lease" her Port Arthur for a hundred years (!) and to grant her railway rights across Manchuria (with the admission of Russian soldiers to guard the railway).

Then followed quickly seizures of territory in China proper. How Germany entered the Shantung peninsula has been told (p. 568). That act stimulated England to "induce" China (by the appearance of a fleet of warships) to "lease" to her the port of Waihaiwai — just between Port Arthur and the new German port Kiaochow. France secured Kwangchow-wan toward the south. The final partition of the ancient Empire seemed under way.

The Boxer rising

But the peril called forth a violent outburst of patriotism. The mass of the people resented bitterly the interference of "foreign devils" in their affairs, and a secret society (the Boxers), pledged to rid China of foreigners, swept the country. In 1900 came a widespread Boxer rising. Many missionaries and travelers were massacred; the German minister was slain; and the other European embassies in Peking were besieged.

The siege was soon raised, and the Boxer rising crushed with savage retaliation, by a relief expedition in which Russia, Japan, the United States, England, France, and Germany joined. It seemed probable that the European powers would now seize large "indemnities" in territory, and perhaps break China in

fragments. Largely through the insistence of the United States, the indemnities were finally taken instead in money.

America's "Open Door" policy

Even before the Boxer rising the American Secretary of State, John Hay, had urged upon the powers the policy of preserving Chinese territorial integrity, in return for an "open door" policy by that country, suggesting also that each of the powers should apply that policy in those "spheres of influence" it had already acquired. This "open door" program, forcefully supported by America and England — and by all the small commercial countries — had much to do now with preventing the complete dismemberment of China. Of course the main incentive of American policy was the wish to keep rich Oriental provinces open to American trade. But this policy — perfectly proper in itself — fell in happily with the interests of humanity. (The main hostility to the American policy, in ways both open and secret, came from Kaiser William of Germany — so that in a moment of extreme irritation, Hay once exclaimed: "I had almost rather be the dupe of China than the chum of the Kaiser.")

The Russo-Jap War, 1904

During the Boxer rising, however, Russia had occupied Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated; but, before 1904, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial prosperity (in Korea), but her independence as a nation. After months of futile negotiation, *Japan resorted to war.*

To most of the world, Japan's chances looked pitifully small. Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the small island state appeared doomed to defeat. But Russia fought at long range. She had to transport troops and supplies across Asia by a *single-track* railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her forms of engineering), and her rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. To be sure, it was

supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials of the autocracy had made way with the larger part of the money designed to secure such equipment. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful overconfidence.

Japan, on the other hand, had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat the world had ever seen. Her leaders were patriotic, honest, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of ardent self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization, Japan was able, at all critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war, when she had rolled back the battle line several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than Japan's whole navy; but (*February 8, 1904*) Japan struck the first blow, torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers. The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and, to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Yalu, Port Arthur, and Mukden

Korea was swiftly overrun. The Russians were driven back from the *Yalu* in a great battle, and again defeated at *Liaou Yang;* and after a seven months' siege, marked by terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice on both sides, the Japanese captured the "invulnerable" *Port Arthur* (January, 1905). The severe northern winter interrupted the campaign; but in March, 1905, the Japanese resumed their advance. The *Battle of Mukden* was the most tremendous military struggle the world had seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battle front extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed, and driven back on Harbin.

Togo's naval victory

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, a huge fleet,

far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, had set out on the long voyage from the Baltic. By a breach of neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near Southern China; and in May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in the greatest of the world's naval battles.

Treaty of Portsmouth

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, now "offered his good offices" to secure peace; and a meeting of envoys was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, N. H.), at which the *Treaty of Portsmouth* was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the Port Arthur branch of her railroad to China, (3) to recognize a Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, — an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875.

The most important results of the war were indirect results. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and toward India, as well as in the Far East, and the collapse of her despotic government gave opportunity for the beginning of a great revolution in society and politics (p. 592). Her defeat was a blessing to her own people. On the other hand, victory intensified imperialistic and militaristic tendencies in Japan, and her cruel rule in Korea soon alienated much of the sympathy her gallantry had won in America and England.

The Chinese Revolution

One other change, vast and beneficent, is at least closely connected with the war. China had recently begun to follow Japan's example in sending part of her youth abroad to complete their education, especially to America; and Western ideas had begun to spread among the mandarin class. The national humiliation in the war with Japan in 1894 and in the Boxer War, and now the marvelous victory of Westernized Japan over Russia, reinforced the advocates of Western civilization for

China. In 1909 the regent (Empress Dowager, whose Emperor-son was still a babe) promised a constitution "in the near future." The agitation of the Liberals then forced her to fix the date for 1913. But this was not soon enough. In 1911 Central China rose in revolution, to make the many provinces of the empire into a federal republic.

The movement spread with marvelous rapidity, and in a few weeks the Republicans, in possession of the richest and most populous parts of the empire, set up a provisional republican government, at Nanking, under the presidency of an enlightened patriot, *Dr. Sun Yat Sen*. In an attempt to save the monarchy, the Empress then issued a constitution, and called to power a moderate reformer, *Yuan Shih Kai* (yoo-an she ki). When it quickly appeared that this was not enough, the Manchus abdicated. Yuan Shih Kai established a provisional republican government at Peking, and opened negotiations with the Nanking government. To remove all hindrance to union, Sun Yat Sen resigned. Then the two provisional governments elected Yuan Shih Kai president of the "Republic of China."

China a republic

In April, 1913, the first Chinese parliament assembled, representing four hundred million people. The new president, however, proved self-seeking and reactionary. Leading Liberals were assassinated, supposedly by his orders, and probably only his own death kept him from making himself emperor. The Peking government remains (1922) virtually a military dictatorship; but in the south a progressive republic was soon reconstructed under Dr. Sun.

A fourth of the population of the globe cannot be expected to lift itself into civilization and orderly freedom in a day. Progress in China, however, has gone much further than a mere change in external political forms. Western types of schools and of industry have been introduced over wide areas in the brief period, 1913–1922; and much advance has been made in freeing women from ancient servile customs — like that of binding the feet.

On the other hand, while the Western World was occupied

in war in 1915, and while China was still too much distracted by revolution to offer effective resistance, Japan forced the Peking government to accept treaties embodying a now famous set of "twenty-one points," by which the aggressive island empire secured great control in the internal affairs of its huge neighbor.

IV. A SUMMARY OF DEMOCRATIC ADVANCE

Growth of constitutionalism

The marvelous story of China's transformation makes this a good place to sum up the world's political advance down to the World War. As late as 1830, we have seen, England, Switzerland, and Norway were the only Old-World countries which were not absolute despotisms; and these countries were far from being the democracies they are now. During the remaining two thirds of the nineteenth century, constitutional government spread eastward from England through Europe, and west from the United States to Japan. In 1900 Russia and little Montenegro (with the possessions of Turkey) were the only European states still unaffected by the movement, along with Turkey, Persia, China, and Siam in Asia; and in 1913 Siam was the only sovereign state on this earth without a representative assembly and some degree of constitutional government. The story has been told for all countries except Persia and Turkey.

In Persia the Shah was induced, by a peaceful but general middle-class demand, to grant a constitution in 1906. On his death (1907), the new monarch attempted to overthrow the liberal movement by force, but a general revolt deposed him and restored the constitution, seating a boy upon the throne under the guidance of liberal ministers. This government, however, was far too weak to withstand the encroachments of Russia and England upon the country; and Persia remained distracted by revolts.

In the Turkish Empire a "Young Turk" party established a parliament in 1908 by an almost bloodless revolution — since the army officers very largely joined the movement. It must be understood, however, that constitutionalism has as yet taken little hold upon the most of the people.

More significant, too, than the introduction of representative forms in Oriental lands was the swift extension of the suffrage

in the civilized countries — to full manhood suffrage and then to equal suffrage for all men and women. This topic has been treated in detail in the story of the several countries. (See index for reviews.)

V. MAKING "ALLIANCES" FOR PEACE

The new social solidarity had its peril as well as its promise. By 1910, Europe had fallen into two hostile camps, the *Triple Alliance* and the *Triple Entente*.

The Triple Alliance

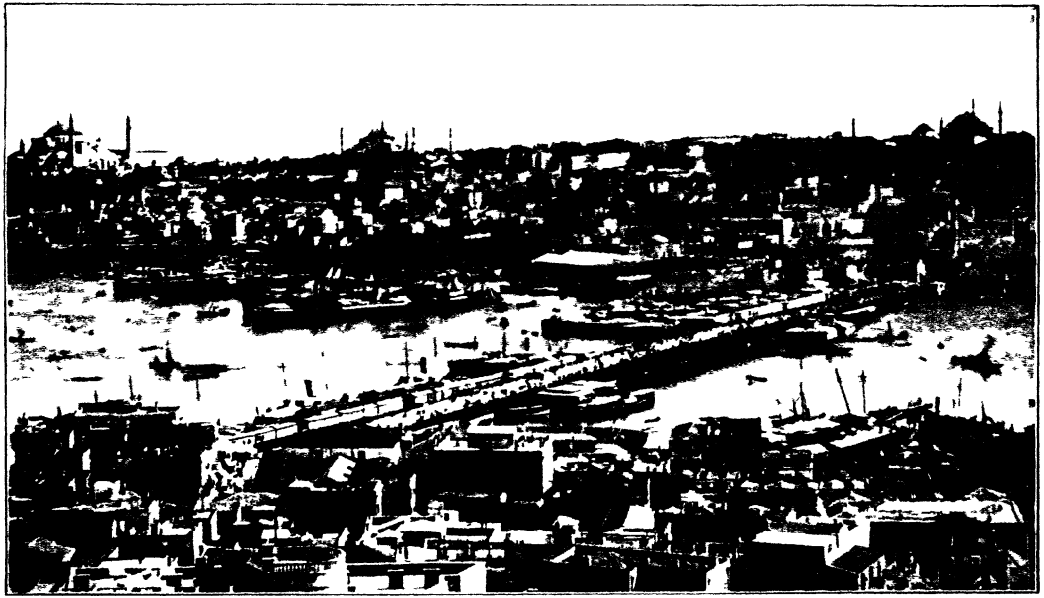
1. After 1871 Bismarck sought to isolate France, so as to keep her from finding any ally in a possible "war of revenge." To this end he cultivated friendship especially with Russia and Austria. Austria he had beaten in war only a few years earlier (1866); but the ruling German element in Austria was quite ready now to find backing in the powerful and successful German Empire.

Bismarck prefers Austria to Russia

Soon, however, Bismarck found that he must choose between Austria and Russia. These two were bitter rivals for control in the Balkans. The Slav peoples there, recently freed from the Turks, looked naturally to Russia, who had won their freedom for them, as the "Big Brother" of all Slavs and all Greek religionists. But Austria, shut out now from control in Central Europe, was bent upon aggrandizement to the south. In particular her statesmen meant to win a strip of territory through to Saloniki, on the Aegean, so that, with a railroad thither, they might control the rich Aegean trade. Now Serbia, one of these Slav states, dreamed of a South Slav state reaching to the Adriatic, — which would interpose an insuperable Slav barrier across the path of Austria's ambition. Accordingly Austria sought always to keep Serbia weak and small; while Russia, hating Austria even more than she loved the Balkan Slavs, backed Serbia. (Map, p. 625.)

This rivalry between Austria and Russia became so acute by 1879 that there was always danger of war; and in that year Bismarck chose to side with Austria as the surer ally. Accordingly he formed a definite written alliance with Austria to the effect that Germany would help Austria in case she had a war

PLATE CI



CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GOLDEN HORN, — a view from an airplane.

with Russia, and Austria would help Germany in case she were attacked by France and any other Power. Two years later, while Italy was bitterly enraged at the French seizure of Tunis (p. 555), Bismarck added Italy to his league, making it the Triple Alliance.

Italy drawn into Bismarck's league

2. Then Russia and France, each isolated in Europe, drew together for mutual protection into a "Dual Alliance" (1893). England long held aloof from both leagues. In the eighties and nineties, England and France were bitter rivals in Africa, and England and Russia, in Asia. But after Bismarck's fall, England began to see in the German emperor's colonial ambitions a more threatening rival than France; and Russia's defeat by Japan made Russia less dangerous. German militarism, too, was deeply hateful to English democracy. Moreover, England and France were daily coming to a better understanding, and in 1903 a sweeping arbitration treaty put any war between them almost out of question. Soon afterward, England and Russia succeeded in agreeing upon a line in Persia which should separate the "influence" of one power in that country from the "influence" of the other, so removing all immediate prospect of trouble between the two. From this time the Dual Alliance became the Triple Entente — England, France, and Russia. England was not bound by definite treaty to give either country aid in war; but it was plain that France and Russia were her friends.

The Dual Alliance of 1893

England's "splendid isolation"

The Triple Entente

Each of the two huge armed leagues always protested that its aim was peace, and for half a century after 1871 Europe did have no war, except the struggles in the half-savage Balkans. But this "peace" was based upon fear, and it was costly. Year by year, each alliance strove to make its armies and navies mightier than the other's. Huge and huger cannon were invented, only to be cast into the scrap heap for still huger ones. A dreadnought costing millions was scrapped in a few months by some costlier design. The burden upon the workers and the evil moral influences of such armaments were only less than the burden and evil of war (p. 563). In every land voices began to cry out that it was all needless: that the world was too Christian and too wise ever again to let itself be desolated by a

The alliances and peace

great war. And then came some interesting if not very zealous efforts to find new machinery by which to guard against war — in standing arbitration treaties, permanent international tribunals like the Hague Court, and occasional World Congresses.

VI. INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

The first modern "arbitration"

The first case of arbitration between nations in modern times was arranged by one clause[1] of the Jay Treaty of 1794 between England and the United States. For nearly a hundred years this sensible device continued to be used mainly by the two English-speaking nations; but before the close of the nineteenth century it began to spread rapidly to other lands. During that century several hundred disputes were settled honorably, peacefully, and justly by this process.

But in each of these cases a special treaty had to be negotiated before arbitration could begin — with every chance for war before such an arrangement could be made. Now the closing years of the nineteenth century saw agitation for "*general arbitration treaties*" by which nations might agree *in advance* to submit disputes to a certain court of arbitrators. In 1897 a treaty of this kind between England and the United States failed of adoption because of opposition in the United States Senate, though it had been recommended vigorously first by President Cleveland and afterward by President McKinley. Then leadership in this great movement passed for the time away from the English-speaking peoples.

The Hague Congress of 1899

On August 24, 1898, by order of Tsar Nicholas (a sentimental lover of peace), the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the representatives of the different nations in St. Petersburg a written suggestion for a *world conference* to consider some means for arresting the danger of war and for lessening the burden of the armed peace. Out of this suggestion there grew the *Hague Peace Conference* of 1899. Twenty-six nations were represented, including Mexico, Siam, Japan, China, and Persia, — practically all the independent states of the world except

Germany defeats proposals for disarming

[1] Regarding the disputed boundary between Maine and Nova Scotia, see West's *American History and Government*, § 232, or *American People*, § 406.

the South American republics. Never before had any gathering so nearly approached a "parliament of man." It was found impossible to put any limit upon armament, because the German representatives refused to consider that matter; but agreements were reached to regulate the methods of war in the interests of greater humanity (futile though such agreements were soon to prove), and, in spite of German opposition, the Congress provided a standing International Tribunal for arbitration between nations.

No nation was compelled to submit its quarrels to this Hague Tribunal, but machinery was now ready so that nations could escape war, without loss of dignity, if they desired. (In the following years many important cases were so settled.) The next step was for groups of nations to pledge themselves to make use of this machinery, or of similar machinery. This pledge is the essence of a "general arbitration treaty."

hili and rgentina

While the Hague Conference was sitting, Chili and Argentina (which had not been invited to the Conference) were on the verge of war over a boundary dispute in the Andes. For the next two years both governments made vigorous preparations, — piling up war taxes, increasing armaments, building and buying ships of war. But at the last moment a popular movement, led by bishops of the Catholic Church in the two countries, brought about arbitration; and soon after, the boundary was adjusted rationally by a commission of geographers and legal experts. So well pleased were the two nations with this individual case of arbitration that they proceeded to adopt a "general treaty" by which they bound themselves, for a period of five years, to submit *all* disputes which might arise between them to a specific tribunal.

This was the first "general arbitration treaty" ever actually adopted (June, 1903). But others were already in preparation in Europe; and, four months later (October, 1903), France and England adopted one, agreeing to submit future disputes to the Hague Tribunal. Others followed swiftly, until most civilized states (except Germany) were joined with one or more other states in such agreements, usually, however, with important

reservations as to "national honor," which often destroyed the force of the agreement.

Spanish America

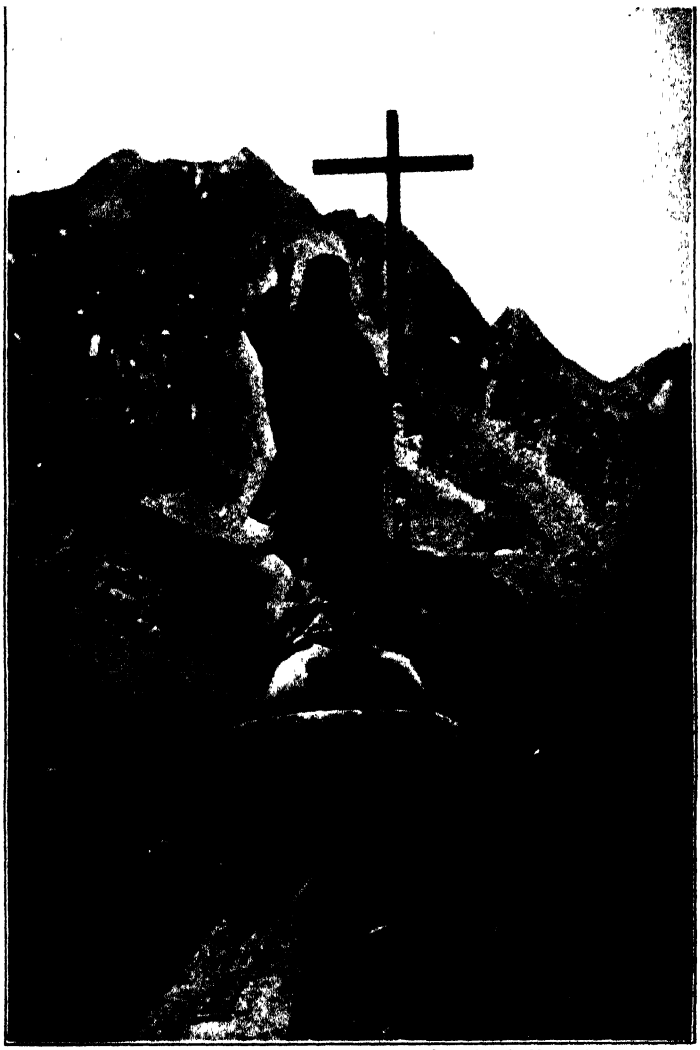
The splendid example to the world set by Argentina and Chile (p. 617 above), suggests forcibly that the Spanish-American states must be taken into account in the future world progress. These two, with Brazil, are the leading South American countries. In recent years the three have shown a growing disposition to act in close agreement in foreign relations, so that they are sometimes referred to (from their initials) as the A B C Concert. The first striking instance of such concert was a joint suggestion from the three in 1915 for mediation between the United States and Mexico, — apparently with view to protecting Mexico against unfriendly designs mistakenly attributed to the United States. (Cf. West's *American People*, 703–4.)

How the Spanish-American states became independent has been briefly told (pp. 457–460). Argentina's war of independence lasted from 1816 to 1823. Some years of turbulent disorder followed; but the adoption of the present republican constitution, in 1853, issued in an orderly and stable era of progress. The country comprises fourteen "States" and ten "Territories," under a federal system similar to that of the United States. In the 'sixties, the government began to build up an excellent system of public schools, with Normal schools officered largely by teachers drawn from the United States. The population is about as large as that of Canada; and indeed Canada and Argentina may be said to be close rivals for second place in power and civilization upon the Western continent.

Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1821, but it kept a monarchic government until 1889. In that year the "emperor," Dom Pedro II, bowed magnanimously to the rising republican sentiment of the country, and, by his abdication, removed the danger of a violent revolution. Brazil's area is greater than that of the United States, but the country is mainly undeveloped. Of a population of 25 millions, only about a third are Whites, and these are settled near the coast.

These two states are perhaps the most progressive of the South

PLATE CII



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THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES.

A monument of good-will standing at an elevation of 12,000 feet on the boundary line between Chili and Argentina, erected by the two countries to commemorate their arbitration of the boundary dispute.

PLATE CIII

COPOCABANA, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro, showing the entrance to that city's famous harbor.

South American trade

American republics, though some of the others press them closely. Until very recent times, the main interest of the outside world in these countries has been in regard to their trade. They export large quantities of agricultural products and of raw materials. Argentina sends to Europe immense shipments of frozen meats and of hides and grain. Brazil exports coffee, sugar, tobacco, cotton, rubber, cocoa, dyewoods, and nuts. Chile sells costly nitrates and large supplies of precious metals. They are making rapid progress in manufacturing; but they are still buyers of factory goods on a large scale.

The trade of the South American countries is largely in the hands of England — though before the World War Germany had begun to make rapid inroads upon England's control. In spite of her favorable position geographically, the United States has not a sixth as much of that trade as England has.

One of the promising features in present world conditions, however, is the marked tendency in the United States for the people to free themselves from their old ignorant and silly contempt for Spanish America. The increased attention to Spanish in our high schools is a hopeful sign. A true understanding of one another's civilization between the great Republic of the northern continent and its younger sisters to the south will count for progress in many ways — of which improved trade relations will be only the least important.

Hague Congress of 1907

In 1907 a Second Hague Conference met at the suggestion of the United States. This time the South American republics were represented. The Conference extended somewhat the work of the first meeting. But again England's proposals to limit navies and armies failed *because of opposition from Germany and Austria.* It was growing more and more plain that all these noble efforts for peace were vain unless supplemented by radical measures of disarmament; and Germany's implacable opposition had made it plain that this was unattainable except by a better organized world.

Germany's resistance to disarmament was due of course to the militaristic spirit dominating her government (p. 504),

but it was also closely connected with her insistent feeling that she must acquire (by force, since she saw no other way) a larger "place in the sun," — greater colonial dominion. The nineteenth century "expansion" of Europe into Africa and Asia (unlike the colonial expansion of the eighteenth century) had been carried forward at the expense of savage or semi-barbarous peoples only. For a hundred years no "great" war had been waged between Christian nations avowedly for greed. Indeed, toward the close, whenever one nation made an important seizure of booty, some international conference arranged compensatory gains for any seriously discontented rival[1] — and so preserved temporarily a delicate "balance" of interests.

And the approach of war

But this balance was one of exceedingly unstable equilibrium. A touch might tip it into universal ruin. *And there were no materials to continue adjusting it on the old plan.* The world was now parceled out. Further expansion of consequence by any "power" meant direct conflict with some other "power." Moreover, so complicated had rivalries and alliances become, any conflict at all now meant a *world* conflict; and, so "improved" were agencies of destruction, a world struggle now meant ruin out of all comparison with earlier wars.

To-day this is plain enough. But until the late summer of 1913 the certain danger was glimpsed but dimly (outside the German war lords) and by only a few "dreamers." Complacently the peoples and their "practical" statesmen continued to drift on the brink of unparalleled disaster. They did not seriously expect ever to use their crushing armaments; but neither did they resolutely seek to get rid of them and to develop this feeble arbitration movement into a real guarantee of peace.

FOR FURTHER READING. Eduard Fueter's *World History* and W. S. Robertson's *History of the Latin-American Nations*, — two excellent books that appeared in 1922.

[1] Twice this was done for Germany in reference to African territory — in 1905 and 1911.

PART XVI — THE WORLD WAR

CHAPTER LXIII

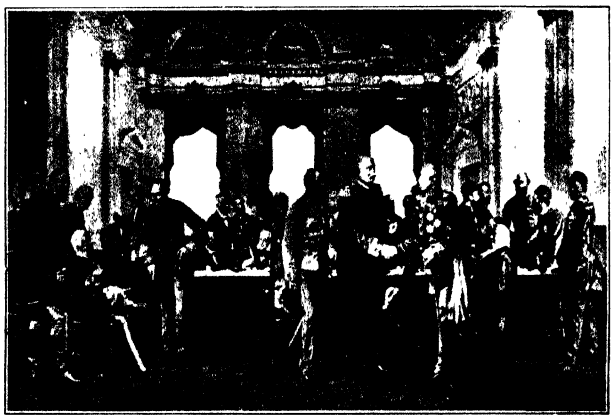
THE CONFLAGRATION BURSTS FORTH

I. THE BALKAN SITUATION

The Balkan lands and peoples

We have seen the materials heaped for a world conflagration (pp. 614-615). A fuse was furnished by the Balkan situation. The little Balkan district is a crumpled criss-cross of interlacing mountains and valleys, peopled by tangled fragments of six distinct and mutually hostile peoples: the *Turk*, long encamped as a conqueror among subject Christian populations, but for the last hundred years slowly thrust back toward Constantinople; the *Greeks*, *mainly* in the southern peninsula, with the *Albanians* just to the north along the Adriatic; the *Roumanians*, mainly north of the Danube; and, between Greece and Roumania, the *Bulgarians* and *Serbs*. The "Bulgars" (on the east, toward the Black Sea) came into the peninsula in the eighth century as conquerors from Central Asia. Originally baggy-trousered nomads, akin to Tartars, they have become essentially Slavic in blood by absorption into the peoples among whom they settled; but they keep a ruinous "patriotic" pride in their ancient history as a race of conquerors. The Serbs are the most direct representatives of the South Slavs who conquered and settled the Balkan region two hundred years before the appearance of the Bulgars; but in 1910 their ancient empire was still in fragments from accidents of Turkish rule. Bosnia, the northwestern part, had maintained itself against the conquering Turk longest, and, becoming a distinct province under the Turks, had never been reunited to the rest of Serbia. The

lands of the Croats and Slovenes were reconquered from Turkey by Hungary in the eighteenth century, and had long been subject provinces of the Austrian Empire — though they belonged to Serbia by race, language, and older history. And in the fastnesses of Montenegro ("Black Mountain") dwelt some two hundred thousand half-savage Serbs who had never yielded to the Turk but had kept their independence at the expense of "five hundred years of ferocious heroism."



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN IN 1878. Bismarck in the central foreground is clasping the hand of the Russian representative. Lord Salisbury, the English delegate, is seated on the left. Turkish and Bulgarian representatives are indicated by their headgear.

Rise of independent Slav states

We have seen how the rule of the Turk in the Balkans began to disintegrate. Greece won independence in an eight-year war (1821–1828); and Roumania and Serbia were advanced to the position of merely tributary states, ruled thenceforth by their own princes. The Crimean War (1856), in which France and England attacked Russia, bolstered up the tottering Ottoman Empire for a time, but a great collapse came twenty years later. The Sultan had promised many reforms for his Christian subjects; but these promises bore no fruit, and in 1875–1876 the Bosnians and Bulgarians rose for independence. There followed the horrible events long known as the "Bulgarian Atrocities." Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred Bulgarian

villages with every form of devilish torture imaginable, and massacred 30,000 people, carrying off also thousands of Christian girls into terrible slavery. Then Serbia sprang to arms; and Tsar Alexander II of Russia declared war on Turkey. The horror in Western Europe at the crimes of the Turk prevented for a time any interference; and in ten months the Russian armies held the Turks at their mercy. The Peace of San Stefano (1878) arranged for a group of free Slav states in the peninsula and for the exclusion of Turkey from Europe except for the city of Constantinople.

Russo-Turkish War of 187

But now Europe intervened. Austria wanted a share of Balkan plunder; England feared the advance of Russia toward her communications with India; and so the Peace of San Stefano was torn up. The Congress of Berlin (p. 524), dominated by Disraeli, the English Conservative, restored half the freed Christian populations to their old slavery under the Turk; handed over Bosnia to Austria to "administer" for Turkey, *with a solemn provision that Austria should never annex the territory to her own realms;* and left the whole Balkan district in anarchy for a third of a century more. In fixing responsibility for the World War of 1914, this crime of 1878 cannot be overlooked.

Congress of Berlin, 1878

It is only fair to note that while the English government was chiefly responsible for that crime, the English people promptly repudiated it at the polls. Gladstone came forth from retirement to stump England against the "shameful alliance with Abdul the Assassin"; and at the next elections (1880), Disraeli was overthrown by huge majorities. The wrong to the Balkans could not then be undone, but from this time England drew away from her old policy of courting Turkish friendship — wherein her place was quickly taken by Germany.

In return, the Kaiser expected to make Turkey into a vassal state; and the prospect of German dominance in Asia Minor brought Germany and Austria into closer sympathy in their Balkan policies. Austria's interference in those regions had been purely bad, aiming to keep the little Balkan states weak and mutually hostile, and especially to pre-

German a Austrian plans at o

vent the growth of a "Greater Serbia." Now (1898, 1899), Germany obtained concessions from Turkey for a railway from "Berlin to Bagdad," to open up the fabulously rich Oriental trade. A powerful Serbia, through which that line must pass, might have hampered the project. Thenceforward Germany was ready to back Austria unreservedly in Balkan aggression. And in return, Austria permitted herself to sink virtually into a vassal of Germany in all other foreign relations. Such was the origin of the German dream of a "Mittel-Europa" empire, reaching across Europe from the North Sea to the Aegean and the Black seas, and on through Asia Minor to the Euphrates.

The "Middle-Europe" dream

In 1908 came a step toward fulfilling the plan. Taking advantage of internal dissensions in Turkey that followed the reforms by the young Turks (p. 613), Austria formally annexed Bosnia, in flat contradiction to her solemn pledges. This was not only a brutal stroke at the sanctity of treaties, but it seemed also a fatal blow to any hope for a reunion of that Slav district with Serbia. Serbia protested earnestly, and was supported by Russia. But the Kaiser "took his stand in shining armor by the side of his ally," as he himself put it; and Russia, still weak from her defeat by Japan and from her revolution of 1906, had to back down.

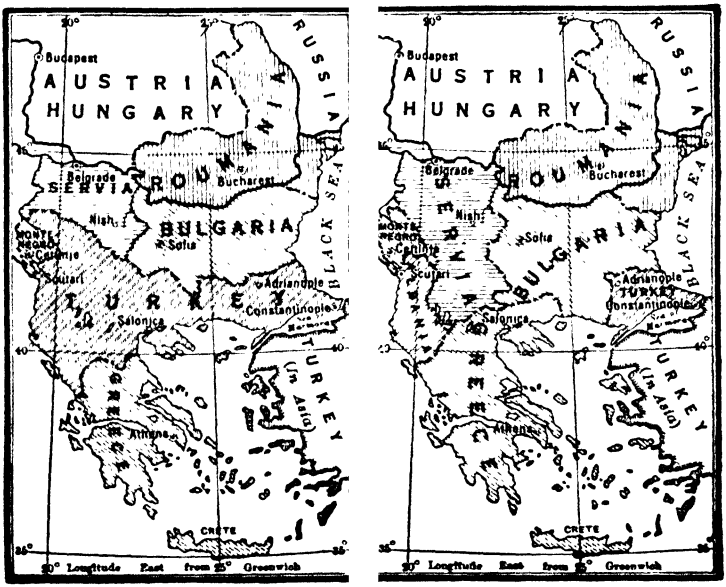
Austria annexes Bosnia, 1908

Then came an event less favorable to the Teutonic designs. United action by the mutually hostile Balkan states had seemed impossible. But in 1912, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece suddenly joined in a war to drive the Turk out of Europe. The allies won swift victories, and in a few months were almost at the gates of Constantinople. "Europe" intervened to arrange the peace terms. Italy, like Austria, was hostile to a Greater Serbia; and at the insistence of these powers, backed by Germany, a new Kingdom of Albania was created, shutting off Serbia once more from the sea she had reached, while Montenegro was forced, by threat of war, to give up to Albania Scutari, which she had conquered. Turkey was to surrender, mostly to Bulgaria, her remaining territory in Europe except for Constantinople. Germany had carried her points in this

Balkan Wars of 1912, 1913

settlement; but her ally, Turkey, had collapsed, and events were at once to show that in siding with Bulgaria she had blundered again.

The treaty left Bulgaria almost the only gainer. The cheated allies demanded that she now share her gains with them. She



THE BALKAN STATES.

refused; and at once (June, 1913) followed "the Second Balkan War." Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania attacked Bulgaria. The Turks seized the chance to reoccupy Adrianople and were permitted to keep it. In a month Bulgaria was crushed, and a new division of booty was arranged. Greece won the richest prize, including the city of Saloniki; but each of the other allies secured gains.

The primitive Balkan peoples now hated one another with an intensified ferocity. Especially did Bulgar now hate Serb and Greek. Serbia, too, was still cheated of her proper desire for an outlet on the Adriatic, her only natural gateway to the

outside world, and she resented fiercely the Austrian and Italian policy which had so balked her — especially as Austria now shut out all her pork, and so made valueless her droves of pigs, her chief form of wealth. Austria felt deeply humiliated by the outcome of the Second Balkan War, and was planning to redress her loss of prestige by striking Serbia savagely on the first occasion.

Preparedness breaks down of its own weight

There followed in 1913 a new and ominous stride in militarism. First Germany adopted a new army bill, to increase her army *in peace* from 650,000 to 870,000. Three weeks later (July 20) France raised her term of active service from two years to three, and Austria and Russia at once took like measures. Each country of course found excuse for further efforts in the like efforts by its rivals; and in private, in increasing numbers, statesmen and generals declared their conviction that a great war was at hand. This was especially true in Germany. For some years the Kaiser had inclined, on the whole, to the maintenance of peace and had been a moderating influence in the councils of the warlords. But early in 1914 he announced repeatedly that war with France was inevitable, and so delivered himself into the hands of the war party. The American Colonel House, in Berlin in May on a diplomatic mission from President Wilson, was appalled at the dominance of the military spirit. "The whole of Germany," he wrote, "is charged with electricity . . . It needs only a spark to set the whole thing off."

II. WAR GUILT

Drifting

One reason why the world drifted so complacently toward catastrophe was the general belief (outside diplomatic and military circles) that, despite their armaments, the great "Christian" states were too good or at least too wise ever again to engage in war with one another — with the terrible ruin that such war must bring under modern conditions. And this belief was in itself a safeguard. The catastrophe would at least have been postponed, except that one great government did not share the faith in peace, or the desire for it. Other countries were

infected with imperialistic greed; but in Germany, in peculiar measure, that imperialism had struck hands with a blatant and pervading militarism.

Prussian militarism

For half a century Germany had been ruled by a Prussian despotism resting upon an old bigoted and arrogant oligarchy of birth, and a new, greedy, scheming oligarchy of money. That rule had conferred on Germany many benefits. It had cared for the people as zealously as the herdsman cares for the flocks he expects to shear. But in doing so it had amazingly transformed the old peace-loving, gentle German people. It had taught that docile race to bow to Authority rather than to Right; to believe Germany stronger, wiser, better, than "decaying" England, "decadent and licentious" France, "uncouth and anarchic" Russia, or "money-serving" America; to be ready to accept a program, at the word of command, for imposing German *Kultur* upon the rest of the world *by force;* to regard war, even aggressive war, not as horrible and sinful, but as beautiful, desirable, and right, — the final measure of a nation's worth, and the divinely appointed means for saving the world by German conquest.

This diseased "patriotism" began with the war-begotten Empire. As early as 1872, Von Schellendorf, Prussian War-Minister, wrote: —

"Out of their own mouths"

"Do not forget the civilizing task which Providence assigns us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the new Germany shall be the nucleus of a future Empire of the West. . . . We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, . . . and finally northern France. . . . No coalition of the world can stop us." Leaders of German thought adopted this tone, until it dominated pulpit, press, university, and all society. Treitschke, a leading historian, could teach impiously: "War is part of the divinely appointed order. . . . War is both justifiable and moral, and the idea of perpetual peace is both impossible and immoral. . . . The salvation of Germany can be attained only by the annihilation of the smaller states." School children had these ideas drilled into them. *Jung Deutschland,* official organ of the Young German League (an organization corresponding in a rough way to our Boy Scouts), explained specifically: "*War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity.* For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart

must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; *war is beautiful*. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blucher; and all the men of action — the great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck — are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. . . . *That is the heaven of young Germany.*"

And so on, almost without end. It is no pleasant task now to recall how this monstrous ritual of war-idolatry was chanted so universally by the leaders of a great nation, to foment international suspicion and bloodshed. Nor is it recorded here to throw discredit on the new Germany struggling, since the war, toward a better life. But the story must be recorded, because it carries a lesson for the world, a lesson for the conquerors of Germany "lest *they* forget," — lest in the rebound from victorious war, they bow down in a like worship of violence before some misshapen idol of nationalism.

Protests few and weak

True, a few lonely voices, mainly Socialists, protested against this doctrine of insolent and ruthless Might. Indeed the bulk of the peasants and artisans wished not war but peace; but these were *silent* social forces, unorganized and passive. And even these elements were deeply influenced by the persistent propaganda that England hated their country and was only waiting a chance to destroy it. Between 1912 and 1914, to be sure, the German ambassador to England, Prince Lichnowsky,[1] repeatedly assured his government of England's friendly and pacific feeling. But these communications, so out of tune with the purpose of the German government, never reached the German people.

[1] This cultivated and able German Liberal, wholly free from the spirit of German jingoism, had been selected for the position apparently in order to blind English opinion as to Germany's warlike aims. When the war came, he found himself in disgrace with the Kaiser and the German court; and at the opening of the second year of the war (August, 1916) he wrote an account of his London mission for *private* circulation among his friends, to justify himself in their eyes. A copy fell into the hands of the Allies during the next year, and became at once one of the most valuable proofs of the German guilt in forcing on the war.

It is to be added, too, that leaders of the Junkers and of the capitalist class looked to foreign war as the only means of preserving their class rule at home against the rising tide of social reform. In June, 1914, the Kiel Canal was finally opened to the passage of the largest ships of war — so that the German navy could pass quickly from the Baltic to the North Sea without exposure to hostile guns. Now Germany was ready, and her warlords were growing anxious to use their preparation before it grew stale — and before France and Russia, somewhat alarmed now, should have time to put into effect their new army laws (p. 626). Moreover, Russia was distracted by violent strikes of revolutionary workingmen; France, by a tumultuous resistance to her new army law; and England, by an embryo civil war in Ireland (p. 532).

The occasion — when the time was ripe

And now came just the kind of occasion the German warlords wished. Ever since its unjust seizure by Austria, Bosnia had been seething with conspiracies against Austrian rule. June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Francis, while in Bosnia, was assassinated, with his wife, by some of these conspirators — who, it is now known, included Serb officers.

Europe was aghast. Horror at the dastardly murder was mingled with fear of a great European war. If Austria used this murder as an excuse to crush Serbia, Russia would surely defend that country. A conflict between Austria and Russia could not but draw in at once Germany and France; but Germany and Austria felt secure, because they believed that England, having no selfish interests any longer in the Balkans, would not fight on such a question.

Austria's ultimatum

Austria had long looked upon her unruly little neighbor to the south very much as some Americans look upon Mexico. Now Austrian papers loudly declared Serbia responsible for the murder, inasmuch as she had not suppressed societies of conspirators within her borders agitating for Bosnian liberation. A month passed quietly; but, during that time, the Austrian government *secretly* obtained from the German Kaiser a promise of support "to the hilt" in whatever action it might decide to

take. Then, July 23, without warning, Austria launched her forty-eight hour ultimatum to Serbia — demands that would have degraded that country into a mere vassal state, and *which*, the minutes of the Austrian Cabinet show, *were purposely made impossible of acceptance*. In twelve days a world-conflagration was ablaze. Certain facts regarding the negotiations during those days are significant.

England's efforts for peace

Austria was entitled, in world opinion, to some sort of reparation from Serbia and to greater security for the future. Accordingly, *England persuaded Serbia to offer humble submission* (reserving only her national independence), and then implored Germany to help get Austria's consent to arbitrate the remaining points. Failing this, England pleaded, in vain, that Germany herself suggest some plan to preserve peace.

The German response

The only "peace plan" Germany had to suggest was to "localize" the war by an agreement of the great powers to allow Austria her will with Serbia. It is likely that at first the German government expected, not the huge crime of a world war, but only the bloody destruction of Serbia — which would gratify and strengthen its ally Austria and also remove an awkward obstacle from the path of German ambition (p. 624). Moreover, if Russia *could* be intimidated or persuaded to abandon Serbia to ruin, the small Slav peoples would never again trust to Russia's protection against German plans among them; and that result would be worth as much to Germany as victory over Russia in war.

Russia mobilizes

But Russia gave no sign of backing down. Austrian cannon were already battering Belgrade; and (July 29), unable to obtain a satisfactory pledge that Serbia would be left independent, Russia began to mobilize.[1] Late that night, now that a *general* war seemed more

[1] Some Russian "statesmen" had long been anxious to use the Balkan disorders as an excuse for seizing Constantinople; and (especially in 1913) they had carried on *secret* negotiations with such French leaders as Poincaré as to division of spoils in case of a general war. True, there is no proof that the *Frenchmen* looked to *causing* a war; but it is true, too, that any such negotiations were a dangerous part of an immoral international system. They made the partakers more willing for war; and distorted rumors about them made the Teutonic powers more ready to believe war inevitable (p. 626). It is true, however, that in France any *open* advocacy of a war for national aggrandizement would have been received unfavorably.

imminent, Germany hesitated and strongly urged her ally to renew negotiations with Russia — though at the same time she carefully disclaimed any idea of suggesting that the conquest of Serbia should pause meanwhile.

The Tsar had ordered only a *partial* mobilization, against Austria; but his ministers trickily took advantage of the order to begin instead a *general* mobilization, and by the morning of the thirty-first they had finally persuaded their master that that step was necessary if Russia were not to back down altogether. But Russian general mobilization threatened German safety, though perhaps not very immediately. Some members of the German war-council thought the danger could be adequately met by counter-mobilization — which would still leave time for negotiations; but the majority and the Kaiser decided that, to get full advantage from her better military organization, Germany must strike first, before the unwieldy Russian giant should really be ready. So, on that same morning (July 31), a German ultimatum gave Russia the choice of stopping her mobilization within twelve hours or accepting war. Russia declared that day for war.

German ultimatum

Here then is the order of war breeding events: (1) Germany's foolish "blank check" to Austria; (2) Austria's criminal ultimatum to Serbia, followed swiftly by invasion; (3) Russia's over-hasty mobilization, at a moment, too, when Germany seemed ready to draw back; and (4) Germany's warlike ultimatum to Russia.

Germany and Russia were each *afraid* to wait, lest the other gain some advantage. And there was no world organization to hold them back until a proper settlement could be considered. One cause of the war was this lack of a world organization to secure justice and so prevent war.

On that same fateful July 31st, Germany demanded of France that she choose at once between peace and war, and that, if she decided to remain neutral, she should permit German troops to occupy her great fortresses of Toul and Verdun as a guarantee. France, of course, chose war (August 1). That day Germany demanded of Belgium that she allow German troops to pass through her territory against France — a demand contrary to solemn treaty obligations of both countries.[1] Two

[1] Prussia had been one of several powers to join (1839) in guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality; and at the formation of the German Empire that state

Germany invades Belgium

days later (August 3), on Belgium's refusal, German armies invaded that little country, as the easiest road to Paris. This deed shifted world attention from Austria, as the aggressor against Serbia, to Germany as the aggressor against the sacredness of treaties and the safety of small neutral nations. The same day, England "went in," as her government had strongly intimated to Germany she would do if Belgian neutrality were violated.[1]

Preparation

This sadly upset German calculations. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg had not believed that "shop-keeping England" would fight; and to the departing English ambassador he expressed bitterly his amazement that she should do so anyway "just for a scrap of paper." But, after all, Germany was prepared for war "to the last shoe-lace," and her opponents were unprepared. Least of all was England ready. She had no army worth mentioning — only a few distant and scattered garrisons; and, worse still she had no arms for her eager volunteers and no adequate factories for making munitions.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best treatment up to this time (1925) is to be found in Gooch, *Modern Europe, 1878-1919* (published in 1922), especially pp. 520-559. The best of the earlier treatments are: Gibbons' *Introduction to World Politics;* Loreburn's *How the War Came;* Rose's *Origin of the War;* Carlton Hayes' *The Great War.*

had formally taken over all Prussia's treaty obligations. By the same treaty of 1839 Belgium was bound to defend her neutrality to the utmost of her power.

[1] The English ministers had been claiming in parliament and to foreign countries, that, so far as defending *France* was concerned, England was absolutely free to enter a war or not, according to her own judgment. Technically this was true. England had not been formally bound to aid France. At the same time, some of these same ministers had *secretly* entered into such engagements with the French government (as to the disposition of the English fleet, for instance) that, when the crisis came, they must have felt bound *in honor* to join France. England, however, was exceedingly averse to going to war upon a "continental matter"; and it is by no means sure that the ministry could have carried parliament or the nation with them if Germany had kept out of Belgium.

WINDSOR CASTLE
A home of the British Sovereign

CHAPTER LXIV

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

German plans

The Germans had planned a short war. They had expected (1) to go through Belgium swiftly with little opposition, and to take Paris within four weeks; (2) then to swing their strength against Russia before that unwieldy power could get into the war effectively, and crush her; and (3) with the Channel forts at command, to bring England easily to her knees, if she should really take part.

Thanks to Belgium, the first of these expectations fell through — and the others fell with it. The Germans had allowed *six* days to march through Belgium. But for sixteen days little Belgium held back mighty Germany. When the French began to gather their troops, after August 2, they began it to meet an honest attack through Lorraine; but before the Belgians were quite crushed, the French contrived to shift enough force to the north so that, along with a poorly equipped "Expeditionary Army" of 100,000 from England, they managed to delay the advance through northern France for three weeks more — ground for which the Germans had allowed eight days. Tremendously outnumbered, outflanked, trampled into the dust in a ceaseless series of desperate battles, the thin lines of Allied survivors fell back doggedly toward the Marne. There September 6, when the boastful invaders were in sight of the towers of Paris, the French and English turned at bay in a colossal battle along a two-hundred mile front. The Battle of the Marne wrecked the German plan. To save themselves from destruction the invaders then retreated hastily to the line of the Aisne, whence the exhausted Allies failed to dislodge them. Both sides "dug in" along a 360-mile front from Switzerland to the North Sea. Then began a trench war-

Battle of the Marne

fare, new in history; and, in spite of repeated and horrible slaughter, the positions were not materially changed until the final months four years later.

England's sea power

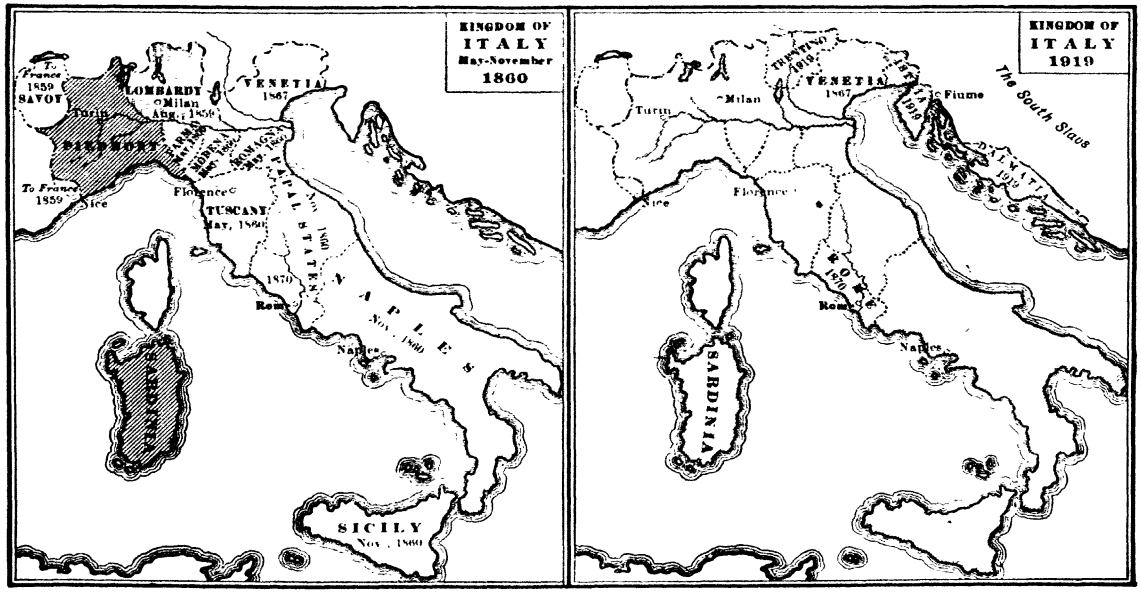
While England's first heroic army died devotedly to gain their country time, England organized herself for war, and eventually put into the field a splendid fighting force of six million men — a million ready for the second year. From the first, too, England's superb navy swept the seas, keeping the boastful German dreadnoughts bottled up in the South Baltic, and gradually running down the few German raiders that at first escaped to prey on English commerce. Except for the English navy, Germany must have won the war before the end of the second summer. England did not enforce her blockade of Germany rigidly, in the first months, for fear of offending unsettled opinion in America; but America's resources in food and munitions were for the most part closed to Germany, and were kept fully available for the Allies.

A "World War"

Meantime, the war was spreading. Within the first few weeks, England's distant daughter-commonwealths — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and even her subject India — were rousing themselves nobly to defend their common civilization. Japan, England's ally in the Orient, entered the war, too, to seize Germany's holdings in China and in the northern Pacific. Turkey had openly joined the Teutonic powers; and, in the second autumn, Bulgaria did so, hoping to wreak vengeance on Serbia for 1913 and to make herself the dominant Balkan state. In 1915, too, after driving a hard bargain with the Allies in a secret Pact of London, Italy broke away from the Triple Alliance and declared war on Austria.

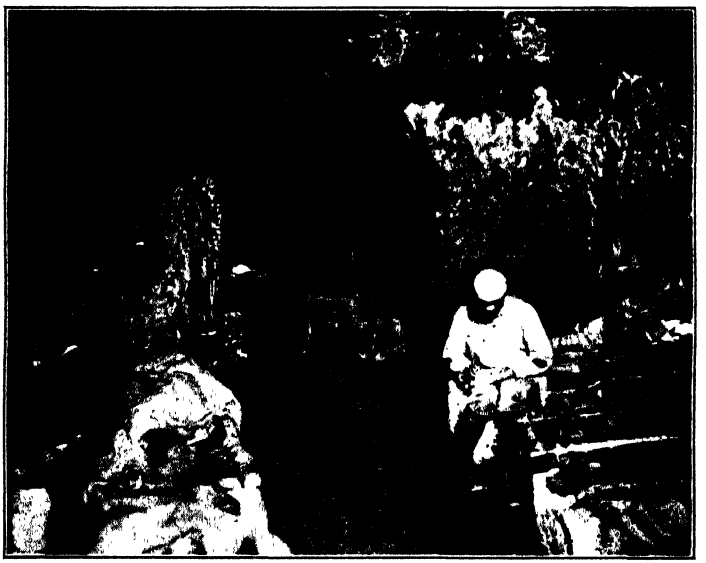
German success in the first two years

On the whole, however, the close of the first two years saw great gains for Germany. The Russian armies, after gallant fighting, betrayed by generals in the field and by a traitorous pro-German war office at home, had suffered indescribable losses; and Serbia, after heroic resistance, had been wiped from the map. Germany now dominated a solid broad belt of territory from Berlin and Brussels and Warsaw to Bagdad and Persia



ITALY IN 1860 AND IN 1919.

PLATE CIV



ABOVE. — FRENCH INFANTRY IN ACTION NEAR LORETTE. The photo shows a German shell bursting near the trench.

BELOW. — A FRENCH DUGOUT. The photo (taken by flashlight) shows exhausted soldiers sleeping, while one, on watch, is writing home.

(map, p. 645). True, she began to feel terribly the blockade of the English navy. Her stocks of fats, rubber, cotton, and copper were running low, and her poorer classes were suffering from undernourishment — as was shown by a horrible increase in the infant death rate. But the ruling classes felt no pinch, and looked hopefully now to the domination of the East to retrieve the markets.

New methods of warfare

From the first the warfare in the field was marked by new and ever more terrible ways of fighting, with increasing ferocity and horror from month to month. Ordinary cannon were replaced by huge new guns whose high explosives blasted the whole landscape into indescribable and irretrievable ruin — burying whole battalions alive, and forming great craters where snipers found the best shelter in future advances. Ordinary defense works were elaborated into many lines of connected trenches, protected by mazy entanglements of barbed wire and strengthened at intervals by bomb-proof "dugouts" and underground chambers of heavy timbers and cement. To plow through these intrenchments, cavalry gave way to monstrous, heavily armored motor-tanks. New guns belched deadly poison gases, slaying whole regiments in horrible strangling torture when the Germans first used this devilish device, and infernal "flame-throwers" wrapped whole ranks in liquid fire. Scouting was done, and gunfire directed, by airplanes equipped with new apparatus for wireless telegraphy and for photography; and daily these aërial scouts, singly or in fleets, met in deadly combat ten thousand feet above the ground, — combat that ended only when one or both went hurtling down in flames to crashing destruction.

German "Frightfulness"

One phase of the war compelled from the first the attention of the world even outside Europe. This was the policy of "Frightfulness" deliberately adopted by the German High Command. For centuries, international law had been building up rules of "civilized" war, to protect non-combatants and to try to preserve some shreds of humanity even among

the fighters. But the military rulers of Germany, in official war manuals, had for years referred to such "moderation" as "flabby sentimentality."

At the opening of the war, the new German policy was put into effect in Western Europe. Belgium and northeastern France were purposely devastated, — not by the passionate fury of brutalized soldiers, but by deliberate order of polished soft-living "gentlemen," just to break the morale of the enemy, to make it easy to hold conquered territory with small forces, and to intimidate neighboring small peoples, — Danes and Dutch. It was this policy that caused even neutral lands to know the German soldier no longer as the kindly "Fritz" but as "Hun."

America's "neutrality"

To the United States, even more than to France or England, the war came as a surprise; and for some time its purposes and its origin were obscured by a skillful German propaganda in our press. President Wilson issued the usual proclamation of neutrality, and followed this with unusual and solemn appeals to the American people for a real neutrality of *feeling*. For two years the administration clung to this policy. Any other course was made difficult for the President by the fact that many members of Congress were either pro-German or at least bitterly anti-English. Moreover, the President seems to have hoped nobly that if the United States could keep apart from the struggle, it might, at the close, render mighty service in establishing a lasting world peace.

True, the best informed men and women saw at once that France and England were waging America's war, against a militaristic despotism. Tens of thousands of young Americans, largely college men, made their way to the fighting line as volunteers, in the Canadian regiments, in the French "Foreign Legion," or in the "air service"; and hundreds of thousands more blushed with shame daily that other and weaker peoples should struggle and suffer in our cause while we stood idly by. But to other millions the dominant feeling was a deep thankfulness that our sons were safe from slaughter, our homes free from the horror of war. Vast portions of the American people

had neither cared nor known about the facts back of the war: to such, that mighty struggle was merely "a bloody *European* squabble."

Some leaders, too, in all the great reform movements, believing that in *any* war the attention of the nation must be diverted from the pressing need of progress at home, failed to see that German militarism and despotism had suddenly towered into the one supreme peril to American freedom, and so cast their weight for neutrality. And then, cheek by jowl with this misled idealism, there flaunted itself a coarse pro-German sentiment wholly un-American. Sons and grandsons of men who had fled from Germany to escape despotism were heard now as apologists for the most dangerous despotism and the most barbarous war methods the modern world had ever seen. Organized and obedient to the word of command, this element made many weak politicians truckle to the fear of "the German vote."

Moreover, the country had begun to feel a vast business prosperity. The European belligerents were clamoring to buy all our spare products at our own prices, — munitions of war, food, clothing, raw materials. To be sure, the English navy soon shut out Germany from direct trade, though she long continued an eager customer, indirectly, through Holland and Denmark; but in any case the Allies called ceaselessly for more than we could produce. Non-employment vanished; wages rose by bounds; new fortunes piled up as by Aladdin's magic. A busy people, growing richer and busier day by day, ill-informed about the real causes of the war, needed some mighty incentive to turn it from the easy, peaceful road of prosperous industry into the stern, rugged paths of self-denial and war. A little wisdom on Germany's part, and she might have held America bound to neutrality in acts at least, if not always in feeling.

Germany makes neutrality difficult

But more and more Germany made neutrality impossible. From the first the German government actively stirred up bad feeling toward America among its own people because Americans used the usual and legal rights of citizens of a neutral power to sell *munitions of war* to the belligerents. Germany had securely

supplied herself in advance, and England's navy now shut her out from the trade in any case. So she tried, first by cajolery and then by threats, to keep Americans from selling to her enemies — which would have left them at her mercy, unprepared as they were. The *legal* right of a neutral to sell munitions she could not question. She demanded of us not that we *comply with* international law, but that we *change* it in such a way as to insure her victory. For the American government to have forbidden trade in munitions during the war would have been not neutrality, but a direct and deadly act of war against the Allies. Worse still, it would have fastened militarism upon the world directly. For neutrals to renounce trade in munitions (until all such trade is controlled by a world federation) would be at once and forever to hand over the world to the nation with the largest armaments and munition factories. Very properly the American government refused firmly to notice these arrogant demands.

Sale of munitions

One phase of German frightfulness came home especially to America. This was a new and barbarous submarine warfare, with its invasion of neutral rights and murder of neutral lives. U-craft were not very dangerous to warships when such vessels were on their guard. Unarmed merchantmen they could destroy almost at will. But if a U-boat summoned a merchantman to surrender, the merchantman might possibly sink the submarine by one shot from a concealed gun, and in any case the U-boat had little room for prisoners. Submarine warfare upon merchant ships is necessarily barbarous and in conflict with all the principles of international law. If it is to be efficient, the U-boat must sink *without warning*. In the American Civil War, when the Confederate *Alabama* destroyed hundreds of Northern merchant ships, it scrupulously cared for the safety of the crews and passengers. But from the first the German submarines torpedoed English and French peaceful merchant ships without notice, so that little chance was given even for women and children to get into the lifeboats. Then the second year of the war saw a sudden expansion of this horrible form of murder. In February of 1915 Germany pro-

The submarine and merchant ships

claimed a "submarine blockade" of the British Isles. She drew a broad zone on the high seas and declared that any merchant ships, *even those of neutral nations*, found within those waters, would be sunk without warning. The world still refused to believe that so brutal a threat was seriously meant, until, May 7, the great English liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed without any attempt to save life.

The *Lusitania*

Nearly twelve hundred non-combatants, many of them women and children, were drowned, and one hundred and fourteen of these murdered passengers were American citizens. Now indeed from much of America there went up a fierce cry for war; but large parts of the country, remote from the seaboard, were still indifferent, and shameless apologists were not lacking for even this dastardly massacre. President Wilson, still zealous for peace, used every resource of diplomacy to induce Germany to abandon her horrible submarine methods, — pointing out distinctly, at the same time, in his series of four "Lusitania Notes" that persistence in that policy would force America to fight. The German government answered with quibbles and contemptuous neglect. Other merchant vessels were sunk, and finally (March, 1916) the sinking of the *Sussex*, an English passenger ship, again involved the murder of American citizens. President Wilson's note to Germany took a still sterner tone and specifically declared that one more such act would cause him to break off diplomatic relations. Germany now seemed to give way. She promised, grudgingly and with loopholes for future use, to sink no more passenger or merchant ships — unless they should attempt to escape capture — without providing for the safety of passengers and crews (May 4). This episode, running over into the *third* year, closed the first stage of this controversy. President Wilson seemed to have won a victory for civilization. As he afterward complained, the precautions taken by the Germans to save neutrals or non-combatants proved "distressingly meager," but for some time "a certain degree of restraint was observed."

The *Sussex*

Germany promises amendment

In this interval came the American presidential campaign

The American presidential election of 1916

of 1916. Mr. Wilson drew much strength in the West and with the working classes from the fact that he had "kept us out of war," though at the same time every voter with a German name received circular after circular from "German-American" societies urging opposition to him as a foe to "the Fatherland." Neither party really made the war an issue; and Mr. Wilson was reëlected by a close vote. No sooner had the dust of the campaign cleared away than the American people began to find indisputable proofs of new treacheries and new attacks by Germany, *even within American borders.* Official representatives of Germany in the United States, protected by their diplomatic position, had placed their hirelings as spies and plotters throughout the land. They had used German money, with the approval of the German government, to bribe American officials and even to "influence" Congress. They had paid public speakers to foment distrust and hatred toward the Allies. They had hired agitators to stir up strikes and riots in order to paralyze industries. Each week brought fresh proof of such outrage — more and more frequently, formal proof in the courts — and finally President Wilson dismissed the Austrian ambassador (who had been directly implicated) and various guilty officers connected with the German embassy.

German intrigue in neutral America

The danger to America

All this turned attention more and more to the hostility to America plainly avowed for years by German leaders. Said the Kaiser himself to the American ambassador (October 22, 1915), at a time when our government was showing extreme gentleness in calling Germany to account for her murder of peaceful American citizens on the high seas: "*America had better look out. . . . I shall stand no nonsense from America after this war.*" Other representative Germans threatened more specifically that when England had been conquered, Germany, unable to indemnify herself in exhausted Europe for her terrible expenses, would take that indemnity from the rich and unwarlike United States. It came home to us that our fancied security — unprepared for war as we were — was due only to the protecting shield of England's fleet. If Germany came out victor from the European struggle, we must give up our unmilitaristic

life, and turn our country *permanently* into a huge camp, on the European model — and there was doubt whether time would be given to form such a camp. *German militaristic despotism and peace for free peoples could not exist in the same world.*

Germany now had ready a new fleet of enlarged submarines, and she was about to resume her barbarous warfare upon neutrals. She knew this *might* join the United States to her foes; but she held us impotent in war, and believed she could keep us busied at home. To this last end, through her ambassador at Washington — while he was still enjoying our hospitality — she had secretly been trying, as we learned a little later, to get Mexico and Japan to join in an attack upon us, *promising them* aid and *huge portions of our western territory.* January 31, the German government gave a two weeks' notice that it was to renew its "unrestricted" submarine policy, explaining to its own people, with moral callousness, why it had for a time appeared to yield to American pressure — and offering to America an insulting privilege of sending one ship a week to England, provided it were painted in stripes of certain colors and width, and provided it followed a certain narrow ocean lane marked out by Germany. President Wilson at once dismissed the German ambassador, according to his promise of the preceding March, and recalled our ambassador from Berlin. March 12, after a number more of American citizens had been murdered at sea,[1] he placed guards on our merchant vessels. Germany announced that such guards if captured would be treated as pirates!

Germany renews "unrestricted" U-boat warfare

Now the temper of America was changing swiftly. Apathy vanished. Direct and open opposition to war there still was from pro-Germans and from extreme pacifists, but the great

[1] Besides the eight American vessels sunk before March, 1916, eight had been sunk in the one month from February 3 to March 2, 1917. During the two months, February and March, 105 Norwegian vessels were sunk, with the loss of 328 lives. By April 3, 1917, according to figures compiled by the United States government, 686 neutral vessels had been sunk by Germany *without* counting American ships. When we turn to the still more important question of lives, we count up 226 American citizens slain by the action of German submarines before April, 1917. Before the close of the war, 5000 Norwegian sailors were murdered so.

majority of the nation roused itself to defend the rights of mankind, and turned its eyes confidently to the President for a signal. April 2 President Wilson appeared before the new Congress, met in special session, to ask it to declare that we were now at war with Germany. April 6, by overwhelming votes, that declaration was adopted.

America "goes in"

America's aims

America went to war not to avenge slights to its "honor," or merely to protect the property of its citizens, or even merely to protect their lives at sea. We did war for these things, but more in defense of free government, in defense of civilization, in defense of humanity, and in hope of establishing a lasting world peace. Said the President's war message:

"We are glad . . . to fight for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, *the German people included.* . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. . . . We have no selfish ends. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. . . . The right is more precious than peace; and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations."

The war spreads

And now the war spread more widely still. Cuba at once followed the example of the United States in declaring war against Germany, and most of the countries of South and Central America either took the same action within a few months or at least broke off diplomatic relations with the Central European Powers. Portugal had entered the war in 1916, because of her alliance with England. China and Siam now joined the Allies. None of the new powers except America, however, were to have direct effect upon military operations.

Through 1916 those operations had continued favorable to Germany. True, the East front offered two promising surprises

PLATE CV

Rheims Cathedral (cf. plate after p. 304) at 6:30 A.M., after the second wanton night bombardment by the Germans. The mutilation of this famous structure served no military purpose.

ABOVE. — REVIEW OF FRENCH TROOPS AT MOSELLES.

BELOW. — RANGE-FINDING. French artillery officers discovering position of an enemy battery with the "range-finder," and telephoning directions to their own battery far behind them. A scene in the Argonne forest.

on the side of the Allies, but each was followed by swift collapse. (1) Russia at first showed remarkable recovery, and in June won sweeping successes against the Austrians. By July, however, her supplies of ammunition had again given out, and she was saved from complete overthrow, for the moment, only by sacrificing Roumania. (2) For now that country had entered the war, to recover from Austria the Roumanian province of Transylvania. But the Tsar had induced her to go in too soon by promises of support that was never given. Bulgarians and Teutons entered the doomed country from south and west. December 16 the capital fell, and only the rigors of winter enabled the Roumanian army to keep a hold upon a narrow strip of territory. A large Allied army at Saloniki did not stir, because if it left its base, it was in peril of being stabbed in the back by Constantine of Greece; and the Tsar vetoed all proposals of effective measures against that fellow monarch.

Russian collapse

Roumania crushed

And, in spite of America's entry into the war, Germany continued to win through 1917 also. Russia did drop out. The Tsar had fallen under the control of a traitorous German faction of the court, which planned a separate peace. Then suddenly his ministers maddened the Petrograd populace by permitting or preparing breakdown in the distribution of food. March 11, the populace rose. The troops joined the rioters. Absolutely deserted by all classes, Nicholas abdicated on March 15. The Liberal leaders of the Duma proclaimed a provisional government, which in a few weeks (June, 1917) was replaced by a Socialist-Democratic government led by Kerensky, an emotional, well-meaning enthusiast, altogether unfit to grapple with the tremendous difficulties before Russia.

The Russian Revolution of 1917

Kerensky

Finland, the Ukrainian districts, and Siberia were breaking away from central Russia. Everywhere the starving and desperate peasants had begun to appropriate the lands of the great estates, sometimes quietly, sometimes with violence and outrage. Transportation was broken down, and the crude industrial system was gone. The army was completely demoralized. The peasant soldiers, so often betrayed by their officers, were eager for peace. Whole regiments and brigades mutinied,

murdered their despotic officers, broke up, and went home to get their share of land. The remaining army was intoxicated with the new political "liberty," and fraternized with the few German regiments left to watch it. During this chaos, real power, over nearly all Russia, fell to new councils of workingmen's delegates (with representatives also from the army and the peasantry). The Extreme Socialists (Bolsheviki) saw that these "soviets," rather than the old agencies, had become the real government, and by shrewd political campaigning they captured these bodies. Kerensky fled, and (November 7, 1917) the Bolsheviki, led by Nikolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky, seized the government, announcing their determination to make peace upon the principle of "no indemnities and no annexations."

The Bolsheviki

The Allies felt deeply indignant at the "betrayal" of the cause of freedom; but it is clear now that no Russian government could have continued the struggle. The Russian people had borne greater sacrifice than any other; they were absolutely without resources; they were unspeakably weary of war; and they failed to understand that German victory would mean the return of Tsarism.

And a separate peace

The Russian collapse had been caused in part by skillful German propaganda among the Russian soldiers that the war was the Tsar's war, or at least a capitalist war, and that their German brothers were ready to give the new Russia a fair peace. Now, like tactics were used against the Italians, until their military machine, too, went to pieces. Then the Austrians suddenly took the offensive. They tore a huge gap in the Italian lines, took 200,000 prisoners and a great part of Italy's heavy artillery, and advanced into Venetia, driving the remnants of the Italian army before them in rout. French and British reinforcements were hurried in; and the Teutons proved unable to force the Piave River. Italy had not been put out of the war as Russia had been; but for the next six months, until well into the next year, the most that she could do, even with the help of the Allied forces sadly needed elsewhere, was to hold her new line.

The Italian collapse

On the West front, the Allies took the offensive, but made

small progress, because now the Germans were able to transfer there their best divisions from the Russian front. The brightest phase of the year's struggle was at the point where there had seemed the greatest peril. Germany's new submarine warfare had indeed destroyed an enormous shipping tonnage, and for a few months had promised to make good the

The failure of the submarine

THE MITTEL-EUROPA EMPIRE at its greatest extent in March, 1918. In Asia, only a few months before it had reached to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea (cf. p. 649).

threat of starving England into surrender. But an admirable English convoy system was organized to protect important merchant fleets; shipbuilding was speeded up to supply the place of tonnage sunk; submarine chasers and patrol boats waged relentless, daring, and successful war against the barbarous craft of the enemy. America sent five battleships to reinforce the British Grand Fleet and a much more considerable addition to the anti-submarine fleet; and newly created American shipyards had begun to launch new cargo ships in ever in-

creasing numbers, upon a scale never before known to the world. The Allies were kept supplied with food and other necessaries enough to avert any supreme calamity, and before September, 1917, it had become plain that submarines were not to be the decisive factor in the war.

America gets into the war

And now America was getting into the struggle more swiftly than either friend or foe had dreamed possible. The general expectation had been that, totally unprepared as the United States was, her chief contribution would be in money, ships, and supplies. These she gave in generous measure. But also, from the first, the government planned military participation on a huge scale. Congress was induced to pass a "selective conscription" act. In August, 1917, a small contingent of excellent fighters was sent to France — mainly from the old regular army — under the command of General John J. Pershing. In the early fall, new regiments were transported (some 300,000 before Christmas), and perhaps half a million more were in training. Then events made a supreme exertion necessary, and America met the need.

French discouragement

France could stand one year more of war, but she was very nearly "bled white," as Germany had boasted. Her working classes were war-weary and discouraged, and the Germans had infected all classes in that country more or less successfully with their poisonous and baseless propaganda to the effect that England was using France to fight her battles, and that she herself was bearing far less than her proper share of the burden. French morale was in danger of giving way, as Russian and Italian had given way. It was saved by two things: by the tremendous energy of the aged Clemenceau — "The Tiger" — whom the crisis had called to the premiership; and by the appearance in France, none too soon, of American soldiers in large numbers.

A race between Germany and America

Thus in 1918 the war became a race between Germany and America. Could America put decisive numbers in action on the West front before Germany could deliver a knock-out blow? The German war lords thought not. The Allies, they insisted, had not enough shipping to bring Americans in large

PLATE CVII

JOHN J. PERSHING.

General Pershing and his staff reached France in June of 1917, two months before regular American regiments arrived. To symbolize the fact that America was now repaying the aid she had received from France in the American Revolution, General Pershing promptly made a formal visit to the tomb of Lafayette, placing there a tribute of flowers and speaking the historic words, "*Lafayette, we are here!*"

numbers with the necessary supplies; and then the Americans "couldn't fight" without years of training! But while winter held the German armies inactive, the British and American navies carried each week thousands of American soldiers to France. And during these same months America and England won a supremely important victory in the moral field. Austria, now under a new emperor, suggested peace negotiations in a conciliatory note — possibly hoping also to weaken Allied morale. Instead, in two great speeches, Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson stated the war aims of the Allies with a studious moderation which conciliated wavering elements in their own countries, and at the same time with a keen logic that put Germany in the wrong even more clearly than before in the eyes of the world and drove deeper the wedge between the German government and the German people. Lloyd George (January 6, 1918) demanded complete reparation for Belgium, *but disclaimed intention to exact indemnities other than payment for injuries done by Germany in defiance of international law.* President Wilson had already declared that there could be no safe peace with the faithless Hohenzollern government; and now his address contained his famous Fourteen Points, which were soon accepted apparently throughout the Allied world as a charter of a coming world peace. The more important of these were as follows:

The "Fourteen Points"

1. "Open covenants of peace, *openly arrived at;* after which, diplomacy shall proceed always . . . in the public view." . . . 3. Removal, so far as possible, of economic barriers. 4. Disarmament by international action. 5. An "absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims . . . the interests of peoples concerned to have equal weight with the equitable claim of the government whose title is to be determined." 6. Evacuation of all Russian territory, and . . . "a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, [with] assistance also of every kind that she may herself desire." 7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium. 8. Reparation for devastation in France, and return of Alsace-Lorraine. 9. "Readjustment of the frontiers of Italy . . . *along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*" . . . 11. Serbia to be given a free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the Balkan states to be "determined by friendly council *along clearly recognizable lines of allegiance and na-*

tionality." 13. A free Poland (with access to the sea), "to include the territories inhabited by *indisputably Polish populations.*" 14. A "general association of nations" under specific covenants.

The significance of the Fourteen Points lay even more in their spirit than in these detailed provisions. "We have no jealousy of German greatness," concluded this great utterance, "*and there is nothing in this program that impairs it.* We do not wish to fight her either with arms *or with hostile arrangements of trade,* if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing."

Brest-Litovsk

And now Germany herself made plain how absolutely right the Allies were in their contention that the Hohenzollerns could be trusted to keep no promises. March 3, 1918, the German militarists, with the grossest of bad faith, shamelessly broke their many pledges to the helpless Bolsheviki and forced upon Russia the "Peace of Brest-Litovsk." By that dictated treaty, Germany virtually became overlord to a broad belt of vassal states taken from Russia — Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, Ukrainia — and even the remaining "Great Russia" had to agree to German control of her industrial reorganization. When the German perfidy had revealed itself suddenly, after long and deceitful negotiations, the angered and betrayed Bolsheviki wished to renew the war. They were absolutely helpless, however, without prompt Allied aid upon a large scale. This aid they asked for, but urgent cablegrams brought no answer. The Allies apparently had been so repelled by the Bolshevist industrial and political policy that they were unwilling to deal with that government, and preferred to leave Russia to its fate — and to the Germans.

The last German offensive

Naturally the Germans opened the campaigns in the West at the earliest moment possible. They had now a vast superiority both in men and in heavy guns there. March 21 they attacked the British lines in Picardy with overwhelming forces. After five days of terrific fighting the British were hurled out of their trench lines and driven back with frightful losses nearly to Amiens, leaving a broad and dangerous gap

between them and the French. But the Germans had exhausted themselves in their mass attack; and, while they paused, a French force threw itself into the gap, and British reserves reinforced the shattered front lines.

For the first time since the First Battle of the Marne, the Germans had forced the fighting on the West front into the open. In April they struck again farther north, in Flanders, and again they seemed almost to have overwhelmed the British; but, fighting desperately, "with our backs to the wall," as Haig phrased it in his solemn order to his dying army, and reinforced by some French divisions, the British kept their front unbroken, bent and thinned though it was. After another month of preparation, the Germans struck fiercely in a general attack on the French lines north of the Aisne, and, breaking through for the moment on an eighteen-mile front, once more reached the Marne.

GENERAL HAIG, who succeeded to the British command in 1916.

Here, however, they were halted, largely by American troops, at Château-Thierry. Then, while the Americans made splendid counter-attacks, as at Belleau Wood (renamed, for them, "Wood of the Marines"), the French lines were reformed, so that the Allies still presented a continuous front, irregular though it was with dangerous salients and wedges. At almost the same time, Austria, forced into action again in Italy by German insistence, was repulsed in a general attack on the Piave.

Château-Thierry

Time was fighting for the Allies. Disasters had at last in-

Ferdinand Foch

duced them to appoint a generalissimo. This position was given to Ferdinand Foch, who, though then a subordinate, had been the real hero of the First Marne. For the rest of the struggle, the Allied forces were directed with a unity and skill that had been impossible under divided commands, even with the heartiest desire for coöperation.

The Americans arrive

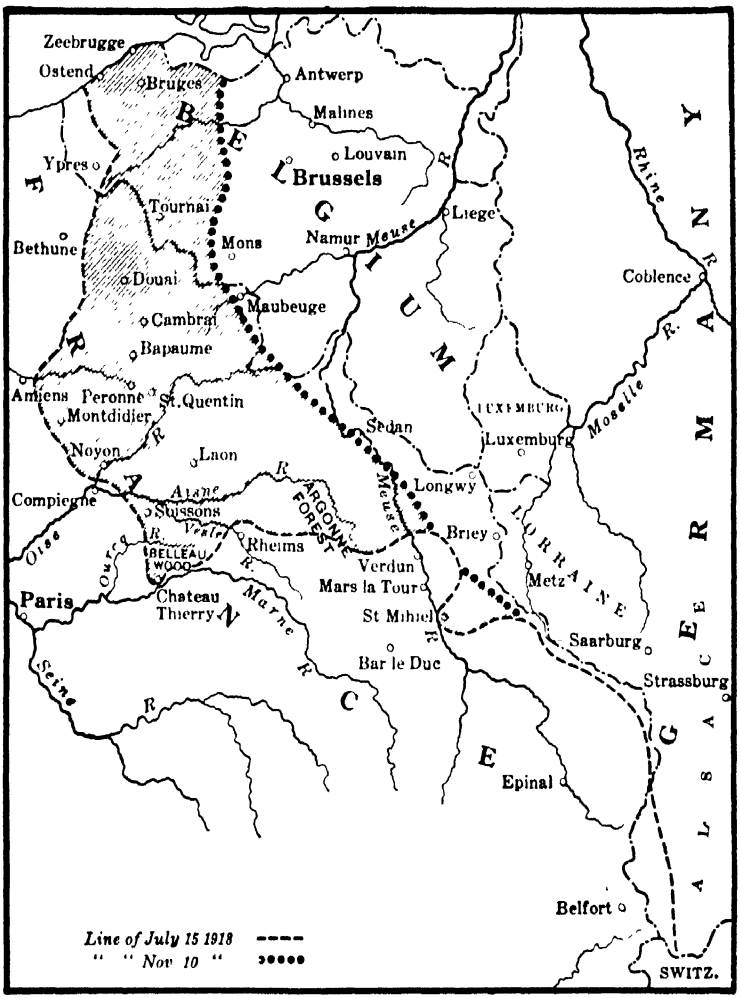
And now, too, America really had an army in France. Before the end of June, her effective soldiers there numbered 1,250,000. Each month afterward brought at least 300,000 more. By September the number exceeded two millions, with a million more already training in America. The Germans could not again take up the offensive for five weeks (June 11–July 15), and in this interval the balance of available man-power turned against them. July 15, they attacked again in great force along the Marne, but this onset broke against a stone-wall resistance of French and American troops. For the first time in the war, a strong German offensive failed to gain ground.

Foch's offensive

The failure was plain by the 17th. On the 18th, before the Germans could withdraw or reorganize, Foch began his great offensive, by counter-attacking upon the exposed western flank of the invaders. This move took the Germans completely by surprise. Their front all but collapsed along a critical line of twenty-eight miles. Foch allowed them no hour of rest. Unlike his opponents he did not attempt gigantic attacks, to break through at some one point. Instead, he kept up a continuous offensive, threatening every part of the enemy's front, but striking now here, now there, on one exposed flank and then on another, always ready at a moment to take advantage of a new opening, and giving the enemy no chance to withdraw their forces without imperiling key positions. Before the end of August the Allies had won back all the ground lost in the spring. The Germans had made their last throw — and lost. Foch's pressure never relaxed. In September American divisions helped to win back St. Mihiel in bloody fighting, and then took a leading part in the 47-day Meuse-Argonne

St. Mihiel

series of battles. At the same time the British farther north were wrenching great sections of the boasted "Hinden-



GERMAN LINES ON JULY 15 AND NOVEMBER 10, 1918.

burg Line" from the foe. In the opening days of October *the German commanders reported to Berlin that the war was lost.*

This result was determined largely by *events in the East.* Now that there was no Tsar to interfere, the English and French had deposed and banished King Constantine of Greece; and Venizelos, the new head of the Greek state, was warmly committed to the Allied cause. In September, the Allied force, so long held inactive at Saloniki, suddenly took the offensive, crushing the Bulgarians in a great battle on the Vardar; and Bulgaria's unconditional surrender opened the way for an attack upon Austria from the south.

Victories in the East

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FERDINAND FOCH.

The preceding year a small British expedition from India had worked its way up the Tigris to Bagdad; and another from Egypt had taken Jerusalem. Now this last army had finally been reinforced, and in September, in a brilliant campaign, it occupied Syria and forced Turkey to make abject submission. Austria, too, had dissolved. Bohemia on one side, and Slovenes, Croats, and Bosnians on the other, were organizing independent governments — with encouragement from America and the Allies. Then, October 24, Italy struck on the Piave. The Austrian army broke in rout. Austria called frantically for an armistice, and even before one was granted (November 4) the ancient Hapsburg Empire had vanished.

Germany had begun to treat for surrender a month earlier, but held out a week longer. October 5, the German Chancellor (now the liberal Prince Max of Baden, who had been a severe critic of Germany's war policy) had asked President Wilson

to arrange an armistice, offering to accept the Fourteen Points as a basis for peace. The reply made it plain once more that America and the Allies would not treat with the old despotic government, and that no armistice would be granted at that late moment which did not secure to the Allies fully the fruits of their military advantages in the field. Meantime the fighting went on, with terrific losses on both sides. The French and Americans, pushing north in the Argonne and across the Meuse, were threatening the trunk railway at Sedan, the only road open for German retreat except the one through Belgium. The British and Belgians pushed the discouraged invaders out of northern France and out of a large part of Belgium. The pursuit at every point was so hot that retreat had to be foot by foot, or in complete rout. As a last desperate throw, the German war lords ordered the Kiel fleet to sea, to engage the English navy; but the common sailors, long on the verge of mutiny, broke into open revolt, while everywhere the Extreme Socialists were openly preparing revolution.

Fall of Germany

Late in October the War Council of the Allies made known to Germany the terms upon which she could have an armistice preliminary to the drafting of a peace treaty. Germany could save her army from destruction, and her territory would not suffer hostile conquest. But she was to surrender at once Alsace-Lorraine, and withdraw her troops everywhere across the Rhine, leaving the Allies in possession of a broad belt of German territory. She was to surrender practically all her fleet, most of her heavy artillery, her aircraft, and her railway engines. Likewise she was at once to release all prisoners, though her own were to remain in the hands of the Allies. No-

November 11, 1918

vember 11, Germany made this surrender to whatever further conditions the Allies might impose in the final settlement — though they did pledge themselves to base their terms, with certain reservations, upon Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Germany had already collapsed internally. November 7, Bavaria deposed her king and proclaimed herself a republic. In Berlin the Moderate Socialists seized the government. State after state followed. November 9, the Kaiser fled to Holland, whence he soon sent his formal abdication.

CHAPTER LXV

SINCE THE WAR

January 18, 1919, the Peace Congress met at Versailles to reconstruct Europe. There was supreme need. *In Germany* a National Assembly (elected by true universal suffrage, male and female) had set up a federal republic. The new government was in the control of a union of "Moderate Socialists" and "German Democrats" (the old Liberals); but it had to maintain itself precariously against revolts of "Extreme Socialists" of the Bolshevist type, while from the opposite side it was threatened with aristocratic army-officer plots for monarchic restoration.

Danger of anarchy in Central Europe

The German Republic

Hungary for a time had tried a liberal republican government. But the Allied blockade, stupidly continued, made work and food scarce, so that the starving populace soon set up a Bolshevist rule. (A little later, it may be added here, two more revolutions, secretly backed by the Allied Council at Paris, had replaced this government, first by a Moderate Socialist government and then by a reactionary army-officer government which is republican in little but name.) Meantime Roumania had taken advantage of Hungary's woes to declare war; and the Roumanian army had ravaged the country for months as savagely as ever Germany did Belgium, even after Hungary had assented to all Roumania's demands for cessions of territory.

Hungary

Bohemia, enlarged by the addition of Moravia, had become *Czechoslovakia*. This republic has so far been the most stable and promising of the new states in Central Europe; but at the time it was distracted by conflicts with Germany, with Austria, and with Poland, over conflicting boundary claims. That new *Republic of Poland*, too, had other contests, bordering on war, upon her remaining frontiers—with Russian Bolshevists

Czechoslovakia

New Baltic States

and with Germany — besides being torn with internal faction and with peasant massacres of her Jews. Like anarchy, rising into civil wars, held sway in every other of the chain of border states that had split off from Russia, — *Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Courland, Lithuania, Ukrainia.*

Jugo-slavia

Further to the south, *Serbia* had become *Jugoslavia*, by the

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1919.

long-sought union with Bosnia, Slavonia, and Croatia; but that still inharmonious state was in daily peril of war with Italy over the Adriatic coast, with some actual armed clashes. And Italy was at daggers drawn with Greece over southern Albania, the islands of the Aegean, and the coasts of Asia Minor.

Each country felt, with too much reason, that the more it could lay hands on before the settlement, the more it would

finally keep, and so sought to grab as much as possible in the interval. Still more serious than this political chaos was the demoralization of industry. Millions of disbanded soldiers were returning to their homes, after years of trench life, to find neither work nor food. Lack of shipping made it a slow process to bring into Central Europe the raw materials needed to start the factory wheels again and to replace the machinery worn out during the long Allied blockade. Over wide areas, idle multitudes were suffering from insufficient food; and this distress was the harder to bear because in every country thousands of war-profiteers were spending their shameful riches in insolent waste.

Industrial demoralization

The Peace Congress was made up of delegations from the twenty-three Allied governments, with five more from England's colonies — Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India. Each country's delegation had one vote. Countries that had been neutral were invited to send representatives to be called in upon special matters that might concern them. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Russia were allowed no representation.

The Peace Congress

President Wilson headed the American delegation; Lloyd George and Orlando, the English and Italian premiers, represented their countries; and Clemenceau, head of the French delegation, was naturally chosen president of the assembly. These leaders made up the "Big Four," and part of the time this inner circle became the "Big Five" by the inclusion of the Japanese representative.

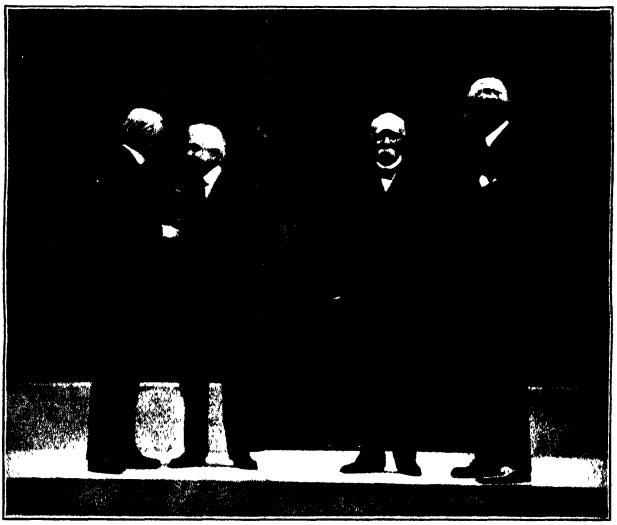
The "Big Four"

From the first there were critical differences within the "Big Four." Mr. Wilson had promised the world, *Germany included*, "a permanent peace based on unselfish, unbiased justice," and "a *new* international order based upon broad universal principles of right." Lloyd George was inclined to sympathy with such a program; but he was sadly hampered in action, because, in the parliamentary elections just before, he had won by appealing to the worst war passions of the English people. The other leaders thought President Wilson, in Clemenceau's words,

Woodrow Wilson

merely a benevolent dreamer of Utopias, and they preferred to rest rearrangements upon the old methods of rival alliances and armed camps, to maintain a balance of power — a plan which bloody centuries had proved a seed bed of war.

By the war-weary *peoples* of Europe, however, the Wilson program was at first hailed with joy. While the diplomats were



"THE BIG FOUR." — Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, Wilson.

skillfully delaying the meeting of the assembly, he journeyed through England, France, and Italy, received everywhere by the working masses with striking demonstrations as "the president of all of us," the apostle of world peace and human brotherhood. For a time it looked as though he might at a pinch override the hostile attitude of the governments by appealing over their heads to the peoples themselves; and in a great speech at Milan, just after slurring attacks upon him by French statesmen, he hinted forcefully at such a possibility.

Weakened by events in America

But as months passed in wearisome negotiations, old animosities began to show in each nation toward neighboring peoples, until this chance for generous unanimity was lost. Moreover, Mr. Wilson had been seriously weakened by events

at home. Late in the campaign for Congressional elections in the preceding November, he had made an unfortunate appeal for indorsement of his policies by a Democratic victory. Instead, the elections gave both Houses to the Republicans; and the jubilant and vengeful victors at once entered upon a course of bitter criticism and obstruction — of which Mr. Wilson's European opponents took shrewd advantage to weaken his influence at Paris.

Secret negotiation

In spite of Mr. Wilson's declaration for *open* negotiations (p. 647) the European diplomats, with their traditions of backstair intrigue, carried the point for only occasional full and public meetings. Meantime all important matters were settled by the inner circle in secret conclave, so that the six public meetings of the Congress (up to July) were called merely for formal ratification of conclusions already arrived at by the "Big Four."

Covenant for a League of Nations

To offset this disappointment, Mr. Wilson seemed for a while to have won a splendid victory for a "League of Nations." Three months before America entered the war (January 22, 1917), as his last peace effort, he had read to the American Congress a notable address proposing *a League of Nations to enforce peace*, — a peace made by free peoples (among whom the *small* nations should have their full voice), secured "by the organized major force of mankind." This address itself was one of the mighty events in history. Individuals had dreamed sometimes of a world organization for peace and progress; but then for the first time did an authorized spokesman of a great nation bring that idea into the realm of practical statesmanship. Now Mr. Wilson felt unhesitatingly that the building of such a world league was the most important work of the Versailles Congress — and indeed a necessary prelude to any peace other than one of vengeance and booty.

In March, after some weeks of consideration, a committee headed by Mr. Wilson made public a League covenant (constitution) it had prepared. After sharp criticism in the United States Senate, this constitution was slightly modified, and then

adopted by the Peace Congress. The union is very loose, and its managing bodies are not really a government. Charter membership was offered to forty-five nations, — all the then organized governments in the world except Russia, the four "enemy countries," and Costa Rica, San Domingo, and Mexico. Admission of new members, and other amendments, require the unanimous consent of England, France, Italy, and Japan (and America, if she joins the League), together with a majority vote of all states; and for any other action of consequence the consent of all nations is demanded, except that no party to a dispute has a voice in its settlement. Wise provisions prohibit secret treaties in future, and seek to provide for disarmament (though only by unanimous consent), for regulation of manufacture of munitions, for compulsory arbitration, and for *delay* in recourse to war even if an arbitration is unsatisfactory.

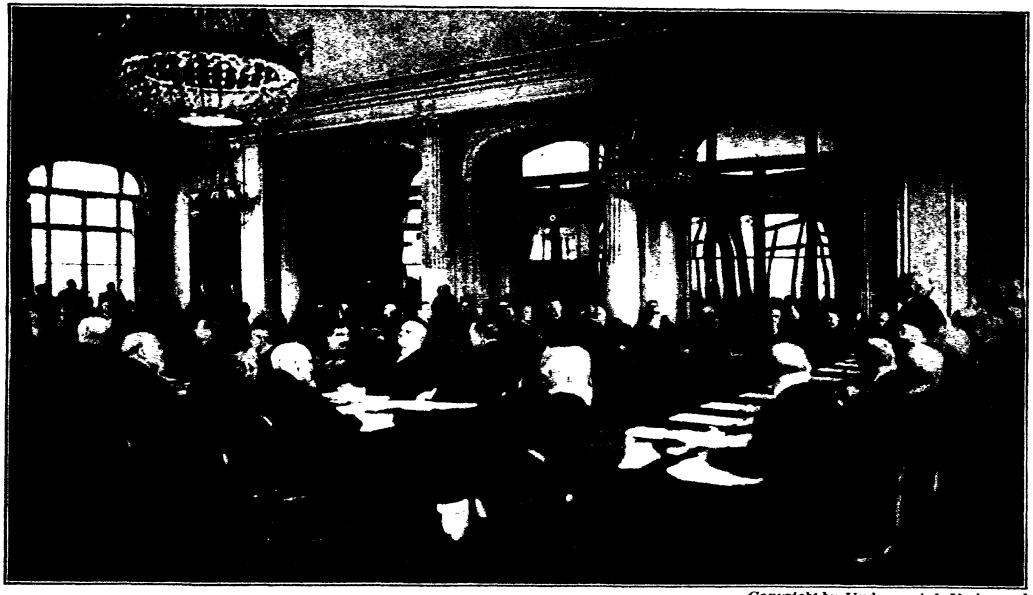
The German treaty

Meantime the French delegation, frankly skeptical as to the value of a League, had devoted itself to securing treaties of peace that should render Germany powerless to attack France again. Germany protested in vain against the rigor of the terms, but June 28 her helpless delegates (summoned to Versailles for the purpose) signed the dictated treaty. The document would fill nearly half of this volume. Its main provisions, with those of subsequent treaties with the other "enemy countries," may be summarized briefly: —

Germany's military power was destroyed. Her navy was limited for the future to six battleships and six light cruisers, with *no* submarines; and her army is not to exceed 100,000 men — with a careful restriction, too, upon her manufacture of munitions.

Germany's old colonial empire was turned over to England, Belgium, and Japan, in accordance with a secret treaty under which Japan had entered the war. (This division of plunder was faintly cloaked under a pretense that England and Japan were to be merely "mandatories" for the League of Nations, holding these backward districts as "a sacred trust for civilization." At the first session of the League Assembly, in November of 1920, some of the small nations desired to establish rules

PLATE CVIII



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CLEMENCEAU DELIVERING TO THE GERMAN DELEGATES THE TERMS OF PEACE, May 7, 1919. Clemenceau is standing on the right. The Germans are seated just in front of him. In curt sentences the French premier announced their fate to the conquered. Germany did not sign until June 23, the last day of grace.

for that "trusteeship"; but the English representative declared flatly that no action there taken could "limit the freedom of action of his government." Moreover, Shantung with its forty million people remained in Japan's hands, without even the pretext of a "mandate," in spite of the vigorous protest of China.)

Germany lost a fifth of her territory and population in Europe, with her most valuable coal deposits. She not only returned Danish Sleswig[1] to Denmark and Alsace-Lorraine to France, but also ceded three small areas to Belgium, and to Poland not merely her old Polish districts but also large strips of distinctly German territory in Upper Silesia and east of the Vistula. Moreover, to give Poland easy access to the sea, German Dantzig became a "free" city (against its will), with roundabout provisions that leave it really subject to Poland. Likewise, by veiled annexation, France has possibly acquired the Saar valley, east of Alsace, with a solid German population.[2]

The Austrian treaty

The dismembered Austrian Empire, besides the territorial secessions already noted (p. 653), very properly ceded Galicia to Poland, Transylvania to Roumania, and Trieste and the Trentino to Italy; but, in connection with this last cession, in order to provide Italy with a needless "strategic frontier" against Austria, that enfeebled country was compelled to cede also a strip of strictly German territory (the Brenner Pass in the Alps) with a quarter of a million of German people. In these ways, Hungary was reduced to about one third its former

[1] Sleswig determined its own fate (as the treaty had provided) by plebiscites. Denmark showed an honorable and wise desire to annex only such districts as desired it, and readily acquiesced in the retention of two thirds of the old duchy by Germany. Parts of Upper Silesia were also to have settled their own fate; but France and Poland managed later to take from Germany rich districts of that region in spite of an overwhelming German vote there.

[2] The treaty very properly gave France the Saar coal mines for fifteen years (under the control of an international commission dominated by France), in return for Germany's wanton ruin of French mines; but unhappily, it also provided that at the end of that time France should annex the district absolutely (even though the inhabitants should vote against that action) unless Germany should then pay at once the full value of the mines. Other provisions of the treaty (below) made it very probable that Germany would be unable to do that.

size; and *German Austria is left a petty state of 7,000,000 people* grouped about Vienna ("a capital without a country") shut off from the sea, with its old markets and mines all gone and with little agricultural land. (This Austria has dragged out the years since the treaty in cruel starvation meagerly relieved by Allied charity. The land can raise at best only a sixth of its necessary food, and it has practically no other industrial resources. The people naturally desire incorporation into Germany; but, at French insistence, the Peace Congress forbade this very natural application of the promised principle of "self-determination" because it might strengthen Germany.)

Minor treaties

In the complex Balkan readjustments, it was found difficult to follow the promised "lines of nationality"; but Greece and Serbia were given new territory on the north Aegean coast at the expense of Bulgaria — which was now shut off from the sea except by the route of the Danube.

"Turkey" was reduced to Asia Minor, although Constantinople and "the Zone of the Straits" were also left in Turkish possession subject to the control of an international commission and open to ships of all nations. Armenia and Arabia (the Kingdom of Hejaz) were declared independent states. Smyrna went to Greece; most of the Aegean islands to Italy; Syria (much against its will) to France; and Mesopotamia equally unwillingly to England. (In the main this arrangement was a frank surrender to arrogant imperialism, French and English; and these "protectors" of Mesopotamia and Syria have been compelled to maintain their authority by bloody campaigns. As a by-product of these arrangements, too, and of the collapse of Russia, English imperialism has secured control of all Persia. Moreover, in 1921, dissatisfied Greece went to war with Turkey for more plunder in Asia Minor.) It should be added that, to the chagrin of the Arabs now in possession, Palestine was set aside, under English protection, for a home for a restored Jewish state — if Jews return there in sufficient numbers.

The German indemnity

Most troublesome of all was the question of the money "reparations" to be paid by Germany. That country was required to pay at once some five billions of dollars in gold and in goods

(all then available), besides promising to supply many millions of tons of coal each year for ten years to Belgium, Italy, and France (in addition to the Saar arrangement). Further payments were left to be fixed by an Allied commission when it should be better known what the damages were and how much it would be possible to take; and until final payment was made a French army was to occupy the German districts west of the Rhine. France showed strong inclination to keep the total indemnity indefinite as long as possible, taking meanwhile from time to time all that could be found; but Lloyd George and English public feeling gradually swung over to the opinion that German industry could not be expected to revive with its neck in a perpetually strangling noose; and in February of 1921 the commission fixed the total indemnity at about fifty-six billions of dollars, to be paid in installments over forty years. Germany protested that this was an impossible sum, and many experts in the Allied countries declared it to be three or four times more than Germany could pay; but France advanced her army of occupation further into German territory, willing apparently to retain such territory permanently in place of the money reparation. By selling paper money to foreign speculators (mainly American), Germany then did secure gold enough for the first two installments; but that currency depreciated to almost nothing, so that this process cannot be repeated; and at this writing (March, 1922) the German indemnity remains a chief cause of world demoralization.

And world trade

England and the United States formerly sold vast quantities of goods to Germany. Germany now has no wealth with which to buy, — which is one cause why English and American factories are idle (1922) and American farm products of little value. Moreover, if Germany is to pay any further indemnity, she must get the gold by exporting factory goods. To do that she must undersell English and American factories in some market (to the still greater demoralization of the trade of those countries). Therefore England insisted that Germany must place a heavy *export* tax upon her own goods. This makes it difficult for her to undersell England — but it also makes it well-nigh impossible

for her to get gold wherewith to pay indemnities. The world is slowly discovering that, under the delicate adjustments of modern trade relations, it is not an easy thing to take a huge indemnity in money from one country without injuring many other countries.

The secret treaties

Many of the objectionable features in the treaties were due to the secret bargains for division of spoils by which the Allies had bought the aid of Japan and Italy. When the Congress met, those bargains were not generally known; but it soon became clear that they would prevent a peace closely in accord with the Fourteen Points. For a time Mr. Wilson stood out against the Congress becoming "a Congress for booty"; and once (when Orlando insisted that Italy should have Croatian Fiume, the natural Adriatic door for Jugoslavia) he even cabled to America for his ship. This extreme threat prevented that particular act of plunder — though Orlando was so incensed that he left the Congress for some weeks; and in the end Mr. Wilson was induced to reconcile himself cordially to the treaty for the sake of securing the League of Nations.

Criticism of the Versailles treaty

As soon as the treaty with Germany was made public, however, it was denounced vehemently by many earnest thinkers in all lands. Indeed some of the experts attached to the American delegation had already resigned in protest; and Jan Smuts, South Africa's hero-statesman, declared in a formal statement that he signed for his country only because peace *must* be made at once and because he hoped that the worst features of the treaty might be modified later by the League of Nations. Such criticism had little or nothing to do with sympathy for Germany. It was based upon the conviction that the treaty was dishonorable to the victors, inasmuch as it broke faith with a submissive foe after surrender, and that it would breed future wars — and so broke faith even more fatally with hundreds of thousands of splendid youth who gave their lives, in long torment and suffering, to "win a war that should end war." At the same time the severest critic must confess that the new world map made at Versailles is at least a tremendous advance over the old map of 1914, with political divisions drawn far more according to the

reasonable and natural lines of race and language and popular desires.

In America there was much opposition to joining the League of Nations. President Wilson's influence finally rallied the Democratic Senators in favor of ratification of the Covenant without modification. With equal unanimity, the Republicans opposed it — but upon two widely different grounds. A small section declared that for America to join *any* such "super-government" would sacrifice her sovereign independence; that we were able to take care of ourselves, and should let the rest of the world look after itself. A much larger group objected to particular features of this Covenant, but agreed that it was no longer possible for America to hold aloof from Europe. Said Ex-President Taft:

"The argument that to enter this covenant is a departure from the time-honored policy of avoiding 'entangling alliances' is an argument that is blind to changing conditions. . . . The war ended that policy. . . . It was impossible for us to maintain the *theory* of an isolation which did not exist *in fact*. It will be equally impossible for us to keep out of another general European war. We are just as much interested in preventing such a war as if we were in Europe."

The United States refuses to enter the League

Republican Senators, representing this view, added to the covenant certain amendments, with which they were willing to ratify. President Wilson claimed that such amendments would make ratification invalid; and against his influence the Republicans could not muster the necessary two thirds vote in the Senate. The Democrats failed likewise to secure the necessary votes for ratification in the original form. While touring the country to arouse support for the covenant, President Wilson suffered a distressing physical breakdown, and the whole question hung fire for many months. In 1920, the President hoped to make the election of his successor a "solemn referendum" upon the matter. As usual in American politics, too many other questions entered into the campaign to leave any one issue absolutely clear cut; but the Republican "landslide" victory shelved any probability of the United States entering the League for years to come.

The League has accomplished much useful work by settling various minor European differences. It soon admitted several new members — Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxemburg, Costa Rica, Albania, and the Irish Free State; and in 1926 the admission of Germany (p. 680) added greatly to its value. It is seriously handicapped, however, by the absence of the United States. Russia, too, is of course outside.

Bolshevist Russia

Another disturbing factor in the slow return of world progress, which the Peace Congress did little to help, was Bolshevist Russia. After the fall of the Tsar, society in Russia collapsed. Criminals, singly or in bands, worked their will, unchecked by any government, in robbery, outrage, and murder, not only in country districts but even in the public streets of great cities. The cities were starving; and speculators were increasing the agony by hoarding supplies to sell secretly to the rich at huge profits. Our papers, especially in their cartoons, ascribed all this to the Bolshevists — *who in reality put it down in many districts*. Kerensky had proved utterly unable to grapple with the situation; but when the Bolshevists came to power, they shot the bandits in batches, and meted out like swift punishment to "forestallers" of food. In such summary proceedings, many innocent persons suffered along with the guilty; but at least Russia was saved from reverting to savagery. Gradually order and quiet were restored; and the available food was "rationed" rigidly, the Bolshevists taking particular care of children of all classes.

The soviet system

The Bolshevists claimed to give political citizenship to all useful workers — including teachers, actors, physicians, engineers, and industrial managers, but excluding the idle (rich or poor) along with bankers and lawyers, for which classes their society has no place. Their governing bodies represent, not individual citizens (as our Western governments do), but the different kinds of industries. In each "district," there is a shoemakers' union, a teachers' union, and so on. Each such union chooses delegates to the soviet (p. 592) of the district. These district soviets are local governments; and further

all of them within a given province send delegates to a higher "provincial soviet." Delegates from the various provincial soviets make up the central and supreme soviet at Petrograd. (All delegates are subject to recall *at any time* by the bodies that elected them.)

For the first time in history on a large scale, this government at once put into actual operation an extreme kind of socialism, along with the confiscation of most private property. This alarmed the propertied classes everywhere.[1] The Allies at Paris did not think it safe to let the Bolshevist system work out its own failure, but, fearing its spread to their own lands, attempted to overthrow it by force. Among the various reasons for this action on the part of the Allies, two stand out particularly: (1) Members of the Bolshevist government unwisely and blatently preached a coming revolution for the world outside their own borders; and (2) the Bolshevist plan had not been put into operation by the deliberate will of the Russian nation, but rather by a skillful *coup d'état* on the part of the small but perfectly organized class of town workers.

Free speech suppressed

Indeed, the Bolshevist leaders frankly proclaim that (until they can train up a new generation) their government is not to be a democracy but a "dictatorship of the proletariat," representing a very small part of the nation. Apportionment of delegates to the soviets is arranged, openly, so that ten peasants have no more weight than one factory worker. But the ignorant peasants (still making more than ninety per cent of the nation) were so poorly organized, and so content with the lands they had been permitted to appropriate, that they acquiesced passively; and the small capitalist and professional classes were quickly suppressed. The Bolshevists seized control of the army and the press, and put down despotically all public agitation against their socialist system. At first, to be sure, they treated the old capitalist class with consideration so far

[1] These classes, too, especially in France, held the millions of dollars' worth of old Russian bonds, which the Bolshevists now unwisely repudiated on the ground that the Tsars had secured the money to hold the Russian people in bondage.

The red terror

as concerned their personal safety. But a little later, when the world was attacking Russia in open war, and when the dispossessed Russian classes were carrying on a campaign of assassination of Bolshevist leaders and had struck down Lenin with a dangerous wound, the Bolshevists adopted a deliberate policy of "Terror," arresting and executing some thousands of "aristocrats," until internal opposition was crushed. This parallels the story of the French Revolution except that the Russian "Terror," bloody as it was, was shorter and less atrocious than the French.

Allied support for "emigrant" invaders

Even before the Terror, the various non-socialist forces might have rallied, to overthrow or at least to modify Bolshevism, if a despotic blunder of the Allies had not identified Bolshevist rule with Russian patriotism. Like the French "emigrant" nobles of 1792, the Russian courtiers and nobles in 1917, fleeing from the Revolution, levied war against the new government of their country from without — with foreign aid. Supplied lavishly by the Allies and America with arms and money, they at first won some success. *Kolchak* for a time held most of Siberia, — succeeded, when the Bolshevists crushed him, by the Japanese; *Denekin*, and later *Wrangel*, began invasion from Ukrainia; and *Mannerheim* threatened Petrograd from the west. (It is to be added that hostile Roumania and Poland and small reactionary armies in the other new Baltic states, with the Allied blockade of Archangel, made the cordon complete.) All these Russian emigrant leaders claimed that they desired constitutional government, but soon their deeds proved that they plotted for the restoration of despotism, and the needless and unspeakable atrocities of the various "White" terrors that followed their early successes at least equaled the excesses charged against the Bolshevists.

Russian people rally patriotically to the government

It had been claimed that the masses of the Russian people, encouraged by the presence of invading armies, would rally to overthrow Bolshevist tyranny. Instead they rallied to the Bolshevists, to drive out foreign invaders. Especially did the leading "intellectuals" of Russia, like the famous author Maxim Gorky, now offer their services to that government,

although many of them had just been suffering bitterly from it. The Russian organization showed amazing ability, and before 1920 the newly created "Red army" swept the invaders from Russian soil, except for the Japanese in far-eastern Siberia. True, there followed twelve months more of war with Poland, aided freely with French money and officers and American munitions;[1] but at last, by wise diplomacy, Russia secured peace in that quarter also.

The Allied "blockade" of Russia, however, lasted on in fact into 1921. The small Baltic states, from which she had won peace, had no resources for trade; and though England and America had technically lifted the blockade some months earlier, both continued to refuse passports and even mail and wire communication. This policy absolutely prevented trade. Meantime the lack of food and of medical supplies — which the Bolshevist government was eager to pay for in gold — killed more people (mainly mothers, young babies, and other hospital cases) than a great war. The blockade, too, kept Russia from getting cotton or rubber for her factories, or locomotives for her railroads, or machinery for her agriculture; *and so gave the Bolshevists a plausible excuse for the slowness of their industrial revival.*

Russia in 1925

In 1923 the Bolshevist government modified its socialistic program so far as to encourage private capital to embark in certain leading industries; and before the close of 1924 the Labor ministries in England and France (pp. 677, 678) had "recognized" that government. The United States (1925) has not yet done so.

"Russia" still numbers 110 millions of people. Of these, Russia proper contains some 66 millions. The rest are distributed among eight bordering soviet republics on the south and east, — Ukrainia, Siberia, the Far Eastern Republic, and five smaller states; but all these countries are allied closely to the central power, and form practically a soviet federation.

[1] For a time the English government, it was believed, planned to send an English army; but such a project was effectively barred by the unanimous slogan from English organized labor — "Not a man, not a gun, not a penny!"

Dictatorships in Italy and Spain

One other strange obstacle to continued world progress appeared in a new trust in violence rather than in constitutional government in certain European countries. After the war, in the midst of the terrible industrial depression in Italy, socialist workmen in many parts of the country took possession of the factories — with the temporary acquiescence of the government. But their failure to bring back industrial prosperity hastened a reaction; and in 1922 a secret and highly organized *Fascisti* movement might have seized control of the government had not the king anticipated a *coup d'état* by making its leader, *Mussolini*, premier. Later changes in the election laws made Mussolini a virtual dictator.

The Fascisti claim that the world is weary of liberty and cares only for order and prosperity. For two years Italy seemed willing to accept this doctrine — the more willing, perhaps, because the nation had been practically disarmed except for the disciplined bands of Fascisti militia. But in May of 1924 certain Fascisti officials murdered a Socialist leader, *Matteotti*, to prevent the disclosure by him of proofs of official corruption among them; and in the months that have followed (March, 1925) Mussolini's power has seemed to totter before a rising popular indignation.

In 1923, however, a similar wave of reaction in Spain resulted in the establishment of a military dictatorship in that country — which has been guilty of outrageous persecution of Liberals there. It is probably fair to regard this ominous return to violent methods as one of the costs that we pay for the great war.

The war and civilization

In the World War fifty-nine million men served in arms — nearly all the physically fit of the leading peoples on the globe. These suffered thirty-three million casualties, of which fourteen million were deaths or irremediable mutilation and ruin, besides an incalculable number of vitiated constitutions. Almost as many more *non-combatants* were victims of famine and pestilence. And the evil runs over into future generations. In all the warring countries the birthrate has declined alarmingly and the human quality has deteriorated. As to material wealth, a huge portion of all that the world had been slowly storing up for generations is gone.

Indeed the world had used up its prospects for long to come. Future generations are mortgaged to pay the war debts. America entered the struggle late, and made comparatively little sacrifice; but even this country came out of the war with a debt larger than the total receipts of its treasury in all its century and a half of history. England suffered less than the continent; but in England, merely to keep up the interest on the debt, along with her *old* annual expenditure, the nation must raise five billions of dollars a year — which means a taxation per family of about twenty times that which an average American family paid before the war. The totals of French and German indebtedness are so huge as to have little meaning to us.

This distress is aggravated by disorder in the currency of European lands. During the war or very soon after, nearly all the gold of the world passed into America. Most continental countries have *no* money except a terribly depreciated paper money. Even the French franc fell to less than a fourth of its face value in 1923, and is still far below a third of its proper value. For years, Austrian money has been worth less than one two-hundredth of its face; while the German paper mark, which was maintained during 1919–1922 with great difficulty, at about a fortieth of its old face value, began then to sink dizzily until it took many millions to equal one gold mark. The best of these conditions is bad enough to demoralize industry, to create bitter suffering for the poor and for all people living on fixed incomes, and to hinder a revival of world trade. In Germany, indeed, trade was rapidly going back to the barter stage, when it was saved for a time at least by the Dawes Plan (p. 678).

War debts to America

Then there is the vexing matter of foreign war debts. During the war the American government loaned nine billion dollars to the Allies — nearly half of it to England, which country had itself loaned to France and Italy more than it had borrowed from America. In the fall of 1922, England began to make payments on the interest account; and soon afterward she completed definite and honorable arrangements to pay her total debt to America, principal and interest, in installments over a period of sixty-two years.

Down to 1926, however, no other nation had made any payment. Many French leaders have asserted openly that France cannot pay; and there is a strong inclination in that country to feel that America ought to cancel the debts due her as part of the American contribution toward the war. America, however, has shown little sympathy for that idea, — especially as France has found it possible to spend huge amounts on her military establishment and to subsidize Poland and Roumania with immense loans, in order that those countries, too, might keep ready for war. (For later settlements, see p. 679.)

Moral costs

The World War struck civilization a staggering blow; and the heaviest cost was the intangible moral cost. The world was exhausted, and everywhere there was a moral slump. For a time, in all large countries, the war orgy of profiteering was even augmented, with a reckless exploitation of helpless multitudes. Everywhere what is called "society" was marked by careless self-indulgence and temporary indifference to great issues. In the large countries, too, there was a perilous access of militarism. The overthrow of German militarism — and even the disappearance of Germany and Austria from world politics — had not brought peace. National hatreds were more general and intense than ever before in world history, and (as in 1914) trade rivalries were heaping materials for world conflagration. Accordingly, in each powerful nation, chemists, engineers, military men, in laboratories and in councils, were planning more deadly instruments of destruction, while some scientists prophesied that the next war would be chiefly a contest in scattering loathsome disease germs from aërial navies over whole continents.

New war clouds

Pacific questions

However, one mighty event in particular gives good reason to hope that the terrible warning of the World War has not been in vain. Two of the great powers suffered little directly from that war, — the United States and Japan. Between these two there were old causes of irritation, and the war left with them new disputes — as to Japan's relations to China (and to American trade there); as to her control of Pacific cables

wrested from Germany; and so on. At once the two countries entered upon an open and ominous rivalry in enlarging their navies, on a scale never before dreamed of, and in fortifying their Pacific possessions. To any one who held in mind the lessons of the past, all this indicated at least a serious danger that America and Japan might soon drift into another annihilating war — which of course would quickly involve the rest of the exhausted world.

The Washington Conference of

Wise statesmanship has for the present removed this peril. Diplomatic negotiation of the usual sort was failing to lessen the danger; but in the summer of 1921, Mr. Harding, President of the United States, called an international conference at Washington to consider the limitation of naval armaments and the matters of dispute in the Pacific. This *Washington Conference* was attended, of course, by representatives of England, France, Italy, and Japan, and also of four smaller powers with interests in the Pacific — China, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland. Charles Evans Hughes, the American Secretary of State, presided. (China, not unnaturally perhaps, was present in the part of a petitioner rather than in that of an equal partner in conclusions.)

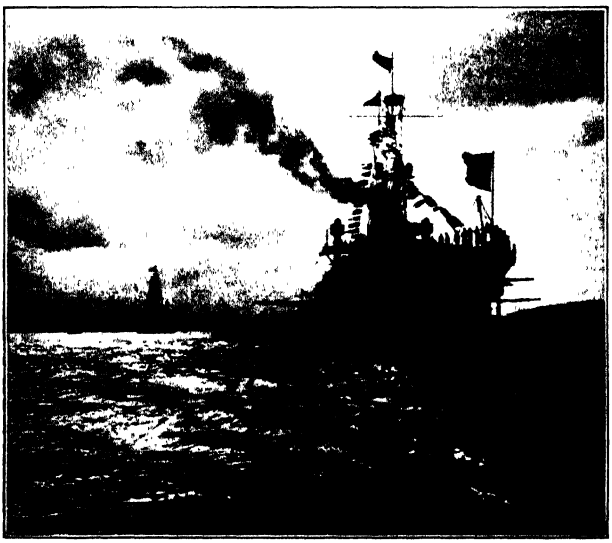
holiday"

The Conference opened November 12, 1921, and continued twelve weeks. On the opening day Mr. Hughes took away the breath of the world by making public a detailed proposal for naval reduction. America and England, according to this plan, should keep navies of equal power; Japan should have three fifths the strength of either of them; each of the three was to scrap all new ships in construction and a certain proportion of its old vessels;[1] and no new warship should be begun by any of them for ten years.

Eventually the Conference adopted the proposal with no essential change. It also provided for stopping the fortification of Pacific Islands by America and Japan. England and Japan

[1] All this applied to "capital ships," — dreadnoughts, super-dreadnoughts, and armored cruisers (such ships as are valuable not so much for defense as for attack). The United States scrapped thirty ships, sixteen of them under construction, upon which she had already expended a third of a billion dollars.

agreed that it was unnecessary to renew their twenty-year alliance (p. 606), which was about to expire and which many Americans regarded as a menace. And the great cable stations in the Pacific, at the island of Yap and elsewhere, were opened



AMERICAN WARSHIPS IN NEW YORK HARBOR. The super-dreadnought, *Utah*, in the foreground, has a tonnage of some 21,000. The ships under construction, but scrapped after the Washington Conference, would have been much larger, as indeed are several of the vessels now in commission.

freely to the United States and to other countries before shut out from them.

Some justice for China

China got less than she wanted, and less than America would have been pleased to see her get; but she got much. Japan withdrew the most offensive of her twenty-one points (p. 613) — which had required China to accept Japanese officials into her administration in order to care for Japan's interests in China; and she promised definitely to surrender Shantung at the end of five years, upon condition that China at that time should pay a specified and not unreasonable price for the railroad built there by Germany and Japan. England freely returned Waihaiwai to China (p. 608). All the powers, too, surrendered

certain peculiar rights which they had enjoyed, beyond the control of the Chinese government, — rights which had been a humiliation to Chinese dignity and which often became a cover for exploitation. All, too, agreed to maintain in future an "open door" policy in their relations with China, and to make public at once any future treaty with that country.

A promise of better things

The unfortunate attitude of France made it impossible to secure any agreement to reduce land armaments or to accomplish anything worth while in submarine reduction. Many other valuable suggestions came to naught. But the actual accomplishment of the Washington Conference is full of promise for the world. It has made war between the great powers over Pacific questions almost unthinkable for at least ten years — and we may hope that it has pointed a way by which statesmen may use that interval to render future wars impossible.

Americans have every reason to rejoice proudly that the proposal for a "naval holiday" came from our country. From no other could it have come with so good a grace. America, far richer now than any other land, could at least stand the waste and expense of naval preparedness better than any other great nation could. For America, then, to suggest waiving that "advantage," showed a splendid faith in reason, rather than in violence, for the settlement of international controversies.

Central America disarms

A year after the Washington Conference, in the early winter of 1923, the world saw (on a smaller scale) a still more successful meeting of the same kind. With the encouragement and guidance of the United States government, a congress of delegates from the five republics of Central America pledged their countries, for a five-year period, (1) to settle all disputes with one another by a definite process of arbitration, (2) to acquire no war navies, and (3) *to decrease their land armies to certain specified strengths.*

The same month was marked by the failure of a like attempt at Moscow. Russia had proposed to her five new Baltic neighbors that they, and she, should each reduce land armies to one fourth the existing strength; but the suggestion came to nothing because of Poland's

unwillingness to disarm. According to the Polish delegate at the conference, the Polish army, on a peace footing, is three times as large as that of the United States. Bankrupt Poland is unable to maintain such force without help; and just after the failure of the Russian conference, she secured a huge loan of 400,000,000 francs from France — *whose statesmen had just declared that they could see no way to arrange for paying even the interest on the French debt to America.*

European Alliances

That loan confirms the belief that Poland is bound by agreement with France to maintain her army at a certain strength — and so *could not* agree to disarm. Whether by treaty or only by "informal understanding," she is a close ally of France, who has been the chief champion of every expansion of Polish territory, just or unjust, and to whom she looks for protection against future possible attempts of a recuperated Russia or Germany to regain lost provinces. And, for her part, France finds Poland useful as a threatening outpost against Russia, and because France and Poland between them hold disarmed Germany as in a vise. Such alliances are inevitable results of the peace treaties of 1919. (Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania hold a like relation to France, while Lithuania, Hungary, and Bulgaria incline to Germany; and it is fairly certain that Jugoslavia will give her sympathies to whichever party has *not* the aid of Italy.)

Attempts to reduce the indemnity fail

Some survey like that in the preceding paragraphs is needful if one is to understand the serious problems that face Europe. Before the close of 1921, in conformity to the drift in English opinion, Lloyd George came to the conviction that some revision ought to be made in the terms of the German indemnity. (Said he, "We must make peace *sometime*.") The whole order of things in Europe, however, had rested, since the war, on the friendly coöperation of England and France; and it was very doubtful whether the nation was ready to support any statesman who should break that "Entente" — and perhaps plunge Europe into chaos. While the Washington Conference was in session, Lloyd George did succeed, by strong pressure, in inducing his colleagues of the Allied Council (see opposite page) to agree to an all-European conference (which should contain delegates from Germany and Russia) to try to reconstruct Europe. But the meeting (at Genoa), in the spring of 1922, and two successors later in the year, failed of positive achievement because the French government after all proved unwilling to meet Russia

PLATE CIX

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LLOYD GEORGE AND ARISTIDE BRIAND (the French premier) in conference at Cannes in August, 1921. After the close of the Peace Congress in the fall of 1919, the real government of Europe lay in an "Allied Council" holding frequent sessions and made up of representatives of the leading European "Allies." The premiers of France and England were "the Big Two" of this Council through 1920-1921. Lloyd George, responding to liberal English feeling, soon showed a desire to adopt a gentler policy toward Germany. Toward the close, Briand was beginning to incline slightly in the same direction; but this so offended the anti-German feeling in the French Assembly that he was obliged to resign.

on terms of equality and the nations could not agree upon any satisfactory proposals for revising the indemnity.

The English elections of 1922

After his glowing prophecies of success, Lloyd George was left in an awkward position; and his loss of prestige soon drove him from office. In a new English parliament, the Conservatives, led by Bonar Law and then by Stanley Baldwin, secured a large majority, and the Laborites more than doubled their former strength, displacing the Liberals as the leading "opposition." True, the Conservative ministry, though less aggressive than its predecessor, showed promptly that it held similar views as to the necessity of revising the indemnity terms. But now England had come to need French backing desperately in the Balkans and Asia Minor if she were to escape extreme humiliation or costly and unpopular war with Turkey; and so France felt safe against any *open* breach on the German question.

The Turks in Constantinople

The arrangements made at the peace treaties for the East had already gone to pieces. In 1921, Greece attacked Turkey, with secret backing from England, to get more booty in Asia Minor. A party of Young Turks, or Turkish Nationalists, deposed the Sultan and declared that they would not be bound by the treaties that closed the World War. Under their able leader, Kemal Pasha, they drove the Greek army wholly out of Asia, and forced the Allies to permit them to reoccupy not only Armenia but also Constantinople and even European Thrace, including Adrianople.

In 1923 the Allies ratified this arrangement by treaty, and Turkey became a constitutional republic, with Kemal for its first president. Only the united action of England, France, and Italy had brought the Turks to stop where they did. But, for many months before the close, the position of France had been ambiguous. Indeed, at first she had given secret encouragement to the Turks, so as to win their acquiescence in her retention of parts of Syria.

France in the Ruhr

Then opened another act in the European tragedy. On January 15, 1923, the Allied Council (*the English delegate not voting*) declared Germany in willful default in her reparations payments. The French government at once advanced its army into the Ruhr Valley, the heart of whatever coal and steel industry remained to Germany. Poincaré (the French premier) claimed that such action was sanctioned by the treaty of 1919, and,

during the following months, he declared repeatedly that France would hold the Ruhr until reparation payments were completed.

Disarmed Germany could make no resistance by force; but for nine months the inhabitants of the occupied district (encouraged thereto by Berlin, and at the cost of terrible suffering to themselves) made a remarkable "passive" resistance, refusing to "coöperate" with the invaders. Hotel managers and café waiters refused to serve French officers; telephone operators refused (until replaced by French substitutes) to answer their calls; light and power plants shut down; bakeries closed; railways, mines, and factories went on strike. Meanwhile the French punished this "passive" movement sternly through military courts; and in October a new ministry at Berlin ordered that the policy be given up.

Passive resistance

It was soon clear to all (as it had been to thinking men from the first) that under these conditions Germany neither would nor could make any reparation payments at all. France could not reap financial gain from this seizure; and it became more and more certain that Poincaré aimed not so much at reparations as at the lasting ruin of Germany, industrial and political.

The terrible sufferings of France in the war, the heroism of her people under that crushing trial, their generous efforts in its midst to aid their allies at critical moments, their splendid efforts since the war to rebuild their country, have won a wide sympathy among the nations of the world. This feeling, along with some remaining vindictiveness against the old Germany, prevented for some months any general and public condemnation of the seizure of the Ruhr, although to many of France's warmest admirers that action seemed from the first fraught with disaster to the world. But in May of 1923 the Swedish parliament adopted almost unanimously a resolution of protest against the French occupation, and soon afterward the Pope voiced a strong protest. For many weeks longer, the uneasy English ministry contented itself with negotiating with France to secure joint action in the matter of the indemnity; but deciding finally that further delay was hazardous, it declared publicly

that the French policy was not sanctioned by the treaty of 1919 and that it imperiled the safety of Europe.

Soon after (October, 1923), England formally invited the Allies and the United States to join in creating an international commission of experts in finance for the investigation of the whole matter of treaty reparations. This was in accord with an informal suggestion some months earlier by Secretary Hughes of the United States. In the first days of November, Italy and Belgium expressed formal approval of the plan; but Poincaré insisted upon restrictions that would prevent such a commission from considering the need of any *reduction* of the indemnity — or even the evacuation of the Ruhr. The United States government, accordingly, refused to take part in an inquiry so limited.

The English Labor Victory

At this moment France received warning from new elections in England. The Conservatives sought to strengthen themselves against the general dissatisfaction with the mildness of their foreign policy by dissolving parliament and appealing to the country for a majority to establish a protective tariff — to start up the closed factories, they said, and relieve the terrible unemployment. But English labor refused to believe in the proposed remedy, or to be diverted from the question of foreign policy. The election (early in December) left the Conservatives still the largest of the three parties, to be sure; but their former majority over the other two combined was wiped out. Both Liberals and Laborites made large gains, and a Labor ministry, with Ramsay MacDonald for premier, was kept in office for ten months by Liberal support.

The Dawes Plan and the London Conference

Accordingly, Poincaré grew more conciliatory. The French restrictions on the proposed commission of inquiry were slightly modified; and in January of 1924 that commission (with an "unofficial" American delegation) began its work. The American commissioner, General Charles G. Dawes, became chairman, and the final report is known by his name.

This "Dawes' Report" was finally considered (August, 1924) by an international conference at London, where Germany appeared, for the first time since the war, on a footing with the

other powers. But this was only because a new election in France had decisively overthrown the Poincaré government.

Herriot, the new French premier, was supported by various Socialist and progressive groups. To carry measures relating to foreign affairs, however, he found that he must win some support also from the Nationalists, as Poincaré's former majority was

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RAMSAY MACDONALD (*Premier*) welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd in a London railway station on his return from a conference with Herriot in Paris.

called. Accordingly, the former policy toward Germany, though greatly modified, was by no means revolutionized.

The Dawes Plan, therefore, did not try to fix the total that Germany must finally pay — because no proposal to reduce the indemnity could at that time win the necessary French approval. It was agreed, however, that for a few years the payments should be upon a smaller scale; and it was further arranged that Germany should receive a loan of $200,000,000 from American and English bankers (1) to reëstablish her currency, (2) to care for deficits in the current expense of her government, and (3) to enable her to begin again her reparation payments on the

scale agreed upon. On her part, France promised to evacuate the Ruhr and to return the deported inhabitants. The plan (accepted unanimously by the conference) quickly started an industrial revival in both France and Germany, and it also won at least a few years more of peace in which Europe may work out a lasting reconstruction.

War debts again

In 1925 the war-debt question came again to the front. The French and Italian governments were anxious to borrow gold from American bankers so as to keep their paper money from further collapse. The United States government, however, made it known that it disapproved any more such loans by American capital until those countries had agreed to definite arrangements for paying their debts to our national treasury. France and Italy, accordingly, sent negotiators to Washington to work out plans.

In the settlement with England (page 669), our government had consented to a rate of interest lower than it was paying its own people for the money it had borrowed from them to make the loans with – so that England was asked really to repay only 82 per cent of the *cost* of her loan. The settlement granted Italy was far more generous. Italy is to repay only some 25 per cent of her borrowings, and (a more serious matter) her payments, instead of being made like England's in equal installments, are to be very small for several years — less, indeed, than the interest alone. After making one of those payments, Italy did float a loan through American bankers — and so saved Mussolini's dictatorship from bankruptcy. Many experts, however, doubt whether the larger payments that the plan calls for in later years will ever be met.

To France our government offered a similar settlement, except that she was to pay 50 per cent of her borrowings; but, after many months of consideration, the French Chambers refused to ratify the plan. Meantime, France had arranged for the future payment of her debt to England on terms satisfactory to herself. Then, by rigid economy in administration and by new borrow-

ings from her own people, she did, for the time at least, check the depreciation of the franc.

The Locarno Conference, October, 1925

This happy result was due in large part, indirectly, to another European conference which had been held at Locarno just a year after the close of the great London Conference. Aristide Briand (cut facing p. 674) had again won control of the French foreign policy. Gustave Stresemann, German minister for foreign affairs, represented his country. These two statesmen appeared in public at Locarno, arm-in-arm, to symbolize the new German-French friendship which each declared essential to the peace and prosperity of Europe. France and Germany adopted an arbitration treaty for settlement of all their future disputes; and the publication of other treaties made it plain that France was bound to defend Poland and other Eastern allies *only* if Germany were to attack them. Briand announced that France would no longer oppose Germany's admission to the League of Nations, and arranged also to have the French army of occupation withdraw from more German territory. Germany, on her part, renounced definitely all idea of ever using force to recover her lost provinces.

Germany in the League

A year later (September, 1926) *Germany did become a member of the League* on an equal footing with the other great powers there, so that her consent is necessary in the future to any action of consequence. This step, and the Locarno Conference, it may be hoped, have "ended the war." Germany feels now that she is in a position to secure fair consideration for any proposal she may make regarding revision of unjust articles in the treaties of 1919.

Workings of the Dawes Plan

The Dawes Plan had easy sailing until 1929-1930, when Germany was required greatly to increase her payments. This consideration gave particular interest to the report upon the working of the plan for 1927 by Mr. Parker Gilbert, Agent General. Mr. Gilbert is an American expert who had been agreed upon to see that Germany did her part under the plan. His office gave him much power over German national finances, and

indeed, less directly, over German industry and trade. In this report, however, he made plain his opinion that such outside supervision of German affairs ought to cease, and, a little later, he let it be known also that he thought the time had come to fix a new total for German reparations — a total much smaller than the amount demanded by the Reparations Commission in 1921 (page 661).

And the prospect of solving the reparations problems

French statesmen of all parties seemed agreed, too, by the close of 1927, that some reduction might be desirable for world welfare; but they seemed quite as unanimous that, for her own welfare, France cannot consent to reduction unless the United States agrees to an equal decrease in the debt France owes us. Many of our people deeply resent having the two problems so tied together — as though, say such objectors, America had first to beat Germany and then to pay the indemnity that country incurred for being beaten. But we have to recognize that in the European mind the two problems (German reparations to the Allies and the war debts owed by the Allies to America) *are* tied together; and when the time comes soon to try to readjust the reparations payments, in some new world conference, it will be for America solemnly to consider her responsibility and her opportunity. High school students cannot expect to form justly considered opinions upon so complex and far-reaching a problem; but they are entitled to desire that their government and their nation come to the final decision, whatever it be, on no low and selfish ground, but rather in the spirit of the ringing call from Theodore Roosevelt: "*We here in America hold in our hands the fate of the world, the hope of coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed and if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of man.*"

Meantime a new condition has grown up which causes a large and influential class of Americans to favor a gentler international policy toward Germany. Since 1924, wealthy Americans have invested several billions of capital in the stocks and bonds of German railroads and other German industrial corporations—

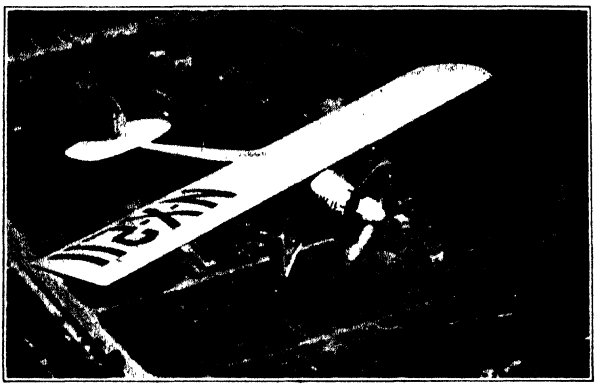
so that it is sometimes said (with pardonable exaggeration) that Americans own Germany. If Germany be compelled eventually to pay indemnities to the national treasuries of the Allied countries on the scale originally proposed, then private German industries will stand little chance of paying much return on these American investments.

Largely through the efforts of Mr. Gilbert (page 680), a new International Reparations Commission met in January of 1929. It organized by choosing for its chairman Mr. Owen D. Young, one of the "unofficial" American representatives.

The outlook for world peace

Meanwhile the outlook for world peace is brightening. In 1927 for several months Italy and Albania (just across the narrow Adriatic) faced each other with daggers drawn—but finally they sheathed weapons still bloodless. During the same season, Poland and Lithuania did begin war (a flare that might easily have grown into a world conflagration) — but the League of Nations, weak as it still is, restored peace with justice. That same summer two international conferences at Geneva, designed to secure further disarmament, adjourned without one fruitful result. But there is much significance in the fact that thinkers nowhere look upon those failures as final — rather as delay merely and as preludes to new efforts. It is notable, too, that in England Lord Cecil, one of the greatest men of his age, resigned from the Cabinet to rebuke it for not showing more devotion to the peace principle in those conferences. More notable, perhaps, is the general acclaim called forth by his action from Englishmen of all political parties. And certainly the six hundred delegates of the Woman's Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held at Washington early in 1928, like a second meeting of the same kind in 1929, spoke an earnest determination for peace on the part of a larger portion of American citizenry than has ever been united in opinion upon one great question at any earlier meeting in our history. Then in January, 1929, the Pan-American Conference on Conciliation (happily in session at Washington at the critical moment) arranged successfully for the arbitration of a dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, even though the quarrel had reached the stage of a border war.

PLATE CX



International Newsreel

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and his transatlantic plane, *Spirit of St. Louis*. — In May, 1927, "our ambassador without portfolio" spanned the continent in two flights and shortly after made the first non-stop flight from New York to Paris. The world rose up in a burst of applause to acclaim the hero. Paris and London vied with New York and Washington to do him honor. In France, in particular, the airman's visit, and his modest and tactful manner, did much to restore a good feeling toward the United States, which recent war debt discussions had endangered. Significant as the trip was from the standpoint of aviation, more glory belongs to it because of its tremendous and rather unanticipated stimulus to international good will.

Keystone View Co.

Forces, outside governments, that make for brotherhood

Happily, too, the great movement goes on, in large part, independent of government action. The International Association of Universities helps mightily for the growth of world-mindedness in all lands, especially by its system of "exchange professorships." The Rockefeller Foundation, centering in New York, does a similar and mightier work, — providing in almost every great nation scores of fellowships for advanced scientific study by students from practically every other country, arranging for the exchange of health officers from country to country, and maintaining what is well called "an international exchange of men and ideas." Scientists, too, in their laboratories are often doing more than statesmen can do for the growth of a closer world brotherhood. In 1927 Americans and Englishmen first talked across the Atlantic, by wireless, as though across a room. One year later, in February, 1928, Americans not only could hear a friend speak across the Atlantic as he replied to a greeting but could see his face. On almost the same day on which that last miraculous invention was first successfully demonstrated, our Colonel Lindbergh announced his firm faith that a trans-atlantic air-mail and a two-day passenger service is a matter of the near future. Thus more and more a war between the most distant nations (as we formerly measured space) comes to resemble a silly feud between neighboring households — and so grows more intolerable and less possible.

The Kellogg Peace Pact

The aid of government action, however, must still remain; and one great act of this kind is the latest signal victory for peace. In 1924 Mr. S. O. Levinson of Chicago published a forcible argument urging that the proper road to peace was for the governments of the world, acting each for its own nation, to "outlaw war." The paper drew wide attention, much of it of a jocular nature, and it aroused much dismay among many earnest workers for world peace, who feared popular derision for the whole peace movement as a consequence of so extreme a platform.

But in April, 1927, Aristide Briand, now again French Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposed to incorporate just those startling words, "outlaw war," in the renewal of an expiring

arbitration treaty between France and America. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, welcomed that suggestion — *provided* some way might be found for any other country desiring to do so to become a party to the treaty. French statesmen at first felt that such a "multilateral" treaty might conflict with previous treaty-obligations of France, especially toward her Allies in the East of Europe. But after many months of cable "conversations" between the two governments, and after an exchange of diplomatic visits, it was finally agreed that the United States should propose such a treaty to all the nations of the world. This was done, late in the summer of 1928, and in February of 1929 the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate with only one opposing vote. Ratification by France followed; and the agreement had already been ratified by so many leading nations that it was declared at once to have gone into effect.

This famous "Kellogg Peace Pact" does not contain the words, "outlaw war," but the ratifying nations do solemnly pledge themselves, as between one another, to "renounce war as an instrument of national policy." To be sure, we have learned by sad experience that any treaty which becomes hateful to a powerful nation may turn out to be a "scrap of paper," and many critics have styled this agreement "merely a gesture." But we are entitled at least to look upon it as a noble and gracious gesture which shall make it easier in every land to mobilize sentiment for world peace against every attempt to infringe it. American citizens are especially interested in the earnest and eloquent passage in the Inaugural Address of President Hoover (March 4, 1929) wherein that statesman hailed this Kellogg Pact as beginning a new and more hopeful era in international relations — and as hastening the adhesion of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which he very properly called the only machinery available, or likely to be available, for the peaceful and judicial settlement of international differences.

PROVISIONS OF THE KELLOGG TREATY

Article I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

APPENDIX

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Starred volumes should be present in multiple copies

Prehistoric Culture

Clodd, E., *Story of Primitive Man* (" Primer "). Appleton, New York.
—— *Story of the Alphabet* Appleton.
Davenport, E., *Domesticated Animals and Plants.* Ginn, Boston.
Dodge, R. J., *Our Wild Indians.* Hartford.
Holbrook, F., *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers.* Heath, Boston.
Joly, N., *Man before Metals.* Appleton.
Mason, O. T., *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture.* Appleton.
Starr, F., *Some First Steps in Human Progress.* Flood and Vincent, Meadville, Pa.

It is not suggested that a school library should own all the works above, until it is well supplied in other directions. But any of them will make entertaining reading. More costly, and beautifully illustrated volumes in the same field are Solas' *Ancient Hunters* and Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age.* For *Fiction*, on the same period, the best attempt is Stanley Waterloo's *Story of Ab.*

Oriental History

Baikie, James, *Story of the Pharaohs* (illustrated). Macmillan.
Breasted, J. H., *History of the Ancient Egyptians.* Scribner, New York.

The same author has a larger, finely illustrated work covering the same ground, *History of Egypt.* Scribner, New York.

** **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston. Two volumes: " Greece and the East " and " Rome and the West."

Volume I contains 60 pages of " source material " in Oriental history, with valuable introductions and comment.

Hommel, F., *Civilization of the East* (" Primer "). Macmillan.
Jackson, A. V. W., *Zoroaster.* Macmillan.
* **Myres, J. L.**, *Dawn of History* (" Home University "). Holt.
Petrie, W. F., *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (illustrated). McClurg. Somewhat technical, but by a famous Egyptian explorer.

Sayre, A. H., *Babylonians and Assyrians.* Revell, Chicago.
Winckler, Hugo, *Babylonia and Assyria.* Scribner.
More recent in scholarship than Sayre, but less readable.

Ancient Crete

Baikie, James, *Sea Kings of Crete* (illustrated). Macmillan.
Hawes and Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece.* Harpers.

Greek History

Source Material

** **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History.*
See above. This should be the *first* library material purchased for Greek history, unless it is bought by each student. Its use will make students wish to know more of ancient authors.

Aristotle, *On the Constitution of Athens;* translated by Kenyon. Macmillan.
This is the least readable of the books mentioned in this list; but it can be used in parts, under a teacher's direction.

Herodotus, Rawlinson's translation, edited by Grant; two volumes. Scribner.
—— Macaulay's translation; two volumes. Macmillan.
* *Homer's Iliad*, translated by Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Macmillan.
* *Homer's Odyssey*, translated by Butcher and Lang. Macmillan.
—— Translated by Palmer. Houghton.

Plutarch, *Lives;* translated by Clough; Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York); three volumes.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War;* Jowett's translation. Clarendon Press, Oxford; four volumes, or the same edited in one volume and published by Lothrop, Boston.
Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York) gives several volumes of these classics at cheaper rates. Constant additions are made to the Library. Herodotus and Thucydides can be obtained also in less desirable translations, but much cheaper, in Harper's Classical Library.

Modern Works

* **Abbott, E.**, *Pericles* ("Heroes"). Putnam, New York.

Blümmer, H., *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks* (profusely illustrated). Cassell, New York.
(Still valuable; but if the library is buying a new book on the subject, it should get Gulick, below.)

* **Bury, J. B.**, *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander.* Macmillan

* **Church, E. J.**, *Trial and Death of Socrates.* Macmillan.
A translation of four of Plato's Dialogues touching upon this period of Socrates' life. They are also the easiest of Plato's writings for young people to understand. It has valuable comments.

Cox, G. W., *Greeks and Persians.* Epochs Series. Longmans, New York.

* —— *The Athenian Empire.* Epochs Series. Longmans.

Cunningham, W., *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects: Ancient Times.* Macmillan.
The best work on its special phase. Very full for Greece.

* **Davis, William Stearns**, *A Day in Old Athens.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

—— *A Victor of Salamis* (novel). Macmillan.
Exceedingly vivid presentation of Greek life.

Gardiner, E. N., *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (illustrated). Macmillan.

Gayley, C. M., *Classic Myths.* Ginn, Boston.

* **Grant, A. J.**, *Greece in the Age of Pericles.* Scribner.

* **Gulick, Chas. B.**, *Life of the Ancient Greeks* (illustrated). Appleton.

* **Mahaffy, J. P.**, *Alexander's Empire.* Putnam, New York.

—— *Old Greek Life* (" Primer "). American Book Co.

—— *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire.* University of Chicago Press.

* **Wheeler, Benjamin Ide**, *Alexander the Great* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Bury is the best single work on Greek history. It closes with the death of Alexander. Cox's volumes in the Epochs Series are slightly preferable for the Athenian period; and Wheeler's *Alexander* is admirable for its period. For the age after Alexander, the best book is Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire* or his *Progress of Hellenism.*

Roman History

Source Material

* **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*, as for Greek History above.

Tacitus. 2 vols. Macmillan.

Modern Works

* **Beesly, A. H.**, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla.* Epochs Series. Longmans.

Bradley, H., *The Goths* (" Nations "). Putnam.

Bury, J. B., *The Roman Empire to 180* A.D. (" Student's "). American Book Co.

* **Capes, W. W.**, *Early Roman Empire.* Epochs Series. Longmans.
—— *Age of the Antonines.* Epochs Series. Longmans.
Carr, *The Church and the Empire.* Longmans.
Church, A. J., *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero.* Macmillan.
Church, R. W., *Beginning of the Middle Ages.* Epochs Series. Longmans.
Davis, William Stearns, *A Friend of Caesar* (fiction). Macmillan.
Firth, J. B., *Augustus Caesar.* Putnam, New York.
—— *Constantine the Great.* Putnam, New York.
Fowler, Warde, *Caesar* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Fowler, *Social Life in the Age of Cicero.* Macmillan.
A useful and readable book.
* **How and Leigh**, *History of Rome to the Death of Caesar.* Longmans.
* **Ihne, Wilhelm**, *Early Rome.* Epochs Series. Longmans.
Inge, W. R., *Society in Rome under the Caesars.* Scribner.
Johnston, H. W., *Private Life of the Romans.* Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago.
Jones, H. S., *The Roman Empire.* Putnam.
* **Pelham, H. F.**, *Outlines of Roman History.* Putnam.
A single volume covering the whole period to 476 A.D., by a great scholar and teacher.
Pellison, *Roman Life in Pliny's Time.* New York.
Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans.* Leach, Boston.
Smith, R. B., *Rome and Carthage.* Epochs Series. Longmans.
Thomas, E., *Roman Life under the Caesars.* London.
* **Tighe, Ambrose**, *Development of the Roman Constitution* (" Primers "). American Book Co.

From the "Fall of Rome" to Columbus

Source Material

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Bohn).
Chronicles of the Crusades (Bohn).
* **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*, II. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
Einhard, *Charlemagne.* American Book Company.
English History from Contemporary Writers). Edited by F. York-Powell.
A series of ten small volumes, all very valuable. Putnam, New York.
* **Hill, Mabel**, *Liberty Documents.* Longmans.
Joinville, *Memoir of St. Louis.* (Various editions.)
Lanier (editor), *The Boy's Froissart.* Scribner.
Marco Polo, The Story of, edited by Noah Brooks. Century Co.
* **Ogg, T. A.**, *Source Book of Medieval History.* American Book Co.

APPENDIX

Modern Works

Adams, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation.* Macmillan.
—— *Civilization during the Middle Age.* Scribner.
* **Archer and Kingsford**, *The Crusades* (" Nations "). Putnam.
Balzani, *Popes and Hohenstaufen.* Longmans.
Beard, Charles, *An Introduction to English Historians* (extracts from leading authorities on interesting topics). Macmillan.
Boyeson, H. H., *Norway* (" Nations "). Putnam.
Brown, Horatio, *The Venetian Republic* (" Temple Primers "). Macmillan.
* **Bryce, James**, *Holy Roman Empire.* Macmillan.
* **Cheyney, E. P.** *Industrial and Social History of England.* Macmillan.
Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages* (" Epochs "). Longmans.
Clemens (Mark Twain), *Joan of Arc.* Harper.
Cornish, F. W., *Chivalry.* Macmillan.
Cox, G. W., *The Crusades* (" Epochs "). Longmans.
Cunningham and McArthur, *Outlines of English Industrial History.* Macmillan.
Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People.* London.
Davis, H. W. C., *Charlemagne* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
* **Emmerton**, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages.* Ginn.
Gilman, *The Saracens* (" Nations "). Putnam.
Gray, *The Children's Crusade.* Houghton.
* **Green, J. R.**, *History of the English People.* 4 vols. Burt, New York. Or, in place of this last work,
—— *Short History of the English People.* American Book Co.
Green, Mrs., *Henry II.* Macmillan.
Hodgkin, T., *Charles the Great.* Macmillan.
Hughes, Thomas, *Alfred the Great.* Macmillan.
Jenks, *Edward Plantagenet* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars.* Putnam.
Jiriczek, *Northern Hero Legends.* Macmillan.
Lane-Poole, *Saladin* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Masterman, J. H. B., *Dawn of Mediæval Europe* (" Six Ages "). Macmillan.
Mullinger, *University of Cambridge.* Longmans.
Oman, C. W. C., *Byzantine Empire* (" Nations "). Putnam.
Pears, E., *Fall of Constantinople.* Harper.
Perry, F., *St. Louis* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
* **Shepherd, W. R.**, *Historical Atlas.* Holt.
Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets* (" Epochs "). Longmans.
Tout, T. F., *Edward I.* Macmillan.

Van Dyke, *History of Painting.* New York.
Zimmern, H., *The Hansa* (" Nations "). Putnam.

From Columbus to the French Revolution

Beard, *Martin Luther.* London.
Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America* (Am. Nation Series). Harper.
Bradley, *Wolfe.* Macmillan.
Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Fox-Bourne, *Sir Philip Sidney* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Harrison, F., *William the Silent.* Macmillan.
Lindsay, T. W., *Luther and the German Reformation.* Scribner.
Parkman, Francis, *New France* and *Montcalm and Wolfe.* Little, Brown, and Co.
Seeley, *Expansion of England.* Macmillan.

From the French Revolution to the Present Day

* **Anderson, F. M.**, *Constitutions and Other Documents Illustrative of the History of France*, 1789–1907. H. W. Wilson Co., White Plains, N. Y.
* **Andrews, C. M.**, *Historical Development of Modern Europe.* (From 1815 to 1897.) Putnam.
Barker, J. E., *Modern Germany.* London.
Cesaresco, *Cavour.* Macmillan.
Crawford, *Switzerland To-day* (1911). New York.
* **Gardiner, Mrs. B. M.**, *French Revolution* (" Epochs "). Longmans.
Gibbons, H. A., *New Map of Europe* (1911–1914). The Century Co.
Gibbs, Sir Philip, *Now It Can be Told.* Macmillan. (Facts, at first suppressed, about the World War.)
Gooch, G. P., *Modern Europe*, 1878–1919. Holt.
Hayes, Carleton, *Modern Europe.* 2 vols. Macmillan (Vol. II covers 1815–1915).
—— *The Great War.* Macmillan.
** **Hazen, C. D.**, *Europe since 1815.* Holt.
Headlam, J. W., *Bismarck* (" Heroes "). Putnam.
Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story.*
King, Bolton, *History of Italian Unity*, 1814–1871. Scribner.
Kirkup, T., *History of Socialism.* Macmillan.
Lloyd, *A Sovereign People* (Switzerland). New York.
Loreburn (The Earl), *How the War Came.* London. (An admirable account by an English anti-imperialist.)

Lowell, E. J., *Eve of the French Revolution.*
* **McCarthy, Justin**, *Epoch of Reform*, 1830–1850 (" Epochs "). Longmans.
—— *England in the Nineteenth Century.* Putnam.
—— *England under Gladstone.* London.
Rose, J. H., *Napoleon.* Macmillan.
* —— *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era.* Cambridge Press.
* —— *Rise of Democracy in Great Britain.* New York.
Robertson, William Spence, *History of the Latin American Nations* (1922). Appleton.
Russell, *German Social Democracy.* Longmans.
Spargo, John, *Elements of Socialism.* Macmillan.
Stephens, H. Morse, *Revolutionary Europe*, 1789–1815. Macmillan.
Wallace (and others), *Progress of the Century* (Nineteenth). Harper.

INDEX

Pronunciation, except for familiar names and terms, is shown by division into syllables and accentuation. When diacritical marks for English names are needed, the common marks of Webster's Dictionaries are used. German and French pronunciation can be indicated only imperfectly to those who are not familiar with the languages; but attention is called to the following marks: $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{e} = \bar{e}$; $\bar{i}e = \bar{i}$; the soft aspirated guttural sound *g* of the German is marked ġ; the corresponding *ch* (as in *ich*) is marked ĸ; the sound of the nasal French *n* is marked *ñ*; for the German *a* and *au* the equivalents are indicated, to prevent confusion with English *a*; *o* is always the German letter; and *u* is the German sound which is equivalent to French *u*. In French words with an accent on the final syllable, that accent only is marked; but it should be understood that in such words the syllables as a rule receive nearly equal stress. Silent letters are put in Italic.

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