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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

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

EDITED BY HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.

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BOOK III

FRANCE AFTER 1815

THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCE AFTER 1815

By ALFRED RAMBAUD

Member of the Institute

PROBLEMS OF THE RESTORATION[1]

THE problem which none of the revolutionary assemblies and forms of government — the constituent and legislative assemblies, the convention, directory, consulate, or empire — had been able to solve, and which consisted in providing France with an adequate and solid constitution, confronted the governments that immediately followed the Revolution.

Louis XVIII "conceded" the charter of 1814, which was an offshoot of the British constitution. This charter gave the executive power into the hands of a king declared non-responsible, who was to be assisted by responsible ministers; the legislative power was to be divided between the king and two chambers composed — one of hereditary peers, the other of deputies paying one thousand francs of direct taxes and chosen by electors who paid five hundred francs.

Louis XVIII had merely to "lie down in the bed of Napoleon," to find himself invested with all the prerogatives necessary to a king, and to come into possession of such a police and administrative system as the world had never seen before. The latent despotism, however, was held in check by the ministerial responsibility, by the rights of the chambers, by the very rudimentary liberties of the people, and finally by the king's own strong common sense. Under such a rule France might have enjoyed the period of peace needed after twenty-five years of turmoil and upheaval, had the passions of the different parties — the royalists, the liberals, the Bonapartists who later coalesced with the earlier republicans — permitted such repose.

[1] Histories of the Restoration have been written by de Vaulabelle, Lamartine, Viel-Castel, Nettement, Hamel; of the monarchy of July, by Louis Blanc, Elias Regnault, de Nouvion, Thureau Dangin, with the *Mémoires* of Guizot, duke de Broglie, Doctor Véron, Victor Hugo (*Choses Vues*); of the revolution of 1848, by Daniel Stern, A. Delvau, Normanby, E. Spuller, H. Castille, Victor Pierre, P. de la Gorce; of the Second Empire, by Taxile Delord, P. de la Gorce; of the third republic, by E. Zevort, G. Hanotaux. Faustin Hélie, *Les Constitutions de la France;* Duvergier de Hauranne, *Histoire de gouvernement parlementaire.*

The experiment was furthermore disturbed by Napoleon's return from Elba and the consequent defection of almost all of his former troops, and by the "Hundred Days" of Waterloo with their disastrous consequences. Napoleon, running his last adventure as a despot, at least paid homage to the new ideas, all strange to him, which had arisen, and gave the state a constitution bearing the name of Additional Act that, like the charter of Louis XVIII, might have been thought a copy of the constitution of Great Britain. In this act he promised to the people freedom of the press as well as all other liberties.

Napoleon was no sooner embarked for St. Helena than legitimate royalty returned and with it the charter of 1814. Under its provisions France might at last have grown accustomed to the use of liberty, had not Charles X conceived the idea of searching out, in Article 14, which charged him to enforce the laws, a clause which gave him the right to violate them. The revolution of 1830 ensued.

THE MEASURES OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

The sovereignty which issued from this struggle was a compromise between the monarchic and the republican ideas; Louis Philippe, though a descendant of St. Louis, and even of Hugh Capet, was the son of a regicide and member of the convention, and had himself fought at Valmy, Jemmapes, and Neerwinden under the folds of the tricolour. Thereby, he offered guarantees to the men of 1789. On the other hand, the legitimists reproached him with his father's regicidal vote and with his own usurpation, the republicans utterly refused to see in his reign the "best of republics" as La Fayette desired, and the Bonapartists held themselves in reserve for Napoleon II.

Here again the violence of political passions made a liberal form of government very difficult to maintain. Plots and insurrections followed fast upon each other. The king was made the object of twenty-three murderous attempts, the most terrible being that of Fieschi and the infernal machine, which wounded or killed forty-two persons, among whom was the maréchal Mortier.[1] Louis Philippe used to say of himself that he was the "only game that could be hunted at every season of the year."

The charter was amended in a somewhat more democratic sense, and Article 14, which had been so unfortunately construed by Charles X, was annulled. The office of peer was henceforth to be held for life and not to be hereditary. The electoral qualification or fee was reduced from three hundred to two hundred francs (to one hundred in the case of officers and members of the institute); and the qualification of eligibility was reduced from one thousand to five hundred. The number of electors was increased from 90,000 to 200,000; later, in 1847, to 240,000 — a small enough number for a nation of thirty-five million souls!

The charter formally abolished "preliminary authorisation" and press censure, and referred to a jury all offences of the press. Even after various organs had been guilty of excess, and had instigated regicide and insurrections, these provisions were steadfastly observed. The only extra stringency to be adopted was the enactment of September 9th, 1835, which gave a clearer definition of press misdemeanors and imposed new penalties.

It was in the matter of meetings and associations, however, that this government, otherwise so liberal, displayed the most timidity, and not without reason. The law of the 10th of April, 1834, was intended to supply any deficiencies that might have escaped the discerning eye of Napoleon: for example, in his Penal Code, he had in view only meetings and associations of over twenty persons; the law of 1834 reached those which were subdivided into fractions of less than twenty members. Napoleon had aimed exclusively at "chiefs, administrators, or directors"; the law of 1834 fell upon simple members. The penalty named by Napoleon had been a fine of from sixteen to two hundred francs; this fine was henceforth to be five times greater, and there was a risk attached of from two months' to a year's imprisonment, etc.

[1] Prince de Joinville (who assisted at this terrible scene), *Vieux Souvenirs*, Chap. XII.

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We must not overlook the fact that neither Napoleon's life nor his throne had ever been endangered by associations, whereas certain powerful societies, either open or secret, had been at work undermining the sovereignty of Louis Philippe and instigating attempts on his life. It was no small honour that this king should have bestowed upon France the maximum of liberties it had ever enjoyed while he himself was being made each year the object of one or more murderous attempts.

The monarchy of July rested upon three institutions:

(1) Qualified suffrage. In 1830 the modification of the electoral qualification and that of eligibility had, in effect, caused the preponderance to pass from rural to urban electors, and from social forces pertaining to agriculture to industrial and commercial forces.

(2) A qualified national guard. The national guard had been suppressed under the Restoration because of its turbulent demonstrations against the prime minister of Charles X, M. de Villèle. To be revenged it fought against the royal troops on the barricades of July, 1830. From this moment, however, it became the prop of order, the defender of the charter and of the citizen-king; and upon it devolved the duty of carrying the barricades. This band of merchants, of licensed traders, of Parisian shop-keepers, many of whom had taken part in the previous wars and who wore the great shako with all the ease of Napoleon's seasoned "grumblers," fought valiantly against the rioters, whose bravery equalled their own. More than two thousand members of the national guard, most of whom were heads of families, fell in the street combats, shedding their blood freely for the dynasty they themselves had raised up. Louis XVIII and Charles X had each had a special royal guard partly composed of Swiss; Louis Philippe would have about him no other body than the national guard, knowing well how much he owed each individual member. Thus at every review held by him crosses of the Legion of Honour were freely distributed among them. The national guard elected its own non-commissioned officers and commissioned officers below the rank of captain; appointments to all the higher grades were made by the king from a list of ten names proposed by the battalion. In order to preserve to the organisation its bourgeois character and to prevent any admixture of the popular element, it was simply necessary to exact the wearing of a uniform. The national guard was both a militia and an opinion; at the king's reviews it manifested by its silence or by its acclamations what it thought of politics. Hence it was called "the intelligent bayonets."

(3) The same class from which were recruited electors and members of the national guard also furnished members of the jury before whom were arraigned all the enemies of the government, whether accused of conspiracy and attempt at assassination or of some misdemeanor of the press.

Thus it was the same men who sustained the monarchy of July by their votes, their bayonets, and their decisions. They constituted what was then the "legal nation." The rest of the people were forbidden all share in public

affairs. When therefore these electors, national guardsmen, and jurors began to show hostility or even simple indifference towards the government they had helped to found, that government fell of itself. When, on the 28th of February, 1848, Louis Philippe saw himself abandoned by his faithful national guard, he refused to sanction further bloodshed; his power, based on the favour of public opinion, could not stand once that support had been withdrawn. Hitherto his reign had had to do chiefly with the "legal nation"; over the true nation he did not feel himself competent to rule.

The government of Louis Philippe had shown itself as liberal as the ideas of the times would permit; it had assured to France, to all Europe in fact, despite certain provocations from the old "Holy Alliance," eighteen years of honourable and profound peace; it had endowed France with its richest colony, Algeria, and under it the country's agriculture, industry, commerce, and all the branches of public prosperity had attained enormous development.

THE MISTAKES OF 1848

The misunderstanding which finally led to rupture between the nation, even the "legal nation" and the monarchy, arose out of a question relating to the extension of suffrage. The revolution of the 24th of February, 1848, was unquestionably the least justified and least justifiable in the history of France. Its consequences were even more disastrous to the country in general than to the reigning dynasty. Those who advocated extension of the right of suffrage were soon to experience sharply what evils an electoral body — suddenly increased, without preparation or gradation, from 241,000 voters to ten millions — could inflict upon the land; and those who accused the well-disposed king of illiberalism were shortly to taste the joys of a revival of Cæsarism.

The personages whom the revolution of the 24th of February bombarded into power as the "provisory government" were men of high intelligence, giving evidence of the very best intentions but totally devoid of political experience. They exhausted their eloquence and talents in criticising and reviling power, without in the least knowing what were its essential attributes. One of their first acts was to proclaim universal suffrage, being forced thereto possibly by the circumstance that the revolution had removed all restrictions standing in its way, and that new ones could not be invented by any small body of men had they the wish. The provisory government, at the same time that it accorded to all the right to vote, opened the way to wider membership in the national guard by abolishing the uniform. Later the second constituent assembly, by a decree issued the 27th of August, 1848, admitted nearly the whole number of electors to jury rights; thus the pillars of the monarchy of July were employed to strengthen and consolidate the democratic power. The provisory government also annulled all laws restricting freedom of the press and the right to form unions and associations, and abolished titles of nobility as well as capital punishment for political offences.

By the transformation of the national guard, all the opinions of the different political parties into which the country was divided took the form of armed opinion, of opinion bloodthirsty and crossbelted, with gun in hand and cartridge box on back. Political feeling was indeed everywhere excited to excess, owing to the hatching of innumerable revolutionary newspapers, and the opening of the clubs ("red" clubs, be it understood) all over Paris. When the provisory government shortly after retired to give place to a constituent assembly, the latter — first-fruit as it was of universal suffrage

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and composed of members far too numerous (about nine hundred), who were scarcely known to each other and were seated for the first time in an assembly — gave proof of inexperience equal to that of the provisory government; or rather it professed deep contempt for any political experience that had ever been gained.

The constitution this body voted contained two noteworthy provisions, either of which would have been sufficient to destroy it: (1) Opposite the president of the republic was to be a single chamber called legislative, with no intermediary power between it and the president. This arrangement had already been tried by the provisions of the constitution of 1791. One single assembly had then destroyed the king; this time it was the president who was to destroy the single assembly. (2) The election of the president of the republic was to be effected by universal suffrage; what power was it possible for any assembly to possess in face of a president who held his office by virtue of a veritable plebiscite?

There remained one last folly to be committed, and that by the agency of universal suffrage. On the 10th of December, 1848, it elected as president Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

What happened had to happen — it was decreed on the 10th of December, 1848. In just what manner it happened it is needless to detail. The *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, made the president who had been faithless to his vow master of France. At first the nation had no other constitution than the terror diffused by the Paris massacres and the bloody acts of repression that took place throughout the provinces.[1] When Louis Napoleon finally bethought himself of the necessity of providing a constitution (that of the 14th of January, 1852), he had but to seek inspiration in the example of his uncle. Just as under the first empire, there was appointed for leading functions a council of state; next, ranking sufficiently high, a senate; and lastly a *corps législatif*, which seemed to exist solely for show, composed as it was of members elected under pressure of the prefects, having no initiative in matters of law or of state finance and sitting under a president elected by the prince and ministers not responsible to it. All civil and military officials were obliged under pain of revocation to take an oath to the man who had violated his. Ten months had not elapsed after the proclamation of that constitution, before the *senatus consulté* of the 7th of November, 1852, made the prince-president emperor of the French, a dignity which was confirmed by the plebiscite of the 20th-21st of November.

NAPOLEON III IS ELECTED EMPEROR

Naturally all liberties were suppressed. In the matter of meetings and associations, Article 291 and the law of 1834 reappeared in vigour, and the press was subjected to the harshest rule it had known since the first empire. All rigours, fiscal, preventive, and repressive, were brought to bear upon it; a security of from 15,000 to 50,000 francs was demanded, and a stamp-tax of six centimes for Paris and three centimes for the provinces on every number of a newspaper. No organ could exist without "preliminary authorisation" by the government. Jurisdiction in press misdemeanors was withdrawn from the jury and given to criminal judges who held their office from the sovereign. Administrative repression was added to or supplemented judicial repression; every newspaper that received two notices from the police

[1] Ténot, *Paris en Décembre 1851 et la province en Décembre 1851*: Victor Hugo, *Histoire d'un Crime*.

within two years was immediately suppressed. Even books were made the subject of exceptional rules, *L'histoire des princes de Condé*, by the duke d'Aumale, being seized without process of law (1863).

Such was the "authoritative empire"; it subsisted until 1867. It would be idle and tedious to relate by what successive concessions on the part of the imperial power, made under pressure of political opinion that took its colour from the blunders of Mexico, Sadowa, etc., the "authoritative empire" was gradually transmuted to the liberal empire, that restored to the legislative body many of its legitimate prerogatives; softened the rule that bore so heavily on the press; took the risk even of authorising (by the enactment of June 6th, 1868) meetings that were non-political in character, and also of public meetings held in view of legislative elections.

The empire had been able to exist at all only on condition that the particulars concerning its origin should be kept from view; the publication of the books by Ténot describing the violences that attended the *coup d'état* both in Paris and the provinces, and the wide diffusion of Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le petit*, together with his mighty poetical pamphlet, *Les Châtiments*, recalled to the old and revealed to the young in what waves of blood had been effaced the oath sworn to the republic by the president, Louis Napoleon. Thereafter every new form of liberty bestowed on the nation by the emperor awoke — not gratitude, but the determination to use it as an arm against him. Still it is probable that the second empire would have prolonged its existence by yet a few more years had it not ventured, by the declaration of war against Germany, to face a violent death.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The trials that France underwent during the "terrible year" are too well known to need narration; no horrors were spared her, neither those of civil nor of foreign war. Borne down by disaster and by the weight of financial ruin precipitated by the demand of the invaders for five thousand millions of francs, the most difficult and complicated of all problems was the reorganisation of the government. How the national assembly, elected on February 8th, 1871, composed two-thirds of royalists, was ever brought to consent first to a "head of the executive power of the French Republic," then to a "president of the French Republic," and finally, even after the overthrow of M. Thiers, even under the presidency of Marshal MacMahon, to vote the republican constitution of February 25th, 1875, is a mystery that can be explained only by the force of circumstances. Certainly the royalists had the majority in the assembly; but they were divided into two nearly equal camps, legitimists and Orleanists, who could never bring about a fusion between the two branches of the house of Bourbon. Henceforth the republic which, contrary to expectations, had offered for five months a resolute resistance to invasion, which had showed itself sufficiently powerful to quell an insurrection twenty times more redoubtable than those to which the monarchies had succumbed — the republic which had inspired Europe, the whole world in fact, with confidence sufficient to obtain for it the prodigious loans it needed for the liberation of its territories — the republic, we say, was looked on as the form of government most natural to the land, the one already firmly established there, antedating the national assembly itself. The complementary elections of July, 1871, and all the partial elections which followed, testified to the obstinate, unalterable attachment of the French people to the republican idea. Even the rash act of the assembly on the

24th of May, and later that of Marshal MacMahon, which seemed to place the question of a republic once more in the balance, served but to exalt the passion of democracy and galvanise republican energies.

The constitution of 1875, gift of the national assembly to the republic, is, all things considered, the best that France has ever had. The country seems to have profited by the experience, favourable or the reverse, of the past, to steer safely past the reefs that wrecked the constitutions of 1791 and 1848. Like the constitutions of all the free peoples of Europe, this creation of the national assembly was plainly inspired by the old constitution of Great Britain; it also recalls the charter of 1830, but with an added democratic-republican character. Certain it is that the president of the republic, like Louis Philippe, "reigns but does not govern," and that like him also he has ministers who are responsible to the chambers. Of these chambers one is the product of universal suffrage and furnishes the motive power for the entire machinery of state, president and senate being but wheels to regulate the action. The senate is elected by a special body composed mainly of delegates from the different communes, which is why Gambetta called it the "grand council of the communes of France." Since the reforms effected in 1884 there are no longer any life-senators, all being appointed for a term of nine years. No one of the great powers of the state can encroach upon the others. If a president violates his oath of office he can, by vote of the chamber, be impeached before the senate; if the chamber shows a disposition to exceed its proper authority it can be dissolved by the president, with the affirmative vote of the senate. The senate enjoys the advantage of having its membership renewed only to the extent of one-third every third year, and consequently may be said to be a permanent assembly, whereas the office of president receives a new incumbent every seven and the chamber entire new membership every four years. Nevertheless this triennial change of *personnel* is quite sufficient to keep the senate within the bounds of its legitimate authority.

Such was at least the theory of the French constitution of 1875; but no constitution is worth more than the men who put it into practice. It is plain that if the chamber of deputies were made up from elections falsified under official pressure, by fraud at the ballot-boxes, or by general corruption; or if the senate, instead of being composed of picked men, as should be the case with any assembly of high functions, recruited its senators from among the miscellaneous candidates presented by universal suffrage or the ranks of village notabilities; if on the occasion of a presidential election all candidates possessing high character or intelligence were carefully rejected — that constitution would be thrown out of gear in every cog. Not upon its authors could the blame be made to fall, but upon those who strove to disfigure and pervert the original conception.

One reproach can be raised against the constitution of 1875 — it is based upon an English instead of an American prototype. Has not a great and prosperous republic like the United States offered the best model for the constitution of the most powerful democracy of the Old World? Has not its type been adopted by all the republics, even the Latin, of the New World? This thesis has been sustained in France, particularly by M. Andrieux, former deputy from Lyons and prefect of police, who made it the object, in 1884, of a proposed law. The chief drawback to its adoption, however, seemed to be that France occupied a territory of only 525,000 square kilometres, while that covered by the United States is 9,354,000. Hence the France of to-day, product as it is of a thousand years of history, of the old régime, of the

Revolution, of the Napoleonic empires, is a highly concentrated state, essentially a unit. It has reached this condition of unity by reason of its situation in the midst of powerful neighbours, who all, at one time or another, have had to be resisted; the United States, on the other hand, has no anxiety of war. From these observations certain consequences undeniably follow.

We can still, however, envy the United States its Supreme Court, which guarantees to every citizen his essential rights in the face of any possible arbitrariness on the part of Congress or executive power. In the matter of our essential rights the law of July 29th, 1881, is all that can be desired as regards the press; moreover, the law of June 30th, 1881, authorised all public meetings on presentation of a simple declaration signed by two citizens. Associations in the interests of public charities, commerce, or the sciences had long been allowed to form with perfect freedom, and the law of March 21st, 1884, completely broke down all previous legislation in favour of associations having the character of syndics. Also the law of the 2nd of July, 1901, would certainly have endowed France with the greatest possible liberty of association,[1] if it had not borne so arbitrarily upon congregations.

Save on this latter point it can be affirmed that French democracy, if by that term is understood the nation in its entirety and not a few detached revolutionary groups, has evolved in our more recent laws and constitution the most perfect of all political formulas. It seems indeed that the end of the mighty struggle begun in 1789 has been reached. A social system such as ours could hardly attain to a greater degree of liberty and equality; it is rather in the matter of fraternity that there still remains something to accomplish.

Having set forth the political evolution that has taken place in France since 1815, I shall later show how society has become transformed during the same period.

[1] The law of the 2nd of July, 1901, abrogates not only articles 291 and following of the Penal Code and the law of 1834, but it repeals the act of March 14th, 1872, proscribing the Workers' International Union. Article 7 of the law of the 30th of June, 1881, forbidding clubs, the law of the 28th of July, 1848, prohibiting secret societies, etc.

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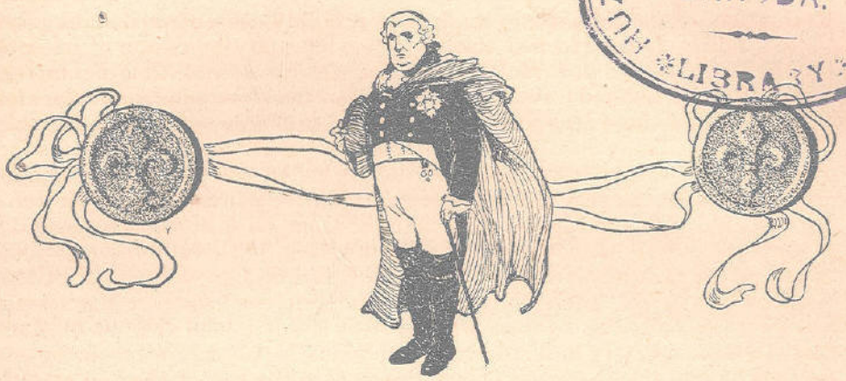

CHAPTER I

THE BOURBON RESTORATION

[1815-1824 A.D.]

France had now struggled, suffered, and bled for five-and-twenty years, through a fearful revolution and ruinous wars; and what were the results? Her enemies were in possession of her capital: all her conquests were surrendered; and the Bourbons were restored to the throne of their ancestors. But these were not the only consequences of the late convulsions, to France or to Europe. France, indeed, was governed by another Bourbon king; but the *ancien régime* was no more: the oppressive privileges of feudalism had been abolished; and a constitutional charter was granted by Louis XVIII. But all these benefits had been secured in the first two years of the Revolution, before the monarchy had been destroyed, without a reign of terror, and without desolating wars. She had gained nothing by her crimes, her madness, her sacrifices, and her sufferings, since the constitution of the 14th September, 1791. Upon Europe, the effects of the Revolution were conspicuous. The old *régime* of France was subverted; and in most European states, where a similar system had been maintained, since the Middle Ages, its foundations were shaken. The principles of the Revolution awakened the minds of men to political thought; and the power of absolute governments was controlled by the force of public opinion. — Sir Thomas Erskine May.[b]

LAMARTINE'S VIEW OF THE RESTORATION

Nations are like men; they have the same passions, vicissitudes, exaggerations, indecisions, and uncertainties. That which is called public opinion in free governments is only the movable needle of the dial plate which marks by turns the variations in this atmosphere of human affairs. This instability is still more sudden and prodigious in France than in the other nations of the world, if we except the ancient Athenian race. It has become a proverb of Europe.

The French historian ought to acknowledge this vice of the nation, whose vicissitudes he recounts, as he ought to point out its virtues. Even this instability belongs to a quality of the great French race — imagination; it forms part of its destiny. In its wars it is called impulse; in its arts, genius; in its reverses, despondency; in its despondency, inconsistency; and

in its patriotism, enthusiasm. It is the modern nation which has the most fire in its soul; and this fire is fanned by the wind of its mobility. We cannot explain, except by this character of the French race, those frenzies — which simultaneously seem to seize upon the whole nation after the lapse of some months — for principles, for men, and for governments the most opposed to each other.

We are on the eve of one of those astonishing inconstancies of public opinion in France. Let us explain its causes: The gleam of those philosophical principles, the whole of which constitute what is called the Revolution, had nowhere, so much as in France, dazzled and warmed the souls of the people, at the end of the eighteenth century. At the voice of her writers, her orators, her tribunes, and her warriors, France took the initiative in the work of reformation, without considering what it would cost in fatigues, treasure, and blood, to renew her institutions, vitiated by the rust of ages, in religion, legislation, civilisation, and government. The throne had crumbled amidst the tumult, pulled down like a counter-revolutionary flag raised in the midst of the Revolution. The country, however, was beginning to know itself, to purify itself, to constitute itself into a tolerant democracy under the republican government of the Directory, when Bonaparte, personifying at once in himself the usurpation of the army over the laws and the counter-revolution, violently interrupted, on the 18th Brumaire (November 9th), the silent work of the new civilisation, which was elaborating and culling out the elements of the new order of things. To divert the nation's thoughts from its revolution he launched it and led it on to the conquest of Europe. He exhausted it of its blood and population, to prevent it from thinking and agitating under him. He had made it apostatise by his publicists, by his silent system, and by his police, from all the principles of its regeneration of 1789. While he was hurling kings from their thrones, he declared himself the avenger and restorer of priesthoods and royalties.

France had begun to breathe after his first fall in 1814. The charter had resumed the work of Louis XVI, and promulgated the principles of the constituent assembly. The Revolution had gone back to its first glorious days. It had no longer to apprehend either the intoxication of illusions, or the resistance of the church, of the court, of the nobility, or the crimes of the demagogues.

The return of Bonaparte, thanks to the complicity of the army,[1] had again interrupted this era of renovation, of peace, and of hope. This violence to the nation and to Europe had been punished by a second invasion, which humbled, ruined, and decimated France; and even threatened to partition it into fragments. Bonaparte, in quitting his army after his defeat at Waterloo, and in abdicating, had carried away with him the responsibility of this disaster; but he had left behind him the resentment of the nation against the army, against his party, his accomplices, and against his name. Everybody had a grievance, a resentment, a mourning, or a ruin to avenge upon this name of one man. The paroxysm of anger compressed by the presence of the army, by dread of the imperial police, and by the hope of a repetition of that glory with which he had for a moment fascinated France before Waterloo, burst forth from every heart, except those of his soldiers, immediately after his fall. Public opinion threw itself, without

[1 Seignobos c speaks of "the Episode of the Hundred Days" which compassed Napoleon's return from Elba and his fall at Waterloo, as "nothing but a military revolt, a *pronunciamento* of the army of Napoleon." It must be remembered, however, that a very large part of the army did not respond to this call or take part in the last disaster.]

reflection, without foresight, and without discretion, into the opposite party in the elections. Public opinion in France, when irritated, listens neither to middle courses, nor to intrigues, nor to prudence; it goes direct from one side to the other, like the ocean in its ebb and flow. This is the whole explanation of the elections of 1815, which sent up to the crown a chamber more counter-revolutionary than all Europe, and more royalist than the king.[d]

EXCESSES OF THE ROYALISTS AND THE INVADERS

Louis XVIII, being too indifferent and too fond of repose to be vindictive, had re-entered the city with the disposition to be moderate; that was also the attitude of the ministry which he had given himself. It was for the interest of Talleyrand and Fouché that there should be no reaction and the other ministers, Baron Louis, Pasquier, Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr who had been chosen by the king because he had not rallied to Napoleon during the Hundred Days, were by character and reason opposed to all excess. But it soon became evident that the king would be powerless to keep the royalists within bounds and that the ministers would be left behind and disregarded. The new emigration was returning from Ghent eager for vengeance, and its friends in the interior had awaited no signal to let loose their rage against everything which in any way held to the Revolution or the empire. The ultras made Paris resound with their outbursts of shameful joy and insulted those in the street who would not join them, while the capital was at the same time brutally trodden under foot by foreigners. The royalist journals heaped abuse on the French army and spoke only of punishment and proscription.

If the king and his ministers were unable to restrain the royalists, with still greater reason they were not in a condition to protect the city and country from the allied armies. The foreign occupation offered a sinister contrast to what it had been in 1814. It was Blücher, the fiercest enemy of France, who with his Prussians occupied the interior of Paris, while the English were encamped in the Bois de Boulogne. The very evening of his re-entry Louis XVIII was warned that the Prussians were preparing to blow up the bridge of Jena, the name of which recalled their great disaster in 1806. In vain did the king have recourse to Wellington. The fierce Blücher listened to no one. Fortunately the first explosion of the mines was not sufficient to overthrow the piles, and the arrival of the Russian and Austrian emperors with the king of Prussia on July 10th prevented Blücher from recommencing. Emperor Alexander intervened; the bridge was saved and the one hundred million francs which Blücher proposed to demand of Paris, regardless of the capitulation, were reduced to eight.

The presence of foreign rulers, while it encumbered Paris with new masses of troops, at least diminished somewhat the disorder caused by the occupation within the capital; but without, the invaded departments were everywhere exposed to pillage. Never had the abuse of victory, with which the French had been accused in Germany, approached what took place in France. In the wars beyond the Rhine, Napoleon's severe character imposed a certain order even on the requisitions; here the military chiefs, great and small, acted, each on his own account, like leaders of the old bands of invading barbarians; they plundered their hosts, despoiled cities and villages, laid hands on the public treasuries, and when the officials of the royal government tried to hinder their pillaging, they arrested them and sent them as prisoners across the Rhine. The Prussians put a feeling of implacable

vengeance into their excesses. But the violence and depredations of the Prussians were at least equalled by those who had nothing to avenge, by those Germans of the south, the Swabians (the inhabitants of Baden and Würtemberg) and Bavarians, who were now pillaging France in the name of the coalition as they had shortly before, in the name of France, pillaged Russia, Austria, and Prussia, much more violently than the French. Popular Russian tales of 1812 show what a difference Russian peasants made between French soldiers and the German allies of France. French peasants in despair responded here and there, as those of Russia had done, by sanguinary acts of retaliation and resorted to the woods to carry on a guerilla warfare.

The numbers of the invaders increased daily. All the reserves of every country arrived on the scene. Germany especially passed over the Rhine as a whole to come and live at the expense of France. At one time there were as many as 1,240,000 soldiers on French territory.

Emperor Alexander and the duke of Wellington, the one out of humanity, the other out of a spirit of discipline and fear of provoking a general uprising of the French people, tried to put an end to this immense disorder and, acting on their proposition, the four great powers attempted to regulate the occupation by a convention agreed upon on the 24th of July. The danger of provoking France to desperation was very real. Besides the army of the Loire, the French had still several corps under arms, under Marshal Suchet and other generals. Free companies in the departments of the east were energetically harassing the enemy, and most of the strongholds were still intact and maintained a threatening attitude. The defence of Hüningen has become celebrated: General Barbanègre sustained a long siege in this little place with one hundred and thirty-five soldiers against twenty-five thousand Austrians.

The French army at that time had been disbanded for fifteen days. The troops separated in a spirit of sad resignation, without attempting a resistance which would only have aggravated the misfortunes of their country. Thus came to an end the most illustrious army the modern world has ever seen. The royal ordinance which had dissolved the army had fixed the basis upon which a new army was to be organised.

THE "WHITE TERROR" OF 1815

In the meantime two-thirds of France was occupied by strangers and the part which was exempt from invasion was afflicted by another scourge, by a violent reaction. The triumphal return of the "usurper," the enforced submission to the restored empire, which had undergone feeble attempts at resistance, had aroused an ill-contained rage in the heart of the royalists of the south; it broke out at the news of Waterloo. At Marseilles, beginning with the 25th of June, furious bands had pillaged several houses and massacred the owners who were partisans of the emperor. Others had thrown themselves on the poor quarter where lived a certain number of mamelukes, brought back from Egypt by Napoleon. These unfortunates were butchered together with their wives and children.

From Marseilles the murders and conflagrations spread to Avignon, Carpentras, Nîmes, and Uzès. The 17th of July at Nîmes a small garrison of 200 men, very much hated by the ultras because they had kept up the tricoloured flag until the 15th of July, capitulated before an urban and rural mob. Scarcely had the soldiers surrendered their arms, when the "royal volunteers" shot them down at the end of the muzzle. Crowds of fanatics and

marauders overran the city during several days, plundering the houses of rich Protestants; several were assassinated.

Murder, devastation, and conflagration overflowed into the country; houses were burned, the olive trees and grape-vines of the "wrong thinkers" were cut down. The royal authorities were powerless or else in league with the movement. Hundreds of persons were arrested on all sides arbitrarily by the marauding bands. The military commander and the under prefect at Uzès disgraced themselves by delivering up eight of their prisoners to the chief of the assassins at Uzès, called Graffan, who had them shot without the form of a trial, after having massacred a certain number of the inhabitants in their homes.

The reaction reunited all kinds of infamy; obscenity was joined to rapacity and ferocity. On the 15th of August, the day of the fête of the Virgin, at Nîmes the wives of the brigands who ruled in the department of the Gard dragged in the streets the Protestant women they could get hold of, subjecting them to the most dishonourable insults.

The "White Terror" of 1815 exceeded in ignominy the reaction in Thermidor of the year III. It was not, as in the latter, crime against crime, terror after terror. The Hundred Days had seen neither bloodshed nor proscriptions, and the reactionary party of 1815 had nothing to avenge. The worst days of the League were recalled by the alliance of the ultra-aristocracy with the depraved, lazy, and sanguinary populace, which ferments under the feet of the real people, and which statisticians speak of as "the dangerous classes."

Judiciary persecution was soon added to the massacres. The victims who had escaped the knife of the assassin were now to be confronted with the judges of the reaction. The king and the ministers were innocent of the riots and brigandage of the south, which they had not been able to prevent and which they had not the strength to chastise. They seem on the other hand to be responsible before history for the terrible succession of political trials which they ordained. There again, however, they endured rather than inspired to action; not only the whole court, the whole royalist party, but even the foreign powers demanded imperiously that those who were called the "conspirators of March 20th" should be pursued to the utmost. An erroneous appreciation of the facts connected with the "return from the island of Elba" contributed much to incite the second restoration to those deeds of implacable vengeance which gave it such a sanguinary character. The foreigners, like the royalists, imagined that the 20th of March had been the result of an immense conspiracy embracing the whole army and most of the officials. That was the reason of the redoubling of envenomed hatred which the leaders of the coalition felt for the French army. What had been pure impulse was taken to be the result of a plot, and it was not known that the only conspiracy which took place before the 20th of March had a wholly different aim than the re-establishment of the emperor. The foreigners had now but one idea, and that was to do away with Napoleon and the French army and to inspire the French military spirit with a terror, which as they said would insure the repose of Europe.

While the prisons were filling up, while political trials were beginning on all sides, the constitutional government was being reorganised under bad auspices. The peerage was reconstituted by the nomination of ninety-four new peers and declared hereditary. The electoral colleges had been convoked on August 14th. The ordinance of convocation established new rules provisionally. The colleges of the arrondissement were to present

candidates and the colleges of the department were to name the deputies, half from among the candidates, half from their own free choosing. This was putting the election in the hands of the aristocracy. The age of eligibility was lowered to twenty-five years, that of the electorate to twenty-one, and the number of deputies increased from 253 to 402. All that concerned electoral conditions was to be submitted to revision by the legislative power. The elections were carried out everywhere under the influence of authorities dominated by the ultras and in the south at the point of the dagger. Massacre had begun again at Nîmes on the eve of the elections. It was found necessary to occupy four departments of the south with Austrian troops, at the moment when the Protestants were organising to resist the butchery and when civil war was on the point of succeeding assassination.

The elections gave the majority to the ultras. The royal government was placed between the fury of its partisans, whom it could not control, and the menacing demands of the allies who humiliated and oppressed it. Louis XVIII had hoped that after the overthrow of the "usurper" Europe would maintain the treaty of May 30th, 1814, which was already so hard for France. He was very much mistaken. The foreigners, making light of their declarations and their promises, dreamed only of a new dismemberment and of the ruin of France.[1]

The ministry was at that moment very near its fall. Fouché was the first to be attacked. The ultras of the provinces had never accepted him, and those of the court, having no more need of him, abandoned him. Wellington's protection sustained him for some time; but he soon felt the impossibility of maintaining himself before the chambers. He resigned and accepted the insignificant post of minister of France at the court of the king of Saxony.[2]

The whole ministry soon followed him. Furious counter-revolutionary addresses came from a large number of electoral colleges and from general and municipal councils which heralded the storm which would burst at the opening of the chambers. The king gave way to the current which was setting in against the ministry, without difficulty; Talleyrand displeased him as much as Fouché, and, knowing him to be at variance with the emperor Alexander, he saw no reason for keeping him. Talleyrand, having offered his resignation and that of his colleagues more or less sincerely, the king took him at his word. This man, whose egoism had contributed to aggravate the ills of France, was to have nothing more to do with its affairs as long as the restoration lasted.*f*

RICHELIEU THE NEW MINISTER

Along with Talleyrand there retired from the ministry Louis, Pasquin, Jaucourt, and Gouvion-Saint-Cyr. The ministry required to be entirely remodelled; and the king, who had long foreseen the necessity of this step, and who was not sorry for an opportunity of breaking with his revolutionary mentors, immediately authorised Decazes, who had insinuated himself into his entire confidence, to offer the place of president of the council, corresponding to the English premier, to the duke de Richelieu.

[1 We have already seen in the preceding chapter the results of the treaties of 1815.]

[2 Having accepted the trifling and distant embassy to Dresden, Fouché hastened to depart, and left Paris under a disguise which he only changed when he reached the frontier, fearful of being seen in his native land, which he was fated never again to behold. — Guizot.*e*]

Armand, duke de Richelieu, grand-nephew by his sister of the cardinal of the same name, was grandson of the marshal de Richelieu, so celebrated in the reign of Louis XV as the Alcibiades of France. When called to the ministry, in 1815, he was forty-nine years of age. Consumed from his earliest years, like so many other great men, by an ardent thirst for glory, he had joined the Russian army in 1785, and shared in the dangers of the assault of Ismail under Suvaroff. When the French Revolution rent the nobles and the people of France asunder, he had hastened from the Crimea to join the army of the emigrant noblesse under the prince of Condé, and remained with it till the corps was finally dissolved in 1794. He had then returned to Russia. On the accession of Alexander, Richelieu was selected to carry into execution the philanthropic views which he had formed for the improvement of the southern provinces of his vast dominions.

The progress of the province intrusted to his care was unparalleled, its prosperity unbroken during his administration. To his sagacious foresight and prophetic wisdom Russia owes the seaport of Odessa, the great export town of its southern provinces, which opened to their boundless agricultural plains the commerce of the world. The French invasion of 1812 recalled him from his pacific labours to the defence of the country, and he shared the intimacy and counsels of Alexander during the eventful years which succeeded, till the taking of Paris in 1814. Alternately at Paris, at Vienna, or at Ghent, he had represented his sovereign, and served as a link between the court of Russia and the newly established throne of Louis XVIII.

His character qualified him in a peculiar manner for this delicate task, and now for the still more perilous duty to which he was called — that of standing, like the Jewish lawgiver, between the people and the plague. He was the model of the ancient French nobility, for he united in his person all their virtues, and he was free from their weaknesses. He was considered, alike in the army and in diplomatic circles at home and abroad, as the most pure and estimable character that had arisen during the storms of the Revolution. His fortunate distance from France during so long a period at once preserved him from its dangers, and caused him to be exempt from its delusions. His talents were not of the first order, but his moral qualities were of the purest kind.*g*

Treaty of 1815

The first duty of the new minister was to negotiate the treaty with the enemy which was signed on November 20th, 1815. The conditions of the treaty, unfortunately agreed to beyond the necessity of the case, by the pliancy of Talleyrand, and the impatience of the court for the throne at any price, were, however, modified within limits which a statesman might, without being satisfied, submit to. Richelieu, in despair at not being able to obtain more advantageous conditions, still considered them too unfavourable, and obstinately refused to sign them. The king, who saw the chambers, then about to open, disposed to call him to account for his sterile intervention for the pacification of the country, and who saw on the other side Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the powers of the Rhine crushing his people under the devastations of 800,000 men, sent for the duke de Richelieu, one night, by Decazes, and, bedewing the hand of his prime minister with tears, implored him for the sacrifice which is dearest to a man of honour — that of his name. The duke de Richelieu went away, moved and vanquished by this conference with his unhappy master, and signed the treaty.

[1815 A.D.]

This treaty left France in possession of its frontiers of 1790, as we have seen, with the exception of some unimportant portions of territory enclosed within other states, and of Savoy, a conquest of the Revolution which had been respected by the treaty of 1814. It imposed an indemnity to Europe of 700,000,000 francs for the last war commenced by Napoleon, an armed occupation for five years of 150,000 men, the generalissimo of which was to be nominated by the allied powers, and the fortress to be delivered up to this garrison of security. This occupation might terminate in three years, if Europe considered France sufficiently pacified to offer it moral guarantees of tranquillity. The prisoners of war were to be given up, and the liquidation of the 700,000,000 indemnity was to be effected day by day. Besides this war indemnity, France recognised the principle of the indemnities to be assigned after its liquidation to each power for the ravages, the requisitions, or the confiscations that each of these states had sustained, during the last wars, by the occupation of the French armies. France was further burdened with the pay and the subsistence of the 150,000 men of the army of occupation, left by the allied powers upon its territory. The national penalty incurred by France for Napoleon's return from Elba was, in money, about 1,500,000,000 francs; in national strength, its fortresses; in bloodshed in the field, 60,000 men; and in honour, the disbanding of its army, and a foreign garrison to keep a close watch over an empire in chains. This is what the last aspiration of Bonaparte to the throne and to glory cost his country. Eleven hundred and forty thousand foreign soldiers were at that moment trampling under foot the soil of France.[d]

EXECUTION OF MARSHAL NEY AND OTHERS

Among the distinguished victims of royalist fury were Marshal Brune, who was assassinated while on his way to Paris to swear allegiance, and Colonel Labédoyère, whose defection at Grenoble had admitted Napoleon to France from Elba, and who, refusing the opportunities proffered him for escape, was tried and condemned by judges who wept while they condemned him. His last words were, "Fire, my friends," to the soldiers who shot him. The next victim of high distinction was Ney, who had also gone over to Napoleon after joining Louis XVIII. Immediately after the capitulation of Paris he had made his escape with a false name and false passport, but returned and was arrested at the château of Bossonis, among the mountains of Cantal. Curiously enough, he was discovered by means of a Turkish sabre of peculiar form and exquisite workmanship, a present from Napoleon, which he had carelessly left on a table in the salon of the château. General Moncey refused to preside at the military trial, and was imprisoned for three months. Richelieu then accused Ney of treason before the chamber of Peers, in spite of the capitulation of Paris which promised amnesty for all who took part in the Hundred Days. Ney himself declared: "The article was so entirely protective that I relied on it; but for it, can anyone believe that I would not have died, sword in hand!" The peers disclaimed the capitulation concluded between foreign generals and a provisional government to which the king was a stranger. As a last resort, Ney's counsel pleaded that he was no longer a Frenchman, his birthplace having been detached from France by a recent treaty, but Ney checked him exclaiming: "I am a Frenchman and will die a Frenchman. I am accused in breach of the faith of treaties, and I imitate Moreau. I appeal from Europe to posterity."

[1815 A.D.]

He was nevertheless condemned to die. When his death-warrant was read with its long preamble and his many titles, as duke of Elchingen and prince of the Moskova, he broke forth: "Come to the point! say simply Michel Ney soon a little dust." Importunate appeals were made to the king, and even to the duke of Wellington, for a commutation of the capital penalty, but in vain.[a]

He was not taken to the usual place for military executions (the plain of Grenelle) because a popular rising was feared. They took him from the Luxembourg, where he had been imprisoned, to the avenue de l'Observatoire. A platoon of veterans awaited him there, on the spot where his statue stands to-day. The marshal cried, "I protest before my country against the judgment which condemns me, I appeal to posterity and God. *Vive la France!*" Then, putting his hand on his breast, he called in as firm a voice as though commanding a charge, "Soldiers, straight to the heart."

The commanding officer, awestruck, horrified, had not courage to give the word. A courtier, a colonel on the staff, took his place. The marshal fell riddled with balls (December 7th, 1815). Ney's appeal to posterity has been heard. France has never pardoned the murder of this hero.[f]

The death of Ney was one of the greatest faults that the Bourbons ever committed. His guilt was self-evident; never did criminal more richly deserve the penalties of treason. Like Marlborough, he had not only betrayed his sovereign, but he had done so when in high command, and when, like him, he had recently before been prodigal of protestations of fidelity to the cause he undertook. His treachery had brought on his country unheard-of calamities — defeat in battle, conquest by Europe, the dethronement and captivity of its sovereign, occupation of its capital and provinces by 1,100,000 armed men, contributions to an unparalleled amount from its suffering people. Double treachery had marked his career; he had first abandoned in adversity his fellow-soldier, benefactor, and emperor, to take service with his enemy, and, having done so, he next betrayed his trust to that enemy, and converted the power given him into the means of destroying his sovereign. If ever a man deserved death, according to the laws of all civilised countries — if ever there was one to whom continued life would have been an opprobrium — it was Ney. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation. He was in Paris at the time it was concluded — he remained in it on its faith — he fell directly under its word as well as its spirit. To say that it was a military convention, which could not tie up the hands of the king of France, who was no party to it, is a sophism alike contrary to the principles of law and the feelings of honour. If Louis XVIII was not a party to it, he became such by entering Paris, and resuming his throne, the very day after it was concluded, without firing a shot. The throne of the Bourbons would have been better inaugurated by a deed of generosity which would have spoken to the heart of man through every succeeding age, than by the sacrifice of the greatest, though also the most guilty, hero of the empire.[g]

Two other generals, Mouton-Duvernet and Chartrand, who had aided Napoleon's re-entry to Italy, were executed, and Lavalette, who in Alison's[g] phrase "was in civil administration what Marshal Ney had been in military — the great criminal of the Hundred Days," and whose seizure of the post-office had been of greatest assistance to Napoleon, was also condemned, but escaped from prison in his wife's clothes and made his way out of the country with the aid of three Englishmen who underwent three months' imprisonment for their chivalry.[a]

DEATH OF MURAT (1815 A.D.)

It is fitting to speak here of the catastrophe which terminated the days of another of the most illustrious companions of Bonaparte's exploits. King Joachim Murat had taken refuge in France, during the Hundred Days, and after the failure of his expedition against Austria. He had not advanced nearer than Provence, when the battle of Waterloo condemned him to a life of exile. After having been twenty times on the point of being arrested, he managed to embark for Corsica. The welcome he received in that island raised his confidence to too high a degree. He dared to entertain the idea of once more ascending the throne of Naples. He set out on this expedition with two hundred and fifty men and six ships. On his way to Naples he met with much disloyalty and received sinister warnings. His resolution wavered; he would have liked to disembark at Trieste and place himself under the protection of Austria, who had offered him hospitality, but contrary winds and also perhaps treacherous advice prevented him from doing this. On October 8th, 1815, he landed at Pizzo, in Calabria, with forty followers. He was the first to leap ashore, was recognised by some peasants, and at first was received with interest. He asked for a guide to conduct him to Monteleone, and a soldier offered his services; but the so-called guide was none other than the colonel of the armed police, who intended to deliver him up to the king. At a certain spot the colonel made a sign to a band of peasants, who fell on Murat and his companions. Murat, after some resistance, sacrificed himself in order to save his friends from the fury of the crowd. Soon a military commission condemned this marvellously intrepid captain to be shot, and he underwent the penalty in that same country where he had so long exercised royal authority.*h*

LA CHAMBRE INTROUVABLE (1815-1816 A.D.)

The chambers, which had been convoked in August, met at Paris, October 16th, 1815. The chamber of deputies, which included an immense majority of royalists, decided on making no compact, and having no transactions with either Bonapartists or Revolutionists. Lainé was elected president. Louis XVIII, seeing it more royalist than he had imagined, christened it by a name it retained — *La Chambre Introuvable*.[1]

It began by making exceptional or emergency laws. It forbade seditious cries; suspended, in certain cases, individual liberty. It instituted, on the 5th of December, courts of provosts, composed of a military provost assisted by five civil judges, who went wherever troubles arose, to judge the authors of them summarily. Liberal writers, in protesting against these severities, are wrong in trying to make the chamber of 1815 responsible for the sad conditions which it had not caused. It had, moreover, merits with which it should be credited, combining a fierce independence with pitiless honesty. It abolished divorce, which was struck out of the civil code. It opposed excess of centralisation and all that was contrary to true liberty.

[1 The chambers opened on October 7th. Louis XVIII, on learning that the elections had been entirely "royalist," had at first appeared very well content thereat, and had let fall a remark which became celebrated: "We have found a *chambre introuvable*." He very soon had cause to regret having "found" it, and the name has had a very different meaning in history than the one he gave it. — MARTIN.*f* The play on words is hard to transfer to English. In effect Louis XVIII said: "We have found (*trouvé*) the thing unfindable (*introuvable*)," that is, a completely royalist chamber in Revolutionary France.]

The chamber of 1815 did not limit itself to reclaiming for the clergy necessary guarantees and influence. It showed an intemperance in religious zeal that alarmed many. Not content with taking the part, to a legitimate extent, of the men set aside by the Revolution, it appeared animated by a desire of assuring domination to one class to the prejudice of all others. It did not haggle, however, concerning the increased taxes that the cost of the war and the treaty had rendered inevitable, and it created a sinking fund that would some day render these taxes unnecessary. It recognised all public debts without regard to their origin, in spite of opposition from an obstinate faction. The session ended April 25th, 1816, the ministry feeling itself incompetent to act with a chamber it could not control. In this chamber was a group of not inconsiderable men, strangers at first to one another, but tending to unite in forming a constitutional party. The principal were Pasquier, Serre, Barante, Beugnot, Siméon, Saint-Aulaire, Royer-Collard, and Camille Jordan. Although reduced to lie low and adapt themselves to circumstances, reckoning on the passions of those among whom they were thrown, they sought nevertheless to establish the doctrines of parliamentary government conforming to the charter — efforts which gained them the title of *doctrinaires*.*i*

THE DIVISION OF PARTIES

From this moment were formulated the two opposing doctrines which will reappear in the time of Louis Philippe under the name of "constitutional monarchy" and "parliamentary government." The "constitutional" doctrine recognises in the king the right to choose his ministers according to his pleasure, even against the will of the chamber, provided that they do not govern contrary to the constitution; it leaves him master of the executive power, the only real force, and by consequence master of the country; the chambers have no other hold over him than the illusory right to bring the ministers to trial for violation of the constitution. The "parliamentary" doctrine declares the king obliged to take his ministers from the majority; it places the executive power under the domination of the parliament, who may compel its withdrawal by a vote of want of confidence; it indirectly transfers the sovereignty to the chamber. In 1816 the ultra-royalists were supporting the doctrine of the rights of the parliament against the king, and the liberals were defending the king's prerogatives against the royalists.

On the electoral question the ultras demanded election by two stages, in the canton and the department, and for the electors of the canton the lowering of the qualification to fifty francs; that is to say the extension of the suffrage to nearly two millions of electors; they demanded a numerous chamber and the complete renewal of the chamber at the end of five years. The king and the liberal minority wished to preserve direct election by a very restricted electoral body (less than 100,000 electors), while exacting a qualification of three hundred francs in taxes; they demanded partial renewal and a reduction of the number of deputies. The electoral law proposed by the ultras was voted by the chamber and rejected by the chamber of peers (March–April, 1816). The ultras also wished to diminish the power of the prefects and to give the local administration to the landowners. The liberals defended the centralisation created by the empire.

Thus the rôles seemed reversed; it was the party of the old régime which wished to weaken the king to the profit of the parliament, to enlarge the electoral body and to increase local self-government; it was the liberal party which was supporting the king's supremacy, the power of the prefects,

and the limitation of the suffrage. The fact was the parties regarded the political mechanism solely as an instrument for securing power for themselves and were less anxious about the form of government than the direction given to politics: the ultras wished to restore the power to the rural nobility, who, through the fifty-franc electors, would have been masters of the chamber, in order to re-establish an aristocratic régime; the liberals were anxious to preserve the supremacy to the king, the prefects, and the three-hundred-franc electors, because they were known to be favourable to the maintenance of the social order to which the Revolution had given birth.

Louis XVIII
(1755–1824)

Louis XVIII, supported by the foreign governments, retained his ministers and resisted the chamber; he began by closing the session (April, 1816) and, without again convoking it, dissolved it in September. For the future chamber the ordinance of dissolution re-established the number of 258 deputies as in 1814. The king, by a simple ordinance, changed the composition of the chamber; it was a *coup d'état*, analogous to that of 1830. To make sure of the chamber of peers he created new peers, ex-generals and officials of the empire. During this struggle between the king and the chamber, the party of the tricolour flag, reduced to nine deputies, had taken no direct action. The plots to overturn the monarchy (Didier's at Grenoble, the "patriots'" at Paris) were merely isolated attempts unknown to the party or disavowed by it.[e]

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF SEPTEMBER 5th, 1816

The king had finally made up his mind. The secret was well guarded. A royal ordinance published September 5th, 1816, surprised the ultras like a thunderbolt. It declared that none of the articles of the charter under discussion should be revised and that the chamber was dissolved. To the cries of fury that rose from the aristocratic faubourg Saint-Germain, responded an explosion of public joy that recalled the 9th Thermidor; people kissed each other in the streets. In the ensuing elections a majority of the upper middle class and of the officials replaced the majority of *grands seigneurs* of the old régime and the provincial nobles who had dominated the *chambre introuvable*. The attempt at restoring the old régime had miscarried; what followed was a first attempt at a bourgeois monarchy by an understanding between the bourgeoisie and the legitimatists.[f]

It is worthy of observation how early the French nation, after they had attained the blessing, had shown themselves unfitted, either from character

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or circumstances, for the enjoyment of constitutional government. After the overthrow of Napoleon, scarcely a year had passed which was not marked by some *coup d'état*, or violent infringement, by the sovereign, of the constitution. The restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 was immediately attended by the creation of sixty peers on the royalist side, and the expulsion of as many from the democratic; this was followed, within four years, by the creation of as many on the liberal. The whole history of England prior to 1832 could only present one instance of a similar creation, and that was of twelve peers only, in 1713, to carry through the infamous project of impeaching the duke of Marlborough. It was threatened to be repeated, indeed, during the heat of the reform contest; but the wise advice of the duke of Wellington prevented such an irretrievable wound being inflicted on the constitution. The French chamber of deputies was first entirely remodelled, and 133 new members added to its numbers, by a simple royal ordinance in 1815; and again changed — the added members being taken away, and the suffrage established on a uniform and highly democratic basis — by another royal ordinance, issued, by the sole authority of the king, the following year. Changes, on alternately the one side or the other, greater than were accomplished in England by the whole legislature in two centuries, were carried into execution in France in the very outset of its constitutional career, by the sole authority of the king, in two years.

What is still more remarkable, and at first sight seems almost unaccountable, every one of those violent stretches of regal power was done in the interest, and to gratify the passions, of the majority at the moment. The royalist creation of peers in 1815, the democratic addition of sixty to their numbers in 1819, the addition of 133 members to the chamber of deputies in the first of these years, their withdrawal, and the change of the electoral law by the *coup d'état* of September 5th, 1816, were all done to conciliate the feelings, and in obedience to the fierce demand, of the majority. That these repeated infringements of the constitution in so short a time, and in obedience to whatever was the prevailing cry of the moment, would prove utterly fatal to the stability of the new institutions, and subversive of the growth of anything like real freedom in the land, was indeed certain, and has been abundantly proved by the event.

But the remarkable thing is that, such as they were, and fraught with these consequences, they were all loudly demanded by the majority; and the power of the crown was exerted only to pacify the demands which in truth it had not the means of resisting.[g]

The royal ordinance of September 5th dissolving the *chambre introuvable* also announced that another chamber, less numerous, composed of only 250 deputies, would be immediately elected by the electoral corporations. A provisionary electoral law, the work of Lainé, who had replaced Vaublanc as minister of the interior, fixed the bounds of the departments, of which the numbers were diminished. Deputies were required to be at least forty years of age, and their taxes must amount to 1,000 francs. The measure was a bold one. It caused great excitement among the ultras, and was the subject of violent recriminations, above all from Châteaubriand,[m] who had constituted himself the mouthpiece of the Bourbons in his work "*La Monarchie selon la Charte*," but who mingled with very exalted ideas concerning constitutional government equally absurd ones born of an ill-regulated imagination. However, his exaggerations often missed their aim. The royalist party remonstrated and submitted.

THE NEW CHAMBER (1816-1818)

The new chamber opened its session on the 4th of November, 1816. Many members of the preceding one were there, but the general feeling was no longer the same. The doctrinaires, on whom Decazes relied, returned stronger and better grouped.

The first law to be made was an electoral one. Lainé presented a project which would abolish the two degrees of election; establish direct election by all tax-payers paying three hundred francs taxes, and substitute for a general election renewal by one-fifth. The charter declared, without directly specifying anything, that all tax-payers paying three hundred francs might be electors. The object of the law was to create an important electoral body to the number of about 100,000 members possessing guarantee of fortune, conservative interest and intelligence generally, of what was called the middle class, in contradistinction to the aristocracy. By this partial renewal they hoped, by keeping the chamber *au courant* with the changes of public opinion, to avoid those brusque changes which might agitate the country and transform legislative spirit too suddenly.

After a discussion, the details of which furnish curious reading to-day, showing how very different ideas on this subject were in those days, the law was passed in both chambers, but by a very feeble majority (January 30th, 1817).

The financial scheme of Corvetto was voted. Opponents were quieted by the grant of 4,000,000 francs to the clergy as compensation for the forest land which it was wished to give as pledge for a loan. The budget, compiled with great care and resting on a large sinking fund, assured the financial future of the country. Credit, until that time paralysed, again revived. The dividends rose from fifty-four to sixty francs, and a loan, the most considerable ever raised, was obtained to hasten the liberation of state lands. The foreign houses of Baring and Hope undertook it, at the rate of fifty-five francs. No banks in France were at that time sufficiently powerful to do this alone.

Order and calm seemed to be re-established. But the inclemency of the weather and a very bad harvest caused profound misery. There were disturbances in several market towns, but no serious trouble occurred except at Lyons, where three assassinations took place on the same day, June 8th, and these, coinciding with risings in several neighbouring villages, were taken as a signal for revolt. The authorities, however, who were quite ready, had foreseen the disorders and took vigorous measures. The national guard was disarmed. The court of provosts pronounced many condemnations. The elections of 1817 brought to the chamber a group of liberals, such as Laffitte, Voyer d'Argenson, Dupont de l'Eure, and Casimir Périer. They were dubbed "the independents." The important question of this session was the re-organisation of the army. Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, having replaced the duke de Feltre as minister of war (because the latter was lacking in initiative) made an excellent law which became the base of the French military system. This law consisted of three parts: (1) forced recruitment; (2) a reserve made up of former sub-officers; (3) fixed rules for promotion. Gouvion-Saint-Cyr defended his law with vigour and obtained a complete success. The chambers joined with him in the homage he rendered the French troops — homage which the marshals supported with their authority and Châteaubriand with his eloquence. It was really a reconciliation of the Restoration and the army. It was also a decisive step towards

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removing foreign troops which were no longer necessary to defend France against herself.

The chambers approved, moreover, the figure at which foreign credit had been regulated by diplomacy. Richelieu had long had a fixed idea — that of obtaining the evacuation before the five years which had been stipulated for in the treaty of 1815. Thanks to his activity, the sovereigns, united in conference at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), signed, on the 9th of October, a declaration announcing the departure of their troops for the 30th of November. A loan of 141,000,000 francs, issued at sixty-seven per cent. and raised by public subscription, allowed the indemnities to be paid.

Richelieu now considered his task ended, and thought only of retiring. When the elections of November, 1818, returned La Fayette, Manuel, and other liberals of the Hundred Days, he was alarmed at the results of the electoral law, and resolved to change it. But after vain efforts to find colleagues and draw up a common programme, he retired on the 2nd of December. He was succeeded by Decazes who composed a ministry of constitutionalists. A remarkable journalistic war ensued.[i]

THE MINISTRY OF DECAZES

Decazes, so hostile to the ultras, was not a liberal. He was the man of that system of balance (*bascule*) or the "see-saw," as it has been called, which consists in keeping the balance between parties and in giving the government the greatest possible authority but using it with caution.[f]

Decazes saw himself more involved with the liberals than he wished to be, and these became exacting. The royalists, even such moderates as Lainé and Roy, gave him little sympathy. They were alarmed at seeing successive elections introduce into parliament men who, while professing attachment to the Bourbons, put certain absolute principles above fidelity to their king.

The chamber of peers pronounced in favour of the re-establishment of the electoral law of two degrees. Decazes, still using his ministerial prerogative, on the 6th of March formed a batch of sixty-one new peers, of whom half were chosen from among the peers unseated in 1815, or from the marshals, generals, and ministers of the empire. Thus he re-opened the doors of government to the most noted men who had been excluded, and so tried to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. The ministry passed several laws that were liberal enough, among others three laws regarding the press, which are still the basis of actual French laws, although experience has since shed light on many points. The Restoration arrived at the happy result of doing away with exceptional laws — a result which no government had before obtained. While giving proof of liberalism the ministry, nevertheless, on certain points made a firm stand against revolutionary exactions, stoutly rejecting an organised petition for the recall of regicides and exiles.

Thus in spite of apparent agitations — the necessary consequence of a free government — in spite of frequent struggles between the tribune and the press, in spite of a certain re-awakening of parties and a spirit of fermentation reigning in the schools, France had a renascence to prosperity. One could look forward with more confidence to the future. The budget was sound. With the abandonment of exceptional laws revolutionary traces began to disappear. The new laws seemed to echo public wishes; minds gradually became habituated to a free government. The certitude of order, the freeing of lands, the re-opening of foreign markets, all tended to prosperity. Work abounded. Agriculture and industry took a new flight, putting to

full use scientific discoveries and particularly that of steam. The movement which was taking place was analogous to that of the first days of the consulate. Decazes reinstated on a wider basis councils to discuss agriculture, manufactures, and commerce generally. He opened an industrial exhibition, and at the same time an exhibition of painting. Strangers flocked to Paris, especially the English.

The elections of 1819 were, like the preceding ones, favourable to the liberals. The return of the regicide abbé Grégoire for Grenoble by a manœuvre hostile to the ministry caused a scandal. The deputies, however, took advantage of the irregularity of the election to refuse admission to the candidate.

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE DE BERRI AND ITS RESULTS (1820 A.D.)

Matters stood thus, when, on the 13th of February, 1820, the duke de Berri [the second in succession to the crown] was assassinated by a fanatic named Louvel as he was coming from the opera. This frightful crime stupefied people generally, and produced an outburst of royalist fury.[i]

In the midst of the general confusion, those even who must have been the most deeply affected by it, sought to find the triumph of their party in this outrage. From early the following morning, Decazes, the principal author of the unpopular decree of September 5th, was spoken of in most severe terms. He was blamed, as minister of the interior, and therefore responsible for the safety of the state, for not having kept watch over the dangers which surrounded the prince. One of the daily newspapers, *Le Drapeau blanc*, hurled the most abominable accusations against the minister. The assassination of the prince was represented as the result of a vast conspiracy covering the whole of Europe, which was in favour of a policy beneficial to the enemies of royalty. They pretended that his royal highness, the duke de Berri, had fallen a victim to the aversion he had always shown to a policy which insured neither the honour nor the safety of his family. On the benches of the Left, the sorrow was great; a presentiment of the fatal consequence to liberty was added to the horror of the crime.

M. Clausel de Coussergues ascended the tribune and in a loud voice uttered these words: "Gentlemen, there is no law referring to the mode of accusing ministers, but the nature of such an act warrants its taking place in a public meeting and before the representatives of France; I propose therefore before the chamber, the impeachment of M. Decazes, minister of the interior, as accomplice in the assassination of his royal highness, the duke de Berri, and I claim permission to explain my proposition." A cry of indignation broke out from every part of the house. De Labourdonnaie ascended the tribune and in his turn said that he could only see the instrument of an infamous party in the obscure assassin, who without personal hatred, without ambition, had struck down the descendant of kings — him whose duty it was to continue the race; this deed being committed with the intention, openly admitted, of preventing its perpetuation. He asked for strong measures to destroy in its infancy such execrable fanaticism, and once more to stifle the revolutionary spirit which an iron hand had suppressed for so long; the unscrupulous writers whose unpunished doctrines had provoked the most odious crimes should be especially severely dealt with.

In the meanwhile the chiefs of the liberal party came to hear of the sombre agitation which reigned at court. They felt torn between the horror of the exceptional laws and the fear of seeing the fall of a minister, victim of his devotion to the charter. The duke de Richelieu obstinately refused the court's appeal to re-enter the ministry. He was more hurt than anyone at the charges made against a young minister of whose goodness of heart he was thoroughly convinced.

This heart-breaking state of affairs seemed likely to prolong itself. Decazes insisted upon retiring; the king conferred a dukedom upon him, and made him ambassador to London. The duke de Richelieu's resistance was overcome; and he was again nominated president of the council, but would not accept any particular department.[h]

From this moment the liberal party loses the direction of affairs. Power is going to pass into the hands of royalists, and France, attacked almost continuously by a series of anti-national measures, destroying its liberty, will not emerge from the retrograde path into which a rash hand has thrust her except in overturning the throne upon the torn charter.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

The largest part of Europe was at that time in a state of violent effervescence and the celebrated prediction, "The French Revolution will make the round of the world," was being fulfilled.[j]

A revolution at the same time burst out in Spain. Ferdinand, the basest of poltroons and cruelest of tyrants, had refused the reforms he had sworn to introduce. The constitution of 1812 (an imitation of the French constitution of 1791) was proclaimed. The example was followed by Naples, which had a similar king to complain of. The states of the church threw off the hated yoke of the cross-keys and the three-crowned hat, and Benevento and Pontecorvo declared themselves republics. Piedmont was not left behind in its fight for freedom (1820). A cry was heard even at the extreme east of Europe for a new life and a resuscitation of ancient glories. It came from Greece, which for centuries had been trampled down by the brutal and utterly irreclaimable Turks; and, in fact, an outcry for change and improvement arose from all the nations which had aided or even wished the fall of Napoleon. The countrymen of Miltiades were favourably regarded, or at least not forcibly repressed, by the classical potentates — who, besides, were not displeased at the commencement of the dismemberment of Turkey; but the Neapolitans, Romans, and Piedmontese had no dead and innocuous Demosthenes to plead their cause, and the armies of Austria were employed in extinguishing the hopes of freedom from Turin to Naples.[k]

In France individual liberty was suspended, the censorship re-established, and the "double vote" instituted in order to make political influence pass into the hands of the large land-owners who voted twice, with the department and the arrondissement. The birth of the duke de Bordeaux, posthumous son of the duke de Berri (Sept. 29th, 1820), and the death of Napoleon (May 5th, 1821), augmented the hopes of the ultra-royalists, which brought Villèle and Corbière into the ministry.[l]

THE CONGREGATION AND THE JESUITS

At the same time an occult power was taking hold of the court, of the chambers, and of all branches of public administration.

For ten years men of sincere piety like Montmorency and the abbé Legris-Duval had formed an influential society in France, whose primary

object had been to perform good works and acts prescribed by a fervent devotion. The Restoration opened the political field for their society, which, imbued with the ultramontane and other royalist principles under the patronage of Polignac and Rivière, became the most redoubtable obstacle to the ministries of Decazes and Richelieu. Generally designated by the name of "Congregation," it allied itself with the Jesuits. The latter, not being allowed to live in France in the capacity of members of their order, again established their power in the state under the name of "Fathers of the Faith."

From the moment when they began to direct the Congregation, intrigue exercised a sovereign influence over it and a crowd of ambitious men made their way into it. Montrouge, whither the Jesuits had transferred the place of residence for their novices, became the centre for all the schemes of the court and church against the charter and French institutions. The Jesuits had powerful supporters even in the royal family; and Louis XVIII, constantly assailed by petitions in their favour, consented to tolerate them, although without recognising their existence as legal. The Jesuits founded schools called *petits seminaires*, in which children of the most distinguished families of the realm were placed; they dominated the court, the church, the majority in the chamber. Missionaries, affiliated with the Congregation and imbued with its doctrines, traversed the kingdom. Almost everywhere they were the occasion or the involuntary cause of strange disorders.

The French unfortunately blamed religion for the scandals of those who outraged while they invoked her; they were seized with indignation against her on account of the shameful yoke which had roused their anger, and it was necessary to have recourse to force to protect the missionaries against the infuriated populace. At Paris, at Brest, at Rouen, in all the great towns, they preached under the protection of swords and bayonets, and men beheld the spectacle of priests calling down the chastisements of human justice on those whom they had been unable to convince by the authority of their words.*j*

THE CARBONARI

Parallel to the Congregation grew another secret society absolutely different. This was that of the Carbonari,[1] or "Charbonnerie," which, stamped out in Italy, took root in France and established there its methods of organisation and conspiracy. La Fayette and his friends joined it, and Carbonarism spread rapidly, its members uniting with another secret association in the west under the title of "Knights of Liberty." La Fayette thought that if an insurrection succeeded, a constituent assembly would choose between a republic and a constitutional monarchy. It was scarcely practicable to think of a revolution while the country was so unsettled.

The Carbonari made preparations for a double military and popular rising in Alsace and the west. The second of these plots, which was to break out at Saumur, was discovered by accident and many pupils in the military college of this town were arrested. The Carbonari hoped for better success in Alsace. La Fayette went secretly to direct the movement personally. The Belfort garrison was to rise on the night of the 1st of January,

[1 The word *carbonari* means in Italian "charcoal-makers," and the name rose from the prevalence of charcoal-making in the mountainous regions of Italy where the malcontents gathered and organised into secret societies, using terms from the charcoal trade as well as from Christian ritual for their passwords. As Lamartine*d* said: "Carbonarism, the origin of which is lost in the night of the Middle Ages, like freemasonry, of which it was by turns the ally and the enemy, was a sort of Italian Jacobinism."]

POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA RESIDENCY

1822. There, again, a misunderstanding divulged the plot to the military authorities some hours earlier. The officers and non-commissioned officers who were compromised escaped, and La Fayette, who was not far off, was warned in time.

The oppressive laws voted by the Right were the cause of fresh plots among the Carbonari. The movement which had failed at Saumur was tried again. A retired general, Berton, raised the tricolour flag at Thouars and marched to Saumur at the head of a little body of insurgents. The inhabitants of the places through which he passed showed indecision. He reckoned on the national guard at Saumur and on the pupils of the military school, but these, when they saw so small a force, did not stir. Berton's companions dispersed; he himself hid in the country, hoping for better success another time (February 24th). For the third time the Saumur plot was set going, but this time its execution did not even arrive at a beginning. General Berton, betrayed by a non-commissioned officer who had really only joined the Carbonari to betray them, was arrested in the country with two of his friends (June 17th).

A retired officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Caron, tried to revive the movement in Alsace. There the authorities carried out their former action on a larger scale. They introduced Canuel's method at Lyons. Caron was allowed perfect freedom of action. On the 2nd of July a squadron of mounted lancers came from Colmar and put themselves under Caron's orders; a second squadron soon rejoined the first. They made for Mülhausen, crying "*Vive Napoleon II! A bas les Bourbons!*" Suddenly, towards dusk, when at some distance from Mülhausen, officers in disguise who led the pretended insurrection, gave the signal: Caron was seized, and, the next day, taken back to Colmar gagged, to cries of "*Vive le roi!*"

Berton and his accomplices were brought before the court at Poitiers. The procureur-général, Mangin, in the writ of accusation, denounced La Fayette and the principal leaders of the Left, including many who were quite strangers to Carbonarism, as General Foy, Benjamin Constant, and Laffitte the banker. These latter were indignant and demanded an investigation. La Fayette himself showed no indignation but only proud contempt, though he supported the demand for an investigation. This was not granted.

The procureur-général answered the demand of the deputies with insult, and in the trial of the case at Poitiers shamefully outraged the accused. The prosecution employed the language of 1815. The Poitiers jury, composed wholly of ultras and émigrés, condemned Berton and the greater number of those accused with him. Berton and two others were executed. A fourth committed suicide (October 5th).

Lieutenant-Colonel Caron had been executed a few days before at Colmar. The details of his case had raised a storm of reprobation; the army was dishonoured; whole squadrons had been made to play the part of government spies in the midst of the people of Alsace.

Another affair which had excited exceptional interest had ended the month before. This was the case of the "four sergeants of Rochelle"—Bories, Goubin, Pommier, and Raoul. These four young men, enrolled amongst the Carbonari, had been arrested for a plot in which they had joined with certain men not in the army, and brought before the tribunal in Paris. Their age, their bearing, and generous sentiments had touched public opinion. There had been no beginning of carrying the plot into effect on their part, but they were, all the same, condemned to death. "France

will judge us!" said Bories, the one of them most remarkable by his intelligence and character.

La Fayette and his friends did their utmost, but in vain, to insure the escape of these four condemned men. They were executed the 21st of September. A great display of military force rendered useless every attempt on the part of the Carbonari to save them. They died crying, "*Vive la liberté!*" That same evening a grand birthday fête was given at the Tuileries for the duke de Berri's daughter. The contrast produced a sinister effect. The memory of the four Rochelle sergeants has remained popular from among all those of the political victims of this time. Every year, on *le jour des morts* [All Souls' Day], the Parisians cover with flowers and wreaths the tomb erected to them in the cemetery of Mont-Parnasse after the revolution of 1830.

Many other malcontents had been put to death and numbers of others had suffered severe penalties. This was the end of the bloody executions of the Restoration. Carbonarism was discouraged and in fact dissolved. The struggle against the Restoration took other forms.*f*

THE MINISTRY OF VILLÈLE AND THE SPANISH CRUSADE (1821–1823 A.D.)

At the opening of the session of 1821 the Congregation redoubled its efforts against Richelieu's ministry. The liberals felt obliged to unite with the ultra-royalists to overturn the cabinet, in the dangerous hope that the majority, if it came to the head of affairs, would perish as in 1815 through its own excesses. The address in the chamber, composed by that majority, was hostile and insulting to the monarch. Richelieu having demanded new restrictions of the press, the royalists, whose most immediate interest was to vanquish him, pretended a great horror of the censorship, an ardent zeal for the liberty he was attacking. The position of the ministry was no longer tenable, and it retired on December 15th, 1821, after twenty-three months of existence.

Madame du Cayla, a woman whose patronage favoured the associate of the Congregation, and who kept Louis XVIII under the charms of her fascination up to the end of his days, was not a stranger to the foundation of the new cabinet, the most influential members of which were Peyronnet, keeper of the seals; Villèle, minister of finance; Corbière, minister of the interior. The viscount Mathieu de Montmorency had received the portfolio of foreign affairs, and the duke de Bellune [formerly the Napoleonic marshal Victor], that of war. Villèle already exercised a great influence in the council and soon became its chief. His fortune had been rapid; endowed with a great talent for intrigue and with a remarkable capacity for affairs, he had neither the lofty views of a statesman nor force of character sufficient to escape the influence of a faction whose fatal blindness he deplored. In a word, he thought he could fight against the sympathies and the political and moral demands of a great people, by means of ruse and corruption. The Congregation understood that it could dominate in spite of him, while the nomination of the pious viscount de Montmorency assured its triumph. Its allies immediately took possession of the offices and seized the prominent posts of every ministry.

From that moment the chamber of deputies and the government marched hand in hand towards a counter-revolution. The Jesuits first attacked their most serious enemy, the university, by causing the courses given by Cousin and Guizot to be suppressed (1822). To intimidate the press a law was

made which made it possible to bring suit not for one particular offence, but for the general tendency of opinion of a journal. Royer-Collard, who was not a revolter, described the situation in a word: "The government is in a sense the inverse of society."*j*

The victors of 1814 and 1815, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had formed the "Holy Alliance" for the purpose of smothering, to their common advantage, the ideas of liberty which the Revolution had thrown into the world, and which were fermenting everywhere. They were violently suppressed in Germany, Naples, and Piedmont, and the French government, which had just prevented their return by laws and punishments, received from the congress of Verona (1822) a strange task.*l*

To try the firmness of Louis XVIII in support of the monarchic cause, the sovereigns assembled at Verona committed to France the task of putting down the Spanish liberals who still maintained their constitution of 1812, and reinstating Ferdinand on his absolute throne.[1]

A hundred thousand men crossed the Pyrenees (1823) under the command of the duke d'Angoulême,[2] and were joined by the remains of a Catholic army called the "army of the faith," which the priests and other absolutists had raised in defence of the irresponsible crown.

These allies brought more dishonour and dislike on the invading forces, by their cruelty and insubordination, than were compensated for by their numbers or moral weight in the country. The cortes carried Ferdinand in honourable durance with them to Seville.

Angoulême entered Madrid, and, after heroic resistance on the part of Mina, Quiroga, and Ballasteros, succeeded in the object of his mission [as has been already described at length in the history of Spain]. The constitutional regency was dissolved, and a loose given to the feuds and passions of the triumphant army of the faith. But Angoulême was a French gentleman, and not a Spanish butcher. He bridled the lawlessness of both mob and army, and placed the late rebels, and all who were suspected of disaffection, under the protection of French tribunals and impartial law. Impartiality in the eyes of the Spanish enthusiasts was worse than hostility; and a royalist insurrection was with difficulty prevented against the protectors of royalty, since they would not condescend to be also the oppressors of the people.

At length the struggle came to an end. The king was liberated, freedom withdrawn, and a frantic mob received their monarch when he returned to his capital with cries of "Long live the absolute king! Death to the liberals! Perish the nation!" By an unfortunate coincidence, though perhaps designed by his admirers, the duke d'Angoulême made his entry into Paris on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz (December 2nd, 1823). The arch of triumph, which forms so splendid a termination to the view from the Tuileries, had been left uncompleted on the downfall of Napoleon; but wooden scaffoldings were raised on the unfinished walls, painted carpets were suspended from the top, and the arch itself garlanded with laurels. The ridicule, however, was not of the duke's seeking, and even Béranger spared him for the sake of his moderation and love of justice.

[1] Such a policy was repugnant to the liberal party in France, and throughout Europe; but military glory has ever rallied the French people round their rulers whether royal or republican. For a time the monarchy was strengthened by this success; but the pretensions of the royalists were dangerously encouraged. France had accepted the repressive policy of the Holy Alliance; and her rulers were to become yet more defiant of the principles of the Revolution. — Erskine May.*b*]

[2] The duke d'Angoulême was the son of the heir to the throne, the count d'Artois.]

[1821-1824 A.D.]

The monarchy appeared strengthened for a while by the Spanish crusade,[1] and the minister, Villèle, thought he might venture on the introduction of various measures.

THE MINISTRY OF VILLÈLE

Villèle carried out the traditional administration of his predecessors. As to politics, he wanted to steer clear of emergency laws and expedients. He proposed a press law — no longer preventive, but repressive, and more severe than that of 1819 — transferring from the jury to the magistracy the judgment of the greater number of law-suits and multiplying penalties of suspension and suppression of the newspapers.

Count Molé, who had acquired in his high offices a profound knowledge of the administration, of government and men generally, said to the peers: "Those institutions which would have prevented the Revolution of 1789 are now the only methods of ending it." Without a press and publicity all sorts of abuses would be possible. Other peers supported these ideas. The chamber, in voting for the project, introduced important amendments. Although the government could thenceforth count on success, Villèle continued to exercise power without too much demonstration. He had a great end in view, a vast financial operation, destined to end the debate on the national lands. He flattered himself that he would thus forever destroy one of the most irritating causes of the struggles and recriminations of opposite parties, and proudly believed himself destined to put an end to revolution. But he was not yet sure of support from the chamber of deputies, mutilated by the resignation of the Left, and influential members of the Right kept a most independent attitude. He obtained a decree of dissolution from the king on December 24th, and made every possible effort to get deputies favourable to himself elected in the following January.

Assured henceforth of a loyal majority, Villèle resolved to keep it, and govern for several years without fresh elections. With this object he formulated a law which made the government septennial — the only way, he urged, to give it a spirit of continuity and cut short the uncertainty of majorities which annual elections constantly raised. He met with much opposition, some urging very reasonably the inconvenience of general elections which disturbed the whole country and threatened it with changes otherwise perfect. Royer-Collard, however, went a little too far when he declared that representative government ought to be an organised mobility. Opinions were very diverse, but as the deputies were as interested as the minister in passing the bill it was passed.

Villèle then advanced a project for the conversion of five per cent. stock to three per cent., offering fund-holders a diminution of income with an augmentation of capital. Government bonds were at par, a proof of public prosperity and definitively established confidence; this was a necessary condition of the measure. His idea was to obtain a thousand million francs, which he intended to employ in indemnities to émigrés whose estates had been confiscated during the Revolution. The financial side of the project was skilfully planned; but competent financiers opposed it, and orators on the Left, judging from another point of view, reproached him with destroying under pretext of consolidating the work of the Revolution, and of making a retrograde act. Villèle adjourned his project, but did not renounce it.

[1] There had been some resistance to the vote of a hundred million francs for the war, and one deputy named Manuel had been dragged out of the chamber by the gendarmes for opposing intervention in the Spanish quarrel, in a speech which was taken to be of regicide spirit. The entire Left, including La Fayette, Foy, Casimir-Périer, and fifty-nine others, departed from the chamber and did not return.]

[1824 A.D.]

The ministry lacked necessary homogeneity. The decided character of Corbière was cause of dispute. Châteaubriand, who affected independence, and rendered himself insupportable to everyone and particularly to the court by his desire to outshine and his immense self-esteem, was dismissed June 6th. To please the clergy, Villèle created a Ministry of Public Worship and Instruction, and gave the post to a prelate.

After the close of the session on August 4th, he re-established the censorship. He was obliged to buy over papers to defend his policy, and he overwhelmed those who attacked him with law-suits. Neither the ordinary law court nor the superior courts had condemned as frequently or as severely as he desired.

ALISON ON THE LAST DAYS OF LOUIS XVIII

During this year Louis XVIII lived, but did not reign. His mission was accomplished; his work was done. The reception of the duke d'Angoulême and his triumphant host at the Tuileries was the last real act of his eventful career; thenceforward the royal functions, nominally his own, were in reality performed by others. It must be confessed he could not have terminated his reign with a brighter ray of glory. The magnitude of the services he rendered to France can only be appreciated by recollecting in what state he found, and in what he left it. He found it divided, he left it united; he found it overrun by conquerors, he left it returning from conquest; he found it in slavery, he left it in freedom; he found it bankrupt, he left it in affluence; he found it drained of its heart's blood, he left it teeming with life; he found it overspread with mourning, he left it radiant with happiness. An old man had vanquished the Revolution; he had done that which Robespierre and Napoleon had left undone.

He had ruled France, and showed that it could be ruled without either foreign conquest or domestic blood. Foreign bayonets had placed him on the throne, but his own wisdom maintained him on it. Other sovereigns of France may have left more durable records of their reign, for they have written them in blood, and engraven them in characters of fire upon the minds of men; but none have left so really glorious a monument of their rule, for it was written in the hearts, and might be read in the eyes, of his subjects.

This arduous and memorable reign, however, so beset with difficulties, so crossed by obstacles, so opposed by faction, was now drawing to a close. His constitution, long oppressed by a complication of disorders, the result in part of the constitutional disorders of his family, was now worn out. Unable to carry on the affairs of state, sinking under the load of government, he silently relinquished the direction to De Villèle and the count d'Artois, who really conducted the administration of affairs. Madame du Cayla was the organ by whose influence they directed the royal mind. [Louis said to one of his ministers, "My brother is impatient to squander my realm. I hope he will remember that if he does not change, the soil will tremble beneath him." On his death-bed he warned his brother against the royalists, painted for him in words feeble and broken the difficulties of his reign, the means of escaping the reefs that a too great exaltation of royalist opinion could produce, and added, "Do as I have done and you will arrive at the same peaceful and tranquil end." — CAPEFIGUE.]

Though abundantly sensible of the necessity of the support of religion to the maintenance of his throne, and at once careful and respectful in its out-

ward observances, Louis was far from being a bigot, and in no way the slave of the Jesuits, who in his declining days had got possession of his palace. In secret, his opinions on religious subjects, though far from sceptical, were still farther from devout: he had never surmounted the influence of the philosophers who, when he began life, ruled general opinion in Paris. He listened to the suggestions of the priests, when they were presented to him from the charming lips of Madame du Cayla; but he never permitted themselves any nearer approach to his person.

At length the last hour approached. The extremities of the king became cold, and symptoms of mortification began to appear; but his mind continued as distinct, his courage as great as ever. He was careful to conceal his most dangerous symptoms from his attendants. "A king of France," said he, "may die, but he is never ill;" and around his death-bed he received the foreign diplomatists and officers of the national guard, with whom he cheerfully conversed upon the affairs of the day. "Love each other," said the dying monarch to his family, "and console yourselves by that affection for the disasters of our house. Providence has replaced us upon the throne; and I have succeeded in maintaining you on it by concessions which, without weakening the real strength of the crown, have secured for it the support of the people. The Charter is your best inheritance; preserve it entire, my brothers, for me, for our subjects, for yourselves;" then stretching out his hand to the duke de Bordeaux, who was brought to his bedside, he added, "and also for this dear child, to whom you should transmit the throne after my children are gone. May you be more wise than your parents."

Louis XVIII, who thus paid the debt of nature, after having sat for ten years on the throne of France, during the most difficult and stormy period in its whole annals, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. Alone of all the sovereigns who have ruled its destinies since the Revolution, he succeeded in conducting the government without either serious foreign war or domestic overthrow. In this respect he was more fortunate, or rather more wise, than either Napoleon, Charles X, or Louis Philippe; for the first kept his seat on the throne only by keeping the nation constantly in a state of hostility, and the last two lost their crowns mainly by having attempted to do without it. He was no common man who at such a time, and with such people, could succeed in effecting such a prodigy. Louis Philippe aimed at being the Napoleon of peace; but Louis XVIII really was so, and succeeded so far that he died the king of France. The secret of his success was, that he entirely accommodated himself to the temper of the times. He was the man of the age — neither before it, like great, nor behind it, like little men. Thus he succeeded in steering the vessel of the state successfully through shoals which would have in all probability stranded a man of a greater or less capacity. The career of Napoleon illustrated the danger of the first, that of Charles X the peril of the last. *g*

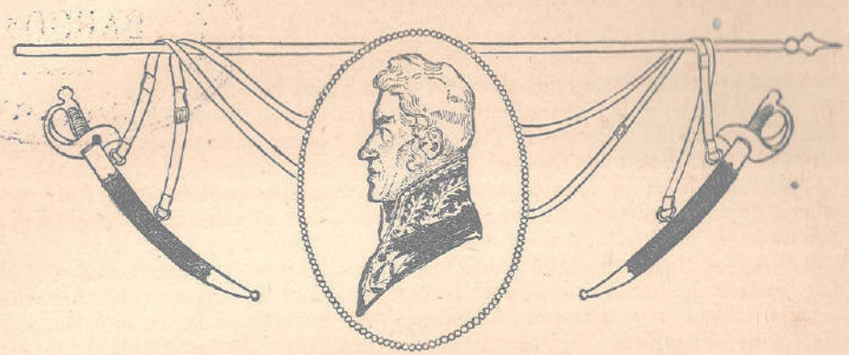
LAMARTINE'S ESTIMATE OF LOUIS XVIII

The natural cast of his mind, cultivated, reflective, but quick withal, stored with recollections, rich in anecdotes, ripe with philosophy, full of reading, ready at quotation, but by no means of a pedantic character, placed him at that period on a level with the most celebrated geniuses and literary men of his age. Châteaubriand had not more elegance, Talleyrand more fancy, or Madame de Staël more brilliancy.

Since the suppers of Potsdam, the cabinet of a prince had never been the sanctuary of more philosophy, more literature, more wit, and more lively sallies. Louis XVIII would have served for a king of Athens equally as well as a king of Paris; for his nature was Grecian more than French, universal, elastic, artistic, delicate, graceful, feminine, sceptical, somewhat corrupted by the age, but if not capable of doing everything, capable at least of understanding and expressing everything with propriety. Such, without any flattery, was the mind of Louis XVIII. His intimacy with Madame du Cayla, which her wit and allurement made every day more necessary to his heart, was no longer a mystery to anyone. But Madame du Cayla was not merely the affectionate friend and comforter of the king; she was the confidential minister, and the secret negotiator of a triple, or quadruple intrigue. An emissary of the clerical party, like Madame de Maintenon, in the cabinet of the king, the pledge and the instrument of favour for the houses of La Rochefoucauld and Montmorency, the hidden link between the policy of the count d'Artois and the heart of his royal brother, and finally, the intermediate agent between Villèle, the clerical party, the count d'Artois, and the king himself; she was the multiplied connection between these four diversified influences, the accordance of which formed and maintained the harmony of the government. No woman ever had so many and such delicate strings of intrigue and policy to manage in the same hand.

Posterity, when it approaches too closely the memory of a deceased monarch, is influenced in its judgment of that memory by the prejudices, the partialities, and the party-feelings which prevailed during his life; and by those posthumous feelings the reign of Louis XVIII has been hitherto judged. Almost all men were equally interested in misrepresenting, depreciating, and lessening the merit of his life and person. The partisans of the empire had to avenge themselves upon him for the fall of their idol; and to eclipse disdainfully under the military glory of Napoleon, and the splendour of his reign, the civil and modest merits of policy, of peace, and of freedom. It was necessary to debase the king in order to elevate the hero; to sacrifice a memory to exalt a fanaticism; and they have accordingly continued to pour forth sarcasm instead of history.

No king ever bore with more dignity and constancy dethronement and exile, tests which are almost always fatal to men who are elevated only by their situation: no king ever waited with more patience, or more certainty, the restoration of his race: no king ever re-ascended the throne under circumstances of greater difficulty, confirmed himself upon it against greater obstacles, or left it to his family with a fairer prospect of maintaining it long after his death. *d*



CHAPTER II

CHARLES X AND THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830

> Charles X was neither a fanatic, a slave, nor a persecutor, but he was a believer. His zeal, unknown to himself, influenced his policy; and he thought he owed a portion of his reign to his religion. The people were misled by this; it was supposed that he wished to restore France to the church; and the first of the liberties conquered by the Revolution, the freedom of the human mind, felt itself threatened. Hence arose the disquietude, the disaffection, the brevity, and the catastrophe of this reign. He was destined to fall a victim to his faith. This was not the fault of his conscience, but of his reason. In him the Christian was destined to ruin the king.—LAMARTINE.[b]

NEVER did a monarch ascend a throne with fairer prospects and greater advantages than the count d'Artois, who took the name, Charles X; never was one precipitated from it under circumstances of greater disaster. Everything at first seemed to smile on the new sovereign, and to prognosticate a reign of concord, peace, and happiness. The great contests which had distracted the government of his predecessor seemed to be over. The Spanish revolution had exhausted itself; it had shaken, without overturning, the monarchies of France and England, and led to a campaign glorious to the French, which on the peninsula, so long the theatre of defeat and disaster, had restored the credit of their arms and the lustre of their influence. In Italy, the efforts of the revolutionists, for a brief season successful, had terminated in defeat and ignominy. After infinite difficulty, and no small danger, the composition of the chamber of deputies had been put on a practical footing, and government was assured of a majority sufficient for all purposes, in harmony with the great body of the peers, and the principles of a constitutional monarchy. Internal prosperity prevailed to an unprecedented degree; every branch of industry was flourishing, and ten years of peace had both healed the wounds of war, and enabled the nation to discharge, with honourable fidelity, the heavy burdens imposed on it at its termination. After an arduous reign and a long struggle, Louis had reaped the reward of his wisdom and perseverance.

The character and personal qualities of Charles X were in many respects such as were well calculated to improve and cultivate to the utmost these advantages. Burke had said, at the very outset of the French Revolution, that if the deposed race was ever to be restored, it must be by a sovereign

who could sit eight hours a day on horseback. No sovereign could be so far removed from this requisite as Louis XVIII, whose figure was so unwieldy and his infirmities so great, that, for some years before his death, he had to be wheeled about his apartments in an arm-chair. But the case was very different with his successor. No captain in his guards managed his charger with more skill and address, or exhibited in greater perfection the noble art of horsemanship; no courtier in his saloons was more perfect in all the graces which dignify manners, and cause the inequalities of rank to be forgotten, in the courtesy with which their distinctions are thrown aside.

Many of the sayings he made use of, in the most important crises of his life, became historical; repeated from one end of Europe to the other, they rivalled the most celebrated of Henry IV in warmth of heart, and the most felicitous of Louis XIV in terseness of expression. But, with all these valuable qualities, which, under other circumstances, might have rendered him one of the most popular monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of France, he was subject to several weaknesses still more prejudicial, which, in the end, precipitated himself and his family from the throne. He was extremely fond of the chase, and rivalled any of his royal ancestors in the passion for hunting; but with him it was not a recreation to amuse his mind amidst more serious cares, but, as with the Spanish and Neapolitan princes of the house of Bourbon, a serious occupation, which absorbed both the time and the strength that should have been devoted to affairs of state. A still more dangerous weakness was the blind submission, which increased with his advancing years, that he yielded to the priesthood.

No change was made by the new sovereign in the ministers of state, who indeed were as favourable to the royal cause as any that he could well have selected. But from the very outset of his reign there was a *Camarilla*,[1] or secret court, composed entirely of ecclesiastics, who had more real influence than any of the ostensible ministers, and to whose ascendency in the royal council the misfortunes in which his reign terminated are mainly to be ascribed. The most important of these were the cardinal Latil, archbishop of Rheims, who had been the king's confessor during the time he was in exile, and earnestly recommended to him by his mistress, Madame de Pollastron, who possessed the greatest influence over his mind; the pope's legate, Lambruschini, a subtle and dangerous ecclesiastical diplomatist; and Quelen, archbishop of Paris, a man of probity and worth, but full of ambition, and ardently devoted to the interests of his order. To these, who formed, as it were, the secret cabinet, that directed the king, and of which he took counsel in all cases, were added all the chiefs of the ultra-Royalist and ultra-Catholic party, who, like a more numerous privy council, were summoned on important emergencies. The most important of these were the duke de Rivière and Prince Polignac. Such was the secret council by which Charles was from the first almost entirely directed, and the history of his reign is little more than the annals of the consequences of their administration.

The king made his public entry into Paris on the 27th of September. The day was cloudy, and the rain fell in torrents as he moved through the streets, surrounded by a brilliant cortège; but nothing could damp the ardour of the people. Mounted on an Arab steed of mottled silver colour, which he managed with perfect skill, the monarch traversed the whole distance between St. Cloud and the palace, bowing to the people in acknowledgment of their salutations with that inimitable grace which proclaimed him at once,

[1] This term is taken from the history of the contemporaneous Spanish Bourbons. See the history of Spain.]

BARODA

like the prince-regent in England, the first gentleman in his dominions. His answers on his way to and when he arrived at the palace were not less felicitous than his manner. When asked if he did not feel fatigued, he replied, "No; joy never feels weariness." "No halberts between my people and me," cried he to some of his attendants, who were repelling the crowd which pressed in too rudely upon his passage — an expression which recalled his famous saying on April 12th, 1814, "There is but one Frenchman more."[1] Never had a monarch been received with such universal joy by his subjects. "He is charming as hope," said one of the numerous ladies who were enchanted by his manner. Some of his courtiers had suggested the propriety of taking some precautions against the ball of an assassin in the course of his entry. "Why so?" said he: "they cannot hate me without knowing me; and when they know me, I am sure they will not hate me." Everything in his manner and expressions towards those by whom his family had been opposed, seemed to breathe the words, "I have forgotten."[c]

FIRST MISTAKES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Charles introduced his son the duke d'Angoulême into the government, by giving him the supreme direction of the army, whose esteem this prince had justly acquired. Eager for that popularity of which he had just tasted the first-fruits, he himself proposed to the council of ministers to abolish the censorship of the public journals, which was an odious restriction that had been impatiently submitted to during the last few months of the late reign. The press responded to this generous act by an effusion of gratitude which raised the enthusiasm of Paris to a pitch of delirium. "A new reign opens upon us," exclaimed the journalists who had been most bitter against the Bourbons; "the king is desirous of doing good; his wisdom scatters at the first word the cloud under which bad governments conceal their evil thoughts; there is no snare to apprehend from one who himself invokes the light."[b]

But in granting liberty to the press, Charles X did not at all repudiate the acts of a ministry which had been stigmatised by it. He accepted it on the contrary, declaring his formal intention of keeping it in power. Those who had been too quick in hoping were disabused and public opinion pronounced with terrifying rapidity against a series of unpopular projects presented to the chambers by the crown. One of them, in connection with which the ministry had skilfully formed the plan of converting government bonds to a three per cent. rate, gave a billion francs indemnity to the émigrés;[2] another re-established religious communities for women; a third attached infamous and atrocious penalties to profanities and thefts committed in churches, in certain cases the sacrilege was to be punished by the penalty of parricide.[d] Some moderate and rational-minded men in the chamber of peers, the Molés, the Lally-Tollendals, the Broglies and Châteaubriand himself, revolted in the name of human reason, of humanity, and of religion against this unjust and barbarous law. In the chamber of deputies, Royer-Collard vindicated reason, liberty of conscience, humanity, and the Deity,

[1 This epigram, as we have seen, he had borrowed from a courtier.]

[2 In fact this law, very unpopular, and onerous to the national finances, was advantageous to the owners of the properties formerly held by the émigrés. The fear of seeing the titles contested vanished and with it the inferiority in market value of these properties to other estates. As for the families of the émigrés, the poor provincial gentry had had but little; but the people of the court who had already largely regained their affluence, redoubled it and though lacking the immoderate luxury of old, yet found themselves richer than ever. — MARTIN.e]

all outraged by this law in one of the most powerful speeches ever inspired at the French tribune by philosophy, religion, and eloquence.[b]

But the project which wounded the greatest number of interests and aroused the greatest resentment tended to put a stop to the division of estates by creating in the law of inheritance the right of primogeniture,[1] in default of a wish formerly expressed by the testator. All these proposed laws, dictated under the influence of the old émigrés and the Congregation, were conceived in a spirit contrary to that of the Revolution. The chamber of deputies adopted them, the peers fought some of them with success, succeeded in eliminating the most objectionable clauses, and for some time shared popular favour with the royal courts.

These governmental acts were interrupted in 1825 by the solemnities of the coronation. Charles X appeared at Rheims surrounded by the ancient apparel of royal majesty. There he took oath on the charter and received the crown from the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of the ancient ceremonial which was not at all in harmony with the customs of the century, and in which the new generation saw only an act of deference to the clergy.

The liberal party was growing, and drawing new force from all the faults of the party in power. It saw with pride men like Benjamin Constant, Royer-Collard, and Casimir Périer at its head in the elective chamber. One immense loss was to be deplored. Foy, the general of Napoleon, the statesman of Restoration times, was no more. A hundred thousand citizens, the élite of trade, of the bar, of literature, and of the army followed his cortège and energetically protested against the procedure of government, by adopting his children in the name of their country, on the still open tomb of their father, who had been the most redoubtable and the most eloquent adversary of the ministers.

In the first days of 1827 Peyronnet presented to the chamber of deputies the law under which the liberty of the press was to perish. He defended it against the desperate attacks of the Left [which called it the "Vandal Law"] by calling it the "law of justice and love." It hardly became known before it caused a general uprising of public opinion. The French Academy did itself honour by protesting against it on the motion of Charles de Lacretelle, actively supported by Châteaubriand, Lemercier, Jouy, Michaud, Joseph Droz, Alexandre Duval, and Villemain. A commission was appointed from their midst to beg the king to withdraw so fatal a project. Charles X refused to receive the commission and answered by punishing this act of courageous independence. He removed from office Villemain, Lacretelle, and Michaud himself, the author of *History of the Crusades*, and one of the oldest supporters of the monarchy. The law, adopted by the chamber of deputies, met with violent opposition in that of the peers.[2] The ministry understood that, even if the latter should adopt it, it would at least eliminate its most rigorous clauses. The project was withdrawn without being submitted to this dangerous test.

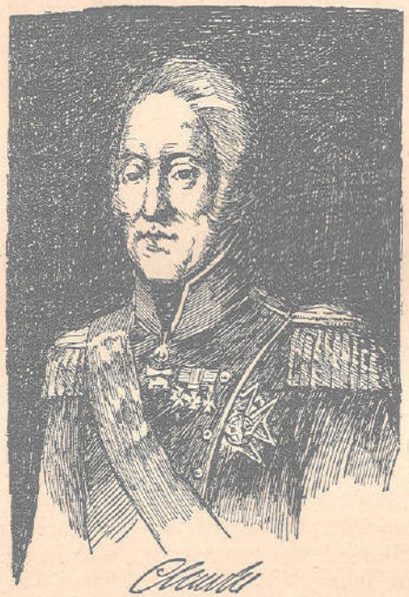
The people did honour to the monarch for this wise measure. Paris was illuminated and cries of "*Vive le roi!*" were heard in the midst of bonfires and popular acclamations.[d]

[1 The law was more timid than its title and cast only a moderate reproach on the existing law, but feeble as it was this reproach was an enormous fault. Nothing was worse conceived than this challenge to "Equality," the grand passion of the nation. — DARESTE.f]

[2 Müller[h] speaks of the law as one "which sought to smother all education and reason, turn France into a Jesuit machine, and set it back to the days of the Inquisition."]

GROWING DISCONTENT

The masses seemed to wish to open to the king a peaceful issue. An expression of Casimir Périer made a great stir. Some members of the Left alone rising in favour of a liberal petition, the Right cried, "There are only six of them." Casimir Périer replied, "We are only six in this place, but there are thirty million men in France who rise with us."



CHARLES X
(1757–1836)

The partial elections were to the advantage of the liberals, and the return of La Fayette was a sign of the time. Charles X, uneasy and chagrined, could not conceal his unpopularity. He thought to regain it in Paris by reviewing the national guard. Villèle was greatly alarmed; the dauphin advised against the review, but the guard was summoned on the Champ de Mars April 29th, 1827. The word had been passed to the soldiers to cry nothing but "*Vive le Roi!*" and "*Vive le charte!*" At certain places, however, they cried, "*A bas les ministres! A bas les jésuites!*"

To one national guardsman who repeated this cry near him, the king answered, "I came to receive your homage, not your instructions." On returning from the Champ de Mars, tumultuous groups surrounded the carriages of the princesses crying, "*A bas les jésuitesses!*" Two legions of the national guard cried violently, "*A bas Villèle! A bas Peyronnet!*" in passing the ministers of finance and of justice.

Villèle advised the king to disband the national guard of Paris and double the garrison. The majority of the ministers agreed. The ordinance of disbandment appeared the next day. The liberal journals protested fiercely against this measure and the opposition on the Right associated itself with the liberals. The act alienated irrevocably the entire middle class of Paris. The majority was lost in the chamber. The session terminated June 22nd; it was the fourth and ought to have been the last of the "septennial" chamber; besides, this chamber was used up and, as it were, decomposed.

The day after the closing, the censorship was re-established despite the dauphin's wishes. The minister instituted above the bureau of censure a council of supervision presided over by De Bonald, the implacable enemy of the liberty of the press as of all liberty. The illustrious scientist Cuvier, who had shown in the council of state much administrative capacity but till now little independence, refused to take part in the committee of supervision; nor would two of the nominees for the bureau of censure serve. The censure fell into odious ridiculous excesses which called forth Châteaubriand and a throng of other writers in pamphlets full of ironic and indignant vigour.

A crisis was imminent, and the approaching elections looked ominous. A

powerful society was formed to prepare the country, under the significant name of "Heaven helps those that help themselves" (*Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*). Guizot was president of the governing committee. An allied society of republican tendencies was formed, the "Free-speakers."[e]

When the duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a liberal member of the chamber of Peers, died, some of the old pupils of the Academy of Châlons, to whom he had been very kind, endeavoured to show their gratitude to their neighbour and benefactor by bearing his body to the Barrier, where the hearse was waiting to convey it to his estate. In the church of the Madeleine the police seized the coffin — unwilling that such a mark of respect should be shown to a member of the opposition; the pupils resisted: in the struggle the coffin fell to the ground, and the authorities in triumph carried it off.[g]

Later a similar scene was enacted on a greater scale at the funeral of Manuel the expelled deputy. The irritated crowd was hardly prevented from a pitched battle with the troops. The discourse spoken over the grave by La Fayette was of a very different character from that which signalised the funeral of General Foy. Under this not yet lawless struggle, one felt revolution.[e]

Seventy-six new peers were named; the chamber of Deputies, from which still less subserviency was expected, was dismissed (Nov. 6th, 1827); and the gauntlet was fairly thrown down.

In this year the battle of Navarino (Oct. 20th, 1827) had practically delivered Greece from its oppressors, and was hailed as the first national resurrection to freedom since the reaction had begun. The English and French navies, which were united with the Russian in the entire destruction of the Turkish fleet, took also different views of the result of their valour and preponderating force. France was so enraptured with a naval victory, however obtained, that even the supporters of the ministry rejoiced in an action which greatly excited the liberal hopes throughout Europe. The English, on the other hand, perceived too late the fault they had committed in exposing Turkey unprotected to the maritime attacks of Russia, and called the victory of Navarino "an untoward event." Yet, as naval victories were of more importance to France than England, an opportunity was found for another triumph in an expedition against the dey of Algiers. Successful to a certain degree, but not so brilliantly decisive as its promoters had expected, the squadron came back with its work only half performed, but furnishing information which led to a greater effort and more satisfactory result in a future year. In spite of government influence, which was unscrupulously used, the elections of 1828 returned a majority for the liberals. There were riots and loss of life in Paris and other towns. The Villèle ministry retired for fear of the coming storm.[g]

THE MINISTRY OF MARTIGNAC (1828–1829 A.D.)

Charles X was obliged to form a liberal government. The Restoration again found itself obliged to rely on the support of the left benches. The first time this happened it was the result of the initiative of Louis XVIII; this second time it was due to the will of the electors.

The new ministry was formed Jan. 4th, 1828, with Martignac as leader of the cabinet. Possessed of undoubted eloquence and an attractive manner, he had more charm than strength. Although he was a man of moderate mind he had been one of the majority of Villèle. With him, Portalis, Roy, and soon afterwards Hyde de Neuville and Feutrier, the bishop of Beauvais,

made up a cabinet which the public at first considered lacking in weight and in authority.*i*

The king had made haste to say to his new ministers, "M. de Villèle's system is mine"; and the chamber made haste to write down in its address that M. de Villèle's system was "deplorable." The whole history of the Restoration is epitomised on this simple juxtaposition of facts. How was the chamber to be prevented from exercising the paramount strength it possessed? And what should hinder the head of the state from crying out, under the exasperation of insult, as did Charles X upon the presentation of the address, "I will not suffer my crown to be flung into the mire!" What then remained to be tried? To side completely with the elective power? Martignac could not do so without declaring war against royalty. To serve royalty in accordance with its own views? He could not do so without declaring war on the chamber. To combine these two sorts of servitude, and to hold the reins of government on the tenure of being doubly a slave? He tried this.*j*

The Martignac ministry began by suppressing the "black cabinet," where letters were opened for the police, and by passing a liberal law with regard to the press. In Greece, France received from the two other powers the glorious charge of putting an end to the struggle which was going on. A force of 14,000 men under the orders of General Maison landed in the Morea on the 29th of August. Ibrahim, who had been sent by his father the pasha of Egypt as commander of the Egyptian troops, to help the sultan of Turkey, made no attempt to fight; on the 9th of September he sailed away with his troops. The only case in which force had to be employed was in the taking of Fort Morea, and Greece was delivered. Two burning questions occupied the public mind: one was that of an inquiry into the proceedings of the Villèle ministry, a measure on which the liberals insisted; the other the enforcing of the laws against the Jesuits, which was demanded by a strong wave of public opinion, by a decision of the court in Paris, and by the new chamber. The ministry decided on carrying out the latter measure in order to avoid the former. They prepared two ordinances, in which the name of the Jesuits was not so much as mentioned. The first, which was countersigned by Portalis, deprived them of their educational establishments; the second, which was inspired by the bishop of Beauvais, dictated the necessary precautions to be observed in order to exclude them from the management of ecclesiastical schools (June 19th, 1828).

Thus the throne seemed anxious to be reconciled to the liberal party. But this was only apparently true. Between the two parties who were struggling for possession of the country, one supported by the king, the other by the people, one wishing to go back to the eve of '89, the other to march forward with the century, there was no room for equivocation or for compromise. Those who were anxious to conciliate both parties ran the risk of being crushed between the two. Martignac, in spite of his wonderful eloquence, his charm, and the sympathy he inspired, was looked upon with suspicion by both camps.

As for Charles X, he submitted to this ministry as to a personal defeat; he was still the ardent partisan of the cabinet which had been overthrown. It was therefore most obnoxious to him to have to sign the ordinances against the Jesuits. The ministers were obliged to threaten to resign in order to get him to do it. The furious outcry raised by the whole body of the clergy, the maledictions of the bishops directed even against the bishop of Beauvais, brought the devout frenzy to a climax.

He could only endure this return to liberalism for a time by nursing thoughts of revenge. But he still had patiently to endure the session of 1829, which was occupied by discussions on the organisation of the departments and the communes, in which the cabinet was weakened by several reverses. Hardly had the chambers dissolved when the king dismissed his ministers. The session had closed on the 30th of July; on the 9th of August the list of the new ministry was published.*i*

When the names were made known a cry of indignation broke out from one end of France to the other: Polignac, Labourdonnaie, Bourmont. The patriots who, from passion or principles, had never admitted the possibility of a compromise with the old dynasty, experienced that sort of satisfaction which a soldier feels on the eve of a decisive battle. Those who had dreamed of liberty with monarchy were now overwhelmed with consternation. "See!" cried Royer-Collard, "Charles X is still the count d'Artois of 1789."

The liberal journals in general responded by an explosion of anger and menaces to the defiance which had just been flung at the nation. The *Journal des Débats*, attached to the Bourbons by bonds which its ardent opposition had not hitherto broken, terminated an article full of an eloquent suffering by the cry so often quoted: "Unhappy France! Unhappy king!"

The ministry brought a suit against it. Answer was made by a violent attack from a young editor, Saint-Marc Girardin, on Polignac, "the man of Coblenz and the counter-revolution," on Bourmont, "the deserter of Waterloo now exposed on the scaffold of the ministry," and on Labourdonnaie, the man who in the White Terror of 1815 had constantly demanded irons, hangmen, and executions.*g*

THE MINISTRY OF POLIGNAC

The president of the new cabinet, Jules de Polignac, son of the chief equerry of Louis XVI and of the duchess de Polignac, who was an intimate friend of Marie Antoinette, was a sort of incarnation of the old régime. He had been one of the most enthusiastic amongst the émigrés and later had become a leading member of the Congregation. He was perhaps the most ardent adherent that body possessed. His minister of war, Bourmont, had, in 1815, on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, deserted Napoleon's army for that of the enemy, and had thus gained the rank of marshal.

It was certain that such a minister would advocate extreme measures. The country prepared for a struggle. Societies were formed quite openly, at first in Brittany and then throughout France, with the purpose of refusing to pay the taxes in case the cabinet should attempt to force any violent measure on the country. The papers which advertised these associations were in every case prosecuted, but were either acquitted or very lightly punished. The courts themselves seemed to condemn in advance the projects with which the ministry was credited.*i*

This was indeed a ministry of madness. Not only every liberal sentiment but every national sentiment was defied. The unfortunate Charles X was so much a stranger to his age and country that he did not understand that France would take the summons of Bourmont to the head of the army as the most deadly of outrages. He believed that in order to justify the deserter of Fleurus in the eyes of the public it would suffice to give out that he had the king's orders.

If the king and his advisers had been capable of reflection, the attitude of the country would have made them tremble. At this moment La Fayette paid a visit to Auvergne, his native province, and then to Dauphiné and Lyons. In the towns of Dauphiné, especially in Vizille, the little place famous for having given the signal for the revolution of 1789, La Fayette was welcomed by demonstrations which recalled that great epoch; at Grenoble the population offered him an oak wreath "as a witness of the people's gratitude and as the emblem of the force which the people of Grenoble, following his example, would be able to bring into action to maintain their rights and the constitution." At Lyons he made a truly royal entry: the whole city went out to meet him, deputations from the neighbouring departments waited on him. At the banquet which was given him La Fayette declared that he was happy to receive proof of the determination of that great and patriotic city to resist all the attempts of the incorrigible counter revolution. The official journals of this party had said recently "no more concessions." "No more concessions" says in its turn the French people, which knows its rights and will know how to defend them. Then he added, "How are the projects with which the people are threatened to be executed? By means of the chamber of deputies? It would show itself faithful to patriotism and honour. By a dissolution? The electors would have something to say to that. By simple ordinances? The partisans of such measures would then learn that the strength of every government lies only in the arms and the purse of the citizens which compose the nation."

The triumphant journey of La Fayette afforded royalty an alarming contrast to the reception which the dauphin and dauphiness received about the same time in Normandy. Silence and a desert surrounded them everywhere. At Cherbourg the authorities could not even organise a ball in their honour.[e]

On the 2nd of March, 1830, Charles X, displaying for the last time all the pomp of royalty, declared in the presence of the assembled deputies and peers his intention to preserve intact the prerogatives of the crown and French institutions. The address of the deputies in response to the speech from the throne showed the king that the composition of his new cabinet was dangerous and menacing to public liberty. Two hundred and twenty-one members as against 186 voted for this memorable address. The king was indignant. He complained in his response of a lack of support and concluded by stating that his resolves were known and were unchangeable. The chamber was prorogued and then dissolved.

However, the council had tried to acquire some popularity by means of a military success, and an insult offered to the French consul by the dey of Algiers furnished the ministers a favourable opportunity to clear the sea of barbarous pirates.[d]

WAR WITH ALGERIA

The Algerian dey, Hussein, had come into power in 1818. No dey had been so well obeyed. His foreign policy was less fortunate, because he had illusions about his own strength and thought he could brave the European powers with impunity. This error caused his downfall. The relations with France, interrupted during the empire, were renewed in 1816; but the understanding was never very cordial, especially after the accession of Hussein. He wished the annual revenue paid for the concessions to amount to 300,000 francs, according to the convention made in 1817 with the dey Omar; France wished to keep to the amount of 90,000 francs, which was the revenue paid to Ali Khodja, who reigned between Omar and Hussein. The dey would not

consent to the fortifying of the French establishments; the execution of some works of defence had greatly annoyed him. But the Bakri affair caused him more annoyance than anything else.

Bakri and Busnah, two Algerian Jews, had furnished the Directory with a large amount of corn which had not been entirely paid for; the empire gave some instalments. In 1819 the credit was fixed at seven millions, but the convention then concluded expressly reserved the rights of certain Frenchmen of whom Bakri and Busnah were debtors. Opposition arose, and a part of the sum was kept back while awaiting the decision of the tribunals.

Hussein, who had large interests in the business, and who understood nothing of the complicated forms of French justice, was indignant at the delay. At a solemn audience he questioned the French consul sharply and then hit him with his fan and sent him out of his presence; a more prudent and dignified consul would not have provoked such a scene; but Deval represented France; a reparation was necessary.

A naval division appeared before Algiers. Hussein absolutely refused satisfaction; June 15th, 1827, war was declared; immediately the French settlements, which they had taken the precaution to evacuate, were pillaged and destroyed. A cruising expedition then began; but the blockade soon proved useless; it imposed a difficult and dangerous service on the French navy, it cost upwards of twenty millions in three years, and the dey appeared no more disposed to give in than on the first day.

Since 1827 Clermont-Tonnerre, then minister of war, had been inclined to act vigorously; England made almost imperious representations, which were answered as they should have been. Even in France, the opposing parties disapproved of an expedition; they saw in this, not without some reason, a political artifice to turn men's minds from interior affairs, but they also forgot that national honour was engaged.

An admiral, Duperré, at last decided to accept the command of the fleet. Bourmont, minister of war, kept that of the army for himself, with the sole direction of the enterprise. It was decided to fortify the peninsula to make it into an entrenched camp, a place of refuge in case of defeat. The enemy, however, had taken its forces to Staouëli; Ibrahim, Hussein's son-in-law, took with him the Turkish militia, some Kolougis and Moors of Algiers, the contingent of the beys, and some thousand Kabyles. Among the eye-witnesses, some enumerate this army at 60,000 men, others only at 20,000. The confused manœuvring, the rapid and disorderly movements of the Arabian cavalry, must have promoted the illusion of an immense multitude. With the exception of the Turks all these undisciplined troops presented a poor appearance when drawn up in battle order. The first shock, however, was terrible; on the morning of the 19th all the French lines were assailed, but the attack told more on the wings, weaker and not so well posted as the centre. The left was exposed for a moment; the Turks fought with incredible ardour; the horsemen spurred their horses and sprang over the entrenchments. But the French army had the advantage of tactics and discipline. After a desperate fight the Algerians retreated to their camp.

The dey and the inhabitants of Algiers had no doubt of success; there was consternation at the arrival of the fugitives. The Algerians hastened to defend Fort Emperor, which protected the town on the southwest. Emissaries were sent on all sides to rally the Arabs, the Ulemas preached the holy war.

On the 24th the French lines of Staouëli were attacked; the French army easily repulsed the aggressors, pursued them, and established itself on the plateau of Sidi-Khaled. The days of the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th were difficult and murderous. On the 29th, before day, the offensive movement commenced all along the line. The fleet cannonaded the place and, without causing much damage, added by this opportune demonstration to the consternation of the population. On July 4th, at four o'clock in the morning, the entrenchment was opened against Fort Emperor; the French batteries then uncovered and destroyed it with their fire.

The garrison made a brave defence, but the contest of the two artilleries was too unequal; at the end of a few hours the Turks had their embrasures demolished, their guns dismounted, their gunners disabled.

Fort Emperor once taken, Algiers could no longer hold out; Hussein signed a capitulation.[k]

The victory, however, was little heeded at home and war was declared between France and monarchy. The struggle had been desperate on both sides. The opposition brought out a new paper, the *National*, edited by Thiers and Mignet, the two historians of the Revolution, and Armand Carrel, who had begun his public career as leader of an armed conspiracy. This paper propagated the views of the opposition with extreme ardour. On the other side the king vainly threw his name and his influence into the scale. The result was a crushing defeat. The opposition had fought for the 221 deputies who had condemned the Polignac ministry, as in 1877 they were to fight for the 363. They were all returned again and fifty more elections were also gained.

The Ordinances of Polignac and War with the Press, 1830 A.D.

The defeated ministry prepared a coup d'état. Taking as a pretext the wording of Article 14 of the charter, they resolved to suppress the liberties of the country. Three ordinances signed by all the ministers formed the reply of Charles X to the French nation. One of these dissolved the chamber before it had ever met; so that the country had been consulted and had given its answer, but that answer was treated with contempt. Another abolished liberty of the press. Henceforth every paper would be forced to obtain the royal sanction; otherwise, it would not only be forbidden to appear, but its plant would be destroyed. The third created a new electoral system. It would no longer be a sufficient qualification for a vote to pay 300 francs in taxes; patents were no longer to be taken into account; and all electors who were engaged in commerce or manufactures were to be deprived of their votes.

The last two ordinances were manifestly unconstitutional: they violated the laws and usurped their functions. The king's pleasure was substituted for the votes of the chambers. This was a return to absolute monarchy. This attempt at violence was made in incredible ignorance of the actual situation. Up to the time of the elections the ministers had thought themselves certain of a majority, and, even after the results were known, seemed to have an inexplicable confidence in the measures they were preparing. They had only 19,000 men at their command to subdue Paris.

Secrecy was most carefully observed. Nobody, except those who had drawn them up and signed them, knew the contents of the ordinances, when, on the evening of Sunday, 25th July, they were handed over to the chief editor of the *Moniteur* for publication the following morning. The editor

A BARRICADE IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1830
(From the painting by Cain)

[1830 A.D.]

glanced over them, and turning pale said to the minister: "I am fifty-seven years of age; I have passed through all the revolutions, but I now withdraw overwhelmed with fear." On the morning of the 26th of July, 1830, the ordinances published in the *Moniteur* burst on the nation like a thunderbolt. At first people seemed stupefied. The press had the honour of setting an example of action.

It has already been said that one of the edicts suppressed all the opposition papers. That very day all their editors signed a protest of which the following words contain the gist: To-day the government has lost that constitutional character which alone commands obedience. And they added that they would use every possible means to publish their papers in defiance of the authority of the government. Among the young writers who perhaps risked their lives by affixing their signatures to this bold protest, were some who were destined to play an important part in public affairs. The protest was signed by Thiers, Mignet, Armand Carrel, Rémusat, and Pierre Leroux. This intrepid action of the press was the first reply to the coup d'état. Their actions were as bold as their words; and when on the following day the police attempted to carry out the provisions of the ordinance, the commissary of police found the proprietor of the paper, with the law in his hand, threatening the agent of the government with the punishment due to theft aggravated by housebreaking. A crowd collected and protested loudly.

The locksmith who had been summoned to break up the plant refused to do so, and was heartily applauded. Another was sent for, who also refused. Not a workman could be found who was willing to raise his hand against the instrument of public liberty. It was found necessary at last to have recourse to the wretch whose duty it was to affix the fetters worn by convicts.

Such was the lawful resistance which most politicians of that time, whether journalists or deputies, considered the only possible course.

PELLETAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE THREE DAYS OF JULY

The first day, the wrath of Paris, kept in check by amazement, had the appearance of hesitation; people were waiting and consulting. The next day, July 27th, the dissatisfaction of the city became articulate. The middle classes and the working people began to express their feelings; street orators were active, and stones were thrown at the police outside the Palais Royal. A barricade was raised near the French Theatre; men formed themselves into bands; shots were fired and the pavements had begun to be stained with blood; but the movement had begun outside the popular quarters of the town; the mass of the people had not yet joined it.

However, the last rays of the setting sun shone on a well-nigh forgotten sight—an unknown man ran along the quays waving a strip of blue, white, and red stuff. This was the tricolour flag, which had formerly sprung from the ruins of the Bastille to wave over a nation rescued and delivered from tyranny. This was the flag of the convention and the empire, which, borne by the regiments from Madrid to Moscow, from Cairo to Amsterdam, had shaken liberty from its folds in its passage through the nations. This was the proscribed flag, which throughout Europe lay hidden in the depths of men's memories, as the symbol of liberties destroyed and nations remorselessly crushed.

Whoever the unknown man was who first waved the tricolour in the sunlight, he had thoroughly grasped the spirit of the situation. The question at issue had ceased to be the maintenance of a royal constitution, the

downfall of a minister, or the re-establishment of a king: above all these more limited ideas, the cause of popular liberty was now supreme. A fatherland which had been assailed, a revolution which had been defeated, had now to be reckoned with.

The question at issue was between the people and the Bourbons. On the 28th the people rose in arms. Workmen, citizens, students, marched out pell-mell to fight. A student from the Polytechnic who had been expelled for having sung the *Marseillaise* — Charras, afterwards a minister under the republic, and one of the most celebrated among those who were proscribed under the second empire — had informed his comrades the day before of what was to take place, and they had forced the gates of the school in order to be present at the battle. None of the people had any weapons, and they were obliged to equip themselves as well as they could. Here an armourer's shop was broken into and pillaged, there a military post was surprised, or barracks were attacked; and manufacturers and merchants might be seen distributing muskets.

To the open space in front of the Exchange two carriages, driven by Étienne Arago, brought a store of guns and uniforms, which were being used at the Vaudeville in a military play. Next the Musée d'Artillerie was attacked, and military equipments which had belonged to warriors of the Middle Ages were seized; so for this epic battle the people borrowed theatrical properties and the rusty uniforms of ancient knights.

Since the day before, the government had understood that they required an efficient military leader: they had chosen Marshal Marmont, duke de Raguse. His was a very unpopular name. In 1814, at the time of Napoleon's first defeat, Marmont, whilst negotiations were going on, had prematurely yielded to the enemy some important positions before Paris. This shadow of a terrible suspicion hung over him. Besides, having served as a soldier under the republic and the empire, he was now about to shed French blood in support of a coup d'état of which he did not approve. His plan of action was soon made; from the Tuileries where he was, two columns of troops would drive back the insurgents, one by the boulevards, the other by the quays. A body of troops posted at the market of the Innocents, and clearing the whole length of the rue St. Denis, would maintain communications between the two columns.

But on all sides, in that close network of streets and alleys which formed the heart of Paris, and which were not yet intersected by the wide thoroughfares which exist in the present day, in front and behind the lines of troops, combatants seemed to spring up in myriads as if they rose out of the very ground; the streets were bristling with barricades, and a battle was waging at every cross-road. The columns were both stopped, one at the Hôtel-de-Ville and one at the Bastille; the troops at the market of the Innocents were surrounded and cut off; the army seemed lost in this immense rising of Parisians.

What an heroic crowd it was! After fifteen years of peace, the citizens of 1830 proved themselves worthy of the soldiers of Jemmapes, Fleurus, and Austerlitz. A fine sense of a fraternity in courage and enthusiasm united the rich and the poor. The Paris street-boy shared in the perils of the day with his usual saucy intrepidity. During the battle, a boy of fifteen brought a packet of cartridges to Charras, saying, "We will go shares, but only on condition that you will lend me your gun so that I may take my turn at firing." Certain of the combatants had not money to buy bread; in the rue St. Joseph a citizen saw a workman who was fighting at his side

stagger, and said to him: "You are wounded?" "No, I am starving." The other offered him a five-franc piece. Then the workman pulled out from his blood-stained shirt a strip of the royalist flag, saying: "I will give you this in exchange." A hundred incidents proved that the combatants felt that the same blood was flowing in their veins, though they were fighting on different sides. In one case an officer had received a dangerous blow from an iron bar, but, with his face bathed in blood, he warded off with his sword the bayonets which were about to pierce the man who had struck him. In another place the corpse of an insurgent was lying near the tricolour flag; some soldiers passed by and they and their officers all saluted.

It would be impossible to describe the war that raged all over Paris. On the 28th the thick of the fight had been at the market of the Innocents and round the Hôtel-de-Ville. To reach it, it was necessary to cross the suspension bridge, which was under a constant fire. A young man sprang forward with a tricolour flag in his hand: "If I fall," he cried, "remember that my name was Arcole." His name was given to the bridge which was consecrated by his heroic death. Nightfall interrupted the fighting. Silence and solitude descended on the bloody streets, on the deserted barricades, and on the corpses lying in the shadow. Nothing disturbed the silent solemnity of that terrible night but the footsteps of the troops as they evacuated the town in order to mass themselves round the Tuileries.

On the morning of the 29th, fighting began again. Two battles took place that day, both against the Swiss Guard. This foreign guard was the last resource of the monarchy, just as it had been on the occasion of the 10th of August, 1792. The Swiss troops belonged to the king, not to the nation. On the left bank of the river the Polytechnic school, at the head of several columns of workmen and students, laid siege to the Babylon barracks. Charras led one of the columns. Vaneau was killed by a bullet in the head, and the street where he fell was called after him. The barracks were taken, but a more decisive struggle had taken place elsewhere.

On the right bank, the people had only to get possession of the vast enclosure of the palace formed by the Louvre and the Tuileries. Since the day before they had been besieging the front of the Louvre before St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The Swiss, posted in the colonnade, directed a murderous fire on the assailants. A blunder, made while changing the battalion posted there, left the colonnade unprotected; in an instant the people stormed the entrance and broke in through the windows, firing from those which looked on to the courtyard. The Swiss, taken by surprise, were seized with a panic, the officers were unable to restore order, and they were chased by the people as far as the place de la Concorde. The crowd then for the second time made their way into the conquered palace. They had already entered it on the 10th of August, 1792, and they were to enter it again in February, 1848, and in September, 1870.

Charles X deposed

Each of these visits signified the fall of a monarchy. And this time, as on every similar occasion, was seen the spectacle of a crowd of starving men keeping guard, without attempting to touch it, over the wealth of treasure which was passing from the king to the nation. Thus ended that most glorious struggle, the result of which was greeted by universal acclamations. Where, during those terrible days, were the men who on one side or the other represented the principles for which France was fighting?

[1830 A.D.]

Charles X was at St. Cloud. The day the ordinances appeared (July 26th) he was stag-hunting until the evening at Rambouillet. Partly owing to an incomprehensible carelessness and partly to avoid the unpleasantness of the struggle, he had kept out of reach of the storm which had assailed his crown. He was told: "Stocks have fallen"; and replied, "They will go up again." Then they said, "Paris is in a state of anarchy." To this he answered, "Anarchy will bring her to my feet." The most faithful royalists, trying to make the king realise his position, found him incredulous. Even on the 29th, when the revolutionists, after three days' fighting, were driving the army from Paris, Charles X, six miles away, kept on repeating that every measure was being taken to suppress the insurrection.

Three days' war had raged; officers and men alike sad at heart had found themselves obliged to shed French blood. Men who should have been the glory of their country, politicians, artists, and philosophers, had been made the mark for French bullets; the people and the army had covered the streets with corpses, and all the time the king refused to believe what was happening.

It was only on the evening of the 29th, when the army returned to St. Cloud and he heard of their defeat, that he agreed to withdraw the ordinances and change the ministry. There was a great deal of talk about a game of whist that he played, whilst Mortemart, who was to be the new minister, was awaiting his instructions. Ten hours later Charles X was still hesitating, and it was only at daybreak on the 30th of July that the king made up his mind — just twenty-four hours after the triumph of the Revolution.

The next evening, after two long days of hesitation, in the midst of troops decimated by desertion, Charles X at last resolved to retire to Rambouillet; this was the first stage on his way to exile. Most of the men who were looked upon as the leaders of the victorious party had done little more fighting on their side than Charles X had done on his. When they met on the very day the edicts were issued there was division in the camp. If some, notably La Fayette, were anxious for revolt, others not only did not desire it, but actually feared it. All the deliberations of the deputies and other influential persons during these three days were fruitless, as no decision was reached. At last, on the 28th of July, they sent five of their number to Marshal Marmont, who was already being urged by the great astronomer Arago to put a stop to bloodshed. Polignac refused to see the five deputies, and while they were opening tardy negotiations with St. Cloud, the people completed their victory.

On the evening of the 28th, the monarchy being abolished, there was no recognised authority in Paris.[1] An unknown man named Dubourg, dressed in a general's uniform borrowed from a theatre, and the journalist Baude who appointed himself secretary to a provisional government which did not exist, had only to take their places in the Hôtel-de-Ville, which the troops had abandoned, in order to exercise a certain amount of power. On the evening of the 29th La Fayette took possession of the Hôtel-de-Ville and was reinforced by a commission consisting of Casimir Périer, Lobau, Schonen, Audry de Puyraveau, and Mauguin; Laffitte, whose house had been latterly the headquarters of the victors, and General Gérard, who continued to be the military chief of the new government, declining to join the commission.

[1 Men who had received their warrant from themselves alone, installed themselves in the Hôtel-de-Ville as representatives of the provisional government; and in that capacity they parodied the majesty of command, signed orders, distributed employments, and conferred dignities. Their reign was short, because those who would dare greatly must be able to do greatly; but it was real, and gave occasion to scenes of unexampled buffoonery. — Louis Blanc.]

[1830 A.D.]

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM

Those who had taken no part in the fighting wished to take advantage of the victory. Most of them had already begun to think of the duke of Orleans. As often happens in reigning families the Orleans branch, the younger branch, was always in a state of rivalry with the elder branch of Bourbons. Since 1789 the duke of Orleans had supported the revolutionary party; whilst his cousins were amongst the émigrés, he, a member of the convention, having given up using his title and assumed the name of Philippe Égalité, voted in favour of the death of Louis XVI. His son, duke of Orleans in 1792, had fought under the tricolour with Dumouriez at Jemmapes. Though he had emigrated afterwards, yet on the Restoration he had again declared himself a liberal. The family has always maintained this variable attitude, sometimes supporting, sometimes deserting the revolutionary party.

After 1815 the duke of Orleans was sometimes a prince of the blood, sometimes the hope of the revolutionists. He alternately claimed the largest share of the indemnity paid to the émigrés, or openly took the part of Béranger and General Foy; he at one time obtained from Charles X the title of Royal Highness, and at another would pose as a citizen-prince.

The example of England was in everybody's mind. It was by dethroning the lawful king and putting in his place a prince of a lateral branch that the English had gained their liberties in 1688. For a long time many people had been hoping that a similar change might bring about a similar result in France.

On the 30th Thiers and Mignet hurried to Neuilly where the prince lived, but he was not there. In the morning the deputies met at the house of Laffitte, and decided to hold a session at noon at the Bourbon palace. There it was decided to offer the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" to the duke of Orleans. He hesitated, tried to gain time, and was finally, it is said, persuaded by the advice of Talleyrand. On the 31st he accepted.

The Revolution was sacrificed for his benefit. But would those who had brought it about permit this? It was doubtful. The duke of Orleans decided to confront the danger by going through Paris to the Hôtel-de-Ville. A good deal of dissatisfaction was manifested in the streets. People were saying to themselves, "What? Another Bourbon!" His life was at the mercy of the populace. An adverse movement seemed imminent, but it did not take place. At the Hôtel-de-Ville La Fayette appeared on the balcony and was received with acclamations; the duke of Orleans embraced him and was applauded too. He had gained the crown.

Charles X had finally abdicated in favour of a child, the duke de Bordeaux. His was a strange destiny. He, whom the royalists called Henry V, was only to reign for one day and that at the age of ten! The old king was convinced that the duke of Orleans had only accepted the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" for the purpose of re-establishing legitimate authority in the person of Henry V. The duke found himself in a difficult position between the revolutionists who had offered him a throne, and Charles X, to whom he owed so much! Very opportunely, owing to an alarm raised in Paris, on the 3rd of August a little band of Parisians marched on Rambouillet. It was a strange jumble of national guards, volunteers, students with soldiers' belts over their black coats, workmen wearing helmets, many of them in omnibuses or cabs chartered for the occasion. This disorderly troop set out on a march of forty-five miles without victuals and quite unprepared for any emergency. At the same time the duke of Orleans sent Marshal Maison,

Schonen, and Odilon Barrot to Rambouillet. He had given the Parisians to understand that Charles X might prove dangerous, and he warned Charles X that sixty thousand Parisians were marching against him, and that he had better provide for his safety. Thus he got rid of the old king. Charles X and his family were accompanied as far as Cherbourg by his cousin's three envoys. Thence he went into exile where the elder branch of the Bourbons was to die out. On the 9th of August, 1830, the duke of Orleans was solemnly proclaimed king under the name of Louis Philippe I, king of the French.

HILLEBRAND'S PARALLEL BETWEEN THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 AND 1830

The French 1688 was accomplished: the kingdom of God's grace had made way for a kingdom of conventions. Whilst the "Glorious Revolution" had sealed the representative system in England, the "Great Week" forever put an end to it in France. Instead of the balance of power between the crown, the house of peers, and the house of commons, the real or seemingly unlimited authority of the latter stepped in. The victory of the 221, that is to say the majority of the house, was like that of Pyrrhus, as is every victory which is only due to the assistance of uncertain confederates. Their leaders would infallibly have come into power, even if the throne had not been overturned, and they would have taken over the government under circumstances far more favourable to themselves and the land, if the irresponsibility of the throne had been regarded, and the dangerous support of the street riots disdained.

Be that as it may, Charles X was the last monarch of France who attempted to oppose his will to the majority of the House. From henceforth not only did the minister require a similar majority so as to retain his office, but also the leaders of the state — king, emperor, or president — were dependent on Parliament, the fiction of an irresponsible leader of the state was forever ended, and the upper house was practically a thing of the past. According to this it was only natural and right that from henceforth all leaders of the state should, if only artificially, seek to assure the majority in the Commons and to accustom themselves to consider every opponent of their minister as their own opponent, views which the nation shared and still shares.

At times the capital which helped the parliamentary majority to win in 1830 may have fought and conquered this majority, as in the years 1848 and 1870, but only to withdraw her taxes after a short interregnum. In England, the House of Commons only became all-powerful a century after the Revolution, and the irresponsibility of the crown is still undisputed to-day. The convention of 1688 was the voluntary agreement of two equally powerful contractors; the convention of 1830 was a one-sided and conditional offer to which the one party submitted and which the other simply signed.

In other respects the popular comparison between 1688 and 1830 was no less sound. The eminent German statesman Stein at that time wrote to Gagern that only the spirit of falsehood and deception could find a resemblance between Charles X and James II. He asks, "Where is the barbarian Jeffreys? Where are the endeavours and attempts to establish a strange church in the place of the national church? Where is the treaty with a strange monarch to destroy the administration and religion of his own land? Where is the money that the stranger will receive for this purpose?

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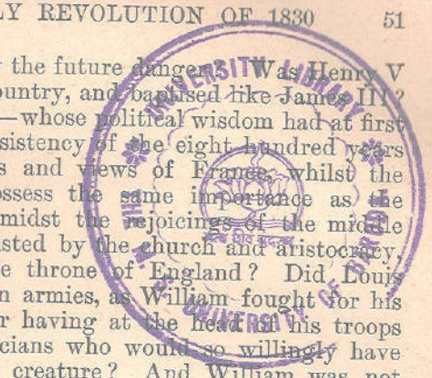


And we might further ask: wherein lay the future danger? Was Henry V born into a church hostile to his own country, and baptised like James III? Did the Parisian workers and students — whose political wisdom had at first discovered and made known the inconsistency of the eight hundred years of national dynasty with the interests and views of France, whilst the entire nation held contrary views — possess the same importance as the experienced statesmen who, in 1688, amidst the rejoicings of the middle classes and people of the land, and assisted by the church and aristocracy, called the daughter of James II to the throne of England? Did Louis Philippe gain his crown against foreign armies, as William fought for his at the bloody battle of the Boyne, after having at the head of his troops obtained it by defiance from the politicians who would so willingly have made of him prince consort and their creature? And William was not content with the acts of Parliament but also made his own. The childless monarch only acted in the interests of the statesmen, not in that of his own person or of the family, and considering his childless position, as well as his Dutch disposition and the confessional side of his rôle, one might well say: William of Orange as regent for his brother-in-law a minor — in the guardianship of whom none could have excelled him — could never attain that which he attained as king, and that Louis Philippe on his side would have attained without trouble, had he reigned in his own name, instead of in that of the minor Henry V for whom he had been appointed regent."

The insurrection which served as motive for the violation of the constitution on the 25th of July, was artfully called forth by some secret covenanters and journalists; but when after long procrastination it really broke out, the whole of the middle class of France backed up the July combatants, although they took no active part in the fight — for seldom in history has a deed been so firmly corroborated by eye-witnesses on all sides, as the inactivity of the middle class in this fight. Even after they had been carried away by a moral if not active participation they only wished to defend the constitution, at the most to extend it and to prevent its being attacked — not to change the dynasty. Certainly the sense of the insurrection was first falsified by the conspirators — republicans and Orleanists — who made themselves masters of the situation, and under pretext of protecting the threatened statutes undertook to dismiss the king's guilty counsellors, to do away with his law and the king himself. Thus the nation remains responsible to history for the result, as the wearer of the new crown accepted the responsibility of what had happened, although throughout the whole affair he had been more sinned against than sinning. And if there is no doubt that he had often dreamed of the throne, there is no proof that he ever aspired to it through conspiracy or intrigue.

For in public as in private life we not only act by what we do, but also by what we allow to be done, how much more by that which is termed goodness. When and where did a people acknowledge having done something more energetically and unconditionally than the French after the July days?

Not only those who were late in hastening to the fight but also those not concerned in it wished to acknowledge this as a great national event; and if the feeling shown towards the new monarch, almost unknown to the mass of the nation, was less spirited and less general than that shown for this event, the nation nevertheless imposed on it, and in no way reacted against it as it did against the republic in 1848, towards which it would have acted differently in 1830. And it not only confirmed this change by silent acknowledgment but also by the expressed oath of representatives of the

people, of the House of Lords, of almost all military and civil state officials, above all by the loud and unanimous respect shown by all towns, places, villages, and communities of the land.

The old dynasty which had been estranged from the nation by the twenty-five years of revolution and empire had not yet sufficiently grown accustomed to it, and Charles X had placed every difficulty in the way of approximation. No doubt the nation would have liked to see the reigning family retained, but as they were only drawn to it by considerations of profit and fear of overthrow, and not by a feeling of warm attachment or a deep insight into the affairs of the kingdom, they gave it up with all the cheerfulness so peculiar to the French in public affairs. No idea was formed as to the extent of this change; the kingdom still existed; that its life-giving roots had been cut off was not taken into consideration. They were only too glad to have been let off so cheaply. This feeling effaced all regret as well as all fears, which the fall of the old kingdom might have instilled into less unscrupulous minds.

The July Revolution was generally felt to be a liberation and was accepted with enthusiasm; and no less outside of France, and rightly; for this revolution was more profitable to foreign parts than to the country which made it. Europe breathed again as after a nightmare. Everywhere nations awoke at this early call, stirred and stretched themselves in their chains, and although they were not yet to succeed looked to see where they could cast them off, for the long, long night was over. It had been a gloomy time for Europe: fifteen years of darkness only illuminated by the reflection of princely feasts and congresses, fifteen years of silence only broken by the melodious voices of incomparable artists who seemed to wish to sing the people into a deeper sleep. For France it had been a bright and alert time which was now so suddenly interrupted: a time of fighting for the highest treasures, strong reliance in the victory of the good, and of pure enthusiasm for ideal aims. Now all this was ended.

The July Revolution was the last flicker of the flame of 1789, and although a great deal of deception was mixed in the enthusiasm, and pathos and declamation were less naïve than forty years before, "the great week" rightfully lives in the traditions of the nation as the most heroic and glorious of all the great battles of the past ninety years, not so much because the victory was more unsullied, sacrificing, and magnanimous than all others, but because the elevation was the sublimest of all.

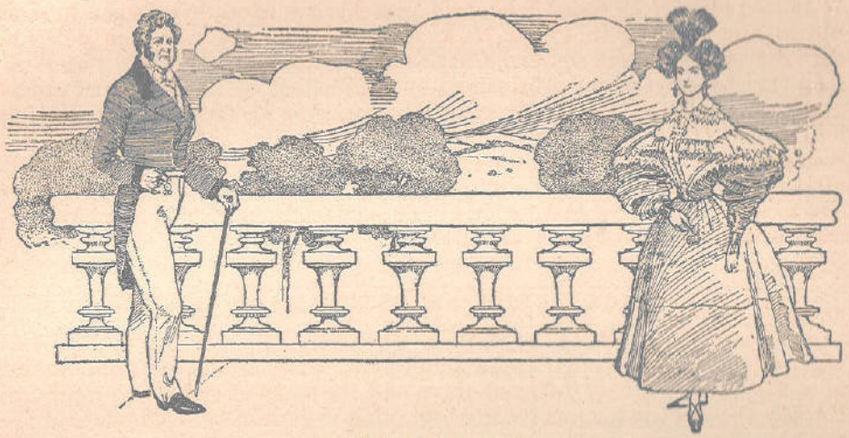
With this elevation, the poetry of the Revolution ended, the hour of prose had struck. There began a bitter strife for power and gain, a life in the moment and for the moment, a mastery of phrases such as had never been seen before and which in the end degenerated into conscious lies. For the entire movement was the outcome of the great reaction of Rousseau and his times against the calmness of the eighteenth century, and it lasted until the fresh calmness stepped in, in the middle of the nineteenth century. All the inspirations of the times were hollowed out into empty words during those twenty years; instead of the thoughts and sentiments which had filled the race, there arose vain forms, behind which covetousness and pure egotism were hidden. These were not to be dethroned after the cooling down of 1849–1850, but they were unmasked, and it is characteristic of our times that after the extinction of enthusiasm and want of idealism, under the ever more grasping rule of a sceptical and positive comprehension of life, they have at least the courage to honour the truth, on which the former race, either consciously or unconsciously, laid so little stress.[d]

MARTIN ON THE JULY REVOLUTION

It must be recognised that — given the conditions of French history since '89, and the social state of France being what it was, and so different from that of England — after the national sovereignty had once been re-established, the republic must also take its turn. In 1830 the question however was not to know if the republic were the last word of the French Revolution, but if the time were come to pronounce that word irrevocably.

France was not then at all ready. Memories of the Terror oppressed the imagination and were still generally confounded with the idea of a republic; an irresistible current carried the liberal citizenry to an imitation of the English revolution of 1688 and the trial of an elective monarchy. As for the popular masses, they had in the highest degree the national sentiment, which had raised again with passion the tricoloured flag, but they had little sentiment for universal suffrage which is inseparable in the modern world from the republican idea.

The régime established August 9th, 1830, has then its *raison d'être* in French history, but could be only a transition, and the blame that attaches to its authors is that of neglecting to introduce in the Charter a means of operating this transition peacefully by giving the nation the power to revise its constitutional laws, a faculty inalienable and inseparable from national self-government.[e]



CHAPTER III

LOUIS PHILIPPE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

[1830–1848 A.D.]

> The revolution of July suddenly frustrated the repressive policy of the great powers, and was the commencement of a new era in the liberties of Europe. It gave an impulse to the revolution in Belgium; to the insurrection in Poland; to the democratic constitutions of Switzerland; to political reforms in several of the states of Germany; and to parliamentary reform in England. Its influence was felt in Italy, in Spain, and Portugal; in Hungary, and in the Slavonic provinces of Austria. And, even beyond the bounds of Europe, it reached from Egypt and Syria, in the east, to South America, in the west. The period of reaction was now closed, to be succeeded by the progressive development of constitutional freedom. — SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MAY.[b]

PLACED as Louis Philippe was between the past and the future, between the ancient monarchy crumbled without hope of return and the republic brought forward, then adjourned, his position was complex and his spirit contradictory. He was at the same time a prince at heart and a bourgeois in form; revolutionary by his memories, and reactionary, or at least stationary, from the fear which these very memories inspired in him, as well as by his royal memories.

"King-citizen," promenading Paris in round hat and with an umbrella, not only by calculation, but by taste as well, he was at the same time a descendant of Louis XIV — the issue of the brother of Louis XIV, on the male side; he descended on the female side from the Grand Monarch himself and Mme. de Montespan. He had kept from Voltairianism sentiments of humanity and religious scepticism, but nothing more from that great breath of the eighteenth century which had for a moment animated his youth and inspired the entire life of La Fayette.

One of the men who did most to enthrone Louis Philippe was Thiers, who has defined the constitutional monarchy in the phrase, "It reigns but it does not govern." The new king never accepted this maxim and aspired from the first day to rule in all things, less from any theory of monarchy than from a passion for affairs, big or little, and above all from a conviction

[1830 A.D.]

of the superiority he fancied he held over his ministers, even when he had before him a Casimir Périer or a Thiers. He could not even delegate authority as Napoleon did and Charles X wanted to do. It was necessary then that he govern by address and by artifice, not by imposing and ordering, but by reducing and dividing, by subalternising his ministers and gaining his parliamentary majorities by interesting groups and individuals. Such a policy was incompatible with sincerity towards persons and things; incapable of violating the laws, Louis Philippe used all his skill to contract the laws and to undermine free institutions. These dangerous tendencies, however, manifested themselves but gradually.[c]

STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND FIRST ACTS OF THE REIGN

Although the political revolution was over, and the throne of Louis Philippe, so far as external appearances went, firmly established, the interior of society was in a very different state, and the seeds of evil which were destined in the end to overturn it were beginning to germinate. The state of the working-classes, especially in the great towns, which had rapidly degenerated since and in consequence of the first revolution, had been brought to a perfect climax of horror by the effects of the second. The almost entire stoppage of purchases and expenditure in France, in consequence of the terrors which had seized all the affluent classes, combined with the corresponding reductions in the English market, from the effect of the simultaneous reform agitation in that country, had reduced all who were engaged in the production of luxuries — that is, the immense majority of the working-classes — to the last stages of destitution. It was hard to say whether the vine-growers of the Gironde, the silk-weavers of Lyons, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, the jewellers or the printers of Paris, were in the greatest distress. In Bordeaux there were twenty-two thousand workmen out of employment; in Paris the number exceeded sixty thousand. At Nîmes the fancy silks had sunk to a third in price, while the wages of the workmen had undergone a similar diminution. Montpellier, which depended chiefly on the sale of wines, was in the utmost distress, and loudly complained of the recent rise in the *octroi* on that article; and in Lyons the suffering had become such that the only question seemed to be when a half of the entire inhabitants were to expire of famine. Nor was the condition of the masters more consoling, for even at the low rates of wages, such had been the fall of prices in the manufactured article that they could not work at a profit; and numerous failures among the most considerable both threw numbers of workmen out of employment and fearfully augmented the general consternation.[d]

LOUIS PHILIPPE
(1773–1850)

The first acts of the reign of Louis Philippe were prudent and modest. He modified and completed the ministry which he had formed during his

lieutenant-generalship. He called Molé to take charge of the foreign affairs and Broglie to the ministry of public instruction. The other ministers remained. Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Bignon were members of the cabinet of ministers without portfolios. There was no president of the council, neither Laffitte nor Casimir Périer accepting this high post. This ministry included very opposite tendencies.

The chambers, in accord with the government during the month of August, voted certain measures which were the natural result of the July Revolution. Political condemnations from the time of the restoration were annulled. Aid and recompense were voted for the July combatants; for the wounded and for the families of the dead. The Panthéon, which under the empire had become the church of Ste. Geneviève, was restored to the destination given it in 1791, which was to receive the remains of great men. The double vote was suppressed, also the great electoral colleges, or departmental colleges, which the restoration had founded as citadels of the aristocracy to control the electoral bourgeoisie.

However, difficulties were beginning for the new government. Commercial affairs had weighed heavy before the Revolution; they became, as we have seen, worse after it. The working-classes were surprised and angry to find themselves more unhappy the day after than on the eve of the "great days" which owed so much to their courage and devotion. They gathered together in the streets and on the squares to command the government to procure for them diminution of labour or increase of wages. The less enlightened wanted to break the machines which, they said, suppressed the employment of their arms.[c]

SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENTS

Although mischievous to society (the return and repose of which they delayed) and troublesome to the authority which as yet wanted the power to repress them, these palpable irregularities would have signified little, if beyond and above street demonstrations, other causes of disorder, older and more deeply rooted, had not taken possession of many minds. The revolution of July had not confined itself to the overthrow of a dynasty, and the modification of a charter: it had given rise to pretensions and hopes, not alone in the political party who desired for France a form of government opposed to monarchy, but in all the schools, and in every sect, through all the varied divisions of life, whether prominent or obscure, who were dreaming of another state of social organisation quite distinct from that which France had received from her origin, her Christian faith, and her fourteen ages of political existence.

Besides the republicans — and divided between a desire to join and to separate from them — the Saint Simonians, the Fourierists, the socialists, and the communists, much opposed to each other in principle and unequal in strength, as in intellectual power, were all in a state of ambitious effervescence.

The secret societies of the Restoration had transferred themselves into revolutionary clubs, thus combining the remains of silent discipline with the extravagant enthusiasm of unbridled speech. There at daily and public meetings, all events and questions, whether of principle or incidental occurrence, were warmly discussed. All designs, hopes, and dreams were boldly investigated. The entire government, the monarchy, the chambers, the magistracy, the administration, were attacked with undissembled violence. Their total overthrow was unreservedly proposed. Working-people and

youths, casual passers-by, entered into these places of assembly as to a public spectacle, enjoying their audacious license; and round the leaders of these old republican, Bonapartist, socialist, or other associations, advocates of the popular party were grouped, ready to declare against the existing authorities, which from day to day they were in the habit of hearing insulted and denounced as enemies.[e]

The chamber of deputies voted a credit of five millions for public works, one of thirty millions to make advances to commercial houses. Disturbances at home and abroad united to prevent the resumption of affairs. These alarms were confirmed by the continued low state of public funds. Four of Charles X's ministers, among them Polignac and Peyronnet, had been arrested and confined at Vincennes. The expectation of their trial agitated people's minds.[1]

Foreign affairs caused the most lively anxiety. Louis Philippe and the men who surrounded him realised that the counter action of the July Revolution would inevitably make itself felt abroad, and that the new régime would not subsist in France if it permitted the Holy Alliance to recommence, in respect to the French, what the Restoration had done in Spain. The English minister was the first to announce an intention to recognise the new government in France, on condition that it respected existing treaties. Public opinion in England had been very sincere and active in favour of the July Revolution. Prussia and Austria also, in spite of the displeasure and anxiety of Metternich, had received the communications of the new government, properly although with reserve. The great question was the attitude which Russia would take. Against all expectation Nicholas repulsed Louis Philippe's advances rudely, almost brutally. When to his great regret England, Austria, and Prussia had recognised the new government, he consented to keep relations of peace and friendship, but he refused to give the title of "brother" to the king of the French, and recalled his ambassador.[e]

Belgium had separated itself from Holland and offered itself to France, but was refused in order not to excite the jealousy of England. Spanish refugees wanted to attempt a revolution in their country. They were arrested at the frontier in order not to violate international rights, even with a prince who was a secret enemy. Poland, delivered for a short period by a heroic effort, called to the French. Was it possible to save her by arms? As she herself said in the midst of her great sufferings: "God is too high and France is too far." Only isolated assistance was sent, which did not prevent Warsaw from succumbing. Its fall found a sad echo in the heart of France.

The approach of the trial of the ministers was causing a fermentation in Paris. Guizot and Broglie retired from the ministry, their demission entailing that of Molé, Louis and Casimir Périer. Laffitte at the urgent insistence of the king accepted the task of forming a new ministry (November 2nd, 1830).[f]

LAFFITTE'S MINISTRY

On the 15th of December the ministers of Charles X were tried. La Fayette took every precaution to preserve order. Taken from Vincennes to the Luxembourg they defended themselves before the chamber of peers,

[1 The populace demanded the death of those who, by signing the ordinances, had brought on the Revolution, and were therefore indirectly the cause of so many deaths. But even La Fayette opposed this, being generous enough to wish their escape, especially because they were his enemies. This also caused a dissension in the cabinet. — MÜLLER.]

being represented by their advocates, Martignac, Hennequin, Sauzet, and Crémieux.

For three days, from the 18th to the 20th of December, the mob besieged the Luxembourg, accusing the government of treason. Paris was terrified. La Fayette tried to negotiate with the ringleaders. On the 20th the inner court of the Luxembourg was forced and the peers were obliged to suspend their sitting. By the 21st the riot had become more formidable. Before pronouncing sentence, Montalivet, minister of the interior, went at the head of the detachment which reconducted the prisoners to Vincennes. The sentence, read at ten o'clock in the evening, condemned the ministers to imprisonment for life. On account of the "clemency" of this verdict a new riot occurred on the 22nd, which was suppressed by the national guards and the troops.[h]

At the moment when these new tumults burst forth the chamber of deputies was busily engaged in discussing the bill for the organisation of the national guards. This bill naturally brought into question the position of La Fayette. After a long debate the chamber adopted the article suppressing the functions of commandant-in-general of the national guards of the kingdom (December 24th). Without delay La Fayette sent in his resignation to the king, who resolved to accept it.[e]

On the 22nd of January, 1831, there was a riot among the students at the Sorbonne against the academic council assembled to forbid collective demonstrations. The 13th of February a memorial service was held in St. Germain-l'Auxerrois in memory of the assassination of the duke de Berri; there the legitimists made an imprudent demonstration in honour of the duke de Bordeaux. The crowd, thoroughly roused, pillaged the presbytery, profaned the church, and committed many acts of vandalism. In the evening the republicans promenaded carrying arms. Dupin was threatened in his house. The 14th saw the archbishop's palace pillaged. There were fresh scenes of vandalism: the archbishop's country house at Conflans was sacked; the church of Bonne Nouvelle was pillaged, and several public buildings were attacked. Baude, prefect of police, and Odilon Barrot, prefect of the Seine, were perfectly inert. Their complacent proclamations only touched the counter-revolutionists and the legitimists. The *fleurs-de-lis* were torn down everywhere, and the scenes of anarchy were not limited to Paris.

Those who loved order, and had hailed the government as a saviour, began to doubt its strength and even its will. On the 17th of February Delessert denounced the negligence and weakness of the ministry in the chamber. There was yet time to act vigorously against the plotters of sedition, and prevent civil war. Baude and Odilon Barrot made a very poor defence and criticised the retrograde methods hitherto pursued. Guizot wanted the government to free itself from all illegal pressure, and to act in harmony with the chamber, putting itself at the head of society and not at the tail, renouncing a popularity both impossible and compromising. Laffitte still avoided expressing his opinion, and contented himself by replacing Baude and Odilon Barrot by Vivien and Bondy. His position personally became more and more false; even the other ministers acted without him.

The risings continued; strikes spread; credit was low. Laffitte obtained on the 5th of March two hundred million special credit with difficulty; but the chamber refused him a vote of confidence. His friends persuaded him to retire, and he was, moreover, obliged to do so owing to pecuniary embarrassments and the losses sustained by his banking house.[h]

One of the direct causes of Laffitte's fall was his position on the Italian question, the minister wishing to aid an insurrection against Austria which

was on foot there. But the king was even more unwilling to intervene for the independence of Italy than he had been to interfere in the affairs of Belgium. The king had gone behind the back of his minister and made an agreement with Austria, on learning of which Laffitte resigned March 9th, 1831.[a]

CASIMIR PÉRIER AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1831-1832 A.D.)

Casimir Périer, the new minister, had been endowed with a gift at the same time very striking and almost universally appreciated, namely a force of character which amounted almost to heroism. President of the chamber before he became prime-minister, he was the man of the majority. His policy may be very briefly summed up: order at home maintained by such means as were authorised by the charter and the law; peace abroad, without sacrificing in the slightest degree the honour of the nation; in foreign affairs three great questions claimed the attention of the French government—Belgium, Poland, and Italy. When Casimir Périer was called upon for a statement of his policy before the chambers, he said: "The principle already laid down of non-intervention is the one we will adopt," and his actions verified his words.

In 1831 the centre of Italy was occupied by the Austrians on the pretext of overcoming revolution. On the 2nd of February the conclave proclaimed Gregory XVI sovereign pontiff. In order to pacify men's minds, the European powers addressed a memorial to the pope in which they pointed out such reforms as seemed to them likely to appease the dissatisfaction of his subjects. The pope refused to pledge himself, so secret societies were again formed and rebellion broke out anew. Gregory XVI appealed to the Austrians for help. Austria by granting it violated the principle of non-intervention.

Casimir Périer, in the name of France, protested in a way that might have brought about war; on the 7th of February a French fleet carrying a line regiment left Toulon and arrived on the 22nd within sight of Ancona. The troops landed during the night and the town was taken. The pope, indignant, cried, "Such an attempt has not been made against the holy see since the time of the Saracens." The government made known its intentions. It would protect the holy father even against attacks from within, but it would not suffer Austria to rule in his states; to the foreign ambassadors, who in the name of public justice called upon him for an explanation, Casimir Périer replied, "It is I who defend the rights of Europe at large. Do you think it is easy to keep the peace and insist on the observance of treaties? The honour of France must be maintained." The pope soon agreed to what he was powerless to prevent. Austria did not pick up the gauntlet which had been thrown down. The Austrian troops evacuated the legations and, on the 24th of October, 1838, the French soldiers set sail for France.

Poland had attempted in 1830 to release herself from the iron grasp of Russia. The institutions granted by the czar Alexander and guaranteed by Europe in 1815 had fallen one by one under the persistent attacks of the Russian government. When the emperor Nicholas came to Warsaw to be crowned in 1829, he refused to revoke the measures of which Poland complained. In the evening of the 29th of November, 1830, at a signal given by means of two fires, an insurrection broke out in Warsaw and the Russian army retired. But the Poles were divided amongst themselves, and the emperor of Russia took advantage of the time wasted by them. A desperate battle, lasting for two days, did not shake the determination of the Poles,

who resisted the Russians for several months. In the meantime they claimed help from the western nations, especially from France, who made them understand that they must not expect any support from her arms. At the same time France reminded Russia of the sacredness of treaties, and proposed to act as a mediator. She begged the other European nations to succour the Poles, but without result.

After the disaster, all she could do was to open her arms to the exiles. This she did eagerly, and gave an asylum to ten thousand Polish refugees. In the streets the mob constantly cried: "Poland forever!" and pursued with this cry the great administrator.[i]

Casimir Périer was the only man capable of controlling the situation and of directing what was called the party of the opposition. But he was not inclined to make himself the tool of anyone. He had demanded, together with the presidency of the council, the ministry of the interior. He declared that he intended to preside actively over the council and that the king should not be present. He thought that where responsibility is located, there should also be the power of action. He was resolved to practice the principle laid down by Thiers in *Le National* before the Days of July: "The king reigns, but does not govern."[c]

He plainly stated two things: that he wished legal order and that he would consequently fight the republicans and legitimists to the death; that he would not precipitate France into a universal war, and consequently that he would make all sacrifices to the peace of the world, which were compatible with the honour of the country. This language sounded proud; action confirmed it.[f]

Dom Miguel in Portugal had treated two Frenchmen outrageously. A fleet forced its way through the straits of the Tagus, hitherto considered impregnable, and anchored at three hundred *toises* from the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humbled themselves, and a just reparation was made. The Dutch had invaded Belgium: fifty thousand Frenchmen advanced thither and the Dutch flag gave way.

In the interior the president of the council followed with the same energy the line of conduct he had laid down for himself. Legitimists agitated the departments of the west. Mobile columns extinguished the revolt. The working-classes of Lyons, incited by too severe suffering, but also by agitators, had rebelled, inscribing on their banner this sad and sinister device: "Live in working or die in fighting." After a frightful mêlée in the city itself, they were disarmed and order appeared re-established on the surface. Grenoble in its turn ran with blood.[c]

In Paris the different parties were not wanting in energy. Two legitimist plots broke out—first, that of "the Towers of Notre-Dame." Six individuals secreted themselves in the bell-tower of the cathedral to ring the tocsin and thus give the signal for insurrection. They were arrested and imprisoned. The following month a new conspiracy was discovered, that of the "rue des Prouvaires." The agent Poncelet had managed to enrol twenty-five hundred men in Paris. At a given moment these men were to rise and carry off the royal family by force. They were arrested in rue des Prouvaires. However, the government was attacked by the papers of all parties with an ever-increasing bitterness. In speaking of Frenchmen M. de Montalivet used the word "subjects," and someone cried: "What about the minister?" and a deputy added: "Men who make kings are not subjects."

Soon after this the overwhelming anxiety caused by a terrible epidemic of cholera absorbed the thoughts and attention of the whole nation. The

scourge, which came originally from India, had already spread all over the Old World from China and Russia to England. It spread from town to town and from capital to capital defying all efforts to arrest its progress. It broke out in Paris on the 26th of March, 1832, raged for a hundred and eighty-nine days and carried off nineteen thousand persons.[1] It spread through twenty-seven departments. Casimir Périer had visited the hospital with the duke of Orleans; two days afterwards he was confined to his bed. His health had for some time been feeble, and he died on the 16th of May after severe and protracted suffering. When Louis Philippe heard of his death he said to one who was present: "Casimir Périer is dead: is it a blessing or a misfortune? The future will show." The king was not always quite comfortable with such an imperious minister.[i]

LOMÉNIE'S ESTIMATE OF CASIMIR PÉRIER

No man better understood or did more to maintain representative government than Périer. That is to say he thought the government should be carried on under an open sky, so to speak, and always under the eyes and control of the country. It has been truly said of him that he governed from the tribunal, and that he was sometimes indiscreet in his fear of not being sufficiently frank. No statesman ever had a stronger sense of the duties or of the rights appertaining to responsibility and the exercise of power. He wished the throne to be respected and to be worthy of respect as the chief magistracy of the kingdom, but he wished it to remain inviolable and strictly within its own exalted sphere, ruling over parties without mixing in them.

An open enemy of what has since been called personal government, Périer was no less hostile to emergency laws; he refused them, with equal firmness before the entreaties of his friends and the representations of his enemies. His courageous confidence in public opinion always made him look on the common law energetically administered as the only instrument which could be suitably employed by the "government of July." "Our system of home policy," he would say, "is to make the laws of the land our constant rule of action, to support the government by restoring to it the power and unity which it lacks, to reinstate and tranquillise all sorts of interests, by giving them guarantees of order and stability, to respect the laws and to draw from our legislative system and the moral strength which arises from it, all our methods of action and of influence; it is in short never to consent to form a party government and, while keeping a strict watch over any intrigues that may be woven in secret, never to yield to the temptation of crushing the vanquished; for, in so doing, victory is dishonoured."

In his dealings with other nations the language and behaviour of the statesman of the 13th of March were always worthy of France. He desired peace but he would not have sacrificed either the interests or honour of his country to preserve it. He would not rashly enter upon a quarrel but when once he had declared himself he never drew back, and when he considered the moment for action had arrived, he acted quite independently without the sanction of anyone else. Thus he entered Belgium entirely on his own initiative and without waiting for the conference of London to authorise him in doing so. Thus he blockaded and took the port of Lisbon, without troubling himself about the dissatisfaction of England. It was thus that in order to convince Austria that she had better retire from the Roman states he could find no better way than forcing an entry into Ancona and establish-

[1 In the whole of France it counted 120,000 victims in 1832.c]

ing himself there. Thus it was in short that he was capable, with a vivacity which was characteristically French, of reducing to silence a Russian ambassador who dared to speak to him about the "decisions" of the emperor.

To sum up: whatever judgment we may form of the political career of Casimir Périer, it would be impossible for any unprejudiced person to fail to recognise in him two valuable qualities which essentially distinguished him, namely: energy and loyalty.[l]

SUCCEEDING MINISTRIES

Montalivet replaced Casimir Périer in the office of minister for home affairs, but not in the presidency of the council. Louis Philippe did not care to share the power with a viceroy. Laborious, intelligent, gifted with a fine sense of honour, unimpulsive, courageous as he was merciful and easy-tempered, the king was impressed by his own superiority, and wished to direct the government himself, and to establish what he called his 'system.' He was too inclined to attribute the merit of success to himself. For a long time he sought to place at the head of the cabinet a president who would inspire confidence in foreign nations, and to induce orators to enter who could defend his politics victoriously before the chambers. His ideas led to the resignation of Sébastiani and Montalivet, looked upon as court followers; the formation of the ministry of October 11th, composed of Marshal Soult the president, with Broglie, minister of foreign affairs, Thiers, home secretary; Guizot, minister of education, Humann, minister of finance, Admiral de Rigny, Barthe, and d'Argout; and the creation of sixty-two new peers.[h]

Meanwhile society had been moved to its lowest depths by the partisans of Saint-Simon and of Fourier, who demanded another social order. They themselves still played the part of mere apostles of peace, but the insurrection at Lyons had shown that among the proletariat there was a whole army ready to apply their doctrines. The national guard energetically defended the monarchy, when, in consequence of the obsequies attending the funeral of General Lamarque, the republicans gave battle behind the barricades of St. Merry on the 5th and 6th of June. This check arrested their party for some time. A month later (July 22nd, 1832) the death of Napoleon's son, the duke of Reichstadt, relieved the Orleanist dynasty of a redoubtable rival and the marriage of Princess Louise with the king of the Belgians seemed to give it an added support.

Another pretender also lost her cause. The duchess de Berri, who had landed secretly on the coasts of Provence with the title of regent, was come to stir up civil war in the west, in the name of her son Henry V. But there were no longer either Vendéans or royalists of the Loire (Chouans) in existence. The new ideas had made way there as elsewhere, and more than elsewhere even. "Those people are patriots and republicans," said an officer charged to combat them. A few nobles, some refractory persons, few peasants responded to the call. The country, overrun with troops, was quickly pacified, and the duchess, after wandering for a long time from farm to farm, entered Nantes, disguised as a peasant. This adventurous attempt showed the weakness of the legitimist party. To complete its ruin Thiers, who was at that time minister, instituted an active search for the duchess.[1]

[1 Müller says that she was betrayed to the authorities by a Jew named Deuz who was paid 500,000 francs. "Her relative Louis Philippe was relieved from his predicament as to her disposal by her giving birth to a daughter whose paternity she could not satisfactorily explain. She was allowed to go to Palermo and the legitimists ceased for a time to be willing to risk their heroes and heroines on the slippery ground of France. They fixed their only hope on a general reaction."]

Discovered on the 7th of November and imprisoned at Blaye, she was obliged to confess to a secret marriage which made any other attempt of the same kind impossible for the future.

The capture by French soldiers of the citadel of Antwerp which the Dutch refused to give up to the Belgians put an end to the critical situation from which war might result at any moment (December 23rd, 1832). The occupation of Arzeu, of Mostaganem, and of Bougie confirmed the French occupation of Algeria, and these expeditions to the border of the Schelde and on the shores of the Mediterranean brought some glory to French arms.

In Portugal, Dom Miguel, absolutist prince, had been dethroned in the interests of Donna Maria, who gave the people a constitutional charter. In Spain, Ferdinand VII was on the point of death, excluding from the crown, with the abolishment of the Salic law, his brother Don Carlos, who was sustained by the retrograde party. Thus the whole peninsula escaped from an absolutist party at the same time.[f]

In the discussion on the budget of 1833 the opposition combated the idea of raising detached forts round Paris, "making a Bastille of it." In such an act they saw a danger to liberty. The revolutionists appealed to the national guard and the working-classes, and prepared to celebrate the July anniversary. The plot was unearthed by the police, who seized the stores of arms and arrested several heads of sections. Later on, nearly all the accused were acquitted because the plot had been without result. The acquitments led to deplorable results. The republicans organised strikes. On October 23rd, the *Société des droits de l'homme* published a manifesto in *La Tribune* and put themselves under the patronage of Robespierre.

The new session opened December 22nd, 1833. The republicans who had signed the *Tribune* manifesto were called upon to declare themselves. New repressive laws were passed: one, 17th February, 1834, against street-criers; this was followed on the 24th by a rising, which was promptly suppressed. On March 25th a severe law was issued against associations. Not more than twenty persons were to meet. The cognisance of political offences committed by them belonged to a jury; that of infractions of the law to the ordinary tribunes, and attempts against the safety of the state to the chamber of peers. The opposition vainly brought all their forces to weaken these provisions, but the majority was a strong one and obtained a decisive triumph. A law was passed against the fabrication or storing of arms and ammunition. The government was henceforward armed with every possible means of resistance, and yet these were not called emergency laws.[h]

The Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed April 22nd, 1834, between the courts of Paris, London, Lisbon, and Madrid, promised to the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the sure support of two great constitutional countries, against the ill-will of the northern courts. In France these promises even led to some effect. To sustain the young queen Isabella, in case of need, against the Spanish legitimists, the natural allies of the French legitimists, an army corps of fifty thousand men was organised at the foot of the Pyrenees.[f]

FIESCHI'S INFERNAL MACHINE AND THE "SEPTEMBER LAWS"

For some time rumours of plots against the king's life had been in circulation. There was, so to speak, a presage of evil in the air. The public was uneasy. The republican and legitimist newspapers attributed these reports

to the police; but they had too real a foundation. The police had not invented conspiracies, but had prevented many; now it was said in France and abroad that there would be an attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe during the annual review of July 28th. This might have no other origin than the thought of the opportunity that this day offered to the king's enemies; but from July 26th to 27th, the rumours grew more distinct; the police was warned that an infernal machine had been constructed, and that the blow would be struck near the boulevard du Temple; they made diligent search but without success. It was most imprudent to pass the troops in review on the boulevards, where an unexpected attack would be so easy, rather than in the Champ de Mars.

The information by which the police had been unable to profit was unfortunately not imaginary. At the moment when the royal procession reached the boulevard du Temple, on the spot where the Jardin Turc then was, the king perceived a puff of smoke burst forth from beneath the shutters of a house on the boulevard. He quickly exclaimed to one of his sons who was beside him, "Joinville, that is intended for me."

A loud detonation was heard, the roadway was strewn with slain and wounded; more than forty people fell. Among the dead was Marshal Mortier, who had escaped so many battles to perish, murdered in Paris, by a blow intended for another. With him were killed a general officer, superior officers of the army and of the national guard, some old men and women. Five other generals were wounded. The horses of the king and the prince de Joinville had been struck, but the projectiles whistled around the king and his sons without touching them.

In the midst of the universal terror, Louis Philippe said composedly, "Now, gentlemen, let us proceed." And he finished his progress amongst the acclamations of the national guard and the indignant populace. The police hastened to the spot whence the explosions had proceeded; it proved to be a small house of mean appearance, No. 50, boulevard du Temple. They found here a machine composed of twenty-four gun-barrels arranged like organ-pipes. There was no one in the room; but, in a neighbouring courtyard, a man who had descended from the roof, by means of a rope, was arrested. He was covered with blood and mutilated — he had been wounded by his own machine, several of the gun-barrels having burst. He said his name was Girard, but it was soon discovered that he was a Corsican, called Fieschi.

The public feeling was one of horror at this outrage, which as in the case of the first infernal machine directed against Bonaparte had indiscriminately struck so many victims whilst attempting to reach the intended one. The reaction produced was profitable to the king, whose brave composure was praised. The population took part with emotion in the solemn obsequies of the dead, which were held on July 28th. Then followed the same consequences as after the assassination of the duke de Berri; free institutions paid for Fieschi's crime, as they had paid for that of Louvel. On August 4th, in imitation of the royalist ministry of 1820, Louis Philippe's ministers presented to the chamber of deputies a number of restrictive and reactionary laws.

After the catastrophe which had just terrified Paris and France, it was not to be wondered at that all possible precautions should be taken to protect the king's person against hatreds which were manifested in so terrible a manner, but far more than this was intended. The bills interdicted not only all offensive allusion to the king's person, but all discussion regarding his claims to the throne, and the principle of his government. It was forbidden to

assume the name of republican, and to express a desire for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons. The number of votes necessary for the condemnation of accused persons was reduced from eight to seven out of twelve in the jury; it was the simple majority instead of the two-thirds. The offences of exciting hatred or contempt of the king's person, or of his constitutional authority, were in these bills made crimes liable to be brought before the court of peers. The penalties were increased in extravagant proportions. Terms of imprisonment were much lengthened and fines were raised from ten thousand to fifty thousand francs. In proportion as the penalties were increased the difficulty of escaping them was augmented not only by changes in jurisdiction, but by the introduction of a flood of new definitions.

The deposits required of newspapers were considerably increased. All the illustrations and engravings were submitted to preliminary authorisation, that is to say, to the censorship. Some republican artists of much talent had made caricature a perfect implement of war against Louis Philippe and against all men of the *Juste Milieu;* they had far surpassed the English in this style of polemics, the sharpest and most incisive of all. The new laws broke this weapon in their hands.

The constitutional opposition resisted energetically; it felt that the government of July, by seeking to exaggerate its actual strength, was risking its future. There was deep emotion in the assembly when Royer-Collard, the aged head of the doctrinal school, recalled to constitutional principles his disciples, Broglie and Guizot. He worthily crowned his career by his grand and austere defence of legitimate liberty. One seemed to have gone back to the Restoration, and it was the doctrinaires and one of the liberal parties who replaced Villèle and Peyronnet.

Dupin, with less haughtiness, but plenty of common-sense and logic, also supported the cause of press and jury. But all in vain. The majority was maddened by Fieschi's attempt, and voted for everything; even increasing the terms proposed. The chamber of peers followed the chamber of deputies. There also, however, eloquent protests were made; Villemain, Guizot's former and celebrated colleague at the Sorbonne, made a brilliant but ineffectual defence of liberty. The laws against press and jury were termed the "laws of September," because the decisive vote took place on the 9th of that month. The republicans called them the "Fieschi laws."

THE RISE OF THIERS AND GUIZOT

Amongst the prominent possibilities for ministerial power two were specially prominent — Guizot and Thiers. Guizot was a Protestant and a native of Nîmes. He was still quite young in 1815, but had already occupied important positions. At first an enthusiastic royalist, the extremist members of his party had driven him to join the opposition. As a professor of history he had won the applause of his pupils. His mind was dry but powerful; as a writer he was stiff but dignified; in the tribune the ideas he expressed were methodically formulated and his style was cold and haughty; in public life he maintained an attitude of proud severity. Since Royer-Collard had grown too old for public functions Guizot had been the leading man of the "theoretical politicians." This name was given at the Restoration to a party of men whose power consisted more in their talents than in their number (a wag had said that the whole party could sit on one sofa). The name did not imply that they were consistently attached to the same

theories for long together, but there was a certain sententiousness in their language which justified the title.

Guizot was the historian and the theoretical exponent of the policy whose statesman had been Casimir Périer. He had founded a historical and philosophical system on the power given to the upper middle class, that is to say on the most ephemeral of expedients. His past life and his opinions constituted him the most conservative of the Orleanist party.

Thiers was just the reverse; at that time he was young and modern; a little rotund man, with a peculiar face already adorned by the traditional spectacles, sparkling with wit and vivacity, very supple minded, clever in adapting himself to circumstances, understanding or at least in touch with everything, drawn to the people by the poverty of his early life and by his ardent enthusiasm, imbued with the history of the empire, an ardent admirer of military exploits and of strong measures, he presented, during six years of uninterrupted rivalry, the strongest possible contrast to Guizot.

Guizot and Thiers both became members of the same government that of the 11th of October, 1833. This ministry passed through many vicissitudes, was modified several times, and had many different chiefs.

The marked feature of all succeeding combinations, the union of Guizot and Thiers, disappeared in 1836. For a short time Thiers was alone. But the king had made a plan of his own, and on the 15th of April, 1837, as we shall see, he made Molé prime minister. Molé's chief merit in the king's eyes was that he was ready to do as he was told; in short, he acknowledged the king as his master. The idea of a personal government made men of all shades of opinion, and even those who were bitter rivals, unite against the new minister. Thiers, Guizot, and the man who wished to bring the new régime back to the traditions of the Revolution of 1830, Odilon Barrot, formed a coalition which included men of every party who had united with all those who had taken leading parts in the government of July. Molé tried to make himself popular. He set free political prisoners, and resolved to grant the amnesty which everyone, as everyone always does, had declared to be impossible, but which everybody, and this too is a common occurrence, applauded as soon as it was accomplished. The amnesty reflects credit on the Molé ministry, but it did not save it. It succumbed in 1839 beneath the repeated attacks of its opponents.

The latter split up into sections immediately after their victory. A crisis which seemed interminable supervened. For two months, abortive measures and manœuvres which became the laughing-stock of the newspapers perpetually proclaimed the inefficacy of the government. It was only when, during an insurrection, the sound of firing was heard, that a ministry was formed in which neither of the leaders of the party had a place. This was the last expedient of the reign. Soon, after so many short ministries, there was to be one which was too durable and which was to put an end to the existing state of things.

The struggle between Thiers and Guizot occupied the closing years of the reign. On the 1st of March, 1840, Louis Philippe decided to request Thiers to form a government. In doing this the king acknowledged himself defeated: first because Thiers was most intolerant of the king's interference in affairs of state, and secondly because he represented the boldest element, the section which was most nearly allied to the Left benches, of the Orleanist party. Louis Philippe resigned himself, not without misgivings, to this state of things, and Guizot agreed to absent himself from the debates in the chamber, and even to serve under his rival by accepting the embassy in London.

And what was Thiers going to do that would not have been done by a docile instrument of the king? He gave up all the reforms, and all the principles in whose name he had just made such a determined opposition. The minister's language was different, his relations with the left benches were dissimilar, but the policy was the same. Thiers began by refusing either to change anything in the repressive laws made during the previous ten years, or to undertake any electoral reform. One or two hundred thousand rich men would continue to vote and to govern, to the exclusion of the ten million citizens; and, in order to keep the latter in subjection, all the weapons which had been forged during the government of July for the maintenance of authority were preserved.

Outside the kingdom Thiers did nothing more; indeed he could do nothing. The fact was it was difficult enough for him to get the king to accept him at all. Unpopular and feeling his position continually threatened at the Tuileries, he dared not act. He governed, but was paralysed by opposition.

Only two measures were prepared by him, and he had not time to carry them through. He formed the plan for the fortification of Paris, a plan which was variously regarded by different parties. The liberals looked upon it as a military precaution against foreign foes; the court as a means of subduing Paris in case of need. The events of 1870 sufficiently proved that, from a national point of view, Thiers was right. The plan was revived by Marshal Soult during the next ministry and was sanctioned. Thus, thirty years later, Paris was able to defend herself.

With Thiers, too, originated the idea of bringing back the remains of Napoleon I in triumph from St. Helena and placing them in the Invalides. Thus more warlike ideas, which would have given France a prouder position amongst the nations of Europe, but which were held in check by the king, and which the minister found himself obliged to abandon one after another, were all merged in a sort of funeral procession in honour of the conqueror who, in the name of France, had dictated laws to the whole world.[k] We may now review in some detail the ministries from 1836 to 1840, first noting the war with Abdul-Kadir.[a]

WAR WITH ABDUL-KADIR

In the province of Oran a new power had arisen, one very dangerous to the French, that of a young Arab chief, full of courage and intelligence, the descendant of a family which exercised a hereditary religious influence. Abdul-Kadir presented himself to the Moslem tribes as being the man whom the prophet Mohammed had destined to deliver them from the "Rumis" (Christians). General Desmichels, who commanded at Oran was imprudent enough to treat Abdul-Kadir as an equal and to recognise him as the emir, the prince of all the Moslems of that country (February 25th, 1834). French authority thus imposed Abdul-Kadir on those very Moslems who till then had not wished to submit to him. He was not content with dominating the province of Oran, where the French occupied only a few points; he presumed to establish his lieutenants even in the province of Algeria.

A rupture was inevitable; and, at the battle of the Macta, a small French force commanded by General Trézel disengaged itself only with great difficulty and loss from the midst of large numbers of Arabs united under Abdul-Kadir (June 26th, 1835). The French government decided finally to send into Africa General (later Marshal) Clausel, accompanied by the duke of

Orleans. Marshal Clausel took the offensive against Abdul-Kadir, scored a victory at Mascara, the residence of the emir, and occupied Tlemcen (November, 1835–January, 1836). These were the two principal cities of the province of Oran.

The marshal, however, had not received sufficient forces; Abdul-Kadir might continue the war, and, on the other hand, the bey of Constantine, who ruled in the east of Algeria and constituted another independent power in that region, was defying and harassing the French. Clausel returned to Paris to ask for reinforcements. It was during the ministry of Thiers, who had understood the necessity of putting an end to half-measures. He would have enabled Clausel to act on a large scale. Unfortunately he fell and his successors did not inherit his broad views. Clausel did not have at his disposal all the resources which he thought necessary to make an attack upon Constantine. There was necessity for it, however, if all authority in the eastern province was not to be lost. The weather was bad, the season advanced. Clausel decided nevertheless to risk the expedition.

The marshal set out from Bona November 8th, 1836, with a small force of less than nine thousand men, including some native auxiliaries. He arrived before Constantine on the 21st, after having crossed the Little Atlas with great difficulty in the midst of winter rains which made this rugged country almost impassable. As Ahmed Bey was unpopular, it had been hoped that the Kabyle and Arab tribes would join the French. But upon seeing the numerical weakness of the French, they remained on the side of the bey and the French troops saw them upon their flanks while the city was defended by a strong garrison well provided with artillery. The ground was so soft that it had not even been possible to bring up the light field-guns on this kind of isthmus.

A double attack failed. Provisions and even munitions were growing scarce. Retreat became inevitable. It was forty leagues to Bona and the French troops must cross the mountains harassed by thousands of Arab horsemen. The Arabs tried to destroy the rearguard, where a weak battalion of the 2nd light cavalry was protecting the ammunition wagons loaded with the wounded. The Arab cavalry threw themselves in a body upon this handful of men. The commandant Changarnier gave orders to form a square and resolutely await the multitude of enemies. The fire of two ranks at pistol range covered the ground with men and horses. The Arabs were thoroughly tired of the charge and contented themselves henceforth with sharpshooting at a distance. This incident made the military fortune of the commandant Changarnier.

Marshal Clausel conducted the retreat to Bona with much vigour and skill. The ministry, with which he was not in favour, made him bear all the responsibility of this defeat and recalled him. They appointed General Damrémont to succeed him, but returned to the bad system of having a general at Oran who was independent of the governor of Algiers. General Bugeaud, who had the reputation of an energetic officer, was sent to Oran; there was reason to hope that he would dispose of Abdul-Kadir. But he allowed himself to be entangled in the diplomatic schemes of the Arab chief and signed a new treaty with him worse than that of his predecessor, Desmichels. In return for a vague acceptance of the sovereignty of France, Bugeaud recognised Abdul-Kadir as emir, not only of nearly the whole of the province of Oran, but of the province of Titery, intermediate between the provinces of Oran and Algiers; he even conceded to him a part of the territory of Algiers. Abdul-Kadir's authority extended then beyond Medea,

to the last chain of the Little Atlas, above Blida, in fact, into the Metidja itself. The wretched Treaty of the Tafna thus meant a precarious peace which gave the emir the means and the time to organise a strong opposition. The governor of Algiers at least made use of it to operate in the province of Constantine and repair the losses of Clausel; for it had been felt to be impossible to remain quiet under this blow.

General Damrémont had not a much larger force than Clausel — 10,000 men altogether; but he set out much earlier in the season, well provisioned and equipped with siege guns. The army arrived before Fort Constantine in the best of condition on the 6th of October. The autumn rains had begun. Unprecedented efforts were necessary to drag the cannon up Coudiat-Aty. The breach, nevertheless, was opened the 11th of October. On the following morning General Damrémont approached to reconnoitre the breach. He was instantly killed by a bullet. The loss of this brave leader, instead of disheartening the army, inspired it. An old soldier of the republic, the artillery-general Valée, took the command, immediately ordered the firing to recommence, and on the morning of the 13th sent three columns to the assault. The first was in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lamoricière, and was composed principally of Zouaves. This corps, since become so famous, had originally been formed of native auxiliaries and retained its picturesque oriental costume, though recruited with Frenchmen and frequently with Parisians. Lamoricière impetuously spurred on his men, scaled the breach, and penetrated into the city, supported by the other two columns. A bloody struggle was kept up from house to house in the narrow streets and amid the ruins made by the cannon. Lamoricière was cruelly burned by the explosion of a powder magazine, but he survived and had a brilliant military career.

When the French columns had united in the middle of the city, what was left of the Mussulman authorities surrendered, and the firing ceased. A frightful scene marked the end of resistance. A great number of the inhabitants had madly attempted to escape from the city by descending the jagged rocks of the gorge of the Rummel. Many of these unfortunates tumbled from rock to rock and were dashed to pieces in the bed of the torrent. The conquest of the ancient capital of Numidia gave France a firm base for the future in the interior of Algeria. The event did the army much honour; but the ministry did not derive from the amnesty nor from the taking of Constantine the hoped-for effect upon the elections.[c]

MINISTERIAL CRISES (1836 A.D.)

Between 1836 and 1840, the cabinet was modified five times successively: its leaders were Thiers, Count Molé, Broglie, Marshal Soult, and once again Thiers.

In the first ministry of Thiers the cabinet did not last long. Thiers soon settled the internal difficulties; he succeeded in adjourning the conversion of stock, and was supported by the majority of the chamber. It was during this ministry that one of the men who were to a great extent responsible for the revolution of July, having, with Thiers and Mignet, founded *Le National*, disappeared from the scene. Armand Carrel, separated from his former colleagues, had ardently embraced republican doctrines of which his paper soon became the mouthpiece; he had however rejected communism. A political quarrel with M. de Girardin who had just founded *La Presse* brought about a duel in which the editor of *Le National*

was mortally wounded. He died at St. Mandé, after having refused the consolations of religion, saying that he died in the faith of Benjamin Constant, of Manuel, and of liberty. The home policy of Thiers was very judicious but his foreign policy was a failure. Wishing to restore France to the position she had formerly occupied amongst the powers of Europe, Thiers was anxious for the French government to interfere in Spanish affairs by sending troops to put a stop to the civil war in Spain, by repulsing Don Carlos and by supporting the young queen Isabella II. The king took fright at the idea of an expedition into the Peninsula. "Let us help the Spaniards from without," he said, "but do not let us embark on their ship; if we do we shall certainly have to take the helm, and God knows what will happen." Thiers sent in his resignation and was succeeded by Molé and Guizot.

The union of these two ministers did not last long and was brought to an end by an important event.

THE STRASBURG BONAPARTIST PLOT

This ministry had not been in existence two months when the attempt made at Strasburg by Louis Bonaparte took place.

The nephew of Napoleon I had been living for some years at the castle of Arenenberg in Switzerland with his mother, and was a captain of artillery in the Swiss army. The continual risings which took place in France, and the letters of his partisans, made him believe that the time had come for attempting, by means of a military revolution, to replace on the throne the Napoleonic dynasty of which he was the head now that the duke of Reichstadt was dead. He had succeeded in opening communications with the garrison of Strasburg. On the 29th of October, 1836, he arrived at Strasburg. The next day at five o'clock in the morning, Colonel Vaudrey presented him to the fourth artillery regiment. For a few moments he succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of the soldiers who cried "Long live Napoleon! Long live the Emperor!" But the 46th line regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Taillandier, turned a deaf ear to these outcries and remained faithful to their duty. By order of their commanding officer, the infantry surrounded Louis Bonaparte and took him prisoner. Louis Philippe sent him to America. The other conspirators were brought to trial and acquitted, for the jury were unwilling to pronounce them guilty when the chief culprit had been sent away unpunished.

This acquittal made the government uneasy and the "bill of Separation," or law of Disjunction, was brought before the chambers. This bill provided that when civil and military offenders were both implicated in the same plot, the former only should be tried at the assizes, and the others by a court martial. The bill, which was fiercely attacked by Berryer, was rejected. The ministry were unable to survive this reverse. A ministerial crisis supervened, and ten days were spent in intrigues and negotiations, but eventually the court party led by Molé carried the day.

Molé remained in power nearly two years. Four important events relating to foreign policy took place during this ministry. The first was the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son. This young prince married on the 30th of May, 1837, the Lutheran princess Helen of Mecklenburg. It was on the occasion of this marriage that the galleries of Versailles, containing sculptures and paintings illustrating the chief events of French history, were thrown open to the public. An amnesty was granted to all criminal and political offenders who were then in prison. The second public

act of the ministry was their intervention in America. The Mexican government refused to make any reparation for injuries suffered by French merchants. A fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral Baudin and the prince de Joinville bombarded the fort of San Juan de Ulúa near Vera Cruz. By the treaty of March 9th Mexico granted the claims of France. An intervention of the same kind took place in Buenos Ayres, but it was many years before the required reparation was obtained.

The republic of Haiti, formerly under French rule, had obtained its independence in 1825 by paying an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs to the original colonists. The payment of this indemnity was so long delayed that it was found necessary to send a fleet to these parts also. The republic thus intimidated, yielded and agreed to pay 60,000,000 francs, which sum the French consented to accept. The other two events, which have been already recorded, were the recognition of Belgium and the evacuation of Ancona.

The ministry was keenly attacked by the coalition. The heads of parties in the chamber, Thiers, Guizot, and Odilon Barrot, united against M. Molé. The debate on the address in reply to the king's speech was very heated (January, 1839). M. Molé obtained only a very slight majority in favour of the amendments, which he himself proposed, to this document, which was drawn up in a spirit very hostile to the ministry. He wished to retire, but the king retained him and dissolved the chamber. The elections went in favour of the coalition. Molé retired on the 8th of March, 1839. Parliamentary tradition triumphed over monarchical tradition. The deputies had vanquished the king, of whom Thiers said "he reigns but he does not govern."

For two months all sorts of systems and plans were discussed. The three chiefs could not agree; each one wished to have the chief power. The king, who did not much relish being ruled by them, put them aside saying, "Gentlemen, try to come to an agreement." Provisional ministers were appointed to carry on the necessary business. Their names were greeted by peals of laughter and by gibes. The disorder became so great that the republican party took advantage of it to raise an insurrection. On the 12th of May the society called "The Seasons," led by Barbès and Blanqui, attacked an armourer's store. Being repulsed, they entrenched themselves behind a barricade. After a desperate resistance, they were almost all killed or taken prisoners. Barbès and Blanqui were condemned to death, but their punishment was commuted to imprisonment for life. However, they were released in 1848. On the very evening of this attempted rising a regular ministry was formed.

THE SOULT MINISTRY

This ministry lasted only ten months. At this period the Eastern question began to occupy public attention, but its difficulties were not the cause of the fall of the ministry, which was due to the disagreements on the question of a royal dowry. The marriage of the duke de Nemours seemed to Louis Philippe a suitable occasion for demanding for his son an income of half a million, to be provided from the public treasury. Public opinion was very hostile to such demands for money. Numerous petitions called on the chamber to refuse the dowry. The day for deciding the question by vote arrived. The ministry, feeling certain of success, did not defend the measure, and realised what an error had been committed only when the votes were counted and two hundred and twenty-six black balls were announced

against two hundred white ones. The ministry went out of office. M. Thiers loved revolutions, glory, and fighting, and professed a sort of cult for the genius of the emperor. These predilections being in accordance with popular feeling, he was recalled to power.

Since 1792 Louis Philippe had been fearing lest a victory of his foreign foes might encourage them to march on Paris, which was undefended. In 1814 and in 1817 he had vainly tried to induce Louis XVIII to render the heart of France invulnerable, by the adequate fortification of Paris. Since 1830 all propositions in favour of carrying out this scheme had been frustrated. At length, however, the march of events supplemented the king's convictions and perseverance. France was apprehensive of a war with the whole of Europe. A French defeat, and a bold march on the part of the enemy might lead to the taking of Paris. A bill was passed for encircling Paris with ramparts protected by enormous forts. This work, which was carried out in less than seven years, cost 140,000,000 francs.

THE RETURN OF NAPOLEON'S REMAINS

Either as a means of exciting patriotic feeling or in accordance with the policy which wished to found the government of July on the renown of the first Napoleon, the king, in accordance with his ministers, resolved to demand from England the ashes of the emperor, who had died at St. Helena. Lord Palmerston granted the demand, and the prince de Joinville, on board the frigate *Belle Poule*, went to fetch these precious relics.[i]

The frigate made a good passage, and arrived in safety at St. Helena. The officers intrusted with the melancholy duty were received with the utmost respect by the English garrison, and every preparation was made to give due solemnity to the disinterment of the emperor's remains. The solitary tomb under the willow tree was opened, the winding-sheet rolled back with pious care, and the features of the immortal hero exposed to the view of the entranced spectators. So perfectly had the body been embalmed that the features were undecayed, the countenance serene, even a smile on the lips, and his dress the same, since immortalised in statuary, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz or Jena. Borne first on a magnificent hearse, and then down to the harbour on the shoulders of the British grenadiers, amidst the discharge of artillery from the vessels, batteries, and all parts of the island, the body was lowered into the French frigate, and England nobly and in a right spirit parted with the proudest trophy of her national glory. The *Belle Poule* had a favourable voyage home, and reached Havre in safety in the beginning of December. The interment was fixed for the 15th of the same month — not at St. Denis, amidst her ancient sovereigns, but in the church of the Invalides, beside the graves of Turenne, Vauban, Lannes, and the paladins of France; and every preparation was made for giving the utmost magnificence to the absorbing spectacle.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and excitement which prevailed in Paris when the day fixed for the august ceremony arrived. The weather was favourable; the sun shone forth in unclouded brilliancy, but a piercing wind from the north blew with such severity that several persons perished of cold as they were waiting for the funeral procession. Early on the morning of the 15th, the coffin, which had been brought by the Seine to Courbevoie the preceding evening, was placed on a gigantic funeral-car, and at ten it began its march, attended by an immense and splendid military escort, and amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators. So dense

was the throng that it was half-past one when the procession reached the place de la Concorde, from whence it passed by the bridge of the same name to the church of the Invalides, where it was received by the king, the royal family, with the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. "Sire," said the prince de Joinville, who approached at the head of the coffin, "I present to you the body of the emperor Napoleon." "General Bertrand," said the king, "I command you to place the sword of the emperor on his coffin." When this was done, he said, "General Gourgaud, place the hat of the emperor on his coffin." This also was done; and, the king having withdrawn, the coffin was placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, the funeral service was performed with the utmost solemnity, and the *Dies Iræ* chanted with inexpressible effect by a thousand voices. Finally, the coffin, amidst entrancing melody, was lowered into the grave, while every eye in the vast assemblage was wet with tears, and the bones of Napoleon "finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well."[d]

THE EASTERN QUESTION

France intervened in the interests of the pacha of Egypt, for whose success she was anxious, though she did not desire the destruction of Turkey. The pacha checked the march of his victorious army. France and England ought to have come to an understanding, for their interests were similar; but England was jealous of France's position in Egypt. Besides, the czar Nicholas hated Louis Philippe. In London a conference met to discuss the affairs of the East; Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia signed a treaty without deigning to include France. When this insult became known, popular feeling was aroused, and a sentiment of keen irritation spread through France. It was suggested that the nation should rise in arms to avenge this insult to the national honour. Thiers made preparations for war, and called out the national guard. This was a dangerous attitude for France to adopt for it was impossible to declare war on the whole of Europe. Louis Philippe understood this, and when Thiers, having drawn up a statement which assumed war to be imminent, asked the immediate convocation of the chambers to support this policy, the king refused to follow his advice. This was equal to dismissing the minister and Thiers resigned. A short time after, the Eastern difficulty was settled by the Convention of the Straits, which was signed by France as well as by the other powers. This treaty forbade all vessels, of whatever nationality, to enter the Dardanelles, and made Egypt subject to Turkey. France had thus regained her position in Europe. There followed the ministry which lasted from the 29th of October, 1840, till the 24th of February, 1848.

Marshal Soult was directed to form a ministry. This cabinet had more stability than those which preceded it and lasted till the fall of Louis Philippe. M. Guizot had complete management of affairs, and relied constantly on the support of the majority in the chamber, without taking into consideration either the wishes or opinion of the country.[i]

LOUIS-NAPOLEON'S SECOND ATTEMPT AT A COUP D'ÉTAT

Louis Philippe left Paris for his castle of Eu, where he had given a rendezvous to MM. Thiers and Guizot for the purpose of discussing Eastern affairs. There he received strange tidings: Louis Napoleon had landed at Boulogne on August 6th, 1840. The latter, since he had transferred his

residence to England, had recommenced the same operations as in Switzerland; bribing newspapers, distributing pamphlets, tampering with officers and sergeants. He believed he could count upon the commander of the département du Nord, General Magnan, an equivocal character, to whom he had offered a large sum of money, and who, later on, was to be one of his chief accomplices on December 2nd. He had even entered into relations with a higher official, Marshal Clausel. He determined to land near Boulogne, purposing to capture the small garrison of that town, to seize the castle, which contained a gun magazine, then to direct his steps towards the département du Nord, and from thence to Paris.

He prepared declamatory proclamations wherein he promised to the soldiers "glory, honour, wealth," and to the people reduction of taxes, order, and liberty. "Soldiers," he said, "the great spirit of Napoleon speaks to you through me. Traitors, be gone, the Napoleonic spirit, which cares but for the welfare of the nation, advances to overwhelm you!"

He asserted that he had powerful friends abroad as well as at home, who had promised to uphold him; this was an allusion to Russia, whose support he believed he possessed and from whom he had very probably received some encouragement. In a sketch of a decree, he named Thiers president of the provisional government, and Marshal Clausel, commander of the Army of Paris. His plans thus laid, he left London by steamer, with General Montholon, several officers, about sixty men, and an eagle, destined to play the part of a living symbol in the forthcoming drama.

The expedition landed at night at Vimereux, north of Boulogne, and proceeded to that town. The confederates entered the courtyard of the barracks of the 42nd regiment of the line. A lieutenant, who was for Napoleon, had mustered the men and told them that Louis Philippe reigned no longer; then Louis Bonaparte harangued them. Confused, fascinated, they were beginning to shout "Long live the emperor," when there appeared upon the scene a captain, who, breaking through the confederates, and regardless of their threats, summoned the non-commissioned officers and men to his side. Louis Bonaparte fired a pistol at him, but it missed him and wounded a grenadier; the soldiers rallied round their captain.

The confederates left the barracks without delay, and ascended to the castle, but they were unable to break in the doors. None of the townspeople had joined them. The rappel was sounded, and the national guard assembled, but against them. They left the town and retreated to the foot of the column raised in Napoleon's time in honour of the Grande Armée. The national guard and the line regiment advanced upon them. They disappeared. Louis Bonaparte and a few of his followers fled towards the sea and swam to a yawl, in which they attempted to regain their vessel.

The national guards opened fire upon the fugitives, several of whom were severely wounded; the yawl capsized and a spent bullet struck Louis Bonaparte. Two of his accomplices perished, one was shot, the other drowned. Louis Bonaparte survived for the sorrow of France.

The pretender was this time arraigned with his accomplices before the court of peers, which condemned him to imprisonment for life (October 6th). He was imprisoned in the castle of Ham, in the same chamber where Polignac had been confined. This non-capital sentence confirmed in effect the abolition of the death penalty in political affairs, which had been implied in the pardon of Barbès.

This attempt, even more feebly conceived than that of Strasburg, had thus failed still more miserably. The pretender had made himself ridiculous in the eyes of the enlightened and educated classes,[1] who perused the newspapers and knew the details of his adventures. But it was a great mistake to look upon him now as harmless, and to forget that the majority are not in the habit of reading.[c]

EVENTS FROM 1840–1842

On the 13th of July, 1842, an unfortunate event cast a gloom over the whole country without distinction of party. The duke of Orleans, a kind and justly loved prince, was thrown from his carriage and killed. At his death, his right of succession passed to his son, the comte de Paris, and a child of four years became the heir of the heaviest crown that could be borne. From that day the legitimists ceased to hope. The liberals and the republicans expected everything for the triumph of their ideas from the inevitable weakness of a regency.

The chambers were convoked at once. They were presented with a law which in advance named the duke de Nemours regent. This prince did not have the brilliant reputation of the duke of Orleans, the popularity which the prince de Joinville had acquired by his services off San Juan de Ulúa, nor the budding renown which the capture of Abdul-Kadir's *smala* had brought to the duke d'Aumale. The law was passed but without public concurrence.

During several years France had enjoyed a period of remarkable prosperity attested by a budget of receipts amounting to 1,343,000,000 francs. Popular instruction was advancing; the penal code had been lightened in severity and the lottery suppressed. The law of expropriation for the cause of public utility prevented work undertaken in the interest of the general good from being impeded by private interests. Industry took a new start from the introduction of machinery and commerce was extending. The coasts began to be lit up by lighthouses, the primitive roads to be improved, and a vast network of railways was planned. But this plan once conceived, instead of first concentrating all the energy of France on the chief artery of the country, from Boulogne to Marseilles, the resources were scattered on all the lines at once for the sake of satisfying every locality and of thus preparing favourable elections.

These enterprises, as often happens, gave rise to boundless speculation. The evil went far, for a minister of the king had been condemned for having sold his signature, a peer of France for having bought it.

National sentiments had been deeply wounded by the events of 1840. Guizot sought a compensation for French pride. He caused the Marquesas Islands, sterile rocks in the Pacific Ocean, to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand was more worth while. The French were about to descend upon it when England, being forewarned, took possession and began to show jealous susceptibilities. A French officer placed the flag of France on the large oceanic island of New Caledonia; the ministry had it torn down. The states of Honduras and Nicaragua claimed French protection. Santo Domingo wished the same. It was refused and England seemed to have imposed the refusal. On the Society Islands, which the French also took, their commercial interests were not sufficient to necessitate an expensive establishment. The cession of Mayotte (1843) was a better negotiation because that island offered a refuge to French ships which Bourbon could

[1] A tame eagle, which he carried to suggest the Napoleonic eagles, was captured, and put in the Zoölogical Gardens of Paris.]

not give them, and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. On Tahiti, in the Society Islands, an English missionary, Pritchard, stirred up the natives against the French.*f*

Queen Pomare, who governed the island of Tahiti, placed herself under French protection. But Pritchard, the Englishman, who was at the same time consul, Protestant missionary, and dispensing chemist, fearing to lose his influence over the natives, urged the queen to pull down the French flag and roused the natives to rebellion; many French sailors were massacred. The admiral, indignant at this conduct, had Pritchard arrested, and he was set at liberty only on condition that he would go to the Sandwich Isles. The English government claimed that it had been insulted, and demanded satisfaction. The king refused first of all; then, fearing a rupture, disavowed the admiral's act and offered a pecuniary indemnity to England, which was accepted.

Public opinion considered that the dignity of the country had been compromised by this act. People were tired of always yielding to England. In the address to the throne in 1845, a majority of only eight votes prevented the expression of severe censure on the conduct of the government in the Pritchard affair.*i*

The right of mutually inspecting ships, agreed upon with England in 1841, for the repression of the slave-trade, was another concession to the proud neighbours of France. This time the opposition in the country was so active that the chamber forced the minister to tear up the treaty and, by new conventions, to replace the French marine under the protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

War with Abdul-Kadir

The chamber, impelled in this direction by public opinion, wanted at least to continue the conquest of Algeria. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and skilful man, General Bugeaud, who succeeded in impressing both respect and terror on the Arabs.

Abdul-Kadir had violated the Treaty of Tafna, proclaimed the holy war, and by the rapidity of his movements spread terror in the province of Oran, and even brought inquietude to the very gates of Algeria. The general pursued him without relaxation clear to the mountains of the Ouarensénis, pacified this difficult region and crowded the enemy back into the desert. It was in his flight towards the Sahara that the emir, attacked by the duke d'Aumale, lost his *smala* (his family and flocks), May, 1843.

Taking refuge in Morocco, the emir engaged the emperor in his cause. England, perhaps, was not a stranger to this resolve. French territory was violated on several occasions and an army which seemed formidable was collected on the banks of the Muluiah. France responded to these provocations by the bombardment of Tangiers and Mogador, which the prince de Joinville directed under the eyes of the irritated English fleet, and by the victory of Isly, which General Bugeaud gained with 8,500 men and 1,400 horses over 25,000 horsemen (August 14th, 1844). The emperor, being so severely punished, signed the peace — which was not made onerous for him, since France was rich enough, said the ministry, to pay for its glory. The principal clause of the treaty, providing that Abdul-Kadir be confined to the west, remained for a long time unexecuted; but after a new and vain attempt upon Algeria the emir tried to establish a party in the empire itself. This time Abd ar-Rahman, being directly threatened, bethought

himself of his treaty with the French, and Abdul-Kadir, thrown back on the French advance posts, was reduced to surrendering to General Lamoricière (November 23rd, 1847).

In Morocco, as at Tahiti, England had been found opposed to France. Thus the English alliance, too eagerly sought after, had brought only trouble. But it was said that it assured the peace of the world. However, a marriage came near breaking it — that of the duke of Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain.

The Spanish Marriages

Queen Christina, then regent of Spain, feeling herself entirely dependent on the liberal party for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and being well aware that it was in France alone that she could find the prompt military assistance requisite to support her against the Carlists, who formed a great majority of the Spanish population, naturally bethought herself of the favourable opportunity presented by the marriageable condition of the princes of one country and the princesses of the other, to cement their union by matrimonial alliances. With this view, although the princesses, her daughters, were as yet too young for marriage, she made formal proposals before 1840 to Louis Philippe for a double marriage, one between the duke d'Aumale, the king's third son, and Queen Isabella, her eldest daughter, and another between the duke of Montpensier, his fourth son, and the infanta Luisa Fernanda, her second daughter.

How agreeable soever these proposals were to Louis Philippe, who desired nothing so much as to see his descendants admitted into the family of European sovereigns, he was too sagacious not to perceive that the hazard with which they were attended more than counterbalanced the advantages. It was evident that such a marriage of the duke d'Aumale with the queen of Spain would at once dissolve the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, on which the stability of his throne so much depended; for however much the liberal government of England might desire to see constitutional monarchies established in the peninsula, it was not to be expected it would like to see the crown of Spain placed on the head of a French prince. It was already surmised, too, that the cabinet of London had views of its own for the hand of the younger princess. He therefore returned a courteous answer, declining the hand of the queen for the duke d'Aumale, but expressing the satisfaction it would afford him to see the duke of Montpensier united to the infanta.

The next occasion on which the subject of the Spanish marriages was brought forward was when Queen Christina took refuge in Paris, during one of the numerous convulsions to which Spain had been subject since the attempt was made to introduce democratic institutions among its inhabitants. Louis Philippe then declared to the exiled queen-regent that the most suitable spouse for her daughter the queen would be found in one of the descendants in the male line of Philip V, king of Spain, the sovereign on the throne when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. The object of this proposal was indirectly to exclude the pretensions of the prince of Coburg, cousin-german to Prince Albert, whom rumour had assigned as one of the suitors for the hand of the young queen, and at the same time avoid exciting the jealousy of the British government by openly courting the alliance for a French prince.

Matters were in this situation, with the question still open, so far as diplomatic intercourse was concerned, but the views and interests of the two

cabinets were well understood by the ministers on both sides, when Queen Victoria in the autumn of 1842 paid a visit to the French monarch at the château d'Eu in Normandy, which was followed next spring by a similar act of courtesy on the part of Louis Philippe to the queen of England in the princely halls of Windsor. Fortunately the pacific inclinations of the two sovereigns were aided by the wisdom and moderation of the ministers on both sides; and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen and Guizot a compromise was agreed on of the most fair and equitable kind. It was stipulated that the king of France should renounce all pretensions, on the part of any of his sons, to the hand of the queen of Spain; and, on the other hand, that the royal heiress should make her selection among the princes descendants of Philip V, which excluded the dreaded competition of a prince of the house of Coburg. And in regard to the marriage of the duke of Montpensier with the infanta Doña Luisa Fernanda, Louis Philippe positively engaged that it should not take place till the queen was married and had had children (*des enfants*). On this condition the queen of England consented to waive all objections to the marriage when these events had taken place; and it was understood that this consent on both sides was to be dependent on the hand of the queen being bestowed on a descendant of Philip V and no other competitor.*f*

The sagacious Louis Philippe now discovered a certain half-idiotic cousin of Isabella of Spain, deficient in every power both of body and mind; and in a secret and underhand manner he celebrated the wedding of this miserable being with the queen; and immediately afterwards that of his son with the handsome, blooming, and wealthy Luisa Fernanda, who, in addition to her present possessions, which were very large, carried to her husband the succession to the Spanish crown, in the absolute impossibility of any issue from her sister's unhappy marriage. Hard feeling and political opposition were roused by this degrading trickery — and England learned, with a sentiment of regret and compassion, that Guizot, whose talents and character had hitherto commanded her respect, had been deluded by the crowned tempter at his ear to defend his conduct on the quibble that the marriages were not celebrated at the same time — some little interval having occurred between them — and that this was all he had promised. Suspicion and jealousy took the place of the former cordial relations. Losing the fervent friendship of the only constitutional neighbour on whom it could rely, France, like a beggar with its bonnet in its hand, waited at the gates of Austria and Russia, and begged the moral support of the most despotic of the powers. The moral support of Austria and Russia there was but one way to gain, and that was by an abnegation of all the principles represented by the accession of Louis Philippe, and an active co-operation in their policy of repression.

At this time the Swiss broke out into violent efforts to obtain a reform. Austria quelled the Swiss aspirations with the strong hand, and took up a menacing attitude towards the benevolent pontiff, Pius IX. France was quiescent; and the opposition rose into invectives, which were repeated in harsher language out of doors.

The stout shopkeeper who now occupied the throne of Henry IV thought that all the requirements of a government were fulfilled if it maintained peace with the neighbouring states. Trade he thought might flourish though honour and glory were trampled under foot. He accordingly neglected, or failed to understand, the disaffection of the middle class, whose pecuniary interests he was supposed to represent, but whose higher aspirations he had insulted by his truckling attempts to win the sympathy of the old aristocracy

and the foreign despots. Statesmen like Thiers and Odilon Barrot, when the scales of office fell from their eyes and the blandishments of the sovereign were withdrawn, perceived that the parliamentary government of the charter had become a mockery, and that power had got more firmly consolidated in royal hands under these deceptive forms than in the time of the legitimate kings. A cry therefore suddenly rose from all quarters, except the benches of the ministry, for electoral and parliamentary reform; and there was also heard the uniformly recurring exclamation, premonitory of all serious disturbance, for a diminution of the taxes. The cries were founded on justice, and urged in a constitutional manner. Corruption had entered into all the elections; parliamentary purity had become a byword under the skilful manipulation of the purse-bearing king; and the expenses of the country far exceeded its income, owing to the extravagant building of forts and palaces, with which, in the years of his prosperity, he had endeavoured to amuse the people.*j*

RISING DISCONTENT (1847-1848 A.D.)

The state of the budget, which was threatened with a yearly deficit, increased the difficulty of the situation which was still further aggravated by a scarcity of provisions. The method of taxing corn made it difficult to provision the country, a matter which was never easy in times previous to the construction of railways. There was a succession of bad harvests, and in the winter of 1847 a famine resulted. There were riots in all directions, and bands of men tramped through the country. At Buzançais, cases of death from starvation occurred. Thus everything combined to make the people dissatisfied with the government. And there was indeed little to be said in its favour. It had achieved nothing and no progress had been made. "To carry out such a policy as this," said Lamartine, "a statesman is not required, a finger-post would do." And one of the moderate party summed up the work done by this ministry as: "Nothing, nothing, nothing."

In short, this strange result was all that Guizot could boast. Little by little public opinion unanimously turned against him, and the more unpopular he became, the more solid became his majority in the chamber, thanks to the system, which, placing the country in the hands of a handful of rich men, made the elections a mere mockery. Then a universal outcry arose, and the demand for progress and democracy seemed to be concentrated on one point: "electoral reform."

Guizot opposed an obstinate refusal to this demand. Yet very little was asked for — not universal suffrage (and Guizot said "the day for universal suffrage will never come"), but some reform, however slight it might be. Guizot refused to give the vote even to jurymen and academicians! The opposition appealed to public opinion. Banquets were organised in many different places for the discussion of reform, at Paris, then at Colmar, Strasburg, Soissons, St. Quentin, and Mâcon.

THE BANQUET OF 1848

It could not be denied that the excitement was singularly out of proportion to the idea which was its ostensible cause. The spirit of democracy in France had been aroused. Lamartine's book *Les Girondins* added the charm of lyric poetry to the recollections of the Revolution. The spectacle offered by the July monarchy had gradually influenced the great poet to espouse

the cause of popular progress. In his striking speech at the banquet of Mâçon, which was organised as a tribute to him in honour of his *Girondins* in the midst of a violent thunderstorm which had not deterred a crowded audience from coming to hear him speak, he threatened Guizot's retrograde government with "a revolution of scorn."

The year 1848 opened with heated debates, in the course of which Guizot's whole policy was denounced. A banquet on a vast scale was organised in Paris immediately after for the purpose of forwarding electoral reform. A large piece of ground enclosed by walls near the Champs-Élysées had been taken for the occasion.

The ministry, with less tolerance than it had shown in the preceding year, claimed the right to forbid this banquet. This involved the question of the liberty of holding public meetings. This right had never yet been contested, but Guizot wished to take one more retrograde step.

Orleanists, liberals, republicans, and legitimists all united in defending their rights. Parliament rang with the vehement discussions which ensued and in which Ledru-Rollin showed all his great oratorical powers. In spite of the threats of the government, it was decided to meet at the Madeleine and proceed from there to the banquet. The very evening before the banquet was to take place this plan was changed for fear of bringing about a massacre. It was stated in the morning papers that the meeting was put off, and instead of the demonstration which they had been obliged to abandon, the opposition members signed a vote of censure on Guizot. But the people nevertheless assembled at the appointed time in front of the Madeleine.

History repeats itself strangely. It had been the chief anxiety of Louis Philippe to avoid another 1830, and yet he was now about to undergo, in every detail, the experience of Charles X. The rising of the people to support the claims of the opposition, but soon leaving these behind them; a disturbance indefinite at first, but developing into a fierce struggle; a king obstinate at first, then willing to make one concession after another, but never agreeing to make them until it was too late; then the flight across France and the departure for England: such was the history of both these revolutions.

Two things increased Louis Philippe's confidence: Firstly, he had not violated the letter of the law. Though he had in a measure twisted the revolution of 1830 to his own purposes, he had done so by ruling his ministers, and by gaining over the electoral body. He did not realise that he was in the long run preparing a lasting disgrace for himself. His fall was none the less certain because instead of violating the rights of the people he had merely distorted them. His fall would only be the more petty for that. Secondly, he had in Paris, what Polignac had so signally lacked, a strong and numerous army.

Had he not easily succeeded in suppressing all risings which had taken place? He forgot that troops which are always firm and always victorious when dealing with the revolt of part of a nation, are useless when the people as a whole are actuated by the same opinion. Under such circumstances revolution pervades the air and paralyses the powers of the army. The troops hesitate, and sometimes recede. However this may be, on the 22nd of February, while the deputies of the opposition were preparing to ask Guizot's majority to pass a vote of censure on Guizot, an enormous crowd surged round the Madeleine, the populace began to parade the streets, and columns were formed at various points.

NATIONAL LIBRARY BARODA.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Among the troops called out to defend the government, the municipal guards, then very unpopular, made a vigorous charge and several on the other side were wounded. The army began to hesitate. At one place the crowd awaited an attack crying, "The dragoons forever!" The dragoons sheathed their swords. The government was afraid to call out the national guards, whom they mistrusted: wherever they were called out they cried, "Reform forever!" and tried to interpose between the troops and the people. But though a storm was brewing it did not burst yet. The streets were crowded with an infuriated mob, demonstrations were continually taking place, and now and then there was a skirmish with the troops. That was all, so far, but the more enthusiastic among the republicans were making steady efforts to get the populace to rise.

The king slept that evening confident that nothing serious would happen. During the night the troops bivouacked in the silence of Paris beneath a rainy sky, and the cannon were fixed ready for use. The next morning (February 23rd) the troops, who had spent the night in the mud, were weary and discontented.

Barricades had been hastily raised in all parts of the town. There was no desperate struggle like that of 1830. The barricades were attacked without much spirit and were soon deserted only to be reconstructed at a little distance. However — in the part where risings usually took place, in the populous heart of Paris — the battle raged more fiercely: the veterans of St. Merry were fighting against the municipal guard. At the Tuileries no anxiety was felt: "What do you call barricades?" said the king, "do you call an overturned cab a barricade?" However, General Jacqueminot resolved on that day to call out the national guard.

During a reign which was virtually that of the bourgeoisie, the national guard, like the electoral body, consisted only of bourgeois. The governing class alone carried arms, just as they only were allowed to vote. Therefore in the elections previous to 1840 the national guard had been the faithful ally of the government. They had shown themselves no less energetic against the barricades of the first half of the reign than the rest of the troops. But times had changed and everyone was thoroughly sick of Guizot's policy. When the soldiers were called out, they assembled crying, "Reform forever!" One regiment had inscribed this on its flag; another refused to cry "God save the king!" A third sent a deputation to the Bourbon palace to try to overcome the resistance of the ministry. At another place when the municipal guards were going to charge the crowd, the national guard opposed them with their bayonets. When the news of all this reached the king at the Tuileries he was filled with surprise and grief. He realised that he had lost the allegiance of the national guard in which he had such absolute confidence, the men for whose sake he had governed!

He then made a first concession agreeing that Molé should form a ministry. It was not much of a concession, for the difference between Guizot and Molé was only a difference in mental capacity and the rivalry for power which existed between them. Besides Molé had already represented the personal policy of the king. The king liked him, and in calling him to the ministry he merely changed the surname of his minister. But there are times when, if a certain name has become universally hateful, such a change is sufficient to pacify the public. Besides Molé was obliged to choose his

cabinet in a conciliatory spirit. Paris, delighted to think that the strife was at an end, put on a festive appearance; the streets were illuminated, and gay crowds filled the boulevards when a spark re-ignited the flame of faction.

Near the Madeleine, troops barred the way. A column of demonstrators wished to pass through, and, in accordance with the peaceable feelings just then prevailing in Paris, to fraternise with the soldiers. The officer in command gave the order to fix bayonets: a shot was fired — whether by the soldiers or by the crowd is not known. How many times in French history have such accidents, the source of which is wrapped in mystery, proved the cause of terrible bloodshed! What sinister results may ensue from the chance which causes a gun to go off and, at the same time, gives the signal for a battle!

A soldier had been wounded — the troops fired; a storm of bullets riddled the peaceful crowds on the boulevards. At first there was a cry of terror, then a cry of furious rage, as here and there men fell dead, and the street was sprinkled with blood.

Some men then improvised a sort of theatrical background for the massacre, with the genius that Parisians certainly possess for giving dramatic effect even to their most painful emotions. A cart was stopped, and the corpses were placed upon it; men walking beside it carried torches which illumined the ghastly cargo. The procession passed on through Paris while a man standing on the cart lifted up and showed to the people the dead body of a woman whose face was horribly mutilated by bullets. This frightful spectacle aroused a frenzy of rage throughout the city and Paris was again plunged into civil war. The real battle was that of the 24th. On this occasion the king had placed Marshal Bugeaud in command of the royal forces. Bugeaud was the best of the African generals, but at the same time he was the one whose name was most dreaded by the people; he had the reputation of having gained some most bloody victories over insurgents on former occasions.

This time Paris was covered with barricades; the fighting continued all the morning. Whenever the army seemed likely to yield or retreat, the king, who but a short time since was so full of confidence, and to whom the marshal had promised a brilliant victory, made some fresh concession. First he agreed that Thiers should form a ministry, then Odilon Barrot, as if the shades of difference which separated the centre of the chamber from the left-centre or the left-centre from the dynastic centre were of any importance in this mortal struggle between the people and the monarchy.

THE KING ABDICATES AND TAKES FLIGHT

All these flimsy negotiations were going on amidst the smoke of battle. Now Thiers, now Odilon Barrot was to be seen rushing from one barricade to another announcing the king's last concession. Ministerial episodes mingled with the episodes of battle, and raised their weak voice amid the thunder of the cannon. Then, one after another, these political personages gave up what was an impossible task; and, like Charles X, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of a child, his grandson, the count de Paris.

The battle at this moment was brought to an end by its most bloody episode: the attack on the château d'Eau opposite the Palais Royal. The people on one side and the municipal guard on the other showed, at this point, indescribable energy, and fought with the courage of desperation.

Bullets were dealing out death all around, and all the staunchest republicans were there, including Caussidière, Albert, and Lagrange. By two o'clock the people had gained the victory.

Louis Philippe and his family fled from the Tuileries. There was some difficulty in finding a cab to take him as far as St. Cloud. The crowd allowed this fallen king to pass, while behind him, the people for the third time invaded the Tuileries where they wrote, "Death to robbers!"

The duchess of Orleans had gone with her son to the chamber. The sight of a child and an unhappy woman, surrounded by sympathy, might induce the people in a moment of emotional excitement to agree to the maintenance of the monarchy. Some seemed ready to accept a regency. Lamartine felt the weakness and inadequacy of such a solution of the difficulty. Meantime the crowd was taking possession of the palace. The duchess of Orleans followed the old king into exile.

The latter was going abroad like Charles X, but he had more to make him anxious. He was obliged to conceal himself, was often suspected, and sometimes had not enough money to supply his needs. When at last he reached the little Norman port which was his destination he found a stormy sea, and could not for a long time get any vessel to take him across the Channel; finally, having disguised himself, he secured a passage from Havre on board an English ship.

On leaving the chamber the leaders of the people had gone to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Crowds assembled from every direction, crying out in favour of ten different ministries at the same time; contradictory lists were made, but in the end the government was composed of Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, the deputies of the Left benches to whom were added later Louis Blanc, Albert a working-man, Flocon, and Armand Marrast.[k]

ALISON'S ESTIMATE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

Louis Philippe, who by the force of circumstances and the influence of dissimulation and fraud obtained possession of the throne of France, is, of all recent sovereigns, the one concerning whose character the most difference of opinion has prevailed. By some, who were impressed with the length and general success of his reign, he was regarded as a man of the greatest capacity; and the "Napoleon of peace" was triumphantly referred to as having achieved that which the "Napoleon of war" had sought in vain to effect. The prudent and cautious statesman who, during a considerable portion of his reign, guided the affairs of England, had, it is well known, the highest opinion of his wisdom and judgment. By others, and especially the royalists, whom he had dispossessed, and the republicans, whom he had disappointed, he was regarded as a mere successful tyrant, who won a crown by perfidy, and maintained it by corruption, and in whom it was hard to say whether profound powers of dissimulation, or innate selfishness of disposition, were most conspicuous. And in the close of all, his conduct belied the assertions and disappointed the expectations of both; for, when he fell from the throne, he neither exhibited the vigour which was anticipated by his admirers, nor the selfishness which was imputed to him by his enemies.

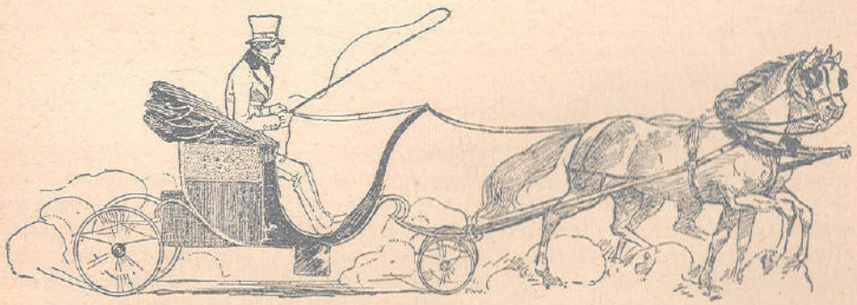
In truth, however, he was consistent throughout; and when his character comes to be surveyed in the historic mirror, the same features are everywhere conspicuous. His elevation, his duration, and his fall are seen to have been all brought about by the same qualities. He rose to greatness, and was long

maintained in it because he was the man of the age; but that age was neither an age of heroism nor of virtue, but of selfishness.

The vicissitudes of his life had exceeded everything that romance had figured, or imagination could have conceived. The gallery of portraits in the sumptuous halls of the Palais Royal exhibited him with truth, successively a young prince basking in the sunshine of rank and opulence at Paris, a soldier combating under the tricolour flag at Valmy, a schoolmaster instructing his humble scholars in Switzerland, a fugitive in misery in America, a sovereign on the throne of France.

These extraordinary changes had made him as thoroughly acquainted with the ruling principles of human nature in all grades as the misfortunes of his own house, the recollection of his father guillotined had with the perils by which, in his exalted rank, he was environed. Essentially ruled by the selfish, he was incapable of feeling the generous emotions; like all egotists, he was ungrateful. Thankfulness finds a place only in a warm heart. He was long deterred from accepting the crown by the prospects of the risk with which it would be attended to himself, but not for one moment by the reflection that, in taking it, he was becoming a traitor to his sovereign, a renegade to his order, a recreant to his benefactor. His hypocrisy, to the last moment, to Charles X was equalled only by his stern and hard-hearted rigour to his family, when he had an opportunity of making some return for their benefactions.

His government was extremely expensive; it at once added a third to the expenditure of Charles X, as the Long Parliament had done to that of Charles I; and it was mainly based on corruption. This, however, is not to be imputed to him as a fault, further than as being a direct consequence of the way in which he obtained the throne. When the "unbought loyalty of men" has come to an end, government has no hold but of their selfish desires, and must rule by them; and when the "cheap defence of nations" has terminated, the costly empire of force must commence. As a set-off to these dark stains upon his moral character, there are many bright spots on his political one. He stood between Europe and the plague of revolution, and, by the temperance of his language and the wisdom of his measures at once conciliated the absolute continental sovereigns, when they might have been expected to be hostile, and overawed the discontented in his own country when they were most threatening.[d]



CHAPTER IV

THE REPUBLIC OF 1848

Perhaps there is no event in her history which has done more to lower France in the estimation of the world than the revolution of 1848. The old monarchy had a glamour and brilliancy which gave it a high place in the world's affairs as they stood then, but the evils and the injustice which it brought about furnished some excuses for the first Revolution, even in the eyes of those who most bitterly condemned that event. The first empire, though infinitely more disastrous to France than the Revolution, covered its sins in a blaze of military glory. The revolution of 1830 had its explanation, if not justification, in the inquietude and the reactionary character of Charles X and his surroundings. The errors and calamities of 1870–71 were condoned by the courage, the endurance, and the elasticity of the French people. But in 1848 France had enjoyed eighteen years of constitutional government. It had maintained peace abroad and in good measure at home, and the country had advanced greatly in wealth and prosperity. The king was humane, liberal, and well intentioned, and it seemed as if gradual reform might have remedied the moderate comparative disadvantages from which the country suffered. But all this was overturned at a blow, the country plunged into anarchy, civil war averted only by fierce bloodshed in Paris, and after a few years of hesitation and fear the nation was handed over to despotism almost as mean and contemptible as that of Louis XV.—GAMALIEL BRADFORD.[b]

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

It was the 24th of February; the hour was half past one. The king had gone, and the dynasty had now no representative. The count de Paris was a child, with no immediate right to the throne. The duke de Nemours, invested legally with the regency, had followed the king's example and abdicated; the duchess of Orleans was not yet regent. The king, out of respect to legality, had not appointed her; and she had not been recognised by any public power. Some friends had gone with her to the chamber of deputies in the hope of renewing in her favour the election of 1830. To support this monarchy with no constitutional title, there was neither army, ministry,

nor ministers. Thiers felt himself left behind, and abandoned the struggle. Odilon Barrot alone, an obstinate minister with only undefined and temporary powers, had made himself minister of the interior. But such was the effect of the Revolution that in the midst of all the news he knew nothing; in the very centre of action, he was quite devoid of power. Influence, authority, power were elsewhere—in the open street, at the discretion of the first comer.

Moreover, Armand Marrast, thanks to his tact and quick decision, had managed for some weeks both the intrigue and the intriguers. He knew, as a true disciple of Aristophanes, that the people love to be flattered and led; that they vote and applaud, but must have matters decided for them. In a secret council, which was held a few days before the Revolution, Marie had suggested the advisability of naming a provisional government. This advice, when adopted, became the signal for order. *Le National* hastened to name those who should compose the government: Dupont (de l'Eure), François Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Ledru-Rollin, Odilon Barrot, and Marrast; a compromise list, doubtless, since Armand Marrast figured by the side of Ledru-Rollin and the latter with Odilon Barrot. But it was a list with a double tendency, favouring both the republic and the regency.

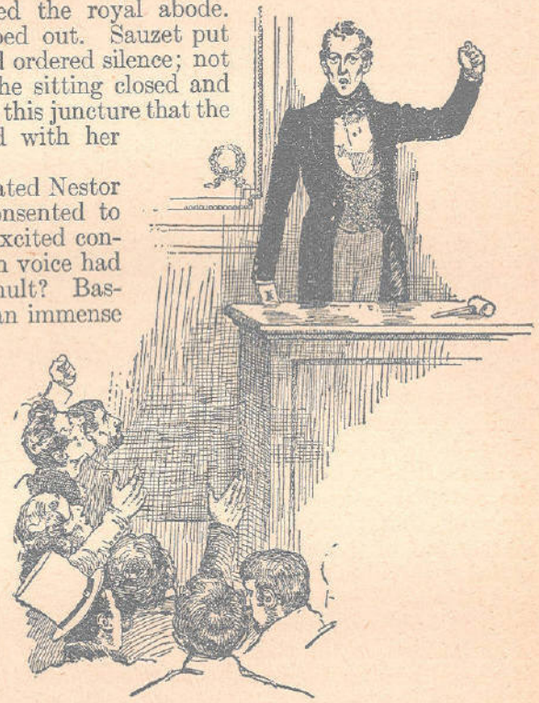
Emmanuel Arago, who brought the corrected list to *Le National*, arrived at the Palais Bourbon and went in at the same time as the duchess of Orleans. This latter placed herself in the semicircle at the foot of the tribune, having beside her the duke de Nemours and her two sons, the count de Paris and the duke de Chartres. Dupin spoke, interrupted by acclamations from the national guard, the army, and the people who had thronged round the duchess as she passed from the Tuileries to the Palais Bourbon and in the palace itself. He demanded a formal act of procuration. Cheers burst out again, while on the other hand they cried, "A provisional government!"

Lamartine demanded that the sitting be suspended "out of respect to the national representation and the duchess of Orleans." "It was almost the same thing," says Dupin, "as proposing to put the young king and his mother out of the hall as intruders who had no right to be present at the sitting. But this same sitting, because the king was present, was in reality a royal one." Sauzet suspended the sitting, but the duchess did not leave the hall. She only went to the higher seats in the amphitheatre. An outburst of enthusiasm in the chamber, the presence of the duchess, the concurrence of several resolute men might have determined for a regency. Like those of 1830, the barricades of 1848 might have served to support a throne. The men of *Le National* felt the peril. La Rochejaquelein demanded an appeal to the people: "You count for nothing here; you are no longer in power," he said to the deputies; "the chamber of deputies as a chamber no longer exists. I say, gentlemen, that the nation should be convoked, and then ——"

Here the nation indeed interrupted by an irruption of the crowd, which now for the first time came pouring in, uttering cries of "Dethronement! Dethronement!" The cause of the regency was lost. Crowd followed crowd, orator followed orator. Crémieux, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin contested the tribune with invaders from the people. "No more Bourbons! Down with traitors!" they cried.

Lamartine succeeded Ledru-Rollin in the tribune. Even before he began to speak they cheered and applauded him, as if to win him over forever to the republic. In 1842 he had defended the regency of the duchess of Orleans, but he dismissed this inopportune recollection. He let fall, however, a sym-

pathetic phrase about "this august princess and her innocent son." Then fearing, from the murmurs which arose, that he would be taken for a partisan of the monarchy, he hastened to demand a provisional government. He made no distinction between "national representation and representation by citizens from the people, but accepted the competency of this multitude and drew up the programme of a government which would first restore public peace and then convoke all the citizens in popular assemblies. At these words, and as if touched by one common impulse, new combatants invaded the assembly—men from the château d'Eau, pillagers and devastators of the Tuileries, who came to soil with their presence the palace of national representation as they had soiled the royal abode. The dynastic deputies slipped out. Sauzet put on his hat, rang his bell, and ordered silence; not obtaining it, he declared the sitting closed and quitted the chair. It was at this juncture that the duchess of Orleans escaped with her children.



LAMARTINE DEMANDING A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Dupont de l'Eure, venerated Nestor of the republican party, consented to preside over this horde of excited constituents. But what human voice had power to dominate the tumult? Bastide thought of writing on an immense sheet of paper, with a finger dipped in ink, the five names of those who should compose the government; but the sheet slipped and fell down from the rail where it was hung. The list was passed to Lamartine: "I cannot read it," he said; "my own name is there." They asked M. Crémieux: "I cannot read it," he answered; "my name is not there." At last, after many fruitless efforts, while repeated cries of "No more Bourbons! We want a republic!" arose, Dupont de l'Eure succeeded in reading out the names of Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, and Marie, which were accepted unanimously. A voice cried: "The members of the provisional government must shout '*Vive la République*' before being named and accepted." But Bocage, the democratic actor, cried, "To the Hôtel-de-Ville with Lamartine at our head!" and Lamartine, accompanied by Bocage and a large number of citizens, left the hall.

While this tumultuous proclamation was being made in the chamber of deputies, Louis Blanc in the office of *La Réforme* was holding a meeting of the editors of the journal and some political friends. He also was drawing up a list for a provisional government.

However, the provisional government wandered about the nation's palace without finding any spot where they could deliberate in peace, or where they

would be free from the importunate sovereignty of the people. They shut themselves up in a room, but petitioners hunted them out; they hid in another, certain delegates intervened with authority; with much trouble they found refuge in a third. Lamartine drew up the first proclamation to the French nation; then the members of the government disposed of the ministerial offices. Dupont de l'Eure, on account of his age, was exempted, but was given the title of president of council. Lamartine became foreign minister; Arago, head of the admiralty; Crémieux, solicitor-general; Marie, minister of public works; Ledru-Rollin, minister of the interior (home secretary). Garnier-Pagès was confirmed in his office of mayor of Paris.

Towards half past eight Louis Blanc, Marrast, and Flocon were introduced into the deliberating assembly. Louis Blanc imperiously demanded the inscription of his name and those of Marrast and Flocon on the list of members of the provisional government. He was offered the post of secretary. He refused at first; then, seeing himself abandoned by Marrast and Flocon, he retracted his refusal.

Thus the government was finally completed. Every shade of republicanism was represented: moderate opinions, by Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Marie; adaptability, by Garnier-Pagès and Crémieux; socialism, by Louis Blanc; communism, by Albert; recollections of the convention, by Ledru-Rollin and Flocon; republican bourgeoisie, by Armand Marrast. Lamartine, who by his past, his name, and his aristocratic connections was looked on with the least favour by the public, personified in himself the diverse characters of his colleagues. He was not exactly the adversary nor the ally of any of them, but was dominated by a superior impartiality. But this same impartiality which constituted his strength was also a source of weakness. Sometimes he resisted, sometimes he yielded—less from force of conviction than from a spirit of tolerance, and in order to evade immediate embarrassment or peril. Among the members there was one whose ideas and sentiments were totally opposed to these—Louis Blanc. According to him the Revolution ought to call itself the republic, and the republic ought to realise high ideals. He would allow no temporising, no concession. We have seen him exact the inscription of his name on the government list: we shall see him in the council oppose himself to all, supported in his isolation by the intervention of the masses, and succeed in dictating measures most fatal to the republic.

In short, from the first hour, such was the critical situation of the provisional government, which owed its origin to popular sovereignty, that it was constantly in dispute with that sovereignty. The crowd had encroached upon royalty; it now began to complain that the provisional government encroached upon its domain. First it had applauded; then it asked arrogantly by what right they had seized the power.

"By what right?" cried Lamartine, who faced the danger; "by the right of the blood which flows, of the fire which devours your buildings, of the nation without leaders, of the people without a guide or orders, and to-morrow, perhaps, without bread. By right of our most devoted and courageous citizens. Since I must say it, in right of those who were the first to yield their souls to suspicion, their blood to the scaffold, their heads to the vengeance of peoples or kings to save the nation." The provisional government, after it had acquired power, paid for it at the price of complaint, opposition, and hostility from the crowd. In the narrow place where they deliberated their electors besieged them, kept them prisoners. None of their decrees reached their destination without having passed through the hands

of strict censors who took note of their contents and their destination. It was the punishment of those who all their lives had invoked the sovereignty of the people, to be suddenly left face to face with them, with no alternative save to bow before their decrees or perish under their blows.[d]

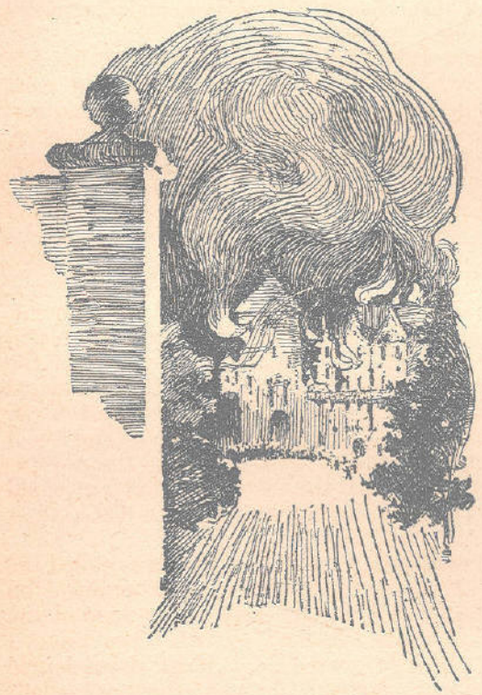
THE FIRST PROBLEMS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The first care which devolved upon the provisional government was to make head against the violence of its own supporters. During the three days that Paris had been in a state of insurrection, no work had been anywhere done; and as the great bulk of the labouring classes were alike destitute of capital or credit, they already began to feel the pangs of hunger on the morning of the 25th, when the provisional government, having surmounted the storms of the night, was beginning to discharge its functions. An enormous crowd, amounting to above one hundred thousand persons, filled the place de Grève and surrounded the Hôtel-de-Ville on every side, as well as every passage, stair, and apartment in that spacious edifice itself. So dense was the throng, so severe the pressure, that the members of the government itself could scarcely breathe where they sat; and if they attempted to go out to address the people outside, or for any other cause, it was only by the most violent exertion of personal strength that their purpose could be effected.

Decrees to satisfy the mob were drawn up every quarter of an hour, and, when signed, were passed over the heads of the throng into an adjoining apartment, where they were instantly thrown off by the printers of *Le Moniteur*, and thence placarded in Paris, and sent by the telegraph over all France. Under these influences were brought forth the first acts of the provisional government, some of which were singularly trifling, but very descriptive of the pressure under which they had been drawn up. One issued on the 25th of February changed the placing of the colours on the tricolour flag, putting the blue where the red had been; a second abolished the expressions *Monsieur* and *Madame*, substituting for them the words *Citoyen* and *Citoyenne;* a third liberated all functionaries from their oaths of allegiance; a fourth directed the words *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* to be inscribed on all devices and on all the walls of Paris, and changed the names of the streets and squares into others of a revolutionary sound and meaning. This was followed on the 27th by others of a more alarming import, or deeper signification. One ordered everyone to wear a red rosette in his button-hole; another directed trees of liberty to be planted in all the public squares, and reopened the clubs; a third changed the names of the colleges of Paris, and of the titles of general officers; and a fourth abolished all titles of nobility, forbidding anyone to assume them.

But the provisional government soon found that it was not by such decrees that the passions of the people were to be satiated, or their hunger appeased. Already, on the morning of the 25th, before they had had time to do anything, the well-known features of popular insurrection had displayed themselves. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal had been abandoned to the populace the evening before, as in truth, after the king had abdicated, there was no longer any government to withstand their excesses. These august palaces were sacked from top to bottom, their splendid furniture was burned or thrown out of the windows, the cellars were emptied of all the wines which they contained. The presence of the national guard and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented these excesses going further in the metropolis; but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the

comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues round Paris, all the railway stations were sacked and burned; the bridges were in great part broken down, or set on fire; even the rails in many places were torn up and scattered about. The beautiful château of Neuilly near Paris, the favourite abode of the late king, was plundered and half-burned. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the national guard, which turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of kings but of the fine arts. But the magnificent château of Rothschild near Suresnes was sacked and burned by a mob from Melun, at the very time when that banker was putting at the disposal of the provisional government fifty thousand francs, to assuage the sufferings of the wounded in the engagements.



BURNING OF A CHÂTEAU

Imagination may figure, but no words can convey, an adequate idea of the tremendous pressure exercised on the provisional government during the first days succeeding their installation. But of all the pressing cases, by far the most urgent was to pacify and feed the enormous multitude of destitute workmen whom the Revolution had thrown out of employment, and who crowded into the place de Grève, threatening the government with destruction if they did not instantly give them bread and work. They inundated the *salle du gouvernement*, and extorted from the overwhelmed members a decree "guaranteeing employment to all, and bestowing on the combatants on the barricades the million of francs saved by the termination of the civil list." Though this decree was a vast concession to the working classes, and indicated not obscurely the commencement of that socialist pressure on the government which was ere long felt so severely, yet it was far from meeting the wishes of the angry and famishing crowd who filled the place de Grève and all the adjoining streets.[e]

Hardly had they published the proclamation on the labour question, when a great uprising broke forth on the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville. New bands sallied forth firing off their muskets and crying, "The red flag! the red flag!" They penetrated into the hôtel, a red banner at their head. It was a decisive moment. It was important to know whether the flag of the Revolution and of modern France were to disappear before a factional standard; if all tradition were broken, and society plunged into an unknown abyss.

Lamartine forced his way to the grand staircase, from the top of which,

after the most heroic efforts, he made himself heard by the crowd. He endeavoured to calm this seething multitude by appealing to the sentiments of harmony and humanity which they had shown in the victory of the previous evening; he implored the people not to impose on his government a standard of civil war, not to force it to change the flag of the nation and the name of France: "The government," cried he, "will die rather than dishonour itself by obeying you—I will resist unto the end this flag of blood. The red flag has made but the tour of the Champ de Mars, bedraggled with the blood of the people in '91; the tricoloured flag had made the tour of the world, with the name, the glory, and the liberty of the country." These men, passionate but easily influenced, broke forth into cheers. Lamartine had conquered them. They tore down their red flag.

The high stature, the noble and handsome face of Lamartine, his fine gestures, his grave and sonorous voice, his serene attitude during the most violent demonstrations of the unruly populace, had, as much as his eloquent words, seized the imagination and touched the heart of his stormy audience. These scenes, which occurred many times, made of Lamartine, for several weeks, one of the most original and most majestic figures in the history of France. He resembled perhaps more the ancient orators than those of the Revolution.

THE NATIONAL WORKSHOPS AND OTHER EXPEDIENTS

But although the danger of a bloody republic was got over at the moment, yet it was evident to all that some lasting measures were indispensable in order to provide security for the government, and the employment of the idle and violent persons who were assembled in the streets. The municipal guard had been disbanded, and the whole military had been sent out of the city by the provisional government, in order to appease the people and avoid the risk of collisions, which might be highly dangerous. Thus the government was entirely at the mercy of the mob, and the only protection they could invoke consisted in two battalions formed of volunteers, who had placed their bayonets at the disposal of the authorities.

They decreed the formation, accordingly, of a new urban corps called the *garde mobile*, to be composed of those who had been most determined on the barricades; and the plan would, it was hoped, enrol on the side of the government the most formidable of those who had recently been leagued together for its overthrow. It perfectly succeeded. High pay—double that of the troops of the line—soon attracted into the ranks the most ardent of those who had been engaged in the late disturbances, and the garde mobile, which soon consisted of twenty-four battalions, and mustered fourteen thousand bayonets, rendered essential service to the cause of order in the subsequent convulsions.

Several other measures, less creditable to the authorities but not less descriptive of the pressure under which they laboured, emanated at the same time from the busy legislative mill in the Hôtel-de-Ville. Acts of accusation were launched forth against Duchâtel, Salvandy, Montebello, and all the members of the late ministry, March 1st; but this was a mere feigned concession to the passions of the people; the provisional government, to its honour be it spoken, had no intention of proceeding seriously against them. Gratuitous tickets to the opera were largely distributed among the people; but, as well observed, it was poor consolation for a man who had got no dinner to be presented with an opera ticket. The licentious mob who had plundered and kept possession of the Tuileries were at length got out March 6th, but

only by a great display of military force, and on the express condition that they were to be taken to the Hôtel-de-Ville, thanked for their patriotic conduct, and presented with certificates of good behaviour.

A fresh element of discord soon arose from the liberation of Blanqui, Barbès, Bernard, Huber, and all the political prisoners in Paris, whom long confinement had roused to perfect frenzy against authority of every kind. Their first measure was to reopen all the clubs, which soon resounded with declamations as violent as any which had ushered in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. A hundred of them were opened in a few days, chiefly in the worst parts of Paris, and every night crowded by furious multitudes. The government, in compliance with their demands, authorised the planting of trees of liberty, in imitation of the orgies of the first revolution.

But the provisional government had soon more serious cares to occupy them. Distrust and distress, the inevitable attendants on successful revolution, ere long appeared in their most appalling form. The government, having guaranteed employment and sufficient wages to every citizen, soon found themselves embarrassed to the very last degree by the multitudes every day thrown upon them. Credit was at a stand; the manufactories and workshops were closed, and the thousands who earned their bread in them were thrown destitute upon the streets. So violent was the panic, so strong the desire to realise, that the five-per-cents fell in the beginning of March to forty-five!

"Nothing," says Lord Normanby,[9] "surprised me more, in the wonderful changes of the last few days, than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, became as useless lumber. Ladies, anxious to realise a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified that they were 'rich and rare,' when no one could or would buy them?" It was melancholy to see the most civilised capital in the world suddenly reduced to the primitive condition of barter.

In these circumstances it was vain to think of the ordinary channels of employment being reopened, and nothing remained but for the government to take upon themselves, in the meantime at least, the employment of the people. For this purpose, on the 27th and 28th of February, decrees were passed appointing great workshops called *ateliers nationaux*, where all the unemployed might be set to work. As the idle were the very men who had made the Revolution, it was indispensable to keep them in good humour, and for this purpose the wages given were two francs a day. This was more than the average rate even in prosperous periods, and it had the effect of bringing a host of needy and clamorous claimants, not only from Paris but all the towns in the neighbourhood. The numbers in the first week were only five thousand, but they soon increased in a fearful progression; from the 1st to the 15th of April they swelled to 36,250, and at length reached the enormous number of 117,000! The daily cost of their maintenance exceeded two hundred thousand francs. This enormous expenditure was necessary, for the universal prostration of credit, hoarding of specie, and disappearance of capital rendered it impossible to get quit of workmen once enrolled in the brigades of the unemployed; the government were obliged to add much from the secret-service money to support them, in addition to the vast sums publicly applied to their relief; and, in truth, they were kept up as well from the desire always to have a huge army of dependants ready to support the revolutionary government as from the necessities of their situation.

BARODA.

In these huge workshops were collected a crowd of workmen, all of different trades; and they were all set to the same employment, which was generally that of removing nuisances, levelling barricades, or taking away dunghills. Even these humble employments were soon done: nothing remained for the enormous multitude to do; for as to making articles of luxury, or even convenience, for the public, that was out of the question at a time when no one was purchasing more than the absolute necessaries of life. Thus the *ateliers nationaux* soon turned into vast pay-shops, where idle crowds hung about all day, receiving two francs a day for doing nothing. In the latter period of their existence there were not two thousand actually at work out of 110,000 on the public rolls. There was no one concerned in the administration who was to blame for this state of things. It was unavoidable in the circumstances, just as was the employing of two hundred thousand starving labourers on the public roads in Ireland, at the same time.

When the increasing necessities of the numerous classes whom the Revolution had deprived of bread forced the subject of their maintenance on an unwilling government, the cry was for the appointment of a minister *pour l'organisation de travail;* and the public voice, expressed on an hundred banners reared aloft in the place de Grève, designated Louis Blanc, whose socialist principles had long been known, for the high office. To avoid the danger, and yet escape the obloquy of openly resisting a demand so supported, they fell upon the device of appointing Louis Blanc president of a commission appointed to sit at the Luxembourg and inquire into the condition of the working classes and the means of relieving their distresses. They associated with Louis Blanc in this commission the acknowledged chiefs of all the sects of socialists and communists. The *ateliers nationaux*, however, were not put under their direction. They remained under the orders of Marie, the minister of commerce; and in consequence of this not being generally adverted to, and the Luxembourg being regarded as the centre of the communist action and the source of communist measures, much unjust obloquy has been brought upon Louis Blanc and his socialist supporters.

Three circumstances distinguished this revolution from both of those which had preceded it. The first is the entire absence of all religious jealousy or rancour by which it was distinguished. No one needs be told that the very reverse was the case in the first revolution. The same was the case, though in a lesser degree, in the revolution of 1830. Hatred of the Jesuits, and jealousy of the influence they were supposed to be acquiring in the government and the educational establishments of the country, were the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles X. But on this occasion, this, the most deadly poison that can be mixed up with the revolutionary passions, was entirely wanting. The old animosity of the revolutionists against the clergy seemed to have disappeared. The Revolution was ardently supported by the clergy, in the first instance at least, especially in the rural districts. The priests blessed the trees of liberty which were planted in the villages and squares; fervent prayers were offered up for the republic from the altars; the priests, surrounded by their flocks, marched to the polling-places for the elections for the assembly when they came on. This change is very remarkable, and suggests much matter for reflection; but it is easily explained when we recollect that the Church had lost all its property during the first revolution, and ceased to be either an object of envy from its wealth, or of jealousy from its power. Thrown upon their flocks for support, since the miserable pittance of forty pounds a year allowed by the government barely sufficed for existence, the clergy had identified themselves with their interests and

shared their desires. The government of Louis Philippe had been so hostile to religion that they in secret rejoiced at its overthrow.

The second circumstance which distinguished this revolution was the sedulous attention now paid to the demands and interests of labour. It was the interests of capital and the bourgeoisie which were chiefly, if not exclusively, considered in the revolution of 1830. Robespierre and Saint-Just had professed, and probably felt, a warm interest in the concerns of the working classes; but they could see no other way of serving them but by cutting off the heads of all above them. The lapse of thirty-three years' peace since 1815, and the vast increase of industry which had in consequence taken place, had now, however, given a more practical direction to men's thoughts. They no longer thought that they were to be benefited by placing the heads of the rich under the guillotine; they adopted a plan, in appearance at least, more likely to be attended with the desired effect, and that was to put their own hands into their pockets. Encouraged by the conferences at the Luxembourg and the socialist declamations of Louis Blanc, as well as the decrees of the government, which guaranteed employment and full wages to all the working classes, they all united now in demanding from their employers at once an increase of wages and a diminution in the hours of labour! By a decree of the government, the hours of labour of all sorts in Paris were fixed at ten hours a day, though in the provinces they were left at twelve hours. These demands, too, were made at a time when, in consequence of the panic consequent on the Revolution, and the universal hoarding of the precious metals which had ensued, the price of every species of industrial produce, so far from rising, was rapidly falling, and sale of everything, except the mere necessaries of life, had become impossible! The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was that mostly all the master-manufacturers closed their workshops; and in the first two weeks of March, above an hundred thousand were out of employment in Paris alone, and thirty or forty thousand in Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux!

A third effect which ensued from the peculiar character of this revolution, as the revolt of labour against capital, was the strongest aversion on the part of all its promoters to the principles of free trade, and a decided adherence to that of protection.

But all other consequences of the Revolution fade into insignificance compared with the commercial and monetary crisis which resulted from its success, and, in its ultimate results, was attended with the most important effects upon the fortunes of the republic. The panic soon spread from the towns to the country; the peasants, fearful of being plundered, either by robbery or the emission of assignats, hastened to hide their little stores of money; specie disappeared from the circulation.

THE REPUBLIC ESTABLISHED

The time was now approaching when something definite required to be adopted by the provisional government in regard to the future constitution of the republic. With this view the government felt that it was necessary to convoke a national assembly; but before that could be done, the basis required to be fixed on which the election of its members should proceed. In these moments of republican fervour, there could be no doubt of the principle which required to be adopted. The convention of 1793 presented the model ready made to their hands. The precedent of that year accordingly was followed, with a trifling alteration, merely in form, which subsequent

experience had proved to be necessary. The number of the assembly was fixed at nine hundred, including the representatives of Algeria and the other colonies, and it was declared that the members should be distributed in exact proportion to the population. The whole was to form one assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. Every person was to be admitted to vote who had attained the age of twenty-one, who had resided six months in a commune, and had not been judicially deprived of his suffrage. Any Frenchman of the age of twenty-five, not judicially deprived of his rights, was declared eligible as a representative. The voting was to be secret, by signing lists; and no one could be elected unless he had at least two thousand votes. The deputies were to receive twenty-five francs a day for their expenses during the sitting of the assembly. This was soon followed by another decree, which ordered all prisoners for civil or commercial debts to be immediately set at liberty.

The provisional government, at the head of which was Lamartine, were at the same time labouring courageously and energetically to coerce the violent party, and direct the Revolution into comparatively safe and pacific channels. The first act which evinced the objects of this section of the government, and obtained the concurrence of the whole, was a most important and noble one—the abolition of the punishment of death in purely political cases. This great victory of humanity and justice over the strongest passions of excited and revengeful man was achieved by the provisional government in the very first moments of their installation in power, and when surrounded by a violent mob loudly clamouring for the *drapeau rouge* and the commencement of foreign war and the reign of blood. Whatever may be said of the tricolour flag making the tour of the globe, there can be no doubt that this great and just innovation will do so. To regard internal enemies, provided they engage only in open and legitimate warfare, in the same manner as external foes, to slay them in battle, but give quarter and treat them as prisoners of war after the conflict is over, is the first great step in lessening the horrors of civil conflict. On the contrary, the full merit of their noble and courageous conduct will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that, without guards or protection of any sort, they were, at the very time they passed this decree, exposed to the hostility of a bloodthirsty faction, loudly clamouring for the restoration of the guillotine, a second reign of terror, and a forcible propagandism to spread revolution through foreign nations.

Though the republic, generally speaking, was received in silent submission in the provinces when the telegraph announced its establishment in Paris, yet, in those places where the democratic spirit was peculiarly strong, it was not inaugurated without very serious disorders. At Lyons it was proclaimed at eight at night, on the 25th of February, 1848, by torchlight; and before midnight, the incendiary torch had been applied to the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvière, and the faubourg du Paix.

Delivered over to the rule of a tumultuous mob, the condition of Lyons for several months was miserable in the extreme; and though perfectly aware of these disorders, the government did not venture to attempt their suppression. In the midst of this universal excitement and fever, a very serious run took place on the savings banks, and these establishments soon found that they were unable to pay the deposits in specie.

When such elements of discord existed, not only in the state but in the provisional government itself, it was only a question of time when an open rupture was to take place between them. It was brought on, however,

somewhat sooner than had been expected, by an ordinance of Ledru-Rollin, published on the 14th of March, ordering the dissolution of the flank companies, or *compagnies d'élite* as they were called, of the national guard, and the dispersion of their members, without distinction or equipment, among the ordinary companies of the legion. The object of this was to destroy the exclusive aspect and moral influence of these companies, which, being composed of the richer class of citizen, formed the nucleus of a body which naturally inclined to conservative principles, and might impede the designs of the extreme revolutionary party. To "democratise," as it was called, the whole body, the decree ordered these companies to be dispersed among the others, and the whole to vote together for the election of the officers, which was to take place in a few days.[e]

On the 16th of March, these élite companies of the old national guard made a demonstration in a body twenty-five thousand strong at the Hôtel-de-Ville in order to test the strength of the forces at the disposal of the people. In revenge, on the following day, the workmen's corporations, the delegates to the Luxembourg, and the national workshops, excited by leaders who wished to drive them to extremes, organised a counter-demonstration in favour of the proletariat. The provisional government, whose members clung together in spite of internal rivalries, was obliged every day to deliver speeches and proclamations which gave Lamartine an ever-increasing but ephemeral popularity. In order not to leave the capital undefended in the hands of the factionists, the provisional government ordered back to Paris some battalions of the army which had left humiliated on the 23rd of February.

After a new socialistic demonstration which repulsed the national guard and a feast of fraternity on the 21st of April which reconciled no one, the electoral colleges met on Sunday, the 23rd of April. The elections were held, for the first time, by universal suffrage. This meant passing from 222,000 electors to 9,000,000—a sudden upheaval of political life which had not been expected and which would inevitably cause disaster.

The election of Lamartine in ten departments characterised this moment of the Revolution. The 4th of May the constituent assembly met and solemnly proclaimed the republic; and, despite the remembrance of the feebleness of the Directory, it imprudently placed the agreement in the hands of an executive commission composed of five members: Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin.

It seemed that nothing was left but to frame a constitution. Unfortunately, every day the Revolution was interpreted in a different way. Some held that it was exclusively political and tried to restrict it to a few modifications in the form of government, while others wanted it to be social and aimed at transforming society. Many even spoke of returning to the monarchy, and some dreamed of entirely demolishing all public authority.

They began by an attack on the national assembly. The 15th of May, under the pretext of carrying to the deputies a petition in favour of Poland, a movement was made against the chamber.[h]

THE INSURRECTION OF MAY 15TH, 1848

The petitioners assembled at the place de la Bastille, and began their march about 11 o'clock. Their attitude was not hostile; but, on the boulevard du Temple, Blanqui and his club awaited their coming, quickly placed themselves at the head of the column, and moved forward with the greatest

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rapidity. The assembly came forth on the place de la Madeleine much earlier than they were expected. The national guard, weary of being summoned so often in vain, had not responded in a large number to the call upon them; in spite of this they would have been able to avert the danger had they concentrated. Instead of taking this necessary measure at once, General Courtais had the unfortunate idea of overtaking this mass of people—he imagined he could stop them by kind words. In the first lines were the most violent characters; amongst them were some armed men. These paid no attention to Courtais, but passed on; the rest followed. The crowd bordered the place de la Concorde and advanced toward the bridge. In a short time it hurled itself against the gratings of the assembly.

Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin attempted to harangue the multitude from the top of the stairs where the assembly, some days before, had come to mix its republican acclamations with those of the people of Paris. The eloquence of the poet and of the tribune did not have the same ascendency at this moment as at the Hôtel-de-Ville. The multitude continued to shake the gratings and cry, "Down with the bayonets!" Courtais gave the command to a thousand of the national guard and the garde mobile to sheathe their bayonets; then he had a grating opened to admit twenty delegates: a much larger number followed Blanqui. The crowd went round the palace to the place de Bourgogne; there they joined the club de Barbès, not to invade but to observe. When they were sure that Blanqui had entered they wished also to enter; there took place, on the place de Bourgogne, a *mêlée*, a terrible stampede. The gratings on that side were forced: the multitude poured into the assembly room; others entered directly by forcing the doors. At the moment of the invasion the assembly were discussing Poland and Italy.

In the midst of the tumult which followed, Louis Blanc, with the permission of the president, began to speak; he demanded silence in order that the petition in favour of Poland might be read, and the right of petition sanctioned. In spite of the protestations of a number of representatives, Raspail, who was not a member of the assembly, mounted the tribune and read the petition. The president, Buchez, asked the crowd to leave and allow the assembly to deliberate. Barbès, seeing Blanqui at the foot of the tribune, hastened to make the first move, and pressed the assembly to carry out the wishes of the people for Poland. "Citizens," cried he, "you have done well to come and exercise your right to petition, and the duty of the assembly is to execute what you demand, which is the wish of France; but in order that she should not appear violent it is necessary that you retire."

Cries of "No! No!" were heard, and Blanqui on the other hand demanded of the assembly a decree that France should not put her sword in the scabbard until Poland had attained her independence. He added that the people came also to demand justice for the massacres of Rouen and claim from the assembly that it should see that they had work and bread. Contradictory cries broke forth: "Poland! we are interested only in Poland!" and "The minister of work, immediately!"

The struggle was, in fact, between those who wished to continue the invasion of the assembly and those who wished it to cease. Raspail, who found himself carried there without intending it, joined Ledru-Rollin and Barbès in trying to clear the assembly room; Huber himself, the promoter of the manifestation, tried to induce the people to retire before the assembly, whose representatives had held their posts with dignity in the midst of this chaos. The party of Blanqui resisted, the struggle became intense in this close atmosphere—when, from outside, was heard the sound of drums.

Garnier-Pagès had sent, in the name of the executive commission, the order to beat to arms all the legions. At the news of what had happened the national guard gathered in great throngs. The crowd, on the contrary, around the Palais Bourbon, on the bridge, at the place de la Concorde, began to thin. All those who had come with no evil intentions became disquieted, grieved; and one by one they went away. In the interior of the hall, among the invaders, many were exhausted, some even fainted. Barbès' head was turned. He, who had no intention but to defend the assembly against Blanqui, declared that it was necessary that they should vote, at that sitting, the sending of an army to Poland, a tax of a thousand millions on the rich, and that they should forbid the call to arms; if not, the representatives would be declared traitors to the country! He and those around him were delirious. The clamours redoubled at the same time for Poland and for the organisation of work. "We wish Louis Blanc," cried someone, and Louis Blanc was brought forward, against his will, in triumph; harassed, almost fainting, he protested in vain and felt that he was lost. The fury increased in a measure at the sound of the drums. Armed men with sinister faces surrounded and threatened the president Buchez, who had remained immovable on his seat, and the vice-president Corbon, who had come to join Buchez at his perilous post. The president was called on to give the order to stop the call to arms. He resisted. The commands became frantic. An officer of the national guard came to the president to tell him that the legions would be ready to act within a quarter of an hour.

The order to the mayors to cease the call to arms could no longer have any result. The refusal to give this order would inevitably have led to a catastrophe. Men of unquestioned courage amongst the representatives counselled the president to gain a quarter of an hour at any price and to accede to the wishes of the people. He signed the orders. This action without doubt prevented violent acts, but did not quiet the tumult, as the invaders seemed to be possessed by an uncontrollable fury. Amidst the stamping and howling of the crowd, Huber suddenly mounted the tribune and declared the national assembly dissolved. A group of the most frantic hurled themselves on the desk and threw the president from his seat. The president and the vice-president at last went forth accompanied by most of the representatives.

The invaders, remaining masters of the hall, commenced to argue on the candidates for a new provisional government, when the drums began echoing in the interior of the palace. "The garde mobile!" they cried; a panic seized the invaders and they fled in disorder from the hall, crying, "To the Hôtel-de-Ville!" This political orgy had lasted nearly four hours. A little after four o'clock, the garde mobile and the national guard entered and finished clearing the hall.[f]

The assembly came back and reopened the sitting. Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin, at the head of the representatives and of the national guard, marched to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where Marrast, the mayor of Paris, had seized a new provisional government which had attempted to install itself there; the agitators were sent to Vincennes. This riot, a sad and senseless parody of the too famous days of the first revolution, had the result of putting the assembly in a position of defiance against the Parisian populace. It was decided to dissolve the national workshops, which formed an army of one hundred thousand labourers having arms, officers, and discipline. This news excited the anger of the agitators who were still free, and the despair of the workmen who had been misled by dangerous utopian ideas.[h]

In June there were several new elections, and Paris returned Proudhon

and other socialist leaders.[i] Prince Louis Napoleon received a plurality of votes in no fewer than four departments. In general the socialist party did not succeed; whereas Count Molé and Thiers, among other royalists, recovered seats in the assembly. Louis Napoleon received not only the support of the Bonapartists but of sundry other parties, including even certain communists. As a whole the election could not be taken as a great victory for any one party, but the ultra-democrats met with an unequitable set back, and hence were goaded to desperation. "They were plotting another insurrection," says May,[i] "when the assembly determined to disperse the idle and dangerous workmen in the national workshops, who had now risen to one hundred and twenty thousand." So good an excuse for an outbreak was not to be overlooked. The workmen were quickly stimulated to show their discontent, and in a few hours all Paris was up in arms.[a]

CIVIL WAR IN PARIS (JUNE 22ND–25TH, 1848)

Every symptom indicated the approaching movement. It broke out on the 22nd of June at ten at night. The government, warned of the rioting and clamour which attended the first steps that had been taken for distributing a portion of the workmen through the departments, assembled at the Luxembourg. In the course of the evening numerous mobs had several times assailed the palace with furious shouts of *"À bas Marie!" "À bas Lamartine!"* The government had appointed General Cavaignac commander-in-chief of the troops of the national guard, with the view of concentrating the whole plan and the unity of its execution in a single individual.

The night was tranquil; it was spent in arrangements for the attack and defence. Neither the socialists nor the anti-republican party joined in the insurrection. Everything indicated that this undecided, feeble movement, incoherent in its principle, had been organised and planned in the heart of the national workshops themselves. It was a plebeian and not a popular movement, a conspiracy of subalterns and not of chiefs, an outbreak of servile and not of civil war.

At seven o'clock on the 23rd of June, the government received information that mobs, forming altogether an assemblage of from eight to ten thousand men, had collected on the place du Panthéon to attack the Luxembourg. The occupants of the national workshops poured down from the barriers, and the populace, excited by some of their armed leaders, threw up barricades. Their leaders were, for the most part, the men who acted as *brigadiers* of the national workshops, and who were agents of the seditious clubs. They were irritated by the proposed disbandment of their corps, whose wages passed through their hands, and some of them, it was alleged, did not scruple to divert the money from its destined object, for the purpose of paying sedition. From the barriers of Charenton, Bercy, Fontainebleau, and Ménilmontant, to the very heart of Paris, the capital was almost totally defenceless, and in the power of a few thousand men.

General Cavaignac resolved to concentrate his troops (as had been determined beforehand) in the garden of the Tuileries, in the Champs Élysées, on the place de la Concorde, on the esplanade des Invalides, and round the palace of the representatives. Meanwhile, the conflict had commenced on the boulevards. Two detachments of volunteers of the 1st and 2nd legions attacked two barricades erected on that point. Most of these brave volunteers perished heroically under the first fire of the insurgents.

Duvivier commanded the central part of Paris at the Hôtel-de-Ville. Dumesne and Lamoricière, who seemed, as it were, to multiply themselves, performed prodigies of resolution and activity with the mere handful of men at their disposal. By four o'clock in the afternoon Dumesne had cleared and made himself master of the left bank of the Seine, and had overawed the whole mass of insurrectionary population in the quarter of the Panthéon.

Lamoricière, invincible, though hemmed in by two hundred thousand of the insurgents, occupied the space extending from the rue du Temple to the Madeleine, and from Clichy to the Louvre. He was incessantly galloping from one point to another, and always exposing himself to receive the first shot that might be fired. He had two horses killed under him.

A summer storm was at that moment breaking over Paris. General Cavaignac, surrounded by his staff, with Lamartine, Duclerc, and Pierre Bonaparte (son of Lucien), and followed by about two thousand men, advanced amidst flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, mingled with the applauding shouts of the well-disposed citizens, as far as the château d'Eau. After repeated assaults, kept up for the space of three quarters of an hour, and amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets, decimating both officers and men, the barricades were carried. Lamartine felt as though he could have wished for death to release him from the odious responsibility of bloodshed which pressed upon him so unjustly, but yet so unavoidably. Four hundred brave men lay killed or wounded in different parts of the faubourg. Lamartine returned to the château d'Eau to rejoin General Cavaignac.

Accompanied only by Duclerc, and a national guard named Lassaut, who had been his companion the whole of the day, Lamartine passed the line of the advanced posts, to reconnoitre the disposition of the people on the boulevard of the Bastille. The immense crowd, which fell back to make way for him as he proceeded, still continued to shout his name, with enthusiasm and even amidst tears. He conversed long with the people, pacing slowly and pressing his way through the crowd by the breast of his horse. This confidence amidst the insurgent masses preserved him from any manifestation of popular violence. The men, who by their pale countenances, their excited tone, and even their tears bore evidence of deep emotion, told him their complaints against the national assembly, and expressed their regret at seeing the revolution stained with blood. They declared their readiness to obey him (Lamartine), whom they had known as their counsellor and friend, and not as their flatterer, amidst the misery they had suffered and the destitution of their wives and children. "We are not bad citizens, Lamartine," they exclaimed; "we are not assassins; we are not factious agitators! We are unfortunate men, honest workmen, and we only want the government to help us in our misery and to provide us with work! Govern us yourself! Save us! Command us! We love you! We know you! We will prevail on our companions to lay down their arms!"

Lamartine, without having been either attacked or insulted, returned to rejoin General Cavaignac on the boulevard. At midnight the regiments nearest to the capital and the national guards of the adjacent towns entered Paris in a mass, marching through all the barriers. Victory might still be tardy, yet it was now certain.[1]

"THE DAYS OF JUNE"

On the morning of the 24th matters looked very serious, and the assembly, which had endeavoured to ignore the danger, was forced to recognise and

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take measures to avert it. The inefficiency of the executive commission and the distrust they had inspired in the national guard having become painfully conspicuous, a motion was made, at noon on the 24th, to confer absolute power on a dictator; and General Cavaignac was suggested and approved almost unanimously. The executive commission, finding themselves thus superseded, resigned their appointments, and absolute uncontrolled authority was vested in the dictator.

The effects of this great change were soon apparent. Immense was the difference between the hesitation and disunited action of five civilians in presence of danger, and the decided conduct of one single experienced military chief. The first object was to repel the enemy from the vicinity of the Hôtel-de-Ville. The task was no easy one, for the streets around it swarmed with armed men; every window was filled with tirailleurs, and from the summit of barricades, which were erected across the narrow thoroughfares at every hundred yards, streamed a well-directed and deadly fire of musketry. At length, however, after a dreadful struggle, the nearest streets were carried, and the Hôtel-de-Ville was put for the time in a state of comparative safety.

The attack was next carried into the adjoining quarters of the Église St. Gervais and the rue St. Antoine, while General Lamoricière pushed on towards the faubourg St. Denis, and then, wheeling to his left, commenced an assault on the faubourg Poissonnière. The insurgents defended each barricade as it was attacked, as long as possible, and when it was about to be forced they quickly retired to the next one in rear, generally not more than one or two hundred yards distant, which was stubbornly held in like manner; while upon the column which advanced in pursuit a heavy and murderous fire was directed from the windows of the adjoining houses.

It was not surprising that the progress even of the vast and hourly-increasing military force at the disposal of the dictator had been so slow; for the task before them was immense, and to appearance insurmountable by any human strength. The number of barricades had risen to the enormous and almost incredible figure of 3,888, nearly all of which were stoutly defended. The great strongholds of the insurgents were in the clos St. Lazare and the faubourg St. Antoine, each of which was defended by gigantic barricades, constructed of stones having all the solidity of regular fortifications, and held by the most determined and fanatical bands.

The night of the 24th was terrible; the opposing troops, worn out with fatigue and parched with thirst, sank down to rest within a few yards of each other on the summit of the barricades, or at their feet, and no sound was heard in the dark but the cry of the sentinels. Early on the morning of the 25th the conflict was renewed at all points, and ere long a frightful tragedy signalised the determination and ferocity of the insurgents. General Bréa humanely went with a flag of truce to the headquarters of the insurgents. He was overwhelmed with insults, shot down, and left for dead on the ground; his aide-de-camp, Captain Mauguin, was at the same time put to death, and his remains mutilated to such a degree that the human form could hardly be distinguished. After waiting an hour for the return of his general, Colonel Thomas, the second in command, having learned his fate, and announced it to his soldiers, made preparations for an assault. Infuriated by the treacherous massacre of their general, the men rushed on, and carried at the point of the bayonet seven successive barricades. All their defenders were put to the sword, to avenge their infamous treachery.

But ere the attack commenced, a sublime instance of Christian heroism and devotion occurred, which shines forth like a heavenly glory in the midst

of these terrible seasons of carnage. Monseigneur Affre, archbishop of Paris, horror-struck with the slaughter which for three days had been going on without intermission, resolved to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, or perish in the attempt. Having obtained leave from General Cavaignac to repair to the headquarters of the insurgents, he set out, dressed in his pontifical robes, having the cross in his hand, accompanied by two vicars, also in full canonicals, and three intrepid members of the assembly. Deeply affected by this courageous act, which they well knew was almost certain death, the people, as he walked through the streets, fell on their knees and besought him to desist, but he persisted, saying, "It is my duty. *Bonus pastor dat vitam suam pro ovibus suis.*" At seven in the evening he arrived in the place de la Bastille, where the firing was extremely warm on both sides.

Undismayed by the storm of balls, the prelate advanced slowly, attended by his vicars, to the summit of the barricade. He had descended three steps on the other side when he was pierced through the loins by a shot from a window. The insurgents, horror-struck, approached him when he fell, stanched the wound, which at once was seen to be mortal, and carried him to the neighbouring hospital of Quatre-Vingts. When told he had only a few minutes to live, he said, "God be praised, and may he accept my life as an expiation for my omissions during my episcopacy, and as an offering for the salvation of this misguided people"; and with these words he expired.

Immediately after his decease, proposals came for a capitulation from the insurgents, on condition of an absolute and unqualified amnesty. General Cavaignac, however, would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. All attacks proved successful, and at last the enemy capitulated. With this the terrible insurrection came to an end. The losses on either side in this memorable conflict were never accurately known; for the insurgents could not estimate theirs, and the government took care not to publish their own. But on both sides it was immense, as might have been expected, when forty or fifty thousand on a side fought with the utmost courage and desperation for four days in the streets of a crowded capital, with nearly four thousand barricades erected and requiring to be stormed. General Négrier was killed, and Generals Duvivier, Dumesne, Koste, Lafontaine, and Foncher were wounded mortally—General Bedeau more slightly. Ten thousand bodies were recognised and buried, and nearly as many, especially on the side of the insurgents, thrown unclaimed into the Seine. At the close of the contest nearly fifteen thousand prisoners were in the hands of the victors, and crowded, almost to suffocation, all places of confinement in Paris. Three thousand of them died of jail fever; but the immense multitude which remained created one of the greatest difficulties with which for long the government had to contend.

The concourse of troops and national guards who flocked together from all quarters, on the 27th and 28th, enabled the dictator to maintain his authority, and restore order, by the stern discipline of the sword. The assembly divided the prisoners into two classes: for the first, who were the most guilty, deportation to Cayenne, or one of the other colonies, was at once adjudged; the second were condemned to transportation, which with them meant detention in the hulks, or in some maritime fortresses of the republic. But all means of detention ere long proved inadequate for so prodigious a multitude, and many were soon liberated by the government from absolute inability to keep them longer. This terrible strife cost France

more lives than any of the battles of the empire; the number of generals who perished in it, or from the wounds they had received, exceeded even those cut off at Borodino or Waterloo.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC

The victory once decidedly gained, Cavaignac lost no time in abdicating the dictatorial powers conferred upon him during the strife. But the assembly were too well aware of the narrow escape which they had made, to entertain the thought of resuming the powers of sovereignty. If they had been so inclined, the accounts from the provinces would have been sufficient to deter them, for the insurrection in Paris was contemporary with a bloody revolt at Marseilles, occasioned by the same attempt to get quit of the burdensome pensioners at the ateliers nationaux, which was only put down after three days' hard fighting by a concentration of troops from all the adjoining departments.

At Rouen and Bordeaux the agitation was so violent that it was evident nothing but the presence of a large military force prevented a rebellion from breaking out. Taught by these events, the national assembly unanimously continued to General Cavaignac the powers already conferred upon him, and prolonged the state of siege in the metropolis. The powers of the dictator were to last till a permanent president was elected either by the assembly or the direct voice of the citizens; and in the meantime General Cavaignac proceeded to appoint his ministers, who immediately entered upon their several duties.

The first care of the new government was to remodel the armed force of the metropolis, and extinguish those elements of insurrection which had brought such desolation, bloodshed, and ruin upon the country. The ateliers nationaux were immediately dissolved: this had now become, comparatively speaking, an easy task; for the most formidable part of their number, and nearly all who had actually appeared with arms in their hands, had either been slain or were in the prisons of the republic. Those legions of the national guard which had either hung back or openly joined the insurgents, on occasion of the late revolt, were all dissolved and disarmed. Already, on June 25th, when the insurrection was at its height, a decree was issued, which suspended nearly all the journals of a violent character on either side, and even Émile de Girardin, an able writer and journalist of moderate character, was arrested and thrown into prison. These measures, how rigorous soever, were all ratified by a decree of the assembly on the 1st of August, and passed unanimously. "The friends of liberty," says the contemporary annalist, "observed with grief that the republic had in a single day struck with impunity a severer blow at the liberty of the press than the preceding governments had done during thirty years." At the same time the clubs, those great fountains of treason and disorder, were closed. Thus was another proof added to the innumerable ones which history had previously afforded, that popular licentiousness and insurrection, from whatever cause originating, must ever end in the despotism of the sword.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE PLEBISCITE

The duty of framing a constitution had been intrusted, in the beginning of June, to a committee composed of the most enlightened members. The discussion commenced on the 2nd of July, and was only concluded by the

formal adoption of the constitution, as then modified, on the 23rd of October. On the important question whether the legislature should be in one or two chambers, the debate was conducted by two distinguished men, Lamartine and Odilon Barrot.

The assembly, as might have been anticipated, decided in favour of one chamber by a majority of 530 to 289. The "sovereign power" of legislation accordingly was vested in a single assembly, and Lamartine, who was not without a secret hope of becoming its ruler, was triumphant. But the all-important question remained—by whom was the president of the chamber to be appointed, and what were to be his powers as the avowed chief magistrate of the republic? Opinions were much divided on this point, some adhering to an election by the assembly, others to a direct appeal to the people. Contrary to expectation, M. de Lamartine supported the nomination by the entire population of France.

He could not be convinced of the fatal blow which his popularity had received from his coalition with Ledru-Rollin. He still thought he was lord of the ascendant, and would be the people's choice if the nomination was vested in their hands. By extending the suffrage to all France, the revolutionists had dug the grave of their own power. The result, accordingly, decisively demonstrated the strength of this feeling even in the first assembly elected under universal suffrage, and how well founded were the mournful prognostications of Lamartine as to the approaching extinction of liberty by the very completeness of the triumph of its supporters.[1]

The formation of the constitution having been at length concluded, it was finally adopted, on the 4th of November, by a majority of 737 to thirty votes. Among the dissentients were Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, extreme communists, and Berryer and La Rochejaquelein, royalists. Victor Hugo and Montalembert were also in the minority, though no two men could be found whose opinions on general subjects were more opposite. On the evening of the day on which it was adopted by the assembly, the intelligence was communicated to the Parisians by 101 guns discharged from the Invalides. The sound at first excited the utmost alarm, as it was feared the civil war was renewed; and when it was known that it was only the announcement of a constitution, the panic subsided, and the people, careless and indifferent, dispersed to their homes.

By the constitution thus adopted, the form of government in France was declared to be republican, the electors being chosen by universal suffrage, and the president in the same way. The right of the working classes to employment was negatived, it being declared, however, that the government, so far as its resources went, was to furnish labour to the unemployed. The punishment of death was abolished in purely political offences. Slavery was to be abolished in every part of the French dominions. The right of association and public meeting was guaranteed; voting, whether for the representatives or the president, was to be by ballot; the representatives once chosen might be re-elected any number of times. The president required to be a French citizen, of at least thirty years of age, and one who had not lost on any occasion his right of citizenship. He was to be elected for four years,

[1 An expression of the philosopher Jean Reynaud during "the Days of June" characterised the situation with poignant truth: "We are lost if we are conquered; lost if we conquer." It was too true: the Republic was stabbed to the heart. Victorious, the body politic drifted, in a few months, to a monarchic cæsarism by the path of reaction; vanquished, it had drifted, in a few days, to a demagogic cæsarism by the path of anarchy. Like the Janus of fable, Bonapartism was ready to present the one or the other of its two faces to France doomed to be its prey.—MARTIN.]

and a simple majority was to determine the election. The president was re-eligible after having served the first four years; he was to reside in the palace of the assembly, and receive a salary of six hundred thousand francs a year. All the ministers of state were to be appointed by the president, who also was to command the armed force, declare peace and war, conduct negotiations with foreign powers, and generally exercise all the powers of sovereignty, with the exception of appointing the judges of the supreme courts in Paris, who were to be named by the assembly, and to hold their offices for life.

Disguised under the form of a republic, this constitution was in reality monarchical, for the president was invested with all the substantial power of sovereignty; and as he was capable of being re-elected, his tenure of office might be prolonged for an indefinite period. Though there were several candidates for the high office, yet it was soon apparent that the suffrage would really come to be divided between two—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon.

THE CANDIDACY OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

The door had already been opened to the latter by an election which took place at Paris on the 17th of September, when the young prince was again elected by a large majority. Four other departments in the country had already elected him. On this occasion he no longer hesitated, but accepted his election for the department of the Seine. He took his seat on the 26th of September, and made the following speech on the occasion, which was very favourably received by the assembly:

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES:

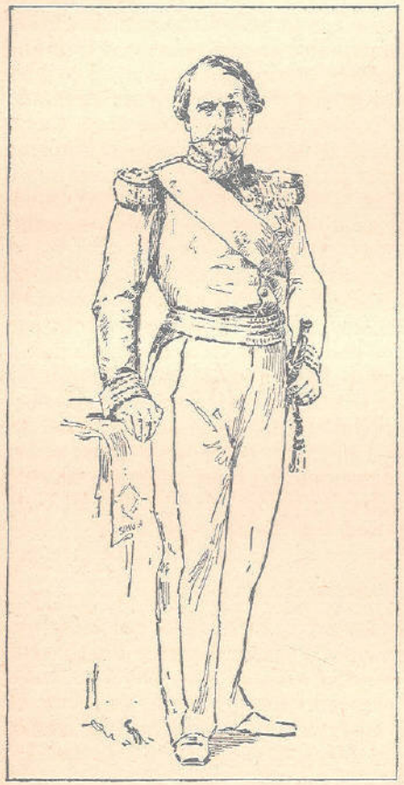
After three-and-thirty years of proscription and exile, I at length find myself among you, I again regain my country and my rights as one of its citizens. It is to the republic that I owe that happiness: let the republic then receive my oath of gratitude, of devotion; and let my generous fellow-citizens, to whom I am indebted for my seat in its legislature, feel assured that I will strive to justify their suffrages, by labouring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the country is entitled to reclaim. My conduct, ever guided by a sense of duty and respect for the laws, will prove, in opposition to the passions by which I have been maligned and still am blackened, that none is more anxious than I am to devote myself to the defence of order and the consolidation of the republic.[2]

THE ELECTIONS OF DECEMBER, 1848

Both Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and General Cavaignac had exceptional advantages: the first, that of a great name; the second, that of the immense resources with which executive power is necessarily invested. But in addition to the advantage of his name, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte belonged to no party whatsoever. Isolated between the army of socialism and the "party of order," he offered in his very person a sort of compromise. His attitude, his remoteness from the stormy debates of the chamber rendered his conduct conformable with his situation. In his seclusion at Auteuil, he had held conferences with men of all parties. All could place some of their hopes on him, without his binding himself to any single one. He belonged at the same time to the democracy, on account of the worship of the proletariat for the name of Napoleon; to socialism, by a few of his pamphlets; and to the party of order by the religious and military tendencies of his policy: and this is what no one in those times of blindness perceived.

A serious incident of far-reaching consequences dealt a terrible blow to the candidateship of General Cavaignac—the sitting of the national assem-

bly of November 25th, 1848. As the terror of the June Days faded away, the examination of facts had, little by little, convinced many that General Cavaignac, during those terrible days, had disdained the means of quelling the insurrection in its infancy; that he had served as an instrument for the seditious mutinies against the executive commission; that, in consequence of his calculated nervelessness and inaction, the insurrection had assumed formidable proportions, and the general had been obliged to shed the blood of France in torrents. As he had greatly benefited by this same bloodshed, and owed his inconceivable elevation to it, public feeling traced in this ensemble the manœuvres of criminal ambition. These rumours soon acquired such consistency that General Cavaignac thought he ought to give an explanation in the tribune of the national assembly. The debate took place at the sitting of November 25th.



NAPOLEON III

When General Cavaignac had challenged his adversaries to declare if he had in any way betrayed his trust, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire ascended the tribune and asked permission of the assembly to read an unpublished page of history. This statement embraced an accumulation of the most damaging evidence against the vacillations of General Cavaignac and against the faction which had striven for the overthrow of the executive commission.

General Cavaignac defended himself with the skill of a barrister. The danger of his position sharpened his wits. In spite of the affirmations of Garnier-Pagès and Ledru-Rollin, General Cavaignac came through this dangerous debate with the appearance of having triumphed. An alleged order of the day, presented by Dupont (de l'Eure), was adopted by a very large majority. The order of the day was expressed thus: "The national assembly, persevering in the decree of June 28th, 1848—thus worded, 'General Cavaignac, chief of the executive power, deserves well of his country'—passes on to the usual business of the day."

"The country will judge," many voices exclaimed when General Cavaignac ended the discussion by vaunting his devotion to the republic; and indeed the country was not slow in formulating its judgment.

In the election of December 10th, 1,448,302 votes were returned for General Cavaignac, whilst Louis Napoleon Bonaparte obtained 5,534,520; Ledru-Rollin had 371,434 suffrages, Raspail 36,964, and Lamartine, who had once been simultaneously elected by ten departments, received a dole of 17,914 votes.

POLITICAL BARODA

The election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte greatly surprised many zealous minds; and seriously disturbed the dreamers. Like carrion crows wheeling round to seek their route and filling the air with their cries, they were seen raising their heads and scenting the wind, seeking the meaning of an event they could not comprehend. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte appeared upon the scene like Fortinbras at the end of Hamlet. Brutal in fact, his election cut the knot of a thousand intrigues. The people, by their vote, had expressed the idea of a great popular dictatorship which put an end to the quarrels of the citizens, to the subtlety of utopians, to party rancour, and guarded them against the endlessly recurring crises engendered by the parliamentary régime amongst nations with whom sentiment dominates reason, action and discussion. The poll also expressed an ardent desire for unity. The proletariat knows well that what takes place in the republic of barristers and landlords concerns it but little. It was by analogous reasons that Cæsar triumphed in Rome. Having nothing to gain from party struggles, knowing by experience that for them the only result is lack of work, imprisonment, exile, or death, the people always aspire to rise above them. Louis Bonaparte, in his electoral address, was careful to give expression to this thought: "Let us be men of the country," he said, "not men of a party!"

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed president of the republic on December 20th at four o'clock, by the president of the national assembly. We know the political oath had been abolished by the February revolution, which thus seemed to confess its absence of belief. But by a miserable democratic equivocation, the oath was still taken by one man, by the president of the republic. The contract was not a mutual one. Each one reserved to himself implicitly the right of violating the constitution, and we shall see that the national assembly did not fail to do so; but each one desired at the same time that the president of the republic should be bound thereby as with a strait-jacket. The least fault of this vain ceremonial was its lack of common sense, the constitution being fatally and necessarily violated.

VICTOR HUGO'S PORTRAIT OF "NAPOLEON THE LITTLE"

It was about four in the afternoon of December 20th, 1848; it was growing dark, and the immense hall of the assembly having become involved in gloom the chandeliers were lowered from the ceiling, and the messenger placed the lamps on the tribune. The president made a sign, the door on the right opened, and there was seen to enter the hall, and rapidly ascend the tribune, a man still young, attired in black, having on his breast the badge and riband of the Legion of Honour.

All eyes were turned towards this man. His face wan and pallid, its bony, emaciated angles developed in prominent relief by the shaded lamps; his nose large and long; his upper lip covered with moustaches; a lock of hair waving over a narrow forehead; his eyes small and dull; his attitude timid and anxious, bearing in no respect a resemblance to the emperor—this man was the citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. During the murmurs which arose upon his entrance, he remained for some instants standing, his right hand in the breast of his buttoned coat, erect and motionless on the tribune, the front of which bore this date—22nd, 23rd, 24th of February; and above which was inscribed these three words—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Prior to being elected president of the republic, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had been a representative of the people for several months, and

though he had rarely attended a whole sitting, he had been frequently seen in the seat he had selected, in the upper benches of the left, in the fifth row in the zone, commonly designated the Mountain, behind his old preceptor, the representative Vieillard. This man, then, was no new face in the assembly, yet his entrance on this occasion produced a profound emotion. It was to all, to friends as to foes, the future that had entered on the scene, a future unknown. Through the space of immense murmur, formed by the concurrent voices of all present, his name circulated in connection with the most opposite estimates. His antagonists recalled to each other his adventures, his *coups-de-main*, Strasburg, Boulogne, the tame eagle, and the piece of meat in the little hat. His friends urged his exile, his proscription, his imprisonment, a well-compiled work of his on artillery, his writings at Ham, impressed with a certain degree of liberal, democratic, and socialist spirit, the maturity of the graver age at which he had now arrived; and to those who recalled his follies, they recalled his misfortunes.

General Cavaignac, who, not having been elected president, had just resigned his power into the hands of the assembly with that tranquil laconism which befits republics, was seated in his customary place at the head of the ministerial bench, on the left of the tribune, and observed, in silence and with folded arms, this installation of the new man.

At length, silence became restored, the president of the assembly struck the table before him several times with his wooden knife, and then the last murmurs of the assembly having subsided, said: "I will now read the form of the oath."

There was an almost religious halo about this moment. The assembly was no longer an assembly, it was a temple. The immense significance of this oath was rendered still more impressive by the circumstance that it was the only oath taken throughout the extent of the territory of the republic. February had, and rightly, abolished the political oath, and the constitution had, as rightly, retained only the oath of the president. This oath possessed the double character of necessity and of grandeur. It was the oath taken by the executive, the subordinate power, to the legislative, the superior power; it was stronger still than this—the reverse of the monarchical fiction by which the people take the oath to the men invested with power, it was the man invested with power who took the oath to the people. The President, functionary and servant, swore fidelity to the people, sovereign. Bending before the national majesty, manifest in the omnipotent assembly, he received from the assembly the constitution, and swore obedience to it. The representatives were inviolable; he, not so. We repeat it: a citizen responsible to all the citizens, he was, of the whole nation, the only man so bound. Hence, in this oath, sole and supreme, there was a solemnity which went to the inmost heart of all who heard it. He who writes these pages was present in his place in the assembly, on the day this oath was taken; he is one of those who, in the face of the civilised world, called to bear witness, received this oath in the name of the people, and still, in their name, maintain it.

Thus it runs: "In presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the national assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfil all the duties imposed on me by the constitution."

The president of the assembly, standing, read this majestic formula; then, before the whole assembly, breathlessly silent, intensely expectant, the citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, raising his right hand, said, with a firm, full voice, "I swear it."

[1848 A.D.]

The representative Boulay (de la Meurthe), since vice-president of the republic, who had known Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte from his childhood, exclaimed: "He is an honest man, he will keep his oath."

When he had done speaking, the constituent assembly rose, and sent forth, as with a single voice, the grand cry, "Long live the republic!" Louis Napoleon Bonaparte descended from the tribune, went up to General Cavaignac, and offered him his hand. The General, for a few instants, hesitated to accept the pressure. All who had just heard the speech of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, pronounced in an accent so redolent of candour and good faith, blamed the general for his hesitation.

The constitution to which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte took the oath on the 20th of December, 1848, "in the face of God and man," contained, among other articles, these:

Article 36. The representatives of the people are inviolable. Article 37. They may not be arrested in criminal matters unless they are taken in the fact, nor prosecuted without the permission of the assembly, first obtained. Article 68. Every act by which the president of the republic shall dissolve the national assembly, prorogue it, or impede the exercise of its decrees, is a crime of high treason.

By such act, of itself, the president forfeits his functions, the citizens are bound to refuse to him obedience, and the executive power passes, of full right, to the national assembly. The judges of the supreme court shall thereupon immediately assemble, under penalty of forfeiture; they shall convoke the jurors in such place as they shall appoint, to proceed to the trial of the president and his accomplices, and they shall themselves appoint magistrates to fulfil the functions of the state administration.

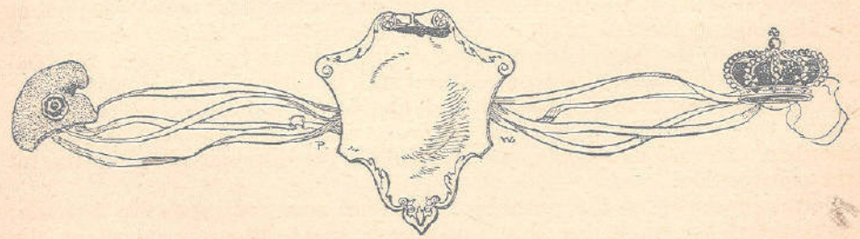
In less than three years after this memorable day, on the 2nd of December, 1851, at daybreak, there might be read at the corners of all the streets of Paris this notice:

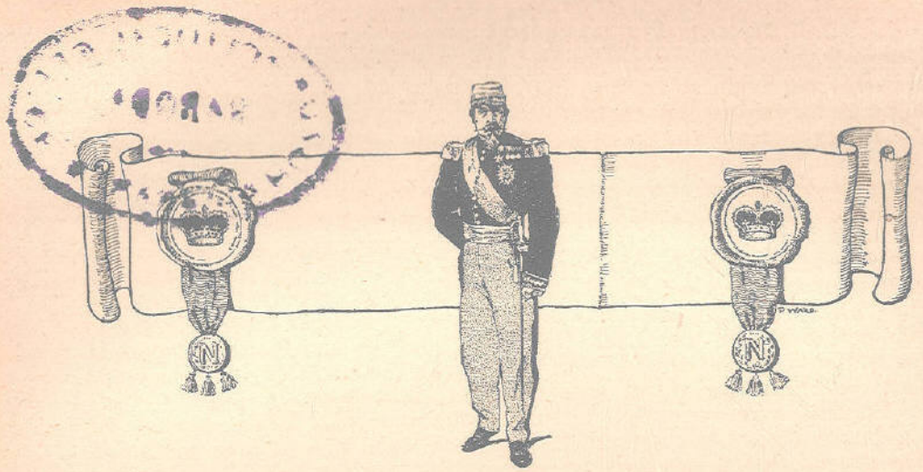
In the name of the French people, the president of the republic decrees: Article 1. The national assembly is dissolved. Article 2. Universal suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is repealed. Article 3. The French people are convoked in their comitia. Article 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the extent of the first military division. Article 5. The council of state is dissolved. Article 6. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

Done at the Palace of the Élysée, December 2nd, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

At the same time Paris learned that fifteen of the inviolable representatives of the people had been arrested in their homes, in the course of the night, by order of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.[k]





CHAPTER V

LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT AND EMPEROR

[1849–1870 A.D.]

On the 20th of December, 1848, commenced the government of that man to whom France delivered herself in an access of dizziness and who was to preside over her destinies till the 2nd of September, 1870. "This unfortunate people," according to the expression of a great national historian, Michelet, "stabbed itself with its own hand." Cavaignac, a man whose ideas were simple and his words sincere, was replaced by a successor with whom all was ulterior purpose and subterranean scheme. Since Louis Napoleon's admission to the constituent assembly, nothing was visible in his politics but a double effort to reassure the conservatives and yet flatter the popular hopes. — MARTIN.[b]

THE immense majority by which Prince Louis Napoleon had been created president of the republic added greatly to the power of the executive, and was an important step in the restoration of order after the Revolution; but it was far from appeasing the parties, or producing a similar union in the assembly. It was, in truth, a declaration of France against the Revolution, and bespoke the anxious desire of the inhabitants to terminate the disorders which it had introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry. But to the legislature, or at least a large part of its members, it was a serious blow, and was felt the more severely that it had been so completely unexpected.

The executive power—so important in all countries, so powerful in every age in France—had been appointed over their heads by the general voice of the people; the president was no longer their officer or administrator, but the nominee of a rival power, and might be expected on a crisis to be supported by the army, which looked to him for promotion, employment, and glory. The seeds, in this way, not merely of discontent and division, but probably of strife, were sown in the very outset of the president's power; the balance between a popular chief magistrate and an ambitious but discontented legislature could not long be preserved; and as the nation would

certainly not again go back to the republic, it was already foreseen that it must go forward to the empire.

The first care of the president, after installation in office, was to organise a powerful army under the command of Marshal Bugeaud at Lyons and the adjacent provinces near the Alps. It was now raised to seventy-five thousand infantry and eight thousand horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object: it was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the assembly and democratic party which, it was evident, sooner or later, must ensue.

Public opinion meanwhile in France was so rapidly turning against the legislature that it was foreseen its existence could not be long continued. The general feeling was forcibly expressed in meetings held in Rennes and Lille. "It will no longer do," said an orator in the former city, "for Paris to send us down revolutions by the mail-coach; for it is now no longer political but social revolutions with which we are visited. The departments in Jura have shown unequivocally that they are determined to put an end to this system. Reflect on the days which we denominate by the 24th of February, the 15th of May, the 23rd of June. Is it to be borne that we are still doomed to go to bed at night without knowing whether we shall ever waken in the morning?"

"It is unprecedented in history," said a speaker in Lille, "that a few thousand turbulent adventurers, ever ready for a *coup de main*, should have succeeded on so many occasions in putting in hazard the destinies of a people so advanced in civilisation as that of France. We present to Europe the extraordinary spectacle of a nation of thirty-five million of men ever ready to take the yoke from twenty thousand or thirty thousand creators of revolutions, who descend into the streets at a signal given by a few ambitious leaders, and treat France as a conquered country. A unanimous resistance has now declared itself against the Parisian tyranny; a violent desire to shake off its yoke has made itself felt even by the central government. It is not a conspiracy, still less a dream of a federative government; it is an open and deliberate movement by the provinces of France, as the old ones of Gaul were determined that their interests should no longer be swallowed up in those of Rome."

END OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (1849)

The general wish found vent in a motion made by Rateau, that the general election should take place on the 4th of next May, and the existing assembly be dissolved on the 19th of that month. The republicans were quite aware that it would annihilate their ascendency, and they resolved to anticipate the legal dissolution of the assembly by a *coup d'état* against the president. This was a direct appeal to a civil war, and an invitation to a *coup d'état;* for the president, having been elected by the direct votes of the people, and not by the assembly, could not be removed but by the same authority which had created him, before the legal period of his tenure of office expired.

It was the hoisting of the signal for insurrection that was really intended; and this design was carried into execution on the 29th of January, 1849. It took place accordingly, but proved a miserable failure. The fire of democracy

in the great body of the people was burned out. The government were acquainted with the whole plan of the conspirators, and from an early hour of the morning all their places of rendezvous were occupied by large bodies of troops, who, far from joining them as they expected, forcibly prevented any attempt at assembling. Foiled, disconcerted, and utterly overmatched, the conspirators, who came up in considerable numbers from the clubs, had no alternative but to retire, and they did so worse than defeated — turned into ridicule.

The days of the assembly being now numbered, its legislative acts ceased to be an object of any consideration; and the regulations for the approaching election having been passed without a division on the 15th of February, the clubs were closed after a stormy debate on the 20th of March following, by the slender majority of nineteen votes — the numbers being 378 to 359. This was the last important act of the constituent assembly. It rejected, on May 15th, by a majority of thirty-seven, a motion to the effect that the ministry had lost the confidence of the country, and four days afterwards came to an end. Every eye was now fixed on the approaching general election, fraught as it was with the future destinies of France.[c]

The constitution of the 12th of November, 1848, was not fitted to survive in the time and conditions in which it was produced. The executive and deliberative powers had one origin, since they both proceeded from universal suffrage and were renewed, the one after three, the other after four years' exercise. But the president had this advantage — that, being elected by millions of suffrages, he seemed to represent the entire nation; whilst the assembly consisted only of deputies, each of whom represented some thousands of votes. Moreover, whilst the foundations were laid for an inevitable antagonism, the idea had been to subordinate the executive to the legislative. Thus the president made appointments to innumerable offices in the administration: he negotiated treaties and had the army at his disposition: but he could not be re-elected; he had neither the right to take command of the troops nor that of dissolving the assembly or to oppose a bill which might seem to him pernicious. He had too much or too little; and with the temptation to resume the usual prerogatives of public authority, he had been given the means to acquire them.

Nevertheless, the president and the assembly maintained an understanding so long as it was a question of restoring order and restraining the extreme parties. Thus on the 29th of January, as we have seen, and again on the 13th of June, 1849, the army of Paris under their direction triumphed over revolt without bloodshed.

SIEGE OF ROME

A matter concerning a foreign nation had caused the latter conflict. The European revolutions, to which the revolution of February had given birth, had been promptly put down by the kings whom they had alarmed. Already Austria, victorious in Hungary, thanks to the Russians, had defeated the king of Sardinia, Charles Albert, at Novara; and Lombardy had again fallen into its power. The republic proclaimed at Rome, after the flight of the pope, vainly endeavoured to make the walls of the Holy City the last rampart of the independence of the peninsula. Victorious for an instant, six months before, Italy had refused the aid of France; now that she was vanquished and threatened by a heavier yoke, policy, and the solicitations of the Catholics who were then dominant in the chamber and the ministry, made it a duty of the government to protect the Italian peninsula and the

holy see against the revolutionaries who wished to suppress the pope's temporal royalty. An army commanded by General Oudinot was sent into Italy to restore Rome to the pontiff.

The republicans of Paris endeavoured by an insurrection to save the republic of Rome. A member of the former provisional government, Ledru-Rollin, was with them. On the 13th of June, 1849, a timely display of troops nipped the rising in the bud. This riot cost the party its leaders, who were condemned by the high court of Versailles, and the Romans their last hope. On the 2nd of July General Oudinot, after showing the utmost discretion in the siege of the place, entered Rome, where the pope was reinstated. The legislative assembly, which had succeeded the constituent assembly, May 28th, 1849, although less unanimous on this question, nevertheless approved the president's conduct and it was decided that the troops should remain in Rome for the protection of the pope. From that day France had one arm occupied in Italy, to the advantage of the ultramontanes but to the detriment of her general interests.[d]

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The first thing the assembly attacked was education, just as the ultra-royalists had done under the Restoration. A curious spectacle presented itself: those of the Orleanists who were best known for never having been devout, but who had shown themselves rather the reverse, as Thiers, for instance, were among the most enthusiastic in helping on this work for the Church. All conservatives, fearing the influence which was pushing the democratic section into the arms of the advanced republicans, courted the alliance of the clergy, and intrusted them with the mental training of France. Montalembert put the question in these terms: "We must choose between socialism and Catholicism."

This was the idea which influenced the best known of the followers of Voltaire to return to the church. They thought the elementary teachers were dangerous to the cause of order. They looked upon the unassuming conscientious men who taught the people to read as the forerunners, if not as apostles of revolution. Therefore the first law dealing with education withdrew from them the sanctions which the monarchy of July had granted them. The prefects had full power to deal with them, and a law treating them as "suspects" was passed.

Nor was the University any more favourably regarded; another law placed it under the supervision of a superior council, in which the bishops were largely represented. Some time after, the classes held by the great historian Michelet were closed. It was not long before universal suffrage was attacked. Some elections had taken place, and the assembly was alarmed to find that the country had changed its opinions, and now gave a majority to the advanced republicans. On the 10th of May Paris nominated its candidates — Carnot, Vidal, and Flotte. In all France, out of twenty-eight elections, the advanced party gained eighteen.

It was impossible openly to attack universal suffrage itself; but a residence of three years was required to entitle a man to vote; and this could only be proved by certain methods — for instance, by the payment of taxes. This measure involved the political fall of the greater part of the working population. Figures will give us an exact idea of the effect of the law: before it was passed, there were 9,936,000 electors in France; afterwards there were only 6,709,000. With a stroke of the pen the assembly had suppressed a

third part of the nation — 3,200,000 citizens who had had votes since 1848. Thiers stamped this mutilation of the suffrage with its true character when he made use, during the debate, of the notorious words "vile multitude."

These were the principal achievements by which the assembly showed the kind of spirit that animated it. It would take up too much time to recount the details of this long reaction. We will only quote a law on transportation which was described by the tragic expression "a bloodless guillotine." This meant, for the party threatened by the assembly, death in a distant country, with all the physical suffering which the deadly mists of a tropical climate hold in reserve for political offenders. Of course the press was not overlooked, and measures were passed limiting its liberties.

All these laws were brought about by an alliance between Louis Napoleon and the majority. The latter did not foresee how the former would be able to turn their joint work against them in the future. Of the two, which became unpopular? The assembly. And when, on the 2nd of December, the president wished to get rid of the assembly, what pretext did he allege? The law of the 31st of May, supported by himself. Louis Bonaparte, the president, had assisted through his ministers in the mutilation of universal suffrage. Louis Napoleon, wishing to become emperor, gave as his motive for the *coup d'état* his desire to re-establish universal suffrage.

ADOLPHE THIERS

Nothing now remained but to substitute a monarchy for the republic. It was on this point that the president and the majority in the assembly, who were united against the republican spirit, were to disagree. Naturally the Bonapartists wished to reinstate the empire; and the majority of the Right benches only desired a monarchy. The schism had begun less than a year after the presidential election. Till then, the president, Louis Napoleon, had allowed the united Orleanists and legitimist parties to govern, under the name of Odilon Barrot. On the 31st of October, 1849, with a suddenness that was almost melodramatic, he dismissed his ministers; and saying that France desired "to feel the hand and the will of him who had been elected on the 10th of December"— that "the name of Napoleon in itself constituted a programme," he formed a Bonapartist ministry, including Baroche, Rouher, Fould, Ferdinand Barrot, and others.

This did not prevent the Bonapartist ministry and the royalist majority from working together, in 1850, in their work of reaction against the republic, by means of the laws we have just mentioned. But as soon as the assembly was dispersed, on his return from a journey through France, the president reviewed the army at Satory. The cavalry cried, "Long live the emperor!" but the infantry was silent. And as proof that this demonstration was made to order is the fact that on inquiry the general, having asserted that the troops ought not to have uttered this cry while under arms and that they had thus prevented the infantry from joining in it, was immediately deprived of his command.

In this way plans for a restoration of the empire were revealed; and a visit paid by Berryer to the count de Chambord at Wiesbaden, and the fact

that Thiers made a journey to Claremont to visit the Orleans family,[1] and energetic attempts to reconcile the two branches of the Bourbons, who had been estranged since 1830, showed that the royalists also were planning a restoration. The imperialists rallied round the president, while the royalists fixed their hopes on General Changarnier, who was in command in Paris. Louis Napoleon had him dismissed by the government, in which he had just made some changes. This showed what his plans were and a storm arose in the assembly. "If you yield," said Thiers, "the empire will be established." The assembly overthrew the ministry, but the president replaced it by another Bonapartist ministry, rather more insignificant than its predecessor. Changarnier, however, was not reinstated.

Monarchists of all shades of opinion were warmly petitioning for a revision of the constitution — the Bonapartists in order to prolong the powers of Louis Napoleon, who was about to stand for re-election; the royalists in order to shake the republic. The discussion was a brilliant oratorical struggle between the partisans of monarchy and the republicans. Berryer was the chief mouthpiece of the former. The republican party, already weakened by exile, had still quite a constellation of orators, from Jules Favre to Madier de Montjau. The chief of these heirs of Ledru-Rollin was Michel de Bourges, who, in debate on the revision, rose to splendid heights of oratory.

The advanced democrats had a still more famous orator: Victor Hugo had devoted himself entirely to the republic. His genius, which had at first taken little interest in politics, but which had blossomed in the royalist camp, had marched with the times. The sight of the reaction of 1850 had made him a radical. He was soon to show, amidst the bullets of the *coup d'état* and in exile, his loyalty and intrepidity in the cause of the people. His great speeches on the reactionary laws and his speech on the revision are among the most brilliant and most solid of his works. It was in the latter speech that he called the president, soon to be emperor, "Napoleon the Little."

The struggle between the latter and the royalist majority became more desperate. Even before the debate on the revision, at the opening of a railway, he had openly attacked the assembly. From the tribune Changarnier had replied that the soldiers would never march against the national representatives, adding emphatically, "Representatives of the country, continue your deliberations in peace." But these empty words did not allay the anxiety that was felt, and at the end of 1851, the quæstors of the chamber proposed to promulgate as a law, and to affix in the barracks, the clause in the decree of 1848 giving the president of the chamber the right to call out the troops and compelling the officers to obey him.

The republicans, equally distrusting the royalists who made the proposition and the Bonapartists against whom it was directed, made the mistake of voting against it. Michel de Bourges, in his blind confidence, spoke of the "invisible sentinel who guards the republic and the people." The proposition was rejected.

The coup d'état had been long prepared. General Magnan, minister of war, had already sounded and gained over the generals under his orders. The president Louis Napoleon was only waiting for a propitious moment to break the oath which he had sworn to the republic. Many times rumours had been set afloat, and many times the republicans had taken their precautions; and there was actually a question of risking the coup d'état earlier. But the

[[1] The chief of the Orleans branch, Louis Philippe, died in exile August 26th, 1850, at the age of seventy-six. As Martin[b] says, "France has not cherished a hostile feeling toward his memory; if he erred in his policy, he made bitter expiation."]

wisest of the party resolved to wait until the vacation of the assembly had begun.[e]

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF DECEMBER 2ND, 1851

All was ready. At the last moment Louis Napoleon began to hesitate. Bold in his projects, undecided in execution, a man of conspiracy without being really a man of action, he was capable of allowing the moment for action to go by; and yet both he and his were at the end of their pecuniary resources. Persigny, who thought he might take any liberty in consideration of his absolute devotion, subjected the president to a violent scene. Morny and Saint-Arnaud also made him feel that the time for dreaming had gone by. The day and hour were fixed.

There were groups in the assembly composed of Bonapartists and of men desirous, from other motives, to come to terms with the president, who now at the last moment also meditated an unconstitutional revision of the constitution, but at the hands of the assembly itself. Some politicians, rather clerical than legitimist or Orleanist, such as Montalembert and Falloux, were working in this direction. A Bonapartist historian (Granier de Cassagnac)[f] has asserted that on the evening of the 1st of December Falloux made Louis Napoleon an offer to take the initiative at the tribune in proposing a prolongation of the president's powers by a simple majority, if it were necessary to have recourse to force in case the Left resisted. Louis Napoleon is said to have postponed his answer till the following day. Falloux has protested against this inculpation; in the evening Morny, Saint-Arnaud, and Maupas arrived at the Élysée and in concert with the president took all the steps for the coup d'état the next morning. Louis Napoleon, who paid a superstitious attention to anniversaries, had chosen that of his uncle's coronation and of the day of Austerlitz, the 2nd of December.[b]

On that day, the prince went out on horseback, accompanied by a brilliant escorts of generals; they passed through the Champs Élysées, along the streets and the boulevards, greeted by the troops and by some of the people. It was the seal of his victory.

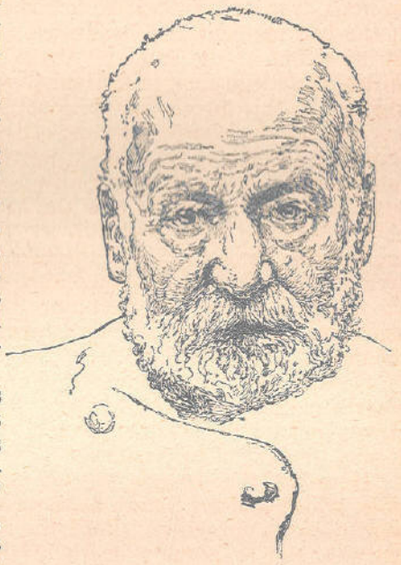
However, the struggle was not ended, lawful resistance was followed by riots, which had no chance of success with a government and generals who were decided on action. Both the representatives of the Mountain — who had declared so proudly on the 17th of November that the assembly was under its protection — and the people had tried in vain on December 2nd to organise resistance. On the morning of the 3rd, a barricade was raised in the faubourg St. Antoine; it was easily destroyed by the troops after a brief fire, during which a delegate, Baudin, was killed. In the course of the day and in the evening new barricades were erected in the districts of St. Martin and the Temple; they offered but a slight resistance to the troops. Measures had been carefully taken, and "the people" replied but faintly to the appeal of its representatives.

The following day, December 4th, was more serious though without endangering the new state of affairs. The troops had returned to their barracks, either because General Saint-Arnaud believed that resistance had come to an end, or because, following the example of Cavaignac in June, he did not wish to disperse his troops, or else because he wished to give the rebels an opportunity to form their army so that he might destroy it by a single blow: barricades were erected freely in the usual quarters; the troops were not brought out till the afternoon. There took place what has been called, not without exaggeration, "the boulevard massacre." A body of troops, which had been

fired on, returned the fire without orders.[g] Many onlookers were counted among the dead. Victor Hugo, who was banished for his opposition to Napoleon, wrote in exile an account of this massacre, from which we quote.

VICTOR HUGO'S ACCOUNT OF THE BOULEVARD MASSACRE

A little after one o'clock, December 4th, the whole length of the boulevards, from the Madeleine, was suddenly covered with cavalry and infantry, presenting a total of 16,410 men. Each brigade had its artillery with it. Two of the cannon, with their muzzles turned different ways, had been pointed at the ends of the rue Montmartre and the faubourg Montmartre respectively; no one knew why, as neither the street nor the faubourg presented even the appearance of a barricade. The spectators, who crowded the pavement and the windows, looked with affright at all these cannon, sabres, and bayonets, which thus blocked up the street.



VICTOR HUGO

"The troops were laughing and chatting," says one witness. Another witness says, "The soldiers had a strange look about them." Most of them were leaning upon their muskets, with the butt-end upon the ground, and seemed nearly falling from fatigue, or something else. One of those old officers who are accustomed to read a soldier's thoughts in his eyes, General ——, said, as he passed the café Frascati, "They are drunk."

There were now some indications of what was about to happen. At one moment, when the crowd was crying to the troops, "*Vive la république!* Down with Louis Bonaparte!" one of the officers was heard to say, in a low voice, "*Ceci va tourner à la charcuterie!*" (We shall soon have a little to do in the pork-butchering line!)

A battalion of infantry debouches from the rue Richelieu. Before the café Cardinal it is greeted by a unanimous cry of "*Vive la république!*" A literary man, the editor of a conservative paper, who happened to be on the spot, adds the words, "Down with Soulouque!" The officer of the staff, who commanded the detachment, makes a blow at him with his sabre. The journalist avoids the blow and the sabre cuts in two one of the small trees on the boulevards.

As the 1st regiment of Lancers, commanded by Colonel Rochefort, came up opposite the rue Taitbout, a numerous crowd covered the pavement of the boulevards. This crowd was composed of some of the inhabitants of that quarter of the town, of merchants, artists, journalists, and even several young mothers leading their children by the hand. As the regiment was passing by, men and women—everyone, in fact—cried, "*Vive la constitution! Vive la loi! Vive la république!*" Colonel Rochefort, the same person who had presided

at the banquet given on the 31st of October, 1851, at the École Militaire, by the 1st regiment of Lancers to the 7th regiment of Lancers, and who at this banquet had proposed as a toast "Prince Louis Napoleon, the chief of the state, the personification of that order of which we are the defenders!"—this colonel, on hearing the crowd utter the above cry, which was perfectly legal, spurred his horse into the midst of the crowd, through all the chairs on the pavement, while the Lancers precipitated themselves after him, and men, women, and children were indiscriminately cut down. "A great number remained dead on the spot," says a defender of the coup d'état; and then adds, "It was done in a moment."

About two o'clock two howitzers were pointed at the extremity of the boulevard Poissonnière, at one hundred and fifty paces from the little advanced barricade of the guardhouse on the boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle. While placing the guns in their proper position, two of the artillerymen, who are not often guilty of a false manœuvre, broke the pole of a caisson. "Don't you see they are drunk!" exclaimed a man of the lower classes.

At half past two—for it is necessary to follow the progress of this hideous drama minute by minute, and step by step—the firing commenced before the barricade, but it was languid and almost seemed as if done for amusement only. The chief officers appeared to be thinking of anything but a combat. We shall soon see, however, of what they were thinking. The first cannon ball, badly aimed, passed above all the barricades and killed a little boy at the château d'Eau as he was procuring water from the basin. The shops were shut, as were also almost all the windows. There was, however, one window left open in an upper story of the house at the corner of the rue de Sentier. The principal mass of mere spectators were still on the southern side of the street. It was an ordinary crowd and nothing more—men, women, children, and old people who looked upon the languid attack and defence of the barricade as a sort of sham fight. This barricade served as a spectacle until the moment arrived for making it a pretext.

The soldiers had been skirmishing in this manner, and the defenders of the barricade returning their fire, for about a quarter of an hour, without anyone being wounded on either side, when suddenly, as if by the agency of electricity, an extraordinary and terrible movement was observed, first in the infantry and then in the cavalry. All of a sudden, as we have said before, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery faced towards the dense crowd upon the pavement, and then, without anyone being able to assign a reason for it, unexpectedly, without any motive, without any previous warning, as the infamous proclamations of the morning had announced, the butchery commenced from the theatre of the Gymnase, to the Bains Chinois—that is to say the whole length of the richest, the most frequented, and the most joyous boulevard of Paris. The army commenced shooting down the people, with the muzzles of their muskets actually touching them.

It was a horrible moment: it would be impossible to describe the cries, the arms of the people raised towards heaven, their surprise, their horror—the crowd flying in all directions, the shower of balls falling on the pavement and bounding to the roofs of the houses, corpses covering the road in a single moment, young men falling with their cigars still in their mouths, women in velvet gowns shot down dead by the long rifles, two booksellers killed on their own thresholds without knowing what offence they had committed, shots fired down the cellar-holes and killing anyone, no matter who happened to be below.

When the butchery was ended—that is to say when night had completely

set in, and it had begun in the middle of the day—the dead bodies were not removed; they were so numerous that thirty-three of them were counted before a single shop. Every space of ground left open in the asphalt at the foot of the trees on the boulevards was a reservoir of blood. "The dead bodies," says a witness, "were piled up in heaps, one upon the other, old men, children, persons in blouses and paletots, all collected pell-mell, in one indescribable mass of heads, arms, and legs."

Ah! you will tell me, M. Bonaparte, that you are sorry, but that it was an unfortunate affair; that in presence of Paris, ready to rise, it was necessary to adopt some decided measure, and that you were forced to this extremity; that as regards the coup d'état, you were in debt, that your ministers were in debt, that your aides-de-camp were in debt, that your footmen were in debt, that you had made yourself answerable for them all, and that, deuce take it, a man cannot be a prince without squandering, from time to time, a few millions too much—that he must amuse himself and enjoy life a little; that the assembly was to blame for not having understood this, and for wishing to restrict you to two wretched millions a year, and, what is more, for wishing to make you resign your authority at the expiration of four years, and act up to the constitution; that, after all, you could not leave the Élysée to enter the debtors' prison at Clichy; that you had in vain had recourse to those little expedients which are provided for by Article 405 of the criminal code; that an exposure was at hand; that the demagogical press was spreading strange tales; that the matter of the gold ingots threatened to become known; that you were bound to respect the name of Napoleon; and that, by my faith, having no other alternative, and not wishing to be a vulgar criminal, to be dealt with in the common course of law, you preferred being one of the assassins of history!

So then, instead of polluting, this blood you shed purified you! Very good.

I continue my account. When all was finished, Paris came to see the sight. The people flocked in crowds to the scenes of these terrible occurrences; no one offered them the least obstruction. This was what the butcher wanted. Louis Napoleon had not done all this to hide it afterwards.

Thirty-seven corpses were heaped up in the cité Bergère; the passers-by could count them through the iron railings. A woman was standing at the corner of the rue Richelieu. She was looking on. All of a sudden, she felt that her feet were wet. "Why, it must have been raining here," she said; "my shoes are full of water." "No, Madam," replied a person who was passing, "it is not water." Her feet were in a pool of blood.

A witness says, "The boulevards presented a horrible sight. We were literally walking in blood. We counted eighteen corpses in about five-and-twenty paces." Another witness, the keeper of a wine-shop in the rue du Sentier, says, "I came along the boulevard du Temple to my house. When I got home I had an inch of blood around the bottom of my trousers."

The massacre was but a means; the end was intimidation. Was this end attained? Yes. Immediately afterwards, as early as the 4th of December, the public excitement was calmed. Paris was stupefied. The voice of indignation which had been raised at the coup d'état was suddenly hushed at the carnage. Matters had assumed an appearance completely unknown in history. People felt that they had to deal with one whose nature was unknown. Crassus had crushed the gladiators; Herod had slaughtered the infants; Charles IX had exterminated the Huguenots; Peter of Russia, the Strelitz guards; Mehemet Ali, the mamelukes; Mahmoud, the janissaries;

while Danton had massacred the prisoners: Louis Napoleon had just discovered a new sort of massacre—the massacre of the passers-by.

From this moment, in spite of all the efforts of the committees, of the republican representatives, and of their courageous allies, there was—save at certain points only, such as the barricade of the Petit Carreau, for instance, where Denis Dussoubs, the brother of the representative, fell so heroically—naught but a slight effort of resistance which more resembled the convulsions of despair than a combat. All was finished. The next day, the 5th, the victorious troops paraded on the boulevards. A general was seen to show his naked sword to the people, and was heard to exclaim: "There is the republic for you!"

Thus it was this infamous butchery, this massacre of the passers-by, which was meant as a last resource by the measures of the 2nd of December. To undertake them, a man must be a traitor; to render them successful, he must be an assassin. It was by this wolf-like proceeding that the coup d'état conquered France and overcame Paris. Yes, Paris! It was necessary for a man to repeat it over and over again to himself before he can credit it. Is it at Paris that all this happened?

Is it possible that, because we still eat and drink; because the coach-makers' trade is flourishing; because you, navigator, have work in the Bois de Boulogne; because you, mason, gain forty sous a day at the Louvre; because you, banker, have made money by the Austrian metallics, or by a loan from the house of Hope and Co.; because the titles of nobility are restored; because a person can now be called *Monsieur le comte* or *Madame la duchesse;* because religious processions traverse the streets on the occasion of the Fête-Dieu; because people take their pleasure; because they are merry; because the walls of Paris are covered with bills of fêtes and theatres—is it possible that, because this is the case, men forget that there are corpses lying beneath?

Is it possible that because men's daughters have been to the ball at the École Militaire, because they returned home with dazzled eyes, aching heads, torn dresses, and faded bouquets; because, throwing themselves on their couches, they have dozed off to sleep, and dreamed of some handsome officer—is it possible that, because this is the case, we should no longer remember that under the turf beneath our feet, in an obscure grave, in a deep pit, in the inexorable gloom of death, there lies a crowd that is still icy cold and terrible—a multitude of human beings already become a shapeless mass, devoured by the worm, consumed by corruption, and beginning to be confounded with the earth around them; a multitude of human beings who existed, worked, thought, and loved; who had the right to live, and who were murdered ?[h]

SEVERITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT

The aspect of Paris on the morning of December 5th was sinister. Here and there pools of blood were to be seen on the pavements of the boulevards. Corpses had been ranged in the cité Bergère at the entrance to the faubourg Montmartre. A much larger number, more than three hundred and fifty, according to the testimony of the warden of the Cimetière du Nord, were transported to that cemetery; the warden had received orders to bury them immediately; he only half-obeyed and left the heads above ground so that the families might at least recognise their dead!

The Parisians could no longer laugh at Louis Napoleon: he had succeeded in getting himself taken seriously; ridicule had disappeared under horror.

The coup d'état was winning the day. The weak hastened to come to terms; the strong were furious at their impotence to punish triumphant crime; the crowd, stunned, was silent: the greater number bowed prostrate. During the day of the 5th of December silent and sombre figures breathing concentrated fury were seen wandering slowly about the boulevards; in the central quarters some feeble attempts at barricades were renewed and almost instantly abandoned. All was indeed over in Paris! That same day, the 5th of December, a decree of the president declared that when troops should have contributed by fighting "to re-establish order" at home, that service should be counted as service in the field. Service in civil war was raised to the level of service in foreign war.

On the 6th of December a decree restored the Panthéon to religious worship and reconverted it into the church of Ste. Geneviève. Advances to the clergy followed the favours to the army. By a circular of the 15th Morny exhorted the prefects to do what authority could accomplish to secure respect for the Sunday rest. He prescribed the interruption of public work on Sundays and holy days. He declared that "the man who in contempt of the most venerated traditions reserves no day for the accomplishment of his duties becomes sooner or later a prey to materialism!" The voluptuary with bloodstained hands constituted himself a teacher of religious morality and of orthodoxy. This was characteristic of the new régime, in which every kind of excess was to be associated with every kind of hypocrisy.

A decree of the 7th of December had deferred all overt acts relative to what was called the insurrection, to the military jurisdiction. The next day it was decreed that any individual who should have made part of a secret society or who, having been placed under the surveillance of the *haute police*, should have left the place assigned to him, could be transported, as a measure required by the general safety, to Cayenne or Algeria. This placed a number of persons at the discretion of the government, especially in the south.

In Paris arrests multiplied in an alarming manner. According to the Bonapartist historians they exceeded twenty-six thousand. The prisons of Paris were filled; the overflow of prisoners was sent to the forts, where they were crowded together in damp and freezing casemates. Workmen and bourgeois mingled in almost equal numbers in the fraternity of the cell.

The struggle, stifled at Paris, continued in the departments. The departments were much divided. The democratic-socialistic propaganda had made but insignificant progress in these regions, although the industrial populations were beginning to practise with success the ideas of association—for example, in what concerned the societies of consumption. The democratic propaganda, on the contrary, in spite of the arrest of the first organisers, had developed to an extraordinary extent in the south and in a part of the centre. There it was no longer, as formerly, the workmen of the towns; it was the peasants, who were again taking action, as in '89—with this difference, to the great disadvantage of the new movement: there was no longer, as in '89, a clear idea, a definite object, namely the destruction of privilege and of the old régime. Men accepted the vague word socialism, while rejecting anything which might resemble communism. In all this nothing was clearly determined except the name of "republic" and the resolution of a general rising in 1852. The order had gone forth to go to the voting, each with arms in his hand, in defiance of the law of the 31st of May; it was calculated that a democratic restoration would be the result of this struggle. In what form exactly would it be? No one could well have told.

The year 1852 appeared to a great part of the popular masses as a sort of

mystic date, a new era of liberty and prosperity. The hope of some was the terror of others. This impending revolution inspired the conservatives with such fear that it prepared them to accept anything in order to escape upheaval. It goes without saying that the military and civil functionaries, selected and prepared long beforehand, adhered, with honourable exceptions, to the coup d'état. In the north and west the republicans could make only feeble manifestations in a few towns.

The attempts at revolt which had broken out on a hundred different points in the southwest indicated what the rising might have been if one at least of the two great cities of the Garonne had afforded it a centre of support. The democratic party was still more powerful in the southeast. The three old provinces of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné were everywhere covered with affiliations of the society of the Mountainists. Initiations took place with a ceremonial borrowed more or less from the free-masons and the *carbonari*, and calculated to impress the imagination. The neophyte, his eyes bandaged, took an oath on a sword. In Hérault he was made to swear by Christ that he would defend the democratic and socialistic republic. "Dost thou swear," said the initiator to him, "to quit father and mother, wife and children, to fly to the defence of liberty?" "I swear it three times by Christ." It is said that there were sixty thousand persons affiliated in Hérault.

After the suppression of the insurrection in Hérault more than three thousand persons were arrested, of whom more than two thousand were deported. In hunting down the fugitives, the pursuing soldiers constantly shot dead those who endeavoured to escape them. In Basses-Alpes the republican rising had been almost unanimous; there curés had been seen associating themselves with it with a sincere devotion, and sharing its perils. The ruin was general, as the movement had been. Many of the inhabitants fled, to escape the arrests en masse. Villages were depopulated. Sequestrations were employed against the fugitives—in fact, no means of persecution was neglected. In this department, the least populous of all, nearly one thousand persons were deported. The misfortunes and the patriotism of this honest and courageous population deserve the esteem and sympathy of France.

The struggle was everywhere terminated towards the middle of December. The few crimes committed here and there by insurgents cannot be brought into comparison with the atrocity of the tremendous reaction which extended over a great part of France. Many harmless persons, whole groups of the population, had done honour to themselves by their courageous resistance; but as Eugène Ténot,[1] the excellent historian of the coup d'état, has remarked, events had exhibited on a large scale the impotence of secret societies to effect the general movements which decide the destinies of countries; and yet in this case those societies had the exceptional advantage of having justice as well as law in their favour.

THE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

The struggle had come to an end; it had been replaced by the terrorising of the conquered. Thirty-two departments were in a stage of siege. Nearly one hundred thousand citizens were captives in the prisons or the fortresses. The casemates of the forts about Paris were overflowing with prisoners. The examining magistrates proceeded to summary interrogations, after which the persons detained were sent before military commissions. The latter, in accordance with the *dossiers* of the police and a few words added by the judges

to those notes, classed the prisoners in one of these three categories: (1) Persons taken with arms in their hands or against whom grave charges are brought; (2) Persons against whom less grave charges are brought; (3) Dangerous persons. The first category was to be judged summarily by court martial; the second sent before various tribunals; the third deported without sentence.

It was under such conditions that the vote on the appeal to the people was proceeded with on the 20th and 21st of December. It may be judged what degree of liberty was left to the electors. There were to be no newspapers, no meetings. The prefects classed electoral meetings with the secret societies. The general commanding the department of Cher had had placards put up to the effect that any person seeking to disturb the voting or criticising the result would be brought before a court martial. The prefect of Bas-Rhin had formally interdicted the distribution of the voting papers. The prefect of Haute-Garonne announced that he would prosecute anyone who should distribute voting papers, even in manuscript, without authority. The gendarmerie arrested electors on charge of having incited others to vote against the president of the republic.

The consultative commission instituted by Louis Napoleon on the 3rd of December was entrusted with the counting of the ballot of the appeal to the people. It reported 7,439,216 ayes, 646,737 noes, 36,880 papers rejected. At Paris there had been 132,181 ayes, 80,691 noes, 3,200 rejected papers; 75,000 electors had not voted.

What was the value of these figures? It is impossible to doubt that violence and fraud had considerably swelled them. What supervision had it been possible to exercise over the votes? What scruples were to be expected from a great number of the men who presided at the elections? The people voted under the influence of terror in many departments where all who were not in prison or in flight voted "aye" to pacify the conqueror. The immense majority of ten to one, which the consultative commission proclaimed was then evidently artificial; nevertheless, without this terrorising, Louis Napoleon would have obtained a much smaller but still a real majority in the greater part of France: the Napoleonic prestige still subsisted with some; others, as was inevitable in such a case, yielded to fear of the unknown, to the dread of a new crisis on the heels of the old.

Louis Napoleon tried to justify his usurpation by a sophism: "France," he said, "has realised that I exceeded the bounds of legality only to return to justice. More than seven millions of votes have now absolved me." He said that with the assistance of "all good men, the devotion of the army, and the protection of heaven," he hoped to render himself worthy of the confidence which the people would continue to place in him. "I hope," he added, "to secure the destinies of France by founding institutions which will answer at once to the democratic instincts of the nation and the universal desire to have henceforth a strong and respected government. To reconstitute authority without wounding equality is to plant the foundations of the sole edifice which will later on be capable of supporting a wise and beneficent liberty." Thus he deigned to promise liberty at a future date, while reserving to himself the choice of the moment.

On the morning of that day of the year which opened a period so different from that on which many hopes had waited in 1852, a decree had substituted the imperial eagle of Rome for the cock by which the constitutional monarchy and the republic recalled ancient Gaul. Another decree announced that the chief of the state was about to take the Tuileries for his residence.

Whilst the man of the 2nd of December was installing himself in the palace of the kings, the chief representatives of the republic were driven into exile.

EXILE BY WHOLESALE

From the day which followed the coup d'état the executors of the plot had given very different treatment to the captive representatives, according to whether they were conservatives or republicans. They had at first divided the 282 representatives, confined in the barracks of the quai d'Orsay, into three convoys; they had crowded them into the prison vans in which malefactors are carried. Forty members of the Right were set at liberty. The republicans were conducted to Mazas, where they were placed in the cells and under the same rules as thieves. The imprisoned generals had just been sent from Mazas to Ham. At Mazas they had left Thiers who, like the generals, had been arrested during the preceding night.

On the 4th, almost all the prisoners of Vincennes were set at liberty. On the 8th of January the generals detained at Ham and their companion in captivity, the *questeur* Baze, were conducted into Belgium. The next day appeared a series of decrees of proscription. The individuals "convicted of having taken part in the recent insurrections" were to be deported—some to Guiana, others to Algeria. A decree designated five representatives of the Mountain for deportation. The sentence of deportation was afterwards commuted into exile for three of them. A second decree expelled from France, from Algeria, and from the colonies, "on grounds of the general safety," sixty-six representatives of the Left, amongst them Victor Hugo and several others who were destined to aid in the foundation of the third republic.

A third decree temporarily removed from France and Algeria eighteen other representatives, amongst whom the generals figured, together with Thiers, Rémusat, and some members of the Left, of whom were Edgar Quinet and Émile de Girardin. The same day, January 9th, a first convoy of four hundred and twenty of the Parisian captives was sent from the fort of Bicêtre to Le Havre; they were crowded together at the bottom of the hold of a frigate. Convoys followed one another incessantly in the direction of the ports where, amid all kinds of moral and physical sufferings, thousands of unfortunates waited for the departure of the vessels. Cayenne and Lambessa divided the victims.

Whilst the prisons of Paris were being emptied in this fashion, attention was also given to the departments. The new government was embarrassed by the multitude of its captives. It authorised its prefects to set at liberty all those of the prisoners whom they might judge not dangerous (January 29th). This measure was the famous "mixed commissions" (*commissions mixtes*). In each department a sort of tribunal was set up, composed of the prefect, the military commandant, and the *chef du parquet* (procureur-général or prosecutor for the republic). On these commissions was conferred the power to decree citation before a court martial, transportation, or release.

It was the reversal of all law and justice—something worse than the revolutionary tribunals of '93 and than the provosts' courts (*cours prévôtales*) of the restoration, which at least admitted discussion and defence in public. The mixed commissions of 1852, as the historian of the coup d'état (Eugène Ténot q) says, "decided without procedure, without hearing of witnesses, without public sentence the fate of thousands and thousands of republicans." The mixed commissions have left the ineffaceable memory of one of the most monstrous facts of history.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852

An act quite as extraordinary in another class was the promulgation of the new constitution fabricated by the dictator himself without assistance (January 14th, 1852). The conqueror of Italy and Egypt, the vanquisher of Austria, had at least, for the sake of formality, required eminent men to deliberate on his constitution of the year VIII. The vanquisher of the 2nd of December had not thought it necessary to cover himself by such forms. In a preamble skilfully enough drawn up, with the object of proving that for the last fifty years the French nation had only continued in virtue of the institutions of the consulate and the empire, he affirmed that society as existing was nothing other than France regenerated by the revolution of '89 and organised by the emperor. Having kept everything belonging to the consulate and the empire, save the political institutions overturned by the European coalition, why should France not resume those political institutions with the rest?

The constitution of 1852 starts by "recognising, confirming, and guaranteeing the great principles proclaimed in 1789, which are the base of the public law of the French." Only it says not a word of the liberty of the press, nor of the liberty of assembly and association. "The government of the French Republic is confided for ten years to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte." The constitution declares the chief of the state responsible to the French people; but it forgets to mention how this responsibility is to be realised; the French people will have no means of applying it except by the way of revolution. "The chief being responsible, his action must be free and unshackled." The ministers then must depend only on him and will no longer form a collectively and individually responsible council. They will no longer bear any relation to the deliberative assemblies. "The president of the republic commands the sea and land forces, declares war, makes treaties of peace, of alliance and of commerce, nominates to all offices, makes the regulations and decrees necessary to the execution of the laws."

Justice is rendered in his name. He alone initiates laws. He sanctions and promulgates laws. All public functionaries make the oath of fidelity to him. The first wheel in the new organisation is to be a council of state of forty to fifty members, nominated and liable to be dismissed by the president of the republic, discussing bills with closed doors, then presenting them for the acceptance of the legislative body. In fact the constitution of 1852 outdid, as a monarchical reaction, the constitution of the year VIII. It was not the consulate; it was already the empire, organised dictatorship, and the total confiscation of public liberties. Thirty-seven years after the fall of Napoleon the Great, the long struggles of French liberty ended in re-establishing absolute power in hands without genius and without glory.

The same day, the 22nd of January, appeared a decree which obliged the members of the house of Orleans to sell within the space of a year all the property belonging to them in the territory of the republic. On the 29th of March the prince-president proceeded to the inauguration of the chambers in the Hall of the Marshals at the Tuileries. It was thought that in his speech he would make it understood that he expected another title—that of emperor. He left this subject still undetermined. He spoke of still preserving the republic. This was to mock at his listeners and at France; but he did not wish to appear to be in a hurry to seize what could not now escape him.

The session of the two chambers was then opened by the presidents whom

the dictator had given them. In the senate Louis Napoleon had chosen his uncle, Jerome, the ex-king of Westphalia. In virtue of the new constitution the presidents claimed from the members of the two chambers the oath of obedience to the constitution and of fidelity to the president of the republic.

During the session a rumour was current that Louis Napoleon would be proclaimed emperor on the 10th of May, after the distribution of the eagles to the army. The dictator did not wish to make himself emperor in this manner. He would proceed more artfully, and intended to obtain a guarantee that the accomplishment of his wishes should be imposed on him by the country. He therefore undertook a new tour through the departments.[b]

NAPOLEON'S ADDRESS AT BORDEAUX (1852)

Master of himself in the midst of the general enthusiasm, Louis Napoleon was preparing for the great speech which would definitely decide his destiny and the destiny of France. It was made at Bordeaux on the 9th of October, at the close of a banquet which had been given him by the chamber of commerce. Contrary to his custom he went straight to the point:

"I say with a frankness as far removed from pride as from false modesty, that never has any nation manifested in a more direct, more spontaneous, more unanimous manner its wish to rid itself of all anxiety as to the future, by strengthening under one control the government which is sympathetic to it. The reason is that this people now realises both the false hopes which lulled it and the perils which threatened it. It knows that in 1852 Society was hurrying to its downfall. It is grateful to me for having saved the ship by setting up only the flag of France. Disabused of absurd theories, the nation has acquired the conviction that its so-called reformers were but dreamers, for there was always an inconsistency, a disproportion, between their resources and the promised results. To bring about the well-being of the country it is not necessary to apply new methods, but to give it, before all else, confidence in the present and security as to the future. These are the reasons why France appears anxious to revert to an empire."

The important word had at last been uttered. With insinuating cleverness Louis Napoleon also brought forward the principal objection to the scheme: "There is an apprehension abroad of which I must take note. In a spirit of distrust, certain persons are saying that imperialism means war. I say imperialism means peace. It means peace because France desires it, and when France is satisfied the world is at rest. Glory may well be bequeathed as an inheritance, but not war. Did those princes who were justly proud of being descendants of Louis XIV revive his quarrels? War is not made for pleasure, but by necessity; and in these times of transition when, side by side with so many elements of prosperity, on every hand so many causes of death arise, one may truly say: 'Woe unto him who first gives the signal in Europe for a collision whose consequences would be incalculable.'"

Prolonged cheers greeted these sentiments of pacific pride. The enthusiasm became tinged with emotion when the prince, continuing, outlined in superb language the programme of his future government—a stately plan for an edifice never, alas! erected. On the 10th of October the presidential address, "The Bordeaux Speech" as it was promptly dubbed, was telegraphed to Paris. So dignified, conciliatory, and loyal did its language appear, that it instantly produced an emotion which was not artificial or simulated, but profound and sincere.

Louis Napoleon visited in rapid succession Angoulême, Rochefort, La

Rochelle, and Tours; he made a last halt at Amboise and there, to impress the public fancy by some new and striking act, he set free the imprisoned Abdul-Kadir.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of October, he arrived in Paris, and was received with full official pomp and circumstance. Representatives of official bodies went to the Gare d'Orléans to salute him. The sound of cannon mingled with the pealing of bells, while strains of military music alternated with patriotic songs. On the place de la Bastille the president of the municipal council, M. Delangle, publicly congratulated him.

Throughout the long line of the boulevards the theatres, public buildings, even some of the shops were decorated with triumphal arches. On one of them might be read some lines from Virgil: "May the Gods of our fathers be favourable to this youth in this troubled age." More even than the apt quotation, the continuous cheers of the crowd gave its true significance to the reception. Thus was Louis Napoleon borne to the palace of the Tuileries. Then in the evening, satiated with homage, eager for rest and repose, he escaped from the ovations and made his way to the château of St. Cloud.[i]

THE UNIQUE POSITION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

Bradford[j] has emphasised the fact that in showing its preference for Louis Napoleon, France was the first European nation that had "attempted to form or express any common will." No other ruler in Europe could know definitely, except by the vaguest of inferences, whether or not he held his official position with the approval of the majority of his subjects. But there could be no question as to the attitude of the French people as a whole toward the man who was about to become their supreme ruler. And in expressing their approval of that man, the people of France expressed also, in the view of Bradford, a desire for peace and order. They believed, justly enough, that to attain that end there must exist a strong executive power. It was not strange that they should feel that the most likely wielder of such a power would be the bearer of the magic name of Bonaparte.

It was the fond hope of the multitudes, then, that now in France, as in the Rome of an elder day, empire should mean peace. But this hope, as all the world knows, was not to be immediately realised. Within a few years Louis Napoleon, actuated by self-seekers like Morny and Saint-Arnaud, was to precipitate the Crimean War. Similar forces were to bring about the Austrian War within the same decade, with the resulting independence of Italy, paid for with the heavy price of abrogated treaties. Then there was to follow the "surpassing folly" of the Mexican expedition, with the execution of Maximilian for its humiliating sequel. And not so far beyond was to come the crowning disaster of the Franco-Prussian War, which might almost be regarded as a just retribution upon the empire, but which fell heavily upon a people who suffered not so much for their own sins as for the delinquencies of their ruler. But few indeed were the prophets who could foretell, even vaguely, the disasters that the enthusiasts of 1852 were unwittingly preparing.[a]

THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON III

On December 1st, 1852, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the midst of a thick fog, two hundred carriages, lighted by torchbearers on horseback, crossed the bridge of Boulogne, and went in the direction of the palace of St. Cloud, the windows of which were seen shining from afar; the members

of the senate occupied these carriages; they carried the prince-president the decree of the senate which named him emperor.

The fête of the proclamation of the empire was very similar to that of the return of the prince-president, and curiosity began to be exhausted: the same flags, the same uniforms, the same people, the same decorations, a smaller crowd in the streets, but more animation in the theme. The new government, by way of a gift to celebrate the joyous accession, delivered from imprisonment and fine those who were condemned for misdemeanours and infractions of the laws covering the press and the book trade: official warnings which had been sent to the journals were considered null and void; there was to be no amnesty; exiles might return "if they acknowledged the national will," that is, if they demanded pardon. The absence of clemency, and the monotony of the same decorations, the same banners, the same arches, the same transparencies made the day dreary for some, fatiguing for others, long for all. Paris was anxious to escape from the outward trappings and to enter into the reality. A banquet for sixty persons and a simple reception at the residence of the sovereign ended the evening. At midnight a new guest slept in the Tuileries.

So began the reign which was to finish at Sedan.[k]

NAPOLEON'S MARRIAGE

The foreign powers which had greeted the coup d'état as a bulwark against revolution did not so highly approve the second empire; but none the less they had nothing to do but accord it recognition. The three eastern powers were the slowest; and, as in the case of Louis Philippe, the czar Nicholas could not bring himself to grant the usual title "brother," but called him "good friend." Like his uncle in the case of his second marriage, the parvenu emperor sought a bride among the ancient royal families; but the eastern powers managed to foil his suit for the princess Charlotte of Vasa.[l] He thereupon married the beautiful Spanish woman Eugénie Montijo, duchess of Teba, January 30th, 1853. On March 16th, 1856, she bore him an heir, Prince Napoleon Eugène.[l]

THE COURT LIFE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

It was but natural that Louis Napoleon, after the coup d'état, should endeavour to surround himself with the most distinguished men in France, following in this as in so many other directions, the example of his illustrious namesake. But the attempt was only partially successful. "The nobility of the first empire," says Erskine May,[m] "were naturally the chief ornaments of his court; but the old legitimist and Orleanist nobles generally held themselves aloof from the Bonapartist circle, and affected the more select society of their own friends in the faubourgs St. Germain and St. Honoré." Nevertheless the name Bonaparte had an allurement that could not be altogether resisted. It was a word of such mystic influence that it could be conjured with almost without regard to the personality of its bearer. This must not be interpreted as implying, however, that the new Napoleon was a man of insignificant personality. The fact was quite otherwise. Louis Napoleon was a man of parts; it is no disparagement to say that he did not attain to the intellectual stature of his great predecessor. It seemed for a

[l The Hohenzollerns also received his advances discouragingly. The Spanish beauty he took for queen was not of royal blood. The legitimist nobility, as a rule, kept away from court and regarded the usurper and his circle with scorn.]

time as if he would prove himself a very great man, even as adjudged by high standards; though later events were not to sustain this early promise, as we shall see.

To make amends for the absence of the old time notables, the emperor supplied himself with an abundant company of new dignitaries by the profuse, not to say indiscriminate, distribution of various titles of nobility. Many a plebeian name was dignified with an ennobling prefix, and the red ribbon of the Legion of Honour was so generously distributed that it came to be almost a distinction to be without it. But with an outward show of display and grandeur that characterised the new court, it was noted that there was no such gathering of the men of real distinction—the upholders of French traditions in art, science, and literature—as had characterised the court of Napoleon I. Men like Victor Hugo remained true to their ideals of the republican epoch, and held aloof from the court, or even retired altogether from the French domain.

But in all that made for the surface showing of brilliancy and display the court of the new emperor became as notable as he could well desire. Nor had he cause to complain of any limitation to his political power. "He had been chosen by universal suffrage," says May,[m] "yet he wielded a power all but absolute and irresponsible. He ruled by the voice of the people, but he forbade the expression of their sentiments in the press or at public meetings." In a word, he came to exercise a personal influence within the limits of his empire almost comparable to that of any of his forerunners on the throne of France. Yet, in point of fact, the new emperor, even at the height of his power, stood always in awe of the populace. From first to last he was striving to ascertain the wishes of the people, and to support himself and maintain his hold upon popular favour by catering to these wishes. The Paris of to-day, with its broad boulevards and its ornamental buildings, is in a considerable measure a standing testimonial to the effort Louis Napoleon made to gain popularity through flattering the vanity of his subjects. And there is good reason to suppose that it was part of this same desire, rather than any innate wish for military glory, that led the emperor to take those measures that led to the Crimean War, the events of which must now claim our attention.[a]

THE CRIMEAN WAR (1854-1856)

Since the treaties of 1815 Russia had exercised a threatening preponderance over Europe. The czar Nicholas had become the personification of a formidable system of compression and conquest. He had never forgiven the dynasty of July for having owed its existence to a rebellion; in Germany he had upheld the sovereigns in their resistance to the wishes of the peoples. He had done his utmost to denationalise Poland, his possession of which had been recognised by the treaties of 1815 on condition that he should assure to it a constitutional government. Dumfounded for a moment by the revolution of 1848, the czar had soon returned to his ambition. After having saved Austria by crushing the Hungarians who had revolted against her, he had thought that the presence of a Napoleon on the throne of France guaranteed to Russia the alliance of the English, and he had believed that the moment was come to seize the perpetual object of Muscovite covetousness—Constantinople. On every opportunity he affected a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire: he ended by trying to come to a secret understanding with England for the partition of the spoil

of the Sick Man (the sultan). In 1853 he occupied the Danubian principalities and armed what seemed a formidable fleet at Sebastopol.

The emperor Napoleon gave the first signal of resistance by boldly sending the French Mediterranean fleet to Salamis to have it within reach of Constantinople and the Black Sea. He won over England, at first hesitating, to his alliance, and assured himself of the neutrality of Austria and Prussia. Hostilities opened with the destruction by the Russians of a Turkish flotilla at Sinope. The Anglo-French fleet entered the Black Sea, whilst an army despatched from the ports of Great Britain and France assembled under the walls of Constantinople. The 14th of September, 1854, the army of the allies, seventy thousand strong, debarked on the Crimean coasts, and the victory of Alma allowed the commencement of the siege of Sebastopol, a formidable fortress whose annihilation was necessary in order to protect Constantinople against a sudden attack.

This siege, one of the most terrible in the annals of modern history, lasted for more than a year.[1] Generals Canrobert and Pélissier successively commanded the French troops. Continual fighting, two victories, those of Inkerman and the Tchernaya, earned for the French soldiers less glory than their dauntless courage against a terrible climate and an enemy who ceaselessly renewed his ranks. At last, on the 8th of September, 1855, after miracles of constancy, French dash and English solidity had their reward. The tower of the Malakoff was carried and the town taken. The emperor Nicholas had died a few months before.

In the Baltic the Anglo-French fleet had destroyed Bomarsund, the advanced bulwark of Russia against Sweden, and in the Black Sea the French iron-plated gunboats, now used for the first time, had compelled the fortress of Kinburn to surrender, thus opening southern Russia. An allied squadron had even taken Petropavlovsk on the Pacific Ocean. Finally French diplomacy had induced the king of Sweden and the king of Sardinia to enter the league against Russia, and was perhaps on the point of winning over the emperor of Austria. The czar Alexander II, successor of Nicholas, demanded peace; it was concluded at Paris, March 30th, 1856, under the eyes of the emperor of the French.[d]

THE CONGRESS OF PARIS (1856)

The congress of Paris (March-April, 1856) was composed of two plenipotentiaries from each of the six powers—France, England, Russia, Turkey, Austria, and Sardinia—under the presidency of the French plenipotentiaries. Prussia was invited to take part afterwards.

The congress began by regulating the Eastern question. (1) The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the powers; the sultan promised reforms and the powers renounced all intervention in the internal affairs of the empire. (2) The Danube was declared free for navigation. (3) The Black Sea was recognised as neutral; no state might have arsenals or war ships in it, with the exception of small ships. (4) Moldavia and Wallachia became autonomous.

After having signed the peace the congress regulated the question of maritime law by four decisions which were incorporated in international European law: (1) Privateering is abolished. (2) All hostile merchandise sailing under a neutral flag is neutral. (3) All neutral merchandise under a hostile flag

[1 Fuller accounts of this siege, as of the whole war, will be found in the histories of England and of Russia.]

is neutral. (4) A blockade cannot be established by a simple declaration—it is not valid unless it is effective.

Cavour, representing Sardinia, succeeded in bringing up the Italian question in the congress, by coming to an understanding with the representatives of France and England. They spoke of the evacuation of the Piræus by French troops (which was still a discussion of the oriental question), and à propos of the occupation of the Piræus they spoke of the occupation (which still continued) of Tuscany by the Austrians. England demanded that it should come to an end; Austria refused to discuss it. But Cavour profited by the occasion to describe the lamentable condition of Italy.

The congress of Paris had been a personal success for Napoleon and his policy. Not only had he made France re-enter the European concert, but for the first time he had caused a European congress to be held on French territory and under her presidency. He had obtained the autonomy of the Rumanian nation and had posed the national question of Italy, making the instrument which had been created by Metternich against the nations to serve the cause of nationalities. He remained under this impression, and his policy was directed towards bringing together a new congress to alter the *status quo* of Europe and to abolish the treaties of 1815, but he never succeeded in his attempt.

The congress of Paris changed Napoleon's position in Europe. The sovereigns, seeing him solid at home and powerful abroad, drew closer to him. The example was set by the princes of the Coburg family. Ernest of Coburg-Gotha was the first to pay him a visit (March, 1854); then came Leopold, king of the Belgians; then the king of Portugal; finally Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria, consented to see Napoleon (September, 1854). Napoleon and the empress went to England (April, 1855); Victoria and Albert returned their visit (it was the first time since 1422 that a king of England had come to Paris). The example of the Coburgs decided Victor Emmanuel, who had refused till then. After the congress, the rulers of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Tuscany arrived (1856–57).

Napoleon wished to profit by these relations to adopt an active policy. He tried to win over the king of Prussia, who refused to be won; he spoke at the English court of revising the treaties of 1815, but was coldly received (August, 1857). He then approached Russia in an interview at Stuttgart with the czar, in 1857. In 1858 France and Russia acted together to maintain Rumanian unity, against Turkey, Austria, and England; in Servia they together sustained the Obrenovitch dynasty against Austria.

Cavour, who was determined on war with Austria, declared publicly in the chamber that the principles of Vienna were irreconcilable with those of Turin. Austria replied that the emperor would continue to make use of his right of intervention (May, 1856). She ended by breaking off diplomatic relations with Sardinia (March, 1857).

But Napoleon still hesitated.[n]

INTERNAL AFFAIRS (1856–1858)

During the session of 1856 the baptism of the prince imperial, who had been born (March 16th) during the congress of Paris, was celebrated with great pomp at Notre Dame. The godfather was Pius IX, represented by a Roman cardinal. This intimate bond with the pope was to involve the policy of the empire on grave occasions. The powers of the legislative body elected in 1852, if they can be called powers, expired in 1857. It goes without saying

that the official candidature was worked by the prefects in every possible way. Billault, the minister of the interior, declared in a circular that "the government considered it just and politic to present for re-election the members of an assembly which had so well seconded the emperor and served the country." He was willing to admit that in face of these conditions "openly avowed and resolutely sustained," others might be brought forward. "If, however," he added, "the enemies of the public peace should find in this latitude an occasion for a serious protest against our institutions; if they try to make it an instrument of trouble and scandal, you know your duty, Monsieur le préfet, and justice will also know how to execute its duty with severity."

The prefects went further than the minister. One of them simply wrote to the officials of his department: "Impose silence on opponents if any are met with." Another was going so far as to interdict the publication and posting of circulars and declarations of opinion on the part of non-official candidates. The prefects set their newspapers violently not only against the enemies of the government, but against those of its friends who might permit themselves to dispute the ground with the official candidates. In presence of this attitude of the government agents the peasants said simply: "Why should we trouble ourselves to nominate deputies?" The government might as well nominate them itself. The opposition had assuredly no chance of depriving the government of its majority. It might attempt protests and obtain some partial success. There were eager debates between the republicans concerning the course to pursue.

The elections took place the 20th of June. Of the eight deputies of Paris the opposition gained five—Carnot, Goudchaux, Cavaignac, Ollivier, and Darimon; two republicans were nominated at Lyons and at Bordeaux. The struggle became almost impossible in the departments; meanwhile, in the large cities, a strong minority, sometimes even a majority, had declared itself in favour of the opposition.

The Chambers reopened on the 28th of November. Of the five republican deputies of Paris, one, Cavaignac, had died; two refused the oath, Carnot and Goudchaux; Ollivier and Darimon took it. The session of 1857 to 1858 seemed destined to be uneventful, when a tragic incident suddenly disturbed everything and added gravity to the situation.

ORSINI'S ATTEMPT TO KILL THE EMPEROR

The evening of the 14th of January, 1858, at the moment of the arrival of the emperor and empress at the opera, three explosions were heard. Three bombs had been thrown at the emperor's carriage. Cries of grief and horror resounded on all sides. The bursting of the projectiles had injured more than one hundred and forty persons, some of whom were mortally wounded. The carriage of the emperor was broken and one of the horses killed. A terrible anxiety filled the opera house as the royal pair entered their box; both had escaped injury.

The police arrested four Italians. It was seen immediately that three of them were but instruments; the fourth, Orsini, was remarkable in every way. His father had perished in 1831 in the insurrection against the pope in which Napoleon III and his elder brother had taken part. The son since his childhood had taken part in all the national Italian conspiracies.

In its form the attempt on Napoleon III recalled that of Fieschi under Louis Philippe; but in reality there was a wide gulf between the Corsican

bandit of 1835 and the Roman conspirator of 1858. In spite of the horror of a crime which took aim at its object across so many indifferent and unknown victims, Orsini inspired in all those who saw and heard him during his trial an interest which it was impossible to withstand. This man had been actuated solely by an impersonal passion; he was under the spell of a misdirected patriotism. He had chosen as his counsel Jules Favre, who defended him as he wished to be defended, by endeavouring to save, not his head, but his memory as far as it could be saved. A profound impression was made on the audience when Jules Favre, by permission of the emperor, read aloud a letter addressed to the latter by Orsini. The criminal did not ask mercy for himself; he asked freedom for his unhappy country, "the constant object of all his affections." He did not go so far as to demand that the blood of Frenchmen should be shed for the Italians, but only that France should interdict the support of Austria by Germany—"in the struggles which are perhaps soon to begin. I adjure your majesty," he wrote, "to restore to Italy the independence which her children lost in 1849 by the fault of the French themselves (by the war of Rome). Let not your majesty repulse the last wish of a patriot on the steps of the scaffold!"

Orsini and his accomplices were condemned to death on the 26th of February. Orsini thanked the emperor for having authorised the publication of his letter. His second letter was not less moving than the first. He formally condemned political assassination and disavowed "the fatal aberration of mind" which had led him to prepare his crime. He exhorted his compatriots to employ only their abnegation, their devotion, their union, their virtue to deliver their country. He himself offered his blood in expiation to the victims of the 14th of January. The question of the commutation of the penalty was energetically agitated by those about the emperor. Napoleon would have judged such mercy politic if so many victims had not been struck by the instruments of death intended for his own person. Orsini was executed on the 14th of March, with one of his accomplices. He died without display as without weakness, crying, "*Vive l'Italie! Vive la France!*"

His death was soon to bring forth happy results to Italy. Before that his crime had had deplorable ones for France. In 1801 the first consul had made the affair of the infernal machine prepared by some royalists a pretext for proscribing a host of republicans. Napoleon III imitated and surpassed his uncle.

THE "NEW TERROR" OF 1858

At the reopening of the chambers, a few days after the attempt of the opera (14th of January), the emperor delivered a speech which began with a splendid picture of the public prosperity. He called on the legislative body not to permit the renewal of "the scandal" of the refusals of the oath by elected candidates, and to vote a law which should oblige all those eligible for election to take the oath to the constitution before standing for election. Finally he appealed to the assembly of the representatives of the country to "find means to silence factious opposition." The meaning of this threat was soon made known. On the 1st of February a bill was presented to the legislative body; it punished with an imprisonment of from two to five years and a fine of from five hundred to ten thousand francs, whoever should have publicly incited to the crimes mentioned in articles 86 and 87 of the penal code (sedition, insurrection, etc.) when that provocation had not resulted in action. It punished with an imprisonment of one month to two years and a fine of

from one hundred to two thousand francs whoever should have manœuvred or entered into negotiations either at home or abroad with the object of disturbing the public peace. Every person sentenced for one of the above misdemeanours or for certain others also mentioned in the bill, including the detention of arms, seditious assemblies, etc., should as a measure for the general safety be incarcerated in France or Algeria or expelled from French territory. This same measure for the general safety could be applied to any person who had been either condemned, incarcerated, expelled, or transported on the occasion of the events of May and June, 1848; of June, 1849; or December, 1851, and whom "grave facts should again mark as dangerous to the public safety."

This was to deliver a multitude of citizens to the most lawlessly arbitrary treatment; the wide field covered by the categories and the vagueness of the definitions made anything possible. A man might be deported for having a musket in his possession!

The government was perfectly aware that the republican party had nothing to do with the isolated crime of Orsini; but this calumny had seemed necessary to serve as a motive for what was to follow. Émile Ollivier made his début as a political orator in contesting this bill. A few conservatives joined him, alarmed to see that a return to the 2nd of December was being made in a time of complete public tranquillity. Many deputies voted with reluctance and with a sense of shame; there were 227 voices for the law: twenty-four had the courage to vote against it. When the law was brought before the senate, whose mission it was to examine whether the laws adopted by the legislative body were conformable to the constitution, there was but a single vote against this so-called "Law of Suspects"; it was that of General MacMahon. History should give him credit for it.

The law was monstrous, its execution was worse. The new terror of 1858 did not echo so far as that of the 2nd of December; as no one resisted or could resist there were no fusillades, no massacres; but the absence of all struggle and of all peril to the persecutors rendered the persecution so much the more revolting. This time it was no longer, as on the 2nd of December, triumphant conspirators striking in fury at fallen adversaries to prevent them from rising; it was an absolute power which, in order to produce an effect of intimidation and to discourage a few attempts at legal opposition, proscribed in cold blood hundreds of victims, not for their acts but for their opinions. Even before the law had been presented to the legislative body, citizens had been carried into exile.

Immediately after the despatch of his circular the new minister of the interior "and of the general safety," as he styled himself, had sent for all the prefects to Paris. He received each by himself. He had in his hand a list in which the departments were inscribed with figures opposite their names. "You are prefect of such a department," he said: "so many arrests." "But who is to be arrested?" questioned the prefect. "Whoever you like! I have given you the number; the rest is your affair."

That so many high functionaries should have consented to make themselves the executors of such instructions is perhaps the most shameful fact in eighty years of revolutions. Besides some political adversaries who were still capable of and disposed to action, the government caused to be torn from their families and their professions a host of republicans who, while retaining their own opinions, sought only to court oblivion and had taken refuge in their work and in silence. When one was not to be found another was taken at haphazard: Espinasse and his delegates had to make up their number. A special attack was directed against a select number of active bourgeoisie: merchants, lawyers, doctors, notaries were mingled with honest and industrious working men; the old, the sick, mothers of families, were dragged to prison and thence to exile. The agents forced their way into houses, like nocturnal malefactors, carried off the appointed victims without allowing them time to provide themselves with money and clothing or to bid farewell to their families, and threw them into prison vans which did not stop till they reached the port of embarkation. Of about two thousand persons arrested more than 420 were transported to Africa. Arrived there the exiles received some miserable subsidies, scarcely sufficient to prevent them from dying of hunger until they could procure the means of subsistence; then those who did not find work were left to the care of such of their companions as were a little less unfortunate.

The aim of the new terror was not attained: the government had not succeeded in stifling the opposition, which on the contrary increased in the legislative body—if not in numbers at least in talents; of three seats left empty amongst the deputies of Paris, the Parisian electors filled two with republicans. Jules Favre and Ernest Picard formed, together with Ollivier, Hénon, and Darimon, that celebrated bench of the "Five" which held its own, for several years, against almost the whole assembly.

In this imperialist quasi-unanimity on the part of the legislative body, a considerable number of the members asked no better than to put some reserve into their devotion, and did not regard the course of events as entirely for the best. In the session of 1858 the law of military exemption was brought up. It was proved that this law had only aggravated the burden of the service to the detriment of the population, and the profit of the exchequer, which was in reality the beneficiary of what was called the endowment of the army. The law, instead of being mitigated, was rendered more onerous by the interdiction of substitutions except among relatives. Exemption by state intervention cost double what it had cost before; free substitution was forbidden, and fellow soldiers from the same canton were no longer authorised to change their numbers at the drawing of lots.

As to laws of social interests, the government presented one which contained penalties against the usurpers of titles of nobility. Napoleon III had restored the nobility by a decree which declared it one of the institutions of the state. The parodists of the past were still more ridiculous in 1858 than in 1814, when the ultras at least were the natural heirs of the old régime. Most of those who voted the law were ashamed of it; a small number took these things with a grotesque seriousness.[b]

WAR IN ITALY: SOLFERINO (1858–1859)

As Russia was pressing on Turkey, so Austria was pressing on Italy. She had played an equivocal part during the Crimean War, whilst the kingdom of Sardinia, the only independent and constitutional state in Italy, had not feared to join her young army to the Anglo-French troops. This circumstance had made France the natural protectress of Piedmont, and by consequence of Italy, of which this little kingdom was the last citadel. Thus when the emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, in defiance of European diplomacy, passed the Ticino as the emperor Nicholas had passed the Pruth, France once more found herself face to face with this new aggressor and on the side of the oppressed.

In this war the emperor Napoleon resumed the secular policy of France,

which consists in not suffering the preponderance of Austria or Germany in Italy—that is to say, on the French southeastern frontier. A French army reappeared on that soil where three centuries before the arms of France had left so many glorious traces. Europe looked on with keen attention; England as a well-wisher, Russia and Prussia amazed. Austria and France were left alone facing each other. The war lasted scarcely two months.

After the brilliant affair of Montebello, which defeated an attempted surprise on the part of the Austrians, the Franco-Piedmontese army concentrated round Alessandria; then by a bold and skilful movement turned the right of the Austrians, who had already passed the Ticino, and compelled them to recross that river. Caught between the army corps of General MacMahon and the guard at Magenta, the Austrians lost 7,000 killed or wounded and 8,000 prisoners (June 4th). Two days later the French regiments entered Milan.

AN OFFICER OF INFANTRY

The enemy, astounded at so rude a shock, abandoned his first line of defence, where, however, he had long been accumulating powerful means of action and resistance. He retired on the Adda, after vainly making a momentary stand at the already famous town of Marignano and on the Mincio, behind the illustrious plains of Castiglione and between the two fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua; then he took up his position, backed by the great city of Verona as an impregnable base. The emperor of Austria, with a new general and considerable reinforcements, had arrived there to await the French army.

The Austrians had long studied this battlefield; there were 160,000 of them ranged on the heights with their centre at the village and tower of Solferino, and ready to descend on the French in the plain. Napoleon III had scarcely 140,000 men available, and was obliged to fight on a line extending over five leagues. Whilst the right wing was struggling against the enemy in the plain in order to prevent itself from being turned, and King Victor Emmanuel with his Piedmontese was bravely resisting on the left, the centre delivered a vigorous attack, and after a heroic struggle successively carried Mount Fenile, the mount of the cypresses, and finally the village of Solferino. The enemy's line was broken; his reserves, before they could come into action, were reached by the balls from the new rifled cannon of the French. All fled in frightful confusion; but a fearful storm, accompanied by hail and torrents of rain, stopped the victors and permitted the Austrians to recross the Mincio; they left twenty-five thousand men put out of action. In the evening the emperor Napoleon took up his headquarters in the very room which Francis Joseph had occupied in the morning (June 24th). Twice a conqueror, the emperor suddenly offered peace to his enemy. Italy was freed, although a portion of Italian territory, namely Venetia, still remained in the hands of Austria.

THE AMBUSCADE OF SOLFERINO (JUNE 24TH, 1859)

(From the painting by Armand-Dumaresq)

BARODA

Europe, bewildered by these rapid victories, allowed her awakening jealousy to appear. The emperor thought he had done enough for Italy by pushing Austria, so recently established on the banks of the Ticino, back behind the Mincio, and at Villafranca he signed with Francis Joseph a peace, the principal conditions of which were confirmed at the end of the year by the Treaty of Zurich. By this peace Austria resigned Lombardy, which France added to Piedmont that she might make for herself a faithful ally beyond the Alps. The Mincio became the boundary of Austria in the peninsula, where the various states were to form a great confederation under the presidency of the pope. But all those concerned rejected this plan, and the revolutionary movement continued. The emperor confined himself to preventing Austria from intervening. Then those governments of Parma, Modena, the Roman legations, Tuscany and Naples, which ever since 1814 had been merely lieutenants of Austria, were seen to fall to pieces successively, and Italy, minus Venice and Rome, was about to form a single kingdom, when the emperor thought himself called upon to take a precaution necessary to the security of France; he claimed the price of the assistance he had given and by the Treaty of Turin, March 24th, 1860, obtained the cession to himself of Savoy and the county of Nice (Nizza), which added three departments to France and carried her southern frontier to the summit of the Alps.

For the first time since 1815 France, not by force and surprise but as the result of a great service rendered to a friendly nation, by pacific agreement, and according to the solemn vote of the inhabitants, had overstepped the limits traced round her at the period of her reverses. Europe dared not protest.

EXPEDITIONS AND WARS IN SYRIA, CHINA, COCHIN CHINA, AND MEXICO

Europe can no longer isolate herself from the other continents; with the progress of civilisation, commerce, and the general relations of the peoples, it is the duty of France, the second of the maritime nations, to carry her eyes or her hand beyond the seas wherever her honour or her interests may be engaged. It is the first time that, with or without the support of England and often under her jealous surveillance, she has done so with so much independence and firmness.

In 1860 the massacre of the Christian Maronites by the Druses of Syria demonstrated anew the Ottoman Empire's powerlessness to protect its subjects, and excited the interested complaints of Russia. France, which was the first to move, had the honour of being charged by the great powers to send and maintain a body of troops in Syria to aid the Turkish government in punishing the guilty parties. The following year a diplomatic conference, assembled at Constantinople, regulated the government of Lebanon in such a manner as to avoid the return of these deplorable catastrophes. This apparition of the French flag in the East was not without utility in the pursuit of a great enterprise begun by M. de Lesseps under the auspices of the French government, namely the establishment at the isthmus of Suez of a canal which was to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, and put Europe in direct communication with the Far East.

The same year, at the other extremity of Asia, France and England had been obliged to direct an expedition against China, who had violated the conditions of a treaty previously made with her. In less than six months the allied fleets had transported fifteen thousand men and the whole of an immense equipment a distance of six thousand leagues from the French

coast, to the shores of the Peiho. The emperor of China sent seventy thousand men to meet those whom he called barbarians. This army and the forts accumulated on the road to Pekin did not stand before the small European force commanded by General Cousin-Montauban. The mouths of the river were forced, and the forts which defended them carried by an energetic and brilliant attack, after which the allies marched resolutely on Pekin. The Chinese court tried to deceive them by feigned negotiations, to which some of the envoys fell victims, and to surprise the troops which won the battle of Palikao. The city of Pekin, being laid open to attack, was bombarded; the summer palace had already been taken and given up to pillage. Prince Kong, the emperor's brother, made up his mind to treat seriously (October 25th, 1860). The allied armies entered Pekin to receive the ratifications of the treaty, in virtue of which the Chinese government pledged itself to admit English and French ambassadors to the capital, paid an indemnity of 120,000,000 francs, opened the port of Tientsin, guaranteed advantageous commercial conditions to the conquerors, and restored to France the churches and cemeteries belonging to the Christians. The Celestial Empire was opened and, by way of consequence, the empire of Japan also, which, having in 1858 made treaties of commerce with the principal European states, was disposed by dread of a similar lesson to observe them better.

The French government took advantage of its strength in these regions to complete the expedition against the empire of Annam in Cochin China, an expedition begun two years before in concert with the Spaniards. It was impossible to obtain from this government security for French missionary and commercial relations. France had resolved to form a settlement at the mouths of the great river Mekong, and had taken possession of Saigon in order to make it the capital. But the French lived there in continual disquiet. Vice-Admiral Charner, who had returned from China with his troops, defeated the Annamites in the plains of Ki-Hoa and seized Mytho. Admiral Bonnard in his turn took Bien-Hoa and imposed on the emperor Tu-Duc a peace signed in 1863 which stipulated respect for missionaries, an advantageous treaty of commerce, and the possession of three provinces at the mouths of the Mekong, in a wonderfully fertile country between India and China, and within reach of the Philippines and the Moluccas. "The settlement of Saigon," an English traveller had said not long before, "might change the direction of trade and become the nucleus of an empire which perhaps might one day equal that of India."

Thus France, which it had become too much the custom to regard as an especially continental power, was carrying her activity to all the shores of the ocean. She was at the same time called to another end of the world. France, England, and Spain had long had injuries to avenge and claims to vindicate against the anarchical government of Mexico. At the beginning of the year 1862 the three powers came to an understanding to act in common, as the French had done in China with the English, in Cochin China with the Spaniards. The expedition was already on the way to be carried into effect when the cabinets of London and Madrid, in consequence of misunderstandings, renounced the enterprise. France, left alone, persisted in avenging the common injuries. A check having called in question the honour of the flag, the mistake was committed of declaring that France would not treat with the president Juarez; so that the French were condemned either to import a foreign government into the country or to conquer its immense solitudes. Instead of the six thousand men who had first started, it was necessary to send as many as thirty-five thousand soldiers. Puebla made a heroic resistance; but the keys of Mexico were there and the army took them (May 18th, 1863). A few days later (June 10th) it entered Mexico, and the population, prompted by France, proclaimed as emperor an Austrian prince, the archduke Maximilian. After the departure of the French troops in 1867 [owing to the forcible protest of the United States[1]] the unfortunate prince was taken and shot by the republicans after the mockery of a trial. This imprudent and ill-conceived expedition was a grave check to French politics and finance.[d]

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

The Crimean and the Italian wars having been carried out to a triumphant issue, the French had come to regard themselves as the foremost nation in Europe. But from the middle of the '60's Napoleon's fortune had begun to turn. During the American Civil War he had embarked, as we have seen, on the adventurous undertaking in Mexico, where he attempted to establish an empire, dependent upon himself, under Maximilian, the unfortunate brother of Emperor Francis Joseph; but after wasting immense sums of money and thousands of human lives, he was compelled to evacuate that country, and the bloody ghost of Maximilian, who was deserted by Napoleon's army and executed by the republicans, stood forth as the accuser of his guilty ambition.

In France itself the voice of the republicans rose ever higher against Bonaparte, while the victories of the Prussians over the Austrians [at Sadowa or Königgrätz, July 3rd, 1866, and elsewhere], as unexpected as they were overwhelming, weakened his position in Europe. Napoleon had hoped that Prussia would be defeated, or that a civil war of long duration would be started in Germany; in either case he had hoped to intervene as a peacemaker, taking as the reward of his labours certain Rhenish and Belgian districts, and being enabled, in addition, to play the rôle of protector over Germany and arbiter of the destinies of Europe. But it was fated otherwise; Prussia acquired a military reputation almost rivalling that of the first Napoleon, and Germany stood forth, not weak and disrupted, but more firmly united and stronger than ever before. And though Napoleon himself was far too prudent to venture on a military demonstration against the successes of Prussia, yet the French nation, and especially the French army, could not tolerate that another people should excel it in the honours of war, while statesmen of the type of Thiers upbraided Napoleon for permitting the union of North Germany. "Revenge for Sadowa!" became the general cry. The French government made demands for "compensation" to France in the shape of cessions of German frontier territory, but these were rejected by Prussia. Under these circumstances the latter country had to be prepared every moment for an attack.[o]

NAPOLEON AT HIS APOGEE

Fyffe[p] notes that Napoleon had achieved, during the first decade of his reign, a measure of military success that established his position in a most flattering light before the world. The commercial relations and general economic conditions of France had steadily improved; and Paris had been fairly regenerated as to its exterior appearance, contrasting most favourably

[1] For fuller accounts of this affair, see in later volumes the histories of the United States and Mexico.]

with the other capitals of Europe. In a word, Napoleon had followed what seemed a highly successful career. "He had done some great things," says Fyffe, "and he had conspicuously failed in nothing. Had his reign ended before 1863, he would probably have left behind him in popular memory the name of a great ruler."

A CONTEMPORARY VIEW

This view of Fyffe's is paralleled by the estimates printed in the London *Times* of January 10, 1873, on the occasion of the emperor's death. "Had Napoleon succumbed some years ago to the first attacks of the disease he died of," says the *Times* article, "he would have found eulogists enough to justify his policy by its brilliant success, and to deny that the imperial system carried the inevitable seeds of dissolution. Had it collapsed after his decease they might have urged that the collapse was but a proof the more of his unrivalled genius—that such a man could leave no successor to develop the ideas he had originated. As it is, it can hardly be doubted that his contemporaries will do him injustice, and that his memory will be, in a measure, rehabilitated by posterity. The third Napoleon was called upon to exercise, by mere moral ascendency, that sway over the European councils which the first failed to establish by might of arms; and for many years there is no doubt he acquitted himself of the task with unparalleled success. But he pressed that success beyond its due limits; he fretted himself about congresses and conferences, the only object or result of which was to be the enhancement of his own importance. There is no doubt that he suffered from the notion that it was at all times necessary to be busy, and so to say, to amuse the French people, to gain too strong a hold upon his fancy. The scheme of diverting public attention from domestic affairs by distant expeditions to China, Japan, Syria, and, finally, to Mexico, had little to recommend it on the score of originality. Most of the emperor's quixotic undertakings beyond sea proved, as was to be expected, barren of result, but one, as might have been feared, turned out fatal. The project of a Mexican empire, the scheme of the exaltation of the Latin races on the American continent, would have been sheer failures even if the emperor's belief that the breach in the United States was incurable had been correct."[a]

FRENCH AND PRUSSIAN DISPUTE OVER LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg was a small province the western portion of which had belonged to Belgium since the revolution of 1830, whilst the eastern portion formed a grand duchy belonging to the king of Holland. Napoleon III wished to buy the grand duchy, which had no natural tie with Holland and was of a certain importance to France on account of the town of Luxemburg, which had been strongly fortified by Vauban; this fortress would have protected a part of the French frontier. The grand duchy had been annexed to the German confederation by the treaties of 1815, and was garrisoned by Prussia in the name of the confederation. Prussia, having violated the treaties and split up the confederation in her war with Austria, had no longer any right to occupy Luxemburg. There had seemed no doubt

before the war as to the handing over to France of this stronghold; the fortress had already been evacuated by the Prussians. Neither after the war had Bismarck changed his tone in the matter. After having evaded the signing of the treaty about Belgium, he had promised to oppose the inclusion of Luxemburg in the northern confederation; he had advised the French government to treat with the king of Holland without including Prussia, and to excite in the grand duchy manifestations which might be taken as indicating the people's desire to become French. He also recommended them to put the matter through before the parliament of the new confederation met. It is possible that on this occasion he may have been sincere.

The government did not even understand how to profit by this advice and act quickly. Bismarck's advice was given at the beginning of September; it was not until the early days of February, 1867, that Napoleon's government sounded the Dutch government as to a contingent cession of the grand duchy. They demanded from the king, William III, a total abandonment of his sovereign rights, in consideration of a sum of several millions; then a vote was taken among the populations. The propaganda of the French agents was very well received in Luxemburg; the inhabitants, albeit the majority were German-speaking, inclining to France rather than to Germany. The idea of a double treaty was advanced as a start. The one would guarantee to Holland Limburg, which, like Luxemburg, had been united to the German confederation, and which Holland dreaded to have claimed by Germany; a defensive alliance with France would thus be assured to Holland. The other treaty would cede Luxemburg to the French.

Had there not followed so much delay the French would have been taken at their word. But there was general hesitation. The royal family was divided as to the policy of an alliance. Doubts were entertained as to the emperor's health and the future of his dynasty. Then, too, great uneasiness was felt at the seemingly equivocal attitude of Prussia, who continually increased the strength of her armaments. Bismarck at Berlin, and Goltz, the ambassador at Paris, reiterated their advice for prompt and direct treating between France and Holland. It is true that Bismarck did not bind himself by any direct promise, and his king still less; however, the king of Prussia had the appearance of also allowing France to make her own arrangements with the king of Holland. But the attitude of the press, the army, and the Prussian diplomats, beyond the Rhine, became more and more spiteful and provoking towards France at this time.

It was while all this was going on that the stormy sittings of the legislative body took place, and the publication of the secret treaties between Prussia and South Germany. This alarmed the king of Holland. He proposed that the question of the ceding of Luxemburg should be submitted to the powers that had signed the treaty of 1839, and had definitely settled the dispute between France and Belgium. Therefore the French government tried to obtain the direct consent of the king of Prussia to the cession, but did not succeed. The Prussian government maintained its attitude of reserve; but the new parliament of northern Germany, that is to say the Prussian majority which dominated it, did not show the same reserve. This majority showed itself most violent and arrogant towards the representatives of Frankfort and the other annexed countries, for the strongest reasons very hostile to France. Imperative questions had been framed as to whether Luxemburg and Limburg were to remain united to Germany.

The king of Holland, on his side, put the question to the king of Prussia. To him, as to France, an equivocal answer was given. However, the reply

was interpreted in the sense that haste must be made to bring the matter to a conclusion. Finally the king of Holland acceded to the proposals made by France and signified the same to the emperor by his son, the prince of Orange, on the 30th of March. The two acts of guarantee and of cession were on the point of being signed, when the Dutch minister, Van Zuylen, detected an irregularity and demanded that the signature should be postponed till the morrow.

In Paris the decisive despatch was awaited in all confidence. In place of the representative of the king of Holland, it was Herr von der Goltz, the Prussian ambassador, who presented himself at the house of the French foreign minister. He had hurried to Moustier to urge him to break off all negotiations, because the transaction, as he pretended to have foreseen, was, he said, presenting the worst possible aspect to Germany. As a fact Goltz had always represented the transaction to Paris as assured, and had not ceased and to the end did not cease to play a double game. In Paris, he was the friend of France and on an intimate footing at the Tuileries, attentively listened to, and, above all, an attentive listener, surprising the badly kept secrets of the court; in his correspondence with Berlin, he was the enemy of France and in connivance with the war party.

Indignant and astonished, Moustier replied that he came too late, that the French had been decoyed into a trap, but that they would not draw back. There is every evidence that the "irregularity" which had delayed the signing of the double treaty was not an accidental one, and that Prussia had checked the king of Holland by promising on behalf of Germany to renounce all claims over Limburg on condition of Luxemburg not being ceded to France.

During this time Bismarck was addressing recriminations to the French ambassador, Benedetti, in which, according to his usual practice, he inverted their respective rôles. It is easy to perceive that if the negotiations had been more rapidly opened and concluded he would have claimed his share of credit in them. But he was now pressed between the equally warlike Prussian military party on the one side and the parliament of the northern confederation on the other, and, knowing that Germany was ready and that France was not, he asked nothing better than to involve France in a quarrel.

On the 1st of April, Bennigsen, leader of the national liberal party, which had become the devoted instrument of Bismarck, revived the questions addressed to this minister on the subject of Luxemburg, and demanded war in preference to allowing "a prince of a German race (the king of Holland) to traffic in a country of German origin and sympathies." These pretended German sympathies were not at the moment manifesting themselves in Luxemburg, except by popular demonstrations in favour of union with France—demonstrations which the Prussian governor of the fortress lamented bitterly.

Bismarck's reply to Bennigsen was measured as to its form: he would not for the world have the air of provoking the French government; but, as a fact, he sheltered himself behind public opinion and the parliament, which was the mouthpiece of that opinion. The sense of his reply was, indeed, that Luxemburg ought not to be given either to the northern confederation or to France, but not, however, that it should be evacuated by Prussia. Without explicitly saying so, he was awaiting an opportunity to claim for Prussia a pretended right of garrison which he intended to extract from the convention of the Great Powers in 1839. He began again to protest his good intentions to Napoleon III; but at the same time that the minister at the Hague insisted on the signing of the treaty, and that the king of Holland seemed on

the point of acquiescing, the Prussian minister at the Hague received orders to announce to the Dutch government that the Prussian government would be driven by public opinion to consider the ceding of Luxemburg as a declaration of war.

The Prussian troops were already massing themselves on the Dutch frontier, with the evident intention of ignoring the Belgian neutrality. Holland thereupon drew back, and did not sign the treaties. It was a humiliating check for Napoleon III, crowning the series of diplomatic defeats which began on the morrow of Sadowa.

The minister for foreign affairs did not sit still under the blow. Moustier was a judicious and skilful diplomatist who merited association with a different government. He made great efforts to palliate this reverse and to help France to make a dignified exit from the position into which she had been beguiled. Moustier knew that she was not in a position to have recourse to arms; though the war minister, Marshal Niel, in public uttered the contrary opinion, in the cabinet he was the first actively to discountenance the taking of the offensive.

Since Sadowa Prussia had completely re-organised her forces, and now, with her northern confederation, could command close upon nine hundred thousand men; and this irrespective of the engagements towards her undertaken by the southern states. The French had not half this number at their disposal. Their forts were in the worst possible state; their magazines empty. A circular of Bismarck's, derogatory to all the diplomatic proprieties, dragged the emperor personally into the matter. He pretended that the emperor had been forced into war in spite of himself, and represented Prussia as all for peace and France as only thirsting for war. Napoleon III, who had not moved when he might and should have moved, had been on the point of hurling himself into action when it was too late; but Moustier and Niel succeeded in preventing him from yielding to the calculated provocations of Berlin. Moustier employed a most ingenious ruse. He maintained the validity of the king of Holland's pledges, but left the question of the cession of Luxemburg in suspense, and referred to the powers which had signed the treaty of 1839 the question of Prussia's pretended right to garrison.

On April 26th Bismarck resigned himself to giving the consent demanded from him by the Russian ambassador to open negotiations in London, having the neutrality of Luxemburg as their object. Neutrality, guaranteed by the European powers, implied evacuation. This made the Prussian press shout more loudly for war. Not only Alsace and Lorraine, but Holland also, were now coveted. Bismarck, accused by the war party of moderation, sometimes flung away, sometimes clung to his daily papers. He delayed by several days the opening of the negotiations, through his claims and acquirements as to the formalities of the conference and the securities resulting from it. Russia intervened in this matter between Prussia and England, and the conference at last took place in London on May 7th. While the negotiations were in progress Bismarck made fresh efforts to goad France into some imprudent action by his aggravating conduct.

The French minister did not however fall into the trap, and the treaty for the neutralisation of Luxemburg was signed on the 16th of May. Bismarck executed a brusque about-face. The Prussian official organs had orders to alter their tone. Napoleon, whom the evening before they had insulted, they now covered with flowers, and they announced the impending visit of King William to the Universal Exhibition. On the 14th of May, 1867, Moustier communicated the treaty to the chambers. The neutralised grand

duchy of Luxemburg remained under the sovereignty of Holland. The Prussian government pledged itself to evacuate the fortress, and the king grand duke was to see that it was dismantled. The Prussians did effect a military but not a commercial evacuation of Luxemburg. The ties between the grand duchy and the German *Zollverein* were not severed.[b]

NEW FRICTION WITH PRUSSIA

By the superiority of its army Prussia had attained the preponderance in Europe and was preparing the complete unity of Germany. The other great powers were not resigned to these two revolutions, which were a menace to the old European balance of power. But Austria was discouraged, England powerless, the czar pacific. France alone believed herself strong enough to stop Prussia and re-establish her own preponderance. Opinion had become bluntly hostile to German unity. In Prussia the national pride, exalted by success, manifested itself in threats against the "hereditary enemy." But on both sides these belligerent sentiments were counterbalanced by the fear of a war which all could foresee would be terrible.

Secret negotiations were carried on, the extent of which has been variously estimated, but which did not accomplish any practical result. The occasion was the affair of the Belgian railways which had been purchased by the French eastern company. The Belgian government interdicted the sale (February, 1869); the French government attributed this check to Bismarck. Napoleon, in irritation, proposed to Austria and Italy a triple alliance to stop the encroachments of Prussia and restore to Austria her position in Germany (March). The negotiation was conducted between the ambassadors. Austria accepted a defensive alliance, but reserved the right to remain neutral if France should be obliged to begin war (April). The Italians demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome; they were satisfied with Napoleon's promise to withdraw them as soon as possible, but when it came to the ratification of the project, the Italian ministry demanded evacuation and a declaration that France recognised the principle of non-intervention. Negotiations were suspended, the three sovereigns merely promising to conclude no alliance without previous notice. Then Napoleon accepted a parliamentary ministry whose head, Ollivier, had declared in favour of peace and conciliation with Germany. This ministry took up again (January, 1870) the project of giving security to Europe by bringing about the disarmament of both France and Prussia; England agreed to transmit the proposal. France offered to diminish her military contingent by ten thousand men. Bismarck refused on the ground that the reorganisation of Prussia made any disarmament impossible.[n]

THE MINISTRY OF OLLIVIER

When Émile Ollivier rose to power, he brought with him men who had long been considered members of the opposition; the best known of these was Buffet. The party which had formed the imperial government was set aside. Everything seemed changed. The so-called liberal royalists, the Orleanists, rose in a body. All the staff of 1830 reappeared in the official salons. An attempt was going to be made to carry on the government of the 2nd of December by the methods of Louis Philippe.

Suddenly a sinister piece of news was announced. Pierre Bonaparte, a cousin of the emperor, living at Auteuil, had challenged Henri Rochefort

to fight a duel. The journalist-deputy had sent him his seconds, Ulrich de Fonvielle and Victor Noir; the latter, who was quite young, was a rising and very popular journalist. The two seconds went to the prince's house at Auteuil. Suddenly shots were heard, Ulrich de Fonvielle rushed out of the house, and the corpse of Victor Noir bathed in blood was seen lying before the door. Pierre Bonaparte had fired on the seconds sent by Rochefort. The public indignation was extreme. The funeral took place on the twelfth. Beneath a sullen grey sky a sombre crowd of two hundred thousand persons passed along the streets of Neuilly, following the corpse to the cemetery, and returned to Paris in a long procession through the Champs Élysées, singing the Marseillaise and led by Rochefort. The government had called out the troops, and a trifle would have sufficed to turn that day into one of revolution or of a terrible massacre. When the crowd reached the place de la Concorde, where the police were drawn up, it dispersed on the advice of those who had most influence over it.

ÉMILE OLLIVIER

Soon afterwards, Pierre Bonaparte, who was tried by a special court (the high court of Tours), was acquitted. The death of Victor Noir and the acquittal of Prince Pierre formed an inauspicious opening for the liberal empire. However, the decree was being prepared which was to make known what reforms had been made in the constitution in the interests of liberty. These reforms went no further than giving the senate and the legislative body the right of taking the initiative in matters of legislation; fixing the categories whence the emperor might draw the new senators; regulating the order of succession to the throne; and deciding that any change in the constitution should be made by a plebiscite. To begin with, the decree itself was to be submitted to the vote of a plebiscite on universal suffrage.

The nature of these reforms alienated from the liberal empire some of those who were inclined to support it, and led to the resignation of two ministers, of whom one was Buffet. Nothing seemed to them more opposed to liberty than the imperial plebiscites; that is, the popular vote on a question proposed by the emperor. The people could only say yes or no, and no meant a revolution. It was equivalent to putting the government into the hands of one man. So nothing was really changed and the government was still a personal government. After heated debates, in the course of which Gambetta delivered what was perhaps his most eloquent speech, the plebiscite was proceeded with. The empire, so to speak, put itself to the vote. There were 7,500,000 affirmative against 1,500,000 negative votes. The public considered that the empire was firmly established, and it was destined to fall in two months and four days! The government had perhaps a clearer insight. To ask of the peace-loving people who compose the mass of the country, "Yes or No, do you wish to overthrow me?" is a sure way of gaining the votes of many people, whose support in time of peril would be more than doubtful. Only determined and invincible enemies will vote against you. In fact, a

million and a half contrary votes out of a total of 9,000,000 was a large percentage. It is said that the emperor was very anxious about the votes of the army, which had included a great many noes.

CAUSE OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The plebiscite had the most unexpected results — the imperial government determined to seek in victory the power it had lost. The idea was to render the dynasty strong enough to ensure to the son the inheritance of his father's empire. "This is my war," said the empress. So the conflict between France and Prussia, which had been threatening Europe for four years, broke out. The immediate cause was as follows: There had been a revolution in Spain, and Queen Isabella had been expelled. General Prim, however, had no intention of establishing a republic, and soon it became known that the crown had been offered to a Hohenzollern, a prince of the Prussian royal family. This would be a most unacceptable addition to the power of Prussia. France protested.[1] Prussia gave way and the prince renounced the crown, or rather his father renounced it for him.

The whole affair seemed ended when suddenly a rumour was spread that the king of Prussia had grossly insulted the French ambassador, Benedetti. The king had refused to receive him. This was stated on the authority of a German paper.[e] Benedetti had been sent to wring from the Prussian king, at Ems, not only a promise that the prince should not take the Spanish crown, but also a positive order forbidding him to do so. This was too humiliating to endure, and the king refused. Benedetti was then sent to demand a personal letter of good will to France. William, angered, refused to receive him at all. An oral tradition states that the king's language was such, according to Seignobos,[n] that no one would even dare to publish it.[a]

The French ministers, Émile Ollivier and Gramont, declared in the chamber that war was necessary. Thiers and the republicans strongly protested. In the midst of the tumult they repeated that France should have satisfaction, and demanded the telegram[2] in which her ambassador stated that he had been insulted. The majority overwhelmed them with abuse, especially Thiers, who persisted energetically in his protests. They called him "émigré!" and "traitor!" amid scenes of incredible violence and disorder. Commissioners were appointed who alone were to ask and hear the necessary explanations. They returned, asserting that they had seen evidence that war was inevitable and declaring that the army was in a good state. It was proved later that they had seen nothing at all. Marshal Lebœuf, when asked, "Is the army ready?" replied: "There is not so much as the button of a gaiter wanting." The war was voted.

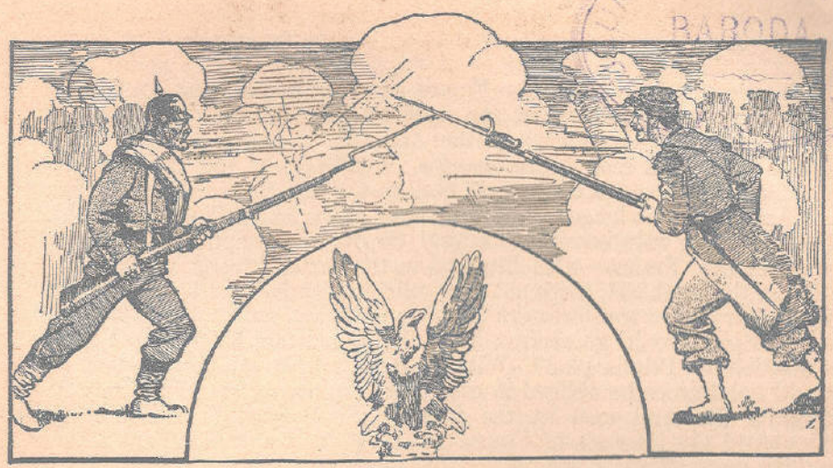
Bismarck had led France to the point he wished. Thoroughly acquainted with the wretched state of her army, and knowing what passions and what interests at the Tuileries would be sure to urge on a war, he had been sufficiently artful to persuade the king of Prussia to yield to her on one point after another, so as to incite her government to declare war, after having, in the eyes of Europe, deprived her of all reasonable pretexts for such a course.[e]

[1] It was said that France could not tolerate the revival of the empire of Charles V. The Germans protested that the sovereignty was a private family affair of the Hohenzollerns.

[2] It is now definitely known that Bismarck himself had this telegram sent, and suppressed certain modifying words purely for the purpose of goading France to make the first declaration of war.]

GRAVELOTTE (ST. PRIVAT, OR REZONVILLE, AUGUST 16TH, 1870)

(From the painting by Aimé Morot, in the Luxembourg)



CHAPTER VI

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

[1870–1871 A.D.]

The catastrophe of 1870 seemed to those who witnessed it to tell of more than the vileness of an administration; in England, not less than in Germany, voices of influence spoke of the doom that had overtaken the depravity of a sunken nation; of the triumph of simple manliness, of God-fearing virtue itself, in the victories of the German army. There may have been truth in this; yet it would require a nice moral discernment to appraise the exact degeneracy of the French of 1870 from the French of 1854 who humbled Russia, or from the French of 1859 who triumphed at Solferino; and it would need a very comprehensive acquaintance with the lower forms of human pleasure to judge in what degree the sinfulness of Paris exceeds the sinfulness of Berlin. Had the French been as strict a race as the Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ, as devout as the Tyrolese who perished at Sadowa, it is quite certain that, with the numbers which took the field against Germany in 1870, with Napoleon III at the head of affairs and the actual generals of 1870 in command, the armies of France could not have escaped destruction.

The main cause of the disparity of France and Germany in 1870 was in truth that Prussia had had from 1862 to 1866 a government so strong as to be able to force upon its subjects its own gigantic scheme of military organisation in defiance of the votes of parliament and of the national will. — FYFFE.[b]

It might be asked if any nation has the right to say to another nation: "You shall not place such and such a person at your head because it is contrary to my interests." Doubtless not, if the principles of international right are strictly observed. But in practice this veto has been frequently exercised under the old régime and since the Revolution. It was used in 1815 against Napoleon and all the members of his family; in 1830 against the duke de Nemours, elected king of the Belgians by the congress. The imperial government was in fact justified in opposing an election that it considered dangerous to itself. But was this danger worth avoiding at the risk of war with Ger-

many? A serious question this, that could only be answered by casting a glance at the respective positions of the different European states.

The time had gone by when France was cited as the most considerable of the European powers, when the vast German Confederation represented only inert strength and when neither Italy nor Germany existed. The past sixteen years had seen many changes. United Italy and United Germany now formed two states of the first rank to the east and southeast of France, and Austria was no longer a counterbalance to the aggrandisement of Prussia. These changes were enough to engage the serious attention of the imperial government. France—with England in the north, Prussia in the east, and Italy in the southeast, three not very reliable friends—had had till now nothing to fear on her southwestern frontier; for it was not probable that in case of war Spain would go against her. Would matters be the same after the realisation of Prim's plan? With a Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne would not France be obliged in case of war to keep a standing army of one hundred thousand men at the foot of the Pyrenees? This contingency threatened the interests of France too much for her government to neglect making great efforts to obtain the abandonment of the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. Doubtless Napoleon III could have attained his end had he simply submitted the question to the great powers in diplomatic form, but it was evident from the beginning of this question that the emperor had two ends in view: that of suppressing the candidature, and that of obtaining a moral advantage over his adversary—in fact, of humiliating him.

THE PREPAREDNESS OF FRANCE

Was France as ready as the minister of war had said? The *Situation de l'Empire*, distributed among the deputies the 1st of November, 1869, is the best answer to this question.

This document gives the effective of the army on the 1st of October as follows: Home troops, 350,000 men; Algiers, 64,000 men; Papal States, 5,000 men; total, 434,000 men, from which must be deducted men absent for leave for various causes, about one hundred thousand of whom would reduce the available number to 325,000. The effective of the reserve was 212,000 in all, for the standing army, and the reserve 617,000 men. The mobile national guard, whose duty it was to defend the fortresses and the interior, included five classes, of which the effective amounted to 560,000 men. These added to the regulars and the reserves gave, on paper, a grand total of 1,200,000 fighting men, but on the lists were a large number of non-capables. The mobile national guards did not know how to use a gun, and the organisation of the staffs was in a very primitive stage. At the beginning of the campaign, the emperor could only rely on the standing army and the reserve, forming an effective of 547,000 men, according to the *Situation de l'Empire;* but according to the war office, 642,000, from which must be deducted the 75,000 young soldiers of the 1869 contingent who were not incorporated until the 1st of August.

The number of men at the immediate disposition of the government was 567,000: 393,500 with the flags; 61,000 ex-soldiers in the reserve having on an average four months' drill in the barracks, but who, for the greater part, had not had sufficient time to familiarise themselves with the handling of the *chassepot*.[1] The total of 393,500 men with the flag furnished by the war

[1 The *chassepot* was a breechloading rifle which had been recently introduced.[a]]

office had been formally contested by *Le Constitutionnel* on the morning of the plebiscite. It was in vain that the government organ, *Le Peuple Français*, invoked against the assertions of its fellow journal "our admirable rules of accounts which do not admit of fictitious expenses figuring on the budget." Very little trust was placed in these imaginary rules when it was seen that immense sums, such as those expended for experiments in the workshops of Meudon, and for the construction of official residences for marshals at the centres of the great military commands, had been spent without leaving any trace in the budget. The government cut short the polemic between *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le Peuple Français* on this delicate question. But it was none the less proved, even in admitting the exactitude of the ministerial statement as to the number of men with the flag, that the total number of forces that France could bring into the field in the first months of the war would not exceed 567,000, from which it was necessary to deduct 36,000 absent from the ranks, including those undergoing punishment, those in the remount department, with the ambulance corps, 13,000 of the armed police, 28,000 in military depots, 78,000 in garrison in the fortresses, 50,000 in Algiers —that is, 231,000 for the interior and Algiers. There remained 336,000 men to oppose the 500,000 whom Prussia could bring into the field at the beginning of hostilities. Nevertheless, Marshal Lebœuf continually repeated that the army was quite ready. This inexplicable and fatal assurance caused despair to those who knew the truth and who vainly did all they could to make it known.[c]

The eminent field-marshal Von Moltke[d] estimates the French army as not more than about three hundred thousand men, who intended to make surprise attacks on various portions of Prussia, but who were prevented by impossibilities of transportation, and compelled to fight on their own soil and in great disorganisation and unfitness for the field. He sets the German force at a total of 484,000, of which 100,000 were not for the first three weeks available owing to the lack of transportation facilities. Von Moltke describes his guiding principles as a determination to keep his forces compact and numerically superior wherever engaged, and to strike for the heart of France —Paris.

Fuller details of the Prussian side of the war will be found in a later volume on German history. The swift movement of the unprepared French troops was not permitted to upset Von Moltke's plans, nor the first minor French success to cause any discouragement in the great victory planned so long and with a scientific completeness that has since remained as the model for modern warfare.[a]

OPENING OF THE WAR (JULY, 1870)

On the 20th of July, Ollivier read before the legislature the declaration of war. The enthusiasm had already begun to abate. The majority remained silent. In the evening a large crowd of men descended to the place de la Bastille, crying: "*Vive la paix!*" A struggle occurred on the boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle between this party and the crowd who were crying "*À Berlin!*" The police intervened and made several arrests.

The emperor conferred the regency on the empress as in 1859 at the commencement of the war with Italy. But under what different circumstances! In 1859 Napoleon III had left the Tuileries in an open carriage in the midst of an enthusiastic, ardent crowd who greeted him with acclamations for the first and last time since the re-establishment of the empire. In 1870, on July 28th, he left St. Cloud, going round Paris without entering it, and taking

the route to Metz. He dared not at this solemn moment face the people, who, he pretended, had forced him into the war. He was even then out of the fight, in spirit as well as in body, and seemed to have a presentiment that he would never return.[c]

Engagements between outposts and scouting parties had already begun on July 19th. They were particularly severe at Saarbrücken on August 2nd, where 1,000 men (1 battalion of fusiliers and 3 squadrons of ulans) were stationed under Lieutenant-Colonel von Pestel. In order to reconnoitre the strength of the enemy and to be able to send a telegram of victory to the impatient Parisians, Napoleon commanded the advance of General Frossard's corps and began on the 2nd of August the so-called battle of Saarbrücken with 30,000 men against 1,000. The latter were commanded on that day by General Count Gneisenau. Napoleon himself and his son were present during this engagement, Napoleon desiring to judge for himself the superiority of the chassepots and the effectiveness of the mitrailleuses. The French, being massed on the heights of Spicheren which surround the left side of the valley of the Saar, opened fire with 23 guns on the unfortified town and the troops began to advance. General Gneisenau withdrew in order, after three hours' resistance, to the right bank of the Saar, and went into bivouac several miles northwest of Saarbrücken, having placed a small force at the town of Sankt Johann, and at the railway station. Towards evening General Frossard entered Saarbrücken,[1] but soon returned to the heights, not daring to venture pursuit. The Prussians lost in this battle, in which mainly the artillery took part, 4 officers and 79 men; the French, 6 officers and 80 men. A telegram announcing victory was immediately sent off to Paris, telling of the "baptism of fire" of the prince imperial and his wonderful calmness and presence of mind. Paris was insane with joy, the press adding to the general exultation by fantastic perorations, describing the army of the Rhine as already before Mainz, and greeting this "glorious military achievement as a sign of the beginning of a new period in history."

The dream was soon at an end; on the 4th of August the crown prince of Prussia crossed the French borders and attacked Weissenburg on the little river Lauter. Here stood the advance-guard of MacMahon, General Abel Douay's division defending the town and the well-fortified Gaisberg with 11 battalions and 4 batteries. The town was carried by combined Prussian and Bavarian batteries, and the Gaisberg by 16 batteries composed of Prussians alone. General Douay was killed. The loss on the French side was about 1,200 dead and wounded, and 1,000 not wounded taken prisoners, among whom were 30 officers. What was left of the French contingent retreated to Wörth. The Germans lost 91 officers and 1,460 men. The regiment of royal grenadiers alone lost 23 officers and 329 men. The greatest prize captured was one French cannon.[2]

THE BATTLES OF WÖRTH AND SPICHEREN

On the 5th of August MacMahon occupied Wörth and began to fortify the heights to the west of Saarbrücken as well as the villages of Fröschweiler

[1] The town was left in ruins; the Germans remembered this later on to justify their incendiarism.—DELORD.[c]

[2] Aside from the moral effect of this real German victory, the Lauter line was thenceforward in their hands and the door of Alsace wide open. The death of the intrepid Abel Douay also produced a most profound impression over the whole country.—BONDOIS.[f]

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA.

and Elsasshausen. Here he intended to repulse the advance of the crown prince, which he expected about the 7th of August. In order to be able to do this he tried to add to his force that of General Felix Douay stationed at Belfort and Mulhausen, and that of General Failly stationed at Bitsch. But only one division of the former arrived in time; and of the other, the division sent to his aid arrived on the battle-field on the evening of August 7th, after MacMahon had been defeated, and it could only be used in partially covering his retreat. This left MacMahon with only 45,000 men to oppose to the entire army of the crown prince.[1]

It had been the intention of the crown prince not to force the decisive battle before the 7th of August, because he could not make a concerted attack with his combined five corps before that time. But when on the forenoon of the 6th of August the advance-guard of the fifth corps became entangled in a most violent engagement with the enemy, while a Bavarian corps on the right and the 11th corps rushed to the rescue, there seemed no alternative but to continue the battle and throw as many troops as possible into the menaced positions. In this manner the decisive battle of Wörth resulted from a skirmish of scouts of the advance-guard, in which gradually every other corps or division except the Baden division took part. The battle raged most fiercely round the well-fortified village of Fröschweiler after Wörth and Elsasshausen had been taken. After this also had fallen and the attack of the French cuirassiers had been repulsed, MacMahon's army, panic-stricken, fled—part to the passes of the Vosges, part towards Strasburg and Bitsch. The fugitives were closely pursued on this and the following day. Many were the trophies of the day: 200 officers and 9,000 men taken prisoners, 1 eagle, 4 Turco banners, 28 cannon, 5 mitrailleuses, 23 wagons of guns and other arms, 125 other wagons, 1,193 horses, and the military chest containing 222,000 francs in gold. About 6,000 men were killed on the French side. The Germans lost 489 officers and 10,153 men. Among the severely wounded was Lieutenant-General von Bose, commander of the 11th corps; while Lieutenant-General von Kirchbach, commander of the 5th corps, had a less serious wound. On the battle-field where the victorious army bivouacked arose during the night the melody of the hymn, "*Nun danket Alle Gott*," sung by thousands of voices and played on hundreds of instruments.

The fugitive Marshal MacMahon arrived with part of his army in Zabern on the morning of August 7th and marched thence to Châlons, whither also the corps of Generals Douay and Failly were drawn. A new army was to be formed here. Northern Alsace lay defenceless before the victorious army of the crown prince. The Baden division was ordered to proceed to Strasburg. The cavalry of that division had already taken Hagenau on the 7th of August; on the 8th and 9th of August the whole division was massed before the citadel of Strasburg and the commander, General Uhrich of Pfalzburg, asked to surrender. Upon his refusal a special beleaguering corps were formed, comprising the Baden division, one Prussian reserve division, and the *Garde-Landwehr* division. They were placed under the command of General Werder and closely surrounded the city from the 14th of August. On the 8th of August the crown prince withdrew with the remainder of the third army, and marched through the undefended passes of the Vosges. He also had the small neighbouring fortifications of Lichtenberg and Lützelstein taken by the Würtemberg troops, and that of Marsal by the Bavarians; Bitsch and Pfalz-

[1] According to Canonge [g] he had less than 38,000 against the crown prince's 115,000.

burg were blockaded. He entered Nancy on August 16th, where he remained several days awaiting definite news of events on the Saar and Moselle.

A second victory was achieved on August 6th, at Spicheren. This battle was also not the result of strategic manœuvres, but of a misunderstanding. According to Moltke's plan, Frossard's corps, stationed on the heights of Spicheren, was to be forced to retreat by a simultaneous attack in the rear by the 1st and 2nd armies at Forbach and Saargemünd. Should it resist, it was to be crushed by the overwhelming forces. When, in the forenoon of August 6th, generals Kameke and Rheinbaben of the 1st and 2nd armies arrived with their troops, relying on the reports of the scouting troops that Frossard's corps was retreating, they, wishing to harm the defeated army as much as possible, made an attack, drove the enemy back to the steep, wooded heights of Spicheren, and saw only then that they had the whole of the hostile corps before them. As they did not hold it compatible with honour to surrender the territory once taken and to retreat to the other bank of the Saar, Kameke's division had to contend for three hours against three divisions of the French, which had a strong artillery and were favoured by a remarkably good position. Not until three o'clock did reinforcements of the two armies gradually arrive on the battle-field, after which twenty-seven thousand Germans fought against forty thousand French. Finally several battalions were successful in climbing the heights and even bringing twelve cannon with them. The determination and endurance of the soldiers was wonderful. The Brandenburg regiment of grenadiers alone lost thirty-five officers and 771 men. The battle seemed to centre at the summit of the heights. Suddenly Glümer's division advanced on the left wing and completely routed it, menacing the line of retreat of the enemy which now took place, culminating in panic in some instances. The corps withdrew by way of Forbach and Sankt Avold or by Saargemünd towards Metz.

OFFICER OF HUSSARS (FRENCH)

Bazaine's corps, which was stationed only seven or eight miles from the scene of action, did the same, without coming to Frossard's assistance. In consequence of their unfavourable position the victors had greater losses than the vanquished. The Germans lost 223 officers and 4,648 men, while the French according to their own account lost 249 officers and 3,829 men, of whom about two thousand were captured.

The victors advanced on the 7th of August, seizing great quantities of provisions in Forbach, besieged Sankt Avold, making incursions almost as far as Metz. The army of Prince Charles also marched, traversing the Rhine Palatinate partly by way of Saarbrücken, partly *via* Saargemünd, in the direction of Metz. Receiving the news of this victory, the king of Prussia left Mainz on August 7th, arriving in Saarbrücken on the 9th, and in Sankt Avold on the 11th, and issued a proclamation to the French nation in which he

declared that he was carrying on war with the army of France, not with her citizens, whose persons and belongings should be secure as long as they themselves refrained from practising hostilities against the German troops.[h]

BAZAINE AT METZ

The general opinion in the circle of Marshal Bazaine and the emperor was that the idea of giving battle in Lorraine must be abandoned, the Moselle repassed as quickly as possible, MacMahon's army rallied, and Metz, reduced to its own forces, must stop a part of the German troops, while a mass of 250,000 men must oppose the invasion either at Verdun, Châlons, or even nearer to Paris. Would this plan, certainly a most prudent one, have saved France? Well-known German authorities are agreed in thinking it would have been very dangerous for Germany; that Moltke was much occupied in preventing it; that Marshal MacMahon and the general officers who commanded in Paris thought the plan good, and that in any case the danger of allowing the only French organised army to stay near Metz was obvious.

MARSHAL BAZAINE

In the campaign we are entering on, the chief problem for the French was to recross the Moselle immediately and rapidly overtake the Prussians on the Verdun and Châlons route; for the Germans, to hinder the enemy's march, to cross the Moselle to the south of Metz, and to occupy the approach by which Marshal Bazaine must unite his troops with those of Marshal MacMahon.

Time was lost between the 11th and 13th discussing the possibilities of a battle or retreat. On the latter date Bazaine took definite command and decided to retreat. But, whether owing to physical fatigue, incapacity, or criminal indifference, he did not devote all his energies to hastening the passage of the Moselle and the occupation of the Verdun route. The curious incertitude of his projects, his mysterious attitude, give support to the belief that he had determined from the beginning to allow himself to be blockaded near Metz. But with what object? Had he even an object?[1]

It is difficult to understand the extreme prudence of the armies of Steinmetz and Frederick Charles (nephew of the king of Prussia) after the battle of Spicheren. It must be supposed that this easy victory surprised the Germans, and that at the beginning of the campaign the system of spies was

[1 The French view of his conduct is that he meant to keep this army intact in order that afterwards, in conjunction with the Germans as his accomplices, he might secure, with a fresh military *coup d'état*, the imperial rule over France. Whatever he may have meant, the Germans had no intention of intrusting the fortress of France to him.—KITCHIN.']

less well organised than at the end. It was only on the 13th of August that the grand army, with the king and Von Moltke, arrived at Herny, on the route from Falkenberg to Metz, and Prince Frederick Charles had scarcely left Saargemünd. The advance-guard of the first army bore, on the morning of the 14th, towards Pange, and saw that the French army, in part at least, was still on the right bank of the Moselle. Then Von Moltke stopped the manœuvres, which might have destroyed or at least annulled "the French army of the Rhine," as Bazaine's army was henceforth called.

On the 14th the passage of the French army began at last; generals Goltz and Manteuffel attacked Castagny's division of the 3rd corps, which was still at Colombey. But to all appearances the combat was favourable to the French, who attributed to themselves a victory which they called the battle of Borny or Pange. The Germans, however, equally considered the victory theirs, an assumption founded on the fact that the French army had been delayed crossing the river. The battle on the 14th had allowed Frederick Charles to hasten his march, and in the evening his advance-guard reached Pont-à-Mousson—that is, the point where the second German army crossed the Moselle, a crossing made practicable by the incredible carelessness of the commander-in-chief, who had left the bridges standing. The Prussians had lost nearly 5,000 men; the French 3,600.

However, the French could now continue their march without interruption; it was not concluded till the morning of the 15th on the trunk road of the two Verdun routes. The staff did not know that two other roads forked off between Conflans and Rezonville. So the highroad from Metz to Gravelotte, between two rows of houses, was the scene of inextricable confusion; innumerable wagons encumbered the route and the emperor's household constantly interrupted the march. The uncertainty in commands had a very clear influence in these disastrous delays.

BATTLE OF MARS-LA-TOUR

Marshal Bazaine did not seem very anxious to leave Metz. All his movements were directed, greatly to the astonishment of those around him, so as to keep open communications with that city, and he did not seem to consider it possible that the Prussians would intercept his route to Verdun. The retreat was not really begun again until the morning of the 16th of August.

Marshal Bazaine had been warned of hostile parties towards Gorze, but he did not verify this, finding himself confirmed in his suspicion that the Prussians wanted to slip in between the French army and Metz. He therefore kept the imperial guard at Gravelotte, with General Bourbaki, so as to fortify his left, which still lay at Metz at Fort St. Quentin. The halt having been called, the generals De Forton and Murat of the advance-guard at Mars-la-Tour had prepared for breakfast, when suddenly shells fell in the midst of their men. The disorder caused by this surprise had a deplorable result; it allowed the Prussians, in spite of inferior numbers, to occupy both sides of the Verdun route. Then the Prussian corps, directed by Frederick Charles, turned back on Vionville, where Canrobert, by his energetic resistance, supported by Frossard, stayed the onslaught which gave to the Prussians possession of Mars-la-Tour and Tronville. But Marshal Canrobert, left to his own resources, was obliged to give up Vionville to the enemy. Nevertheless he remained unshaken at Rezonville.

The centre of the French army now found itself in a very favourable position, and towards three o'clock General Ladmirault succeeded in sweeping

the Verdun route between Rezonville and Vionville. But at this moment several of Steinmetz's fresh divisions bore down on Gravelotte—that is, on Bazaine's left. The attack was so sudden and unforeseen that Marshal Bazaine ran personal risks and was only saved by a charge of his staff. Fearing to have to support the assault of an entire army on this side, he entirely stopped the offensive movement on his right.

At half past four, two fresh corps, commanded by Frederick Charles in person, came out from Gorze in front of Rezonville, forming an assaulting line of eighty thousand men. The capture of Rezonville would have ended the battle and would have led to the dispersion of Bazaine's army—perhaps its capitulation; but, after three hours of repeated attacks, the Prussians renounced the idea of overthrowing Canrobert and Ladmirault, and at nine o'clock in the evening Prince Frederick Charles ordered the firing to cease.

The magnificent moonlight which succeeded this terrible twelve hours' battle shone on twenty thousand dead in a line of ten kilometres. The Prussians lost about ten thousand men; the French nearly as many. At Mars-la-Tour and at Tronville, the Germans held the road from Verdun to Fresnes-en-Woëvre; but, in spite of the mistakes of the head of the French army, they had not been able to concentrate a sufficient force to render their advantage decisive.

BATTLE OF ST. PRIVAT

But to carry out the necessary operations, which had become so difficult, General Bazaine required abnegation, audacity, and energy to inspire his soldiers, who were fatigued by a terrible battle but ready for any sacrifice when supported by the moral superiority of their chief.

The whole army was prepared to make a new move forward early on the 17th. The fatigues of the day sufficiently explain the inactivity of the night, although the Prussians were taking advantage of the respite to accumulate forces beyond Mars-la-Tour. It was, then, a cruel disappointment for the soldiers to be ordered to go back to Metz.

These positions, defended by 120,000 men of tried valour, by forts, and 500 cannon, were excellent with regard to Metz, but of little value if it was intended to take the first opportunity of leaving the town in order to escape the blockade—which was the enemy's evident intention. The 17th was occupied entirely in taking up their position, and the Prussians profited by it. The two German armies had thrown eight corps to the north of Mars-la-Tour, 180,000 infantry, 25,000 horses, and 700 cannon. Instead of rushing in pursuit of the French after the battle of the 16th, they had continued systematically and without disorder their flanking movement.

The inaction of Marshal Bazaine allowed them to continue their march until mid-day on the 18th, and when they attacked the French positions from Gravelotte to Roncourt, the army of the Rhine no longer had simply to keep open its last issuing point, but to reopen it in the midst of an innumerable mass of men. Marshal Bazaine did not believe in a serious attack. All that day he remained at headquarters without rejoining in the battle. He would not admit that the Prussians could so rapidly throw on his extreme right sufficient forces to obstruct the Montmédy road on the north.

But Marshal Moltke joined the king at Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes and concentrated all his energy on the position of St. Privat-la-Montagne, defended by Marshal Canrobert. There for two hours, from five to seven in the evening, the marshal repulsed most furious attacks from the Germans; thrusting them headlong from the heights and decimating, under William's very eyes, one of

the regiments of the Prussian guard—that of the queen—commanding on foot in the foremost ranks, and forcing Moltke himself to take command of the Pomeranian fusiliers to prevent a panic caused by the rout of a part of his cavalry. But, at seven o'clock, Marshal Moltke, anxious for the consequences which the prolonged resistance of Canrobert might bring about, united 90,000 men at St. Privat, and by a long and winding march led the 12th corps (Saxons) to Roncourt, northeast of the position occupied by the 6th corps of the French; 240 cannon immediately opened a terrible fire on these 25,000 heroic soldiers, who, since two o'clock, had supported the principal fire of the enemy. As so often happened in this unhappy war, ammunition was lacking to the 6th corps; Marshal Canrobert, however, remained at his post, and when the Saxons appeared on the northeast to combine their attack with that of the Prussians, they were obliged to support a terrible fight before seizing St. Privat.

Then the marshal was obliged to beat a retreat; Bazaine, informed of this, could not contain his astonishment. Instead of a battle of the advance-guard, he had sustained a complete defeat. He could hardly believe the reports, and gave orders to the Picard brigade of the imperial guard to go to the front. But it was too late. The necessary movement at last ordered could not prevent the Prussians from passing Amanvillers; they had, moreover, lost 20,000 men; the French 18,000, of whom 2,000 were made prisoners. Nothing now could hinder Marshal Moltke from interposing a circle of 250,000 men between the only organised army of France and the rest of the country.

This conclusion of the battles under the walls of Metz had another disastrous result—that of leaving MacMahon exposed to the crown prince's army, which was now free from all anxiety with regard to Bazaine.*f*

CONFUSION AT PARIS

The news of the battles before Metz produced great confusion in Paris. On the 17th of August, following the advice of General Schmitz, the emperor appointed as governor of Paris General Trochu, who alone could prevent a revolt which threatened. A new army had been forming at Châlons, of which MacMahon took command. Count Palikao [1] wished MacMahon to join Bazaine, but MacMahon telegraphed the minister that he did not know where to find Bazaine and that he wished to remain at Châlons. The following day, on account of a false rumour, he suddenly left Châlons and took the route to Rheims.

A council of war took place at Rheims in which Rouher took part and insisted on the relief of the army at Metz. The empress and Palikao wished this; and in accordance with their desires MacMahon marched towards the Maas, where he would join Bazaine at Stenay if the latter could break through the enemy's chain. MacMahon, through delays and the failure to receive despatches, did not reach Stenay in time. The Germans had occupied it, and on the 27th and 29th engagements took place at Buganzy, Novart, and Voncq. The surprise of Failly at Beaumont on the 30th, and the retirement of Douay before the Bavarians on August 6th (causing him to be replaced by General Wimpffen), forced MacMahon to retreat to Sedan. On the hills about

[1 This was General Cousin-Montauban who was born in 1796 and won his title from his victory over the Chinese at Palikao in 1860; he had become prime minister as well as minister of war on the fall of Ollivier, August 9th, 1870, due to the failure of the army. He kept his portfolio only until September 4th, when the disaster of Sedan overthrew the Second Empire.]

Sedan, MacMahon drew up his forces, with Lebrun commanding the right at Bazeilles; Douay the left at Illy and Floing; Ducrot the centre at Moncelle and Daigny; and Wimpffen the reserve in the Garenne forest. Against these the Prussians and Bavarians advanced with full confidence.*a*

THE BATTLE OF SEDAN (SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1870)

Facing all ways, that is, no way, the French army was apparently protected on the west by the opening on to the Maas which was soon to enclose its ruins. Towards Mézières and south of this road, the road to safety, there was nothing, not even a handful of cavalry, to watch the way so clearly indicated towards Donchery.

At half past six in the morning of September 1st, Marshal MacMahon, who had gone in the direction of La Moncelle, was severely wounded and had to relinquish the command. As he knew nothing of the orders given to General Wimpffen, he appointed Ducrot to replace him; the latter did not hear of his appointment until nearly half past seven.

The new commander-in-chief Ducrot*i* declares that he "had received no instructions whatever from the marshal." He was in entire ignorance of his intentions—even of whether he intended to engage in a defensive or offensive battle. Having to decide at the soonest possible moment, he gave immediate orders for the army to concentrate on the plateau, whence it would march on Mézières. The retreat was to be carried out in echelon beginning from the right.

Between half past eight and nine in the morning, when in fact the movement was in course of execution, General Wimpffen claimed the chief command. Misled by the success of the 12th corps, which, nevertheless, was reduced to the defensive; not believing, from want of knowledge of the preceding days, in the serious danger that the flanking movements threatened, he stopped the retreat on Mézières. General Ducrot vainly emphasised the importance of retaining the plateau of Illy, when a question of life and death was at issue. He was unable to convince his interlocutor: "It is not a retreat we want, but a victory!"

The new commander-in-chief recalled the 12th and 1st corps back to their respective positions and ordered "a vigorous forward offensive movement on our right." He hoped, as he afterwards said, to crush the enemy's left, formed of the two Bavarian corps; and then, having beaten him and driven him back on the Maas, to return with the 12th and 1st corps, and, with the whole army combined, fight the German right wing. What about the enemy's left wing? As a general rule, such a scheme is as a last resource possible when on both sides the forces are equal; it ought not so much as to be dreamed of in face of an army flushed with victory, well led, and with a numerical superiority of over one hundred thousand men.

In addition, in this particular instance, the real danger threatened from the north (the enemy's left), and the 7th corps in spite of a vigorous resistance was powerless to overcome it, more especially as the ruins of the 5th corps scarcely counted as a support. The clearest result of the course of action taken by General Wimpffen, at a moment when minutes were as precious as hours, was a loss of time which assured the ruin of the army by robbing it of all chances of escape. Anything was better than Sedan.

The important village of Bazeilles, situated at the crossing of the Douzy and Sedan roads, by Balan, was destined to play an important part in the defence of the valley of the Givonne. Repulsed at first, the Bavarians, reinforced,

returned to the attack; from seven o'clock in the morning the battle concentrated around the villa Beurmann and in the western end of the village. The defenders were compelled to give way little by little before superior numbers, and before the conflagrations started by the Bavarians. They withdrew to Balan; but not all retired. To the north of Bazeilles, in an isolated house scarcely fifty metres from the villa Beurmann, a handful of men, belonging mostly to the marine infantry, prolonged a hopeless resistance, and for a long while braved the furious assaults of the enemy, who ended by bringing up artillery. This glorious defence was organised by Commandant Lambert, supported by captains Ortus and Aubert. Ammunition being exhausted,[1] Lambert had the doors thrown open, and with a view of saving the survivors offered himself to the Bavarians. Incensed at their losses, they were about to fall upon him, and he owed his life only to a captain who made a rampart of his own body.

The defence of Bazeilles, in which the troops of the Grand-Champ division co-operated, cost the marine infantry alone thirty-two officers killed, of whom one was lieutenant-colonel and four were battalion leaders. Three officers were shot by the Bavarians after defending a house to the very last. "Towards mid-day," the German account says, "Bazeilles was almost entirely in flames." Not content with using the torch, the Bavarians dishonoured their tardy victory by cruelties which they have vainly attempted to excuse.[2]

From Bazeilles the struggle extended to Balan. The 4th Bavarian division (2nd corps) occupied that village only after repelling a particularly stubborn resistance from the Carteret-Trécourt brigade, the struggle taking place chiefly in the park.

From ten in the morning, Moncelle, which the French had neglected to defend seriously, was in the hands of the Saxons. Supported by a battery, which at nine o'clock included no less than ninety-six guns, they endeavoured to debouch from La Moncelle. The whole morning was taken up with these attempts, which were vigorously opposed by the Lacretelle division. The Saxons succeeded in taking it, and by eleven o'clock, at the moment when Bazeilles was falling, they had gained a permanent footing on the right bank of the Givonne, whose crest was quickly occupied by their artillery. An hour earlier Daigny had also fallen into their power. While the German artillery was crushing the French batteries and the defenders of the heights, their infantry waited under cover; when the moment came for action it scaled the heights and took possession of them with insignificant loss.

All these subordinate engagements are dominated in importance by the general movement of that part of the 3rd army entrusted with the envelopment of the French army. Towards seven o'clock in the morning, the fog having lifted, the crown prince had ascertained with certainty, from the point of observation he had occupied for the past hour, that the French appeared to project the retention of Sedan, on the east of the curve formed by the Maas. He issued his orders.

The German artillery, in keeping with its principle, boldly outstripped the infantry. It established itself on the knoll south of St. Menges between it

[1 This is the scene of De Neuville's famous picture, "The Last Cartridge."]

[2 It is impossible to describe or even to sketch with any precision the series of confused engagements in the woods of Garenne. Cannon without wheels, caissons abandoned, a flag whose bearer perished gloriously, hundreds of men and horses fell into the power of the enemy; the forest was attacked at the same time on the north, the east, and the west. Only one French cannon still fired. It was taken when all its men were lost. A cloud of enemies, surging in from all sides, enwrapped this little wood, and all it contained were slain or taken. It was no more a battle; it was a man-hunt. — ROUSSET.m]

POLITICAL AGENT BARODA

and Floing, opened fire, and nearer and nearer, by additional arrivals, the battery advanced in echelon in the direction of Fleigneux. The French were subsequently driven from Floing.

Towards eleven o'clock General Galliffet received orders from General Margueritte to charge, with the squadrons of chasseurs d'Afrique, the companies which, coming down from Fleigneux, had just crossed the stream Illy. These were momentarily checked in their advance. Towards midday the envelopment was in full progress. Towards eleven o'clock in the evening the 11th corps took Cazal; seventy-one German batteries (426 guns), massed in four different places, swept in every direction the plateau of Illy and subjected the defenders to a cruel experience.

Not a moment was to be lost. General Ducrot had to act as commander-in-chief. He collected all the available artillery on the plateau, and turned it in the direction of Fleigneux; he replaced the Pellé and the Hériller divisions on the heights; and lastly ordered the commandant of the division of cavalry reserve to charge.

It was a question of charging in echelon towards the left, and then, after having overturned all that were met, to turn to the right in such a way as to take all the enemy's line in flank. This was at about two o'clock. At the moment when General Margueritte moved forward to reconnoitre the ground and the enemy's position, he was severely wounded. His tongue was injured, and when he arrived at the head of his division, he could only point with his arm to indicate the direction of the movement. Led by the gesture, the cavalry hurled themselves on Floing.

Thereupon, under the shelter of the artillery, heroic charges succeeded one another. These movements were carried out under the most deplorable disadvantages of ground but "with remarkable vigour and entire devotion," according to the Prussian account. The first charge came to grief—another was immediately made: "The honour of the army demands it," said General Ducrot, and new squadrons dashed forward. But in vain. Sabred, for the moment dispersed, the enemy's skirmishers fell back on the second line. Against this, complete and supported on its wings by squares, the reiterated desperate efforts of the squadrons were utterly broken, and their ruins dispersed in all directions.

We may easily understand and repeat the exclamation, "What brave men!" which King William made at this splendid sight. The Prussian account itself has said: "Although success did not result from the efforts of these brave squadrons, although their heroic attempts were powerless to thwart the catastrophe in which the French army was already irretrievably involved, that army is none the less entitled to look back with legitimate pride on the fields of Floing and Cazal, on which, during that memorable day of Sedan, its cavalry succumbed gloriously beneath the blows of a victorious adversary."

These glorious charges have as an epilogue the heroic attempt with which the name of Commandant d'Alincourt is associated. Towards three o'clock in the afternoon he attempted to cut a way through the enemy's lines, with a squadron of the 1st regiment of cuirassiers. The valiant troop set out from the Mézières gate and charged into the suburb of Cazal, overturning the German soldiers stationed there. But, the alarm once given, the Germans barred the road with the help of carriages and shot down the cuirassiers, whose noble attempt proved abortive; nearly three-quarters of them fell here. This is, with the exception of the vigorous attempt on Balan, the only real attempt which was made to pierce the circle of iron from the moment when it first became complete.

All that still remained flowed back under the concentric movement towards Sedan, which had already engulfed part of the army. The fire of the Prussian batteries was concentrated on the town, torn in all directions by the shells.

At three o'clock, the emperor Napoleon III, who had remained on the battle-field until half past eleven, hoisted the white flag. Two hours before, General Wimpffen had written to him requesting him to put himself at the head of his troops, who would make it a point of honour to cut the way out for him. Still following his idea of opening a road in the direction of Carignan, the general, who with great trouble had gathered together five or six thousand men, led them forward and with splendid dash threw himself for the first time upon the Bavarians, driving them out of the village of Balan. Towards four o'clock he received a suggestion from the emperor to treat with the enemy. He declined, and at the head of two or three thousand men, this time accompanied by General Lebrun, he made a fresh attempt. He could not deploy beyond Balan and finally fell back on Sedan. The unfortunate army was done for.[g]

In deciding to hoist a flag of truce, Napoleon III understood all the gravity of the responsibility he was incurring, and foresaw the accusations of which he would be the object. The situation appeared before his eyes in all its gravity, and the recollection of a glorious past arose, to augment the bitterness by its contrast with the present. How would it be believed that the army of Sebastopol and of Solferino had been obliged to lower its arms? How could it be understood that, enclosed within a narrow space, the more numerous the troops the greater the confusion, and the less possible was it to re-establish that order which is indispensable in battle? The prestige to which the French army was rightly entitled was about to vanish all at once, in the presence of a calamity that has no equal; the emperor remained alone responsible in the eyes of the world for the misfortunes that war brought in its train![l]

THE SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON III AND THE ARMY

At five o'clock all was ended. The emperor sent the following letter to the king of Prussia by one of his aides-de-camp:

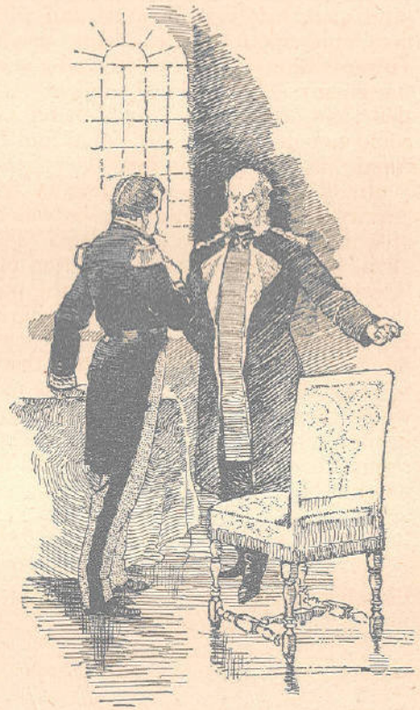
MONSIEUR MON FRÈRE:
Not having succeeded in dying in the midst of my troops, nothing remains for me but to deliver my sword into your majesty's hands.

The king replied:

While I regret the circumstances in which we meet, I accept your majesty's sword and beg you to be so good as to name one of your officers furnished with full powers to make terms for the capitulation of the army which has fought so bravely under your command. On my side, I have named General von Moltke for this purpose.

Napoleon III could surrender his person—he was no longer a general; it was not his work to surrender the army. Another was to be entrusted with this mission. Wimpffen, with despair at his heart, was obliged to submit to it. He went over to the enemy's headquarters, to the castle of Bellevue, near Donchery. For three long hours Wimpffen struggled in vain to obtain some modification of the conditions which Moltke had fixed. This cold and inflexible calculator, who had reduced war to mathematical formulas, was as incapable of generosity as of anger. He had decided that the entire army, with arms and baggage, should be prisoners.

Bismarck took part in the conference. He made one remark which has an historical importance—General Wimpffen[k] has noted it in his book on Sedan: "Prussia will exact as terms of peace, not only an indemnity of four billion francs, but Alsace and German Lorraine. We must have a good, advanced strategical line." "Demand only money," replied Wimpffen, "you will be sure of peace with us for an indefinite period. If you take from us Alsace and Lorraine, you will only have truce for a time; in France, from old men down to children, all will learn the use of arms, and millions of soldiers will one day demand of you what you take from us." The speech which Wimpffen relates shows the mistake of those who have believed that Bismarck did not agree with the military party on the question of Metz and Strasburg. If his political genius had once hesitated, it hesitated no longer. One of General Ducrot's aides-de-camp, who was present, has quoted Bismarck's remark somewhat differently; but, if the words differ, the sense is the same.



NAPOLEON III AND WILLIAM I

On September 2nd, at seven o'clock in the morning, Wimpffen called together in a council of war the commanders of the army corps and the generals of division. The council recognised that, "face to face with the physical impossibility of continuing the struggle, we were forced to accept the conditions which were imposed on us." Not only were they totally enveloped by forces which were now treble their own (220,000 men against 80,000), but they had food only for one day. Wimpffen carried his signature to the Prussian headquarters.

Napoleon III had left Sedan before the sitting of the council of war; he hoped to see the king of Prussia before the capitulation was signed and persuade William to grant some concessions; but the king avoided this interview; the emperor only encountered Bismarck, with whom he had a conversation in a workman's small house, near Donchery. This was the conclusion of the Biarritz interviews! Napoleon was then sent, with an escort of cuirassiers of the Prussian guard, to await his conqueror in a château on the banks of the Maas. There he repeated to William what he had just said to Bismarck: that he had not desired war; that public opinion in France had forced it upon him.

The shame which the defeated emperor brought on himself by excusing himself at the expense of France in the presence of her victorious enemy was the true expiation of December 2nd. No head of a state had ever shown such absence of dignity. The solemn contradiction which Thiers made to this shameful speech some months later at Bordeaux is well known. The imperial captive was sent into Germany to the castle of Wilhelmshöhe, near

Cassel; it was the former residence of his uncle Jerome, during the existence of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia.[1] Napoleon III at Wilhelmshöhe inevitably recalls Napoleon I at Malmaison after Waterloo. There was one common feature between these two men, otherwise so dissimilar: they seemed far less two human souls mortally wounded in the reality of their moral life than two actors who had played their parts and resigned themselves to quit the stage.[e]

The army with all its material was made prisoner of war. Nearly five hundred officers consented to give their parole. The others, marshals and generals at their head, were left to share in captivity the fate of their soldiers. The army awaited, in unspeakable privation, on the peninsula of Iges, so well named the Camp of Misery, the moment of departure.

In round figures the French losses total thus: killed, 3,000; wounded, 14,000; prisoners taken in battle, 21,000; prisoners by capitulation, 83,000; disarmed in Belgium, 3,000; total, 124,000 men. The Germans captured besides, one flag, two ensigns, 419 guns and mitrailleuses, 139 garrison guns, 1,072 wagons of all descriptions, 66,000 rifles, and 6,000 horses fit for service. The German army lost 465 officers, of whom 189 were killed, including General von Gersdorff, and 8,459 men, of whom 2,832 were killed.[f]

THE THIRD REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED (SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1870)

Sedan gave the final blow to the empire. Not even a push was required to complete its overthrow. How did the news reach Paris? Nobody knows. A vague rumour was spread on the afternoon of September 3rd. In the evening one hundred thousand Parisians paraded the streets and went to the house of the governor of the city, General Trochu. The chamber held a sitting during the night. There could be nothing more tragic than this sitting. A deathly silence prevailed among those official representatives of the empire. Jules Favre in his voice of brass read out in the midst of this silence a proposition of forfeiture. Not a sound, not a murmur was heard. A few hours still remained to the empire in which some extreme measure might be tried, but nobody thought of such a thing.

A compact mass of people thronged the place de la Concorde. The bridge was guarded and the police of the empire were using their weapons for the last time. The crowd, partly by its own force, partly owing to the complicity of the soldiers, managed to clear a passage. A few moments after, the chamber was invaded; for the fourth time the people entered the Tuileries.

The republic was proclaimed at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and also a provisional government under the name of "government of national defence." The government consisted of deputies elected in Paris: Jules Simon, Picard, Gambetta, Pelletan, Garnier-Pagès, Crémieux, Arago, Glais-Bizoin, and Rochefort, with General Trochu as president, Thiers having refused this office. The senate had been forgotten, just as in 1848 the chamber of peers had been. It was not remembered till the next day. In the evening, in spite of the threatened invasion, a profound relief was felt. The boulevards were crowded. Improvised chariots bearing inscriptions, and groups of soldiers mingling with the citizens were cheered as they passed. The police had disappeared. One of the most festive occasions during the days that

[1 September 4th the empress Eugénie fled from Paris and in five days landed on the coast of England, where she was joined by her son. They took up their residence at Chiselhurst near London, where Napoleon III joined them March 20th, 1871, and where he died January 9th, 1873.]

followed was the return of the exiles. All the great men who were welcomed back by their country, Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, and Ledru-Rollin, came to Paris. The return of Victor Hugo was a regular triumph.

When the empire fell, France was left unprotected. Of the two armies one had been captured at Sedan, and the other was shut up in Metz, whence it was to be delivered by treachery. The Germans thought they had nothing to do but to make a military excursion into France.

They were arriving at Paris from two directions—from Soissons and from Châlons. They looked upon Paris as their last remaining obstacle, and did not believe any resistance would be offered. In 1814 and 1815 Paris had been given up after a few days' struggle. They could not believe that the capital would endure the horrors of a siege. It was said to be provisioned for one month only, and in 1814 and 1815 the possession of Paris had meant the possession of France. Thus the war seemed finished; but it was really only begun.

THE SIEGE OF PARIS

The government took up its quarters in the capital, resolved to sustain the siege. It had sent away only its two oldest members, Crémieux and Glais-Bizoin, who had gone to Tours. In Paris they were hastily preparing the defence of the ramparts and the forts, which had been left by the empire in a very inefficient state. The national guard was consolidated and provided with guns. An attempt was made to reorganise the troops which were returning; General Vinoy's corps, which had reached Sedan too late and had made a rapid retreat, some sailors, some of the *mobiles*, and soldiers from here, there, and everywhere were to form the Parisian army. Trochu was commander-in-chief and had under him General Ducrot, who had escaped after Sedan, Vinoy, and at the head of the artillery General Frébault, who had presented to the navy some fine cannon which were now to be of great service in the defence of Paris.

Preparations were hardly completed when the enemy arrived. On the heights of Châtillon, which was a valuable position for Paris, the Germans found no opposition except from some troops who were already demoralised, being, so to speak, composed of the tail-end of defeated regiments. A panic ensued and the Germans gained possession of the heights, which enabled them to bombard Paris.

But a change was near. Paris was determined to make a defence. First Jules Favre went to Ferrières to find out what conditions Germany meant to propose. Bismarck wanted some of the French provinces, and Jules Favre replied: "Not an inch of our territory, nor a single stone of our fortresses!" Paris during the siege was a noble spectacle. The city of light laughter and sparkling merriment, the centre of elegance and fashion, had been transformed into a military stronghold. One thought occupied all minds, one passion possessed all hearts, the whole town had but one soul—and that was filled with the noble enthusiasm of patriotism.[g]

Indefatigable zeal was displayed by the various authorities—the ministry of commerce, the prefecture of the Seine, which was in the hands of a member of the government, Jules Ferry, the mayoralty of Paris, the mayoralties of the arrondissements; but these complicated wheels within wheels hindered each other, their functions not being clearly determined.

From September 26th a central victualling committee regulated and combined these various operations, and rendered valuable services. The gov-

ernment of national defence succeeded in adding to the resources already obtained more than four hundred thousand hundredweights of flour, which represented provisions for two months.

It was not sufficient to have corn; it must be ground. After surmounting enormous difficulties, the trade of miller was successfully organised in Paris. All trades connected with food were established in the great city as well as all those concerned with warfare.

Was this the case with the military organisation? It must first be admitted that there, more than in any other department, the difficulties were appalling. There were crowds of men, there were no real soldiers, or scarcely any; too few arms, and few good arms; the new chassepot rifles, already insufficient in number by half, had been stored in quantities at Metz and Strasburg, and there were not enough in Paris. As for the fortifications, since Palikao had become minister and the defence committee had been formed, to which Thiers had been elected, they had worked feverishly to repair, as far as possible, the negligence of the imperial government. Munitions had been stored; the *enceinte* of Paris and the forts had been put into good condition; from the various ports more than two hundred immense naval guns had been brought to supply the bastions of Paris, together with a picked set of seamen set at liberty by the disarmament of the fleet, which had been unable to make an effort in the Baltic for want of troops to land; there were nearly fourteen thousand brave sailors, commanded by half a dozen vice-admirals and rear-admirals. This was the strongest element of defence, and the general officers of the naval army were charged with the defence of the greater number of the divisions of the fortifications—the *secteurs*, as they were called.

On the 9th, the 13th corps entered Paris, led back from Mézières by General Vinoy. The 14th corps, which was being formed, was placed by Trochu under command of General Ducrot, who had escaped from the hands of the Prussians. On September 13th there were 60,000 soldiers of the line, the greater number of them raw recruits, 110,000 mobiles, 360,000 national guards. This last number was purely nominal, the greater number of these guards being neither in uniform nor armed, and many not even capable of bearing arms. They finally succeeded in arming 250,000. A large number of the mobiles also were neither equipped nor armed.[e]

The appearance of the town was curious. Guns glittered under the trees on the boulevards, and the sound of trumpets was everywhere. Theatres were changed into hospitals and the railway factories were busy casting cannon. There were no carriages and no gas; at night all was in darkness. Instead of the boulevards, the ramparts became the centre of Parisian life; here everyone, workmen and citizens alike, assembled gun in hand to guard the town. The inhabitants were blockaded. A few hundred yards from the fortifications an invisible circle of trenches enclosed the town. Communication with the outer world was impossible, except by balloons which were sent out of Paris or by the carrier pigeons which returned there pursued by Prussian bullets.

Provisions might fail, so the Parisians were placed on rations.[1] Cab horses furnished them with meat during the siege. As for bread, towards the end they wore out their teeth against a strange compound of corn, maize, oats, and pulverized bones. They ate anything that could be found, even the animals from the Zoölogical Gardens. Everybody endured hunger cheerfully. Later on cold weather set in. Winter was early that year and unusually severe. People were terribly cold in the frozen trenches.

[1 Meat was apportioned from the 1st of October at one hundred grammes to each person; after the 25th at sixty; and this on the 26th was to be reduced to fifty grammes.[e]]

At last bombardment brought the siege to an end. The Prussians launched enormous shells, larger than any that had yet been known, into the town, on to the monuments which are the pride of civilisation, on to the hospitals, on to the schools where sometimes the dead bodies of five or six children would be found. They fell, not on the ramparts, but in Paris. All through the night these huge masses of metal, whose fall meant death and destruction, were heard whizzing through the air. But the whole town only became the more enthusiastic, everyone was eager to fight, and not an angry word was heard, unless anyone spoke of surrender.

The generals were not so eager as the people. Trochu did not think it was possible to break through the Prussian circle of trenches. The generals of the empire, discouraged by repeated disasters, had but little confidence that this improvised army composed of the remnants of different regiments would be able to conquer the Germans, who had beaten their organised army.

There were a few skirmishes during the early days in order to recover the neighbouring villages, then an attack was made with a few soldiers near Garches; these were the only military incidents of the first few months. The moment when Trochu would resolve to act was awaited with feverish impatience. He had said that he had a definite plan.[n] Among the many isolated instances of defence we cannot quote many. Let the following account be taken as a type of that unavailing resistance France made in many directions:[a]

GIRARD'S ACCOUNT OF CHÂTEAUDUN (OCTOBER, 1870)

Paris, isolated, blockaded, suffering already, waited, listened, and asked, "Where is France?" When the name of Châteaudun resounded, when that brave resistance became known, when the echo of that gallant struggle struck the great, attentive, and already anxious city, then Paris in this time of public mourning gave vent to an almost joyful cry, and said to herself, "France is arising! France is hastening! France lives, for she knows how to die!" The little town of Châteaudun, which for weeks had attracted attention by its energy and its defensive dispositions, showed France and the world how a few thousand brave men could hold in check a whole army, provided they were willing to sacrifice their lives. The defence of Châteaudun is all the more admirable because it represents the heroism of the humble and unknown, heroism without ostentation where, from the highest to the lowest in the city, all did their duty. The defence of Châteaudun was entirely civilian, and the defenders, the national guards of Beauce, grain-sellers of peaceful mode of life, *francs-tireurs* of Paris, Nantes, and Cannes, all were simple valiant citizens.

The news of the occupation of Orleans by the Prussians had just arrived. Defence, it was thought, would be madness. But the news of this peaceful resolution was ill received by the people who were already determined on resistance; and ulans having appeared not far from the railway, some workmen had attacked them, armed only with their tools. The enemy was approaching. He had already reached Varize and Civey, which he had burned to punish the inhabitants for their resistance; while Châteaudun was erecting barricades made of sharp stones, supported by hewn logs and furnished with fascines and sacks of earth. On October 18th, a Tuesday, the sentries at St. Valérien noticed towards mid-day the enemy's approach!

Châteaudun had for its defence but 765 francs-tireurs, and 300 of the

[1870 A.D.]

Dunois national guards; not a gun nor a horse-soldier. At the most twelve hundred men all told; and against them the entire 22nd Prussian division was advancing. The German documents pretend, and the official despatch of Blumenthal dated from Versailles affirms, that the defenders of Châteaudun numbered 4,000.[1] Once again it may be declared, there were not 1,200 of them. The Prussian division was 12,000 strong, and had the use of 24 pieces of artillery.

Without taking into consideration the artillery, whose fire was so continued and so deadly, each Frenchman fought against ten. At nightfall, driven back on every side, the defenders of Châteaudun collected in the market-place, and, black with powder, excited by the battle, drunk with patriotism and passion, under a sky already red with conflagrations, they chanted the powerful verses of the Marseillaise.

The Germans attacked again and again. The fighting was hand to hand and in the dark. There was stabbing and throat-cutting, and the black stream of Prussians rushed through the streets. Torch in hand, they already invaded the captured houses—pillaged, stole, and burned. The last defenders of Châteaudun, while retiring, fired murderous volleys from all sides on the square where the Prussians swarmed; then they withdrew still fighting, whilst the Prussians, seeing enemies on all sides, shot each other by mistake in the darkness in the streets strewn with the dead.

Then the pillage began;[2] and horrified eyes beheld the atrocious and disgraceful spectacle of troopers breaking, shattering, daubing with petroleum doors and walls, burning, insulting, and yelling. History here records terrible things. A paralysed man was burned alive in his bed by drunken soldiers. An old soldier was killed for having said to some Bavarians, "That is barbarous." Generals had the hotel burned down in which they had dined gaily and toasted their bloody victory. They treated themselves to a spectacle of conflagration and devastation. These disciples of Hegel witnessed the sight of two hundred and twenty-five burning houses, and houses still inhabited! In one cellar alone ten human beings perished, suffocated. Châteaudun paid dearly for its devotion to its country, but German corpses strewed the streets, and the ruin of France was bought with German blood. Thirty officers and nearly two thousand men were killed. With the Germans everything must be paid for. Fire was not enough, the town was requisitioned. These executioners must be clothed, fed, and sheltered—and that after so unparalleled a pillage. The Dunois were decimated. They were ruined. Not one made the smallest complaint. All lived on in their ruined city, proud of their disasters, holding up their heads after having dearly bought the right to call themselves citizens of the little town, knowing well that one must pay for the right of making a living town into an eternal example.

The government of Tours decreed that Châteaudun had well deserved the country's thanks. The name of Châteaudun was soon famous even in besieged Paris. Poets have been inspired by its sacrifice. The mayor of Paris, Arago, gave the name rue de Châteaudun to the rue Cardinal Fesch. Victor Hugo had his *Châtiments* read for the benefit of the subscription for guns and asked in a superb letter that the first gun should be called Châteaudun. Lastly the enemy himself bowed before the heroism of the defenders of the little town, and a historian and one who took part in this drama relates

[1 Von Moltke[d] sets the number of defenders at 1,800.]

[2 Von Moltke[d] simply says that the French soldiers retired "leaving the inhabitants to their fate, and these, though having taken part in the struggle, were let off with a fine."]

[1870–1871 A.D.]

the words of Prince Charles at Varize: "General, have those *francs-tireurs* well treated; they are soldiers from Châteaudun."[o]

CONTINUED GERMAN SUCCESSES

Gambetta, who considered more the quantity of the troops than their quality, was very hopeful, particularly as a simultaneous sortie out of Paris was planned for November 30th and December 1st. He continually urged General Aurelle to begin offensive operations. But neither the attacks on the right wing of the German army at Ladon on the 24th, at Beaune-la-Rolande on the 28th of November, nor those on the right wing near Lagny and Poupry on December 2nd were of any avail. On December 3rd Prince Frederick Charles assumed the offensive, and repulsed the enemy in a sweeping assault; continuing the fight on the 4th, he stormed the railroad station as well as the suburbs of Orleans, and at ten o'clock in the evening the grand duke [of Mecklenburg] entered the city, which had been evacuated by the French. The Germans gained more than twelve thousand prisoners of war, sixty cannon, and four gun-boats. The enemy's line of retreat was along the Loire, partly up and partly down the stream. Gambetta, who was dissatisfied with the way General Aurelle had managed affairs, removed him from command and divided the army of the Loire into two parts, which were to operate separately or in conjunction, according to circumstances. The first army of the Loire, consisting of three corps, was stationed at Nevers, and was commanded by General Bourbaki; the second, of three and one-half corps, at Blois, commanded by General Chanzy.

FRENCH CUIRASSIER

Prince Frederick Charles sent a part of his army down the Loire to meet General Chanzy. Meung, Beaugency, Blois, and the château of Chambord were garrisoned, over seven thousand prisoners taken, and several guns captured. The government of delegates at Tours, not feeling secure any longer in that city, removed to Bordeaux on December 10th. General Chanzy retreated to Vendôme and from there further westward to Le Mans. Prince Frederick Charles placed one corps in Vendôme to watch any further movements on the part of General Chanzy. In the latter part of December he sent the remainder of his troops into quarters, for rest and re-equipment. On January 6th, 1871, upon orders from headquarters, he broke camp with 57,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 318 cannon, and marched out to meet Chanzy, who had meanwhile been quiet at Le Mans with 100,000 men.

Nobody knew where Bourbaki's army was, nor what were its plans—whether it proposed to join Chanzy at Le Mans, or to advance toward Paris by way of Montargis and Fontainebleau; or whether it had already gone eastward to the relief of Belfort. In order to be prepared for any emergency, the Hessian division remained in Orleans after the departure of the prince; Gien and Blois remained garrisoned; the 2nd corps under Fransecky was

stationed at Montargis, and the 7th under Zastrow at Auxerre to the eastward of this place. The march of the prince through the so-called "Perche" in frost, snow-storms, and thaw was most difficult. The troops advanced by three roads towards Le Mans, skirmishing daily, and were on the point of cutting off the enemy's retreat. Suddenly, on the morning of the 12th of January, Chanzy left Le Mans, retreated in haste towards Laval and Mayenne, and in the evening the Hanoverians marched into Le Mans. The prince took up his headquarters in the town, and sent troops in pursuit of Chanzy, some to Laval, some to Mayenne. The deserted camp of Conlie was occupied, and great quantities of supplies were seized. The grand duke of Mecklenburg marched with thirteen corps *via* Alençon to Rouen, to give the troops of the German army of the north an opportunity to strike a decisive blow. Nothing was to be apprehended from Chanzy in the near future; he had been forced back into Brittany, and was not in condition to undertake important operations. In the interval from the 6th to the 12th of January, 18,000 of his men had been taken prisoners and he had lost 20 guns and 2 standards. The number of killed and wounded could only be conjectured. Prince Frederick Charles lost 180 officers and 3,470 men, killed and wounded.

In the same manner in which the armies of relief were annihilated in the south and west of Paris, they were wiped out in the north. These latter were commanded successively by Generals Farre, Bourbaki, and Faidherbe; the last-named took command on December 3rd. The fortresses in the north, Arras, Cambray, Douai, and Valenciennes, were favourable as bases of operation as well as places of refuge. For the moment, only one army corps was equipped, and with this General Farre was stationed to the south of Amiens. General Manteuffel with the first army was to operate against him. But he was obliged to leave one corps behind to maintain Metz and besiege Thionville and Montmédy; the two remaining corps, numbering 38,244 infantry and 4,433 cavalry, with 180 guns, had to be reduced by several detachments for the siege of the northern fortresses. Manteuffel left Metz on November 7th, arrived near Compiègne on the 20th, and met the enemy at Moreuil on the 27th. He defeated him, took Amiens, and forced the citadel of the place and the smaller fortress of La Fère to capitulate. Hereupon Manteuffel turned toward Normandy, taking Rouen on December 5th, Dieppe on the 9th, and destroyed several army detachments at different points of the Seine.

Faidherbe, however, had meanwhile equipped a second army corps and marched southward, seizing the little fortress of Ham. Manteuffel therefore turned back, attacked the enemy on December 23rd at the little river Hallue (or near Quernieux), and forced him to retreat to Douai. The fortress of Péronne was obliged to capitulate on January 9th. General Bentheim, who remained in Normandy, had in the meantime had several skirmishes with detachments of the French army, numbering from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand men, and had forced them to retreat towards Le Havre; he had also stormed the château "Robert le Diable," and blocked the way of the men-of-war going up the Seine from Havre, by sinking eleven large vessels near Duclair. Among the sunken vessels were six English coal barges, the owners of which received indemnity. On January 3rd, Faidherbe, who was beginning operations again, attacked a division of the 18th corps at Bapaume, but was repulsed. The commander of the 8th corps, General Göben, was given command of the first army, when Manteuffel was appointed to the command of the army of the south. For the third time Faidherbe advanced, being ordered by Gambetta to assist at the great attempt to break out of

Paris, planned for the 19th of January, and stationed himself with between fifty and sixty thousand men near St. Quentin. General Göben attacked him on January 19th with about thirty thousand men, threw the French army out of all their positions after a battle of seven hours, and seized ten thousand prisoners and six guns. The enemy fled in wild confusion towards Cambray, and was for several weeks as incapable of action as the army of Chanzy.

A third army of relief appeared in the east. After the surrender of Strasburg, General Schmeling, with a division of reserve, had forced the fortresses of Schlettstadt and Neu Breisach to capitulate on October 24th and November 10th, while General Tresckow with another reserve division had surrounded Belfort, the southern key to Vosges, from November 3rd. These two divisions and a third reserve division formed later belonged to the 14th corps, commanded by General Werder. This latter general broke up from Strasburg in October with the Baden division and the division of troops of General von der Goltz, crossed the Vosges, reached Épinal and Vesoul, after daily skirmishes, defeated the troops of General Cambriels on October 22nd and forced them to retreat to Besançon, and sent General Beyer of Baden off to attack Dijon. After a fierce combat and a short bombardment this town was forced to capitulate. The whole of General Werder's corps took position at that place in November.

Garibaldi, affected by the republican chimera, arrived in Tours on October 9th, having been appointed commander-in-chief of the Volunteers of the Vosges by Gambetta. He advanced with an army of twenty thousand men from Autun and was beaten back on November 26th and 27th at Pasques. In the same manner a division under General Cremer, advancing toward Dijon, was obliged to take flight near Muits, by a part of the Baden division under General Glümer, on December 18th; while other divisions of the hostile army were thrown back into the fortress of Langres by General von der Goltz. Just then, General Werder heard that large masses of troops were assembling between Lyons and Besançon and that a tremendous coup against Belfort was contemplated. Upon this news he evacuated Dijon, and stationed himself at Vesoul from December 30th until January 9th. He had 33,278 infantry, 4,020 cavalry, and 120 field guns; this little army awaited the advance of General Bourbaki with about 150,000 men. Bourbaki had been commissioned by Gambetta to make a magnificent diversion in the rear of the German headquarters at Versailles, and had brought the 3rd army corps to Besançon in the middle of December, drawn a fourth to himself from Lyons, and also joined Cremer's division to his army. His plan was, having such an overwhelming force, to annihilate Werder's corps, relieve Belfort, penetrate into Alsace, interrupt the communication of the German armies with their bases of supply, and perhaps even undertake a campaign of revenge in South Germany. Belfort and the rear of the German beleaguering army were in no little danger. As soon as Moltke was apprised of the situation he at once, on the 6th of January, ordered the formation of the army of the south, composed of the 3rd, 7th, and 14th corps (of General Werder), made General Manteuffel commander-in-chief, and gave him personal instructions at Versailles on January 10th. The 2nd and 7th corps left Montargis and Auxerre, and met on January 12th at Châtillon-sur-Seine.

As soon as General Werder realised that Bourbaki's next aim was not Vesoul but Belfort, he left Vesoul, interrupted Bourbaki's advance on January 9th by an attack at Villersexel, and arrived in good time at the famous defensive position southwest of Belfort. To strengthen this position, ten thousand men and thirty-seven siege-guns were taken from the besieging

army at Belfort. The line of defence was drawn from Frahier, past Héricourt and Montbéliard, to Delle on the Swiss frontier, and was bounded in front by the river Lisaine and the swampy valley of the Allaine. Whoever should storm this position and seize the road to Belfort would first have to cut down the whole of Werder's corps; for the German troops, well recognising the danger menacing the fatherland, had raised the historical rallying-cry, "We dare not let them through, not for the world!"

Outside conditions, not considering the fourfold greater numbers of the enemy's troops, were most unfavourable. The supply of provisions was small, the cold was intense (17°), and the river Lisaine was frozen. But the sense of duty of the German soldiers overcame all difficulties. Bourbaki did not understand how to make the best use of his superior forces, and either to break through the centre or surround the feeble right wing of his opponent. All his attacks in the three days' battle of Belfort, or Héricourt, on January 15th, 16th, and 17th were repulsed. He was only able to take for a few hours the feebly garrisoned village of Chenebier; and he had to evacuate and begin his retreat on January 18th. He was influenced to this step by the news of the approach of General Manteuffel. The loss of the French in this battle and in the skirmishes on their retreat were 6,000—8,000 killed and wounded and 2,000 taken prisoners. General Werder lost 81 officers and 1,847 men. On the 19th he followed the enemy, who was retreating toward Belfort and intended to march from there to Lyons. But unless he were very expeditious he would reach neither Lyons nor Belfort.

General Manteuffel, who had taken command of the army of the south on January 12th, was approaching by forced marches. He marched through the mountain chains of the Côte d'Or, thence between the fortresses of Langres and Dijon, without molestation from Garibaldi, who had occupied Dijon with 25,000 men after Werder's evacuation. On the news of Bourbaki's retreat he turned towards the southeast with his two corps, 44,950 infantry, 2,866 cavalry and 168 guns in all, in order to block the way of the enemy towards Lyons. He wished to force the enemy to choose between a battle by his demoralised troops, a surrender without battle, or a crossing of the Swiss frontier. On January 23rd the road to Lyons was occupied, the first skirmishes began; the 2nd and 7th corps crowded in from the south and west, that of General Werder from the north. No way remained open but to the east. Bourbaki tried to commit suicide on the 26th of January.

At the same time a telegram from Gambetta arrived, superseding Bourbaki and putting General Clinchant in his place as commander-in-chief of the army of the east. But he was no less unable to realise Gambetta's project of marching the army southward, and was obliged to retreat to Pontarlier. He hoped to make use of the news of the truce of Versailles as a sheet anchor; but it was soon evident that it did not apply to the seat of war in the east. Thus the catastrophe could not be averted. On February 1st the last mountain pass toward the south was blocked, Pontarlier stormed, and the retreating foe was pursued as far as the two border fortresses of La Cluse; 90,000 men and 11,787 horses crossed the Swiss frontier at La Verrières, were disarmed there and scattered through the different cantons. During these days the Germans took more than 15,000 prisoners and seized 2 standards, 28 cannon and mitrailleuses, and great numbers of wagons and weapons.

Garibaldi meanwhile had been held in check by 6,000 men under General Kettler, during which battle the enemy found a German flag under a heap of corpses. He evacuated Dijon on the night of February 1st on the report that stronger forces were approaching, withdrew southwards, and soon afterwards returned to the island of Caprera. The fortress of Belfort, defended by Colonel Denfert-Rochereau, had so far held out, as the conditions of the surrounding territory were so favourable. The assault on the two forts of Upper and Lower Perche was a failure; it was renewed on February 8th and then with success. After this Belfort could not hold out much longer. In order, however, to obtain control of the fortress before the conclusion of the truce, King William consented to an extension, only on condition of the surrender of Belfort. On February 18th the garrison, still 12,000 men strong, marched out with military honours, and Belfort was taken possession of by Tresckow's division. Other fortresses, such as Soissons, Verdun, Thionville, Pfalzburg, and Montmédy, had already in 1870 been forced to surrender; only Bitsch remained in possession of the French until March 26th.

After the annihilation of all the armies of relief, Paris had nothing more to hope for, unless the grounds for hope were in the city itself. A grand sortie had been planned with Gambetta for the 30th of November. General Ducrot, with about fifty thousand men, was to break through the eastern line of the beleaguering army, march to Fontainebleau, join the army of the Loire, and with it return to the relief of Paris. While demonstrations were being made at other points, Ducrot advanced towards Champigny and Brie on the Marne, drove back the Würtemberg division, of which a part repulsed an attack near Bonneuil and Mesly, and also an incomplete Saxon division out of the villages of Champigny and Brie; but he could advance no further on account of the stubborn resistance of the German troops.

On December 2nd the two divisions, assisted by the 2nd army corps and a brigade of the 6th corps under General Fransecky, advanced and after a hot fight retook half of Champigny; whereupon the French evacuated the other half of the place and Brie, and returned with all their troops to the right bank of the Marne. The Würtembergers lost, in these two days of battle, 63 officers and 1,557 men; the Saxons, 82 officers and 1,864 men; the Pomeranians, 87 officers and 1,447 men; the loss of the French was about 10,000 men, among which were about 1,600 prisoners. The sorties against Stains and Le Bourget on December 21st and 22nd were also repulsed. Mont Avron, which had very heavy guns, was abandoned by the French after a bombardment of two days, and the bombardment of the eastern forts was begun. On January 5th after the arrival of the siege-park the bombardment of the southern forts was begun; their fire was soon silenced; and on January 9th began the bombardment of Paris, in which the left bank of the Seine principally suffered, although not to any great extent.

Two facts soon became apparent: sorties of the Parisians, seeking to repulse the besiegers, broke through their lines and operated in their rear; and the formation of armies in the provinces, which were intended to go to the relief of the capital, and in conjunction with the Parisian troops, forced the German headquarters to raise the siege. This latter measure was particularly urged by Gambetta, who had left Paris in a balloon on October 6th for Tours, where an external government had been established. Here he took charge of the ministry of war as well as that of the interior, and finally usurped the dictatorship of France. He aimed to stir up the national hatred of the French for the Germans, and to call to the defence of their flag all the able-bodied men of the harassed country; he gathered large forces on the Loire, others to the north and west of Paris, and finally succeeded in causing alarm to the besiegers for the safety of their line of retreat. Thus he had indeed the credit of prolonging the war, but he incurred also the responsibility of its taking on a more sanguinary character and of the country's

receiving still deeper wounds. The generals of Gambetta were not equal in strategy to those of Moltke, and the discipline of their soldiers was not much better than that of the garde mobile in Paris.

After the capitulation of Sedan the headquarters of King William was fixed in Rheims on the 5th of September; in Meaux on the 15th; in the Villa Ferrières of Rothschild near Lagny on the 18th. From here he went to Versailles on October 15th. Many important diplomatic documents and oral transactions date from this period. In a circular letter of September 6th, Favre declared that since the fall of the empire the king of Prussia could have no pretext for continuing the war; that the present government never desired the war with Germany, but if the king insisted, would indeed accept it, but would make him responsible for it; and in any case, no matter how the war might result, not a foot of land, not a stone of a fortress would be ceded.

Bismarck's answer to this, in a circular letter of September 13th, was that since the representatives, the senate, and the press in France had in July, 1870, almost unanimously demanded the war of conquest in Germany, it could not be said that France had not desired it, and that the imperial government alone was responsible for it. Germany would have to expect a war of revenge on the part of France, even though she should demand no surrender of territory and no indemnity, and should be content with glory alone. For this reason Germany was forced to take measures for her own safety, by setting back somewhat her boundaries, thus making the next attack by the French on the heretofore defenceless south-German border more difficult. The neutral powers, with the exception of Russia, were in favour of France, and seemed to be inclined to interfere in any possible negotiations for peace, and to hinder any oppressive measures against France. As Thiers was at that time making his tour through Europe for this very purpose, Bismarck issued a second circular letter on September 16th, in which he advised the powers not to prolong the war by fostering in the heart of the French nation the hope of their intervention; for since the German nation had fought this war alone, it would also conclude it without assistance, and would submit to no interference from any side whatever. The German governments and the German nation were determined that Germany should be protected against France by strengthened frontiers. The fortresses of Strasburg and Metz, until now always open to sorties against Germany, must be surrendered to Germany, and be for her defence henceforth.

The Parisian government, which since the annihilation of the French armies had been so much in favour of peace, now wished to know under what conditions King William would consent to a truce. Favre demanded a meeting with Bismarck, and had several interviews with him on this subject in the Villa Ferrières, on September 19th and 20th. He declared that the most France could consent to was to agree to pay an indemnity, but any cession of territory was out of the question. In order to decide this, a national assembly must be convened, which would then appoint a regular government, and to facilitate these measures a truce of from fourteen to twenty-one days was necessary; and he now asked for this favour. Bismarck replied that such a truce would be not at all to the military interest of Germany, and could only be conceded on condition of the surrender of Metz, Toul, and Bitsch. As the Parisian government would not consent to these conditions, negotiations were stopped, and Favre and other French diplomats issued new circular letters in which they deplored the intention of Prussia to reduce France to a power of the second degree. The absurdity of such an assertion—that a state of thirty-eight million inhabitants, or including Algeria forty-two million, could

POLITICAL AGENCY BARODA

by the loss of a territory containing about one and one-half millions be reduced to the condition of a second-rate power—was exposed in its entire falsity by Bismarck in his despatch of October 1st.

Nevertheless, a few weeks later, negotiations were once more resumed; Thiers, who had returned from his tour, appeared at Versailles on November 1st as the new negotiator. Here also the first question to be discussed was the cessation of hostilities; and when Bismarck asked in surprise what France had to offer as a return for all these concessions, Thiers absurdly enough imagined he was very ingenious when he answered that she had nothing: and upon this, these negotiations also fell through. The republican government was, as was plainly to be seen, animated by a childish stubbornness—consumed by the idea of its own importance. In every war in which France was victorious, the hardest possible conditions were imposed upon the vanquished enemy, who was never permitted to escape territorial concessions. Even quite recently, in the Italian war of 1859, after the two victories of Magenta and Solferino, the surrender of Lombardy was demanded. That in case of French victory the whole left bank of the Rhine would be lost to Germany was disputed by no intelligent person in Europe. And yet France had the effrontery to demand from the same opponent from whom she had taken so many territories in former decades, and from whom she as victor had just taken her fairest provinces, that the entirety of the French frontiers should be respected as sacred, and that no attempt should be made to recover the lost provinces. Such arrogant pretensions could be answered only by new defeats. Humiliations must be much deeper, distress especially in Paris much more bitter, before France could realise that every nation, consequently even the French, must suffer for its sins.

So the cannon had to speak again, and times were very lively before Paris, as well as at other points. Immediately, on the first day of investment, the 19th of September, the Parisians made a sortie with forty thousand men against Châtillon. But they were defeated by the Prussian and Bavarian troops, and fled in shameful disorder. The Parisians fared no better in their sorties of September 30th and October 13th and 21st. Although they succeeded in taking the thinly garrisoned village of Le Bourget north of Paris on October 28th, they were driven out of it again by a division of the guards on the 30th. Much dissatisfaction was felt in Paris on account of these constant defeats. The social democrats took advantage of this to overthrow the government and substitute the commune. They created an uprising on October 31st and on November 1st took possession of the Hôtel-de-Ville for a few hours, but were soon ejected. Rochefort, who was greatly compromised, was obliged to retire from the government.

The Parisians now placed all their hopes on the arrival of the armies of relief, and allowed themselves a few weeks of quiet. The earliest relief was to come from the Loire. General de la Motterouge was stationed there with an army corps and was advancing from Orleans towards Paris. The first Bavarian corps under General von der Tann, the Wittich division of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry, were sent to meet him. The French were defeated at Artenay and other points, on October 10th and 11th, and on the evening of October 11th General von der Tann entered Orleans. The Bavarians held the city, the other divisions of the army took Châteaudun, Chartres, and Dreux, northwest of Orleans, and dispersed the gardes mobiles and francstireurs who were stationed there. Gambetta, in council on military subjects with an ex-mining engineer, Freycinet, called to arms all men between the ages of twenty and forty, ordered the formation of five new army corps and

had them drilled in special instruction camps. He deposed General de la Motterouge, and made General Aurelle de Paladines commander-in-chief of the army of the Loire. The latter crossed the Loire with two corps and advanced toward the road of Paris, in order to cut off the line of retreat of the Bavarian general. Von der Tann, however, left Orleans at once, on the report of the advance of large masses of troops, and on the 9th of November had a stubborn fight while retreating and established himself at Tours, in order to block the way of the enemy. A division of infantry was sent to his assistance from Versailles under command of the grand duke of Mecklenburg. Against these forces, strengthened by three corps under Prince Frederick Charles, General Aurelle with his poorly equipped troops, now reduced to four corps, did not dare to venture an attack, much as Gambetta urged him to do so. He intrenched himself before Orleans, and awaited the attack. Thus he was lost, and the headquarters at Versailles and the besieging army at Paris were freed from all danger.

In the eastern part of France, meanwhile, great successes had been attained [by the Prussians], important partly in themselves, partly on account of the possibilities of new and magnificent operations. The fortress of Toul surrendered on September 23rd, by which means the railroad between Strasburg and Paris was opened again. Strasburg, the ancient imperial German city, capitulated on September 28th. Since the bombardment of August 24th to 27th did not bring the commander General Uhrich to terms, a regular siege was begun. Everything was ready for assault and success was certain. The commander did not wait for this, but surrendered, and he and 451 officers and 17,111 men became prisoners of war. Joy in Germany was very great on the news that Strasburg, lost through treachery on September 30th, 1681, was once again German.

The capitulation of Metz on October 29th left the beleaguering army free for most urgent purposes. The 2nd corps under General Fransecky marched off toward Paris, to strengthen the army of the crown prince of Prussia. From the remaining 6 corps, a first army under General Manteuffel and a second under Prince Frederick Charles were formed, each consisting of three corps and one cavalry division. Prince Frederick Charles, with 49,607 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 276 guns, set out on November 2nd from Metz and on the 14th was able to join in operations on the Loire. The troops of the grand duke of Mecklenburg, some divisions of which had repulsed the army of the west under General Keratry and occupied Dreux and Châteauneuf, joined the troops of the prince, and formed their right wing. There were about 105,275 men and 556 guns in all, to whom the task had been appointed to force General Aurelle de Paladines's well-equipped army of 200,000 men out of its strong position, drive it over the Loire, and retake Orleans.[h]

MARTIN ON THE SURRENDER OF METZ (OCTOBER 27TH, 1870)

Before descending the sorrowful road that leads to the supreme catastrophes, it is necessary to recount the fall of Metz. Metz presents a most extraordinary and revolting spectacle, a picture never before seen in history—that of a military chief voluntarily sterilising the powerful means of action which he held in his hands, embarrassing himself by tortuous combinations, falling into traps of his own making, and in the end delivering to the enemy without a struggle a large army and a large unconquered place; accomplishing his own ruin and the ruin of his country. It is not easy to understand this man and his actions, to discover any plan, any intention in this series of contradictions, lies, and inexplicable mistakes, viewed not only from the standpoint of his duty but of his own interest. It would seem as though Bazaine, like Napoleon III, was born to ruin that which it should have been his duty to save.

Wishing to stay at Metz, why did not Bazaine provision the place for a long sojourn? If Bazaine had strategic motives for not leaving Metz, he should, with the large force at his disposal, have harassed the enemy. During the fifteen days which followed the battle of Noisseville, August 31st and September 1st,[1] he took no action, either against the enemy or to provision the place. The criminal negligence of Bazaine produced its results. After neglecting all chances of breaking through the enemy's ranks, allowing Metz to be reduced to famine and the army to become demoralised, Bazaine surrendered. The capitulation was signed on the 27th of October.[e]

The capitulation of Metz is one of the greatest blots on French history. It has led many almost to forget how completely uncharacteristic it was of French warrior type of that or any other time. It is in reality only a proof of how largely warfare is a matter of good or bad commanders. At Metz 197,326 Prussians received the surrender of 6,000 French officers, 187,000 men (including 20,000 sick), 56 imperial eagles, 622 field and 2,876 fixed guns, 72 mitrailleuses, and 260,000 small arms. It is small wonder that even Moltke[d] credits Bazaine with some ulterior design in trying to keep from battle so large a force, and hints the same motive previously alluded to—the hope of being chosen by the Germans as king of the French. The fact that Bazaine was not overthrown by his own men was perhaps due to the utter disgust with which Napoleon III was now regarded. His was a poor cause to die for, and there was no other immediate object in view.[a]

THE UPRISING OF PARIS

Paris had been thrilled with excitement at the news that her troops had by a sortie taken Bourget from the Germans, October 21st. But a few days afterwards three pieces of news arrived simultaneously: Metz had surrendered; Bourget was retaken, October 30th; and Thiers was going to negotiate.

Paris, already very uneasy at the slow progress of operations and resolved to hold out to the bitter end, was enraged. On the 31st of October crowds of people from all parts and whole battalions of soldiers assembled in front of the Hôtel-de-Ville, filling the square with a seething, swaying mass of humanity. Soon they invaded the Hôtel-de-Ville; the members of the government were collected in one room; they were guarded and even threatened.

The leaders of the extreme party, Blanqui, Flourens, and Delescluze, formed a new government. At six o'clock in the evening the government of the 4th of September seemed overthrown; some of its members who were prisoners refused to resign. The news spread. A reaction took place. In the morning the calmer among the people did not act. In the evening, however, they assembled before the Hôtel-de-Ville; but this time it was to protest against the new government. Trochu had called out the army.

[1 The French had had about 100,000 men engaged out of the 120,000 who took part in the attempt at a sortie. The Germans opposed them, on the 31st of August, with 36,000 men, 4,800 cavalry, and 138 guns; on the 1st of September, with 69,000 men, 4,800 horses, and 290 guns. They had contrived with far inferior numbers to get the best in a defensive action, waged, it must be said, under the most advantageous conditions. If we put aside the conditions which the nature of the ground imposed, we see that in spite of the vigour of the attack everything failed, owing to the weakness and irresolution of the commander-in-chief: these were carried to such an extreme that one is justified in assuming that he had no intention of breaking through the investing lines, and that he did not care to engage in a big battle. — CANONGE.[g]]

The palace, shut up and barricaded, was completely surrounded by soldiers, and bayonets were bristling as far as the eye could see. The new occupants began to be disheartened, but at last Ferry entered by a subterranean passage at the head of a company of gardes mobiles. No fighting took place; one side promised an amnesty, the other abandoned its resistance, and they all left the building together. The government of the 4th of September made an appeal to the people to confirm their power, and this was done by an enormous majority.[n]

PARIS SUFFERS FROM COLD, HUNGER, AND BOMBARDMENT (DECEMBER-JANUARY)

The torture caused by cold and hunger was terrible. The daily ration had to suffice; this consisted of indescribable bread, made of residues and bad bran, and thirty grammes of horseflesh; for the government, having in its guilty improvidence allowed provisions of all kinds to be wasted at the beginning of the siege, was compelled, in spite of solemn promises, to resort to rationing. Those who possessed neither wealth, nor a gun of the national guard, nor a recognised state of poverty, could no longer warm nor feed themselves. The mortality every week reached the enormous total of three thousand six hundred; epidemics which had broken out in the city, almost from the beginning of the siege, raged more furiously every day; and small-pox especially, from September 18th, 1870, to February 24th, 1871, the date of the armistice, claimed 64,200 victims—42,000 more than during the corresponding period of 1869-1870. As for the mortality of infants, it was appalling, and attained in one single week, the last of the siege, the frightful total of two thousand five hundred!

The Parisian women, no matter to what class of society they belonged, proved themselves admirable. The wealthy, whose emblazoned carriages remained in the coach-houses for want of horses, went on foot each day to the sheds in the Champs-Élysées, or to the ambulance in the Grand Hotel, to take part in the clinics of Nélaton, Ricord, and Péan, of all the famous men of the school of medicine, and to make the most nauseating and occasionally the most dangerous dressings. Others went to the scene of action in company with the ambulances of the society for the succour of the wounded. Actresses lavished their care on the wounded soldiers, nursed them in their theatres now transformed into hospitals; and all, young, old, and celebrated alike, played the part of sister of mercy with the same ardour which they had lately displayed in winning their triumphs.

And if the devotion of fortune's favourites was praiseworthy, how much more admirable was the stoical courage of the women of the people, the bourgeoise, the workwoman, forced to wait during the icy hours of early dawn, in the cold, adhesive mire, lashed by the wind and rain, for a meagre ration of siege bread and a piece of horseflesh! How they must have suffered, those poor creatures, drawn up in file, benumbed with cold, crushed by the burden of their poor housekeeping, and torn between the cares of material life and the mortal anxiety which consumed them at every cannon-shot.

Great astonishment was felt when, in the afternoon of January 5th, several shells were flung into the southern quarter of the city. As they seemed to be thrown here and there without any definite aim, it was thought that they were the result of ill-regulated firing, or the fault of some gunner, for the Parisians refused to believe that the German armies could, by an act worthy of Vandals, seriously intend to destroy with their shells the capital of the civilised world. But soon the persistence and progressive regularity

of the discharges left no room for illusion, and one was forced to yield to evidence. It most certainly was upon Paris that the soldiers of King William were levelling their cannon.

The attempt at intimidation essayed by the foe as their last resource was merely useless cruelty. They even received that light ridicule which is always attached to great measures producing but slight results. As for the fall of Paris, it was not hastened by a single day. Nevertheless, from January 6th, all the monuments on the left bank were bound to suffer more or less. The districts of St. Victor, the Jardin des Plantes, the Staff College, the Panthéon, the Invalides, the Library of Ste. Geneviève, the Luxembourg Gardens, wherein were the ambulance quarters, the École Polytechnique, and the convent of the Sacred Heart were ploughed with shells, occasionally causing conflagrations which were hastily extinguished.

By an aggravation of barbarity, the hospitals seemed to be the centre of the circle attacked. The lunatic asylum of Montrouge received 127 projectiles between January 5th and 27th, the Val de Grâce hospital 75, the Salpêtrière 31. It will be seen that the bombardment was methodical; it cost the civil population 396 victims (of whom 107 were women, children, or old men), who were instantly killed. But, notwithstanding these most regrettable effects, the only immediate result was a certain emigration of the inhabitants of the left bank to the right bank. Others "flocked in crowds to the bombarded districts to contemplate with curiosity the curve described by the shells, fragments of which were picked up and sold by urchins for five centimes up to five francs, according to the size." As the Germans threw altogether ten thousand projectiles, it may be assumed that the receipts must certainly have been profitable.[m]

THE LAST SORTIE

Still the bombardment had not attained its object. Its odious and useless barbarity had not brought the fall of Paris one day nearer. Steel and fire could effect nothing; famine was the only adversary capable of conquering the great city. Before succumbing to it the supreme effort had to be tried, the battle of despair to be fought which might still save everything. Did not Gambetta's despatches give grounds to hope for the march of Chanzy on Paris and a victory by Bourbaki in the east?

At all costs it was necessary to preserve the honour of four months of constancy and concord, and not to plunge into civil war in the presence of the enemy. The storm was rising in Paris and the blame of her misfortunes was laid on the military authorities. On the 5th of January one of the chiefs of the revolutionary party, Delescluze, mayor of the 20th arrondissement, had endeavoured to bring the mayors to vote a violent address demanding the dismissal of Trochu.

He had not been listened to, and had resigned; but two days later a great sortie which had been prepared, being countermanded because the enemy had learned or divined the plan of attack, the agitation was extreme. The violent cried treason, the masses cried out at the incapacity of the commanders. They began vehemently to demand the supersession of the governor of Paris. On the 15th of January the council of government decided on a last effort against the Prussian lines. The next day the council of war accepted this decision; the military chiefs yielded to the necessity, but without confidence. Ducrot had no longer any of the dash exhibited at Champigny. Clément Thomas, the commander of the national guard, declared that the regiments

of foot of the mobilised Parisians would furnish fifty thousand men. In this there was an ardour which the troops no longer possessed.

Troops of the line, gardes mobiles, and mobilised national guards were set in motion during the 18th. It had been decided to put into action sixty thousand men who would be supported by a reserve of forty thousand. The attack was made in the direction of Versailles. The enemy, who had been so greatly alarmed by a former sortie on the same side, three months before, had strongly fortified himself there.

The French army had been divided into three corps under generals Vinoy, Bellemare, and Ducrot. The routes were few in number and were moreover confined at various points by barricades which left only narrow passages. The three generals not having concerted together on the matter of time, the various corps jostled one another and became mutually entangled in this painful night-march. But the day began well.

JULES FAVRE

The cannon of the French, which they had at last managed to mount to the right of Montretout, swept the ranks of the assailants. They gave way; the summit was at last in the hands of the French. The fire of the enemy relaxed, then ceased.

The line of the German outposts remained in the hands of the French; might they hope that the next day they would be able to force that second and formidable line against which they had flung themselves? The leaders thought not. Trochu had hurried from Mont Valérien to that ridge of Montretout which had been victoriously retained. He judged it useless to renew the effort and ordered the retreat. The Germans made no attempt to harass the retiring forces.

It was as at Champigny, a half victory terminated by a retreat; but this time it was impossible to begin again. Little confident in the morning, Trochu was wholly discouraged by the evening. On hearing of the retreat Jules Favre felt with Trochu that all was lost. At most the means of warding off starvation were only sufficient for twelve or thirteen days. It was calculated that it would take ten to collect new supplies. That same night the government received two despatches, one of which announced the unfortunate issue of the battle of Le Mans; in the other, written before Chanzy's reverse was known at Bordeaux, Gambetta called on his colleagues in Paris to give battle, threatening to inform France of his sentiments on their inaction if they still delayed. The painful irritation of this letter testified that the writer felt the supreme hour was approaching. The fight he demanded had just been ended; the cautious general at Paris had fought like the bold general of Le Mans: both had failed.

A minority of the members of the government at Paris once more stiffened themselves against the terrible necessity. They demanded another general if Trochu refused to make a new effort. The line and the garde mobile demanded peace; the national guard alone wished to fight again. Jules Favre

despatched to Gambetta a melancholy message which was to be the last of the siege. "Though Paris surrender, France is not lost; thanks to you, she is animated by a patriotic spirit which will save her; in any case we will sign no preliminaries of peace."

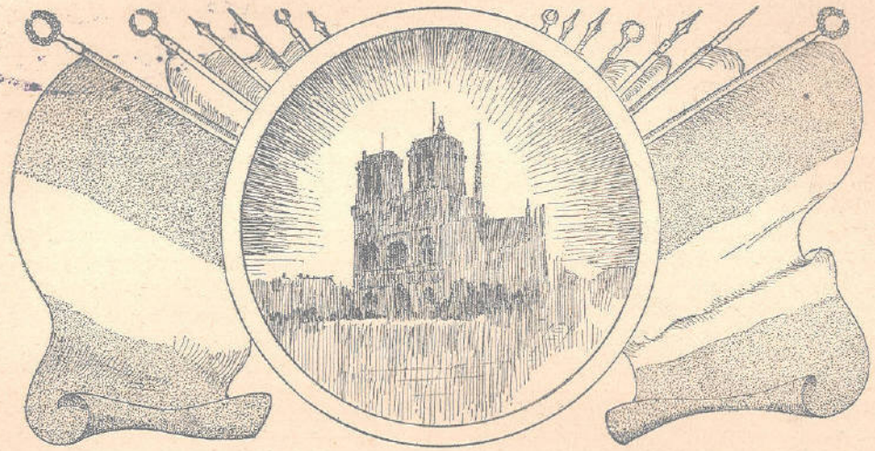
Eventually the members of the government contrived that Trochu should resign the military command while binding him to remain president of the council. This was the greatest token of self-abnegation and devotion that he could give. In so doing he resigned himself to going back on his word by signing the capitulation.

Vinoy succeeded in the command. His succession was inaugurated by an insurrection. Several persons were killed in the crowd. This was the first act of civil war after four months of siege. After two conferences with Bismarck, Jules Favre agreed to the capitulation of Paris, concluded with the condition that the German army should not enter Paris during the duration of the armistice. The convention of Paris was concluded on January 28th.[e]

THE END OF THE WAR

An armistice of three weeks was agreed to, although this did not include the three eastern departments in which the destruction of Bourbaki's army was just taking place. During this time a national assembly was to be chosen to decide on the question of war or peace; all the forts of Paris and the war supplies were handed over to the German troops; the garrisons of Paris and of the forts were taken prisoners and had to give up their arms, although they still remained in Paris and had to be supported by the town authorities. One division of twelve thousand men was to be kept to maintain order and the same exception was made in the case of the whole national guard, against Moltke's will and at the desire of Favre, who repented of it later. The city of Paris had to pay a war tax of two hundred million francs within fourteen days, and was allowed to provision itself. On the 29th of January the surrender of the twenty-five larger and smaller forts to the German troops took place and the black-white-and-red flag was raised on them.

This convention was very unwelcome to Gambetta. However, he thought he might use the respite of three weeks to equip new troops and hoped by controlling the impending elections to bring together a radical national assembly, resolved to continue the war *à l'outrance*. For this purpose he published a proscription list on the 31st of January, according to which everyone who had received a higher office or an official candidacy from the imperial government was declared ineligible. Bismarck and the Parisian government protested energetically against such an arbitrary act and insisted upon free elections. In the German headquarters it was decided to take the most extreme measures, and new plans of operations were already drawn up. Gambetta, being abandoned by the other members of the representative government, resigned on February 6th. On the 8th of February elections were held throughout France, and on the 12th the national assembly was opened at Bordeaux. Thiers was chosen chief of the executive on the 17th, formed his ministry on the 19th, and on the 21st, accompanied by the ministers Favre and Picard, he went to Versailles, commissioned by the national assembly, to begin the peace negotiations.[h]



CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

[1871–1906 A.D.]

> Perhaps the most general feeling throughout the civilised world with regard to French history in the nineteenth century is that it is a chaos of revolutions, one government after another being set up and pulled down in obedience to the fluctuating impulse of the mob. It may well be maintained, as against this view, that nowhere in history is visible a more logical and consistent operation of cause and effect, the whole forming a struggle to solve the problem, which indeed underlies all the history of popular government—how to establish an executive strong enough to govern, and yet not strong enough to abuse its power.—GAMALIEL BRADFORD.[b]

FRANCE and Paris had so long been separated that, when they again met face to face, they did not recognise each other. Paris could not forgive the provinces for not coming to her rescue, the provinces could not forgive Paris her perpetual revolutions and the state of nervous excitability in which she seemed to delight. While the provinces, crushed, requisitioned, worn out by the enemy, were hoping for rest which would enable their wounds to heal, Paris, like an Olympic circus, was re-echoing more noisily than ever to the sound of arms and warlike cries. It was the intermediate time between a government which had ceased to exist and a government which was not yet formed; executive bodies were hesitating, not knowing exactly whom to obey, not daring to come to any decision under any circumstances: dissolution was general and indecision permanent.[c]

That it was a costly mistake for the Germans to insist on the spectacular parade through so inflammable a city as Paris, is emphasised in the recent work of Zévort[d]; and Jules Favre[e] describes the earnestness with which Thiers pleaded with Bismarck and Von Moltke against the project. The Prussians insisted, however, either on keeping the city of Belfort, or on the

POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA

glory of the triumph in Paris. Thiers protested against the seizure of Belfort in the following words:[a]

"Well, then, let it be as you will, Monsieur le comte—these negotiations are nothing but a pretence. We may seem to deliberate, but we must pass under your yoke. We demand of you a city which is absolutely French: you refuse it: that amounts to confessing that you are resolved on a war of extermination against us. Carry it into effect: ravage our provinces, burn our houses, slaughter the inoffensive inhabitants—in a word, finish your work. We will fight you to the last gasp. We may succumb; at least we shall not be dishonoured!"

Herr von Bismarck seemed disturbed, says Favre. The emotion of Thiers had won him over. He answered that he understood what he must be suffering, and that he should be happy to be able to make a concession, if the king consented.

It is an unlooked-for spectacle—a Bismarck almost melted and a Moltke almost sentimental, preferring a barren honour, the entry of their troops into Paris, to the possession of a French town, and succeeding in making their master share their point of view. We also see for ourselves that Thiers, though he was well known to be a determined advocate of peace, only obtained the very slender concessions that were made to him by threatening to struggle to the last gasp, and we repeat that a less pacific chamber and negotiators, animated by the same spirit as Gambetta, might, to all appearance, have obtained less hard conditions.[e]

After the end of the siege there may be said to have been hardly any government in Paris. General Vinoy, who was in command, had, like all the military leaders, lost his whole prestige during the siege. The army by mixing with the people had imbibed the same spirit, and the government did not interfere in anything. The news of the entry of the Prussians exasperated the people, who were burning with the fever of despair. Tumultuous demonstrations took place at the Bastille; at the same time the crowd seized the guns which had been left in the part of Paris which the Prussians were to occupy. At first they wished to keep the conquerors from getting possession of them; then they kept them, and the most distrustful of the people took them up to Montmartre. The entry of the Prussians nearly brought about a terrible conflict with these crowds, which were burning with fury. This misfortune was, however, avoided. But the march of the conquerors through Paris was not of a triumphal character. Restricted within the space which leads from Neuilly through the Champs-Élysées to the Louvre, they were defied by the street boys of Paris, and were met at every turning by threatening crowds who pursued them with yells. The second day they were obliged to beat a dejected retreat.

Meanwhile the advanced republicans were organising their party; they expected to have to fight the monarchical assembly by force. The law against Paris, the law of *échéance*, caused great indignation. The name of Thiers recalled his struggle against the republic after 1848 and his services as minister under Louis Philippe. All this was too far distant to enable people to judge of the new rôle he intended to play. The republicans of the ministry, Jules Favre, Picard, and Jules Simon, had, after the siege, lost all influence in Paris. A great many men who inspired confidence, left the assembly. Victor Hugo, whose speech had been shouted down by the populace, and Gambetta had resigned. A severe conflict seemed imminent.

Though Thiers wished on the one hand to control the royalists of the assembly, he was determined on the other to deprive of weapons the republicans

of the large towns. He made a pretext for doing this by demanding the restitution of the cannon which had been seized. Some of the radical deputies intervened to prevent civil war. They had twice almost succeeded in obtaining the restitution of the cannon, and were making further efforts to do so. Paris, too, seemed gradually calming down, when Thiers decided to employ force. On the 18th of March, at daybreak, the troops, under the orders of General Vinoy, ascended the slopes of Montmartre and took possession of the cannon. But things had been so badly managed that the people were aware of what was happening. The sight of those who had been wounded in the morning enraged the crowd; the troops were surrounded and dispersed: there was not even a struggle. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers, but mingled with the populace.

All Paris was in arms: instantly barricades were raised in every direction. Thiers had for a long time held that when a rebellion is serious it is best to abandon the revolting town and only re-enter it as a conqueror. He commanded a retreat to Versailles. During the night the Hôtel-de-Ville was evacuated by the government. The insurrection had been inaugurated with terrible bloodshed. General Leconte, who in the morning commanded part of the troops at Montmartre, had been detained by the crowd with some other prisoners, and the republican Clément Thomas, who had commanded the national guard in 1848 and during the siege, had been recognised and arrested on the boulevard. These prisoners had been dragged from place to place. At last they were brought to the rue des Rosiers where a committee from Montmartre was sitting. A crowd of infuriated people assailed the house, and in the midst of a scene of wild confusion the two generals, Leconte and Clément Thomas, were pushed against the walls of the garden and riddled with bullets. This slaughter made a bloody stain on the proceedings of the day.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Among the numerous organisations formed in Paris during the two preceding months, the most active and enterprising was that which was known as "The central committee of the national guard," although it was composed of very obscure men. The central committee had taken as large a part as it possibly could in the doings of the 18th of March. It now installed itself in the deserted Hôtel-de-Ville, posted up a proclamation, and thus became the government of the rebel party.

The following day the party of the population of Paris, who had done nothing on the 18th of March, but had remained passive, now began to resist the movement. The deputies of Paris and the mayors elected during the siege joined this party of the people, and summoned to their aid the portion of the national guard led by Admiral Saisset.

Paris was cut in two. A spark would ignite the flame of civil war, negotiations were opened. The central committee offered to retire in favour of men chosen by the city; they were willing to stand for election, but only in order to continue the Revolution and not for the purpose of restoring legal order. Meantime they were governing the part of Paris which belonged to them. Arrests were made at the railway stations, and they threw General Chanzy and Floquet into prison. A series of abortive measures led up to the elections of the 23rd of March. In general members of the central committee, well-known socialists and partisans of the Revolution, gained enormous majorities.

THE COMMUNE OF 1871 ORGANISED

The commune—this was the name assumed by the insurgents in whose hands Paris had just placed the government—took possession of the whole town, except a corner of the 16th arrondissement, and Mont Valérien, which remained in the power of the army of Versailles, increasing day by day by reinforcements from all directions, and which Thiers placed under the command of Marshal MacMahon, the man who had been defeated at Wörth and Sedan.

At Versailles, Paris was looked upon as the refuge of scoundrels and madmen. Thus, in both of these centres, a spirit of civil war seemed part of the air men breathed. On the 2nd the army took possession of the barricade on the bridge at Neuilly. On the 3rd a united attack on Versailles was led by Gustave Flourens.

The first volleys from Mont Valérien threw the crowd into disorder. Flourens, deserted and in hiding at Rueil, was killed by a sabre wound inflicted by an officer of police. Next day near Châtillon the federals were repulsed in the same way, and, amongst others, their leader Duval was taken prisoner.

After this it was impossible for the commune to think of threatening Versailles. Driven back into Paris, it was about to be besieged there. From the first the prisoners were put to death. General de Galliffet had had two of the national guards placed against a wall and shot. Duval was executed without any formal trial.

The commune responded by a decree that all prisoners and partisans of the assembly who were arrested and condemned were to be kept as the "hostages of Paris," and that three of them should be shot each time that one of the federal prisoners was shot by the army. The effect produced by such a terrible threat may be imagined. After this no prisoners were executed on either side till the troops re-entered Paris. The struggle continued during the months of April and May without any fresh battle in the open. The army could only succeed in taking Neuilly street by street, slowly, after a month's fighting. The fort of Issy was defended with desperate determination. Meanwhile Thiers was having Paris bombarded from St. Cloud. The shells poured down upon the Champs-Élysées, reaching as far as the place de la Concorde.

And what was being done by the commune, the mistress of Paris? These were the plans the communists desired to carry out, and which represented the doctrines and political significance of the movement known as "the revolution of the 18th of March"—inside the fortifications the following measures had been proclaimed: the separation of Church and State; the suppression of the ministerial officials, who were all absent; the suppression of night-work for bakers, and a manifesto tending to bring about home rule in every commune in France, for each was to be a distinct state having its own army, its own laws, and its own system of taxation.

The violent measures taken by the commune had soon alienated most of the people from it. It confiscated and destroyed the house of Thiers, seized his collections, and then demolished the Vendôme column. The papers which opposed it most firmly were suppressed one after the other. Arrests and the searching of houses often took place simply on the authority of any officer of the national guard who chose to command them. In this way a large number of priests, monks, police officers, and former magistrates had

been arrested, and with them republicans like Chaudey. The commune was divided into two parties. The most celebrated man in the commune, Delescluze, did not belong to either party. The commune was without money and had recourse to the bank in order to raise funds.

THE RECAPTURE OF PARIS

Paris had an unusual appearance: the national tricolour had disappeared and was replaced by the red flag. Strange uniforms were seen in the streets. Certain churches where the services had been put a stop to were used for holding public meetings, and orators of both sexes discussed socialistic questions from the pulpit. The wealthy parts of the town were deserted. The distant thunder of the cannon never ceased night or day. The commune had not succeeded in inciting other towns in France to rise in rebellion, except St. Étienne, Lyons, and Toulouse; there was also a rising in Aude: but these had either failed or been speedily suppressed. The municipal elections took place throughout the country in April and resulted in a victory for the democratic party. From all directions delegates from the new municipalities were sent to Versailles to try if possible to avert a civil war. It was in dealing with these delegates that Thiers first clearly and definitely pledged himself to a republican policy. On the 21st of May the army entered Paris unexpectedly, making an entry by the left bank of the river. Then began that terrible battle which lasted nearly a week, when Paris was retaken street by street amid scenes of indescribable horror.[f]

The powers of resistance of which the insurrection could dispose after its victory of March 18th must have been considerable, to enable it to sustain two months of constant fighting and the great seven days' battle in Paris. Its artillery consisted of 1,047 pieces. Deducting the guns employed on the outposts, the forts, and the walls, 726 were used in the streets when the regular troops at last penetrated into Paris. The cavalry was ineffective and never counted more than 449 horses; but, on the contrary, the infantry was very numerous. Twenty regiments, consisting of 254 battalions, were divided into active and stationary parts: the first set in movement 3,649 officers and 76,081 soldiers; the effective of the second was 106,909 men led by 4,284 officers, which produced a total of more than 191,000 men, from which must be deducted 30,000 individuals who always found means to escape service. Briefly, the commune had an army of from 140,000 to 150,000 soldiers, which it commanded both outside and inside Paris.

To this already imposing mass must be added twenty-eight free companies, very independent in conduct, which acted according to the fancy of the moment and obeyed no one. Their very fluctuating contingent rose, towards the middle of the month of May, to the number of 10,820 followers, led by 310 officers. There were among them men of every origin and of every description, who chose the wildest names—Turcos of the commune, Bergeret's scouts, children of Paris, Father Duchêne's children, Lost Children, Lascars, Marseillais sharpshooters, volunteers of *la colonne de Juillet*, and avengers of Flourens.[e]

From the beginning it was evident that the conquerors would be implacable. Hardly had the army entered the city, when the executions began. Some of the vanquished, feeling they need hope for no mercy, soon began the criminal work which was to electrify the world. In the evening of the 23rd, volumes of flame and smoke enveloped the city. Massacres on the one side were avenged by arson and murder on the other. No poet, not even

Dante, when he was piling horror upon horror in his *Inferno*, ever imagined such a ghastly spectacle as was presented by Paris during the whole of that week. At the barracks people were shot down by the dozen. Whole districts were depopulated by flight, arrests, and executions. In the part of Paris which was still held by the federals, the fury of the populace became more violent as defeat became more certain.

On the 24th, at La Roquette, Raoul Rigault and Ferré had six "hostages" massacred. These included the archbishop of Paris and the curé of the Madeleine. On the 25th the Dominicans of Arcueil, in a terrible and almost incredible scene, were driven forth, torn almost limb from limb, and killed near the Gobelins. Some of the Paris guards and some priests were massacred in the rue Haxo. Other victims also suffered at La Roquette. When the troops reached the château d'Eau, Delescluze, wearing a frock-coat and carrying a walking-stick, walked all alone, with his head held high, straight into the thick of the firing; his corpse was found there riddled with bullets. It was at the taking of the last federal strongholds, Belleville, that the slaughter was most terrible, while in the parts of Paris already taken the summary shooting of prisoners was going on steadily.

Meanwhile long processions of prisoners (forty thousand had been taken) were journeying with parched throats, blistered feet, and fettered hands along the road from Paris to Versailles, and as they passed through the boulevards of Louis XIV's town, they were greeted with yells and sometimes with blows. They were crowded hastily into improvised prisons, one of which was merely a large courtyard where thousands of poor wretches lived for weeks with no lodging but the muddy ground, where they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and whence they were despatched by a bullet in the head when desperation incited them to rebel. The Germans, from the terraces of St. Germain, were watching the spectacle of the taking of Paris, and at night saw the great city which was the glory of France decked with its hideous crown of fires.

Certain it is that if such sights as these have not made the country hate the very idea of civil war, if they have not taught France what a crime it is to set armed Frenchmen against each other, the lessons taught by history seem to be altogether useless. On the 29th of May the conquest of Paris was complete. A terrible day of reckoning succeeded the misfortunes which the city had endured while the fighting was going on. Nearly ten thousand convictions were pronounced by the courts martial. New Caledonia was peopled with convicts. Besides these a large portion of the population had taken flight; and thus many industries, which had hitherto been exclusively Parisian, were introduced into foreign countries.

Anger was so bitter against the refugees that the right of other nations to afford an asylum to them was disputed and Belgium even promised to give them up to France. The famous poet Victor Hugo was at that time in Brussels, and published a letter in which he stated that all refugee rebels would find a shelter in his house. The following night an attack was made on his house, which was pelted with stones. Immediately afterwards, the Belgian government expelled "the individual named Victor Hugo." But neither Belgium nor any other country could give the exiles of the commune back to France.[f]

History has rarely known a more unpatriotic crime than that of the insurrection of the commune; but the punishment inflicted on the insurgents by the Versailles troops was so ruthless that it seemed to be a counter-manifestation of French hatred for Frenchmen in civil disturbance rather than a

judicial penalty applied to a heinous offence. The number of Parisians killed by French soldiers in the last week of May, 1871, was probably twenty thousand, though the partisans of the commune declared that thirty-six thousand men and women were shot in the streets or after summary court-martial.

It is from this point that the history of the Third Republic commences. In spite of the doubly tragic ending of the war the vitality of the country seemed unimpaired. With ease and without murmur it supported the new burden of taxation called for by the war indemnity and by the reorganisation of the shattered forces of France. M. Thiers was thus aided in his task of liberating the territory from the presence of the enemy. His proposal at Bordeaux to make the *essai loyal* of the republic, as the form of government which caused the least division among Frenchmen, was discouraged by the excesses of the commune, which associated republicanism with revolutionary disorder. Nevertheless, the monarchists of the national assembly received a note of warning that the country might dispense with their services unless they displayed governmental capacity, when in July, 1871, the republican minority was largely increased at the by-elections. The next month, within a year of Sedan, a provisional constitution was voted, the title of president of the French Republic being then conferred on Thiers. The monarchists consented to this against their will; but they had their own way when they conferred constituent powers on the assembly in opposition to the republicans, who argued that it was a usurpation of the sovereignty of the people for a body elected for another purpose to assume the power of giving a constitution to the land without a special mandate from the nation. The debate gave Gambetta his first opportunity of appearing as a serious politician. The *fou furieux* of Tours, whom Thiers had denounced for his efforts to prolong the hopeless war, was about to become the chief support of the aged Orleanist statesman whose supreme achievement was to be the foundation of the republic.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THIERS (1871–1873)

The French government had two immediate ends in view — to rid the country of foreign occupation as speedily as possible, and to improve the military organisation on a Prussian model. Since the liquidation of great sums of money was necessary for attaining both these ends, a great demand was put on the taxable strength of the country. The object to be gained by the second aim was not to increase the defensive power of the land, since an unaggressive France had to fear no attack, but to prepare for a war of revenge against Germany. The shattered military glory was to be restored, the lost provinces were to be given back, or some compensation, perhaps in Belgium, was to be obtained for them. All parties in France, the monarchists as well as the extreme republicans, were filled with this idea, voted funds after funds for military purposes in the national assembly, and even offered the government more money than it asked for.

Thiers, who had been made president of the French Republic on August 31st, 1871, by the national assembly, negotiated a loan of two thousand five hundred million francs for the payment of the first two milliards of the war indemnity in June, 1871, and a loan of more than three milliards for the payment of the rest in July, 1872. The "financial miracle" was then enacted —namely, forty-four milliards was registered in the public subscription list, in which German banking houses also participated disgracefully. Even if this sum were not intended in earnest, it was nevertheless an extremely favourable testimony to the French credit.

By the military law of July 28th, 1872, universal compulsory service was introduced, providing that one part of the community was to serve for five years, the other in periods of six months' drill. This law was completed by the organisation law of July 24th, 1873 — which fixed the number of the regiments and divided them into eighteen army corps — and by the *cadre* law of March 13th, 1875. This latter increased the battalion cadres by creating a new fourth battalion for every three which already existed, so that now instead of the regiments of three battalions with a maximum strength of three thousand men, there were regiments of four battalions, which brought the maximum strength of the regiment up to four thousand men. After this law had been carried out, the French infantry, consisting of 641 battalions, numbered 269 field battalions more than in the year 1870, and 171 field battalions more than the German army in time of peace.

MacMahon

This cadre law caused such a sensation that in the spring of 1875 it was generally reported that there was another war "in sight"; that the German Empire wished to declare war on France before these colossal preparations were carried into effect. Nevertheless, the war did not go beyond diplomatic inquiries. The "great" nation tried to put all the responsibility for the military disgrace in the late war upon Marshal Bazaine, who, it must be said, had signed the capitulation of Metz at a very convenient moment for the Germans. He was brought before a military tribunal and condemned to death on December 10th, 1873, but this sentence was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment. He began his period of captivity on December 26th in a fort on the island of Ste. Marguerite, but he escaped on August 10th, 1874, with the help of his wife, and fled to Spain.

The national assembly, divided into parties which were bitterly opposed to each other, developed a very meagre legislative activity. On one side stood the three monarchistic parties of the legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Bourbons, each of which had its pretender to the throne; on the other the republicans, who were divided into a moderate and an extreme Left. Between them stood a group of parliamentarians, who could be satisfied with either form of government, if only the constitutional system were preserved. It is true that the monarchists held the majority, but in the course of the next

few years they lost considerable ground through the supplementary elections, and they were so disunited among themselves that in the most important questions frequently a fraction of the Right voted with the Left, and the majority thus became a minority. The "fusion," *i.e.* the union of the legitimists and Orleanists into one single party, did not succeed.

Thiers preferred the actual republic to any one of the three possible monarchies, and for that very reason the monarchists were very much dissatisfied with him. When, at the re-formation of the ministry on May 18th, 1873, he wholly disregarded the monarchistic majority and recruited his cabinet entirely from the moderate Left, the monarchists moved a vote of censure upon Thiers. This was carried on May 24th, 1873, by a vote of 360 against 344.

MacMAHON BECOMES PRESIDENT

Thiers and his ministry resigned; whereupon, in the same sitting, MacMahon was elected president of the republic. The duke de Broglie held the place of vice-president under him. In order to strengthen the position of the president the national assembly voted on November 19th, 1873, to fix the term of his service at seven years. The Broglie ministry could not long succeed in this difficult art of steering safely between the parties. It was compelled to retire on May 16th, 1874, through the result of the ballot on the electoral law, and on May 22nd the war minister, Cissey, took over the presidency of the cabinet.

But when the government seemed to favour the Bonapartists and a choice between the republic or a third empire was imminent, the moderate Orleanists separated themselves from the government; from the left and right Centre a new majority was formed, which, on the motion of the delegate Wallon, by its final vote on February 25th, 1875, established a republic with regular presidential elections, and with a senate and second chamber. Thereupon the formation of the Buffet ministry followed on March 10th, the most prominent member of which belonged to the right Centre.[h]

MARTIN ON THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

The constitution was formed as follows: at the head of the executive a president, named in advance by the 1871 assembly, to hold office for seven years, with power to dissolve the chamber of deputies subject to agreement by the senate. He had also a more formidable right—that of suspending both chambers for one month, though not more than twice in a session; that is, he was to be sole and uncontrolled governor in case of disagreement between himself and the direct or indirect representatives of the nation. The senate was composed of two hundred and twenty-five members appointed by the departments and the colonies for nine years, and seventy-five appointed by the national assembly; these last for life. The others were elected by a departmental circle composed of deputies, councillors-general, suburban councillors, and delegates, one from each municipal council.

So it came about that the smallest French commune, having hardly enough electors to compose a municipal council, played as considerable a part in the government as Lyons or Marseilles. This meant the subordination of republican towns to country districts, over which the government hoped to exercise a powerful influence. An elector in a tiny commune weighed in the electoral balance as much as two or three thousand electors in large cities. At bottom it was an election of senators in the hands of village

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mayors, under governmental influence. This was a very different thing from the declaration of rights—"All men are equal in the eyes of the Law."

There remained the chamber of deputies elected by universal suffrage. It was elected by borough balloting, but it was not included in the articles of the constitution. This chamber shared the introduction of laws with the senate and the president of the republic. It was named by a mode of ballot that diminished its importance and threatened it with dissolution on the slightest disagreement with the assembly, which was chosen by restricted suffrage. The constitution, however, gave it a supreme prerogative—a supreme means of making the national will triumphant: the introduction of financial laws, the key of the money chest! The chamber of deputies had the most weight in matters of taxing, a prerogative which is not only a republican right but one which is also exercised in all constitutional monarchies. This right the chamber of deputies did not even know how to uphold and defend.

The Versailles assembly, which was unenthusiastic, monarchical, and far more clerical, was principally concerned in promoting in the new constitution the interests of the higher classes above those of democracy, of crushing universal suffrage which it was unable to suppress under the feet of limited suffrage, and fettering as far as possible every liberal or democratic reform. At the end of ten years its entire work still existed and in this sense one may say that the assembly of 1871 was successful.

From the 22nd to the 24th of February the Wallon proposition was disputed foot by foot, word by word, by the Right, who rained a shower of amendments on it. They wanted universal suffrage; an appeal to the people; the declaration of the sovereignty of the people; the interdiction of princes as presidents of the republic. Everything was commenced, but to little purpose. The republicans turned a deaf ear, maintained a staunch resistance and, from the highest to the lowest, kept the promise made in their name. On the 24th of February the senate law and the transmission of the president's powers had a majority. On the 25th of February the bill relative to the organisation of public powers was carried in a third and final debate by 425 against 254. The republic was complete![i]

SIMON'S MINISTRY

This constitution, the fourteenth since 1789, was the result of dissensions among the monarchists, who preferred republican candidates to their rivals in the legitimist or Orleanist ranks. After this unexpected aid, the republicans gained a large majority in the elections to the chamber, thanks largely to the efforts of Gambetta, who was not, however, rewarded with representation in the cabinet. The first minister under the new constitution was Dufaure, formerly in Louis Philippe's cabinet; late in 1876 he retired, and the new premier was Jules Simon. Simon was of deeply Catholic sympathies and aided in a movement to interfere in Italian affairs for the restoration of the pope to temporal power and the control of Rome.[a]

During Simon's ministry the struggle, from being political, suddenly became a religious one between the republicans and the conservatives. Some incidents of external politics in Italy and Germany, whose reverberations extended to France, a demand for the authorisation of conferences, presented to the minister of the interior by the ex-père Hyacinthe, the aggressive ardour of archbishops and bishops and the anti-religious violence of a part of the radical press, all united to set lay society and the clerical world in

opposition to one another and to provoke in parliament a formidable crisis — in the country an agitation which might have produced first a revolution and afterwards war.

Gambetta set himself against the clerical party and demanded that the Concordat should be interpreted as a two-sided contract, obligatory and equally binding on both parties; and he ended by repeating the words of Peyrat: "Clericalism, that is the enemy!" (*Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*) It has been said that this war-cry was too sweeping, because it included all the members of the clergy amongst the enemies of society. But from that time the epithet "clerical" designated rather the laity than the ecclesiastics, including all those who mingle religion and politics, who wish to use spiritual matters for temporal ends and take their electoral cue elsewhere than in France.[d]

There was strong feeling against the agitation meant to ferment a religious war and embroil France in ultramontane politics. Simon declared that he had done all in his power to repress the spirit of war for Catholicism. But votes on two bills only indirectly related to clericalism went against the policy of the minister and were made a pretext for an unusual step.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF MAY 16TH

On the 16th of May President MacMahon published in the official organ an open letter of rebuke to his minister. This strange act has been called the coup d'état of May 16th.

The president's letter closed as follows:[a]

> The attitude of the chief of the cabinet raises the question as to whether he has preserved that influence over the chamber which is necessary to make his views prevail. An explanation on this head is indispensable; for, if I am not, like you, responsible to the parliament, I have a responsibility towards France which I ought now more than ever to consider.
>
> Accept, Monsieur le président du conseil, the assurance of my high esteem.
>
> Le Président de la République,
> MARÉCHAL DE MACMAHON.

On this strange document Zevort comments severely:

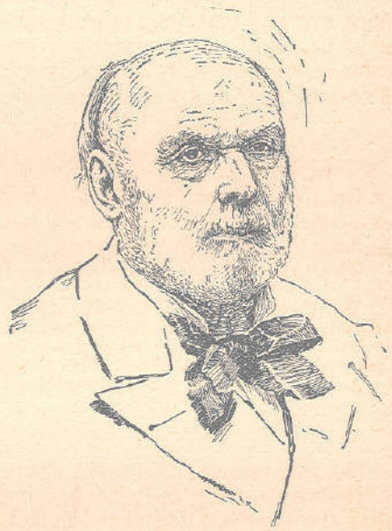
Before studying the real meaning of this letter it will be well to estimate what the very sending of it implied, the unheard-of proceeding to which the marshal had recourse to rid himself of a president of the council who had represented him to the parliament as the model of parliamentary and constitutional chiefs. The letter specified nothing. If Jules Simon had wished to play a close game with his unskilful antagonist, he might indeed have either presented himself before the chamber, procured a vote of confidence, and thus demonstrated that he had preserved that influence which was necessary to make his views prevail; or he might have waited till the approaching council of ministers, and had that explanation with the marshal which the latter declared indispensable. In either case the president of the republic would have found himself in a position of cruel embarrassment, and the conflict he had raised would perhaps have received, on the 17th or 18th of May, 1877, the solution which it was to receive only in the month of January, 1879. Like all timid persons the marshal dreaded nothing so much as an explanation with those he had offended; and his letter, in its prodigious clumsiness, was very skilfully drawn up, if he wished to avoid an interview in the council with the ministers so cavalierly dismissed.

As to the pretexts devised to separate him from the cabinet of the 12th of December, they were really altogether too frivolous. However inexperienced

the marshal might be, he was not ignorant of the fact that a law under discussion is not a law passed.

The question as to whether Jules Simon had sufficient authority over the chamber was either a premeditated insult or the proof of a singular defect of memory; and had not Jules Simon — in the most weighty divisions, on the 4th of May, 1877, and the 28th of December, 1876, when the prerogatives of the chamber were themselves at stake — had more than two-thirds of the voters with him, and was the law of majorities no longer, as on the 26th of May, 1873, the supreme rule of parliamentary governments?

"I am responsible to France," said the marshal, who had been elected by 390 deputies, thus borrowing the phraseology of Napoleon III, who had been chosen by five million electors; and was not France directly and regularly represented by the senate and the chamber of deputies, and had not the constitution (Article 6) already indicated the single case in which the president of the republic is responsible—namely, the case of high treason?



JULES GRÉVY

Such was that document of the 16th of May, which left everything to be feared because it went beyond all measure, which did not exceed the bounds of legality but which exhausted it at the first blow. The marshal was about to declare in his speech, in his Orders of the Day, that he would go to the farthest bounds of this legality, whose utmost limit he had attained with one leap. The constitution of 1875 had assured him a quasi-royalty: yet he was now going to put himself outside or above the laws, under pretence of the higher interests of the public safety, that facile pretext for all dictatorship; he was about to engage, haphazard, in a formidable venture, ignorant of what might result from his victory or his defeat.[d]

The coup d'état of the 16th of May was from its inception condemned throughout Europe. MacMahon was neither sufficiently ambitious nor unscrupulous to institute a military dictatorship. The most important events in the political calendar were the electoral campaign and Gambetta's noted speech at Lille, on the 15th of August, when he wound up with, "Believe me, gentlemen, when France has once spoken with her sovereign voice there will be nothing left but submission or resignation" (*se soumettre ou se démettre*). The jingle caught the popular ear and Marshal MacMahon on the 13th of December submitted unconditionally.

GRÉVY BECOMES PRESIDENT (1879)

Gambetta, it is generally conceded, was at this period the foremost politician in France. A thoroughly republican ministry was formed under Dufaure, president of the council and minister of justice, with Freycinet as minister of public works. President MacMahon in his message "accepted

the will of the country." Gambetta now sagaciously expressed his wish that MacMahon should be permitted to complete his term; and thus the advantages of republican rule might be the better demonstrated by his duly and peacefully elected successor. The great exposition of 1878 brought MacMahon some prominence, but the old soldier found himself isolated, and utterly sick of the part he had to play.

On the 28th of January, 1879, MacMahon, finding himself unable to agree with his ministers and hopeless of forming a new ministry conformable to his views, resigned and in his last acts conducted himself with such dignity as to wring even from Zevort *d* this commendation:

LÉON GAMBETTA

"From the beginning of the governmental crisis the marshal had conducted himself as a man of honour, and preserved an attitude the most correct and most deserving of respect, and employed the simplest and most becoming language. From the moment that the politician had vanished, the honest man, the good citizen, the successful soldier had reappeared, and the lofty dignity of his retreat made men forget the errors for which he was only half responsible."

What part Gambetta acted in the crisis of January, 1879, when MacMahon's ministry fell, it is difficult to decide. At the critical juncture he appears to have absented himself from Paris. He abstained from speaking in the debate on the policy of the ministry, neither did he vote in the final division. There is every reason to believe that, had he willed, he might have contested the presidency of the republic successfully. But he waived his claims in favour of Jules Grévy, who was elected president on the 30th of January, 1879, by 536 votes against 99 for General Chanzy, Gambetta becoming president of the chamber and Waddington the prime minister.

THE LAST DAYS OF GAMBETTA; ASCENDENCY OF FERRY

The deputies were united now as "the national assembly," and the legislature returned from Versailles to Paris. Both executive and legislature were now thoroughly republican.

Prominent in Grévy's cabinet was the minister of education, Jules Ferry, who was strongly anti-clerical in his views and advocated an educational bill excluding the Jesuits and all "unauthorised orders" from acting as teachers in France. Jules Simon secured the rejection of the bill by the senate, but the unauthorised orders were disbanded and many priests and nuns expelled amidst public feeling embittered by the wrath of the clerical party and the zeal of the anti-clericals. The Bonapartist cause suffered when the young

prince imperial was killed by the Zulus. Waddington resigned the ministry to Freycinet and he to Ferry, who still kept Gambetta from office.

Gambetta now began to fight for power and to gather republican sentiment about him until it was necessary to call him to the prime-ministry. The jealousy of his magnetism or "occult power," as it was called, and his distribution of the portfolios succeeded in shortening his lease of power to ten weeks. Gambetta, in the days of his power, advocated all measures that would tend to place France in the position she occupied before the war. He approved of the expedition to Tunis, for he desired to extend her influence in the Mediterranean. And he upheld the dual action of France and England in Egypt. To quote his own words in almost the last speech he ever made: "For the last ten years there has been a western policy in Europe represented by England and France, and allow me to say here that I know of no other European policy likely to avail us in the most terrible of the contingencies we may have to face hereafter. What induced me to seek for the English alliance, for the co-operation of England in the basin of the Mediterranean and in Egypt—and I pray you mark me well—what I most apprehend, in addition to an ill-omened estrangement, is that you should deliver over to England and forever territories, and rivers, and waterways where your right to live and traffic is equal to her own."

On the 31st of December, 1882, Gambetta died at the age of forty-four from an accidental wound. Thus ended prematurely the strange career of *le grand ministre*, as he was called ironically, less memorable for what he did than for what everyone felt he might have done.

In the first month of the same year (January, 1882) another new ministry had been formed with Freycinet president of the council and minister for foreign affairs. This ministry lasted only half a year, being succeeded by that of Duclerc, during which all the members of royal families were exiled from France in consequence of a campaign of placards waged by the son of Jerome Bonaparte of Westphalia. The brief premiership of Fallières gave way to that of Jules Ferry who, though a former rival of Gambetta's, united with his disciples to form the so-called "opportunist" party.

During Ferry's comparatively lengthy tenure of office of over two years, some revision of the constitution was accomplished in uncharacteristic peacefulness. The typical volatility of the people, however, was revealed by the explosion of rage over the news of a check received by the French army at Tongking. The bitter speeches of the cynical Clémenceau brought about Ferry's resignation and Brisson became prime minister. A reaction now grew against the republican administration, and the elections of 1885 were forty-five per cent. monarchical. The alarm over this dangerous weakness put a momentary end to republican internal factions, and Grévy was re-elected president December 28th, for a second septennate.

Freycinet formed a new ministry, his third, giving the portfolio of war to General Boulanger—a curious figure neither whose past nor whose future justified the remarkable prominence he acquired. His first acts were sensational in that he erased from the army list all the princes of royal families and exiled his first patron, the duke d'Aumale; he also repressed all the army officers of reactionist sympathies. The populace showered on Boulanger the favour it withdrew from the president, and he became powerful enough to unseat Freycinet, who was succeeded by Goblet. Boulanger took a spectacular position on the arrest by the Germans of a French officer named Schnaebele, and showed great energy in preparing for a war with Prussia. Goblet resigned. Rouvier followed, and sent Boulanger to an army post. In 1887

scandals arose concerning the sale of Legion of Honour decorations, in which a deputy named Daniel Wilson was implicated and in which it was shown that he used the president's residence as a sort of office. This provoked an outcry before which Grévy resigned.

In his nine years of administration, President Grévy had had eleven ministers—in itself a proof of lack of policy or at least of power to carry out a policy. In the first period, from 1879 to March 20th, 1885, however, much had been accomplished for the establishment of public liberties—the freedom of the press being assured in 1881, the municipal councils given the right to elect their mayors in 1882, and the laws of divorce replaced in the civil code whence the Restoration had removed them. The schools had also been rendered secular, as we have seen.

The application of these reforms, reductions in the taxes, coinciding with bad years and the ruin of the vintage, produced the most serious difficulties with regard to the budget—difficulties which were still further augmented by the participation of France in the colonising movement then attracting all Europe. The Tunis expedition (1880–1881), that of Tongking (1883–1885), the first Madagascar expedition (1883–1885), the foundation of the French Congo (1884), and the advance towards the Sudan belong to this period. In the second period parliament and public opinion are in a state of profound disturbance after the 30th of March, 1885, and anarchy reigned in the ministries, the parliament, and public opinion.[d]

SADI CARNOT

In this critical situation, when Freycinet and Floquet, aiming for the radical vote, are said to have had a secret agreement to restore Boulanger to power; when the monarchists were planning to vote for Ferry in the hope that his unpopularity would provoke one of those mob disturbances which had so often brought back the monarchy, Clémenceau skilfully secured the nomination and election of an unexpected figure—Sadi Carnot, a man of unassailed reputation, whose grandfather was the great Carnot to whom France had owed her magnificent military organisation during the revolution.

THE PRESIDENCY OF CARNOT (1887–1894)

Sadi Carnot, though perhaps not a great man, displayed as president of the republic the same qualities of conscientiousness, diligence, and modesty for which he had been noted in those more humble days when he built bridges at Annecy. These years were unexampled in France for the virulence of political passion and the acrimonious license of the press. The decoration scandal, the Boulangist movement, and the Panama affair filled this period with opprobrious accusations and counter-charges.

Carnot chose Tirard for his premier; under him Wilson was sentenced to two years for fraud, and Boulanger was deprived of command for absenting himself from his post without leave. Wilson appealed, and the higher courts

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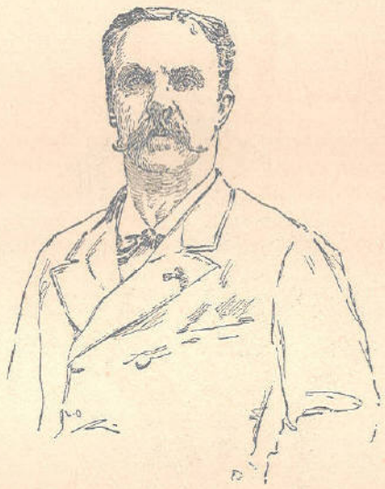
reversed the decision against him. As he was a relative of Grévy, this provoked public suspicion, which was aggravated when Boulanger was elected a deputy by an overwhelming majority and was immediately expelled from the army.

Tirard's ministry fell and Floquet succeeded, with Freycinet as minister of war. A duel ensued between Floquet and Boulanger, in which, singularly, the civilian, who was also of advanced age, wounded the doughty general in the throat. None the less, Boulangism increased rapidly and was enlarged by the royalist vote. The time was ripe for a coup d'état, but the general did not move; indeed, he denied in his speeches any ambition for dictatorship and actually withdrew to Brussels, April, 1889, when he heard that Tirard, who had been recalled as premier, was about to arrest him. He was now found guilty of high treason and the senate sentenced him to life imprisonment.

He went to Jersey and lived there quietly, while Boulangism died of inanition. In July, 1890, his mistress, Mme. de Bonnemain, died, and September 30th, 1891, he blew out his own brains on her grave. This last act was consistent with his whole career, both in its strong emotionalism and in its weakness. He was a man idolised by his soldiers, whom he treated with good-fellowship and even tenderness; he was thrilled with a passion to revenge France on Prussia, a passion bound to be popular then in France; he was a smart soldier and on his black horse made a picturesque figure; a popular tune added to his vogue—"*C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut*"; and it might have proved a "*Ça ira*" of insurrection, but he lacked the courage—or shall we not more mercifully and justly say, he lacked the villainy?—to lead a revolution. While he missed the glory of a Napoleon, he also escaped the bloody crimes of that despot.



CASIMIR-PÉRIER

Boulangism having committed suicide, it suffered disgrace from the monarchic coalition, and reform went on peacefully. In 1890 Freycinet added the premiership to the war ministry, and 1891 saw no change of cabinet. Conciliation with Rome was the policy of both France and the Church; and in February, 1892, Leo XIII recognised the republic in an encyclical. Freycinet resigned the premiership and Émile Loubet became premier.

Now the Panama scandal came to shock all the world with the revelations of official corruption, of wholesale blackmail, and of the abuse of funds largely subscribed by the poorer masses. The trials were peacefully conducted, and while only one former minister was convicted and a sentence was passed on De Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal and also of the Panama venture, the deep disgust of the public did not take the usual recourse to riotous expression. Loubet was followed in December, 1892, by Ribot and he later by Dupuy. Casimir-Périer, grandson of the famous statesman, succeeded for a time, to be followed again by Dupuy. On June 24th, 1894, President Carnot was stabbed to death by an Italian anarchist named Caserio.

THE PRESIDENCIES OF CASIMIR-PÉRIER AND FAURE

Casimir-Périer, who like Carnot bore a name unsullied by scandal, was elected by the congress June 27th, 1894, but he could not endure the attacks of opposition newspapers; and January 15th, 1895, he resigned on the ground of overburdensome responsibilities without adequate powers.

Félix Faure was chosen to succeed him; he was of humble origin and a successful merchant. Ribot was his first premier, Léon Bourgeois his second, and Méline the third; Méline's ministry lasted from April, 1896, to June 28th, 1898, the visit of the czar, and the sealing of the Franco-Russian alliance giving it distinction. Dupuy came back as premier, but February 16th, 1899, President Faure died of apoplexy and the then president of the senate, Loubet, was elected in his place. The Dupuy ministry held over till June, when Waldeck-Rousseau became premier and managed by a combination of firmness with an effort at conciliating the various parties to carry France through the violence of anti-Semitism and its culmination in the two trials of the Jewish captain Alfred Dreyfus.

FÉLIX FAURE

THE DREYFUS TRIAL

In January, 1895, Dreyfus had been sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island off French Guiana, the charge being that he had sold military secrets to Germany. The dramatic ceremonies of his degradation and his earnest denials of guilt attracted the attention of the world, and it was claimed that he was the innocent scape-goat of anti-Jewish rancour and of true guilt among Gentile officers. The efforts of certain French officers, writers, and editors, notably Colonel Picquart and Émile Zola, to reopen the case were vain for some time, Colonel Picquart being imprisoned and Zola driven into exile. In 1898 new proofs against Dreyfus were produced, but Colonel Henry confessed to forging these and committed suicide.

After a ferocious newspaper war in which the foreign press joined with unusual vigour, Captain Dreyfus was brought back for retrial in August, 1899. It is difficult for a foreigner to decide on the merits of the case, as the sincerity of both factions was only too evident, and the charges of militarism and anti-Semitism against the anti-Dreyfusards were met by charges of venality and of purchase by Jewish gold. Even the new president, Loubet, was accused of this. The new court, by a majority of five to two, again found Dreyfus "guilty of treason with extenuating circumstances," and sentenced him to ten years' detention. The curious wording of the sentence, as well as certain methods of court procedure, amazed the foreign world, in which

the opinion is practically unanimous that the evidence published has no value at all in proving Dreyfus guilty.

The French government, however, put a stop to the agitation by pardoning the prisoner and recommending a general amnesty. This was perhaps the wisest course, though hardly satisfactory as an example of fearless justice. Every nation has its judicial scandals, but no other has had so universal an airing, and a prejudice has been excited against the whole French people as a result of this affair. A British writer, J. E. C. Bodley,[g] has thus summed up its manifold phases:

"The Dreyfus affair was severely judged by foreign critics as a miscarriage of justice resulting from race-prejudice. If that simple appreciation rightly describes its origin, it became in its development one of those scandals symptomatic of the unhealthy political condition of France, which on a smaller scale had often recurred under the Third Republic, and which were made the pretext by the malcontents of all parties for gratifying their animosities. That in its later stages it was not a question of race-persecution was seen in the curious phenomenon of journals owned or edited by Jews leading the outcry against the Jewish officer and his defenders. That it was not a mere episode of the rivalry between republicans and monarchists, or between the advocates of parliamentarism and of military autocracy, was evident from the fact that the most formidable opponents of Dreyfus, without whose hostility that of the clericals and reactionaries would have been ineffective, were republican politicians. That it was not a phase of the anti-capitalist movement was shown by the zealous adherence of the socialist leaders and journalists to the cause of Dreyfus; indeed, one remarkable result of the affair was its diversion of the socialist party and press for years from their normal campaign against property.

"The Dreyfus affair was utilised by the reactionaries against the republic, by the clericals against the non-Catholics, by the anti-clericals against the Church, by the military party against the parliamentarians, and by the revolutionary socialists against the army. It was also conspicuously utilised by rival republican politicians against one another, and the chaos of political groups was further confused by it. The controversy was conducted with the unseemly weapons which in France have made parliamentary institutions a by-word and an unlicensed press a national calamity; while the judicial proceedings arising out of it showed that at the end of the nineteenth century the French conception of liberty was as peculiar as it had been during the Revolution a hundred years before."

COLONIAL WARS (1882–1895)

Foreign affairs in France have been marked by various small wars, notably the war in Tongking, where in 1882 the successful commandant Rivière was killed. Admiral Courbet, however, retrieved these disasters by vigorous action and won a treaty, August 25th, 1882, by which the French protectorate over Annam and Tongking was acknowledged. General Millot now took control of the land forces and Courbet by means of his fleet secured from Li Hung Chang a recognition of the Tongking protectorate, after bombarding certain ports and destroying two Chinese cruisers.[a]

The joy caused by the signing of peace with China was disturbed by the news of the death of the man to whom peace was due. Admiral Courbet died on June 11th, 1885, from the effects of an illness against which he had long struggled. Although he felt he was dangerously ill, he would not leave his

post. He understood perhaps that no one could have replaced him. All France felt the blow; a magnificent funeral was given the sailor who had raised the glory of his flag in the extreme East.

In 1892 there was a short and successful war with Dahomey. It has been summed up by Lanier[k] as follows: "This glorious campaign, where two thousand soldiers had had to struggle against twenty thousand natives, admirably supplied with implements of warfare, taught and trained to the offensive, not to speak of jungles, swamps, dysentery, and fevers, had lasted just three months, and cost France ten million francs. It reflected the greatest honour on the general who commanded it."

Disputes had been of frequent occurrence between France and Madagascar since 1642, when the French destroyed a Portuguese settlement. In 1861 a treaty between France, Great Britain, and Madagascar was signed. But in 1864 again there were disputes between the French and Hovas; to be followed in 1877 by a serious quarrel respecting certain lands given to one Laborde, a missionary, which the Hovas now reclaimed. In 1882 the French claimed the protectorate of part of northwest Madagascar by virtue of a treaty made in 1840–41. This resulted in an appeal to the British government; a native embassy was also sent to France to protest. Peaceful measures failed; and Admiral Pierre with a French fleet, in the year 1883, bombarded and captured Tamatave. From that time forward there was constant warfare; sometimes one side and sometimes the other gaining indecisive victories. On the 12th of December, 1895, Madagascar was attached to the French colonies.

ÉMILE LOUBET

In 1899 the poet Paul Déroulède vainly tried to prevail on General Roget to leave President Faure's funeral and march to evict President Loubet from the Élysée palace. A like failure attended the effort to provoke a war with England over the Fashoda affair, in which Major Marchand with a handful of men claimed a right over territories he had explored for France. The British government treated him and his claims with small respect and French pride was injured, but fortunately no further steps were taken.

In 1900 the world's exposition failed to have a political effect, and was not a financial success. A great sensation was caused by the revelation that the French birth-rate was on the decrease, but similar statements concerning England were later made. When the nineteenth century began, France had one-fifth of the total population of Europe; at the beginning of the twentieth century she has hardly a tenth. In that time her population has increased only forty-six per cent., while that of Great Britain and Ireland has increased one hundred and fifty-six per cent.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The years 1901–1905 were remarkable for the contest between state and church in France, culminating in the final disestablishment of the latter. Under the terms of the famous Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon I and Pius VII the French government paid the salaries of the clergy and had the

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right of nominating bishops, an arrangement which worked smoothly for the greater part of the ensuing century. After the establishment of the Third Republic, however, the influence of the church, and especially of certain orders in it, had been frequently cast against the government. When this friction became threatening, Pope Pius IX gave counsels of moderation, recommending the French Catholics to recognise the government *de facto*, that is, the Republican *régime*.

Possessed of a vast amount of wealth which escaped taxation, these orders, whose leaders were in many cases foreigners, independent of French authority, and often living abroad, inclined to a monarchical form of government, and not infrequently assisted the royalists in promoting their propaganda. As the education of a large part of the youth of the country was in their hands, they constituted a distinct menace to the Republic. Actuated by a desire to lessen this danger, and perhaps also by a more general hostility to the ecclesiastical system, the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry in 1901 secured the passage of an act requiring religious associations to secure legal authorisation from the government. This act appears to have been intended rather in the nature of a weapon in reserve, but the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry resigned in June 1902, and the new ministry of M. Combes at once entered on an extreme anti-clerical policy. Despite violent resistance in some parts of the country, particularly in Brittany, the law was rigidly enforced, and a vast number of associations were broken up. In 1904 events occurred which increased the tension still further. In the early part of the year President Loubet, when visiting the King of Italy, failed to pay a visit to the Pope. The Papal authorities protested against this omission in a secret note, which was communicated by a German diplomatist to M. Jaurés, the socialist leader. The publication of this note caused great indignation among Republicans and did much to embitter relations between the Quai d'Orsai and the Vatican. Later in the year the Pope ordered two bishops of Republican tendencies to resign their sees. Angered by this attempted interference on the part of the Pope, the government recalled its embassy from the Vatican and informed the Papal nuncio at Paris that his presence was superfluous.

In January 1905 the Combes ministry resigned, but that which followed under M. Rouvier pursued the same policy with regard to the church, and on December 6th the bill for the disestablishment of the church finally passed the senate. Under this law, the churches were separated from the state, members of all creeds were authorised to form associations for public worship, and the state was relieved from the payment of salaries. The Concordat, in full, and an abstract of the Separation Law appear in the appendix at the end of this chapter. In January 1906, the legal formality of taking inventories of church property began, and in many places the military had to be summoned to overcome the organised resistance to inspection. The general election of May resulted in the return of a large Republican majority. The Nationalists were badly defeated, and no doubt remained as to the country's approval of the Separation Law. In January 1907, a supplementary law was passed, dealing with the situation created by the main act.

THE "ENTENTE CORDIALE" AND THE MOROCCAN QUESTION

The *entente cordiale*, or agreement with England, was one of the chief characteristics of this decade. The diplomatic seal was set to it by a visit of MM. Loubet and Delcassé to London in 1903, and a convention

with England in 1904, by which either power recognised respectively the other's predominance in Egypt and Morocco. This agreement was apparently accepted by Germany, and Prince Buelow explained to his critics in the Reichstag that German commercial interests were not menaced in Morocco. In 1905, however, Germany decided to intervene. Whatever was her aim in so doing, the motive generally credited to her was a desire to disturb the Anglo-French *entente* which M. Delcassé had done so much to bring about. On March 31st the Emperor of Germany landed at Tangier and met the representatives of the Sultan of Morocco, whom he is believed to have encouraged in resistance to France. In response to this move, King Edward saw M. Loubet in Paris and subsequently visited Algiers. Exchange visits between the English and French fleets were also arranged. But a furious attack on M. Delcassé began in the German press and was carried on by German agents in France. War was hinted at if he were not removed, and it was even said that Germany's peace terms were already arranged. England was of course bound to support France in a quarrel arising out of the Anglo-French understanding, and, according to articles subsequently published in *Le Matin*, she expressed herself not only as ready to co-operate with her whole fleet, but also as prepared to land 100,000 men in Kiel harbour. The French government, however, resolved to remove M. Delcassé, on the ground that he had not notified the Anglo-French convention to Germany, and his place was taken by M. Rouvier, who entered on a series of concessions to Germany and agreed to a conference on the Morocco question.

This conference met at Algeciras in January 1906, its object being to discuss the question of reforms in Morocco. Although France and Germany were the nations most directly affected, yet the importance of the questions at issue naturally caused lively interest on the part of other European nations, especially England and Spain. The principal delegates were: For France, M. Revoil; for Germany, Herr von Radowitz and Count Tattenbach; for England, Sir Arthur Nicolson; for Spain, the Duke of Almovodar, who was chosen to preside; for Italy, the Marchese Visconti Venosta; for Austria, Count Welsersheimb; and for the United States, Mr. Henry White.

The two subjects of dispute on which France and Germany were most opposed to each other were those of the organisation of the police, and, in a minor degree, of the State Bank. It was not until April 7th that an agreement on these questions was finally reached. The object of Germany in contending for the internationalisation of the police was to place France on the same level as other powers, and so to deprive her of her predominant position in Morocco. France, on the other hand, claimed a mandate to herself and Spain. Germany's final proposal, to which she held to the last moment, was the appointment of the suggested inspector of police in command at Casablanca. This proposal, however, was resisted, not only by France and Spain, but by England and Russia, and on Austria's suggesting its withdrawal, Germany gave way; the concession of an internationally controlled State Bank being made to her in return.

Thus the differences that had at one time threatened to develop into an open quarrel were settled. The understanding with England had been tested and found true, and though Germany had shown that she could effectually oppose such arrangements if made without her consent, she had nevertheless discovered that an aggressive policy on her part was not likely to be supported by any European power.

Many evidences were shown during 1906 that the crisis had strengthened, instead of weakening, the *entente*. In February the London County Council

paid a visit to the Municipal Council in Paris. In June King Edward visited the President on his journey to and return from Biarritz, and in October the Lord Mayor of London was enthusiastically received in Paris. Other signs of the movement were the reception of representatives of the French universities in England, and the special invitation to Sir John French, the eminent British cavalry officer, to attend the French army manœuvres.

RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND GERMANY

France also realised, since the Russo-Japanese war, the advantage of an *entente* with Japan for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Far East. After the war, France had felt some solicitude with regard to her colony of Indo-China, but through the efforts of French and Japanese diplomatists all danger had passed. In 1907 M. Pichon, the French foreign minister, thought that the moment was opportune for a definite agreement with Japan. It had been known for some time that such an agreement was in progress, but it was not until June 10th that it was finally signed. This was the complement, and, in a measure, the result of the Anglo-Japanese agreement of 1905, and, though not implying a formal alliance, was directed toward the same purpose, the maintenance of peace in the Far East; its main principle being respect for the independence and integrity of China. The agreement was well received in Russia, where a similar convention with Japan was subsequently entered upon. At the same time some desire was shown for a *détente*—to use Prince Buelow's expression during an interview in July 1907—a slackening of the old strained relations with Germany. The Kaiser's words of welcome to M. Jules Cambon, the new French ambassador in Berlin, and the latter's visit to Prince Buelow at Nordeney, were especially noticeable as tending in this direction.

SEQUEL TO THE DREYFUS CASE

The sequel to the Dreyfus case culminated on July 12th, 1906, when the Cour de Cassation, after a long investigation, finally and completely exonerated Major Dreyfus of all the charges brought against him. The contrast between the attitude shown towards Dreyfus in 1899 and 1906 was characteristic of the French people. He was now reinstated in the army, received by President Fallières, and appointed a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Nor were his two champions of 1899 forgotten. Colonel Picquart was restored to the active list. It was too late to do anything for Émile Zola, but as a posthumous honour his remains were transferred to the Pantheon.

M. FALLIÈRES CHOSEN PRESIDENT

On January 17th, 1906, M. Clement Armand Fallières was chosen president to succeed M. Loubet. The retiring president had won the respect of the world by his sterling qualities, and his term of office was marked by national progress. In it there had been a decided reaction from militarism, as is evidenced by the fact that in 1904 the length of the term of military service was shortened to two years, and that the idea of a *révanche* on Germany occupied much less attention than formerly. In fact, France was seldom in a more contented, sane, and wholesome condition than when, under her worthy peasant-president, she devoted her best efforts to extending and solidifying her prosperity.

WINE-GROWERS AND THE ADULTERATION LAW

During 1907 grave disturbances took place in the wine-growing districts of the south of France, owing to the distress caused by economic conditions. The over-production, arising from the increase of vineyards after the disappearance of the phylloxera, had combined with the free import of the Algerian product to make the wine of the Hérault district almost unsaleable. But the peasantry considered that the cause of their miseries was to be found in the adulteration of wine and the manufacture of artificial wine by means of sugar—malpractices which they suspected were carried on in the district. In May disturbances broke out at Narbonne, at Béziers, and at Perpignan. Agitation was set on foot against the government, under the lead of a wine-grower, M. Marcellin Albert; threats were held out of resisting the payment of all taxes until the government had applied some remedy, and there was even some wild talk of setting up a rival republic in the south.

On May 23rd the government adopted a bill against adulteration, but the disturbances continued. In June many southern mayors resigned, all administrative employees were compelled to cease work, and the non-payment of taxes was threatened. This direct challenge to the central government led to a conflict between M. Clemenceau and the committee of Argéliers. Legal proceedings were instituted against many of the latter, and troops were sent against the revolted districts, but the danger was increased by the disaffection which existed among many regiments. On June 28th, however, the bill for the suppression of adulteration was finally passed. The revolt had been weakened meantime by the fall of M. Marcellin Albert from popular favour, and by the beginning of July the measures taken by the authorities for enforcing the law had almost restored peace.

FURTHER TROUBLES IN MOROCCO

In spite of the Franco-Spanish demonstration in December, considerable hostility was manifested by the natives towards French subjects in Morocco during the early part of 1907, culminating in the murder of Dr. Mauchamp, a French physician, in Marakhesh, on March 24th. This murder caused much indignation in France, where it was broadly hinted that the fanatics had been encouraged to rely on German support. The French government immediately issued a list of demands, including the punishment of Dr. Mauchamp's murderers and the payment of an indemnity, and announced its intention of occupying Ujda until those demands should be complied with. The sultan issued ambiguous proclamations with the intention of gaining time, but the firm attitude of France ensured the granting of practically all her demands.

But France's troubles in Morocco were not yet by any means over; in July the anti-European, or rather anti-French, feeling was again exemplified in an attack on Europeans in Casablanca, ostensibly arising from opposition to the construction of a harbour, but really due to religious fanaticism, in which eight members of various nationalities were killed. A naval expedition was immediately sent out under Admiral Philibert, which proceeded to bombard Casablanca. Later, the French government presented a note to the powers, stating what had been done, and explaining what further measures had been decided upon, showing the necessity of organising the police force in Morocco, and affirming the determination of France to maintain the authority of the sultan and the integrity of his empire.

But there was a peculiar difficulty about France's task. While the interests of other nations were in her keeping, notably of the British, whose loss of property in Casablanca had been severe, yet there was a danger that the advance from the coast of a body of troops strong enough to prove an adequate defence might be construed by unfriendly critics as exceeding the terms of the Act of Algeciras. The gravity of the situation was made manifest by General Drude's urgent demand for additional troops on August 21st; it having been repeatedly stated throughout the month that no reinforcements would be necessary. The British colony in Tangier petitioned the British government for the protection of a warship; stating that the French and Spanish arrangements were inadequate. It was also evident from reports that there had not been hearty co-operation between the French and Spanish troops, although an official contradiction was given to the statement that they had differed on the question of an expedition into the interior. By the end of August, however, it was stated that everything was quiet at Casablanca.

The difficulty had been increased by the lawless state of the country. Mulei Hafid, the sultan's brother, was set up as a rival sultan in Marakhesh, while the pretender ruled in the north-eastern part of the kingdom. In addition to these opponents of the legitimate authority, the brigand chief Raisuli exercised practically sovereign power in the neighbourhood of Tangier, and several fanatics wandered about the country proclaiming a holy war. Although Mulei Hafid and his brother were both reported to be favourable to Europeans, yet it was plain that either depended for his success on siding with the great mass of the people on the question of a religious war, which meant a general war on Christians and Jews. Even before Mulei Hafid had been proclaimed sultan, and had called upon his brother to abdicate, Abdul Aziz realised that the maintenance of his throne, and even his life, depended on his abandoning his attitude of favour towards Europeans and his acceptance of the leadership of such a war. This fact explains his statement before the principal men of Fez that France had overstepped legal obligations, and that steps must be taken to protect Morocco from French aggression, a statement which had been preceded only two days previously by an appeal to the shereefs for co-operation with France.

A gloomy picture is drawn by the *Times* correspondent in Tangier of the state of Morocco at this time. He pictures a Sultan with some two million pounds of debts, whom no one obeys; a handful of robbers with the high-sounding title of viziers; a fanatical population of six or seven millions; an empty treasury; a conglomeration of tribes misgoverning themselves and at war with each other. He declares that such revenues as exist are fully mortgaged. There is a *dossier* of claims for the destruction of Casablanca; two cities are in the hands of foreigners, and Raisuli holds Sir Harry Maclean as a trump card. The Pretender rules North-east Morocco, and the Sultan's brother is prepared to proclaim himself in the south. There is a plethora of reforms proposed, discussed, and accepted by every one except the people whom they chiefly concern. The people will not have these reforms at any price, but their eventual acceptance of them it is proposed to enforce with the aid of 2,500 police, whose duties will extend from Tetuan to Mogador, a distance of five hundred miles. Obviously the task of France in Morocco is not an easy one. [a]

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCE SINCE 1815

By ALFRED RAMBAUD

Member of the Institute

THE LABOUR QUESTION

During the period that was ushered in by the fall of Napoleon I, if a social question existed it was no longer an agrarian-social question as had been the case in the past—it was above all a question of labour. The tillers of the soil had at last come into realisation of the hopes and dreams of so many centuries; the land belonged to them freely, fully, without any burden of rents or taxes beyond that which was necessary for the public support. Thus rural democracy became what it will long remain, the most truly conservative of the nation's elements.

The great importance of the labour question may be accurately estimated by a glance over the field of industry from which we will cull a few figures to obtain a correct idea of the progress made.

In 1815 the united French industries did not consume more than a million tons of coal; in 1831 the quantity had increased to two millions and in 1847 to seven and a half millions.

In 1829 France produced 205,243 tons of brass, 145,519 of iron, and 4,914 of steel; in 1847 these figures had increased respectively to 472,412, 276,253, and 7,130. Thus in twenty-two years the production had not quite doubled.

In 1815 the use of machines in the different branches of industry had not become general, textile industries being practised among families in the home rather than in factories. In the manufacture of cotton fabrics but ten million kilogrammes of raw cotton were consumed; metallurgic industries were still in a primitive state, scarcely any fuel but wood being used in the manufacture of brass and of articles of iron ware.

The most marked development is to be observed during the thirty-three years from 1815 to 1847. In the latter year the cotton industries consumed 55,000,000 kilogrammes of raw cotton, and employed 116,000 looms and 3,500,000 spindles; they produced to the value of 416,000,000 francs. The consumption of wool increased from 46,500,000 kilogrammes in 1812 to 89,000,000. Philippe de Girard left France in 1815, having lost all hope of ever being able to introduce the machine for spinning flax that he had invented; twenty years later the manufacture of linen employed 200,000 spindles, 40,000 of which were in the department of the north. Similarly the Jacquard machine was not taken into use until 1827 by the silk-mills of Lyons which twenty years later had arrived at full prosperity. The city alone employed both for spinning and weaving 60,000 out of the 90,000 looms contained in all France.

In 1846 (the first year concerning which any reliable statistics exist) the urban population of France comprised only 8,646,743 inhabitants, or 24.4 per cent. of the entire population. The remainder, more than three-quarters of the nation, composed agricultural France.

Let us again take up for the present epoch certain of the figures already given. In 1897 the consumption of coal has increased to 37,000,000 tons or thirty-seven times what it was in 1815. In metals the production is 2,484,000 tons of brass, 784,000 of iron, and 995,000 of steel; thus since 1848 the production of brass and iron has doubled, that of steel has increased a hundredfold. In all other industries a corresponding advance is to be observed, our entire industrial production representing to-day a value of over 15,000,000,000 francs.

What has been the increase in urban population up to the present time? In 1896 there were 15,000,000 inhabitants of cities as against 23,487,000 rural inhabitants, a proportion which had altered from 24.4 per cent. at the close of the parliamentary monarchy to 39.5 per cent.[1] Great cities which are the direct creations of industry have come into existence, such as Creusot, Saint Étienne, Roubaix, Tourcoing, towns which were formerly stagnant have revived to bustling activity, and lastly a large number of industrial plants have become established in the country, mostly by the side of waterfalls whose power has enriched the national industries with another variety of fuel, "white coal."

It becomes apparent from an inspection of the foregoing figures that the social question pertaining to labour was of no more importance under the Restoration than at the time of the first constituent assembly; that it had risen to a certain prominence during the monarchy of July; that from 1848 on it was destined to grow with great rapidity; that universal suffrage together with free and obligatory education, by assuring workingmen a certain share of influence in public affairs, hastened the arrival of the time when the utopian ideas in vogue among them, when their prejudices and their passions would all tend to dominate in the interior, eventually even in the exterior policy of France.

Under the Restoration the working-classes as a body caused the government very little trouble, but individually the workingmen were in a large part hostile to it. It cannot quite be said that they were republicans; rather the republicanism they professed was confounded with their worship for the "Little Corporal." During the reign of Napoleon the working-classes had had very little cause for satisfaction, but many of them had served in his armies, thus gaining the name of "veteran," and the glory of the conqueror had swallowed up all memory of the legislator's harshness towards them.

They detested the Bourbons, principally because the reigning dynasty was of that house, and because it seemed to lean with special confidence on the clergy. The law of 1814 which made obligatory Sunday rest (although they might have been idle Monday as well as Sunday), the law of 1816 abolishing divorce (they had not the slightest use for the institution of divorce), the law of 1826 upon sacrilege (notwithstanding that it was never put into effect), the interior "missions" organised by over-zealous priests and religious workers, but above all the executions of the "four sergeants of La Rochelle,"

[1] Let us bear in mind that in England this proportion has for some time been reversed; it is still reversed in Germany after the expiration of a quarter of a century. These two nations have become chiefly industrial; France still remains a rural nation, and has cause to congratulate herself on the fact.

who have remained popular heroes to this day—these were the principal grievances of workingmen, particularly Parisian workingmen, against the governments of Louis XVIII and Charles X. It was possibly during this period that the popular mind received that decided bent towards blind and irrational anti-clericalism that has characterised it ever since, and that still leads it to the commission of the most dangerous follies.

Sad State of the Working Classes

French workingmen—particularly those of Paris—were to play a leading part in the battle of the *trois Glorieuses* which placed the younger branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne. For this branch itself the workman cared but little; he had believed the conflict to be in the cause of a Napoleon or of the republic: Louis Philippe was to him simply the king of the bourgeois, that is to say of the employers. He had hoped much of this revolution, but was soon to see that it had profited him but little; for the landed aristocracy had been substituted an industrial bourgeoisie, or rather the latter had been called to have a share in the power, and no notice at all was taken of the "heroes of July," or the "people with the bare arms."

Yet there was so much that could have been done for the workingman! Upon him fell the full weight of all the shocks, the disappointment, the suspense that mark the beginning of a great industrial transformation. He suffered from the introduction of machines which had for effect, before the great reparatory impulse set in, diminution in wages, the dismissal of many workmen, and utter ruin for the artisan who had set up in business for himself. The troubles resulting from this cause in France cannot, however, be compared to the riots of the Luddites, or "machine breakers" in England, notably during the year 1816.[1]

French manufacturers, less experienced—consequently more timorous than those of to-day—showed a tendency to depress wages at the least appearance on the horizon of a menace of failure for their markets or of the establishment of a formidable rival. It was the workman who bore the brunt of this cruelly prudent policy, nor were any adequate measures taken to protect him against the accidents incident to labour. In the factories defectively installed machinery and in mines the almost total absence of ventilation, the rarity and ignorant use of the Davy lamp, the insufficient precautions taken against fire-damp resulted in a multitude of victims.

The employer found it to his advantage to raise up competitors by the side of the workman in the latter's own wife and children, and no more limit was set to the work of women and children than to that of adult men. Sometimes an entire family would exhaust its forces and destroy its health for a total gain that was only equivalent to the salary that the husband and father ought rightfully to have earned.[2] In cotton-goods factories there were frequently to be seen children of six, even of five years working fourteen and fifteen hours together tying threads.

In the great industrial centres the employer took no notice at all of the

[1] Spencer Walpole, *History of England from 1815*, vol. I, pp. 401–424.

[2] Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie*, 2 vols., 1840. Jules Simon, *L'Ouvrière*, 1861; *Le Travail*, 1866; *L'Ouvrier de huit ans*, 1867. E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières en France depuis 1789*, 2 vols., 1867. See also publications of *L'office du travail*, founded in 1871, instituted by the ministry of commerce; particularly *Statistique des grèves; Les associations professionnelles ouvrières; Statistique générale de la France; Poisons industriels; Législation ouvrière et sociale en Australie et Nouvelle Zélande, etc.*]

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manner in which his workmen were lodged. The families herded together in damp cellars, in garrets that were stiflingly hot or bitterly cold according to the season, in insalubrious dens that received neither air nor light and were provided with no conveniences whatever.[1] A single room, sometimes a single bed was the home of an entire family, and half of the new-born children died before the age of fifteen months. There thus grew up a generation of working people feeble in mind and body, without morality or education—schools were in any case rare at that epoch; which represented just so much lost energy and power to France.

Much of this suffering was caused by the indifference, one may say the inhumanity of the employers; but a large part also resulted from the necessity of utilising old, tumble-down buildings, from the inevitable hazards and difficulties surrounding industries at their birth, from the over-rapid growth of these industries in France precluding amelioration in the conditions of either factory or home. That this is so is proved by the superior accommodations provided for workmen in the new centres of industry in Alsace and in the north. There factory workers were lodged in clean, airy houses, as was likewise the case at Roubaix and Tourcoing. At Morvillars (Alsace) the employer rented to the employé for thirty-six francs a year a commodious apartment with a small garden attached.

Under the old régime it had been common to compare the life of the French peasant with that of the negro in the colonies, and to esteem that the latter was the happier of the two; now it was the workers in cities who were given the name of "white negroes," and who in many respects would have been justified in envying their dark-skinned brothers to whom at least food, fresh air, sunlight, and the sight of sky and trees were free.

In the main, however, the lot of the French workmen was the same as that of the workers in every great industrial country, particularly in England, where the investigation started by Thomas Sadler in 1831, having in view the limitation of hours of work for children, had revealed a horrible condition of things.

Between the bourgeoise monarchy which seemed insensible to so much suffering and the sufferers themselves (the workers in the cities), strife could not fail to arise.

Early Strikes and Revolts

In October, 1831, the silk weavers of La Croix-Rousse at Lyons demanded an increase in wages. The prefect offered to mediate, an action for which he was afterwards bitterly censured by the oligarchy of employers. The mayor convoked an assembly of twenty-two delegates each from the workingmen and from the employers, that a minimum tariff of wages might be fixed upon. The employers' delegates refused to make any concession, and after a meeting that followed, the weavers descended in a body from La Croix-Rousse and poured silently into the place de Bellecour and the square before the prefecture. The prefect succeeded in inducing them to disperse, that the tariff might not seem to have been imposed by force. The weavers nevertheless signed the agreement; but the prefect having been disavowed by his government, the tariff was not put into effect. Immediately La Croix-Rousse rose in insurrection, erected barriers, and raised a black flag bearing the inscription, "We will live working or die fighting." The insurgents in a struggle of

[1] The lodgings of this sort to be most severely condemned were: at Lille the Saint Sauveur quarter and the cellars of the rue des Étaques, at Mülhausen the cellars of the "white negroes," at Rouen the Martainville quarter, etc.

two days (21st–22nd of November) repulsed the national guard, which did not make any great display of courage, forced General Roguet and the three thousand soldiers of the garrison to retreat, and for ten days remained absolute masters of Lyons. They committed no excesses—nay, even detailed some of their number to keep guard over the houses of the rich. On the 3rd of December they offered no resistance to the entrance of an enlarged body of troops headed by Marshal Soult and the duke of Orleans, eldest son of the king. The workmen were disarmed, the national guard was dismissed, and the tariff abolished. What especially characterised this first Lyons insurrection was that politics, properly speaking, had absolutely no share in it; the movement from first to last revolved around a question of wages.

It was different in Paris, where a series of insurrections burst forth, the most terrible of which were those of the 5th and 6th of June, 1832, on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque. These uprisings were the work of certain republican associations, secret or avowed, and the working people in general had but little share in them. Nevertheless it was the working people at whom the government aimed when it passed the law of 1834 on associations (26th of March).

The month of April, 1834, was marked by agitation. Troubles arose at Saint Étienne, Grenoble, Besançon, Arbois, Poitiers, Vienne, Marseilles, Perpignan, Auxerre, Châlon-sur-Saône, Épinal, Lunéville, Clermont-Ferrand, etc.; but the only really serious demonstrations were the second Lyons insurrection and the new revolt in Paris.

In Lyons a change had been brought about in the spirit of the working-classes by the operations of several secret societies. The question of wages was, as before, paramount; but it was no longer unmingled with political feeling. A new idea had arisen for which to do battle, the republican idea. The news of the vote deciding the passage of the law on associations stirred the chiefs to declare revolt. This time the struggle lasted five days—from the 9th to the 13th of April. The workingmen of Lyons displayed a courage so desperate that at one time General Aymar thought seriously of retreat, but in the end the royal troops were victorious.

The Lyons insurrection had not been completely quelled when, on the 13th, broke forth in Paris the revolt that had the church and cloister of Saint Merri for its centre. Fighting continued the whole of that day and the next, but the movement was finally put down by the numerous force employed against it—forty thousand soldiers of the line and of the national guard.

The explosions that shook simultaneously fifteen or twenty cities of France had for result the monster trial called "trial of the April offenders." The accused, to the number of 121, of whom 41 belonged to Paris and 80 to the departments, were arraigned before the chamber of peers, which was formed for the occasion into a high court, presenting a total of 88 judges.

Utopian Philosophies

A last echo of these conflicts was the law voted on the 9th of September, 1835, concerning freedom of the press. From that time forth through a period of twelve years the monarchy enjoyed comparative peace without presage of the fresh revolution that was brewing, a revolution of a character both political and social. The political phase lasted but a single day, the 24th of February; the second or social phase was of longer duration and of a nature more serious and sanguinary. The French workman, however, owed to the monarchy of July the law of March 22nd, 1841, on child labour in

factories, aiming to protect the children of working people against both the weakness of their parents and the greed of employers. The principle of this protective measure was combated by Gay-Lussac who denounced it, in the name of the right of all to work and make contracts, as the beginning of "Saint-Simonism or Phalansterianism." His arguments were a succession of sophistries unworthy of a great mind and masking but imperfectly the egotistical spirit of resistance that animated employers. The law applied only to such industrial establishments as employed mechanical motive power or fires that were never allowed to go out, and gave occupation to twenty or more workers. It interdicted the employment in factories of children under twelve years of age; authorised elsewhere only eight hours of labour a day broken by a rest for children of from eight to twelve, twelve hours of labour from twelve to thirteen, and no night work at all for those under thirteen. Up to the age of twelve years the apprentice, in his leisure hours, was supposed to attend school. Legal sanction was given by a corps of inspectors who had the right to impose fines for any contravention on the part of employers.

It was under the monarchy of July that the crude and vague ideas of which labour socialism was composed began to assume some definite shape and to issue forth as systems. Saint-Simon, the author of the "New Christianity," had died in 1825, but he left behind him a sort of lay congregation, the members of which practised obedience to a single chief, and the holding of all things in common. They were called Saint-Simonians, and at one time under Enfantin engaged in the practice of mysteriously mystic rites, at another in conjunction with the financier Pereire and the economist Michel Chevalier set out to reform the entire economic world. In 1832 the Saint-Simonians, accused of having violated public morality, were arraigned before the court of assizes, where they appeared in the full uniform of their sect (blue tunic, white trousers, and varnished leather belt); three of their number, one of whom was the "father" Enfantin himself, were sentenced to a month's imprisonment. After that the "family" became "secularised"—that is, it dispersed.

Other chiefs and other doctrines arose: Fourier, with his theory of the suppression of property and communal life in his *Phalansteries;* Cabet, with his dream of Icaria, the blessed isle whereon the state, sole proprietor, producer, and dispenser, was to lay down for its subjects their daily tasks, to prescribe the cut of their garments and the menu of their repasts; Pierre Leroux, with his books on *Equality* and *Humanity,* in which mysticism was blended with socialism; Louis Blanc, who in his *Labour Organisation* (1844) advised the state's absorption of all agricultural property and industrial establishments. These various theories shared one trait in common: they all professed communism or collectivism, which simply means suppression of proprietary rights and of individual initiative.

Proudhon departs radically from this idea. Like the other theorists he objects to individual holding of property and sums up his views in a phrase borrowed from Brissot de Warville, one of the most illustrious of Girondins: "What is property? It is theft." Ownership is unjust because it creates inequality, equality is exact justice. But Proudhon opposes communism with equal energy; according to him it is contrary to the primordial as well as to the noblest instincts of humanity.

He would not only do away altogether with state intervention, even where the state is communistic—he demands the total abolition of the state, of its diplomacy, its armies, its frontiers. The principle he advocates is

an-archy in the etymological sense of the word, that is to say the suppression of all authority save that of the father. The only social force that he admits is the force that springs from the free association of workingmen.

The sincere and ardent republicans who, on the 24th of February, formed the provisory government, promised to assure the workingman, to whose courage was due the success of the Revolution, an improved position in society. They conferred upon him the right of suffrage and free admission into the national guard, which was thus changed from a body of fifty or sixty thousand men to one of two hundred thousand.

In restoring absolute liberty of association and of the press, the provisory government made two very dangerous gifts to the excitable and profoundly ignorant Parisian workingmen who, in consequence of the general perturbation caused by the sitting of February 24th, found themselves suddenly without work. Idleness and want made them accept as the wisest counsels the seditious utterances of the newspapers and of the demagogues at the clubs.

As early as the 25th of February a crowd of armed workmen bearing the red flag as symbol of republican socialism assembled at the Hôtel-de-Ville. It required all Lamartine's eloquence to induce them to discard their unworthy emblem and raise in its place the tricolour, which had already made the "tour of the world." [1]

The situation of the workers soon assumed an aspect too serious to admit of any delay in providing relief. But was it possible to succour all the suffering toilers who were deprived of work? The attempt was made. Orders were given to the bakers and butchers to supply with bread and meat any of the armed citizens who had a requisition from their chief. All the articles pledged at the Mont-de-Piété since February 1st upon which had been advanced a loan of not over ten francs were to be returned to their former owners. The palace of the Tuileries was thrown open to receive invalided workmen, and the government proposed to "restore to the workingmen, to whom they rightfully belonged, the million francs that were about to fall due from the civil list." To these acts of gross flattery towards the men of the people were added declarations of the utmost gravity. The government took upon itself to "guarantee the existence of the workman by means of work," that is to "guarantee work to every citizen." Twenty-four battalions of "mobile national guard" were created, each soldier of which was to receive a daily pay of thirty sous. At the same time were opened the "national workshops" which cost enormous sums to support and which completed the demoralisation of the artisan by exacting from him a merely nominal return in work for a daily wage of one and a half or two francs. Also followers of the finer crafts, such as jewellers, clockmakers, engravers, etc., were frequently to be seen spoiling the delicacy of their hands by pushing a wheelbarrow or digging ditches.

The National Workshops and Their Consequences

The government determined to effect still more. It instituted in the palace of the Luxembourg "a governmental commission" for working people, of which several workmen were elected members, and which was given a president and vice-president in the persons of two members of the government, Louis Blanc and the workman Albert. Louis Blanc in addition to his other duties undertook to explain to the workers just what was meant

[1 Concerning Lamartine, the politician, a very interesting book appeared in 1903 by M. Pierre Quentin-Bauchart.]

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by the "organisation of labour." Thus by lectures and fine speeches the government sought to make the people forget their misery.

The many secret societies and professional demagogues—Blanqui, Barbès, and Félix Pyat had already made for themselves a wide reputation—profited by the inexperience of the labouring classes and drew them into all sorts of dangerous manifestations. Such for instance was the movement of the 17th of March, which demanded the withdrawal of the troops from Paris, and that of the 16th of April, so menacing for the government that it ordered out the national guard into the square before the Hôtel-de-Ville. The workingmen, incited by their leaders to mingle in matters that did not concern or even interest them, were beginning to make of themselves an intolerable nuisance, while the Bonapartist or royalist agents that took an active part in their manifestations constituted a grave peril to the republic.

Another source of danger, and one that threatened more seriously day by day, was the workshops. In the beginning the number of workers they contained was but a few thousand; a short time after, the total had risen to 110,000. The strikes, encouraged by the commission of the Luxembourg, multiplied without any apparent reason; the participants doubtless preferred the *dolce far niente* of the national workshops to any serious toil elsewhere. Instead of breaking up these workshops into groups more or less widely distant from each other, their director, Émile Thomas, allowed them to become concentrated in the single district that to-day forms the Parc Monceau. He had instituted in these workshops an almost military discipline and organisation. By such measures the government hoped to raise up for itself a great power of defence; but it was soon found that the vast assemblages of workmen furnished nearly all the recruits for the popular manifestations.

When the constituent assembly came together (the 4th of May) the gravity of the situation was revealed to it by the audacious action of the labour leaders. On the 15th of May, under pretext of presenting a petition on behalf of Poland—many workmen believed that that very evening a relief expedition was to be undertaken in favour of the "France of the North"—a mass of people, nearly two thousand unarmed men, led by Blanqui, Raspail, Quentin, Huber, and Sobrier, made irruption into the assembly. Huber proclaimed it to be dissolved. After that the rioters were expelled without bloodshed by the mobile guard. They proceeded at once to the Hôtel-de-Ville, but were dispersed by Lamartine, who followed them at the head of the mobile guard.

The assembly showed less disposition to forgive this criminal aggression than had the governments of the Hôtel-de-Ville. It proceeded at once to close several clubs, decreed the arrest of Barbès, Blanqui, Sobrier, Quentin, and even Albert, the former member of the provisory government. It broke with Louis Blanc, and made minister of war a tried republican and valiant African general, Eugène Cavaignac. Lastly it formed a commission solely to investigate the matter of the national workshops and render a report.

Unfortunately the person charged with making this report was one of the most ardent members of the legitimist and clerical Right, the apologist of the terrible pope-inquisitor Pius V, and future author of the law of 1850 on public instruction, Alfred de Falloux. The assembly, acting on blind impulse, adopted his conclusions. It displayed as great an inexperience in closing the national workshops as that revealed by the governments of the Hôtel-de-Ville in creating them and allowing them to develop. It had not, however, the excuse of the latter in the eyes of posterity—their profound pity for the sufferings of the people.

One circumstance which was certain to produce bloodshed in Paris was the precipitate haste of the enemies of the national workshops in carrying out their measures of repression. On the 29th of May, by means of an arbitrary warrant that recalls the *lettres de cachet*, Émile Thomas was arrested and taken to Bordeaux.

The watchword of the reactionists was "An end must be made at once." In his report Falloux, with odious hypocrisy, denounced the national workshops as the agency which had worked the "saddest deterioration in the character formerly so pure and glorious of the Parisian workman."

On the 22nd of June a decree, published in *Le Moniteur* and signed by Minister Goudchaux, declared that "all workmen between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five must on the following day enlist in the army under pain of being refused admission to the workshops." On the 23rd barricades were erected all over the city and firing commenced. Eugène Cavaignac, "chief of the executive power," was in supreme command, having under him several of the ablest and bravest generals of the African service. The battle between the workmen and the regular state forces raged with unparalleled fury for four whole days; the troops had the task of tearing down hundreds of barricades. On the 25th General Damesme was fatally wounded, the generals Bréa and de Négrier were assassinated, and Monseigneur Affre, archbishop of Paris, was killed.

The assembly now saw the mistake it had committed and voted three millions for the relief of needy workmen; the greater part of the insurgents, however, never even heard of the measure. The struggle ended on the 26th by the bombardment and capture of the faubourg St. Antoine. The workmen of this quarter had taken up arms on hearing the rumour that the royalists were attacking the republic; what was their surprise to see the troops, the national guard, the mobile guard—the latter composed entirely of workmen—all scaling the barricades to cries of "*Vive la république.*" During that series of wretched misunderstandings which have come down to us as the "days of June," French blood was shed in streams. There were in all six or seven thousand wounded. The government troops, which went uncovered to the attack of the barricades, behind which were sheltered the insurgents, counted fifteen hundred dead, and among them seven generals. The insurgents lost but half that number. Of the rebels who were taken captive, 3,376 were transported to Algeria, where many of them founded colonies.[1]

The recognition of the "right to work" and the faulty organisation of the national workshops have cast a great weight of blame on the memory of the provisory government; but still severer condemnation attaches to the assembly and to those political intriguers who made it do their will; who showed themselves so woefully ignorant of the psychology of the mass of workers, and so forgetful of their devotion on the 24th of February.

It was the republic that had to suffer by the mistakes made on every side. The remembrance of the "days of June" had due weight on the occasion of the presidential election on the 10th of December, 1848. The name of Louis Napoleon was cast into the urn by citizens eager for peace, and by workingmen who hoped to obtain through the nephew of the first emperor, through the author of *L'Extinction du paupérisme*, a signal revenge.

[1 Alexandre Quentin-Bauchart, *Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur le 15 Mai et l'insurrection de Juin, 1848.* 3 vols. in 4. See also the apologies of Émile Thomas, *Histoire des ateliers nationaux, 1850. Histoires de la Révolution de 1848*, which are likewise apologies, by Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, and Louis Blanc.]

The Working Classes under Louis Napoleon

The two republican assemblies, the constituent and the legislative, were neither of them capable of offering a final solution to the labour problem; the first because of its brief term of existence, the second because of its internal divisions and over-conservative tendencies. The laws they passed were merely those of the 18th of June, 1850, on superannuation funds; of the 15th of July, 1850, on mutual aid societies; and of the 22nd of February, 1851, abolishing certain limitations—a survival of the old régime—to the number of apprentices. The law of the 27th of November, 1849, on coalitions of working people simply reproduces certain provisions of the Penal Code of Napoleon. The humiliating formality of the *livret* and Article 1,781 of the Civil Code were also allowed to remain in force.

Moreover, both republican assemblies, but especially the legislative, which more directly felt the pressure of the Napoleonic executive power, had departed widely from the principles of well-nigh absolute liberty promised by the provisory government as the foundation of the new republic. The constituent assembly by the enactment of July 28, 1848, which aimed particularly at secret societies, restricted liberty of meeting and association, and the legislative interdicted, for a period of time which was afterwards renewed, all clubs and public meetings. It did not venture, however, to re-enforce either Article 291 of the Penal Code or the law of 1834.

About the same course was pursued in regard to freedom of the press. That a stop might be put to the multiplication of subversive journals the constituent assembly redemanded the former security; then it pronounced penalties against writers who should attack any of the existing institutions—the national assembly, the executive power, the constitution, property-rights, the principles of universal suffrage or the sovereignty of the people, liberty of worship, the family, etc. The legislative assembly reissued almost all the provisions of the law of 1835, then re-established the stamp-tax in addition to the obligatory security.

Finally the assembly committed the supreme folly of exacting, in the law of May 31, 1850, not six months' but three years' residence as qualification for the right to vote, which was virtually to exclude the whole body of workingmen, forced as they are by the exigencies of labour to frequent changes of habitation. Thus the assembly struck an annihilating blow at the very system to which it owed its existence, universal suffrage. No enemy animated by the most perfidious designs could have counselled it to a more self-destructive act. The proclamation of the usurper-president had now, in order to make sure of the workingmen's neutrality, but to include this simple declaration: "Universal suffrage is again established."

To sum up, the republic—provisory government or assembly—had given so little satisfaction to the masses of the people whether urban or rural, had fallen so far short of fulfilling, not their dreams but their most legitimate hopes, that it was an easy matter for any new rule, however autocratic, to establish its sway over them. The act of perjury and the massacres in which this dawning power took its rise might render inimical to it a certain high element among the people; it none the less succeeded in flattering the interests and thereby gaining the sympathies of the great majority of the nation.

Its first display of ability was in recognising that it was above all a government of universal suffrage and that its most pressing need was to conciliate the masses. All new laws must be framed with these facts in view;

they were the key-note that dominated the policy both at home and abroad. For how, if universal suffrage had not existed in France, could they have instituted a plebiscite before taking possession of Savoy and Nice, and have demanded of the king Victor Emmanuel that he confirm by a plebiscite his Italian conquests?

The rule that followed upon the coup d'état, bearing first the name of decennial presidency, then that of empire, had the support of the rural classes, which the provisory government had alienated by establishing the impost of 45 centimes—that is, increasing direct taxation by 45 per cent. It was easy enough for Napoleon III to win the favour of village inhabitants by building dwellings for the mayors, erecting churches, and cutting new parish roads; and to capture their suffrage by means of a cleverly executed system of official candidateship. A series of full crops and harvests completed the general well-being in the country, and the superstitious peasant was inclined to attribute all to the magic name of Napoleon. Even now old inhabitants love to recall the times when grain and cattle "sold so high."

Napoleon III rendered inestimable services to the workers in cities; in him indeed may be seen the organiser,—hesitating at times, without full knowledge of the work he was accomplishing,—of that great power, urban democracy. His autocratic rule brought to realisation what none of the liberal monarchies or republican assemblies had even dared to attempt. The nephew of the great emperor in his law of the 25th of May, 1864, struck out of the Code Napoleon Articles 414, 415, and 416 which interdicted coalitions, abrogated at the same time the law of 1849 and put an end to a system which forced the tribunals to judge each year an average of seventy-five trials resulting from strikes. The new law recognised the right of workingmen to concert for the purpose of obtaining an increase of wages, and to make use of the means most effectual for this end, the strike. It punished only those offences which brought about simultaneous cessation of labour by means of acts of violence, menace, or fraud. The government made it a point of honour to protect as fully the labourer's right to cease work as his right to work. Freedom so unrestrained might become, according to the use it was given in the hands of workingmen, either a powerful instrument for their material improvement or the most dangerous weapon that was ever turned against both themselves and the industries of the nation. Was it to be hoped that they would always use it wisely? Led away by the ardour of political feeling, they were frequently guilty of unwarrantable acts that brought them into violent contact with the public authorities charged with protecting liberty of labour. From such encounters resulted sanguinary episodes like that of the Ricamarie "massacre" (1869), in which were killed eleven persons, two of whom were women.

By the law of the 2nd of August, 1868, the government abrogated Article 1,781 of the Civil Code. In 1854 more timidity had been shown, as for instance when the *livret* was insisted upon with greater rigour, and it was obligatory upon each new employer to have it endorsed by the police. The evils resulting from this practice becoming more apparent as time went on, an inquiry was ordered in 1869, which was about to end in the suppression of the *livret* when the Franco-Prussian War broke out. Hospitals were multiplied for the labouring classes, and asylums for infants and old people. The empress took under her especial patronage all these works of public charity, and one of the asylums on the Seine was given the name of Prince Imperial.

The species of popularity which Napoleon III enjoyed among Parisian workingmen was founded on the abundance of work provided by the reconstruction of a large part of the capital by Haussmann, the prefect of the Seine. The people were fond of saying in presence of this gigantic *haussmannisation*, "When the building trade flourishes everything goes well." The number of workmen employed in building alone was almost doubled—71,240 instead of 41,600. The total number of labourers employed in all the twenty districts of Paris had increased from 342,530 to 416,811, of which 285,861 were men, and the rest were women, girls, and young boys. Besides these, 42,028 people were employed in the public establishments and by the great companies, 26,242 were sub-contractors, and 62,199 were engaged in work on their own account. The whole made up an army of more than 500,000 Parisian workers.

POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA LIBRARY

The labour delegates that the emperor had allowed to be sent to the Universal Exhibition of London in 1863 noted the liberty enjoyed by the English labourers, and studied the working of their trade unions. Some returned affiliated to the dangerous International Association of Workingmen; others, more practical, merely brought back a deep veneration for the principles of mutuality. In the report of the typographers is to be read: "Association is the truest and most efficacious method of promoting the peaceful and progressive emancipation of the working-classes." Moreover, the influence was widely felt in France of the success obtained in Germany by Schulze-Delitzsch, who had created the workmen's mutual credit system and the people's banks. Soon in every part of France—naturally with the authorisation of the government—co-operative societies in the fields of consumption, production, and credit began to multiply. The progress of the urban working-classes was also shown by the great number of mutual aid societies that arose among them: five years after the passage of the law of July 15th, 1850, there were no less than 2,695 of these associations.

In 1853 the manufacturer Jean Dollfus of Mülhausen founded the Mülhausen Society of Labour Settlements, which not only assured the workman comfortable and salubrious quarters, but permitted him to own his home after the lapse of a few years by the payment of a small sum annually. This example was shortly followed in every part of France.

The Commune of 1871

The fall of the second empire, occurring as it did when a foreign war was at its height, was preceded and followed by revolutionary movements. After war had been declared it was found necessary all over the country, in order to supply the deficiency of troops of the line, to muster in the "mobile guards," the "mobilised troops," and the "national guard," which altogether made up a force that held discipline in contempt and, being also without military training or instruction, could render effective service—glorious service it was sometimes—only in case of siege.

In Paris, especially, nothing had been accomplished save to organise an armed conflict between political opinions of the bitterest and most fervid character. Those members of the "government of the national defence" who remained shut up in Paris soon had an opportunity to distinguish between the "good battalions" and the "bad battalions."[1] The latter were in general quite as active in opposing the German invasion as the others, but under all their patriotism lay the ulterior purpose of making the republic that was proclaimed on September 4th, and acknowledged throughout France,

[1] Depositions before the committee investigating the acts of the government of the national defence, preceded by the report of the Count Daru.

a socialistic republic. Many of these "bad battalions" were under the direct influence of leaders who had gained fame in previous revolutions, Blanqui, Félix Pyat, or certain new demagogues who, with the exception of Flourens or Delescluze, were for the most part unknown. Among the "bad battalions" there were many "worse" ones, for example those of Belleville who tore up the flag given them to raise on their march towards the enemy, but who were always in the lead when any rioting took place.[1]

In reality the famous "commune" existed when Paris was still in a state of siege. The events of October 1st, 1870, when the government was penned up for fourteen hours in the Hôtel-de-Ville by riots which fortunately terminated without bloodshed, also those of the 22nd of January, 1871, when firing broke out in the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville between the "mobiles" of Brittany and the 101st battalion of the national guard, were all the work of the commune.

After Paris had capitulated, nearly one hundred thousand men belonging to the well-to-do classes, hence to the "good battalions," hurried to rejoin their families and the field was left free to the revolutionists, who until then had not been in the majority. It was at this juncture that they assumed the name of "federates." Upon the temper of this populace possessing 450,000 rifles, 2,000 cannon, and innumerable stores of powder, upon the spirit of men, already tried by the sufferings of the siege—sufferings that had resulted in enormous infant mortality—and a prey to the hallucinations of the "siege fever," and of patriotism exasperated by defeat, a number of incidents that now took place acted with disastrous effect. On the 1st and 2nd of March the Parisians saw the German troops march, according to the terms of capitulation, from the Arc de Triomphe to the garden of the Tuileries; they also had reason to believe that the national assembly, now in session at Bordeaux, was acting disloyally to the republic, and learned on the arrival of the representatives at Versailles that the royalist majority had received with violent hostility the complaints of the Paris mayors.

Finally, the dearest interests of all were attacked when the assembly gave forth that the notes which had been allowed to lapse through the whole duration of the siege were now demandable within forty-eight hours, such a decision being equivalent to paralysing Parisian commerce and plunging its leaders into bankruptcy. The episode of the cannon of Montmartre on March 18th caused the insurrection to burst forth with a fury that resulted in the shameful assassination of two generals. The revolutionists of Lyons rose at the same time and assassinated the prefect of Loire, and in Marseilles the riots were not put down without much bloodshed. M. Thiers resolved to evacuate Paris that he might obtain possession of it again the more surely. Though justifiable from a strategic point of view, this action virtually delivered Paris over to the tyranny of mob rule, with all its attendant chances of pillage, burning—perhaps even of total destruction.

Taking up his position at Versailles with a body of troops, small at first but growing in number as the prisoners from Germany returned, M. Thiers for two months held Paris in a state of siege, visiting terrible reprisals on those "communard" battalions which ventured out into the plain. On the 21st of May the Versailles troops took by surprise the gate of Saint Cloud and poured into Paris; after which commenced the "week of blood" or the "battle of seven days," which as far exceeded in horror the terrible days of June, 1848, as the latter surpassed the uprisings of 1831, 1832, and 1834.

[1 Jules Ferry, deposition before the committee of investigation on the 18th of March, 1871, reproduced in vol. 1, page 549, of his *Discours et opinions*.]

The "proletariat" manifested its new-found power in an ever-growing thirst for destruction. The whole centre of Paris—Legion of Honour, court of Accounts, Tuileries, Ministry of Finance, Palais Royal, Palais de Justice, Prefecture of Police, and Hôtel-de-Ville, that marvel of the Renaissance—formed but one cauldron; everywhere insurgents of both sexes were going about making use of petroleum. The cannon of the Versailles artillery and those of the communards opened fire on each other from one quarter to another of the very heart of Paris. Unable to hold out longer, the commune ordered the massacre of the "hostages," among whom were the archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Darboy, and the president, Bonjean. The last of the federates were finally crushed among the tombs of Père-Lachaise.

Of the members of the commune, Delescluze had found death on a barricade, Jacques Durand and Varlin had been executed, the ferocious Raoul Rigault had been killed by a pistol in the hands of a policeman, and five others had received wounds. All the rest had taken to flight.

It was upon the poor devils, the humble members of the various national guards who were for the most part unwitting instruments, that the punishment fell most heavily. Seventeen thousand of these participants perished during or after the combat, and 37,000 were driven on foot through torrid heat to Versailles, where they were arraigned before a council of war. This trial resulted in 26 executions, 3,417 deportations, 1,247 detentions, 332 banishments, 251 condemnations to penal servitude, and 4,873 diverse penalties. "Paris has cruelly expiated the error into which it was plunged by certain guilty and irresponsible men; surely after the sufferings endured and the heroism displayed during the siege the city did not deserve a destiny so hard."[1]

For more than two months the commune ruled supreme over one of the greatest capitals of the world, and to this day the collectivists, the anarchists, the unruly, and the lawless of every country on the globe celebrate that brief triumph as the most splendid manifestation of the power of the people that the world has ever seen.

It cannot be denied that the commune was guilty of monstrous crimes. To offset these crimes, what social ideals did it realise, what doctrines or plans of reform did it hand down to posterity, what guiding signs did it place along the route of succeeding generations or what foundations lay ready for the future constructions of humanity? The truth is that the commune distinguished itself for nothing so much as a complete dearth of ideas, a prodigious inability to do anything but repeat certain terrorist proceedings of '93, to strut about under the same stripes and dignities as those worn by the citizen-governors. The "central committee of the commune" was made up in the beginning of very ordinary individuals, who were obscure at the time of their selection and remained so even while wielding a power that was practically unlimited. Bound together by no common ties and for the most part grossly ignorant, these men had not even a true conception of the principles they represented; hence were utterly incapable of arranging, either singly or in concert, any plan for united action.

The central committee was supposed to consist of a hundred members, but rarely did more than twenty or thirty come together at a sitting. "The records of these meetings reveal the strange body to have been after all little more than a makeshift; instability is always apparent, as well as great confusion and a lack of sequence in ideas. Certain successful candidates suddenly

[1 Gabriel Hanotaux (former minister of foreign affairs), *Histoire de la France contemporaine*, vol. I, Paris, 1903.]

relinquished membership, others abstained from attending any of the sittings, while yet other individuals, without having been elected, presented themselves in company with a friend and took part in the deliberations until a complaint was made and both were expelled."[1]

An all-powerful commune (using the word in its true sense), holding universal sway by virtue of the terror it inspired, demanding of all provisions, bravery, and willing arms, was a legend rather than a fact. In reality a few audacious men both within and without the committee, such as Rossel, Flourens, the "generals" Duval and Bergeret, Raoul Rigault, and Delescluze, arrogated to themselves the greater part of the power and abused it shamefully. So long as lasted the commune the conditions under which men governed, tyrannised, fought, killed, and themselves found death were those of pure anarchy. Were it otherwise, had any serious organisation or system existed, would it have been possible for the Versailles troops to enter Paris and pass through the gate of Saint Cloud without discharging a shot from their rifles?

The suppression of the Paris revolt might—so hoped the assembly's Right—wipe out the republic itself, but this hope was not fulfilled. Democracy, though vanquished, was still formidable, and the republic in whose name it had been subdued retained such an appearance of power that M. Thiers, in whose hand lay the destinies of France, accentuated his evolution towards the Left. Moreover, the rural populations and the bourgeoisie of 1871 displayed more reason and self-possession than had characterised similar classes in 1848. Far from hastening to set over themselves a master, as had the latter, they gave all their support to the aged statesman who was doing his utmost to place the republic in a position of safety.

Recent Legislation for the Betterment of Labour

It was now universally comprehended that a republic should exist for the good of all classes of the nation, should be *res publica* in the full meaning of the words; whereas former revolutions had furthered the interests of one class alone. The assemblies which succeeded each other after 1875, having greater wisdom, more time for deliberation, and wider experience than those of the second republic, elaborated so many useful laws that a complete change was brought about in the situation of the workingman.

Powerful as was the instrument of emancipation put into the hands of working people when universal suffrage was proclaimed in 1848, the gift needed another to complete it—free and obligatory education for the masses as provided by the Ferry laws; also the adult schools, complementary to the primary school system, and technical instruction of all sorts.

The law of the 21st of March, 1884, on syndicates, borrowed the best features of early labour organisation in France and at the same time guaranteed, it was hoped, full liberty to the individual. The law of July 2nd, 1890, suppressed the obligation of the workingman to carry a *livret*, or certificate. The law of the 8th of July, 1890, provided for the appointment of delegates of miners, who were to be elected by their comrades and charged with securing safe conditions of labour. The law of the 27th of December, 1892, instituted optional arbitration in litigations between employers and employed. The law of the 9th of April, 1898, awarded an indemnity to workmen injured while performing any ordered task, even when the injury could

[1] Camille Pelletan, *Le Comité central de la Commune*, New Edition.]

be shown to be the result of their own imprudence. In case of death from such a cause the indemnity is to be paid to the wife and children of the deceased. The law of the 30th of June, 1899, extended to agricultural labourers this same right of indemnity in cases where an accident was caused by the use of machines worked by inanimate forces (steam or electricity) and not by men or animals. The laws of the 19th of March, 1874, and of the 2nd of November, 1892, interpreted by numerous decrees, were intended as revisions of those elaborated by the chambers under Louis Philippe; but so complicated is the matter owing to the endless diversity of professions that it is found difficult to formulate a good general law. The many provisions and prohibitions come near to being vexatious, even ruinous, to the workingman himself.

By a law of 1883 commissioners and inspectors of child-labour are also charged with the enforcement of the law of May 17th, 1851, regulating the number of hours of work a day for adults.

The progress of the working-classes can always be estimated by the rate of advance of certain allied institutions. Thus the mutual aid societies, which in 1853 numbered 2,695, had attained in 1899 a total of 12,292, with 1,725,439 active members, 292,748 honorary members, and a capital of 312,000,000 francs.

The superannuation funds, including the "national" fund of that name founded in 1850, also entered upon a period of great development. The laws of June 25th, 1894, and July 16th, 1896, organised similar institutions for the benefit of miners, and the French parliament is constantly entertaining projects looking to the further extension of the idea.

In 1847 the savings banks contained in deposits only 358,000,000 of francs, in 1869 the amount had increased to 711,000,000, and in 1882 to 1,754,000,000. At the beginning of 1899 the banks had received in deposits 4,000,500,000 francs, represented by 7,000,000 bank-books.

The free medical aid system was established by the law of January 22nd, 1893; that of free judicial aid, created by the law of January 22nd, 1851, was reorganised by the law of July 8th, 1901.

It is evident that the working people, not wholly but in great part, compose the mutual aid societies, contribute to the superannuation funds, and own the three or four thousand million francs deposited in the savings banks of France. It is equally apparent that to them falls the largest share of the benefits arising from prosperity. According to calculations the consumption of meat has almost doubled since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the consumption of wine has doubled, that of coffee trebled, of sugar increased tenfold, and of beer augmented in the proportion of 70 per cent. Now the rich man hardly consumes a greater quantity of meat, wine, beer, coffee, and sugar than does the labourer, nor is the economical rural worker given to using half as much of these commodities as his urban brother; hence it will be seen that the general increase of prosperity has benefited most of all the labourers in cities.

The workingman of to-day is better fed, better clad, better housed, more generously provided in every way with worldly goods than was the workingman of thirty years ago. He profits by all the inventions of a philanthropic legislature, enjoys for himself and his children free medical service and judicial aid, but can it truly be said that he is happier than his congener of fifty or sixty years ago? And if it is true, will he admit it? It is ingrained in the nature of man to let his sufferings for the lack of certain things outweigh his happiness in the possession of others. French workingmen are not inclined

to seek comparisons in bygone times, they refuse to take into account any period but the present, to see anything but the existing difference between their own and their employer's condition. They display a greater animosity to-day toward the bourgeois class, that has made for them many sacrifices, than was ever cherished by their forerunners against the egoistical employers of 1830. Many among them would think it quite right to work only eight hours a day for high wages, and to have funds established for them to which they themselves would not have to contribute. Others also, who are depositors in savings banks and mutual aid societies, and in receipt of the income assured them by these institutions, give themselves airs of "proletarians" after the fashion of the workingman of 1830 whose only capital was a pair of shrunken arms. If they vote it is very often in favour of some extremist candidate, as though they had a horror of public tranquillity, and were not themselves the first to suffer from any disturbance of the peace. Furthermore they are beset by solicitations to join one or more of the many socialistic organisations—the Blanquists or the Allemanists—whose avowed mission it is to foment hatred between the classes, to prepare the way for a "universal strike," and whose favourite counsel to the workingman is to "study the chemistry of revolution."

Present-day Doctrines

We have left far behind us the days of Saint-Simon, of Enfantin, of Fourier, of Cabet and other mild utopians, of Proudhon, and of Louis Blanc. The new masters to whom socialists swear allegiance are more terrible ones whom they have found across the Rhine; from Ferdinand, but more especially from Karl Marx, proceed the most radical collectivist and the most destructive internationalist doctrines that have ever been uttered. Among the French disciples of Karl Marx a certain set of fanatics acknowledged as their leader Jules Guesde, the high priest with the wasted visage, who styles himself "chief of the French labour party"; others, who are the truly clever ones, call themselves independent, and, in company with Millerand and Jaurès, have enjoyed more than one foretaste of the bliss they promise the people in a more or less distant future.

Many workingmen were carried away by the formula, lately fallen into disuse, of the "three eights" (eight hours for labour, eight for relaxation, eight for sleep). Its inventors concerned themselves but little with those trades or professions that are marked by alternations of activity and stagnation. Other labourers—forming not a tenth part of the mass of French workers—allowed themselves to be drawn into the so-called professional syndicates which, in violation of the law of 1884, were diverted from their original purpose and transformed into agencies for strikes. Fortunately there arose against the despotism of strike leaders and "red" syndicates the powerful association of "yellow" syndicates, which dared show themselves independent even in the face of revolutionary tyranny.

The collectivists are hostile to the idea of country, army, uniform, or flag, and their bitter hatred of the priesthood leads them into complete forgetfulness not only of the nation's interests but of their own. This is what makes the management of public affairs so easy for unscrupulous politicians: one good campaign against religion will take the place of ever so many social reforms, even those that have been declared the most urgent.

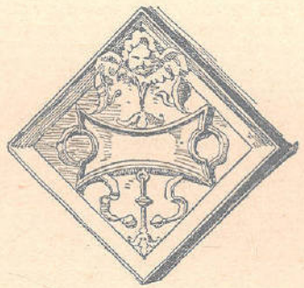
The power gained by the labouring classes, now the "fourth estate," has by no means contributed everything towards the general welfare; it has promoted neither the public peace, continually disturbed by so-called "social reclamations," nor the industrial prosperity of the country, repeatedly endangered by unjustifiable and sanguinary strikes such as those of 1898 and 1899; while it has as certainly not added to France's glory in the eyes of the world, since all her institutions of national defence are the subject of the most hostile and annihilating criticism.

The old régime of France with its kings and nobles counts fourteen centuries of a glory whose origin is lost in the legends of antiquity; the predominance of the bourgeoisie during the revolution, the first empire, and the parliamentary monarchies was marked by splendid progress, victories, and expansion of ideas; just what will distinguish the era ushered in by socialism in every country of the globe it is difficult to conceive, nor is it easier to foretell the future lot of humanity when the collectivist state shall have become an accomplished fact.

We are frequently assured that if every country were to disband its armies the peace of the world would be secured. Who can guarantee, though, that all the inhabitants of any given country would calmly consent to relinquish their property, bow their necks to the heaviest bureaucratic yoke that has ever been imposed (for many more officials would be required to run such an enormous phalanstery of a state than are employed to-day), and endure without rebelling the wearisome, monotonous, and depressing existence that would be theirs under the sway of the least enlightened classes of the nation? Nor would the suppression of the states do away either with the different ethnological groups that form their support, nor with the inclination of these groups to live their own life, to speak their own tongue, to draw inspiration from the legends of their own past, to feel themselves in a word separate and distinct from all the other groups around them. There have been innumerable wars in former times between those national personalities calling themselves in the present France, Germany, England, Spain, and Italy—feudal wars, monarchical wars, Jacobin wars, bourgeois wars, and tariff wars, wars for pillage, wars for principles, and wars for display. It is not clearly apparent how any of these wars could have been averted had each of the nations participating been ruled by a collectivist autocracy and bureaucracy. And again, who can assert that the diplomacy of the future will be as skilled in avoiding causes of conflict as the diplomacy of the present? The collectivist state, moreover, having assumed control in each country of all the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests, will be ill inclined to brook that a neighbour shall hinder its traffic in grains and other produce, or shall contend for the markets in its possession. Evidently a custom-service will be a necessity, with a regiment of officials, and frontier-lines will again come into prominence. Thus, with a police force on land to guard against sedition by malcontents, and warships on sea to protect its counting-houses, the collectivist state's institutions of defence will offer a very close parallel to the standing army of to-day.

The future that has been pictured for us in such glowing colours may, after all is said and done, be simply a repetition of the present with a few worse features thrown in. There will doubtless still be wars, but the warfare will rage about a singularly diminished object; in the poverty-stricken commonwealths that will succeed to the opulent nations of to-day there will be no doing battle for glory or for the propagation of ideas, the inhabitants will seek to exterminate each other on account of a few sacks of rye. The citizen wars of the Revolution and the empire were marked by a fiercer spirit than had characterised any of the previous monarchical wars; it is to

be feared that the "labour" wars will exceed them all in ferocity and hate, will in fact turn the world back again to the modes of living and degree of civilisation of the cave-dwellers. Let us hope, however, that the men of the "fourth estate" will discover before it is too late the vanity, the danger, the absurdity of the collectivist utopia; it is not well to serve as a springboard for ambitious men who, without believing in the possibility of the realisation of their utopia, understand marvellously well how to exploit it.



BARODA

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO FRENCH HISTORY

I

THE LAW OF CONSCRIPTION

(Passed September 5, 1798)

[Military service, compulsory in France to-day, was also compulsory there as long ago as 863 A.D., when the Edict of Pistes ordered a census of the men bound to military duty. That Edict pronounced the most severe penalties against those who deprived these men of their horses and their arms, and also against those who sought to avoid military duty by giving themselves to the church. In the Constitutional Assembly of 1789 Dubois Crancé remarked: "In France every citizen must be a soldier, and every soldier a citizen, or we shall never have a constitution," but the sentiment was then considered rather a breach of liberty, as being at variance with the individual liberty of the citizen. Its necessity was recognised soon afterwards, however, and it was decreed by the Convention on February 26, 1793, that "military service is the debt of every citizen." The Conscription Law was passed September 5, 1798. It was applied for the first time during the campaign of the year 1799. Napoleon found it of the utmost use to him. It placed the whole youth of the country at his disposal. They were raised without cost, and supported by the contributions of conquered countries. It was a power which after 1805 he exercised to the full. Up to that time only seven in the hundred of the population were called each year to serve with the army in the field, but after 1805 the conscription under Napoleon knew no limits. In one year Napoleon demanded 1,100,000 soldiers. There was no longer a fixed term of service. Men as well as youths were sent to the armies in the field. Conscription had been made, by a law passed May 18, 1802, no longer an accessory but the normal means of recruiting. By a charter of 1814, conscription was abolished and a return made to the principle of voluntary enlistment. Four years later conscription was again declared to be necessary and the period of service was fixed at six years; on July 27, 1872, military service was made obligatory between the ages of 20 and 40, and the compulsory recruiting law of July 15, 1889, maintained the principle and the practice.]

LAW RELATING TO THE FORMATION OF THE ARMY

Title I.—Principles.

1. Every Frenchman is a soldier and owes his person to the defence of his country.

2. When the country is declared to be in danger, every Frenchman is called to its defence, according to the manner determined by law: even those who have obtained leave of absence shall not be exempt.

3. Except in the case of "the country in danger," the army is formed by voluntary enlistment and by means of military conscription.

4. The legislative corps fixes, by a special law, the number of conscripts to be placed on active service.

Title III.—Military Conscription.

15. Military conscription includes every Frenchman between the ages of twenty and twenty-five.

16. [Specifies those not included in military conscription.]

17. Conscripts (*défenseurs conscrits*) are divided into five classes: each class only including conscripts of the same year.

18. The conscripts comprised in all the classes are attached to the various corps composing the Army; they are enrolled by name, and no substitution is allowed.

20. According to the law which fixes the number of conscripts that are to be sent on active service, the youngest in each class are always summoned first to join the colours. Those of the second class are only called to the corps when all those of the first class are on active service, and so on, class after class.

22. Conscripts only receive their pay when on active service.

23. Conscripts attached to a corps, but not on active service, continue to exercise their political rights as citizens, and are placed in the service of the national guard (*sédentaire*); they are not subject to military law until appointed for active service.[b]

II

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1814

(Signed on June 4, 1814)

[The abdication of Napoleon was immediately followed by the call to the throne of France of Louis Stanislaus Xavier, brother of the last King, but the reign was not to commence until the day when he took oath to the constitution. That constitution conferred executive power on the King, who was to share legislative power with the senate and a chamber of deputies. Further, the constitution sanctioned individual freedom, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, the sale of national lands, the public debt, and proclaimed forgetfulness of all acts committed since the commencement of the Revolution. The oath was duly taken and Louis XVIII ruled in France. "The Divine Providence in recalling us to our country after a long absence has imposed great obligations upon us," he declared in the preamble. Peace was declared to be the first need of France, and a constitutional charter, required by the actual state of the kingdom, was promised and was given and published. References were made to the effects of progress, and Louis stated that the wish of the people of France for a constitutional charter was the impression of "a real need." He declared that the dearest wish of his heart was that all Frenchmen might live like brothers, and that no bitter memories of the past might trouble their security. The rights and the prerogatives of the Crown were, however, to be strictly preserved, for, Louis added, they had hoped that, taught by experience, they would be convinced that only a supreme authority could give the strength, the permanence, and the majesty "with which it is itself clothed" to the institutions which it founds, that thus, when the wisdom of Kings agrees freely with the wish of their people, a constitutional charter may be lasting, but that "when violence snatches concessions from the weakness of the government, public liberty is in no less danger than the throne itself." The peerage was re-established, the constitution and functions of the Chamber of Deputies were dealt with, the duties of ministers and the administration of justice. Private rights were guaranteed by the state. The following year, on the return of Napoleon, Louis XVIII hastily left Paris and France, to return after Napoleon's final defeat at the battle of Waterloo. The new constitution remained in force, though the horrors of the "White Terror" showed that "forgetfulness of the past" was not to be permitted to mark the Bourbon Restoration.

The Charter of 1830, otherwise known as the "Declaration of Rights," closely resembles the following document, with which it may be advantageously compared. (See Document V.)]

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

1. Frenchmen are to be equal before the law, whatever may be their titles or their ranks.

2. They are to contribute in proportion to their fortunes to the charges of the state.

3. They are all to be equally admissible to civil and military employments.

4. Their individual liberty is equally guaranteed. No person can be either prosecuted or arrested, except in cases prescribed by the laws and according to the law.

5. Each one may profess his religion with equal liberty, and shall obtain for his religious worship the same protection.

6. Nevertheless the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion is the religion of the State.

7. The ministers of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, and those of other Christian worship alone receive stipends from the royal treasury.

8. Frenchmen have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, provided they conform to the laws which prevent the abuse of this liberty.[1]

9. All property is to be inviolable, not excepting that which is called *national*; the law makes no difference between the one or the other.

10. The State can exact the sacrifice of property for the good of the public, legally proved; but an indemnity shall be first given to those who may suffer from the change.

11. All searching into the opinions and votes given before the restoration is interdicted, and the same omission is commanded to be adopted by the tribunals and by the citizens.

12. The conscription is abolished; the method of recruiting the army for land and sea is to be determined by the law.

FORMS OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT

13. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred; his ministers are responsible; executive power belongs to the King alone.

14. The King is the supreme chief of the State; he commands the forces by sea and by land; he declares war; he makes treaties of peace and alliances of commerce; he appoints all those employed in the public administrations, and makes all the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the State.

15. The legislative power is to be exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments.

16. The King proposes the laws.

17. The proposition of the laws, according to the will of the King, is presented to the Chamber of Peers, or to the Chamber of Deputies; except the laws on taxes, which must first be presented to the Chamber of Deputies.

[1] [See the Law relative to the Liberty of the Press, and the Ordinances of Charles X. following.]

18. Every law is to be freely discussed and voted by the majority of each of the two Chambers.

19. The Chambers may beg the King to propose a law on any subject whatsoever, and may indicate what they consider suitable provisions.

20. The request may be made by each of the two Chambers; but after having been discussed in secret committee, it can only be sent to the other Chamber by the one that proposed it, after a delay of ten days.

21. If the Bill is adopted by the other Chamber it shall be presented to the King; if rejected, it cannot be brought forward again in the same session.

22. The King alone sanctions and promulgates laws.

23. The civil list is fixed for the whole of the reign by the first legislature assembled after the accession of the King.

OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS

24. The Chamber of Peers is an essential part of legislative power.

25. It is summoned by the King at the same time as the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments. Their respective sessions begin and finish at the same time.

26. Any assembly of the Chamber of Peers which shall be held at a time when the Chamber of Deputies is not sitting, or which has not been commanded by the King, is illicit and null of full right.

27. The nomination of the Peers of France belongs to the King. Their number is unlimited: he can vary their dignity, name them for life, or make them hereditary at his will.

28. Peers can take their seat in the Chamber at the age of twenty-five, and vote only after the age of thirty.

29. The Chancellor of France, or in his absence a Peer, nominated by the King, presides over the Chamber of Peers.

30. Members of the royal family and princes of the blood are Peers by right of birth. They are to take their seats next to the President; but they have no deliberative voice before their twenty-fifth year.

31. Princes may not take their seats in the Chamber except by order of the King (expressed in a message at the beginning of each session), on penalty of annulment of all that has been done in their presence.

32. The sittings of the Chamber of Peers are secret.

33. The Chamber of Peers takes cognisance of high treason and of those crimes against the safety of the State which shall be defined by the law.

34. A Peer can only be arrested by authority of the Chamber, and can be tried only by it in a criminal case.

OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS

35. The Chamber of Deputies shall be composed of deputies elected by the electoral colleges, whose organisation shall be laid down by the law.

36. Each department is to have the same number of Deputies that it has had up to the present.

37. Deputies are to be elected for five years; the elections are to be so arranged that the Chamber is renewed by one-fifth every year.

38. No deputy can be admitted to the Chamber until he has attained the age of forty, and unless he pays the sum of one thousand francs in direct taxation.

39. If, however, there should not be in the department fifty persons of

the age specified paying at least one thousand francs in direct taxes, the number shall be made up from the persons contributing the highest amount under one thousand francs; these may be elected at the same time as the first.

40. Those electors who take part in the nomination of the Deputies have no right to the suffrage unless they pay three hundred francs in direct taxes, and if they are under thirty years of age.

41. The Presidents of the electoral colleges shall be nominated by the King, and are by right members of the Colleges.

42. At least half of the Deputies shall be chosen from eligible candidates who have their political domicile in the department.

43. The President of the Chamber of Deputies shall be nominated by the King, from a list of five members submitted by the Chamber.

44. The sittings of the Chamber are public, but at the request of five members it becomes a secret committee.

45. The Chamber will form itself into bureaus [*select committees*] to discuss bills laid before it on behalf of the King.

46. No amendment can be made to a Law unless proposed, or consented to, by the King, and unless it has been sent back and discussed by the bureaus.

47. The Chamber of Deputies deals with all Bills on Taxation, and only after these Bills have been accepted can they be passed on to the Chamber of Peers.

48. No tax can be established or received if it has not been agreed to by the two Chambers and sanctioned by the King.

49. The property-tax is only passed for a single year. Indirect taxes may be sanctioned for several years.

50. The two Chambers are summoned annually by the King: he prorogues them and can dissolve that of the Deputies of the Departments: but in this case he must summon a new one within three months.

51. No member of the Chamber can be imprisoned during the session and within the six weeks which precede or follow it.

52. No member of the Chamber can be summoned or arrested in a criminal case during the session except when taken in the act, or after the Chamber has sanctioned the trial.

53. Petitions to either of the Chambers can only be made and presented in writing. The law forbids them to be presented in person and at the bar of the Chamber.

OF THE MINISTERS

54. Ministers can be members of the Chamber of Peers or of the Chamber of Deputies. They can be present in either Chamber, and must be heard when they wish.

55. The Chamber of Deputies has the right to lay an accusation against Ministers before the Chamber of Peers, which alone can judge them.

56. Ministers can only be accused before the Peers on a charge of treason or abuse of power. Special laws shall deal with the nature of these crimes and shall determine the method of trial.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

57. The King is the fountain of justice; it is administered in his name by judges whom he names and appoints.

58. The judges nominated by the King cannot be dismissed.
59. The courts and ordinary tribunals now in existence are continued; no change will be made in them except by virtue of a law.
60. The present system of Judges of Commerce is maintained.
61. The system of Justices of the Peace is also maintained. Justices of the Peace, although named by the King, may be removed from office.
62. No person may be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of his natural judges.
63. In consequence extraordinary commissions and tribunals cannot be created; the ancient Provostships are not included under this head if their re-establishment is considered necessary.
64. Criminal trials will be public unless this publicity is dangerous to public order and morals, when the tribunal will declare this by a judgment.
65. The institution of jurors is preserved; any changes which a longer experience may show to be necessary can only be effected by a law.
66. Confiscation of property is abolished and cannot be re-established.
67. The King has the right to pardon and that of commuting penalties.
68. The civil code and all laws now in existence not contrary to the present Charter remain in force until they are legally altered.

PRIVATE RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE

69. Soldiers on service, officers and soldiers on half-pay, pensioned widows, officers and soldiers, will preserve their rank, honours, and pensions.
70. The national debt is guaranteed: every kind of engagement between the State and its creditors is inviolable.
71. The old nobility will re-assume its titles. The new will preserve its titles.
72. The King makes nobles at his will; but he only grants them rank and honour without any exemption from the burdens and duties of society. The Legion of Honour is preserved, the King will prescribe its regulations and insignia.

PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE

73. The French Colonies are to be governed by special laws and regulations.
74. At their coronation the King and his successors are to swear that they will faithfully observe the present Constitutional Charter.
75. The Deputies of the Departments of France who had seats in the Legislative Body when it was last adjourned, shall continue to sit in the Chamber of Deputies until replaced.
76. The first renewal of one-fifth of the Chamber of Deputies shall take place at the latest in 1816, following the order established between the series.

We order that the present Constitutional Charter placed before the Senate and the Legislative Body in accordance with our Declaration of May the 2nd, be immediately sent to the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies.

Given at Paris, the 4th of June, the year of grace 1814, and in the 19th of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Signed) THE ABBÉ DE MONTESQUIOU.
(Visa.) THE CHANCELLOR OF FRANCE.
(Signed) DAMBRAY.[b]

III

LAW RELATIVE TO THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

(Approved October 21, 1814)

[Following are extracts from the law relating to the freedom of the press. For the illegal suspension of this law see the third Ordinance of Charles X immediately following.]

I. Any work of more than twenty sheets may be printed freely and without a preliminary examination or censure.

II. The following works may also be printed without censure, whatever the number of sheets: 1. Works in dead or foreign languages. 2. Episcopal Mandates, Pastoral Letters, Catechisms, and Prayer-Books. 3. Documents in suits of law signed by a recognised barrister or solicitor. 4. Papers for recognised literary or scientific societies. 5. Votes of the two chambers.

V. If two censors at least consider that the work is a defamatory libel, or that it may trouble public tranquillity, or that it is contrary to the Constitutional Charter, or that it injures public morality, the director-general of printing may order its printing to be stopped.

IX. Journals and periodical works can only appear with the King's authorisation.[b]

IV

THE ORDINANCES OF CHARLES X

(Signed on July 25, 1830)

[Charles X, the second monarch of the Bourbon Restoration, ascended the throne at a period fair with promise, for the restored régime appeared to be established in power. France, too, seemed to have shaken herself free from external conflicts and internal dissensions, and to have a good prospect of a period of peace and content. The country was prosperous, and, as for government, the composition of the Chamber of Deputies had been put on a practical footing, and government was assured of a majority sufficient for all purposes, in harmony with the great body of the peers, and the principles of a constitutional monarchy. The liberty of the press, granted at the beginning of the reign, gave great satisfaction. This liberty was soon afterwards threatened, numerous other unpopular Acts were threatened or passed, and there arose discontent in the Chamber of Deputies and in the country. In 1830 the discontent became acute, and the ministry of Gules de Polignac, son of the chief equerry of Louis XVI and of the Duchess de Polignac, being defeated at the polls, resolved to suppress the liberties of the country. Such was to be the *coup d'état* of M. de Polignac, whose methods were imbued with the spirit of the old régime. The French nation had spoken at the polls. The reply Charles X made to them was in several ordinances signed by his ministers. One of these actually dissolved the Chamber before it had met, on the ground that the electors had been deceived and misled; another abridged the right of elections in order to "prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the late operations of the electoral colleges"; and the third abolished the liberty of the press. Every newspaper was in future to be forced to obtain the royal sanction, and otherwise it was not only to be forbidden to appear but all its plant was to be destroyed. The ordinances were unconstitutional, and again France had to consider the question of the King's or the people's will. The people's

answer was the Revolution of July, a terrible three days in Paris in that month, and the deposition of the ill-adviser, King Charles X, on a date which, it is curious to note, was July 28, the anniversary of the execution of Robespierre. The answer of the Chamber of Deputies to the attack upon the liberties of the people was emphatic, and constituted that important declaration of rights—the Charter of 1830—a translation of which immediately follows this document.]

A.—ORDINANCE ANNULLING THE ELECTIONS OF THE DEPUTIES

CHARLES, &c.

To all whom these presents shall come, &c.

Having considered Article 50 of the Constitutional Charter; being informed of the manœuvres which have been practised in various parts of our kingdom, to deceive and mislead the electors during the late operations of the electoral colleges; having heard our Council, we have ordained and ordain as follows:—

1. The Chamber of Deputies of Departments is dissolved.

2. Our Minister, Secretary of State of the Interior, is charged with the execution of the present ordinance:

Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, the year of grace 1830, and the sixth of our reign.

CHARLES.

(Countersigned) Count de PEYRONNET,
Peer of France,
Secretary of State for the Interior.

B.—ORDINANCE ABRIDGING THE RIGHT OF ELECTIONS

CHARLES, &c.

To all those who shall see these presents, health.

Having resolved to prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the late operations of the electoral colleges, wishing in consequence to reform according to the principles of the Constitutional Charter the rules of election, of which experience has shown the inconvenience, we have recognised the necessity of using the right which belongs to us, to provide by acts emanating from ourselves for the safety of the State, and for the suppression of every enterprise injurious to the dignity of our crown. For these reasons, having heard our Council, we have ordained and ordain:

1. Conformably to the Articles 15, 36, and 39, of the Constitutional Charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall consist only of deputies of departments.

2. The electorial rate and the rate of eligibility shall consist exclusively of the sums for which the elector and the candidate shall be inscribed individually, as holders of real or personal property, in the roll of the land tax or of personal taxes.

3. Each department shall have the number of deputies allotted to it by the 36th Article of the Constitutional Charter.

4. The deputies shall be elected, and the chamber renewed, in the form and for the time fixed by the 37th Article of the Constitutional Charter.

5. The electoral colleges shall be divided into colleges of arrondissement and colleges of departments, except the case of electoral colleges of departments, to which only one deputy is allotted.

6. The electoral colleges of arrondissement shall consist of all the electors whose political domicile is established in the arrondissement. The electoral colleges of departments shall consist of a fourth part, the highest taxed, of the electors of departments.

7. The present limits of the electoral colleges of arrondissements are retained.

8. Every electoral college of arrondissement shall elect a number of candidates equal to the number of departmental deputies.

9. The college of arrondissement shall be divided into as many sections as candidates. Each division shall be in proportion to the number of sections, and to the total number of electors, having regard as much as possible to the convenience of place and neighbourhood.

10. The sections of the electoral college of arrondissements may assemble in different places.

11. Every section of the electoral college of arrondissements shall choose a candidate, and proceed separately.

12. The presidents of the sections of the electoral college of arrondissement shall be nominated by the prefects from among the electors of arrondissement.

13. The college of department shall choose the deputies; half the deputies of departments shall be chosen from the general list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements: nevertheless, if the number of deputies of the department is uneven, the diversion shall be made without impeachment of the right reserved by the college of department.

14. In cases where, by the effect of omissions, of void or double nominations, the list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements shall be incomplete, if the list is reduced below half the number required, the college of department shall choose another deputy not in the list; if the list is reduced below a fourth, the college of department may elect beyond the whole of the deputies of department.

15. The prefects, the sub-prefects, and the general officers commanding military divisions and departments, are not to be elected in the departments where they exercise their functions.

16. The list of electors shall be settled by the prefect in the council of prefecture. It shall be posted up five days before the assembling of the colleges.

17. Claims regarding the power of voting which have not been authorised by the prefects shall be decided by the Chamber of Deputies, at the same time that it shall decide upon the validity of the operations of the colleges.

18. In the electoral colleges of department, the two oldest electors and the two electors who pay the most taxes shall execute the duty of scrutators.

The same dispositions shall be observed in the sections of the college of arrondissement, composed at most of only fifty electors. In the other college sections, the functions of scrutators shall be executed by the oldest and the richest of the electors. The secretary shall be nominated in the college of the section of the colleges by the president and the scrutators.

19. No person shall be admitted into the college, or section of college, if he is not inscribed in the list of electors who compose part of it. This list will be delivered to the president, and will remain posted up in the place of the sitting of the college, during the period of its proceedings.

20. All discussion and deliberation whatever are forbidden in the bosom of the electoral colleges.

21. The police of the college belongs to the president. No armed force without his order can be placed near the hall of sittings. The military commandant shall be bound to obey his requisitions.

22. The nominations shall be made in the colleges, and sections of college, by the absolute majority of the votes given. Nevertheless, if the nominations are not finished after two rounds of scrutiny, the bureau shall determine the list of persons who shall have obtained the greatest number of suffrages at the second round. It shall contain a number of names double that of the nominations which remain to be made. At the third round no suffrages can be given except to the persons inscribed on that list, and the nominations shall be made by a relative majority.

23. The electors shall vote by bulletins; every bulletin shall contain as many names as there are nominations to be made.

24. The electors shall write their vote on the bureau, or cause it to be written by one of the scrutators.

25. The name, the qualification, and the domicile of each elector who shall deposit his bulletin, shall be inscribed by the secretary on a list destined to establish the number of the voters.

26. Every scrutiny shall remain open for six hours, and shall be declared during the sitting.

27. There shall be drawn up a *procès-verbal* for each sitting. This *procès-verbal* shall be signed by all the members of the bureaus.

28. Conformably to Article 46 of the Constitutional Charter, no amendment can be made upon any law in the Chamber, unless it has been proposed and consented to by us, and unless it has been discussed in the bureaus.

29. All regulations contrary to the present ordinance shall remain without effect.

30. Our Ministers, Secretaries of State, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

Given at St. Cloud this 25th day of July, in the year of grace 1830, and 6th of our reign.

CHARLES.

(Countersigned by the Ministers.)

C.—ORDINANCES AGAINST THE PRESS

CHARLES, &c.

To all to whom these presents shall come, health.

On the report of our Council of Ministers we have ordained and ordain as follows:

Article I. The liberty of the periodical press is suspended.

Article II. The regulations of the Articles 1st, 2nd, and 9th, of the 1st section of the law of 21st October, 1814, are again put in force, in consequence of which no journal, or periodical, or semi-periodical writing, established, or about to be established, without distinction of the matters therein treated, shall appear either in Paris or in the Departments, except by virtue of an authority first obtained from us respectively by the authors and the printer. This authority shall be renewed every three months. It may also be revoked.

Article III. The authority shall be provisionally granted and provisionally withdrawn by the prefects from journals, and periodicals, or semi-periodical works published or about to be published in the Departments.

Article IV. Journals and writings published in contravention of Article II shall be immediately seized. The presses and types used in the printing of them shall be placed in a public depôt under seals, or rendered unfit for use.

Article V. No writing below twenty printed pages shall appear, except with the authority of our Minister, Secretary of State for the interior of Paris, and of the prefects in the Departments. Every writing of more than twenty printed pages which shall not constitute one single work, must also equally be published under authority only. Writings published without authority shall be immediately seized; the presses and types used in printing them shall be placed in a public depôt and under seals, or rendered unfit for use.

Article VI. Memoirs relating to legal process, and memoirs of scientific and literary societies, must be previously authorised, if they treat in whole or in part of political matters, in which case the measures prescribed by Article V shall be applicable.

Article VII. Every regulation contrary to the present shall be without effect.

Article VIII. The execution of the present ordinance shall take place in conformity with Article IV of the ordinance of November 27th, 1816, and of that which is prescribed in the ordinance of the 18th January, 1817.

Article IX. Our Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of this ordinance.

Given at Chateau St. Cloud, the 25th July, of the year of Grace, 1830, and the 6th of our reign.

(Signed) CHARLES.

(Countersigned by the Ministers.)[c]

V

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS (THE CHARTER OF 1830)

[The document known as the "Declaration of Rights" was a reaffirmation of the Constitution of 1814 given above. There were, however, some important and highly significant modifications. In the newer document nothing is said about the "religion of the State"; there is a declaration against any press censorship; the King is forbidden to suspend the laws; the proceedings of the Peers are to be public; and national colours are provided.]

DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the imperious necessity which is the result of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July and the following days, and the situation in which France is at this moment placed, in consequence of this violation of the constitutional Charter; considering, however, that by this violation, and the heroic resistance of the citizens of Paris, his majesty King CHARLES X, his royal highness LOUIS ANTOINE, his son, and the senior members of the royal house, are leaving the kingdom of France—declares that the throne is vacant *de facto et de jure*, and that there is an absolute necessity of providing for it.

The Chamber of Deputies declare, secondly, that according to the wish, and for the interest of the people of France, the preamble of the constitutional

Charter is omitted, as wounding the national dignity in appearing to grant to them rights which essentially belong to them; and that the following articles of the same Charter ought to be suppressed or modified, in the following manner:

1. Frenchmen are to be equal before the law, whatever may be their titles or their ranks.

2. They are to contribute in proportion to their fortunes to the charges of the State.

3. They are all to be equally admissible to civil and military employments.

4. Their individual liberty is equally guaranteed. No person can be either prosecuted or arrested, except in cases prescribed by the law.

5. Each one may profess his religion with equal liberty, and shall obtain for his religious worship the same protection.

6. The ministers of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, professed by the majority of the French, and those of other Christian worship, receive stipends from the public treasury.

7. Frenchmen have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, provided they conform themselves to the laws. The censorship can never be re-established.

8. All property, without exception, is to be inviolable; of that which is called national, the law makes no difference.

9. The State can exact the sacrifice of property for the good of the public, legally proved; but an indemnity shall be first given to those who may suffer from the change.

10. All searching into the opinions and votes given before the restoration is interdicted, and the same forgetfulness is commanded to be adopted by the tribunals and by the citizens.

11. The conscription is abolished; the method of recruiting the army for land and sea is to be determined by the law.

FORMS OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT

12. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred; his Ministers are responsible; as to the King alone belongs executive power.

13. The King is to be the chief supreme of the State; to command the forces by sea and by land; to declare war; to make treaties of peace and alliances of commerce; to name all those who are employed in the public administrations, and to make all the regulations necessary for the execution of the laws, without having power either to suspend the laws themselves or dispense with their execution. Nevertheless, no foreign troops can ever be admitted into the service of the State without an express law.

14. The legislative power is to be exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies.

15. The proposition of the laws is to belong to the King, to the Chamber of Peers, and to the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, all the laws of taxes are to be first voted by the Chamber of Deputies.

16. Every law to be freely discussed, and voted by the majority of each of the two Chambers.

17. If a proposed law be rejected by one of the three powers, it cannot be brought forward again in the same session.

18. The King can alone sanction and promulgate the laws.

19. The civil list is to be fixed for the duration of the reign, by the legislative assembly, after the accession of the King.

OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS

20. The Chamber of Peers is to form an essential portion of the legislative power.

21. It is to be convoked by the King at the same time as the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments. The session of one is to begin and finish at the same time as the other.

22. Any assembly of the Chamber of Peers which shall be held at one time which is not that of the session of the Chamber of Deputies is illicit, and null of full right, except the case in which it is assembled as a court of justice, and then it can only exercise judicial functions.

23. The nomination of the Peers of France is the prerogative of the King. Their number is unlimited. He can vary their dignities, and name them Peers for life, or make them hereditary at his pleasure.

24. Peers can enter the Chamber at twenty-five years of age, but have only a deliberative voice at the age of thirty years.

25. The Chamber of Peers is to be presided over by the Chancellor of France, and in his absence by a Peer named by the King.

26. The Princes of the Blood are to be Peers by right of birth. They are to take their seats next to the President.

27. The sittings of the Chamber of Peers are to be public, as well as those of the Chamber of Deputies.

28. The Chamber of Peers takes cognisance of high treason, and of attempts against the surety of the State, which is to be defined by the law.

29. No Peer can be arrested but by the authority of the Chamber, or judged but by it in a criminal matter.

OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS

30. The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of Deputies elected by the electoral colleges, of which the organisation is to be determined by the laws.

31. The Deputies are to be elected for the space of five years.

32. No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber until he has attained the age of thirty years, and if he does not possess the other conditions prescribed by law.

33. If, however, there should not be in the department fifty persons of the age specified, paying the amount of taxes fixed by law, their number shall be completed from the persons who pay the greatest amount of taxes under the amount fixed by law.

34. No person can be an elector, if he is under twenty-five years of age; and if he does not possess all the other conditions determined upon by the law.

35. The Presidents of the electoral colleges are to be named by the electors.

36. The half at least of the Deputies are to be chosen from those who have their political residence in the departments.

37. The President of the Chamber of Deputies is to be elected by itself at the opening of each session.

38. The sittings of the Chambers are to be public, but the request of five members will be sufficient to form a secret committee.

39. The Chamber is to be divided into bureaus [select committees], to discuss laws which may be presented from the King.

40. No tax can be established nor imposed, if it has not been consented to by the two Chambers, and sanctioned by the King.

41. The land and house tax can only be voted for one year. The indirect taxes may be voted for many years.

42. The King is to convoke every year the two Chambers, and he has the right to prorogue them, and to dissolve that of the Deputies of the departments; but in this case he must convoke a new one within the period of three months.

43. No bodily restraint can be exercised against a member of the Chamber during the session, nor for six weeks which precede or follow the session.

44. No member of the Chamber can be, during the session, prosecuted or arrested in a criminal matter, except taken in the act, till after the Chamber has permitted his arrest.

45. Every petition to either of the Chambers must be made in writing. The law interdicts it being carried in person to the bar.

OF THE MINISTERS

46. The Ministers can be members of the Chamber of Peers or the Chamber of Deputies. They have, moreover, their entrance into either Chamber, and are entitled to be heard when they demand it.

47. The Chamber of Deputies have the right of impeaching Ministers, or of transferring them before the Chamber of Peers, who alone can judge them.

JUDICIAL REGULATIONS

48. All justice emanates from the King; he administers in his name by the judges, whom he names, and whom he institutes.

49. The judges named by the King are immovable.

50. The ordinary courts and tribunals are to be maintained, and there is to be no change but by virtue of a law.

51. The actual institution of the Judges of Commerce is preserved.

52. The office of Justice of Peace is equally preserved. The Justices of Peace, though named by the King, are not immovable.

53. No one can be deprived of his natural judges.

54. There cannot, in consequence, be extraordinary commissions and tribunals created by any title or denomination whatever.

55. The debates will be public in criminal matters, at least when that publicity will not be dangerous to the public order and manners, and in that case the tribunal is to declare it by a distinct judgment.

56. The institution of juries is to be preserved; the changes which a longer experience may render necessary can only be effected by a distinct law.

57. The punishment of the confiscation of goods is abolished, and cannot be re-established.

58. The King has the right to pardon and commute the punishment.

59. The Civil Code, and the actual laws existing, that are not contrary to the present Charter, will remain in full force until they shall be legally derogated.

PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE

60. The military in actual service, officers and soldiers, pensioned widows, officers and soldiers pensioned, are to preserve their grades, honours, and pensions.

61. The public debt is guaranteed—every sort of engagement made by the State with its creditors is to be inviolable.

62. The ancient nobility are to resume their titles; the new are to preserve theirs: the King is to create nobles at his pleasure; but he only grants to them rank and honours, without exemption from the charges and duties imposed on them as members of society.

63. The Legion of Honour is to be maintained. The King is to determine the regulations and decorations.

64. The French colonies are to be governed by particular laws.

65. The King and his successors are to swear, on their accession, in presence of the assembled Chambers, to observe faithfully the Constitutional Charter.

66. The present Charter, and the rights it consecrates, shall be entrusted to the patriotism and courage of the national guard and of all the French citizens.

67. France resumes her colours; for the future there will be no other cockade than the tri-coloured.[c]

VI

CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

(Adopted February 25, 1875)

[The Constitution of the Third Republic was adopted by the Government on February 25, 1875, and promulgated three days later. The Presidents' period of office was fixed at seven years, with power to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies subject to agreement by the Senate. The powers of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate were set forth, giving the Chamber of Deputies most weight in matters of taxing.]

LAW RELATING TO THE ORGANISATION OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

1. The legislative power is exercised by two assemblies: the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, under conditions determined by the electoral law.

The composition, the manner of election, and the duties of the Senate shall be regulated by a special law.

2. The President of the Republic is elected by an absolute majority of votes of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies assembled together in National Assembly. He is elected for seven years; he is re-eligible.

3. The President of the Republic has the initiative of the laws, concurrently with the members of the two Chambers; he promulgates laws when they have been voted by the two Chambers; he looks after and secures their execution.

He has the right of pardon; amnesty can only be granted by law.

He disposes of the armed force.

He nominates to all civil and military appointments.

He presides over national festivals; envoys and ambassadors of foreign powers are accredited to him.

Every act of the President of the Republic must be countersigned by a Minister.

4. As vacancies gradually occur after the promulgation of the present law, the President of the Republic appoints Councillors of State, on ordinary service, to the Council of Ministers.

Councillors of State thus appointed may only be dismissed by a resolution passed in the Council of Ministers.

Councillors of State appointed by virtue of the law of 24th May, 1872, cannot be dismissed, except in the manner determined by that law, before the expiration of their powers.

After the separation of the National Assembly, revocation can only be pronounced by resolution of the Senate.

5. The President of the Republic may, with the sanction of the Senate, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the legal expiration of its term. In that case the electoral colleges are convoked for new elections within the space of three months. [Amended by Law of 1884.]

6. The Ministers are jointly responsible to the Chambers for the general policy of the Government, and individually for their personal acts.

The President of the Republic is responsible only in the case of high treason.

7. In case of vacancy by death, or for any other reason, the two Chambers assembled together shall immediately proceed to elect a new President. In the interval, the Council of Ministers is invested with executive power.

8. The Chambers shall have the right by separate resolutions—each one passed by an absolute majority of votes, either upon their own initiative or upon request of the President of the Republic—to declare that a revision of the Constitutional Laws is necessary. After the resolution has been passed in each of the two Chambers, they shall meet together in National Assembly to proceed with the revision.

Acts effecting revision of the Constitutional Laws, in whole or in part, must be passed by an absolute majority of the members composing the National Assembly. This revision, however, can only take place on the proposition of the President of the Republic, during the continuance of the powers conferred upon Marshal de Mac-Mahon, by the law of 20th November, 1873. [Altered by Law of 1884.]

9. The seat of the Executive Power and of the two Chambers is at Versailles. [Repealed June 21, 1879.]

LAW ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE SENATE

1 to 7. [Repealed by Law of December 9, 1884.]

8. The Senate has, concurrently with the Chamber of Deputies, the initiative and the passing of laws. Finance bills, however, must first be introduced in, and passed by, the Chamber of Deputies.

9. The Senate may be constituted a Court of Justice to judge either the President of the Republic or the Ministers, and to take cognisance of attacks upon the safety of the State.

10. Elections to the Senate shall take place one month before the time fixed by the National Assembly for its dissolution.

The Senate shall enter upon its duties and constitute itself the same day that the National Assembly is dissolved.

LAW ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

1. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies shall assemble the second Tuesday in January each year, unless convened earlier by the President of the Republic.

The two Chambers continue in session at least five months in each year. The sessions of each begin and end at the same time.

2. The President of the Republic pronounces the closure of the session. He may convene the Chambers in extra session. He must convoke them if, in the recess, an absolute majority of the members of each Chamber request it.

The President may adjourn the Chambers. The adjournment, however, may not exceed one month and may not take place more than twice in the same session.

3. [Concerning the election of the President of the Republic.]

4. Any meeting of either of the two Chambers held at a time not that of the common session is illegal and void, except in the case provided for by the preceding article or when the Senate meets as a Court of Justice; in the latter case it may only exercise judicial functions.

5. The sittings of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies shall be public.

Each Chamber, however, may form itself into a secret committee at the request of a certain number of its members, determined by the rules.

It then decides, by absolute majority, whether the sitting shall be resumed in public, upon the same subject.

6. The President of the Republic communicates with the Chambers by messages which are read from the tribune by a Minister. Ministers have entrance to both Chambers and must be heard upon their demand. They may be assisted by members of a committee designated for the discussion of a specific bill, by decree of the President of the Republic.

7. The President of the Republic promulgates the laws within the month following the transmission to the government of the law finally passed. Within three days laws whose promulgation has been declared urgent by a special vote in both Chambers, must be promulgated.

Within the time fixed for the promulgation, the President of the Republic may request, by a message with reasons assigned, a new discussion by the two Chambers. This request cannot be refused.

8. The President of the Republic negotiates and ratifies treaties. He communicates them to the Chambers as soon as the interests and safety of the State permit.

Treaties of peace, of commerce, treaties that involve the finances of the State, those relating to persons and to the right of Frenchmen to possess property in foreign countries, shall only become definitive after having been voted by the two Chambers. No cession, no exchange, no annexation of territory shall take place, except by virtue of a law.

9. The President of the Republic cannot declare war without the previous assent of the two Chambers.

10. [Each Chamber to be the judge of the eligibility of its members.]

11. [Nomination of bureaus.]

12. The President of the Republic may be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies only and may only be judged by the Senate. Ministers may be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies for crimes committed in

the discharge of their duties. In this case they are tried by the Senate. The Senate may be constituted a Court of Justice, by a decree of the President of the Republic, issued in the Council of Ministers, to try all persons accused of attempts against the safety of the State. If the examination is begun in the ordinary courts, the decree convening the Senate may be issued at any time before the discharge is granted.

A Law shall determine the method of procedure for the accusation, trial, and judgment.

13. No member of either Chamber shall be prosecuted or called to account for opinions expressed or votes recorded in the exercise of his parliamentary duties.

14. No member of either Chamber shall, during the session, be prosecuted or arrested for any offence or misdemeanour except with the authorisation of the Chamber of which he is a member, unless he is caught in the act.

The detention or prosecution of a member of either Chamber is suspended for the session or for its entire term, if demanded by the Chamber.[d]

VII

THE CONCORDAT

(Proclaimed on April 18, 1802)

[The Concordat arranged by Napoleon Bonaparte and the Pope ended a dispute which had caused troubles during a period of ten years. The Church in France had been divided. In 1790 the Constituent Assembly had passed the decree of the civil constitution of the clergy, and serious differences of opinion were manifested as to the taking of the oath of fidelity to the new French Constitution, the greater number, in obedience to the Pope, refusing to take the oath. Refusal meant deprivation of office. The others ignored the Pope, and took the oath; and thus the priesthood of France became divided into two sections, respectively known as "orthodox" or "refractory" clergy (those who would not take the oath), and the "constitutional" clergy, who took the oath, and were cut off from communion with Rome by the Pope in consequence. Bonaparte, whose care was to strengthen the nation in every possible way as soon as he obtained the supreme power, came to the conclusion towards the end of 1799 that it was well to reunite the church in order to reunite the nation. Accordingly, after the decisive battle of Marengo in June 1800, negotiations were opened with the new Pope, Pius VII, and a Concordat was arranged after prolonged discussion. The Law of the Concordat was proclaimed at Notre Dame on Easter Day, April 18, 1802, and had all the effect which the astute Napoleon had anticipated. Some articles had been added to the originally accepted clauses to meet the wishes of some members of the legislative bodies who, it was thought, might oppose the measure; but all were satisfied, and the Concordat had been duly signed on July 15, 1801. The Pope had at first desired that Napoleon should recognise the Roman religion as the "dominant" faith in France, and, on behalf of the Republic, Napoleon had offered to do so. He was able, however, to secure acceptance for the mere recognition of the fact that the Roman religion was that of the great majority of the French.

The Concordat was dissolved in 1905 by the passing of the Separation Law, an abstract of which immediately follows this document.]

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND HIS HOLINESS THE POPE, PIUS VII.

The Government of the Republic acknowledges that the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion is the religion of the great majority of French citizens.

His Holiness, in like manner, acknowledges that this same religion has derived, and is likely to derive, the greatest benefit and the greatest splendour from the establishment of the Catholic worship in France, and from its being openly professed by the Consuls of the Republic.

This mutual acknowledgment being made, in consequence, as well for the good of religion as for the maintenance of interior tranquillity, they have agreed as follows:

I. The Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France. Its service shall be publicly performed, conformably to the regulations of police, which the government shall judge necessary for the public tranquillity.

II. There shall be made by the Holy See, in concert with the government, a new division of French dioceses.

III. His Holiness shall declare to the titular French bishops that he expects from them, with the firmest confidence, every sacrifice for the sake of peace and unity, even that of their sees.

After this exhortation, if they should refuse the sacrifice commanded for the good of the church (a refusal, nevertheless, which His Holiness by no means expects), the sees of the new division shall be governed by bishops appointed as follows:

IV. The Chief Consul shall present, within three months after the publication of His Holiness's bull to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the new division. His Holiness shall confer canonical institution, according to the forms established in France before the revolution (*avant le changement de gouvernement*).

V. The nomination to the bishoprics which become vacant in future shall likewise belong to the Chief Consul, and canonical institution shall be administered by the Holy See, conformably to the preceding article.

VI. The bishops, before entering upon their functions, shall take, before the Chief Consul, the oath of fidelity which was in use before the revolution, expressed in the following words:

"I swear and promise to God, upon the Holy Evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the government established by the constitution of the French Republic. I likewise promise to carry on no correspondence, to be present at no conversation, to form no connexion, whether within the territories of the Republic or without, which may, in any degree, disturb the public tranquillity: and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I discover that any thing is going forward to the prejudice of the state, I will immediately communicate to government all the information I possess."

VII. Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath before the civil authorities appointed by the government.

VIII. The following formula of prayer shall be recited at the end of divine service in all the Catholic churches of France:

Domine, salvam fac rempublicam,
Domine, salvos fac Consules.[1]

IX. The bishops shall make a new division of the parishes in their dioceses, which, however, shall not take effect till after it is ratified by government.

X. The bishops shall have the appointment of the parish priests. Their choice shall not fall but on persons approved of by government.

[1 "O Lord, preserve the Republic: O Lord, save the Consuls."]

XI. The bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for the diocese, without the government being obliged to endow them.

XII. All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches which have not been alienated, necessary to public worship, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops.

XIII. His Holiness for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors will disturb in any manner those who have acquired the alienated property of the church; and that in consequence that property, and every part of it, shall belong for ever to them, their heirs and assigns.

XIV. The government shall grant a suitable salary to bishops and parish priests, whose dioceses and parishes are comprised in the new division.

XV. The government shall likewise take measures to enable French Catholics, who are so inclined, to dispose of their property for the support of religion.

XVI. His Holiness recognises in the Chief Consul of the French Republic the same rights and prerogatives in religious matters which the ancient government enjoyed.

XVII. It is agreed between the contracting parties, that in case any of the successors of the present chief should not be a Roman Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the foregoing article, as well as the nomination to the bishops' sees, shall be regulated, with regard to him, by a new convention.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of forty days.

Done at Paris, the 26th Messidor, year 9 of the French Republic.

(Signed) JOSEPH BONAPARTE.
HERCULES, *Cardinalis Consalvi.*
JOSEPH, *Archiep. Corinthi.*
BERNIER.
F. CAROLUS CASELLI.[c]

VIII

THE SEPARATION LAW, 1905

[Under the French Separation Law of December 9, 1905, the Churches were separated from the State, members of all creeds were authorised to form associations for public worship, and the State was relieved from the payment of salaries. The Law of January 2, 1907, provided that failing these associations for public worship, the existing buildings should remain in the hands of the various ministers and their congregations, subject to signing a document recognising the authority of the State. The Separation Law itself consists of 44 articles, divided into six chapters, of which the following is a summary :]

Article 1. The Republic assures liberty of conscience. It guarantees the free practice of religious worship subject only to the restrictions hereinafter enacted in the interests of public order.

Article 2. The Republic neither recognises, nor salaries, nor subsidises any religion. Consequently, starting from January 1st following the promulgation of the present law, there will be omitted from the budgets of the State, of the departments, and of the communes, all expenses relative to the exercise of religion. Nevertheless there may still be included in the said budgets the expenses relative to the services of chaplains, and those intended

to assure the free exercise of religion in public establishments such as universities, colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, and prisons.

The Public religious establishments are suppressed, subject to the provisions of Art. 3.

Article 3 provides that these establishments should continue in the use of their property until the formation of associations (Art. 4), and that in the meantime an inventory and valuation of their property should be drawn up. [The making of this inventory led to disturbances in certain French churches in 1906 and the early part of 1907.]

Article 4. Within the term of a year from the promulgation of the present law, the property movable and immovable of the manses, buildings, presbyteral councils, consistories, and other religious establishments, subject to all the charges and obligations resting upon them, and without prejudice to their special purposes, shall be transferred by the legal representatives of those establishments to associations, which in complying with the rules of the general organisation of the religion whose practices they propose to follow, shall be legally formed in accordance with the provisions of Art. 19 for the exercise of that religion in the pre-existing districts of the said establishments. *Articles* 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 deal with details regarding the disposition of this property.

Article 11. Ministers of religion, who at the time of the promulgation of the present law are above sixty years of age and who have held ecclesiastical office paid by the State for at least thirty years, shall receive an annual pension for life equal to three-quarters of their salary. Those of forty-five years of age and twenty years' service receive half their salary, the pensions being limited in each case to £60. The ensuing articles deal with details of the pension scheme.

Article 19. The religious associations must have for their exclusive object the practice of a religion, and must be composed of at least the following numbers :

In communes of less than 1,000 inhabitants, 7 persons.
In communes of 1,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, 15 persons.
In communes with more than 20,000 inhabitants, 25 adult persons domiciled or resident within the ecclesiastical district.

The ensuing articles deal with details of the associations.

Articles 25 and 26. Assemblies for public worship must be public, must be notified according to law, and political meetings must not be held in places of public worship. The ensuing articles protect religious meetings from disturbance.

Articles 37 to 43 consist of general regulations, and *Article* 44 repeals all previous enactments relating to religious worship.[d]

[*For other documents relating to French history see the Appendices to Volumes XI and XII.*]

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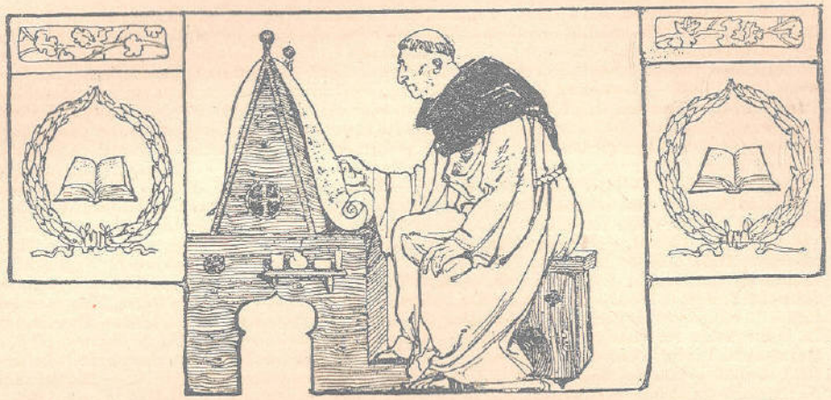

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Pierre de Bourdeilles de Brantôme was born about 1540, and died in 1614. After fighting against the Huguenots, Turks, and Moors, he attached himself to the court of Charles IX. At the death of this monarch he withdrew from active life, retired to his estates, and spent the last years of his life in writing his memoirs. His works include lives of illustrious men, of French and foreign captains, lives of illustrious ladies, anecdotes of duels, etc. His writings can hardly be called historical, but they give an excellent picture of the general court life of the period, and are written in a quaint, naïve style.

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Philip de Comines was born in 1445 at the château de Comines. His godfather was Philip the Good, and he himself became attached to the service of Charles the Bold. He was entrusted with diplomatic commissions to Calais, London, Brittany, and Spain. In 1472 he left the service of Charles, and attached himself to Louis XI, who made him councillor and chamberlain, and gave him several estates, among them the *seigneurie* of Argenton. Comines rendered Louis XI many important services, but fell into disgrace under his successor. For eight months he was imprisoned in an iron cage for having espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans. He returned to favour for a time under Charles VII, and again under Louis XII, but he never regained his old influence. The latter years of his life were spent in comparative retreat, and it was then that he wrote his memoirs, which cover the period from 1464 to 1483, and from 1488 to 1498. Hallam says of them: "The memoirs of Philip de Comines almost make an epoch in historical literature. If Froissart by his picturesque descriptions and fertility of historical invention may be reckoned the Livy of France, she had her Tacitus in Philip de Comines. He is the first modern writer who in any degree has displayed sagacity in reasoning on the characters of men, and the consequences of their actions, and who has been able to generalise his observation by comparison or reflection."

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Rodolphe Madeleine Cléophas Dareste de la Chavanne was born at Paris, October 28th, 1820, and died at the same place in 1882. He was professor of history at Grenoble and Lyons and in 1871 was rector of the Academy at Nancy. On account of his ultramontane views and intolerance towards the students he was obliged to leave Nancy in 1878. Dareste's history of France is one of the best of the general histories of that country. It lacks the brilliancy of Michelet and some of the conspicuous excellencies of Martin, but the author has thoroughly investigated his subject, his material is well arranged and the narrative is enlivened with accurate descriptions. The Academy of France twice distinguished the work with the Gobert Prize.

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Jacques du Clercq was born in Artois about 1420 and died about 1475. His memoirs begin at the year 1418 and extend to the death of Philip the Good in 1467, giving a detailed account of events in Flanders, at court and elsewhere. His narrative is a very personal one, dealing largely with people, thus giving an interesting picture of the society of the time.

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Jean Victor Duruy, historian, minister, and member of the French Academy, was born at Paris, September 11th, 1811, of a family of artists employed in the Gobelins factories. He was himself at first destined for the same profession and did not commence his studies until a rather late date at the Rollin College. He passed a brilliant examination at the École normale

supérieure, after which, until 1861, he held a number of secondary professorships in history. During this time he took part in the collaboration of Napoleon III's *Julius Caesar*, thus drawing the Emperor's attention to his ability, and in 1863 he was made Minister of Education. He introduced various reforms into the educational system, among them being the institution of public lectures, a course of secondary education for girls, schools for higher education, and laboratories for special research. He suggested making primary education compulsory, but was not supported in the plan by the Emperor. From 1881–1886 he served on the *Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction Publique*, and in 1884 was chosen to succeed Mignet in the French Academy. Duruy's greatest work was his history of Rome, for which the author received various decorations and prizes. His history of France is one of the best ever written in such a small compass, and is of special value to students who wish readable information in a compact form.

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Jean Froissart is the historian of the fourteenth century, as Villehardouin is of the twelfth and Joinville of the thirteenth. His chronicle includes the period 1328–1400 and treats of events which took place in France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, Spain, and other European countries. The author was born in Valenciennes in 1337 and was early destined for the church, although he put off taking orders as long as possible, wishing first to enjoy some of the pleasures of life. In 1356 he went to England and became clerk of the chapel of Philippe of Hainault, who encouraged him to describe the great events of his century. For this purpose

he visited Scotland, Brittany, and Bordeaux, and accompanied the duke of Clarence to Italy. After the death of the queen he entered the service of the duke of Brabant and on his death became clerk of the chapel of the count of Blois. The latter encouraged him to continue his travels for the purpose of continuing his chronicle, and after visiting various places in France he returned again to England. The last fourteen years of his life were spent in quiet in Flanders. Froissart deals mainly with the deeds of valour and chivalry which took place around him, telling of tournaments and battle-fields, knights and ladies. As to the deeper problems of society, the transition stage from the old feudalism which was fast dying out, he is wholly silent.

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François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, statesman and writer, was born at Nîmes in 1787. His father died on the scaffold in 1794. Young Guizot studied at Geneva, and came to Paris in 1805, where he busied himself with law and literature. His name is closely connected with the stirring events in France in the first half of the 19th century, and Guizot alternately took part in politics and lectured at the Sorbonne. In 1840 he was ambassador to London, where his literary and political fame, and his works on English literature and history, made him very popular. In 1851 he was obliged to leave France after the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, and on his return he was made president of the Paris Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, in 1854. Guizot died in 1874 on his estate in Normandy. Mr. Reeve says of him: "Public life, ambition, the love of power, and the triumph of debate no doubt shook and agitated his career, and sometimes misdirected it; but they produced no effect upon the solid structure of his character, which remained throughout perfectly simple, indifferent to wealth, and prouder of its own

integrity than of all the honour the world could bestow. M. Guizot will be remembered in history less by what he did as a politician than by what he wrote as a man of letters, and by what he was as a man; and in these respects he takes rank amongst the most illustrious representatives of his nation and his age."

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The chronicle of *Jean de Troyes* is one of the most valuable sources for the history of Louis XI. The title *Chronique Scandaleuse* was probably added by some publisher and the first edition of it gives neither the date nor the author's name. Jean de Troyes relates occurrences as the king wished them to be known to the people, without thinking of seeking any underlying political cause for them. He also gives a great many details which show more than any other work a deep insight into the inner life of Paris at the end of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately the chronicler often relates from hearsay, so that his work requires comparison with other writers.

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The *Sire de Joinville* was born in 1224 and was for a time attached to the service of Count Thibaut of Champagne. He afterwards became the friend and chronicler of Louis IX and accompanied him on his first crusade to Egypt, fighting at his side and sharing his captivity. It was not until long after the author's return to his own country, when he was an old man, that he wrote the biography which has made him famous, writing it, as he says, at the request of the king's mother Jeanne de Navarre. The narrative is wonderfully attractive, bringing out clearly the character of the "saint king" for which the history of the crusade forms a background.

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Olivier de La Marche was born at La Marche in Burgundy in 1426 and died in 1501. He lived at the court of the dukes of Burgundy, and describes events there from the year 1425 to 1492. His memoirs are valuable for military history and the general history of the time, although their style is somewhat dull. He also wrote several works in verse, among them the second mentioned above.

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Alphonse Marie Louis de Lamartine, poet, politician, historian, the son of an officer and himself a member of the guard in 1814, was born in 1790 at Mâcon. A full-fledged poet, he was elected a member of the French Academy in 1829. He at once embarked in politics. In 1847 he published the *Histoire des Girondins*, a work which, while at times inaccurate, possessed brilliant qualities and did much to prepare public sentiment for the republic. He continued his diplomatic career until the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, forced him into private life. He continued to produce miscellaneous works until his death in 1869. A brilliant stylist and word-painter, he is perhaps not the most accurate of historians, and allowances must be made for his flights of imagination.

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Bon Louis Henri Martin was born at St. Quentin (Aisne) in 1810, and died in 1883. He began his literary career by writing historical novels, but soon turned his attention more exclusively to history and in 1833 published the first edition of his chief work, "The History of France." After the second edition the work was completely revised and enlarged, and in 1856 received the first prize of the Academy. The first work, extending to the Revolution, was supplemented by his *Histoire de France moderne,* the two together giving a complete history of France, which stands perhaps at the head of general histories of that country. It shows profound research and is characterised by great impartiality, accuracy, and courage in dealing with political events. Martin was prominent in political life. In 1848 he was a lecturer at the Sorbonne, but was obliged to retire during the reaction from democratic tendencies. In 1871 he was chosen delegate from Aisne to the National Assembly, and in 1876 was senator for the same province. Martin aimed at writing a national history of his country and his work has had a great national influence.

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Jules Michelet was born at Paris in 1798 and died in 1874. From 1821 to 1826 he was professor of history and philosophy at Rollin college, during which period he published the remarkable *Précis de l'histoire moderne.* He was made member of the Academy in 1838, and succeeded Daunou in the chair of history at the Collège de France. He refused in 1848 nomination to the National Assembly and devoted himself exclusively to his historical labours. The *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, deprived him of his chair in the Collège de France, and he continued in retirement his *Histoire de France* and *Histoire de la Révolution.* A vivid colorist, he is sometimes called a poetical historian because his imaginative representation is imbued with the ideals of democracy. He regarded everything from a personal point of view so that everything he wrote is strongly stamped with his individuality, with his violent prejudices and ardent patriotism. In this respect he is one of the most remarkable of historians. It has truly been said that there are no dry bones in his writings.

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Enguerrand de Monstrelet was born of a noble family of Flanders in about the year 1390. He attached himself to the duke of Burgundy and became provost of Cambray. He died in 1453. His chronicle begins where Froissart left off, at the year 1400, and continues to 1444, having been continued by other writers until 1516. He describes the events of his time, chiefly the wars of France, Artois, and Picardy. While his narration lacks the brilliancy of that of Froissart, it is almost uniformly accurate and is very valuable for the original documents it reproduces.

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Philip Mouskes was Bishop of Tournay in 1274, and died about 1283. His metrical chronicle begins with the rape of Helen and extends to the year 1242, containing over thirty thousand lines. A great deal of the work has been borrowed from the old *chansons de geste* and belongs to the realm of fable. His narrative of the period beginning with Baldwin's being elected king of Constantinople is the only part which can claim to be called history.

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Very little is known concerning the life of *Guillaume de Nangis,* except that he was a monk of St. Denis, lived in the thirteenth century and wrote under Philip the Fair. His account of the French kings was written in French, the other works in Latin. The general chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the author's own time, and is a compilation of the works of Eusebius, Saint Jerome, and Sigebert de Gembloux. His history of Philip the Bold is based on personal observations and experience. The chronicle was continued by the monks

of St. Denis, notably by Jean de Vinette, who brought it down to the year 1368. It is almost the only authority for the first sixteen years of Philip the Fair. The chronicle was published by H. Géraud, for the Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1843. 2 vols.

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Geoffroy de Villehardouin was the first great historian to write in French prose. He was born in Champagne about the middle of the twelfth century and died in Thessaly in 1213. He took an active and glorious part in the fourth crusade, of which he gives a lively description, his narrative covering the period between 1198 and 1207. Villehardouin's work is remarkable not only as being the first of its kind, but for its literary excellence also. It has well been called the epic of the Crusades or a *chanson de geste* in prose.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE SINCE 1815 A.D.

(*For the previous chronology of French history see Vol. XII, page* 674.)

After the battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815) the Allies, representing all European countries except Sweden, move towards Paris. Napoleon abdicates on the 23rd; a provisional government is appointed, and a special commission formed to negotiate with the allies. The latter refuse all offers of peace and advance hastily. Grouchy's uninjured corps, and the remnants of the defeated army, concentrate near Paris, but when Napoleon offers to put himself at the head of the troops, Fouché, president of the provisional government, intervenes.

THE SECOND BOURBON RESTORATION (1815–1830)

1815 Allies capture Paris (July 7th). Commission dissolves. **Louis XVIII** restored (July 8th). Talleyrand, premier. Napoleon surrenders (July 15th); Murat taken and shot (October 13th); Ney escapes—is recaptured and executed (December 7th). Duke de Richelieu, premier. Second Peace of Paris (November 20th); French boundaries of 1790 re-established. Revolutionaries executed (White Terror). Napoleon exiled to St. Helena (October).
1816 Law of Amnesty: the Bonapartes excluded from France forever (January 12th). *Chambre introuvable* dissolved by Louis.
1818 The army of occupation withdraws. Dessolles, premier. The doctrinaires, led by Guizot, lay foundation of modern journalism.
1819 Decazes, premier.
1820 Duke de Richelieu, premier. Assassination of the duke de Berri, and the birth of the duke de Bordeaux (Comte de Chambord) excite the ultra-royalists. Censorship revived.
1821 Villèle, premier. Napoleon dies at St. Helena.
1822 Champollion deciphers hieroglyphics.
1823 France intervenes in Spain. Cadiz capitulates, and Ferdinand VII is liberated.
1824 Louis XVIII dies. **Charles X** elected king.
1827 National guard disbanded. Allies defeat Ibrahim at naval battle of Navarino; French troops land in Greece. Attack on Algiers. New peers created. Election riots in Paris.
1828 Martignac ministry (moderate). Béranger imprisoned for political songs.
1829 Polignac (ultra-royalist), premier.
1830 Mignet and Thiers (liberals) found *Le National*: their presses destroyed by the populace. Modification of electorial law. Liberty of the press curtailed. Revolution of July: three days' fighting (27th–29th). Charles abdicates.

HOUSE OF ORLEANS (1830–1848)

1830 Paris bourgeoisie elect **Louis Philippe I.** Great liberal movement: Laffitte, premier; Soult, minister of war; Guizot, minister of the interior. Polignac and others imprisoned. Belgian revolt. Capture of Algiers following an outrage upon the French ambassador. Fortifications of Paris begun.
1831 Kingdom of Belgium created. Casimir Périer, premier. Guizot organises public education. Hereditary peerage abolished.
1832 Conspiracy of the rue des Prouvaires. Casimir Périer dies of cholera, then raging in Paris. Soult, premier. Death of Napoleon II (duke of Reichstadt).
1834 Death of La Fayette (May 26th). Unstable ministries of Gérard, duke de Bassano (Maret) and Mortier, premiers. Duchess de Berri sent to Palermo.
1835 Duke de Broglie, premier. Fieschi's attempt on the king's life.
1836 Thiers, premier. Bonapartist plot at Strasburg. Molé, premier (twice recalled). Death of Charles X.
1839 Soult, premier.

1840 Funeral of Napoleon I at Paris. France and the powers interfere in Egypt. Thiers resigns; Soult succeeds with Guizot. Bonapartist plot unsuccessful at Boulogne; Louis Napoleon imprisoned for life. Vote of 140,000,000 francs to fortify Paris. Nossi-Bé acquired.
1841 Duke of Orleans killed. Queen Victoria visits the king.
1842 Marquesas islands annexed.
1843 Extradition treaty with England. Mayotte acquired.
1844 War with Morocco (May–September). Louis Philippe visits Queen Victoria. Tahiti made a French protectorate.
1845 Boundaries of Algeria and Morocco regulated.
1846 Louis Napoleon escapes from prison. Marriages unite French and Spanish royal families. Paris fortifications finished.
1847 Guizot, premier. Jerome Bonaparte returns from thirty-two years' exile. Abdul-Kadir surrenders.
1848 Guizot is impeached and resigns; Thiers recalled. February revolution in Paris suppressed by Cavaignac as military dictator. Louis Philippe abdicates.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC (1848–1852)

1848 The Second Republic established. Louis Philippe and his family banished in perpetuity. **Cavaignac** executive chief (June–December). **Louis Napoleon**, president. Odilon Barrot, premier. The "red republicans"; Paris barricaded; archbishop of Paris killed; loss of life and property. New constitution. Death of Châteaubriand.
1849 After two months' siege, French troops capture Rome; Roman republic abolished. Rouher, premier, and constant ministerial changes.
1850 Death of Louis Philippe. First cable laid between England and France (used November, 1851).
1851 Louis Napoleon elected president for ten years (*coup d'état*). Thiers, Cavaignac, and others arrested. Bloodshed in Paris (December.)

RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE (1852–1871)

1852 Louis Napoleon is proclaimed emperor as **Napoleon III.**
1853 The emperor marries Eugénie de Montijo (born August 5th, 1826). Bread riots (September). Attempt to assassinate the emperor. *Crédit foncier* established.
1854 Crimean War: French and English alliance against Russia to keep Turkey intact. Odessa bombarded. Battle of the Alma. Fifty thousand allies land in the Crimea and besiege Sebastopol. Battle of Balaklava. Allies victorious at Inkerman.
1855 The French, under Pélissier, storm the Malakoff. Allies enter Sebastopol. Emperor and empress visit London. Exhibition at Paris. Queen Victoria visits Paris. Obok, in French Somaliland, purchased.
1856 Crimean War ends. Peace of Paris (March 30th): powers agree to abolish privateering and define contraband of war; Black Sea and Danube neutralised.
1857 French and English expedition against China. Allies occupy Canton. French and Russian emperors meet at Stuttgart. Mont Cénis tunnel commenced.
1858 Orsini executed for attempting to kill the emperor. Treaty of Tientsin: Chinese ports opened, and European embassies established at Peking.
1859 War of France and Sardinia against Austria; victories of Magenta and Solferino; Peace of Villafranca; Lombardy ceded to Napoleon III and subsequently to Sardinia.
1860 Savoy and Nice surrendered to France. Syrian expedition. Chinese infractions of the treaty; French and English forces land at Shanghai; battle of Palikao; Peace of Peking. Emperor sees Cobden and adopts free trade. Commercial treaty with England. Bois de Boulogne opened. Colonial extension in West Africa.
1861 Part of Monaco purchased. The Mexican War undertaken by France, England, and Spain, at first to enforce treaty obligations. Allies occupy Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa. Final obsequies of Napoleon I.
1862 Treaty of La Soledad: Mexico agrees to pay arrears, but does not do so; England and Spain withdraw. Napoleon III, expecting the United States to be dismembered, plans a Mexican monarchy. After a repulse at Puebla, French reinforcements arrive. French victories in Cochin China, where six provinces are ceded.
1863 Spanish frontier regulated. Elections reveal anti-Napoleonic feelings, and Thiers organises a new opposition. Puebla captured by the French under Forey; the archduke Maximilian of Austria becomes emperor of Mexico. Victor Duruy as minister of education. Cambodia a French protectorate.
1864 Mexican republicans assail the new monarchy, and, the Civil War being over, the United

States demands that Napoleon withdraw his troops. Treaty with Italy for French troops to protect the holy see for two years.

1865 Bismarck visits Napoleon. Papal encyclical forbidden. Treaty with Sweden.

1866 Austro-Prussian War breaks out; France, England, and Russia proffer mediation. Austria accepts, and cedes Venetia to Napoleon III; Prussia and Italy object, but sign truce; Venetia ceded to Italy. French troops leave Rome on a promise of papal security.

1867 France and Germany on verge of war, until the neutrality of Luxemburg is guaranteed by the great powers. Italian volunteers attack papal territory; the French defeat them. Meetings of French and Austrian emperors. French troops withdraw from Mexico; Maximilian, fighting alone, is captured, tried, and shot. Attempted assassination of the Czar while visiting Paris. Oparo annexed. International exhibition, Paris.

1868 Bourbons deposed in Spain; Queen Isabella flees to France; a German prince accepts the throne. New army organised. Thiers' speeches on military and financial inefficiency. Newspapers prosecuted; and a new law allows greater liberty of publication. Rochefort's *La Lanterne* suppressed; Rochefort flees.

1869 Opening of the Suez Canal, completed by Ferdinand de Lesseps. Growing feeling against Napoleon III. The "vice-emperor," Rouher, dismissed; election riots (June). French Atlantic cable laid (July).

1870 Formation of a moderate liberal ministry by Ollivier. Pierre Bonaparte is concerned in the death of Victor Noir, a radical journalist, but is acquitted. Excitement and riots in Paris. Rochefort imprisoned for his newspaper articles. A new liberal constitution approved by a plébiscite; Paris and the army dissatisfied. War declared with Germany for the purpose (among others disputed) of establishing *les frontières naturelles*, to check the growth of Prussia, and to protest against a German dynasty in Spain. The minority under Thiers oppose the war. The Germans, 750,000 strong, advance to the boundary. The French repulse a German battalion at Saarbrücken; MacMahon defeated at Wörth; Bazaine takes command. French defeats at Gravelotte and St. Privat; retreat to Metz, which is besieged. Strasburg also besieged. Concentration of 140,000 French troops at Sedan, where 250,000 Germans surround them. Battle of Sedan (September 1st); entire French army capitulates, with Napoleon III.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1870)

1870 News of the defeats of the army causes excitement in Paris; a commission of government and national defence is formed, and Thiers orders a constituent assembly; Gambetta and other liberals proclaim the deposition of Napoleon III, and the establishment of the Third Republic. Provisional "government of defence." The senate adheres to the emperor. The Germans advance on Paris; siege commences (September 19th). Capitulation of Strasburg and of Metz. Germans overrun France. Sorties from Paris. Battle of Orleans. Bombardment of Paris begins (December 27th). The republic recognised by the United States and Spain (September 8th); by Switzerland (September 9th). Delegated government at Tours. "Red republican" troubles at Lyons. Gambetta escapes from Paris in a balloon, and joins the government at Tours. Agitation for the Paris commune commences. The Tours government moves to Bordeaux.

1871 Battle of Le Mans; Belfort; last great sortie from Paris by Trochu and 100,000 men. Battle of St. Quentin. Paris capitulates; the armistice disavowed by Gambetta at Tours; he resigns. National assembly at Bordeaux elects **Thiers**, chief of executive; he negotiates with Bismarck the preliminaries of the Peace of Versailles: France to cede Alsace and Lorraine, and to pay 5,000,000,000 francs in three years, German troops to occupy territory as security. Peace signed at Frankfort. Insurrection in Paris. Paris elections lead to the proclamation of the commune. Hostilities begin between the government and the commune. Reign of terror in Paris. Definitive peace signed at Frankfort. MacMahon's troops enter Paris. Seven days' bloodshed. Gradual restoration of Paris. Thiers nominated president. Many communists, including women (*pétroleuses*), executed. Rochefort sentenced to life imprisonment. Mont Cênis tunnel opened. Algerian insurrection ends.

1872 The Right declares for constitutional monarchy. Convention with Germany for speedier evacuation. A new 6½ per cent. loan of 120,000,000 francs oversubscribed twelve-fold.

1873 Napoleon III dies. Bonapartist manifesto. Thiers resigns on an adverse vote. **MacMahon** succeeds as president. Shah of Persia visits Paris. Anglo-French treaty of 1860 renewed till 1877. The last German quits French territory. Comte de Chambord declares for the "White Flag." The Septennate established. Ministry resigns. Duke de Broglie, premier.

1874 New electoral law, disenfranchising three million voters. Rochefort escapes from New Caledonia. The ministry, defeated on the electoral law, is reorganised by Cissey without Broglie. Republican and Bonapartist disputes; a prolonged endeavour to establish the monarchy. Manifesto by Comte de Chambord as "Henry V."

1875 Wallon's amendment establishes the constitution. New Senate Act. New ministry under Buffet. Gambetta defends the new constitution. New Press law.

1876 Dufaure's ministry. Senate meets. Queen Victoria visits Paris. Jules Simon's ministry.

1877 Broglie, premier. Gambetta carries resolution for parliamentary government. Gambetta and Murat convicted for a speech against MacMahon. Defeat of Bonapartists at general election.

1878 The Limoges affair; suspected plan for a *coup d'état*. International exhibition.

1879 MacMahon resigns. **F. P. Jules Grévy** elected president by the new republican senate. Dufaure's resignation; Waddington succeeds. Ferry's attempt to check clericalism. The prince imperial, Napoleon, only child of Napoleon III, killed in Zululand.

1880 Decree to abolish Jesuit and other orders. Tahiti made a colony. Gallieni's Niger expedition. Jules Ferry, premier.

1881 New loan of 40,000,000 francs applied for thirty-fold. Colonisation of West Africa. French engineers commence Panama Canal. Tunis a protectorate; Sfax taken. Free education. Gambetta, premier. Revolt in New Caledonia suppressed.

1882 Gambetta resigns; Freycinet forms a ministry. Anglo-French treaty renewed. Compulsory education. Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt. New ministry under Duclerc. Miners' disturbances. Anarchist and dynamite scares. Kongo treaty.

1883 Prince Victor Napoleon arrested after a manifesto. Prince Krapotkin and anarchists sentenced. Duclerc's ministry reconstructed by Fallières; succeeded soon after by Jules Ferry's Gambettist ministry. Princes expelled from army. French defeat at Tongking; Mojanga (Madagascar) bombarded; Tamatave captured. Tongking and Annam protectorate. King of Spain hooted at Paris; official apology. Dispute with China as to Tongking; Sontay taken.

1884 Industrial crisis in Paris. Constitution revised. Trades-unions legalised. Tongking acquired by conquest; Annam a protectorate. Provisional peace with China; attack on Fuhchow.

1885 Ferry resigns; succeeded by Brisson. Peace with China. **Grévy** re-elected president (December 28th).

1886 Freycinet's new ministry includes Boulanger. Bourbon and Bonapartist families expelled from France. Secular education ordered. Comoro Islands a protectorate. The Goblet ministry.

1887 Crown jewels sold. Rouvier forms a moderate ministry, whereupon General Boulanger, ex-war minister, issues a monitory order to the army. Bourbon and Bonapartist manifesto. Boulanger arrested in connection with charges against General Caffarel. Suez Canal neutralised and New Hebrides evacuated. Grévy succeeded as president by **Carnot**. Tirard forms a ministry; attempt to murder Ferry. Somaliland delimited; Wallis archipelago a protectorate. Boulanger secretly allied with revolutionaries.

1888 Panama Lottery Act. General Boulanger deprived of his command for insubordination; Floquet succeeds Tirard, and Boulanger begins to form a party. Duel between Boulanger and Floquet; both wounded. Dispute with Italy as to Massowah. League of the Rose (monarchical) formed. Boulangist demonstrations; the League of Patriots. Leeward Islands annexed.

1889 Floquet resigns; Tirard forms a mixed ministry. The League of Patriots, becoming Boulangist, is suppressed. Boulanger flees to Brussels. Universal exhibition and Eiffel Tower opened. New military service law. Anniversary of the fall of the Bastille celebrated. Boulanger sentenced to deportation.

1890 Three Boulangist deputies expelled from the chamber. Duke of Orleans, offering to serve in the army, is arrested; afterwards pardoned and expelled from France. Freycinet succeeds Tirard. War with Dahomey; peace in October. Anglo-French agreement; recognition of the French protectorate over Madagascar, of the British over Zanzibar. Prelates declare their adhesion to the republic, with the papal approval. French Guinea detached from Senegal.

1891 Royalist demonstration. Empress Frederick visits Paris on behalf of the Berlin International Exhibition of Fine Arts. Protectionist tariff adopted. Collapse of the Panama Canal scheme. Navy visited by the czar at Kronstadt and by Queen Victoria at Portsmouth. Boulanger commits suicide.

1892 "Minimum" tariffs begin with England; "maximum" tariffs with Spain, Portugal, Italy, Rumania, and United States. Papal encyclical enjoining submission to the republic. Rouvier, Bourgeois, and Loubet successively form ministries. Expedition against Dahomey, which is later acquired. The Rochefoucauld declaration of submission to the pope in matters of faith, but not in matters of state. Centenary of the first republic celebrated. Panama Canal inquiry. De Lesseps and others prosecuted; the Loubet ministry reconstructed by Ribot.

1893 Tariff dispute with Swiss Republic. Panama disclosures; De Lesseps sentenced. Dupuy forms a new ministry. Siamese dispute and treaty. Expedition to Madagascar. Strike of 42,000 miners. Russian fleet visits Toulon. J. P. P. Casimir-Périer's cabinet. Anarchist outrages. Timbuktu occupied; collision with British troops.

1894 Corn duty increases. Colonial ministry created. Financial deficit, 130,000,000 francs, met by increased taxes, etc. Joan of Arc celebration. Dupuy forms new moderate cabinet. Assassination of President Carnot, June 24th. **Casimir-Périer** elected president (June 27th). Dreyfus arrested; convicted of treason.

1895 Dreyfus degraded. Dupuy and J. P. P. Casimir-Périer resign. **Félix Faure** elected president. Ribot forms a ministry. Amnesty: Rochefort returns after six years' exile. Madagascar placed under the colonial office. New radical cabinet under Bourgeois. Indo-China delimited.

1896 Queen Victoria visits the president. Ministry retain office against adverse vote of senate. Bourgeois resigns. Méline forms a moderate cabinet with Hanotaux, foreign minister. Prince Henry of Orleans returns from Abyssinia and is wounded in a duel by the count of Turin. Czar and czarina visit France. Government inquiry into Dreyfus case. Madagascar declared a colony. Captain Marchand starts on a second expedition to reach the Nile.

1897 Intervention between Turkey and Greece (May 11th). Bazaar fire, Paris (May 4th). President Faure visits the czar. Franco-Russian alliance confirmed. Dreyfus bordereau published. Debate on Dreyfus affair.

1898 New Panama Canal Company organised. Esterhazy tried for treason; acquitted. Zola's accusation in the Dreyfus case. Zola tried; sentenced for defamation. Prosecution annulled. Brisson forms a cabinet. Marchand reaches Fashoda; meets the sirdar Kitchener. Zola retried; found guilty. Commercial treaty and Niger convention with England. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry admits forgery of a Dreyfus document and commits suicide. Dreyfus case remitted to court of cassation. Dupuy's ministry of republican concentration. Fashoda evacuated.

1899 English agreement as to the Sudan. President Faure dies. **Loubet** succeeds as president. Dispute with sultan of Oman. France leaves Nile Valley; but gains in the Sudan. Marchand welcomed in Paris. New Dreyfus court-martial ordered. Waldeck-Rousseau ("cabinet of republican defence") succeeds Dupuy as premier. Dreyfus retried at Rennes; found guilty; pardoned. "Siege" of M. Guérin. Déroulède sentenced for conspiracy. Madame Curie discovers radium.

1900 Paris exhibition; 47,000,000 visitors. Annulment of all criminal cases arising out of the Dreyfus case. Allies (6,400 French troops) at Peking. The czar decorates the president. Extension of Farther India. Dreyfus amnesty paragraph passed.

1901 The Association Bill passed checking the educational activities of the religious orders. Russian sovereigns visit France, but do not go to Paris. Of 16,468 religious establishments, 8,800 apply for registration; many schools emigrate and the others are treated with progressive severity. Santos Dumont takes his balloon around the Eiffel Tower. Rupture with the Porte; French sailors seize custom-house at Mytilene; differences arranged. New loan of 265,000,000 francs subscribed for twenty-fold. Troubles in Algeria. Morocco frontier delimited.

1902 Loubet visits Russia. Waldeck-Rousseau resigns; Combes succeeds. Arbitration with Venezuela. Decrees against unauthorised religious communities. Deputies approve energetic enforcement of associations law.

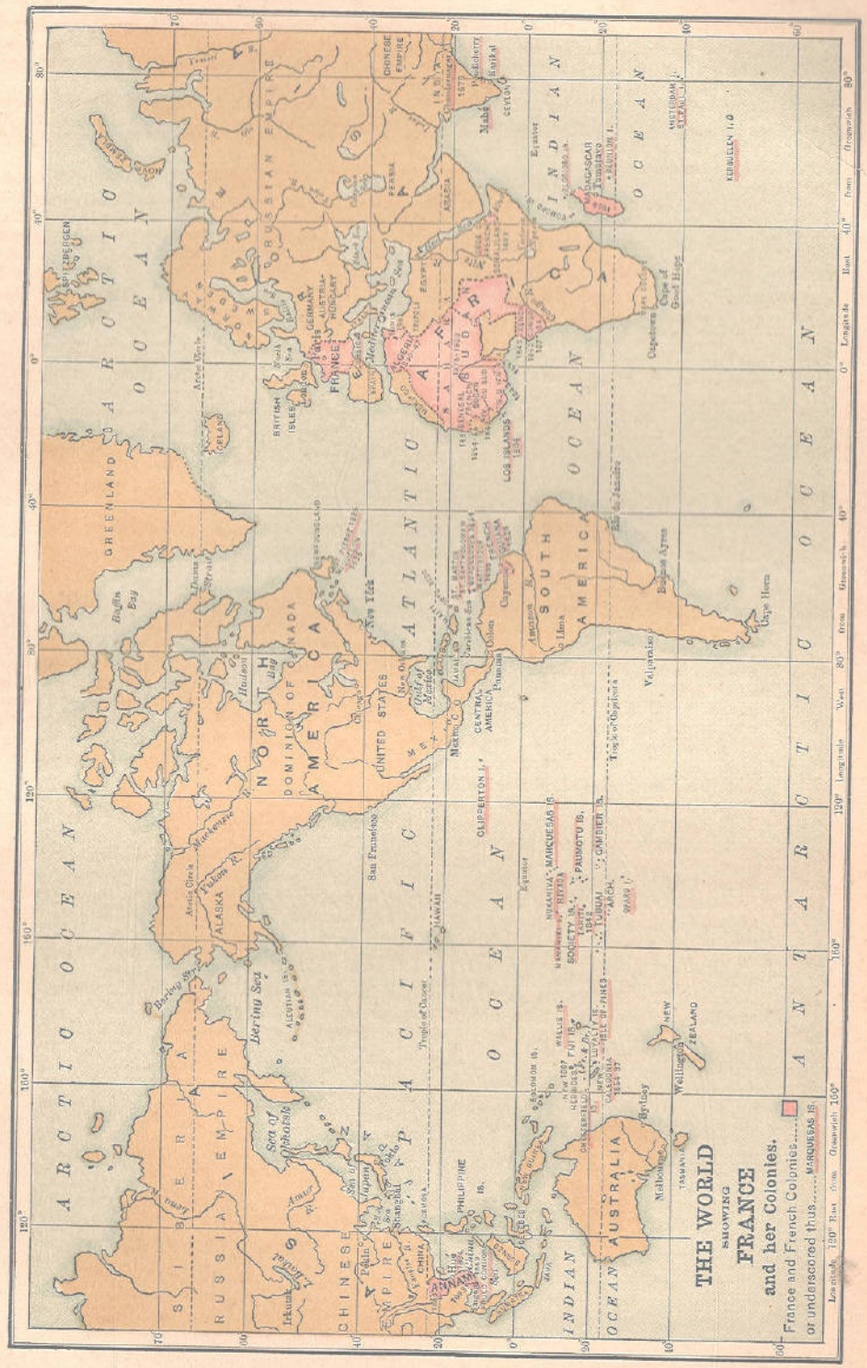
1903 Refusal to authorise preaching orders. King Edward VII visits France. Arbitration treaties with England and Italy.

1904 Agreement with Great Britain. Treaty with Spain. Rupture between the Government and the Vatican. Religious orders prohibited from teaching. Reduction in term of military service.

1905 Fall of the Combes ministry. Quarrel with Germany over Morocco. Law passed separating church and state.

1906 Election of Clement Fallières as president. International conference at Algeciras. Fall of the Rouvier ministry. New ministry under M. Jean Sarrien.

1907 Disturbances in Morocco. Revolt of the wine-growers. Entente with Japan. Reinstating of Dreyfus.



PART XVII

THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

EDMONDO DE AMICIS, A. DE BARANTE, J. BEKA, GUIDO BENTIVOGLIO, P. J. BLOK, P. BOR, GIRARD BRANDT, A. M. CERISIER, C. M. DAVIES, SIR JOHN FROISSART, R. FRUIN, L. P. GACHARD, T. C. GRATTAN, HUGO GROTIUS (OR DE GROOT), P. C. HOOFT, TH. JUSTE, L. LECLÈRE, KERVIJN DE LETTENHOVE, E. VAN METEREN, JACOB DE MEYER, H. G. MOKE, JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, H. PIRENNE, C. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, GULIELMUS PROCURATOR, EVERHARD VAN REYD, A. G. B. SCHAYES, J. C. F. VON SCHILLER, MELIS STOKE, FAMIANUS STRADA, H. A. TAINE, H. TIEDEMANN, JAN WAGENAAR, K. TH. WENZELBURGER.

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

A. ALISON, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, EDWARD ARMSTRONG, BADAVARO, BARLANDUS (BAARLANDT), ALEXANDRE BERTRAND, LOUIS BONAPARTE, PIERRE DE BRANTÔME, J. FRANCK BRIGHT, LORD BROOKE, BRUCE, BUCHELIUS, J. W. BURGON, JULIUS CÆSAR, PHILIP DE COMINES, LUIS CABRERA DE CORDOVA, WM. COXE, G. DOTTIN, DUPLESSIS-MORNAY, RENON DE FRANCE, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, EUGÈNE FROMENTIN, JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, ANGELO GALLUCCI, S. R. GARDINER, P. A. F. GÉRARD, JAN GERBRANDSZOON (JOHN OF LEYDEN), EDMUND GOSSE, J. R. GREEN, F. P. G. GUIZOT, F. VAN DER HAER, HENRY HARSTENS, PONTUS HEUTERUS, W. J. HOFDYK, PIERRE JEANNIN, DAVID KAY, G. W. KITCHIN, FRANZ VON LÖHER, T. B. MACAULAY, SIR J. MACKINTOSH, LORD MALMESBURY, HENRI MARTIN, BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA, J. P. E. MÉRODE, J. MICHELET, ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET, WILHELM MÜLLER, MATTHEW PARIS, PONTUS PAYEN, J. F. C. LE PETIT, MARQUIS DE POMPONNE, PROCOPIUS, A. RICHER, W. ROBERTSON, JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, F. C. SCHLOSSER, ROBAULX DE SOUMOY, PETRUS SUFFRIDUS, CORNELIUS TACITUS, J. B. DE TASSIS, J. A. DE THOU, DINGMAN VERSTEEG, GIOVANNI VILLANI, L. J. J. VAN DER VYNCT, L. A. WARNKÖNIG, JACOB VAN WESENBEKE, SIR RALPH WINWOOD, ALEXANDER YOUNG, ZOSIMUS.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

By John Lothrop Motley

(From his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*)

THE LAND

The northwestern corner of the vast plain which extends from the German Ocean to the Ural Mountains is occupied by the countries called the Netherlands. This small triangle, enclosed between France, Germany, and the sea, is divided by the modern kingdoms of Belgium and Holland into two nearly equal portions. Our earliest information concerning this territory is derived from the Romans. Julius Cæsar[c] has saved from oblivion the heroic savages who fought against his legions in defence of their dismal homes with ferocious but unfortunate patriotism; and the great poet of England, learning from the conqueror's *Commentaries* the name of the boldest tribe, has kept the Nervii, after almost twenty centuries, still fresh and familiar in our ears.

Tacitus,[d] too, has described with singular minuteness the struggle between the people of these regions and the power of Rome, overwhelming, although tottering to its fall; and has, moreover, devoted several chapters of his work upon Germany to a description of the most remarkable Teutonic tribes of the Netherlands.

Geographically and ethnographically, the Low Countries belong both to Gaul and to Germany. It is even doubtful to which of the two the Batavian island, which is the core of the whole country, was reckoned by the Romans. It is, however, most probable that all the land, with the exception of Friesland, was considered a part of Gaul. Three great rivers—the Rhine, the Maas, and the Schelde—had deposited their slime for ages among the dunes and sandbanks heaved up by the ocean around their mouths. A delta was thus formed, habitable at last for man.[1] It was by nature a wide morass, in which oozy islands and savage forests were interspersed among lagoons and shallows; a district lying partly below the level of the ocean at its higher tides, subject to constant overflow from the rivers, and to frequent and terrible inundations by the sea.

The Rhine, leaving at last the regions where its storied lapse, through so many ages, has been consecrated alike by nature and art—by poetry and eventful truth—flows reluctantly through the basalt portal of the Seven Mountains into the open fields which extend to the German Sea. After entering this vast meadow, the stream divides itself into two branches, becoming thus the two-horned Rhine of Virgil, and holds in these two arms the island of Batavia.

[[1] Napoleon, indeed, having conquered the Rhine, claimed its creature Holland as his "by right of devolution"—a different use of the word that Louis XIV employed in claiming the Spanish Netherlands for his queen. Of Napoleon's claim, Thorold Rogers[f] says: "One may dispute the logic of the great captain, but his geology is incontestable."]

The Maas, taking its rise in the Vosges, pours itself through the Ardennes Wood, pierces the rocky ridges upon the southeastern frontier of the Low Countries, receives the Sambre in the midst of that picturesque anthracite basin where now stands the city of Namur, and then moves toward the north, through nearly the whole length of the country, till it mingles its waters with the Rhine.

The Schelde, almost exclusively a Belgian river, after leaving its fountains in Picardy, flows through the present provinces of Flanders and Hainault. In Cæsar's time it was suffocated before reaching the sea in quicksands and thickets, which long afforded protection to the savage inhabitants against the Roman arms, and which the slow process of nature and the untiring industry of man have since converted into the archipelago of Zealand and South Holland. These islands were unknown to the Romans.

Such were the rivers which, with their numerous tributaries, coursed through the spongy land. Their frequent overflow, when forced back upon their currents by the stormy sea, rendered the country almost uninhabitable. Here, within a half-submerged territory, a race of wretched ichthyophagi dwelt upon *terpen*, or mounds, which they had raised, like beavers, above the almost fluid soil. Here, at a later day, the same race chained the tyrant Ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, forcing them to fertilize, to render commodious, to cover with a beneficent network of veins and arteries, and to bind by watery highways with the furthest ends of the world, a country disinherited by nature of its rights. A region, outcast of ocean and earth, wrested at last from both domains their richest treasures. A race, engaged for generations in stubborn conflict with the angry elements, was unconsciously educating itself for its great struggle with the still more savage despotism of man.

The whole territory of the Netherlands was girt with forests. An extensive belt of woodland skirted the seacoast, reaching beyond the mouths of the Rhine. Along the outer edge of this barrier, the dunes cast up by the sea were prevented by the close tangle of thickets from drifting further inward, and thus formed a breastwork which time and art were to strengthen. The groves of Haarlem and the Hague are relics of this ancient forest. The Badahuenna Wood, horrid with Druidic sacrifices, extended along the eastern line of the vanished Lake of Flevo. The vast Hercynian forest, nine days' journey in breadth, closed in the country on the German side, stretching from the banks of the Rhine to the remote regions of the Dacians, in such vague immensity (says the conqueror of the whole country, Cæsar[c]), that no German, after travelling sixty days, had ever reached, or even heard of, its commencement. On the south, the famous groves of Ardennes, haunted by faun and satyr, embowered the country, and separated it from Celtic Gaul.

Thus inundated by mighty rivers, quaking beneath the level of the ocean, belted about by hirsute forests, this low land, nether land, hollow land, or Holland, seemed hardly deserving the arms of the all-accomplished Roman. Yet foreign tyranny, from the earliest ages, has coveted this meagre territory as lustfully as it has sought to wrest from their native possessors those lands with the fatal gift of beauty for their dower; while the genius of liberty has inspired as noble a resistance to oppression here as it ever aroused in Grecian or Italian breasts.

THE EARLY PEOPLES

It can never be satisfactorily ascertained who were the aboriginal inhabitants. The record does not reach beyond Cæsar's epoch, and he found the

territory on the left of the Rhine mainly tenanted by tribes of the Celtic family. That large division of the Indo-European group which had already overspread many portions of Asia Minor, Greece, Germany, the British Islands, France, and Spain, had been long settled in Belgic Gaul, and constituted the bulk of its population. Checked in its westward movement by the Atlantic, its current began to flow backwards towards its fountains, so that the Gallic portion of the Netherland population was derived from the original race in its earlier wanderings and from the later and refluent tide coming out of Celtic Gaul. The modern appellation of the Walloons points to the affinity of their ancestors with the Gallic, Welsh, and Gaelic family.[1] The Belgæ were in many respects a superior race to most of their blood-allies. They were, according to Cæsar's testimony, the bravest of all the Celts. This may be in part attributed to the presence of several German tribes, who, at this period, had already forced their way across the Rhine, mingled their qualities with the Belgic material, and lent an additional mettle to the Celtic blood. The heart of the country was thus inhabited by a Gallic race, but the frontiers had been taken possession of by Teutonic tribes.

When the Cimbri and their associates, about a century before our era, made their memorable onslaught upon Rome, the early inhabitants of the Rhine island of Batavia, who were probably Celts, joined in the expedition.[2] A recent and tremendous inundation had swept away their miserable homes, and even the trees of the forests, and had thus rendered them still more dissatisfied with their gloomy abodes. The island was deserted of its population. At about the same period a civil dissension among the Chatti—a powerful German race within the Hercynian forest—resulted in the expatriation of a portion of the people. The exiles sought a new home in the empty Rhine island, called it *Bet-auw*, or "good-meadow," and were themselves called, thenceforward, Batavi, or Batavians.

These Batavians, according to Tacitus,[d] were the bravest of all the Germans. The Chatti, of whom they formed a portion, were a pre-eminently warlike race. "Others go to battle," says the historian, "these go to war." Their bodies were more hardy, their minds more vigorous, than those of other tribes. Their young men cut neither hair nor beard till they had slain an enemy. On the field of battle, in the midst of carnage and plunder, they, for the first time, bared their faces. The cowardly and sluggish, only, remained unshorn. They wore an iron ring, too, or shackle upon their necks until they had performed the same achievement, a symbol which they then threw away, as the emblem of sloth. The Batavians were ever spoken of by the Romans with entire respect. They conquered the Belgians, they forced the free Frisians to pay tribute, but they called the Batavians their friends.[3] The tax-gatherer never invaded their island. Honourable alliance united them with the Romans. It was, however, the alliance of the giant and the dwarf. The Roman gained glory and empire, the Batavian gained nothing but the hardest blows. The Batavian cavalry became famous throughout the republic and the empire. They were the favourite troops of Cæsar, and with

[1 The remains found in the cairns, the Druidic altars of Walcheren, and names of places such as Walcheren, Nimuegen, etc., are further evidence.]

[2 For fuller details of these and other Northern tribes, see the History of Rome, especially vol. V, chapters 7, 8, 16, 22 and vol. VII, book 2, chapter 3.]

[3 Zosimus[f] indeed reckons Batavia as part of the Roman empire, but the testimony of a Greek, writing in the fifth century, cannot be put in competition with that of Tacitus,[d] who expressly says that it was not tributary, and always speaks of it as an independent state. The Greek author probably drew the conclusion from the presence of Batavian cohorts in the imperial army. — DAVIES.[k]]

reason, for it was their valour which turned the tide of battle at Pharsalia. From the death of Julius down to the times of Vespasian, the Batavian legion was the imperial body guard, the Batavian island the basis of operations in the Roman wars with Gaul, Germany, and Britain.

Beyond the Batavians, upon the north, dwelt the great Frisian family, occupying the regions between the Rhine and Ems. The Zuyder Zee and the Dollart, both caused by the terrific inundations of the thirteenth century, and not existing at this period, did not then interpose boundaries between kindred tribes. All formed a homogeneous nation of pure German origin.

Thus, the population of the country was partly Celtic, partly German. Of these two elements, dissimilar in their tendencies and always difficult to blend, the Netherland people has ever been compounded. A certain fatality of history has perpetually helped to separate still more widely these constituents, instead of detecting and stimulating the elective affinities which existed. Religion, too, upon all great historical occasions, has acted as the most powerful of dissolvents. Otherwise, had so many valuable and contrasted characteristics been early fused into a whole, it would be difficult to show a race more richly endowed by Nature for dominion and progress than the Belgo-Germanic people.

Physically the two races resembled each other. Both were of vast stature. The gigantic Gaul derided the Roman soldiers as a band of pigmies. The German excited astonishment by his huge body and muscular limbs. Both were fair, with fierce blue eyes, but the Celt had yellow hair floating over his shoulders, and the German long locks of fiery red, which he even dyed with woad to heighten the favourite colour, and wore twisted into a war-knot upon the top of his head.

"All the Gauls are of very high stature," says a soldier who fought under Julian (Ammianus Marcellinus *f*). "They are white, golden-haired, terrible in the fierceness of their eyes, greedy of quarrels, bragging and insolent. A band of strangers could not resist one of them in a brawl, assisted by his strong blue-eyed wife, especially when she begins, gnashing her teeth, her neck swollen, brandishing her vast and snowy arms, and kicking with her heels at the same time, to deliver her fisticuffs, like bolts from the twisted strings of a catapult. The voices of many are threatening and formidable. They are quick to anger, but quickly appeased. All are clean in their persons; nor among them is ever seen any man or woman, as elsewhere, squalid in ragged garments. At all ages they are apt for military service. The old man goes forth to the fight with equal strength of breast, with limbs as hardened by cold and assiduous labour, and as contemptuous of all dangers, as the young. Not one of them, as in Italy is often the case, was ever known to cut off his thumbs to avoid the service of Mars."

EARLY FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

The polity of each race differed widely from that of the other. The government of both may be said to have been republican, but the Gallic tribes were aristocracies, in which the influence of clanship was a predominant feature; while the German system, although nominally regal, was in reality democratic. In Gaul were two orders, the nobility and the priesthood, while the people, says Cæsar,[c] were all slaves. The knights or nobles were all trained to arms. Each went forth to battle, followed by his dependents, while a chief of all the clans was appointed to take command during the war. The prince or chief governor was elected annually, but only by the nobles.

The people had no rights at all, and were glad to assign themselves as slaves to any noble who was strong enough to protect them. In peace the druids exercised the main functions of government. They decided all controversies, civil and criminal. To rebel against their decrees was punished by exclusion from the sacrifices—a most terrible excommunication, through which the criminal was cut off from all intercourse with his fellow creatures.

With the Germans the sovereignty resided in the great assembly of the people. There were slaves, indeed, but in small number, consisting either of prisoners of war or of those unfortunates who had forfeited their liberty in games of chance. Their chieftains, although called by the Romans princes and kings, were, in reality, generals chosen by universal suffrage. All state affairs were in the hands of this fierce democracy. The elected chieftains had rather authority to persuade than power to command.

The Gauls were an agricultural people. They were not without many arts of life. They had extensive flocks and herds, and they even exported salted provisions as far as Rome. The truculent German (*Ger-mann, Heer-mann,* "war-man,") considered carnage the only useful occupation, and despised agriculture as enervating and ignoble. It was base, in his opinion, to gain by sweat what was more easily acquired by blood. The Gauls built towns and villages. The German built his solitary hut where inclination prompted. Close neighborhood was not to his taste.

In their system of religion the two races were most widely contrasted. The Gauls were a priest-ridden race. Their druids[1] were a dominant caste, presiding even over civil affairs, while in religious matters their authority was despotic. What were the principles of their wild theology will never be thoroughly ascertained, but we know too much of its sanguinary rites. The imagination shudders to penetrate those shaggy forests, ringing with the death-shrieks of ten thousand human victims, and with the hideous hymns chanted by smoke and blood-stained priests to the savage gods whom they served.

The German, in his simplicity, had raised himself to a purer belief than that of the sensuous Roman or the superstitious Gaul. He believed in a single, supreme, almighty God, All-Vater or All-Father. This divinity was too sublime to be incarnated or imaged, too infinite to be enclosed in temples built with hands. Such is the Roman's testimony to the lofty conception of the German. The fantastic intermixture of Roman mythology with the gloomy but modified superstition of romanised Celts was not favourable to the simple character of German theology. Within that little river territory, amid those obscure morasses of the Rhine and Schelde, three great forms of religion—the sanguinary superstition of the druid, the sensuous polytheism of the Roman, the elevated but dimly groping creed of the German—stood for centuries, face to face, until, having mutually debased and destroyed each other, they all faded away in the pure light of Christianity.

[1 The druids have been a source of much controversy. Their practice of human sacrifice has been debated. G. Dottin[g] notes that "Sacrifices were, in their origin, human sacrifices." In 94 B.C. the Roman senate forbade them and by 19 B.C. they would seem to have disappeared. Alexander Bertrand[h] says: "It is impossible to deny, after a well-digested study of the texts, that human sacrifices had been very popular before the Roman conquest and were in common use in many parts of Gaul and Germany. It is certain that the druids not only tolerated but authorised by their presence these sacrifices, though in Ireland, the most druidic country of all, liturgic human sacrifice was unknown." He claims that human sacrifice antedated the druids in Gaul and that they were not to blame for it. As for their functions Dottin does not credit them with civil authority, but sets them down as "soothsayers, priests, professors, magicians, and physicians." He doubts the frequently advanced theory that Celtic monasteries were an outgrowth of druidic communities.]

Thus contrasted were Gaul and German in religious and political systems. The difference was no less remarkable in their social characteristics. The Gaul was singularly unchaste. The marriage state was almost unknown. Many tribes lived in most revolting and incestuous concubinage; brethren, parents, and children having wives in common. The German was loyal as the Celt was dissolute. Alone among barbarians, he contented himself with a single wife, save that a few dignitaries, from motives of policy, were permitted a larger number. On the marriage day the German offered presents to his bride—not the bracelets and golden necklaces with which the Gaul adorned his fair-haired concubine, but oxen and a bridled horse, a sword, a shield, and a spear—symbols that thenceforward she was to share his labours and to become a portion of himself.

They differed, too, in the honours paid to the dead. The funerals of the Gauls were pompous. Both burned the corpse, but the Celt cast into the flames the favourite animals, and even the most cherished slaves and dependents of the master. Vast monuments of stone or piles of earth were raised above the ashes of the dead. Scattered relics of the Celtic age are yet visible throughout Europe, in these huge but unsightly memorials.

The German was not ambitious at the grave. He threw neither garments nor odours upon the funeral pyre, but the arms and the war-horse of the departed were burned and buried with him. The turf was his only sepulchre, the memory of his valour his only monument. Even tears were forbidden to the men. "It was esteemed honourable," says the historian, "for women to lament, for men to remember."

The parallel need be pursued no further. Thus much it was necessary to recall to the historical student concerning the prominent characteristics by which the two great races of the land were distinguished: characteristics which time has rather hardened than effaced. In the contrast and the separation lies the key to much of their history. Had providence permitted a fusion of the two races, it is possible, from their position, and from the geographical and historical link which they would have afforded to the dominant tribes of Europe, that a world-empire might have been the result, different in many respects from any which has ever arisen. Speculations upon what might have been are idle. It is well, however, to ponder the many misfortunes resulting from a mutual repulsion, which, under other circumstances and in other spheres, has been exchanged for mutual attraction and support.

RELATIONS WITH ROME

The earliest chapter in the history of the Netherlands was written by their conqueror. Celtic Gaul is already in the power of Rome; the Belgic tribes, alarmed at the approaching danger, arm against the universal tyrant. Inflammable, quick to strike, but too fickle to prevail against so powerful a foe, they hastily form a league of almost every clan. At the first blow of Cæsar's sword, the frail confederacy falls asunder like a rope of sand. The tribes scatter in all directions. Nearly all are soon defeated, and sue for mercy. The Nervii, true to the German blood in their veins, swear to die rather than surrender. They, at least, are worthy of their cause. Cæsar advances against them at the head of eight legions. Drawn up on the banks of the Sambre, they await the Roman's approach. Eight veteran Roman legions, with the world's victor at their head, are too much for the brave but undisciplined Nervii.[1]

[1 The full account of this battle in Cæsar's own words will be found in vol. V, chapter 22.]

They fought like men to whom life without liberty was a curse. They were not defeated, but exterminated. Of many thousand fighting men went home but five hundred. Upon reaching the place of refuge where they had bestowed their women and children, Cæsar found, after the battle, that there were but three of their senators left alive. So perished the Nervii. Cæsar commanded his legions to treat with respect the little remnant of the tribe which had just fallen to swell the empty echo of his glory, and then, with hardly a breathing pause, he proceeded to annihilate the Aduatici, the Menapii, and the Morini.

Gaul being thus pacified, as, with sublime irony, he expresses himself concerning a country some of whose tribes had been annihilated, some sold as slaves, and others hunted to their lairs like beasts of prey, the conqueror departed for Italy. Legations for peace from many German races to Rome were the consequence of these great achievements. Among others the Batavians formed an alliance with the masters of the world. Their position was always an honourable one. They were justly proud of paying no tribute, but it was, perhaps, because they had nothing to pay. They had few cattle, they could give no hides and horns like the Frisians, and they were therefore allowed to furnish only their blood. From this time forth their cavalry, which was the best of Germany, became renowned in the Roman army upon every battle-field of Europe.

It is melancholy, at a later moment, to find the brave Batavians distinguished in the memorable expedition of Germanicus to crush the liberties of their German kindred. They are forever associated with the sublime but misty image of the great Arminius (Hermann), the hero, educated in Rome, and aware of the colossal power of the empire, who yet, by his genius, valour, and political adroitness, preserved for Germany her nationality, her purer religion, and perhaps even that noble language which her late-flowering literature has rendered so illustrious—but they are associated as enemies, not as friends.

Galba, succeeding to the purple upon the suicide of Nero, dismissed the Batavian life-guards to whom he owed his elevation. He is murdered, Otho and Vitellius contend for the succession, while all eyes are turned upon the eight Batavian regiments. In their hands the scales of empire seem to rest. They declare for Vitellius, and the civil war begins. Otho is defeated; Vitellius acknowledged by senate and people. Fearing, like his predecessors, the imperious turbulence of the Batavian legions, he, too, sends them into Germany [70 A.D.]. It was the signal for a long and extensive revolt, which had well-nigh overturned the Roman power in Gaul and Lower Germany.

THE BATAVIAN HERO CIVILIS (70 A.D.)

Claudius Civilis was a Batavian of noble race, who had served twenty-five years in the Roman armies. His Teutonic name has perished, for, like most savages who become denizens of a civilised state, he had assumed an appellation in the tongue of his superiors. He was a soldier of fortune, and had fought wherever the Roman eagles flew. After a quarter of a century's service he was sent in chains to Rome, and his brother executed, both falsely charged with conspiracy. Such were the triumphs adjudged to Batavian auxiliaries. He escaped with life, and was disposed to consecrate what remained of it to a nobler cause. Civilis was no barbarian. Like the German hero Arminius, he had received a Roman education, and had learned the

degraded condition of Rome. He knew the infamous vices of her rulers; he retained an unconquerable love for liberty and for his own race.

By his courage, eloquence, and talent for political combinations, Civilis effected a general confederation of all the Netherland tribes, both Celtic and German. For a brief moment there was a united people, a Batavian commonwealth. The details of the revolt have been carefully preserved by Tacitus,[i] and form one of his grandest and most elaborate pictures. The battles, the sieges, the defeats, the indomitable spirit of Civilis, still flaming most brightly when the clouds were darkest around him, have been described by the great historian in his most powerful manner.

The struggle was an unsuccessful one. After many victories and many overthrows, Civilis was left alone. The Gallic tribes fell off, and sued for peace. Vespasian, victorious over Vitellius, proved too powerful for his old comrade. Even the Batavians became weary of the hopeless contest, while fortune, after much capricious hovering, settled at last upon the Roman side. The imperial commander Cerealis seized the moment when the cause of the Batavian hero was most desperate to send emissaries among his tribe. These intrigues had their effect. The fidelity of the people was sapped. But the Batavian was not a man to be crushed, nor had he lived so long in the Roman service to be outmatched in politics by the barbarous Germans. He was not to be sacrificed as a peace-offering to revengeful Rome. Watching from beyond the Rhine the progress of defection and the decay of national enthusiasm, he determined to be beforehand with those who were now his enemies. He accepted the offer of negotiation from Cerealis. The Roman general was eager to grant a full pardon, and to re-enlist so brave a soldier in the service of the empire.

A colloquy was agreed upon. The bridge across the Nabalia was broken asunder in the middle, and Cerealis and Civilis met upon the severed sides. The placid stream by which Roman enterprise had connected the waters of the Rhine with the Lake of Flevo, flowed between the imperial commander and the rebel chieftain.

Here the story abruptly terminates. The remainder of the Roman's narrative is lost, and upon that broken bridge the form of the Batavian hero disappears forever. His name fades from history: not a syllable is known of his subsequent career; everything is buried in the profound oblivion which now steals over the scene where he was the most imposing actor.

The soul of Civilis had proved insufficient to animate a whole people; yet it was rather owing to position than to any personal inferiority that his name did not become as illustrious as that of Arminius. The German patriot was neither braver nor wiser than the Batavian, but he had the infinite forests of his fatherland to protect him. Every legion which plunged into those unfathomable depths was forced to retreat disastrously, or to perish miserably. Civilis was hemmed in by the ocean; his country, long the basis of Roman military operations, was accessible by river and canal. The patriotic spirit which he had for a moment raised had abandoned him; his allies had deserted him; he stood alone and at bay, encompassed by the hunters, with death or surrender as his only alternative.

The contest of Civilis with Rome contains a remarkable foreshadowing of the future conflict with Spain, through which the Batavian republic, fifteen centuries later, was to be founded. The characters, the events, the amphibious battles, desperate sieges, slippery alliances, the traits of generosity, audacity, and cruelty, the generous confidence, the broken faith, seem so closely to repeat themselves that history appears to present the selfsame

drama played over and over again, with but a change of actors and of costume. There is more than a fanciful resemblance between Civilis and William the Silent, two heroes of ancient German stock, who had learned the arts of war and peace in the service of a foreign and haughty world-empire. Determination, concentration of purpose, constancy in calamity, elasticity almost preternatural, self-denial, consummate craft in political combinations, personal fortitude, and passionate patriotism were the heroic elements in both. The ambition of each was subordinate to the cause which he served. Both refused the crown, although each, perhaps, contemplated, in the sequel, a Batavian realm of which he would have been the inevitable chief. Both offered the throne to a Gallic prince, for Classicus was but the prototype of Anjou, as Brinno of Brederode, and neither was destined, in this world, to see his sacrifices crowned with success.

The characteristics of the two great races of the land portrayed themselves in the Roman and the Spanish struggle with much the same colours. The Southrons, inflammable, petulant, audacious, were the first to assault and to defy the imperial power in both revolts, while the inhabitants of the northern provinces, slower to be aroused, but of more enduring wrath, were less ardent at the commencement, but, alone, steadfast at the close of the contest. In both wars the southern Celts fell away from the league, their courageous but corrupt chieftains having been purchased with imperial gold to bring about the abject submission of their followers; while the German Netherlands, although eventually subjugated by Rome, after a desperate struggle, were successful in the great conflict with Spain, and trampled out of existence every vestige of her authority. The Batavian republic took its rank among the leading powers of the earth; the Belgic provinces remained Roman, Spanish, Austrian property.

FALL OF ROME AND RISE OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

Obscure but important movements in the regions of eternal twilight, revolutions, of which history has been silent, in the mysterious depths of Asia, outpourings of human rivers along the sides of the Altai Mountains, convulsions up-heaving remote realms and unknown dynasties, shock after shock throbbing throughout the barbarian world, and dying upon the edge of civilisation, vast throes which shake the earth as precursory pangs to the birth of a new empire—as dying symptoms of the proud but effete realm which called itself the world; scattered hordes of sanguinary, grotesque savages pushed from their own homes, and hovering with vague purposes upon the Roman frontier, constantly repelled and perpetually reappearing in ever-increasing swarms, guided thither by a fierce instinct, or by mysterious laws—such are the well-known phenomena which preceded the fall of western Rome. Stately, externally powerful, although undermined and putrescent at the core, the death-stricken empire still dashed back the assaults of its barbarous enemies.

During the long struggle intervening between the age of Vespasian and that of Odoacer, during all the preliminary ethnographical revolutions which preceded the great people's wandering, the Netherlands remained subject provinces. Their country was upon the high-road which led the Goths to Rome. Those low and barren tracts were the outlying marches of the empire. Upon that desolate beach broke the first surf from the rising ocean of German freedom which was soon to overwhelm Rome. Yet, although the ancient landmarks were soon well-nigh obliterated, the Netherlands still

remained faithful to the empire, Batavian blood was still poured out for its defence.

By the middle of the fourth century, the Franks and Alamanni (*Allemänner*, "all-men"), a mass of united Germans, are defeated by the emperor Julian at Strasburg, the Batavian cavalry, as upon many other great occasions, saving the day for despotism. This achievement, one of the last in which the name appears upon historic record, was therefore as triumphant for the valour as it was humiliating to the true fame of the nation. Their individuality soon afterwards disappears, the race having been partly exhausted in the Roman service, partly merged in the Frank and Frisian tribes who occupy the domains of their forefathers.

For a century longer, Rome still retains its outward form, but the swarming nations are now in full career. The Netherlands are successively or simultaneously trampled by Franks, Vandals, Alani, Suevi, Saxons, Frisians, and even Slavs, as the great march of Germany to universal empire, which her prophets and bards had foretold, went majestically forward. The fountains of the frozen North were opened, the waters prevailed, but the ark of Christianity floated upon the flood. As the deluge assuaged, the earth had returned to chaos, the last pagan empire had been washed out of existence, but the faltering infancy of Christian Europe had begun.

After the wanderings had subsided, the Netherlands are found with much the same ethnological character. The Frank dominion has succeeded the Roman, the German stock preponderates over the Celtic, but the national ingredients, although in somewhat altered proportions, remain essentially as before. The old Belgæ, having become romanised in tongue and customs, accept the new empire of the Franks.[1] That people, however, pushed from its hold of the Rhine by thickly-thronging hordes of Gepidi, Quadi, Sarmatæ, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundiones, moves towards the south and west. As the empire falls before Odoacer, they occupy Celtic Gaul with the Belgian portion of the Netherlands, while the Frisians, into which ancient German tribe the old Batavian element has melted, not to be extinguished, but to renew its existence, the "free Frisians," whose name is synonymous with liberty, nearest blood relations of the Anglo-Saxon race, now occupy the northern portion, including the whole future European territory of the Dutch republic.

The history of the Franks becomes, therefore, the history of the Netherlands. The Frisians struggle, for several centuries, against their dominion, until eventually subjugated by Charlemagne. They even encroach upon the Franks in Belgic Gaul, who are determined not to yield their possessions. Moreover, the pious Merovingian *fainéants* desire to plant Christianity among the still pagan Frisians. Dagobert, son of the second Clotaire, advances against them as far as the Weser, takes possession of Utrecht, founds there the first Christian church in Friesland, and establishes a nominal dominion over the whole country.

Yet the feeble Merovingians would have been powerless against rugged Friesland, had not their dynasty already merged in that puissant family of Brabant, which long wielded their power before it assumed their crown. It was Pepin of Heristal, grandson of the Netherlander, Pepin of Landen, who conquered the Frisian Radbod (692 A.D.), and forced him to exchange his royal for the ducal title.

[1 We find also Britons and Angles inhabiting Batavia, the former having probably taken refuge there from the hostility of the Picts and Scots; the latter may, perhaps, have accompanied the expedition of Hengist and Horsa to England, and remained there, instead of crossing the sea with their companions, according to Procopius.[i] — DAVIES.[k]]

It was Pepin's bastard, Charles the Hammer [Charles Martel], whose tremendous blows completed his father's work. The new mayor of the palace soon drove the Frisian chief into submission, and even into Christianity. A bishop's indiscretion, however, neutralised the apostolic blows of the mayor. The pagan Radbod had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font, when a thought struck him.

"Where are my dead forefathers at present?" he said, turning suddenly upon Bishop Wolfran. "In hell, with all other unbelievers," was the imprudent answer. "Mighty well," replied Radbod, removing his leg, "then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden, than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven."

Entreaties and threats were unavailing. The Frisian declined positively a rite which was to cause an eternal separation from his buried kindred, and he died, as he had lived, a heathen. His son, Poppo, succeeding to the nominal sovereignty, did not actively oppose the introduction of Christianity among his people, but himself refused to be converted. Rebelling against the Frank dominion, he was totally routed by Charles Martel in a great battle (750 A.D.), and perished with a vast number of Frisians.

The Christian dispensation, thus enforced, was now accepted by these northern pagans. The commencement of their conversion had been mainly the work of their brethren from Britain. The monk Wilfred was followed in a few years by the Anglo-Saxon Willibrod. It was he who destroyed the images of Woden in Walcheren, abolished his worship, and founded churches in North Holland. Charles Martel rewarded him with extensive domains about Utrecht, together with many slaves and other chattels. Soon afterwards he was consecrated bishop of all the Frisians. Thus rose the famous episcopate of Utrecht.

Another Anglo-Saxon, Winfred, or Boniface, had been equally active among his Frisian cousins. His crozier had gone hand in hand with the battle-axe. Boniface followed close upon the track of his orthodox coadjutor Charles. By the middle of the eighth century, some hundred thousand Frisians had been slaughtered, and as many more converted. The hammer which smote the Saracens at Tours was at last successful in beating the Netherlanders into Christianity. The labours of Boniface through Upper and Lower Germany were immense; but he, too, received great material rewards. He was created archbishop of Mainz, and, upon the death of Willibrod, bishop of Utrecht. Faithful to his mission, however, he met, heroically, a martyr's death at the hands of the refractory pagans at Dokkum [755 A.D.]. Thus was Christianity established in the Netherlands.

Under Charlemagne, the Frisians often rebelled, making common cause with the Saxons. In 785 A.D. they were, however, completely subjugated, and never rose again until the epoch of their entire separation from the Frank empire. Charlemagne left them their name of free Frisians, and the property in their own land. The feudal system never took root in their soil. "The Frisians," says their statute book, "shall be free, as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands." They agreed, however, to obey the chiefs whom the Frank monarch should appoint to govern them, according to their own laws. Those laws were collected, and are still extant. The vernacular version of their Asega book contains their ancient customs, together with the Frank additions. The general statutes of Charlemagne were, of course, in vigour also; but that great legislator knew too well the importance attached by all mankind to local customs, to allow his imperial capitulars to interfere, unnecessarily, with the Frisian laws.

Thus again the Netherlands, for the first time since the fall of Rome, were united under one crown imperial. They had already been once united, in their slavery, to Rome. Eight centuries pass away, and they are again united, in subjection, to Charlemagne. The Netherlands, like the other provinces of the great monarch's dominion, were governed by crown-appointed functionaries, military and judicial. In the northeastern or Frisian portion, however, the grants of land were never in the form of revocable benefices or feuds. With this important exception, the whole country shared the fate and enjoyed general organisation of the empire.

But Charlemagne came an age too soon. The chaos which had brooded over Europe since the dissolution of the Roman world was still too absolute. It was not to be fashioned into permanent forms, even by his bold and constructive genius. When the great statesman died, his empire necessarily fell to pieces. Society had need of further disintegration before it could begin to reconstruct itself locally. A new civilisation was not to be improvised by a single mind. When did one man ever civilise a people? In the eighth and ninth centuries there was not even a people to be civilised.

Moreover, the Carlovingian race had been exhausted by producing a race of heroes like the Pepins and the Charleses. The realm was divided [in 843 A.D. by the Treaty of Verdun], subdivided, at times partially reunited, like a family farm, among monarchs incompetent alike to hold, to delegate, or to resign the inheritance of the great warrior and lawgiver.

Charles the Simple was the last Carlovingian who governed Lotharingia (or Lorraine), in which were comprised most of the Netherlands and Friesland. The German monarch, Henry the Fowler, at that period called king of the East Franks, as Charles of the West Franks, acquired Lorraine by the Treaty of Bonn, Charles reserving the sovereignty over the kingdom during his lifetime. In 925 A.D. however, the Simpleton having been imprisoned and deposed by his own subjects, the Fowler was recognised king of Lorraine.

Thus the Netherlands passed out of France into Germany, remaining, still, provinces of a loose, disjointed empire.

This is the epoch in which the various dukedoms, earldoms, and other petty sovereignties of the Netherlands became hereditary. It was in the year 922 that Charles the Simple presented to Count Dirk the territory of Holland, by letters patent.[1] This narrow hook of land, destined, in future ages, to be the cradle of a considerable empire, stretching through both hemispheres, was, thenceforth, the inheritance of Dirk's descendants. Historically, therefore, he is Dirk I, count of Holland.

Of this small sovereign and his successors, the most powerful foe, for centuries, was the bishop of Utrecht, the origin of whose greatness has been already indicated. Of the other Netherland provinces, now hereditary, the first in rank was Lorraine, once the kingdom of Lothair, now the dukedom of Lorraine. In 965 it was divided into Upper and Lower Lorraine, of which the lower duchy alone belonged to the Netherlands.

Two centuries later, the counts of Louvain, then occupying most of Brabant, obtained a permanent hold of Lower Lorraine, and began to call themselves dukes of Brabant. The same principle of local independence and isolation which created these dukes established the hereditary power of the counts and barons who formerly exercised jurisdiction under them and others. Thus arose sovereign counts of Namur, Hainault, Limburg, Zutphen, dukes of Luxemburg and Gelderland, barons of Mechlin, marquises of Antwerp, and

[1 See vols. VII, XI and XV.]

others—all petty autocrats. The most important of all, after the house of Lorraine, were the earls of Flanders; for the bold foresters of Charles the Great had soon wrested the sovereignty of their little territory from his feeble descendants as easily as Baldwin, with the iron arm, had deprived the bald Charles of his daughter. Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overyssel, Groningen, Drenthe, and Friesland (all seven being portions of Friesland in a general sense), were crowded together upon a little desolate corner of Europe—an obscure fragment of Charlemagne's broken empire. They were afterwards to constitute the United States of the Netherlands, one of the most powerful republics of history. Meantime, for century after century, the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht were to exercise divided sway over the territory.

Thus the whole country was broken into many shreds and patches of sovereignty. The separate history of such half-organised morsels is tedious and petty. Trifling dynasties, where a family or two were everything, the people nothing, leave little worth recording. Even the most devout of genealogists might shudder to chronicle the long succession of so many illustrious obscure.

A glance, however, at the general features of the governmental system now established in the Netherlands, at this important epoch in the world's history, will show the transformations which the country, in common with other portions of the western world, had undergone.

GOVERNMENT AND CIVILISATION OF FEUDAL TIMES

In the tenth century the old Batavian and later Roman forms have faded away. An entirely new polity has succeeded. No great popular assembly asserts its sovereignty, as in the ancient German epoch; no generals and temporary kings are chosen by the nation. The elective power had been lost under the Romans, who, after conquest, had conferred the administrative authority over their subject provinces upon officials appointed by the metropolis. The Franks pursued the same course. In Charlemagne's time, the revolution is complete. Popular assemblies and popular election entirely vanish. Military, civil, and judicial officers—dukes, earls, marquises, and others—are all king's creatures (*knegten des konings*, *pueri regis*), and so remain, till they abjure the creative power, and set up their own. The principle of Charlemagne, that his officers should govern according to local custom, helps them to achieve their own independence, while it preserves all that is left of national liberty and law.

The counts, assisted by inferior judges, hold diets from time to time—thrice, perhaps, annually. They also summon assemblies in case of war. Thither are called the great vassals, who, in turn, call their lesser vassals, each armed with "a shield, a spear, a bow, twelve arrows, and a cuirass." Such assemblies, convoked in the name of a distant sovereign, whose face his subjects had never seen, whose language they could hardly understand, were very different from those tumultuous mass-meetings, where boisterous freemen, armed with the weapons they loved the best, and arriving sooner or later, according to their pleasure, had been accustomed to elect their generals and magistrates and to raise them upon their shields. The people are now governed, their rulers appointed by an invisible hand. Edicts, issued by a power, as it were, supernatural, demand implicit obedience. The people, acquiescing in their own annihilation, abdicate not only their political but their personal rights. The sceptre, stretched over realms so wide, requires stronger hands than those of degenerate Carlovingians. It breaks asunder.

Functionaries become sovereigns, with hereditary, not delegated, right to own the people, to tax their roads and rivers, to take tithings of their blood and sweat, to harass them in all the relations of life. There is no longer a metropolis to protect them from official oppression. Power, the more subdivided, becomes the more tyrannical. The sword is the only symbol of law, the cross is a weapon of offence, the bishop is a consecrated pirate, and every petty baron a burglar; while the people, alternately the prey of duke, prelate, and seignor, shorn and butchered like sheep, esteem it happiness to sell themselves into slavery, or to huddle beneath the castle walls of some little potentate, for the sake of his wolfish protection. Here they build hovels, which they surround from time to time with palisades and muddy entrenchments; and here, in these squalid abodes of ignorance and misery, the genius of liberty, conducted by the spirit of commerce, descends at last to awaken mankind from its sloth and cowardly stupor. A longer night was to intervene, however, before the dawn of day.

The crown-appointed functionaries had been, of course, financial officers. They collected the revenue of the sovereign, one-third of which slipped through their fingers into their own coffers. Becoming sovereigns themselves, they retain these funds for their private emolument. Four principal sources yielded this revenue—royal domains, tolls and imposts, direct levies, and a pleasantry called voluntary contributions or benevolences. In addition to these supplies were also the proceeds of fines. Taxation upon sin was, in those rude ages, a considerable branch of the revenue. The old Frisian laws consisted almost entirely of a discriminating tariff upon crimes. Nearly all the misdeeds which man is prone to commit were punished by a money-bote only. Murder, larceny, arson, rape—all offences against the person were commuted for a definite price. There were a few exceptions, such as parricide, which was followed by loss of inheritance; sacrilege and the murder of a master by a slave, which were punished with death. It is a natural inference that, as the royal treasury was enriched by these imposts, the sovereign would hardly attempt to check the annual harvest of iniquity by which his revenue was increased. Still, although the moral sense is shocked by a system which makes the ruler's interest identical with the wickedness of his people and holds out a comparative immunity in evil doing for the rich, it was better that crime should be punished by money rather than not be punished at all.

Five centuries of isolation succeed. In the Netherlands, as throughout Europe, a thousand obscure and slender rills are slowly preparing the great stream of universal culture. Five dismal centuries of feudalism—during which period there is little talk of human right, little obedience to divine reason. Rights there are none, only forces; and, in brief, three great forces, gradually arising, developing themselves, acting upon each other, and upon the general movement of society.

The sword—the first, for a time the only force: the force of iron. The "land's master," having acquired the property in the territory and in the people who feed thereon, distributes to his subalterns, often but a shade beneath him in power, portions of his estate, getting the use of their faithful swords in return. Vavasours subdivide again to vassals, exchanging land and cattle, human or other, against fealty, and so the iron chain of a military hierarchy, forged of mutually interdependent links, is stretched over each little province. Impregnable castles, here more numerous than in any other part of Christendom, dot the level surface of the country. Mail-clad knights, with their followers, encamp permanently upon the soil. The fortunate fable of

divine right is invented to sanction the system; superstition and ignorance give currency to the delusion.

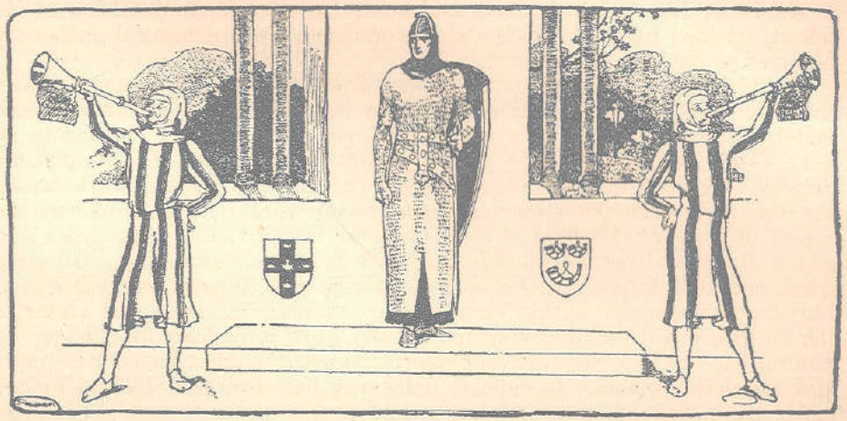
Thus the grace of God, having conferred the property in a vast portion of Europe upon a certain idiot in France, makes him competent to sell large fragments of his estate, and to give a divine, and, therefore, most satisfactory title along with them—a great convenience to a man who had neither power, wit, nor will to keep the property in his own hands. So the Dirks of Holland get a deed from Charles the Simple, and, although the grace of God does not prevent the royal grantor himself from dying a miserable, discrowned captive, the conveyance to Dirk is none the less hallowed by almighty fiat. So the Roberts and Guys, the Johns and Baldwins, become sovereigns in Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, and other little districts, affecting supernatural sanction for the authority which their good swords have won and are ever ready to maintain. Thus organised, the force of iron asserts and exerts itself. Duke, count, seignor and vassal, knight and squire, master and man swarm and struggle amain. A wild, chaotic, sanguinary scene. Here, bishop and baron contend, centuries long, murdering human creatures by ten thousands for an acre or two of swampy pasture; there, doughty families, hugging old musty quarrels to their heart, buffet each other from generation to generation; and thus they go on, raging and wrestling among themselves, with all the world, shrieking insane war-cries which no human soul ever understood—red caps and black, white hoods and gray, Hooks and Cods, dealing destruction, building castles and burning them, tilting at tourneys, stealing bullocks, roasting Jews, robbing the highways, crusading—now upon Syrian sands against Paynim dogs, now in Frisian quagmires against Albigenses, Stedingers, and other heretics—plunging about in blood and fire, repenting, at idle times, and paying their passage through purgatory with large slices of ill-gotten gains placed in the ever-extended dead-hand of the church; acting, on the whole, according to their kind, and so getting themselves civilised or exterminated, it matters little which. Thus they play their part, those energetic men-at-arms; and thus one great force, the force of iron, spins and expands itself, century after century, helping on, as it whirls, the great progress of society towards its goal, wherever that may be.

Another force—the force clerical—the power of clerks, arises; the might of educated mind measuring itself against brute violence; a force embodied, as often before, as priestcraft—the strength of priests: craft meaning simply strength, in our old mother-tongue. This great force, too, develops itself variously, being sometimes beneficent, sometimes malignant. Priesthood works out its task, age after age: now smoothing penitent death-beds, consecrating graves, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, incarnating the Christian precepts, in an age of rapine and homicide, doing a thousand deeds of love and charity among the obscure and forsaken—deeds of which there shall never be human chronicle, but a leaf or two, perhaps, in the recording angel's book; hiving precious honey from the few flowers of gentle art which bloom upon a howling wilderness; holding up the light of science over a stormy sea; treasuring in convents and crypts the few fossils of antique learning which become visible, as the extinct Megatherium of an elder world reappears after the Gothic deluge; and now, careering in helm and hauberk with the other ruffians, bandying blows in the thickest of the fight, blasting with bell, book, and candle its trembling enemies, while sovereigns, at the head of armies, grovel in the dust and offer abject submission for the kiss of peace; exercising the same conjury over ignorant baron and cowardly hind, making the fiction of apostolic authority to bind and loose, as prolific in acres

as the other divine right to have and hold; thus the force of cultivated intellect, wielded by a chosen few and sanctioned by supernatural authority, becomes as potent as the sword.

A third force, developing itself more slowly, becomes even more potent than the rest—the power of gold. Even iron yields to the more ductile metal. The importance of municipalities, enriched by trade, begins to be felt. Commerce, the mother of Netherland freedom, and, eventually, its destroyer—even as in all human history the vivifying becomes afterwards the dissolving principle—commerce changes insensibly and miraculously the aspect of society. Clusters of hovels become towered cities; the green and gilded Hansa of commercial republicanism coils itself around the decaying trunk of feudal despotism. Cities leagued with cities throughout and beyond Christendom—empire within empire—bind themselves closer and closer in the electric chain of human sympathy and grow stronger and stronger by mutual support. Fishermen and river raftsmen become ocean adventurers and merchant princes. Commerce plucks up half-drowned Holland by the locks and pours gold into her lap. Gold wrests power from iron. Needy Flemish weavers become mighty manufacturers. Armies of workmen, fifty thousand strong, tramp through the swarming streets. Silk-makers, clothiers, brewers become the gossips of kings, lend their royal gossips vast sums, and burn the royal notes of hand in fires of cinnamon wood. Wealth brings strength, strength confidence. Learning to handle cross-bow and dagger, the burghers fear less the baronial sword, finding that their own will cut as well, seeing that great armies—flowers of chivalry—can ride away before them fast enough at battles of spurs and other encounters. Sudden riches beget insolence, tumults, civic broils. Internecine quarrels, horrible tumults stain the streets with blood, but education lifts the citizens more and more out of the original slough. They learn to tremble as little at priestcraft as at swordcraft, having acquired something of each. Gold in the end, unsanctioned by right divine, weighs up the other forces, supernatural as they are. And so, struggling along their appointed path, making cloth, making money, making treaties with great kingdoms, making war by land and sea, ringing great bells, waving great banners, they, too—these insolent, boisterous burghers—accomplish their work.

Thus, the mighty power of the purse develops itself, and municipal liberty becomes a substantial fact—a fact, not a principle; for the old theorem of sovereignty remains undisputed as ever. Neither the nation, in mass, nor the citizens, in class, lay claim to human rights. All upper attributes—legislative, judicial, administrative—remain in the land-master's breast alone. It is an absurdity, therefore, to argue with Grotius[m] concerning the unknown antiquity of the Batavian republic. The republic never existed at all till the sixteenth century, and was only born after long years of agony.[b]



CHAPTER I

THE FIRST COUNTS OF HOLLAND

[843–1299 A.D.]

As the seven united provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Gelderland formed in the early ages of their history four distinct and separate states, to follow out minutely the annals of each would cause the thread of the subject to be perpetually broken off, and by diverting the attention into so many channels deprive it of any interest it might otherwise possess; and would moreover swell the work to such a magnitude as to render it unavailable to the general reader. This is the less necessary, as, with some difference of detail, the general features of the constitution and governments of the Netherland states bear so strong a similarity to each other that a perfect acquaintance with one will give a tolerably clear insight into all. We shall therefore confine our observations principally to Holland and Zealand, which, during the period now under consideration, formed a state or county of itself; the prince-bishop of Utrecht held that province, together with Groningen and Overyssel, as a fief of the German Empire, acknowledging the sovereignty of the archbishop of Cologne in spiritual matters. Friesland will often present itself to our notice as a subject of contention between the bishops of Utrecht and the counts of Holland, and retaining its independence against both, under a *podestate* of its own choosing.

Gelderland formed a part of the empire of Germany until the year 1002, when the emperor Henry II made it a separate county, feudatory to the empire; Otto, the first count, coming into possession of Zutphen also, by his marriage with Sophia, heiress of that county. Gelderland was raised to a duchy in 1337 by Louis VII of Bavaria, emperor of Germany.

THE PERIODS OF DUTCH HISTORY

The history of Holland thus divides itself into four periods:[1] the first extending from the end of the ninth century, the time of its erection into a separate county, to the year 1428, when it became annexed to a great portion of the other states of the Netherlands, under Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy: the government of the princes of the house of Burgundy and Austria will form the second period, ending in 1579, when the Union of Utrecht laid the foundation of the republic of the Seven United Provinces.

It is here that the history of Holland has been generally considered to begin; and from this epoch it is supposed her birth as a free and commercial country is to be dated. No idea, however, can be more erroneous; Holland was no Pallas among nations, starting at once into vigour and maturity, exempt from the errors and trials of youth; it was not the mere act of revolt from Spain that made her a nation of heroes, statesmen, legislators, and merchants, such as we then find her. She had been formed by long years of experience, by long ages of endurance. The strength which enabled her to cope with a power so infinitely superior to her own had been infused by continued enjoyment of equal laws, constitutional rights, and prescriptive franchises. It was not to enforce the fanciful theory of a constitution, not to create new rights, new laws, new liberties, that the Dutch threw off their allegiance to their sovereign; but to preserve those which they had been constantly asserting, and jealously defending, since the accession of the house of Burgundy, more than a hundred years before; and the war of independence was the end, not the beginning of the contest—the desperate extremity to which they were unwillingly driven by the obstinacy and cruelty of Philip II, not a scheme devised for their own aggrandisement. The separation of Holland from Spain involved but a slight change in her internal government, the essential principles of which had already existed for centuries; and though the extension of liberty obtained by this event did undoubtedly tend to the vast improvement of her commerce, yet it is equally certain that, after the decay of the Italian republics, Holland excelled all the rest of the world except Flanders and Brabant, as well in commerce and navigation as in agriculture and manufactures.

The union of Utrecht may therefore be properly considered as the commencement of the third period, which extends to the year 1747, when a radical change was effected in the constitution of Holland, then rendered monarchical in fact, though not in name, by the creation of a *stadholderate*, hereditary in the male and female line.

The fourth short and mournful era is comprised between 1747 and 1795, when the provinces were subjugated by the arms of the French Republic. During this time, but feeble and evanescent scintillations of the ancient Dutch spirit appear. The whole nation, divided into two factions, the orange and republican, sacrificed with one accord the welfare of the commonwealth to the rage of party spirit.

Thus enfeebled and tottering, Holland required no seer to foretell that

[1 Blok divides the history of the Dutch people into seven periods: 1st, the period of the most ancient times, ending with the complete development of the feudal states in the fourteenth century; 2nd, the period of Burgundian power, ending in the last half of the sixteenth century; 3rd, the period of the Eighty Years' War, ending in 1648; 4th, the period of the republic, which fell in 1795; 5th, the transition period of French influence until 1815; 6th, the period of the kingdom of the United Netherlands until 1830; 7th, the period of the history of Holland after the separation from Belgium.]

her Ides were come. Prussia, England, and France each struck a death-blow at her heart; but she covered herself with her robe as she fell—science, the arts, and the venerable relics of her ancient institutions veiled from human eyes the extremity of her degradation. The civilised world, her jealous rivals themselves, mourned over her fate. Mocked with the name of an independent republic, deluded with the shadow of a free constitution, Holland found her treasury drained by French extortion, her commerce made subservient to French interests, and her government framed and changed according to the fanciful models of French politicians. With the invasion of the year 1795, therefore, her history closes, since she appears no more on the theatre of Europe as a free commonwealth.

Her regeneration, as a limited monarchy, in 1813, is the beginning of a new era.

HOLLAND AS A GERMAN FIEF

Before the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne had finally united the whole kingdom of Friesland to the Christian church. The last king, Gundebold, grandson of Radbod, was slain in the famous expedition of this monarch against the Saracens in Spain; and from that time Friesland was governed by counts and dukes appointed by the emperor, and afterwards by his son Louis the Pious. On the division of the empire in 843 made after the death of Louis, between his three sons, Lothair, Ludwig the German, and Charles, surnamed the Bald, Ludwig received that portion of the Netherlands which lies on the right of the Rhine, while the provinces between that river and the Maas and Schelde were allotted to the emperor Lothair.

The situation of these countries rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the incursions of the Danes or Normans, for three centuries the terror and scourge of Europe; and it was probably with the view of erecting a barrier against their assaults that Ludwig the German granted to Dirk,[1] one of the counts in Friesland, and to his heirs, the forest of Wasda. The Danes, however, continued to harass Friesland as before, sometimes plundering the country, and levying heavy contributions on the inhabitants; sometimes making transient settlements there, and forcing the sovereigns to surrender to them possession of different portions of it. Charles III of France, surnamed the Fat, having become master of the whole of the empire of Charlemagne, found himself obliged to purchase their absence from Germany by the gift of a large sum of money, and the cession of the whole of Friesland to Godfrey, their king (883), by which act Gerulf, the son of Count Dirk, became a subject of the Dane. The death of Godfrey, who was treacherously assassinated, two years after, by order of Charles, restored Gerulf to his allegiance under the emperor of Germany, and he received from Arnulf, successor to the empire, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, the lands lying between the Rhine and Zuithardershage.

Gerulf was the father of that Dirk whom the Hollanders reckon as their first count, probably because he was the first who possessed the monastery of Egmond, whence nearly all the documents relating to their early history are drawn. From him, the line of succession and the thread of history continue unbroken.

The time of the foundation of the county of Holland is involved in great obscurity, and we will not enter into the tedious discussion as to whether it should be fixed in 863, or in the year 922. For the former date we have the

[1 The name is also given as Dietrich, Theoderic, and Theodore.]

authority of Melis Stoke,[b] Beka,[d] Barlandus,[e] Meyer,[f] and numerous others; while Buchelius,[g] the annotator of the *Chronicle of Beka*, and Wagenaar[h] insist upon the latter.

THE FIRST DIRKS, I–IV (912–1049)

To the lands which Count Dirk already held, Charles IV of France, surnamed the Simple, added the abbey of Egmond, with its dependencies, from Zuithardershage to Kinnem. By the cession which this prince made to the emperor Henry I of the whole kingdom of Lorraine, these lands, as well as the remainder which Count Dirk possessed, became a fief of Germany in 974. Nothing further is known of Dirk than that he built a church of wood at Egmond, dedicated to St. Adelbert, and founded there a convent of nuns. The time of his death is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have occurred in the year 923.

COUNT DIRK II
(From a manuscript at Egmond)

Hardly had Dirk II established himself in the government after the death of his father, when he was obliged to march against his rebellious subjects in West Friesland, whom he overcame, and forced to return to obedience. He had by his wife, Hildegarde, two sons, of whom the younger, Egbert, became archbishop of Treves, and the elder, Arnold, married Luitgarde, sister of Theophano, the wife of Otto II, emperor of Germany (983). The empress Theophano, after the death of her husband, and during the minority of her son, Otto III, enjoyed a large share in the administration of the empire; and her alliance with the family of the count of Holland induced her to use her influence over the mind of the young emperor, to obtain for Dirk a grant of all those states as an hereditary fief which he had hitherto enjoyed in usufruct only. Dirk II died in 988.

The grant of Otto III rendered it unnecessary that Arnold should obtain the emperor's confirmation of his authority, and the succession henceforward passed in the regular line, without any intervention of the imperial sovereignty, nor did the emperors ever interfere in the slightest degree in the internal government of the county; in process of time, indeed, the counts of Holland so far freed themselves from the ties of feudal allegiance that it became at length a matter of dispute whether or not Holland owed fealty to the empire at all. Arnold's short reign of five years was spent in continual warfare with his rebellious subjects of West Friesland, by whom he was slain in a battle fought near the village of Winkel (993). He left two sons, of

whom the younger, Siward, or Sigefrid, is said to have been the founder of the noble and illustrious house of Brederode.

Dirk III succeeded his father when only twelve years of age, the government being administered during his minority by his mother Luitgarde. In the year 1010 the Normans again made an irruption into Friesland, defeated the Hollanders who opposed their passage, and advanced as far as Utrecht. This is the last time we hear of any invasion by the Normans of either Holland or Friesland.

WARS WITH UTRECHT, FLANDERS, AND THE EMPIRE

In the year 937 the emperor Otto I of Germany had granted to Baldric, then bishop of Utrecht, the privilege of coining money. By Ansfrid, the domain of Utrecht had been brought close to the territories of the counts of Holland, over the whole of which, likewise, the church of Utrecht had a spiritual jurisdiction; and this furnished the bishops with a pretext for laying claim to the temporal sovereignty of the county. Hence arose disputes of a nature easily exasperated into hostilities.

In order to provide a barrier against the encroachments of this restless neighbour, Dirk built and fortified the celebrated town of Dordrecht, in 1015, which became, and long remained, the capital of the county, and ever afterwards held the first rank in the assembly of the states. Here he levied tolls upon all vessels passing up or down the Waal.

The emperor commanded Gottfried, duke of Lorraine, to assist the bishop in expelling Dirk from the fortress of Dordrecht. Gottfried, in obedience to his orders, assembled a large body of troops, accompanied by the bishops of Cologne, Cambray, Liège, and Utrecht, with their forces. In the engagement which ensued in 1018 an event, singular as unexpected, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the Hollanders, and saved the infant state from the destruction which appeared inevitable: the battle was at the hottest, and the Hollanders were defending themselves bravely, but almost hopelessly, against superior numbers, when suddenly a voice was heard crying, "Fly, fly." None could tell from whence the sound proceeded, and it was therefore interpreted by the troops of Lorraine as a warning from heaven: their rout was instantaneous and complete. Dirk concluded his long and troubled reign of thirty-four years by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; he died 1039, soon after his return, and was buried in the church of Egmond, leaving behind him a high reputation for valour and ability.

In the reign of Dirk IV began the first of a long series of dissensions between the counts of Holland and Flanders concerning the possession of Walcheren, and the other islands of Zealand, west of the Schelde. The Flemings claimed these territories in virtue of a grant (1007) made by the emperor Henry II to Baldwin IV, surnamed Longbeard, count of Flanders, while the Hollanders insisted on a prior right, conferred by the gift of Ludwig the German, in the year 868, to Dirk, the first count of Holland. Baldwin, fifth son and successor of Baldwin Longbeard, undertook a hostile expedition into Friesland and returned victorious. The bishop of Utrecht, taking advantage of the embarrassment, induced the emperor Henry III to lend him his assistance in regaining possession of those lands about the Merwe and Rhine, of which he maintained that Count Dirk III had unjustly deprived his predecessor.

The emperor, at the head of a numerous army, sailed down the river to Dordrecht, which he forced to surrender, as well as other towns. He was

not able long to retain these places, Dirk having formed an alliance with Gottfried of Lorraine.

The emperor was obliged to retreat to Utrecht, pursued by Dirk and a small band of troops, who so harassed the rear of his army that Henry with difficulty succeeded in reaching the city in safety. His departure left Dirk at liberty to regain possession of all the territory he had lost, which, however, he was not destined to enjoy long in peace. While passing unguardedly through a narrow street, he received a wound from a poisoned arrow, shot by an unknown hand, and died within three days in January, 1049. Dirk died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother.

FLORIS I TO IV (1049–1235)

The reign of Floris [or Florence], like that of his predecessors, was rendered turbulent and unhappy by the restless jealousy and enmity of the bishop of Utrecht. In the year 1058, William I, who then filled this see, formed a confederacy against Floris, and the united armies, accompanied by some troops of the empire, invaded the county of Holland. Floris, despairing of being able to withstand so overwhelming a force, had recourse to stratagem, much in use in the warfare of early ages. In a field near Dordrecht, where his forces were drawn up to await the attack, he caused pits to be dug and lightly covered with turf, into which several of the enemies' horse, when advancing briskly, as if to certain victory, suddenly fell, and being unable to extricate themselves, the whole army was thrown into the utmost confusion; at this moment Count Floris led forward his troops, and as they met with scarcely any resistance, the issue of the battle was decisive in their favour; sixty thousand of the allied troops were slain, and the governor of Gelderland, the count of Louvain, and the bishop of Liège made prisoners.

A like success attended the arms of the count in a second invasion, by the archbishop of Cologne, the markgraf of Brandenburg, and the lord of Cuyck, whom he defeated and put to flight in an obstinate and murderous battle, fought near the village of lower Hemert. Wearied with the combat, Count Floris fell asleep under a tree, not far from the scene of action, when the lord of Cuyck, having reassembled his scattered soldiers, returned, and surprising him thus defenceless, put him to death with a great number of his followers. He did not, however, venture to attack the main body of the army, which retired in safety.

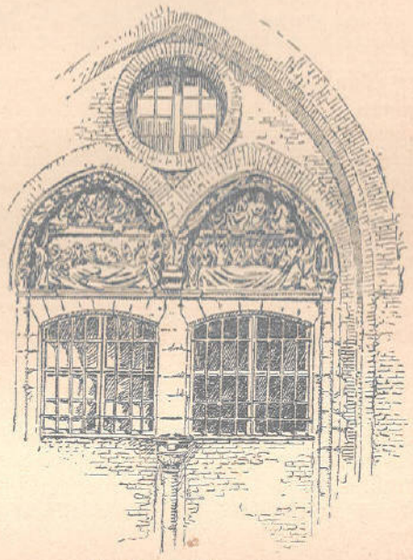
Dirk V, being a child of tender years at the time of his father's death, was placed under the guardianship of his mother, Gertrude of Saxony. She had conducted the administration scarcely two years, when she contracted a second marriage with Robert, the younger son of Baldwin V, of Flanders (surnamed from this alliance the Frisian), and in conjunction with the nobles conferred on him the government of the county during the minority of her son.

In May, 1064, a grant was made to the bishop of Utrecht in the name of the emperor of the whole of the county west of the Vlie, and about the Rhine, with the abbey of Egmond, besides Bodegrave, from which Dirk III had expelled Dirk Bavo [the vassal of the bishop of Utrecht].

The bishop, having gained Gottfried, duke of Lorraine, to his alliance, by promising him the government of Holland, as a fief of the bishopric, Robert attempted in vain to make a stand against his enemies. Being defeated in a severe battle, he was forced to take refuge in Ghent. Holland

and Friesland submitted to Gottfried. He founded the city of Delft, where, after having governed the country for about four years with great harshness and severity, he was assassinated.

His death was followed in the same year, 1075, by that of William, bishop of Utrecht. Conrad, successor to the see, assumed, likewise, the government of Holland. The Hollanders, unable to endure with patience the episcopal yoke, earnestly desired the restoration of their lawful sovereign, and Robert the Frisian, being in tranquil possession of Flanders, found himself at liberty to assist his adopted son in the enterprise he now formed for this purpose. William the Conqueror, then king of England, who had married Matilda, sister of Robert the Frisian, sent some vessels to their assistance. The whole of the bishop's fleet was either captured or dispersed, and the bishop renounced all claim to the states of the count of Holland, and restored all the conquests made by himself or his predecessors. The inhabitants joyfully took the oath of allegiance to Count Dirk V. He died in 1091, having governed the county fifteen years after his restoration, leaving only one son.



St. John's Hospital
(Thirteenth century)

In the reign of Floris II, surnamed the Fat, the whole of Europe was inflamed with the desire of rescuing the tomb of the Redeemer from the hands of the infidels. The effects of the Crusades on Holland were, for some time at least, comparatively slight; for though we find the names of several of her nobility numbered in the ranks of the crusaders, and among them those of Arkel and Brederode, the most powerful and illustrious in the state, yet, whether that the mercantile habits of the people rendered them unwilling to engage in war, except some tangible advantage were to be gained by it, or that their constant hostilities with the bishops of Utrecht had placed the church in such an unfavourable point of view, certain it is that the enthusiasm was neither so highly wrought nor so widely diffused as among the other peoples of Europe, and particularly the neighbouring county of Flanders.

Floris the Fat ended his tranquil reign of thirty years in the spring of 1121.

Dirk VI, being too young at the time of his father's death to undertake the management of affairs, his mother, Petronella, was appointed governess during his minority—a woman of extraordinary courage, sagacity, and ambition. She took up arms in the cause of her brother, Lothair of Saxony, against the emperor Henry V, with whom he was at war; and Henry, although he invaded Holland with a powerful army, found considerable difficulty in forcing her to acknowledge feudal allegiance to him. The election of Lothair to the throne of Germany at length put an end to the enmity between the emperors and the counts of Holland, which had now subsisted, with the inter-

mission only of the short alliance between Floris the Fat and Henry V, for more than a century.

In this reign, Holland was already sufficiently populous to admit of the removal of a large colony of its inhabitants to the borders of the Elbe and Havel. The Hollanders (so strong is the power of habit on the human mind) fixed themselves, by choice, on the low and marshy lands. Notwithstanding the difficulties they had to contend with, both from the nature of the soil and the frequent incursions of the Slavi, these patient and industrious colonists built towns and churches in their new settlement, and in a short time rendered it incredibly rich and flourishing. Dirk VI died in the autumn of 1157.

Floris III finding, on his accession to the government, that the Flemish merchants evaded the payment of the tolls at Dordrecht, by passing down the Maas, obtained permission of the emperor to establish a toll. Count Philip of Flanders equipped a number of ships sufficient to keep the Holland navy in check, while with his land forces he made himself master of the Waasland, after which, having enriched his troops with considerable booty, he retired to Flanders. Count Floris put to sea a large fleet of ships, but he was defeated in a severe naval battle, wounded and carried prisoner to Bruges. Philip consented to release Floris, after an imprisonment of two years, and to reinstate him in the territories he held of Flanders.

The West Frieslanders had not let slip the favourable opportunity for rebellion, and Floris was never able, during the whole of his reign, to reduce his rebellious subjects in that quarter to entire obedience.

The crusade preached in 1187 by Pope Clement III drew a considerable number of the princes of Europe to the army of Frederick I or Barbarossa, emperor of Germany: among these was the count of Holland, who had assumed the cross three years before. He was among the immense number of those who fell victims to a pestilence. He was buried near the grave of the emperor Frederick in St. Peter's church, at Antioch. This count is said to be the first who obtained from the emperor the privilege of coining money stamped with the arms of Holland.

Floris III left four sons, Dirk VII, his successor to the county; William, who remained in the Holy Land for nearly five years after the death of his father; Floris, archdeacon of Utrecht; Robert, governor of Kennemerland, and four daughters.

William of Holland perceiving, shortly after his return from the Holy Land, that some enemies at court had found means to excite suspicion and jealousy in the mind of his brother towards him, retired to West Friesland, where the disaffected were always sure to find companions ready for revolt. Hostilities were begun on the side of William, when Dirk sent one part of his army to Friesland, under the conduct of his wife Adelaide (daughter of the count of Cleves), while he himself advanced with the remainder to expel the Flemings from Walcheren. The issue of both expeditions proved fortunate. Towards the end of the same year the brothers were reconciled and Dirk consented to bestow on William all his possessions in Friesland, to be held as a fief of Holland. The good fortune of Count Dirk at length deserted him, and the event of a war, in which he was afterwards engaged with Utrecht, was disastrous in the extreme both to himself and the state. The bishop betook himself for protection to Henry, duke of Brabant,[1] or Lower Lor-

[1] The duchy of Brabant took its rise in the year 1106, when the emperor, Henry V, divided the ancient kingdom, or duchy of Lorraine, into two parts, called Upper and Lower Lorraine, and bestowed the latter on Godfrey the Bearded, count of Louvain, who assumed the title of duke of Brabant and Lorraine. Henry III, duke of Brabant, dropped the title of duke of Lorraine, and styled himself duke of Brabant only. See Guicciardini[k] and Johan. à Leid.[l]

raine. Dirk's troops were entirely defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. He was released within the year upon payment of 2,000 marks of silver; but by the treaty then made with the duke he was obliged to surrender Breda, and bound himself and his successors to do homage to the dukes of Brabant for Dordrecht and all the lands lying between Stryen, Walwyk, and Brabant, and to assist them against all their enemies, except the emperor. Thus the ancient capital of the county became a fief of Brabant, and so continued until the year 1283, when John I, duke of Brabant, released the count of Holland from his fealty. Dirk died in 1203, the government falling into the hands of a girl of tender years, guided by a mother sufficiently shrewd, indeed, and courageous, but intriguing and ambitious.

COUNTESS HILDEGARDE
(From a manuscript at Egmond)

The last wish of Count Dirk, that the guardianship of his daughter, Ada, and her states should be confided to his brother William, was frustrated by the intrigues of the countess-dowager, Adelaide of Cleves, who, in order to debar him from all share in the administration, had determined upon marrying her daughter to Louis, count of Loon. Within a very short time, however, symptoms of discontent at the prospect of being governed by a female, and a stranger, began to manifest themselves among some of the nobility. The disaffected brought William disguised to the island of Schouwen. Here he was received with every demonstration of joy, and shortly after was proclaimed as lawful governor. The countess Ada was sent prisoner to the Texel, and subsequently to the court of John, king of England.

The termination of the war between France and England left Count William free to accompany the crusade undertaken at this time (May, 1217); and he accordingly set sail from the Maas, with twelve large ships, which, uniting with a great number of smaller vessels from Friesland, arrived after some delays at the port of Lisbon. Immediately upon their landing, a message was sent by the Portuguese nobles to the crusaders, beseeching their assistance against the king of Morocco, who had wrested the fortress of Alcacer-do-Sal from the king of Portugal, and obliged the inhabitants of that country to deliver into his hands a hundred Christian slaves every year. The greater part of the Frieslanders refused to delay their journey to the Holy Land, but the Hollanders under Count William besieged and took Alcacer-do-Sal, and continued the remainder of the year in Portugal. In 1218 William joined the fleet of the crusaders at Acre.

Soon after the conclusion of the siege of Damietta, he returned to Holland, which he governed in peace for about four years. He died on the 4th of February, 1224.

An Early Charter

In this reign was granted a charter of privileges (nearly the oldest known in the county of Holland[1]) to the city of Middelburg, in Zealand, in the joint names of Joanna, countess of Flanders, and William of Holland. By this charter, certain fines were fixed for fighting, maiming, striking, or railing, for resisting the authority of the magistrates, and other delinquencies of minor importance, under the jurisdiction of the schout and sheriffs. A Middelburger, choosing another lord than the count of Holland, must pay ten pounds Flemish (5*l.*) to the count, and ten shillings to the town;[2] the count reserving to himself the judgment in such cases.

The charters of the other cities of Holland and Zealand bear more or less resemblance to this, which, ancient as it is, appears, nevertheless, to have been rather a confirmation of prescriptive customs than a new code of regulations, though there is no earlier instance on record of the counts binding themselves by oath to the observance of them.

Floris IV was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his father in 1224, but it is not known with certainty who administered the affairs of the county during his minority, or under whose direction it was that the young count conferred on the towns of Domburg and West Kappel, in Walcheren, charters of privileges.

Floris was the first and last of the counts of Holland who, in obedience to the injunctions of the holy see, bore a part in one of those crusades against Christian heretics, which had, unhappily, become so much the mode during this century. The Stedingers, a people inhabiting the small tract of country bordering on the Weser, having refused to acknowledge the temporal jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bremen, were, for this reason, accused by him of heresy, before Pope Gregory IX, who preached a general crusade against them. The duke of Brabant, therefore, with the count of Cleves and the count of Holland, who sailed to the Weser in a fleet of three hundred ships, led their united forces into the country of the Stedingers. In an obstinate and bloody battle (1234), four thousand of them were slain, and they submitted at length to the archbishop.

The fame of Count Floris' beauty, valour, and skill in all knightly accomplishments being widely spread abroad, produced such an eager desire in the breast of the young countess de Clermont to see so bright a pattern of chivalry that she induced her aged husband to proclaim a tournament at Corbie (1235), where she knew the young count would not fail to be present. The apparently innocent curiosity of his wife aroused such furious jealousy in the bosom of the old man that, at the head of a number of horsemen, he rushed suddenly upon Count Floris, dragged him from his horse, and slew him, before his attendants had time to assemble for his defence. His death, however, was instantly avenged by Theodore, count of Cleves, who killed the count de Clermont on the spot. Thus perished Count Floris in the bloom of youth and beauty, leaving his states to his son William II, an infant under seven years of age.

[1] That of Geertruydenberg is somewhat older, being dated 1213, but much mutilated. [In Flanders, however, such charters had been granted a century earlier. See the Historical Introduction and also Chapter II.]

[2] From this it would appear that the subject had a right to withdraw his allegiance from his lord, a custom which, though it might be the occasion of some disorders, must yet, by providing a remedy against oppression and tyranny on the part of the lord, have tended much to soften the rigour of feudal government.

COUNT WILLIAM II, EMPEROR OF GERMANY (1235–1256)

The government of the county, during the minority of the young prince, was entrusted to Otto III, bishop of Utrecht, brother of the late count. William had just entered his twentieth year, was still "beardless and blushing," and not yet knighted, when he was elected emperor of Germany. In the year 1245 Pope Innocent IV had pronounced sentence of excommunication against Frederick II. In order to give effect to the decree of the council, Innocent spared neither pains nor money to procure the election of another emperor. William hastened to Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], to receive the imperial crown, but found this city entirely devoted to the interests of Frederick, and it cost him a long and expensive siege before he could effect his entrance. He was obliged, in order to raise funds for carrying it on, to mortgage Nimeguen, a free city of the empire, to the duke of Gelderland, for the sum of 16,000 marks of silver.

The new emperor's coronation was performed by Conrad, archbishop of Cologne (1248); but William was never able, even after the death of Frederick II (1250), to insure general obedience to his authority; while the measures he took for this purpose raised up a troublesome and dangerous enemy in his hereditary states. According to an ancient custom of Germany, those vassals who neglected to do homage to a new emperor within a year and a day after his coronation lost irrecoverably the fiefs which they held of the empire. The emperor, therefore, in a diet held 1252 at Frankfort, declared all those fiefs escheated, the possessors of which had not received investiture from him within a year and a day after his coronation at Aix. Among the number of these was Margaret, countess of Flanders, familiarly termed "Black Margaret," daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople. She had omitted to do homage for the five islands west of the Schelde, for which reason William deprived her of these territories, and bestowed them on John of Avennes, the husband of his sister Adelaide. John was the son of Margaret, by her first husband, Bosschaert [or Burchard], lord of Avennes, from whom she had been divorced in 1214, on the plea of too near a relationship between the parties, and that Bosschaert had entered into holy orders, and was a deacon at the time of their marriage. She was afterwards married to William de Dampierre, a Burgundian nobleman, by whom she had three sons, William, Guy, and John; and upon her succession to the county, after her union with William, she declared her intention of leaving the whole of her states to the children of her second husband, alleging that, the marriage with Bosschaert of Avennes having been declared null by the pope, the issue of it must be illegitimate.

The stigma thus cast on his birth, coupled with the fear of losing his inheritance, provoked John of Avennes to declare open war against his mother; but on the mediation of Louis IX of France, a treaty was made, whereby John, after his mother's death, should inherit Hainault, and William de Dampierre, Flanders. Matters stood thus, when William made the transfer above mentioned, of the fiefs held by Flanders, under the empire, in favour of John of Avennes. This intelligence no sooner reached the ears of Margaret, than she assembled a powerful army, with the design of invading Zealand; and when her troops were in readiness to march, sent to demand homage of the emperor, as Count of Holland, for the five islands of the Schelde.

The emperor, flushed with the pride of his high station, haughtily answered that "he would be no servant where he was master, nor vassal where he was lord." The rage of Black Margaret at this contemptuous reply knew no

bounds; and while she sought to amuse William by affecting to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by Henry, duke of Brabant, she despatched her son, Guy de Dampierre, at the head of her army, into Zealand. The troops landed at West Kappel, where they sustained a signal defeat, in an engagement with the Hollanders, under Floris, brother of the emperor; and Guy and his brother, John de Dampierre, were taken prisoners. Black Margaret was now amenable to terms of peace which she had before haughtily and angrily refused.[1]

In 1255 William found it necessary to repair in person, with a powerful army, to West Friesland, in order to reduce it to obedience. From Alkmaar, he advanced in the depth of winter to Vroone, a considerable village of Friesland; before him lay the Heer Huygenward, a large drained lake, now entirely frozen over. The Frieslanders purposely retreating to where the ice was weakest, he galloped on in heedless pursuit of them, leaving his troops at some distance behind. The ice broke. Three or four of the Frieslanders immediately rushed upon him; and, deaf to his prayers for mercy and offers of ransom, cruelly slaughtered him. His body was secretly buried at Hoogtwoude; and his army, after the death of their leader, retreated in disorder and with heavy loss to Holland.

The numerous and expensive undertakings in which William II was engaged, during nearly the whole period of his government, rendered necessary to him the support and assistance of the towns of Alkmaar, Haarlem, and Delft, which he purchased by the grant or confirmation of privileges so important that in course of time they rendered them, as towns, integral and influential portions of the nation. As it was about this time that the constitution and administration of Holland began to assume a regular and permanent form, it may be permitted to make a short digression, for the purpose of giving such an idea of its composition, before the union of 1579, as the notices scattered here and there through the different histories and descriptions of the country will enable us to form.

THE CONSTITUTION OF HOLLAND

The towns of Holland were not, as in other nations, merely portions of the state, but the state itself was rather an aggregate of towns, each of which formed a commonwealth within itself, providing for its own defence, governed by its own laws, holding separate courts of justice, and administering its own finances; the legislative sovereignty of the whole nation being vested in the towns, forming in their collective capacity the assembly of the states.

The government of every town was administered by a senate (*wethouderschap*), formed of two, three, or four burgomasters, and a certain number of sheriffs (*schepenen*), generally seven; a few of the towns, as Dordrecht, had only one burgomaster. The duties of the senate were to provide for the public safety by keeping the city walls and fortifications in repair, to call out and muster the burgher guards in case of invasion or civil tumult, to administer the finances, to provide for the expenses of the town by levying excises on different articles of consumption, and to affix the portion of county taxes to be paid by each individual. To the burgomasters was committed

[1] After the battle of West Kappel, according to Matthew Paris,[4] John of Avennes sent ambassadors to his mother, entreating her to listen to terms of accommodation, if not for his sake, for the sake of her sons, who were his prisoners. "My sons are in your hands," answered the fierce old virago; "but not for that will I bend to your will: slay them, butcher! and devour one seasoned with pepper, and the other with salt and garlic!" Such language in the mouth of a woman, and a princess, would give us no very advantageous opinion of the manners of these times.

the care of the police and the ammunition, of the public peace, and of cleansing and victualling the town. The senate generally appointed two treasurers to receive and disburse the city funds under their inspection, and an advocate, or pensionary, whose office (similar to that of recorder in English municipal corporations) was to keep the charters and records, and to advise them upon points of law. The count had a representative in each town, in the person of the schout, an officer whom he himself appointed, sometimes out of a triple number named by the senate. It was the business of the schout,[1] besides watching over the interests of the count, to seize on all suspected persons and bring them to trial before the *vierschaar*, or judicial court of the town. This court was composed of the sheriffs, and had jurisdiction over all civil causes, and over minor offences,[2] except in some towns, such as Leyden, Dordrecht, etc., where the power of trying capital crimes was specially given to them in the charters granted by the counts: the schout was also bound to see the judgments of the vierschaar carried into execution.

Besides the senate there was, in every town, a council of the citizens, called the "great council" (*vroedschap*),[3] which was summoned in early times when any matter of special importance was to be decided upon; but afterwards their functions, in many of the towns, became restricted to the nomination of the burgomasters and sheriffs for the senate. In Hoorn, where the government was on a more popular basis than in most of the other towns of Holland, this council comprised all the inhabitants possessing a capital of two hundred and fifty nobles, and from this circumstance was called the *rykdom*, or wealth.

In Dordrecht, the most confined and aristocratic of the municipal governments of Holland, the great council consisted of forty members, whose office was for life, and who filled up the vacancies as they occurred, by election among themselves. The senate of this town was composed of one burgomaster, whose office was annual, nine sheriffs, and five councillors (*raden*); four sheriffs and three councillors went out of office one year, five sheriffs and two councillors the next, and so on alternately; their places were filled up by the count, or the schout on his behalf, out of a double number nominated by the council of forty. The only representatives of the people in the government were the so-named "eight good men" (*goede luyden van achte*), and their functions were limited to choosing the burgomaster in conjunction with those senators whose term of office had expired; if they were unanimous, their votes reckoned for twelve, but the burgomaster chosen must always be one of the ex-senators.

Constitution of the Guilds

The inhabitants of the towns, being generally merchants and traders, were divided into guilds[4] of the different trades; at the head of each guild was placed a deacon (*dekken*), to regulate its affairs and protect its interests; and as the towns obtained their charters of privileges from the counts, so did the guilds look to the municipal governments for encouragement and support, and for the immunities they were permitted to enjoy. Each guild

[1] We have no English term for this office: that of county sheriff (including the duties he usually performs by deputy) is analogous to it in some respects; the word *schout* is an abbreviation of *schouldrechter*, a judge of crimes.

[2] The power of trying offences which were not capital was termed the "low jurisdiction."

[3] Literally "council of wise men."

[4] For further treatment of the guilds, see in the next chapter the history of the Belgian communes. In Holland the earliest guild was that of the cloth merchants at Dordrecht, dating from 1200; the guilds came into prominence about 1350, but never attained the power they reached in Flanders.]

inhabited for the most part a separate quarter of the town, and over every quarter two officers, called *Wykmeesters*, were appointed by the burgomasters, whose duty it was to keep a list of all the men in their district capable of bearing arms, to see that their arms were sufficient and ready for use, and to assemble them at the order of the magistrates, or upon the ringing of the town bell: the citizens, on their part, were bound to obey the summons without delay, at any hour of the day or night. Over all the wykmeesters were placed two, three, or four superior officers, called *hoofdmannen*, or captains of the burgher guards.

The guilds, when called out to service within the town, assembled, and acted each under their own banners; but in defence of the state they were accustomed to march together under the standard of the town, and dressed in the city livery. As every member of a guild was expected to have his arms always ready for use, and the burgher guards (*schuttery*) were frequently mustered, and drilled under the inspection of the burgomasters and sheriffs, the towns were able to man their walls, and put themselves into a state of defence in an incredibly short space of time.

In this manner each town formed, as we have remarked, a species of republic, containing within itself the elements of civil government and military force. The burgher, for the most part, considered his town as his nation, with whose happiness and prosperity his own was inseparably linked, not only as regarded his public but also his private interests; since his person was liable to be seized for the debts which its government contracted, and the government, on the other hand, if he were too poor to pay the county taxes, stepped in to his relief, and not unfrequently discharged them for him. This separate existence (if we may so term it) of the towns, a source of national strength inasmuch as, by developing to its fullest extent the social activity of the people and giving to each individual a place in the political scale, it formed, as it were, a heart in every one of the extremities of the body politic, was yet a cause of weakness by the disunion, jealousy, and opposition of interests which it occasioned; the patriotism of the Dutchman was but too often confined within the walls of his native city; and we shall have occasion more than once to remark, in the course of Dutch history, that the towns, pursuing each their own private views, totally lose sight, for a while at least, of the interests of the nation in general, and even of their own as members of it.

The Nobility

The municipal government and privileges of the towns extended over a certain space without the walls, which the burghers enlarged as they found occasion by grants obtained from the counts, whether by favour or purchase. The portion of the county not included within these limits, and commonly called the "open country," either formed the domains of the nobles or abbeys, or were governed by bailiffs, whose office was analogous to that of the schout in the towns, and who were, like them, appointed by the count. Both nobles and abbots exercised the low jurisdiction in their states, and sometimes the high jurisdiction also: the nobility had the power of levying taxes on the subjects within their own domains, and exercised the right of private warfare among themselves; of the latter privilege they were always extremely jealous, and the efforts of the counts to abolish or modify it were for many centuries unavailing: in fact, it fell into disuse in Germany and Holland later than in the other countries of Europe.

The nobles were exempt from the taxes of the state, being bound in respect

of their fiefs to serve with their vassals in the wars of the country; and if from any cause they were unable to attend in person, they were obliged either to find a substitute or to pay a scutage (*ruytergeld*) in lieu of their services, in the same manner as other vassals of the count: such, however, was only the case when the war was carried on within the boundaries of the county, or had been undertaken by their advice and consent; otherwise the service they rendered depended solely on their own will and pleasure.

The chief of the nobility were appointed by the count to form the council of state, or supreme court of Holland: the council of state assisted the count in the administration of public affairs, guaranteed all treaties of peace and alliance made with foreign nations; and in its judicial capacity took cognizance of capital offences, both in the towns (unless otherwise provided by their charters) and in the open country. To this court, where the count generally presided in person, lay an appeal in civil causes from all the inferior courts in the state.

A Noblewoman of the Thirteenth Century

In after times, as the towns increased in wealth and importance, and the more prolonged and expensive wars in which the counts were engaged rendered their pecuniary support necessary, they, likewise, became parties to the ratification of treaties,[1] and were consulted upon matters relating to war or foreign alliances. It was probably the custom of summoning together deputies from the towns for these purposes which gave rise to the assembly of the estates, as historians are unable to fix the exact time of its origin. It has been generally supposed that, before the middle of the sixteenth century, the six "good towns" only, that is, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Gouda, enjoyed the right of sending deputies to the estates. This, however, is not altogether the fact. It is true that treaties of peace and alliance were usually guaranteed by the great towns only, and that affairs relating both to domestic and foreign policy were frequently transacted by them in conjunction with the deputies of the nobles, the smaller towns (unwilling to incur the expense of sending deputies to the estates) being content to abide by their decision. But until about 1545 the small towns were constantly summoned to give their votes upon all questions of supply, nor did the deputies of the great towns consider themselves authorised to grant or anticipate the payment of any subsidies without their concurrence. The small towns were likewise accustomed to send deputies to the estates

[1] The first treaty which appears guaranteed by the towns was made with Edward I of England in 1281.

when a measure was to be discussed which peculiarly regarded their own welfare.

The Estates

The deputies to the estates were nominated by the senates of the several towns, each town possessing but one voice in the assembly, whatever number of deputies it might send; the whole body of the nobility likewise enjoyed but one vote, though it was often represented by several, never by less than three deputies. The estates were generally summoned by the counts to the Hague, or to any other place where they might happen to be residing. The more usual practice was to petition either the count or the council of Holland to issue the summons. The deputies of the nobles and towns deliberated separately, and afterwards met together to give their votes, when the nobles voted first, and then the towns, the ancient city of Dordrecht having the precedence. No measure could be carried, if either the nobles or any one of the towns refused to give their vote in its favour.

The principal officers employed by the assembly of the estates were a registrar or keeper of the records, who acted likewise as secretary, and an advocate called the pensionary of Holland, whose business it was to propose all subjects for the deliberation of the estates, to declare the votes, and report the decisions of the assembly to the count, or council of state; although this officer did not possess the right of voting, he was accustomed to take a share in the debates, and generally enjoyed great influence both in the assembly of the estates and the whole country: the nobles, likewise, chose a pensionary, nearly always in the person of the same individual. The constitution of the estates of Zealand differed from that of Holland, inasmuch as the clergy in the latter did not form a separate estate, nor were they represented in the assembly; whereas in Zealand, the abbot of St. Nicholas in Middelburg enjoyed the right of giving the first vote as representative of the ecclesiastical estate.

Taxation

It is impossible at this time to define exactly the powers formerly possessed by the estates, since during the reign of feeble princes, or minors, they naturally sought to extend them, and often succeeded in so doing; while, on the other hand, they were considerably abridged by the more powerful and arbitrary counts, particularly those of the house of Burgundy. The most essential, however, that of levying taxes, none of the sovereigns of Holland before Philip II of Spain ever ventured to dispute; and the old feudal principle, that the nation could not be taxed without its own consent, wholly abandoned in France, and evaded in England by the practice of extorting benevolences, was in Holland, except in some rare and single instances, constantly and firmly adhered to.[1] The counts, on all occasions of extraordinary expense, were obliged to apply for funds to the assembly of the states, and these applications were called "petitions" (*beden*), a word in itself denoting that the subsidy was asked as a favour, not claimed as a right. If the "petition" of the count were granted by the estates, a certain portion of the sum required was adjudged to each town, and to the open country (which

[1] The imposts levied by the nobles on their domains are to be considered rather in the light of lords' rents than taxes, since the lands of the vassals were supposed to belong to the lords, and they were not levied on such as held their lands by military service; but as they were unlimited in amount, and almost every article of raw produce was liable to them, they were the cause of grievous oppression.

in this respect was represented by the deputies of the nobility), and raised by an assessment on houses (*schildtal*), and a land-tax (*morgental*). This tax was levied in the towns, not by any receiver or officer on the part of the count, but by the senate, which was answerable for the payment of the quotas that the towns had bound themselves to furnish: the custom of levying the taxes on the county in general was first introduced under the government of the house of Burgundy.

The authority of the count, however, was not so limited as it would at first appear. His ordinary revenues were so ample as to preclude the necessity of making petitions to the states, except in cases of unusual expenditure; in addition to extensive private domains, and the profits of reliefs and of the fiefs which escheated to him as lord, he was entitled to the eleventh part of the produce of the land in West Friesland; and he had moreover the right of levying tolls on ships passing up and down the rivers; and customs upon all foreign wares imported into the country. Besides these sources of revenue, he received considerable sums for such privileges as he granted to the towns; which were also accustomed to give gratuities when he was summoned to the court of the emperor; when his son, or brother, was made a knight; and upon the marriage of himself, his son, brother, sister, or daughter.

The important right also possessed by the towns of rejecting any measure proposed in the estates, by a single dissentient voice, was considerably modified in practice, in consequence of the influence which the count obtained over them by granting or withholding privileges at his pleasure. He likewise exercised, on many occasions, the power of changing the governments of the towns, out of the due course, but this was always considered as an act of arbitrary violence on his part, and seldom failed to excite vehement remonstrance, as well from the estates as from the town which suffered it.

Thus the constitution of Holland was, as we may gather from the preceding observations, rather aristocratic than republican, being exempt indeed from the slightest leaven of democracy in any of its institutions. Nevertheless, it was in many respects essentially popular in its spirit: although the government of the towns was lodged in the hands of but few individuals, yet as they were generally men engaged in manufactures and commerce, or (in later times) gentry closely connected with them, their wants, interests, and prejudices were identified with those of the people whom they governed; while the short duration of their authority prevented the growth of any exclusive spirit amongst them.

Special regulations also were adopted in every town, by which no two members of the government could be within a certain degree of relationship to each other; thus preventing the whole authority from being absorbed by one or more wealthy and powerful families, as was the case in the Italian republics, especially those of Florence and Genoa. The guilds, although they possessed no share in the administration of affairs, yet exercised considerable influence in the towns, from their numbers and wealth; the members also, being all armed and organised for the public defence, were equally ready to assemble at a moment's notice for the purpose of obtaining the removal of any grievance, or the redress of any injury which they might conceive themselves, or the inhabitants in general, to have sustained.

The fundamental principles of the government, as recognised by the best authorities, were these: that the sovereign shall not marry without the consent of the states; that the public offices of the county shall be conferred on natives only; the estates have a right to assemble when and where they judge expedient, without permission from the count; it is not lawful for the count

to undertake any war, whether offensive or defensive, without the consent of the estates; all decrees and edicts shall be published in the Dutch language; the count shall neither coin nor change the value of money, without the advice of the estates; he shall not alienate any part of his dominions; the estates shall not be summoned out of the limits of the county; the count shall demand "petitions" of the estates in person, and not by deputy, nor shall he exact payment of any greater sum than is granted by the states; no jurisdiction shall be exercised except by the regular magistrates; the ancient customs and laws of the state are sacred, and if the count make any decree contrary to them, no man shall be bound to obey it.

It is not meant to be affirmed that these principles were always adhered to; on the contrary, they were frequently violated; and under the powerful princes of the house of Burgundy, almost wholly neglected; but the Dutch constantly looked to them as the sheet-anchor of their political existence, and seldom failed to recur to and enforce them whenever an opportunity offered itself for so doing.

FLORIS V (1256–1296)

Floris V was born during the time that the emperor, his father, was besieging Charles of Anjou in Valenciennes, and was consequently scarcely two years old at the time of his father's death; he was, nevertheless, immediately acknowledged by the nobles, and the government of the county, during his minority, was confided to his uncle Floris. Equally inclined with his brother to favour the increase and advancement of the towns, the governor granted charters of privileges to nearly all those of Zealand which did not yet enjoy them. He likewise concluded the treaty of peace with Flanders, begun in the last year: it was agreed that the counts of Holland should continue to hold the five islands as a fief of Flanders; that the count of Flanders should receive ten thousand pounds (Flemish) from Holland; and that either Floris, or the young count, when he came of age, should marry Beatrice, daughter of Guy de Dampierre: Guy, and his brother John, were released from their imprisonment upon payment of heavy ransoms. The county did not long enjoy the pacific government of Floris the Elder, since he was killed in a tournament at Antwerp, little more than two years after his accession. Upon his death, in 1258, Adelaide, countess-dowager of Hainault, the widow of John of Avennes, assumed the guardianship of the young count, and the administration of affairs, under the title of Governess of Holland; but the nobles, disdaining to submit to female rule, invited Otto of Gelderland, cousin of Adelaide, to undertake the government of the county.

During the administration of Otto, a dangerous revolt broke out among the people of Kennemerland, who, uniting with those of Friesland and Waterland, declared their determination to expel all the nobles from the country, and raze their castles to the ground.[1] They first took possession of Amsterdam, the lord of which, Gilbert van Amstel, either unable to make resistance against the insurgents, or desirous of employing them to avenge a private quarrel he had with the bishop of Utrecht, consented to become their leader and immediately conducted them to the siege of that city.

A parley ensued, when one of the Kennemerlanders vehemently exhorted the besieged to banish all the nobles from Utrecht, and divide their wealth among the poor. Fired by his oration, the people quitted the walls, seized

[1 This was a genuine peasant insurrection, and according to Beka[d] the leaders had an ambition to form a popular democracy, a "vulgaris communitas."]

upon the magistrates, whom they forced to resign their offices, drove them, with all the nobles, out of the town, and admitting the besiegers within the gates made a league of eternal amity with them. After remaining a short time at Utrecht, the insurgents laid siege to Haarlem, but a considerable number were slain, and the remainder dispersed. Utrecht shortly after submitted to the authority of the bishop. The cause of this insurrection appears to have been the extortion practised upon the people by the nobles, most of whom, as we have observed, exercised the right of levying taxes in their own domains.

On the death of the count of Gelderland (1271), Floris being then seventeen, took the conduct of affairs into his own hands, and about the same time completed his marriage with Beatrice of Flanders, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1256. Early in the next year he made preparations for an expedition into West Friesland, for the purpose of avenging his father's death. He carried on the war for years, with varying success. In 1282 he effected a landing at Wydenesse: the Frieslanders were totally defeated.

The trade carried on by the Hollanders with England was now become highly valuable to both nations; the former giving a high price for the English wools for their cloth manufactures, while they procured thence (chiefly, perhaps, from Cornwall) their silver for the purpose of coinage.

Marriage was agreed upon between John, the count's infant son, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, of England. The friendship cemented by this alliance was highly advantageous to the commerce of Holland: the staple of English wool was fixed at Dordrecht,[1] a town of extensive trade in wines, grain, salt, iron, wood, and cloths; and the subjects of the count were permitted to fish, without restriction, on the English coast at Yarmouth. This is the first grant we find of a privilege, which the Dutch continued to enjoy, with little interruption, until the time of Cromwell.

The Great Flood

After the departure of the army of Holland from West Friesland, the inhabitants renewed their hostilities, and made several unsuccessful attacks upon a fort which the count had built at Wydenesse; but a dreadful storm, which this year laid the whole of the country on both sides the Zuyder Zee entirely under water,[2] proved the means of enabling Count Floris to effect their complete subjugation. The floods rose to such a height that every part of the province was accessible to a numerous fleet of small vessels called cogs, well manned, and placed under the command of Dirk, lord of Brederode; the inhabitants of the several towns, being unprovided with a sufficient number of boats to oppose those of the count, found their communication with each other wholly cut off; and thus reduced to a state of blockade, and unable to render the slightest mutual assistance, they severally acknowledged the authority of Count Floris.

Count Floris undertook a journey to England, for the purpose of advancing his pretensions to the throne of Scotland, vacant by the death of Margaret, commonly called the Maid of Norway, grand-daughter and heiress of Alexander III. Floris was descended in a direct line from Ada, daughter of Henry, eldest son of David I, king of Scotland, who married, in the year 1162, Floris III, count of Holland. On this ground he appeared, in 1291, among

[1] The chronicler Melis Stoke[b] observes that "this did not last long, for it was an English Contract."

[2] The flood overwhelmed fifteen islands in Zealand, and destroyed fifteen thousand persons.

the numerous competitors for the crown, who, at the conferences held at Norham, submitted their claims to Edward I of England; and, however remote his pretensions, the native historians inform us that his renunciation of them was purchased by the successful candidate with a considerable sum of money, and the contemporary chronicler, Melis Stoke,[b] reprobates, in no very measured terms the advice that persuaded him thus, like another Esau, to sell his birthright.

The amity between the two courts was in a very few years broken, on the occasion of a war between Holland and Flanders. Guy made a sudden irruption into the island of South Beveland in 1295. Floris solicited in vain succours from the king of England, who evaded his request under various pretexts, and whose interests now prompted him to court the alliance of Guy of Flanders, in preference to that of Holland. He proposed a marriage between his eldest son and Philippa, daughter of Count Guy; bestowed on him the sum of 300,000 livres in payment of the auxiliaries he should furnish during the war, and removed the staple of English wool from Dordrecht to Bruges and Mechlin, to the great detriment of the trade and manufactures of Holland.

Finding that Edward had thus made a league with his enemy, Floris determined to accept the offers of friendship made him by Philip of France.

THE KIDNAPPING OF FLORIS

The news of the alliance between Holland and France excited to a high degree the wrath of the king of England: he wrote to the emperor, complaining of the ingratitude of his vassal, the count of Holland, and declared that he would detain John, his son, in prison, unless the alliance were immediately dissolved; and it is supposed that at this time he first formed the design of seizing the person of Floris and conveying him to imprisonment, either in England or Flanders — a scheme which he was not long in finding instruments able and willing to execute, though the event was probably more fatal than he had anticipated.

Besides the causes of dissatisfaction which were common to the whole body of nobles, the count had aroused in the breasts of many individuals among them feelings of personal hatred and revenge. Gerard van Velsen first imparted to Hermann van Woerden a design of seizing the count's person, and placing him in confinement. Several other nobles readily entered into the conspiracy, the lord of Cuyck promising them the support and assistance of the duke of Brabant, the count of Flanders, and the king of England. Since the strong attachment of the citizens and people towards their count rendered the execution of any treasonable enterprise difficult and even dangerous in Holland, the conspirators waited until Floris should go to Utrecht, where he had appointed to be on a certain day in June, 1296, to make a reconciliation between the lords of Amstel and Woerden, and the relatives of the lord of Zuylen, whom they had slain. After the reconciliation, Floris, unsuspicious of evil, gave a magnificent entertainment, at which all the conspirators were present, Amstel early the next morning, inviting the count to accompany himself and the other nobles on a hawking excursion. Floris, before his departure, asked Amstel to drink a stirrup-cup to St. Gertrude. The traitor took the cup from his master's hand, saying, "God protect you; I will ride forward," and draining its contents, galloped off. Fearful of losing any part of the sport, the count quickly followed, leaving behind all his attendants, except a couple of pages. About two miles distant from

Utrecht, he was surrounded by Amstel, Woerden, Velsen, and several others, whom he greeted in a friendly manner. Woerden then seized the bridle of his horse, saying to him, "My master, your high flights are ended — you shall drive us no longer — you are now our prisoner, whether you will or no." He attempted to draw his sword, but was prevented by Velsen, who threatened "to cleave his head in two," if he made the least movement. One of the pages, attempting to defend his master, received a severe wound, but was able to escape with the other to Utrecht.

No sooner had the rumour of the count's imprisonment been noised abroad than the West Frieslanders rose in a body, and uniting themselves to the people of Kennemerland and Waterland speedily manned a number of vessels, and presented themselves before Muyden. But as they were without a leader, and had neither ammunition nor materials for a siege, they were unable to effect the release of their sovereign, and could only prevent his being carried to England. Finding this scheme, therefore, impracticable, the conspirators determined upon conveying him by land to Brabant or Flanders; gagged and disguised, with his feet and hands bound, and mounted on a sorry horse, they conducted their unhappy prisoner, on the fifth day of his confinement, towards Naarden. Hardly had they advanced half way to Naarden, when Velsen, who rode forward to reconnoitre, encountered a large body of the inhabitants of that city. The nobles, unable to resist so numerous a force, attempted to avoid them by flight; but in leaping a ditch, the count's feeble horse fell with his rider into the mire, and finding it impossible to extricate him before the arrival of his deliverers, who were close behind, they murdered their helpless victim with more than twenty wounds.

The personal character of Floris, as well as the state of affairs in the county, rendered his death a cause of deep lamentation to the Hollanders.[1] Just, liberal, and magnanimous, he was a firm and constant protector of his people against the oppression of the nobles.

Of the conspirators, Woerden and Amstel fled their country, and died in exile; van Velsen was tried at Dordrecht, severely tortured, and, together with William van Zoenden, one of his accomplices, broken on the wheel.

The aristocratic power in Holland never afterwards recovered the shock it underwent on this occasion; besides those of the nobles who were openly convicted of a share in the assassination of Count Floris, many others were suspected of a secret participation in this crime, and the contempt and detestation they incurred extended in some degree to the whole body of the nobility, whose moral influence was thus nearly annihilated, while its actual strength was enfeebled by the death or banishment of many of its most powerful members. This occurred, too, at a juncture when the towns, favoured by the privileges which Floris and his immediate predecessors had bestowed on them, and increasing in wealth and importance, were enabled to secure that political influence in the state which the nobles daily lost, and which, in other countries, was obtained by the sovereign, on the decay of the feudal aristocracy.

The condition in which the death of Floris V left Holland was deplorable in the extreme — engaged in hostilities with Flanders, her nobility discontented and rebellious, her people alarmed and suspicious, and her young

[1 Holland's greatest poet, Vondel, whose Lucifer is often spoken of as the inspiration of Milton's "Paradise Lost," opened the first public theatre in Amsterdam with a tragedy on this subject, called "*Gijsbrecht van Amstel.*" The abduction and death of Count Floris is a favourite subject of Dutch legend and art, and according to Blok[c] "no event of those barbarous centuries is better known to the Dutch people."]

prince John, a minor, in the hands of the English monarch, who had given but too many proofs of his unscrupulous ambition, while to these difficulties was added that of a divided regency. Although John of Avennes was next of kin to the young count, yet Louis of Cleves, count of Hulkerode, related in a more distant degree, assumed to himself the administration of affairs, his supporters being principally found among the friends of those who had conspired against Count Floris. Upon the arrival of John of Avennes in Holland, Louis of Cleves was forced to retire into his own territory. The enemies of Holland were not backward in taking advantage of the embarrassments she was now labouring under.

JOHN I, THE LAST OF THE COUNTS (1296–1299)

At the instigation of the bishop of Utrecht, and relying on his promises of assistance, the West Frieslanders once more took up arms, mastered and destroyed all the castles Count Floris had built, except Medemblik, which they blockaded.

Meanwhile, the king of England, anxious to secure an influence in the court of his intended son-in-law, sent ambassadors to Holland, requiring the attendance of three nobles out of each of the provinces, and two deputies from each of the "good towns,"[1] at the marriage of the count John with the princess Elizabeth, and at the confirmation of the treaty. The marriage was celebrated with great splendour, and the ambassadors, laden with rich presents, returned with the young bride and bridegroom in a well-equipped fleet to Holland. The conditions imposed by Edward in the treaty made on this occasion rendered the young count little more than a nominal sovereign in his own states; he was obliged to appoint two Englishmen, Ferrers and Havering, members of his privy council, and to engage that he would do nothing contrary to their advice, or without the consent of his father-in-law. The disputes between Flanders and Brabant on the one side, and Holland on the other, were to be referred to the mediation of Edward. On the return of John of Avennes from the war in Friesland, he found that the count John had landed in Zealand, and knowing he had nothing but hostility to expect from Wolfart van Borselen, who had obtained possession of the young prince's person, and was devoted to the interests of England and Flanders, he deemed it advisable to retire without delay into Hainault. His departure left Borselen without a rival, and he immediately assumed the title of governor of Holland, and guardian of the minor.

The Frieslanders still refusing to acknowledge John as the son of Count Floris [an idea to which the fact of his long residence in England had given rise], the first step of Borselen was to march with the young count into that province, at the head of an army. With so powerful a force, it was a matter of no great difficulty to subdue the West Frieslanders, and it was done so effectually that this was the last time the counts of Holland were obliged to carry war into their country.

His successes so increased the influence of Wolfart van Borselen that his authority in the state became almost absolute. He thought fit to venture upon the hazardous measure of debasing the coin, a stretch of power which the Dutch, a nation depending for their existence upon trade and commerce,

[1] This is the first time we observe the towns participating in political affairs: it coincides nearly with the summoning of borough members to parliament in England (1295) and the assembly of the states in France (1302).

have never been able to endure, even from their most arbitrary sovereigns. The murmurs of the citizens then became loud and general; and the popular hatred appeared already to threaten the ruin of the court favourite, when a quarrel in which he involved himself with the town of Dordrecht, concerning its immunities, brought matters to a crisis. Four *hoofdmannen*, or captains of burgher guards, were appointed, and letters despatched by the senate to all the "good towns" of Holland and Zealand, intreating them to consider the cause of Dordrecht as their common cause. Their preparations were not made in vain, as no long time elapsed before the town was invested.

Borselen determined to raise a general levy both in Holland and Zealand against the Dordrechters: but being unable to carry his purpose into effect, from the discontents which had spread over the whole county, deemed himself no longer safe at the Hague, and, leaving the court by night, carried the young count with all expedition to Schiedam, whence he took ship to Zealand (1299).

On the discovery of the abduction of Count John, the court and village of the Hague were in uproar; numbers hurried to Vlaardingen, where, finding that the ship in which Borselen had sailed lay becalmed, they manned all the boats in the port with stout rowers, and quickly reached the count's vessel, whom they found very willing to return with them. Borselen was conducted a prisoner to Delft. Hardly had the populace there heard of his arrest when they assembled before the doors of the gaol, demanding with loud cries that "the traitor" should be delivered up to them. Those within, struck with terror, thrust him, stripped of his armour, out at the door, when he was massacred in an instant.

As John was still too young to conduct the business of government alone, he invited to his assistance his cousin, John of Avennes, and appointed him guardian over himself and the county for the space of four years. The death of Borselen, and the accession of John of Avennes to the government, entirely deprived the English party of their influence in Holland, since Avennes had been constantly attached, both from inclination and policy, to the interest of the French court. Soon after, determined on entering into a close alliance with France, he set out on a journey to that court, leaving Count John at Haarlem, sick of the ague and flux, which terminated his existence on the 10th of November, 1299. Suspicions of poison were soon afloat, and Avennes has been accused of this crime; but as the charge is flatly denied by Melis Stoke,[h] and the nature of John's disease is expressly stated by another contemporary and credible historian, Wilhelm Procurator,[i] its being adopted by Meyer,[j] a Flemish author writing two centuries later, is hardly sufficient to affix so deep a stain on the character of John of Avennes. As Count John died without children, the county was transferred, by the succession of John of Avennes, the nearest heir, to the family of Hainault. Thus ended this noble and heroic race of princes, having now governed the county for a period of four hundred years; of whom it may be remarked, that not one has been handed down to us by historians as weak, vicious, or debauched.[k]

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF BELGIUM AND FLANDERS

[51 B.C.–1384 A.D.]

THÉODORE JUSTE ON BELGIUM'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Placed in the central part of Europe between nations which have long disputed with one another for supremacy, Belgium has endured varying fortunes. In remote times she was extolled by Cæsar[b] and Tacitus[c] as the seat of force and courage; she was the home of the Carlovingians, after having been the cradle of the descendants of Merovæus; she reigned in Jerusalem when Godfrey de Bouillon had opened to Christianity the gates of the holy city; she reigned in Constantinople when Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault donned the diadem of the Cæsars at St. Sophia; she equalled — perhaps, according to the testimony of Dante and Petrarch, she even eclipsed — Italy herself by the opulence and the indomitable energy of her communes; she was the home of western civilisation which shone resplendent in the cities of Flanders when the neighbouring countries were scarcely emerging from the darkness of barbarism; she was the rampart of popular liberties throughout the Middle Ages; she afterwards became the rival of the French monarchy under the last dukes of Burgundy.

All this greatness did not last. After having placed the imperial crown on the head of Charles V, and consolidated with the blood of her warriors the preponderance of the Spanish monarchy, Belgium felt the wounds of foreign dominion. Then she lost her wealth, her commerce, her industry, even her vigour, in that long revolution which brought forth the republic of the United Provinces, heiress of the force, the opulence, the prestige of the southern Netherlands.

Belgium seemed destined to expiate, if we may so express it, the prodigious elevation of the Austro-Spanish house whose cradle she had been. She had feared and hated Philip II; she despised the incapacity of his successors, who, not content with sacrificing her to the political and commercial exigencies of the United Provinces, handed over entire provinces to France. All the efforts of Louis XIV were directed against the existence of Spanish Belgium, which, situated a few marches from Paris, seemed to him an indispensable and easy acquisition. But Europe placed herself between him and these provinces, that she might dispute with him for the fragments.

Belgium, without a national dynasty, was thus the principal cause, the determining cause, of the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, marked by so many upheavals, so many catastrophes. During a hundred and fifty years the armies of most of the nations of Europe came to fight in the plains of Belgium, to besiege her towns, to devastate her country districts; thousands of men perished on this everlastingly disputed soil: the gravestones of Walcourt, Fleurus, Seneffe, Rocoux, Neerwinden, Ramillies, Malplaquet, Lawfeld, Fontenoy are the monuments of these sanguinary struggles.

France, whose finances the genius of Colbert had tripled, exhausted herself in order to extend her frontiers to the Rhine and the mouth of the Schelde. The republic of the United Provinces, England, Germany, in like manner exhausted themselves to prevent this aggrandisement which would have destroyed the equilibrium of Europe, and surrounded with constant perils the states bordering on the Belgian provinces. Victorious, the adversaries of Louis XIV came to an understanding in 1715 in order to secure the success of a scheme which made of the Belgian provinces, now handed over to the German branch of the house of Austria, the barrier of the United Provinces and the *tête-de-pont* of the English on the continent. But, if the Barrier Treaty was a check to French ambition, the Belgians could not consider as a reparation the act which subordinated them to the Dutch republic and which legalised the abuse of force. In fact, far from restoring the territory which had been torn from them, Europe recognised the successive dismemberments effected since 1648. The country was obliged to resign itself, for it was powerless.

All these disasters had annihilated the ancient power of Belgium but had not destroyed the inalienable sentiment of nationality which was religiously transmitted from generation to generation, even when ten different flags floated on the walls of her conquered cities.

Regarded without prejudice and in its true aspect, the history of the Belgians presents a rare and imposing spectacle. Here it is not absolute monarchy which raises itself on the ruins of other powers and constantly absorbs the attention of posterity; on the contrary, we see the nation acting. Preserving the full enjoyment of provincial and municipal life, the nation really figures on the scene: it is the nation which we follow through the centuries, triumphant or vanquished, free or oppressed, but bearing all vicissitudes to preserve its original and distinctive character. From the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire down to the fifteenth century, the various Belgian provinces were in the possession of different dynasties. Yet, in default of political unity, there was between them community of origin, of manners, of religious ideas, of patriotism. Belgium did not so far degenerate as to lose herself in the foreign dominion. She kept her fundamental laws, her usages, her traditions, her manners: she remained Belgian.[d]

PRIMITIVE HISTORY

It would be neither possible nor desirable here to take up in detail the history of the various provinces and factions that make up the early Netherlands. From the tangle of town and family wars, the extraction of the single threads entire would be an endless task. To each family or town its own career was intensely important, and many of the events are picturesque enough to be of general interest, but their value in the world-chronicles is of the slightest.

It is well, however, before proceeding with the account of the Netherlands as a whole, to give some account of the principal divisions in order that the unities may be the better understood when the final separation of Belgium from Holland is accomplished. Of the land and the original peoples, mention has already been made in the introduction by Motley, but a brief account of the Roman influence in Belgium proper will not be amiss.[a]

Under the Romans

Belgium, as we have said, was the cradle of both the Merovingian and Carlovingian dynasties, and it was in this country also that the Frank nation prepared itself to carry out its brilliant destiny. The northern extremity of Gaul, which corresponds to modern Belgium and the Netherlands, was never conquered by the Barbarians as was the Celtic or Roman portion of the land — it is rather from here that conquerors set out. The original Belgians belonged to the great Germanic family, like all the Franks, and they took, in the exploits and settlements of the race in foreign lands, a part as large as it was glorious. It is true that the oldest inhabitants of Belgium were Celts, but history also teaches us that the Germans had invaded that part of Gaul and expelled the Celts long before Cæsar's time. The people found there at the time of the Roman conquest were all Germans; Cæsar[b] himself affirms this.

When the Romans organised the administration of the southern portion of Gaul, they divided it into provinces. Under Augustus the Treviri, Nervii, and Menapii found themselves the sole occupants of the province of Belgium. Later, under Diocletian or Constantine, the province of Belgium created by Augustus was divided into the First and Second Belgic Provinces, and at the same time Upper and Lower Germany became the First and Second German Provinces. No portion of modern Belgium entered into the composition of the First Germanic Province, whose capital was Mainz, but to the Second belonged the territory of the Toxandri and Tungri. Cologne was its metropolis and Tongres its second largest town.

The Romans occupied Belgium for several centuries and founded numerous establishments, military colonies, and permanent camps, of which a small number developed into towns.

It is in the land of the Treviri, comprising a large portion of modern Luxemburg, that one finds the most remains of Roman occupation. Treves (Colonia Augusta Trevirorum) a military colony in the beginning, became one of the principal cities of the empire. We know it was the residence of the prefect of Gaul and that several emperors, among them Constantine, held court there. There were at Treves a famous school of literature, a mint, several manufactories of arms and cloth, and a workshop where women made military equipments. Ammianus Marcellinus,[c] citing Cologne and Tongres as the two cities of the Second Germanic Province, says that they were large and populous. But civilisation was able to exercise its influence only in the large centres of population, such as Treves, Bavay, Tongres, Cologne, and perhaps among the inhabitants of the east and south, neighbours of the stations and fortified posts. "Elsewhere," says Schayes,[d] "in the north, centre, and west of Belgium, the manners, customs, language, and religions of the natives underwent little or no modification during the whole period of Roman dominion."

Christianity seems to have had considerable vogue in Treves, but was not introduced until later into the more or less romanised towns and villages. We know positively that there was a bishop at Tongres in the middle of the fourth century. But the Christian establishments disappeared entirely from the country immediately after the expulsion of the Romans.

It was both at Treves and on the banks of the Moselle that the Latin language made most progress; the Romans imposed their tongue upon the conquered nations as they imposed the yoke of their dominion. It is somewhat astonishing, after this, that the dwellers on the banks of the Moselle should not have adopted, like those of the Maas, a Roman dialect. Perhaps also the use of the Roman-Walloon in some provinces of Belgium does not date from the time of Roman dominion but from that when Christianity returned to the land after the conversion of the Franks and the establishment of religious houses whose inmates spoke a rustic Latin.[g]

Under the Franks and the Dukes

"Dark is the fate of Western Europe, of the Netherlands especially, in the century of misfortune in which Rome finally ceased to be mistress of the West," says Blok.[h] The Franks were ruthless conquerors, and the history of the Netherlands is for hundreds of years the story of the rise of their empire to the glory of a Charlemagne and the weakness of its quick disintegration in 843. The realm to which Lothair II succeeded was called Lotharingia, whence Lorraine — the mediæval name for the Low Countries except Flanders, which fell to Charles the Bald and suffered heavily from the Norse invasions.

The division into duchies, counties, and free cities was complex. Among the chief were the duchies, Brabant, Limburg, and Luxemburg; and the counties, Flanders, Hainault, and Namur. Liège was a bishopric. Hainault is described in the next chapter.

BRABANT

Brabant, once second to Flanders in importance and long honourable in the history of the arts, is now divided between Belgium and Holland; its first count was Godfrey the Bearded. His great-grandson, Henry I the Warrior (1190–1235), took the title of duke. At the important battle of Woeringen June 5th, 1288, the duke John I defeated an alliance of the archbishop of Cologne with the counts of Luxemburg, and Gelderland; he killed Henry of Luxemburg with his own sword and permanently added Limburg to Brabant. John II enlarged his people's privileges by a grant of the Charter of Cortemberg[1] and the Statute of the Common Weal. John III provoked

[1] The charter of Cortemberg, granted by John II on the 27th of September, 1312, acquaints us with the concessions by which the duke paid for the services of his subjects. It institutes a life-council of forty persons, recruited from amongst the nobility and the towns and whose mission it was to see that the privileges and customs of the duchy were observed. This council was to assemble every three weeks and its decisions were to be sovereign. If the duke

a rebellion in which Brussels and Louvain had allies, but he crushed the uprising (1340). After his death the count of Flanders claimed Brabant, but was appeased by the gift of Antwerp. In 1404, however, all Brabant went over to Flanders. In 1430 it belonged to Burgundy, and from 1440 was ruled by the Austrian House. Brabant enjoyed a constitution known as the *Blyde Inkomet* or *La Joyeuse Entrée* — that is, "the Joyous Entrance" — because it was granted by John III in 1356 at the time when his daughter Joanna married Wenzel of Luxemburg and the two entered Brussels in state as prince and princess. It was this Joanna who, after Wenzel's death in 1383, found support from Burgundy in resisting the demands of the cities. In 1389 duchess Joanna mortgaged certain of these cities to Philip of Burgundy. The next year she revoked the deed which gave Brabant to Luxemburg and made the duke and duchess of Burgundy her heirs. This deed was of the utmost importance to the destiny of the whole Netherlands.

LUXEMBURG AND LIÈGE

Luxemburg was originally called Ardenne, but the chief city gradually displaced the name of the county. It became a duchy in 1354 and kept its independence till 1451, when Philip of Burgundy seized it. It later fell into the hands of Austria; from 1659 its cities were frequently under French sway. Its possession was matter for frequent dispute as late as the nineteenth century, when a large part of it was incorporated in the Belgian kingdom, the rest being established as a neutral grand duchy under the protection of the crown of Holland.

Liège was chosen in 720 as the seat of the bishops of Tongres. In the tenth century it became the bishopric of Liège. Four centuries later, its bishops were made princes of the empire. They were usually despotic and the citizens were frequently wrought to bloody revolt, obtaining a substantial recognition of their rights only after a bitter civil war ended in June, 1315, by the Peace of Fexhe, a treaty of the greatest importance in the history of human liberties, and long taken as a model for the abridgement of the power of rulers and the precise limitations of all public functions and functionaries.[1]

FLANDERS: ITS EARLY HISTORY

Flanders, to-day, has lost its national identity and simply makes up two of the provinces of the minor kingdom of Belgium. But for centuries it was in the very forefront of European politics and commerce, far overshadowing the England of that day, and rivalling France and the empire. Compared with Ghent, London was a third-rate town. England was then merely an agricultural district of small population, furnishing raw material for the great industries of the Flemings, whose trade was the envy of the world, whose rich men and women provoked the jealousy of kings and queens, and whose art, music, and letters glittered over the whole continent.

refused to observe them the country was absolved from all obedience to him so long as he persisted in this resistance. The charter of Cortemberg strongly resembles the Peace of Fexhe, to which it is anterior by only four years. At the same time it is distinguished from it by numerous traits. In the first place it was not, like that peace, the consequence of civil war; it is a concession granted by a prince as the result of a contract, or, better, of a concordat. Its object is not to cut short a long quarrel on the exercise of sovereignty itself. It confines itself to simply stipulating the conditions of that exercise. — PIRENNE.[i]]

[[1] Pirenne[i] credits the equalitarian constitution of Liège to the absence of predominant trades, rather than to any special Walloon democratic sentiment "as alleged by some historians."]

[864–1168 A.D.]

Its old counts were wont to trace their line back to Priam of Troy; but the first ruler of certain character is Baldwin Forester, the Iron Arm, who eloped with a daughter of Charles the Bald, and was finally acknowledged by his father-in-law as governor of the countship of Flanders, from 864 A.D. to his death in 878. His son was Baldwin the Bald, who strove against the Normans, and married the daughter of Alfred the Great of England. His son Arnold (918–989) had difficulties with both the Normans and the emperor Otto I. In this reign the first weavers and fullers of Ghent were established. His son Baldwin IV, the Comely Beard, defeated both the king of France and the emperor Henry II, adding to his realm Valenciennes, Walcheren, and the islands of Zealand. His son, Baldwin V (1036–1067) the Debonair, was also a remarkable ruler. His daughter Matilda was the wife of William the Conqueror; his son married the countess of Hainault and brought it into the control of Flanders; while another son, Robert the Frisian, was by marriage the ruler of the countship of Holland and Friesland. But the sons quarrelled, and a long and bitter feud broke out. Robert II (1093–1119) was a crusader and earned the name of "the Lance and Sword of Christendom." His death and the death of his son Baldwin VII "with the Axe" ended the old line of Flemish counts in 1119.

The power fell to Charles the Good, of Denmark; he was the son of King Canute, who had married the daughter of Robert the Frisian. Charles was assassinated by the merchants, because he threw open all the granaries at Bruges during a famine in 1127, thus breaking their monopoly. The people rose in horror, besieged the wealthy conspirators in Bruges, and taking them at length, tortured them to death. Charles left no heir, and six claimants demanded the throne. In the words of Moke,[j] "this contest offers the most precious picture of the political condition of the country."

The king of France proposed for the throne, William of Normandy. The nobility elected him at once. The people were promised the abolition of certain taxes if they would consent. They did so, but William, after making most solemn promises, hastened to violate the independence of the bourgeois, whom his feudal training had unfitted him to understand. His exactions provoked risings in various cities, whose leaders chose for Count, Thierry or Theodoric of Alsace, the nearest relative of Charles the Good. After some fighting he was besieged in Alost, by William, who was, however, killed in a skirmish. Thierry was acknowledged in 1128 and was a liberal ruler as well as a crusader. His son's war with Floris III of Holland, whom he captured in 1157, has already been described, in the previous chapter. His rule is important in the history of Belgium on account of the development of the communes.[a]

In the words of Baron Kervijn van Lettenhove, "The era of communes begins July 27th, 1128, and ends November 27th, 1382. Nicaise Borluut opens it at the siege of Alost. Philip van Artevelde closes it on the battlefield of Roosebeke. This epoch, signalised by numerous triumphs and by efforts the most noble and persevering, is that wherein Flanders, marching by rapid strides along the path of social progress, presents to all the nations the inviolable refuge of industry and liberty."[k]

RISE OF THE BELGIAN COMMUNES

The first urban agglomerations were, in the full force of the term, colonies of tradesmen and artisans, and the municipal constitutions were elaborated in the midst of a population of immigrants, met from all quarters and stran-

gers to one another. But these immigrants, if they were the ancestors of the bourgeoisie, were not the oldest inhabitants of the towns. The colonies of traders, in fact, did not come into existence on a virgin soil. They everywhere grouped themselves at the foot of the walls of a monastery, a castle, or an episcopal residence (*civitas, castrum, municipium*). The new arrivals found, at the place where they had come to settle, an older population, composed of serfs, of *ministeriales*, or of clerics.

Thus two groups of men were everywhere to be found in presence of one another, but without interpenetrating. It was only very slowly that the fusion was accomplished and that the trading colony, increasing from year to year, becoming always richer, more exuberant, and more vigorous, finally absorbed all the foreign elements and imposed its law and institutions on the whole of the town. It took three hundred years to arrive at this. The evolution was accomplished only in the thirteenth century.

FLEMISH WARRIOR OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

(From an old statue)

The Roman municipality had not perished with the empire of the west; it was still to be found during the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh centuries in the cities of southern Gaul. But in Belgium, as in the other parts of northern Gaul, its influence scarcely made itself felt: here the communal privileges derived their origin from the ancient Germanic freedom combined with the *gild* or fraternal association of Scandinavia.

Under the empire of the Germanic institutions maintained by Charlemagne, the towns were subject to the power of the courts and governed as simple cantons. Now the freemen of the cantons had the right to join the courts in pronouncing judgments in criminal matters and decrees in affairs of civil and local interest. In 803 Charlemagne, desiring to regulate the exercise of this right which had become burdensome, organised the institution of the *scabini* (*schepenen* or sheriffs); they were to be chosen by courts and it required at least seven to pass a decree. After the triumph of feudalism the office of sheriff became in the country districts generally that of a simple official appointed by the seigneurs. In localities important by reason of their population and their wealth, this cantonal magistracy became the patrimony of the principal families, who preserved and extended their ancient jurisdiction; in the cities, notably in Brussels and Louvain, these privileged families took the generic name of *lignages*. This patrician and land-owning bourgeoisie, whose privilege was hereditarily transmitted, was a first step towards the commune.

The true commune, the glory of Belgium, was constituted during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the alliance of artisans, organised in guilds or fraternities, with the bourgeoisie properly so called.

There are, then, two periods in the history of the communes; the first witnessed the growth of a single class, the bourgeoisie proper; whilst in the course of the second a part of the power and the privilege became the conquest of the people. The lower classes would no longer content themselves with the sheriff's jurisdiction, which emanated from the privileged bourgeoisie. In order to defend their private rights they instituted a magistracy composed of *jurés* or *consaux*. In the towns where German or Flemish was spoken the two chiefs of the *jurés*, annually chosen by them, took the title of masters of the citizens or the city (*burgermeister*). The sheriff's jurisdiction, which belongs to the first period, offered civil guarantees; in the second

epoch (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries), the jurisdiction of the trades, combined with the civil jurisdiction, consecrated political rights.

In Belgium communal emancipation was less dramatic than in France, although more fruitful in its results. Since the eleventh century charters of franchise, liberty, immunity, friendship, *bourgage*, and the like had paved the way for charters of commune or *poorteryen*, for towns "with laws" (*à lois*) or guilded (*gildæ*). There was, as a rule, no necessity for the towns of Flanders to have recourse to arms to win for themselves free sheriffs and the other privileges attached to the commune. For, far from following the example of the German emperors and the kings of France, the counts of Flanders favoured communal emancipation; not only did they know how to respect the acquired rights of their subjects, but, more than this, they spontaneously accorded liberties to the towns which were still without them.

In Flanders, the laws of each city, granted or confirmed by the count, were called *keuren*. It would, however, be a mistake to regard these *keuren* as being all charters of communes, or charters instituting communes. "The *keure*," says Warnkönig,[1] "proceeded both from the territorial seigneur and the inhabitants; thus that which formed the fundamental law of a town was the common work of the count and the sheriffs who represented it. In the early days it was generally granted by the seigneur and accepted tacitly, or even under oath, by the citizens. But, in imitation of the count, the sheriffs and town councillors also formed *keuren* for their subordinates, so that this name was soon extended to every police ordinance, every municipal decree."

Several precious and characteristic rights were connected with the commune. The inhabitants enrolled in the registers of the privileged town were authorised to form a confederation; and all engaged by an oath to defend their own interests as well as those of the prince. The members of the commune possessed a college of sheriffs with jurisdiction, a common treasury and a town hall, called in several localities the house of peace (*maison de paix*); besides this they might employ a special seal and own a belfry, a lofty tower enclosing a sonorous bell. The belfry of Ghent was erected in 1183; that of Tournay was begun in 1190, that of Bruges in 1291. It was by the sound of the belfry bell that the inhabitants were summoned to a deliberative assembly. Here decisions were made on all affairs outside the province of the administration; here also the accounts of the towns were discussed. As to the cities which had no belfry, they could only convoke the people by *hui et cri*, or to the sound of the horn or trumpet.

The towns also enjoyed certain financial privileges; amongst these must be distinguished the market right, either of a simple weekly market, which was held on a fixed day of the week, or of fairs, or annual markets, which lasted for one or several weeks and served foreign merchants as a meeting place; these fairs were generally held in vast buildings called guild halls (*Gild-hallen*). From the twelfth century the citizens of most of the communes were declared exempt from the judicial combat and the tests by fire.

In exchange for these privileges certain charges were laid on the *bourgeoisies;* but most of those obligations resembled those in force in our own day: such were the impositions known by the name of *tailles* or excise, military service, etc. As to the dues which owed their origin to the state of servitude, they had been for the most part suppressed in favour of the municipal communities; the humiliating prestations (such as the right of *mortemain*, or *meilleur cathel*) had become the portion of the rustics.[1]

[1] The *meilleur catheil, cathel,* or *catheu* was the most valuable piece of furniture. Custom, founded on servitude, accorded it to the seigneur on the death of each of his vassals.

From reasons of policy the counts of Flanders tolerated, favoured, and sanctioned the communal laws derived from the guild. Always obliged to keep a watchful eye on the French suzerainty or to combat it, they needed to keep in good humour not only the great property owners of the towns, but also the industrial class, whose importance daily increased. The concessions granted by Philip of Alsace have justly won for him the surname of the Legislator of Flanders. He abolished in several places the *main-morte* and the odious right of "half-have";[1] he also freed the still servile populations of Alost and Courtrai.

The cities which possessed no guarantee against the encroachments of power received *keuren* or statutes; those which already enjoyed some privileges obtained fresh ones. Orchies, Damme, Biervliet, Dunkirk, Nieuport, Hulst, and the castellany of Bruges, henceforth called the free (*le Franc*), were successively raised to the rank of municipalities. The privileges enjoyed by more ancient towns such as Ghent, Bruges, St. Omer, Oudenarde, Grammont, were either confirmed or extended. The town of Aire became a model commune; the charter of friendship (*Lex amicitiæ*), granted by Philip of Alsace in 1188, instituted a veritable evangelical community. This charter laid down that in the confederation called *l'amitié* there should always be twelve chosen judges, who were to engage by oath to make no distinction between a poor man and a rich one, between a noble and a villein, between a relative and a stranger. All the members of the confederacy promised to aid one another like brothers[2] in all that was useful and honest; if one committed any wrong against another by word or action the injured party would not take vengeance, by himself or through his followers,[3] but he would lodge a complaint and the culprit would repair the wrong according to the arbitration of the twelve elected judges.

The affranchisement of the towns and boroughs of Flanders continued during the thirteenth century. In 1281 Bruges received a new *keure* from Count Guy de Dampierre. Alost passed to the state of a commune in 1281, Douai in 1286, Valenciennes in 1291, Messines in 1293, Bailleul in 1295, Sluys in 1328, Roulers in 1377.[d]

FLANDERS *versus* FRANCE

Having thus sketched the methods in which town liberties were evolved, we may take up again the course of political events, where we left them — at the reign of Thierry.

Thierry died in 1168, leaving a son, Philip of Alsace, who was a notable warrior and also a crusader. He is known as Flanders' greatest lawgiver, and he increased the liberties of the people, especially of Alost and Courtrai. But he had no children, and his brother-in-law Baldwin of Hainault succeeded

[1] The *main-morte*, in the sense in which it was understood in the Middle Ages, was the state of vassals attached to the soil in perpetuity, and denied the power of disposing of their property. "Half-have" was a special right of servitude which accorded to the counts of Flanders on the death of each male serf three deniers and the half of all his movable property. For a female serf this right was only one denier. Even the nobles and freemen were subjected to this exaction; on their death two Flanders marks were paid to the count, who claimed, in addition, the half of their property.

[2] Not only were the members called "guild brothers," but the employee was called the "younger brother" (*jongere broeder*) of his employer. Blok[h] says that "the Flemish workmen of that time plainly enjoyed far better conditions than the Belgian workmen of to-day."]

[3] The reader is aware that the manners and customs of this period permitted every man to pursue his vengeance openly. Certain days of the week only were excepted, and this time of respite was called the Truce of God (*Treuga Dei*).

[1191–1294 A.D.]

in 1191. The French opposed him, and he was forced to yield various cities and a large part of Flanders to France. On his death in 1195 his son Baldwin IX became count, but later founded the Latin empire at Constantinople. His career and death in 1206 have been recounted in Volume VII, chapter 9. He left two young daughters at home and in his absence the government was given to his brother Philip. In 1214, at the famous battle of Bouvines, the French defeated the allied forces of England, the emperor, Holland, Brabant, and Flanders. In 1279, owing to the failure of heirs, Hainault passed to John of Avennes, son of Baldwin's daughter Margaret who had married Bosschaert of Avennes. Flanders passed to Guy de Dampierre, whose father Margaret had taken for her second husband after Bosschaert's death.[a]

During the two centuries which elapsed between the death of Godfrey de Bouillon [1100] and the battle of Woeringen [1288], the Belgian provinces had taken on practically the form and the character in which they were to continue. Flanders, stripped of her Gallican seigneuries (the county of Artois), found herself restored to her natural limits. Brabant, enlarged by the conquest of Limburg, ruled from the Schelde to the right bank of the Maas. The other states which had been built up from the débris of the ancient duchy of Lorraine had consolidated their independence and established their frontiers. Thus was the provincial formation accomplished.

But the internal organisation was far from evidencing the same stability, and the period to follow was to be signalised by the struggle of the commons against all other powers. Warnings of the imminence of the danger had been already sounded; it was in the fourteenth century that the storm burst in all its fury. The spectacle of this age is the most remarkable in Belgian history: all the great cities preparing one after another to struggle and to reign; the populace bursting the chains of country and breaking the yoke of law; fearful convulsions, ruthless wars, irreparable losses: but, as well, magnificent examples of energy and patriotism: of heroic efforts followed sometimes by glorious success — the very sufferings of the country revealing the grandeur of the national character.

Flanders was the principal theatre of the strife during this epoch. The rulers of this beautiful province had lost their power at Bouvines. Since that fatal day France, who held them in her grasp, made them feel all the weight of the humiliating conditions of the Treaty of Melun, and reduced them to an obscure vassalage.

Personal considerations seem to have dictated to Dampierre a timid and peaceful policy. Poor in the midst of riches, he never neglected an opportunity to levy contributions upon his communes. Yet the beginning of his reign had seemed happy enough: he had braved with impunity the emperors of Germany, in refusing them the homage for imperial Flanders; and he succeeded in establishing brilliantly some of his children — the duke of Brabant and the counts of Holland and Jülich [or Juliers] were his sons-in-law, and one of his sons occupied the bishopric of Liège. But, faithful to the hatred which reigned between his house and that of Avennes, he mortally offended the count of Hainault, his nephew, in supporting against him the revolted commune of Valenciennes (1292). Soon after this he won the dislike of the proud Philip the Fair — or rather he afforded a pretext for the latter's projects of spoliation — by engaging in marriage his daughter Philippine with the son of Edward I of England (1294). Upon his invitation, the count repaired with his daughter to the château of Corbeil, where the court of France was assembled. But he had scarcely arrived when with all his retinue he was arrested and carried off to the tower of the Louvre, where he was

kept in close captivity, the king accusing him of alliance with the enemies of France and holding him for judgment by his court of peers. It found him innocent; but upon liberating him the king refused to render up his daughter: she was retained as hostage, and some years after she succumbed, the victim of misfortune.

Guy de Dampierre was wise enough at first to hide his resentment; but when it was perceived that he was making preparations for war on pretext of defending the people of Valenciennes, who had ended by giving themselves up to him, a royal edict forbade the communes of Flanders to follow his banner (1296). In revenge, the count assembled all his allies at Grammont (December 25th); and to this rendezvous came Edward of England, the emperor Adolphus of Nassau, the archduke Albert of Austria, Duke John II of Brabant, the counts of Holland, Jülich, and Bar, who all united to march against France. Guy then sent to Philip the Fair to declare that he no longer recognised him as sovereign; the king on his side ordered the confiscation of Flanders (January, 1297).

The cities did not fancy being obliged to take up arms in Guy's quarrel. Already a septuagenarian, he was unable to lead his troops to battle, and he confided them to his eldest son, Robert of Béthune. The French king entered Flanders at the head of ten thousand cavalry and a numerous infantry. A number of Flemish gentlemen openly embraced "the party of the lilies"[1] as were denominated those who desired the king's domination. Moreover, the English monarch had arrived in Flanders with so small an army that he dared not remain in Bruges, whose inhabitants inclined towards France. Guy, now deserted by all his allies, consented finally to put himself at the king's mercy, together with his eldest sons, Robert and William, and fifty of his principal barons. Upon his arrival in Paris he and all his following were imprisoned by order of the inflexible monarch; and nothing that Charles, who had promised Guy his liberty, was able to do, sufficed to prevent his brother from breaking the promise given in his name.

Flanders was confiscated. Philip governed it through his officers, and in May, 1301, went to visit his conquest, accompanied by his wife, Joan of Navarre, who appeared offended at observing so much wealth among a commercial people. "I thought myself sole queen here," she remarked at Bruges, "but I find a thousand others round me." Everywhere the partisans of France received the sovereign with extravagant demonstrations of joy; but already the people began to feel that they no longer had a country, and to fear that they were destined to fall heir to the fate of "those French provinces whose inhabitants were treated as serfs." These bitter thoughts gave rise among the bourgeoisie of the large towns to a sombre attitude which developed shortly into direct menace. Discontent fermented; the reaction had begun: it burst forth at the first signal. A month after the king's departure defiance looked forth at Bruges.*l*

The "Bruges Matins" (1302)

At first thirty heads of trades waited on the French governor, Châtillon, and complained that payment was not made for the works ordered by the king. The great lord, accustomed to the rights of corvée and purveyance, considered remonstrance insolent, and had them arrested. The people took up arms, and rescued them, to the great dismay of the rich, who declared

[1 The Flemish called them the *Leliaerts*, and the popular or nationalist party opposed to them, the *Clauwaerts*.]

for the king's men. The affair was brought up before the parliament. Here was the parliament of Paris, sitting in judgment on Flanders, as just before it had done by the king of England.

The parliament decided that the heads of trades should go back to prison. Among these heads were two men beloved by the people, the deans of the butchers and of the weavers. The latter, Peter de Conync[1] was a poor and mean-looking man, small, and wanting an eye, but a man of capacity and a bold street orator. Inflaming the passions of the artisans by his eloquence, he hurried them out of Bruges, and made them massacre all the French in the neighbouring towns and castles. They then returned by night. Chains were stretched across the streets, "to prevent the French from running about the town"; each townsman undertook to steal the saddle and bridle of the horseman who lodged with him. On May 19, 1302, all the people began to beat their kettles; a butcher struck first, and the French were everywhere attacked and massacred.[2] The women were the most furiously active in flinging them out of the windows, or else they were taken to the shambles, where their throats were cut. The massacre lasted three days; twelve hundred cavaliers, and two thousand foot sergeants perished.*m*

At once the greater part of Flanders raised the old standard of the lion. Lille and Ghent, with several fortified castles, alone remained in foreign hands.

Leaders were not lacking among the people. Peter de Conync and John Breydel, head men of the weavers and butchers, had directed the revolt of the Brugeois. The army which they gathered counted nearly sixty thousand men.

Robert of Artois, brother-in-law to the king of France, marched against them with apparently superior forces. He had nearly an equal number of foot; and his cavalry, composed of the cream of the French nobility, counted not less than ten thousand combatants. Upon arriving at Lille he was joined by the knights of Brabant and Hainault, the former led by Godfrey of Brabant, uncle to their duke, the latter by John the Merciless, count of Hainault. He set out at once for Courtrai, burning and ravaging all in his path.

The two armies met on the 11th of July, 1302. The Flemings awaited the enemy on the plain of Groeninghe, east of Courtrai. About them stretched the marshy prairies, crossed by brooks; in their rear flowed the Lys, preventing retreat; but they were determined to conquer or to die. The arrival of a body of militia from Namur and of a troop from Ghent commanded by Simon Borluut had redoubled their confidence.*j*

The Battle of the Spurs (1302)

These artisans, who had hardly ever seen service in the open field, perhaps would have been glad to retreat, but the attempt would have been too hazardous in a great plain, and in presence of so large a body of cavalry. They waited, therefore, bravely, every man with his *goeden Tag* ("good day to you"), or iron-shod stake planted in the ground before him. Their motto was a fine one: *Scilt und Vriendt*, "shield and friend." They wished to take the communion together, and had mass read to them; but as they

[1 This name, like most Flemish names and indeed English and other names of this period, is variously spelt as Koenig, Koninck, Conync and Deconing.]

[2 The early morning massacre, resembling the "Sicilian Vespers" of the year 1282 in which the French garrison was similarly butchered, has been called the "Bruges Matins."]

could not all receive the host, each, according to Villani,[n] stooped down, picked up some earth and put it in his mouth. The knights who were with them, in order to encourage them, sent away their horses; and whilst they thus made infantry of themselves they made knights of the heads of the trades. All knew that they had no mercy to expect. It was told that Châtillon brought with him casks full of ropes to strangle them. The queen, it was said, had laid her injunctions on the French that when they were killing the Flemish pigs they should not forget the Flemish sows.[1]

The constable Raoul de Nesle proposed to turn the flank of the Flemings and cut them off from Courtrai, but the king's cousin, Robert of Artois, said rudely to him: "Are you afraid of these rabbits, or have you indeed some of their fur on you?" The constable, who had married a daughter of the count of Flanders, felt the insult, and answered proudly: "Sir, you will ride far ahead if you keep up with me!" So saying, he made a headlong charge followed by his knights, in the thick dust of a July day. Everyone followed him impetuously, each eager to be up with the front, and the hindmost pressing upon the foremost riders, who, when they came up near the Flemings, found in their way, what is to be found everywhere in a country so intersected by canals and ditches — a trench five fathoms wide. They fell into it in heaps, without the possibility of escaping up the sides, the trench being of the half-moon construction. The whole chivalry of France found its grave there, besides the chancellor [Peter Flotte], who, doubtless, had not reckoned on falling in such glorious company.

The Flemings killed the unhorsed cavaliers at their ease, leisurely selecting their victims in the trench. When the cuirasses resisted their blades, they despatched the knights with leaden or iron mallets. Among them there were numbers of working monks, who conscientiously wrought at this bloody job. One of these monks asserted that with his own hand he had killed forty cavaliers, and fourteen hundred foot soldiers; but it is plain he bragged too much. Four thousand gilt spurs (another account says seven hundred) were hung up in the cathedral of Courtrai, unlucky spoils that brought mischief on the town: eighty years afterwards, Charles VI saw these spurs and caused the inhabitants to be massacred.

This terrible defeat exterminated all the vanguard of France—that is to say, the majority of the great lords.[m] The total number of slain was estimated at 20,000.

Last Years of Guy's Reign

After the battle the French garrisons in the neighbouring towns were only too glad to capitulate. After a few small engagements a peace was concluded in the spring of the following year, to be immediately confirmed. The king even allowed the old count Guy de Dampierre to emerge from the fortress where he had been detained, in order that he might assist in the peace negotiations; but the old man, after passing several months among his sons, re-entered his prison rather than betray the interests of Flanders. The quarrel was to be settled by force of arms.

Never had the Flemings taken so determined a stand, and never had their hopes been more firmly fixed. Unfortunately the old hatred between the houses of Dampierre and Avennes was not yet assuaged, and this was yet to cause fresh disasters.

[1] *Vasa vinaria portare restibus plena, ut plebeios strangularet. Ut apros quidem, hoc est viros, hastis, sed sues verutis confoderent, infesta admodum mulieribus, quas sues vocabat, ob fastum illum femineum visum a se Brugis.* —MEYER.[o]

The account of the war between Holland and Flanders (in which the first Flemish triumphs provoked a general uprising of the Hollanders and ended in defeats for the Flemish on sea and land) will be found in the next chapter.[a]

At sea, on the 10th of August, 1304, Guy of Namur sustained a bloody defeat opposite Zieriksee. His fleet was destroyed, himself taken prisoner, and the coast left defenceless. Eight days later the land army gave battle to the French at Mons-en-Pévèle (between Douai and Orchies). It was commanded by Philip de Thiette (or Teano), a son of Guy de Dampierre. The enemy's cavalry, instead of accepting combat, attempted to wear out the Flemings by skirmishes, and succeeded in capturing the provision and baggage wagons. This accident forced the communes to quit the field of battle, and towards night the greater part left for Lille. William of Jülich had perished in this attack.

The king increased his forces and besieged Lille with a most formidable equipment. The terrified inhabitants promised to surrender, if help had not arrived, on the 1st of October; but, two days before, the reunited Flemings arrived before the place, and John of Namur, their leader, sent forth a defiance to the king. The whole country was in arms; the factories were closed, the cities deserted; and the troops had vowed to conquer or obtain an honourable peace. The king, spying upon their outposts, was struck with the number of their tents: "One would think," he exclaimed, "that it had been raining Flemings!" He charged the duke of Brabant and the count of Savoy to treat in his name with the leaders.

The Flemings demanded and obtained the restoration of all their former privileges, authority to fortify their cities, and the liberty of their prisoners; as well as the restitution of those portions of Flanders still occupied by the French. They consented to raise a fine of not more than 800,000 livres (the value of the currency had been considerably depreciated by Philip's alteration of the denominations), and to leave in the hands of the king until payment of that sum the cities of Lille and Douai (October 1st, 1304).

Thus the fatal war seemed to have ended; but the negotiations were prolonged during several months, and, before harmony was completely established, Guy de Dampierre died, a prisoner in the castle of Compiègne, March 7th, 1305.

ROBERT OF BÉTHUNE (1305–1328)

Robert of Béthune, eldest son of Guy de Dampierre, was still a prisoner in France when his father died, both having given themselves up to the king at the same time. Philip released him only after having obliged him to sign to new conditions, much more severe than those stipulated before Lille. These outrageous demands had for result the rekindling of the indignation of Flanders. The infuriated people even accused of treason the lords charged to negotiate with the king, and a part of the nobility came under the suspicion of the communes.[1] A temporary understanding concluded with France in 1309 was followed in 1315 by a fresh rupture; and Louis the Quarrelsome (*Hutin*), who had succeeded Philip the Fair, failed completely in an expedition directed towards Courtrai and Cassel.

Still the war dragged on; and the Flemings, whose successes brought no results, drifted into new discords. The citizens of Ghent ended by declaring in favour of peace, and refused to support the count. He was obliged, by

[1 Blok[b] says that the Flemish counts were from this time little more than the lieutenants of the French monarch, claiming his aid against their own cities.]

reason of this defection, to sign the treaty concluded at Paris in 1320. Lille, Douai, and Orchies remained in the hands of Philip the Tall (*le Long*), the reigning monarch, and his daughter was wedded to the grandson of the Flemish prince.

The end of Robert's reign presents a bloody and mysterious spectacle, which history has not yet succeeded in explaining. His eldest son, Louis of Nevers, it seems, nourished a profound resentment against the court of France, while the younger allowed himself to drift into its service. The latter accused his brother of a parricidal plot, and the unhappy Louis, dragged from one prison to another, ended by dying in exile at Paris in 1328. A few months after, the old count's flame flickered out; he had attained the age of eighty-two.

LOUIS OF NEVERS AT WAR WITH THE PEOPLE

The longevity of the later sovereigns of Flanders had singularly contributed to weaken the government. Guy de Dampierre had achieved the throne at an advanced age, and Robert of Béthune was sixty-four at his succession. Both were infirm old men before ceasing to reign, and the energy of the people was greater than that of the ruler. Out of this grew the rapid propagation in certain parts of the country of a spirit of local independence and an animosity towards the higher classes. Since the battle of Courtrai a number of the nobles had lived shut up in their castles, avoiding participation in public affairs; while the tradespeople and the craftsmen ruled the towns. Ghent almost alone possessed a powerful aristocracy, composed of patrician families, which, with the support of the wealthy middle class, kept the people within bounds. At Bruges, on the contrary, the ranks of the wealthy were swelled by artisans and the lesser bourgeoisie. The death of Robert of Béthune rendered an outburst inevitable.

His grandson, Louis of Nevers, or as he is often called Louis of Crécy, was only eighteen years old and had been brought up in France, where he possessed the counties of Nevers and Rhétel. Scarcely was he invested with the county by Philip the Tall, his father-in-law (who had begun by imprisoning him in the Louvre until he renounced all pretension to Lille and Douai), when he presented the lordship of the port of Sluys to his great-uncle, John of Namur. Thereupon the Brugeois, all of whose vessels entered this port, indignant at being exposed to taxation by that prince, attacked the castle of Sluys, carried it, and imprisoned John himself. This riot was followed by two others. Louis, ignorant both of the country and of his own forces, thrice sold to the city a complete pardon, profiting by the intervals of tranquillity to retire to his county of Rhétel. Thither the contempt of the people followed him, and the factions thereafter recognised no further restraint.

The Communes Defeated at Cassel (August 28th, 1328)

In 1324 two corps of the army of the bourgeoisie departed from Bruges to attack the castles of the nobles of maritime Flanders. These latter prepared to defend themselves; but of the two places wherein they sought refuge (Ghistelles and Ardenbourg), the one was taken and the other rigorously blockaded. Shortly all the country as far as Dunkirk fell into the hands of the popular army, whose leader was an exile from Furnes, by name Nicholas Zannekin. The pillaging and burning of castles attested to the irritation of the victors; on the other hand, a number of bourgeois who fell

into the clutches of Robert of Cassel, uncle to the young count, ended on the gallows. As in all civil war, the hatred was mutual and the violence equal.

Louis of Nevers then returned to Flanders; and, supported by the men of Ghent, he at first obtained some advantages over the troops of the people. But having marched upon Courtrai with a body of about four hundred cavalry to assure himself of that town, it was not long before he was attacked by five thousand Brugeois. Infuriated because, in self-defence, he had set fire to the suburbs, the inhabitants fell upon him, massacred a number of his nobles, took him prisoner and delivered him over to the Brugeois (June 22nd, 1325). These latter carried him off to their city and kept him captive there until the end of the year. They only released him when a legate of the holy see launched an interdict against Flanders, and when the men of Ghent, led by Hector Vilain, had been victorious in some slight encounters.

Louis demanded help of King Philip of Valois, complaining that he was count of Flanders in name only. As his vassal, the monarch owed him assistance: he raised an army, which was joined by the nobles of Flanders and of Hainault, and marched upon Cassel, where was found the principal body of the bourgeois militia, under the command of Zannekin. Twelve thousand artisans, or peasants, formed these troops, which had been seasoned to war by the struggles of preceding years.

Far from refusing to give battle, they awaited the French, and, when these had arrived at the foot of the mountain of Cassel, the intrepid Zannekin fell upon their camp. The attack was so sudden and so impetuous that the king was nearly captured and his army was thrown at first into the greatest disorder; but inferiority of numbers prevented the Flemings from following up their advantage. They soon found themselves surrounded on all sides; and after fighting with a courage amounting almost to frenzy, they all perished — not one among them endeavouring to escape.

This defeat discouraged the people. The cities which had taken part in the war surrendered. Heavy penalties were imposed upon them; and Louis, as terrible in his vengeance as he had been weak in his government, executed the leaders of the vanquished together with several hundreds of those who had fought under their banners. This bloody reaction led, if not to tranquillity, at least to the end of the civil war.

Unfortunately, the Flemish provinces were dragged anew into a European war (1335). The English monarch, Edward III, had already claimed the crown of France, but his pretensions had been set aside and Philip of Valois put upon the throne. Edward finally resolved to attack his enemy upon the continent; and he sought the support of the Belgian princes. But the count of Flanders evidenced so great a devotion for Philip and for France that it seemed impossible to alienate him from his lord.

Disputes having arisen between the sailors of the two countries, these served Edward as a pretext to interdict the exportation from England of the wool necessary to the drapers of Flanders in the manufacture of their cloths. The Flemish cities thus saw their principal industries threatened, and alarm became general. Persuaded by their entreaties, Louis made advances for the re-establishment of trade; Edward responded by an offer of a close alliance on condition that he should abandon France. Trapped thus between the interests of his subjects and his own political inclinations, the count could not bring himself to change sides. He looked upon himself always as a subject of Philip of Valois; and, far from being willing to abandon him, he would not even consent to hold a neutral position between the two kings. Commerce thus remained at a standstill, factories were closed, and

a large part of the population found itself without bread. When matters were at their worst, Louis assembled his vassals "in parliament" to consult as to what should be done for the people; but the only remedy was to treat with England, and that Louis would not allow mentioned. He even went so far, some time afterwards, as to have arrested and beheaded Sohier le Courtroisin, sire de Tronchiennes, who had proposed the opening of negotiations with Edward. The assembly dissolved without having been able to come to a conclusion.

The English, however, disembarked on the island of Cadsand and cut to pieces the troops of the seigneurs who guarded the coast (this in November). Thereupon the men of Ghent began to murmur openly, and Jacob van Artevelde,[1] grandson of Sohier and one of the wisest among the leaders of the bourgeoisie, put himself at the head of the people and demanded the absolute neutrality of Flanders.

VAN ARTEVELDE APPEARS

The efforts of the count to overturn the national resolution proved useless. Artevelde, nominated Captain of Ghent, soon drew over the other cities to his party; and, displaying as much capacity as vigour, he everywhere checked the advances of the prince and of the partisans of France.

In vain did Philip of Valois send troops; in vain did he bribe the Flemings with offers of reimbursement for their losses through extended commercial privileges with France. They braved his soldiers, they scorned his offers; and Louis, urged thereto by his subjects, himself signed a provisory treaty with England. After this, the count might seek in vain to re-establish his influence over his subjects; everywhere he found the bourgeoisie intractable; at times, menacing. The Brugeois even attempted to take him prisoner at Dixmude, and he had scarcely time to flee to St. Omer.

The Flemings were beginning to wake up. It was understood that force alone could lead to recognition of the rights of Flanders; and negotiations were opened with Edward, who was then at Antwerp. These negotiations were not restricted to an alliance with England: the first and most remarkable treaty was concluded with John III, duke of Brabant, an ally of the English king. It was a confederation between Flanders and Brabant founded upon the common interests of the two states, and having for object their re-union into a single body. The greatest solemnity was observed in drawing up this act of alliance signed by seven cities and forty seigneurs.

It proved more difficult to force upon the Flemings the alliance with Edward, half of the nation raising scruples against taking up arms against France. They had vowed fidelity to the king, and even the pope had imposed upon them the fulfilment of this promise — relying upon Philip's vow to undertake a new crusade. To conquer their repugnance, Van Artevelde made Edward take the title of king of France,[2] he having, as we have seen, a certain right to it. Then the people hesitated no longer. Sixty thousand foot began action in the spring (1340), forced the French out of Hainault,

[1 He was a man of good family, his father had been sheriff and he was himself a wealthy member of the clothmakers' guild. Froissart *p* calls him a brewer; the fact being that he went to the brewers' guild later.]

[2 Pirenne *t* points out that in 1328 William de Deken, burgomaster of Bruges, anticipating Artevelde, had already offered to recognise Edward III as king of France if he would lend support to the popular party. He thinks equally local motives must have dictated the later English alliances of Flemish cities under Artevelde. He explains Artevelde's motive in alliance as a bold stroke to secure for Ghent a supremacy over Flanders, as a little later Bern won the predominance over the other Swiss cantons.]

and at once returned to protect their coasts, threatened by the enemy's fleet. Soon afterwards this fleet attacked that of England. The English prince, who had accepted combat with inferior forces, owed his victory in part to the assistance of the Flemish marines. The French navy was destroyed, and Edward entered triumphant into the port of Sluys on the 24th of June, 1340.

The confederates having immediately undertaken the siege of Tournay, which was long protracted by the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants and the garrison, Philip sent his sister, Joan of Valois, to negotiate a truce; and she concluded it abruptly in the month of September. The conditions of this truce were advantageous to the Flemings. Philip proclaimed pardon for the past and remitted all sums due since previous treaties, then representing more than thirty millions. The original deeds were delivered to Jacob van Artevelde, who destroyed them publicly amid cries of joy from the crowd.

The remainder of this famous man's career offers a picture perhaps less brilliant, though not less remarkable. After having conquered for his country a glorious and firm position, the captain attempted to consolidate the popular government. The three principal cities, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, exercised the sovereignty in the name of the country. The trades dominated in the last two and openly supported Artevelde; but he met with more opposition in his own district, where the wealthy class exercised a powerful influence. Nearly overthrown by this class, he was only saved by the devotion of the people, who took up arms for him.

Following this revolution he organised upon a new basis the magistracy of Ghent, giving the preponderance of power to the guilds over the wealthy citizens. His authority then seemed without limit; but it was merely that of the head of a party. He boasted of ruling all by persuasion; nevertheless, he was not able to abstain from the use of arms, nor to enchain the violence of popular passions. Each trade formed an independent body in the city, as each city formed an independent body in the country. At Bruges the weavers massacred the brokers; in West Flanders the inhabitants of Ypres plundered Poperinghe. At Ghent the weavers and the fullers gave combat upon the occasion, and in the place of the Friday marketing five hundred corpses were left on the scene.

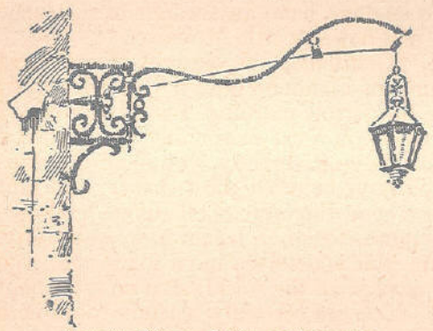
The captain, upon encountering these obstacles, experienced that secret irritation which tends to push beyond their real end most authors of political commotions. Weary of the continual struggle with Count Louis, whose authority, however despised, was still legal, he ended by attempting to dethrone him and to put a son of Edward in his place. This proceeding, however, was repugnant to the moral sense of the bourgeoisie of Ghent. They could not bring themselves to consent to it until it became obvious that the count absolutely refused to detach himself from the French cause. A sovereign was necessary to the country and Artevelde saw no other alternative than to propose to the people this change of princes. It proved his death. The idea of substituting a foreign family for the descendants of the old counts offended even the most discontented. Artevelde's enemies profited by it to accuse him of treason. A journey of some days' duration to Bruges and to Ypres prevented his perceiving the storm gathering against him at Ghent.*i*

The account of Artevelde's personality and of his death is most vividly given by Sir John Froissart, who was his contemporary and also a native of the Low Countries; it must be remembered, however, that Froissart was an

aristocrat thoroughly out of sympathy with the creed and partisans of this shrewd burgher whom his people had been wont to call *le saige homme*.[a]

FROISSART'S ACCOUNT OF ARTEVELDE AND HIS DEATH

There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of metheglin, called Jacob van Artevelde, who had gained so much popular favour and power over the Flemings that everything was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with such authority that no one dared to contradict his orders. Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four score armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his secrets; if he met any man whom he hated or suspected, he was instantly killed; for he had ordered those who were in his confidence to remark whenever he should make a particular sign on meeting any person, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This happened very frequently; so that many principal men were killed; and he was so dreaded that no one dared to speak against his actions, or scarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handsomely.



ANCIENT STREET LAMP OF ANTWERP

He had also in every town and castlewick through Flanders, sergeants and soldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and serve him as spies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel against him, and to give him information. The instant he knew of any such being in a town, he was banished or killed without delay, and none were so great as to be exempted, for so early did he take such measures to guard himself. At the same time he banished all the most powerful knights and esquires from Flanders, and such citizens from the principal towns as he thought were in the least favourable to the count, seized one-half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and support of their children.

To speak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince who had such perfect command as Jacob van Artevelde.

When, on his return, he came to Ghent, about mid-day [May 2nd, 1345], the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street that he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, "Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne." With this they had also spread a rumour through the town that Jacob van Artevelde had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had usurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the count of Flanders, but kept them securely to maintain his own state, and had, during the time above mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he

was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began, therefore, to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hotel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many; but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob van Artevelde saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language, saying:

"My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? By what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills." Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, "We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title of reason."

Artevelde replied in a soft tone: "Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken anything from the treasures of Flanders; and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of them, that you must reasonably be satisfied." But they cried out, "No, no, we must have it directly, you shall not thus escape from us; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it to England,[1] without our knowledge: you therefore shall suffer death."

When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said: "Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: recollect former times, and consider how many favours and kindnesses I have conferred upon you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes — corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandise which have made you so wealthy." They began to bawl out, "Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering any account; and it is not proper for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them."

When Jacob van Artevelde saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hotel was already broke into on that side, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy; his death-stroke was given him by a saddler, called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob van Artevelde end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him.[p]

[1 Blok,[h] who calls Artevelde "the greatest Fleming of all times," says that this charge was "absurd."]

KERVIJN DE LETTENHOVE'S ESTIMATE OF VAN ARTEVELDE

The power of Jacob van Artevelde lasted less than ten years, and yet in our memories it seems to fill the history of the Middle Ages; this is because his genius stirred more ideas, excited more hopes, conceived more profound designs than the men who had preceded him during several centuries. After having dared to dream of the reconciliation of Europe by peace and liberty; after contriving to unite in a single confederation all the neighbouring provinces of Flanders, he died at last, struck down by the arms he had endeavoured to break, by the resentment of the private hatreds and jealousies he had attempted to stifle in the unity of the development of human civilisation. He had thought that one lever was sufficient to raise the world, but the mission he had imposed on himself did not conduct him to triumph; he is but its martyr.

If Jacob van Artevelde had lived a few years longer, if he had been able by his own counsels to re-establish on a national basis the authority of the young prince who was born at Male, what might not have been his influence on the vast movement which broke out under King John? Did not a remarkable symptom of a pacific and industrial union already exist in the manifestation of those common sympathies for the traditions of the reign of Louis IX?

England, at least, preserved some traces of the bonds which existed between one of her princes and "the wise citizen of Ghent." Edward III, on becoming his ally, had subjected his own greatness and renown to the authority of van Artevelde's prudence.[1] It is to the period of Jacob van Artevelde that the foundation of the constitutional rule belongs, as it exists to this day in England, with the triple direction of the government by king, peers, and commons.

The voice of Artevelde had also resounded beyond the Alps, as far as the banks of the Tiber, which he had once visited when still young and unknown; the echo of the ruins of Rome answered to that of his tomb. A poet, who, in the silence of the nights, held sublime dialogues with the heroes of ancient times, had traversed all Flanders, enriched by the industry of her weavers, and the city of Ghent, so proud of being able to attribute its origin and its name to the conquests of Cæsar. Returning to his country and struck with shame at sight of the ancient queen of the world humiliated and enslaved, he welcomed with joy those accents of liberty which mounted from the banks of the Schelde to the summit of the Capitol, where his brow had been encircled with the laurel of Virgil.

"Hear this sound which comes to us from the West; the future is still veiled by clouds. Flanders, who seems never to cease fighting, allies herself with the peoples of England and Germany; from the Alps to the ocean all is in agitation. Ah, that we might find here the signal of our deliverance! Italy, unhappy country, doomed to eternal sorrows, once it was thou alone who disturbed the peace of the nations with thine arms, and behold thou art silent to-day while the fate of the universe is decided."

Petrarch remembered Jacob van Artevelde when he addressed his famous "admonitory epistle concerning the struggle for liberty" to Cola di Rienzi.

[1 It is said that Artevelde first suggested the quartering of the lilies of France in the English king's arms; and that Edward III addressed him as *cher compère* and *grand ami*. In spite of this royal favour, however, Artevelde worked chiefly for the neutrality and independence of his country.]

[1346–1348 A.D.]

After Artevelde's death the blood-stained robe of Cæsar stirred the spirit of the people more forcibly than all the splendour of his genius. Scarcely had the men of Ghent learned that Louis of Nevers, congratulating himself on the success of the most odious treason, was sending his knights to occupy Hulst and Axel, when they ran to arms to repel him. Axel was at once taken by assault and Hulst shared the same fate. The militia of Ghent, supported by those of Bruges and Ypres, resolved to pursue their expedition in the direction of Dendermonde. Their number and courage, the enthusiasm which animated them, their ardour to avenge the death of Jacob van Artevelde on the men whom they accused of having prepared it, rendered their power irresistible. The count of Flanders hastened to flee to France, whilst the duke of Brabant hurried to the camp of the Flemish communes to renew his oaths of alliance and interpose his mediation.[2]

THE REIGN OF LOUIS OF MALE (1346–1384)

Dendermonde was pillaged by the people of Ghent in punishment for having manufactured certain kinds of cloth, the monopoly of which Ghent reserved to itself. Thus the communes arrogated to themselves even that right of vengeance and of private quarrel which the nobles had lost little by little through the influence of civilisation. The chaotic condition of Flanders served only to gain for her the hostility of the neighbouring princes; in her state of anarchy the death of Count Louis, who survived only a short time Jacob van Artevelde, was perhaps a blessing. Faithful always to France, he had gone to join Philip's army, threatened anew by Edward. He found death (1346) on the bloody field of Crécy, whence the king of England went his way victorious.

He had left a son, bearing the name of his father, and only sixteen years of age. This young prince was then in France, where he had won his spurs against the English at Crécy; but Flanders did not hesitate to recognise him as her sovereign. The three principal cities, however, retained the direction of public affairs during his minority. They vigorously preserved their union with the king of England, and a project was formed to marry the count to the daughter of Edward. But the young prince obstinately refused to ally himself with the family of his father's enemy. In fear of being constrained thereto he escaped from Flanders directly after the betrothal ceremonies, and fled into France. Shortly afterwards he married Margaret of Brabant, second daughter of Duke John III, who had abandoned Edward to ally himself with France.

But the Flemings, irritated at this marriage, sustained only the more ardently the cause of the English king. They ravaged the frontiers of Artois, and a great body of the militia of Ghent, commanded by Captain Gilles de Ryperghersté, a weaver, completely put to rout the French troops sent to besiege Cassel. Meanwhile Edward blockaded the city of Calais, to whose surrender he attached the greatest importance; Philip of Valois collected an army to march against him, but was obliged to retreat, having accomplished nothing. A treaty between the two kings suspended hostilities for a time.

The Brugeois began to be divided, and the wealthy classes to grow weary of the domination of the artisans. Count Louis was wise enough to profit by these divisions to attach the town to his party. He had been born near Bruges (in the castle of Male, whence his surname), and he promised to take up his residence there. Differences thus came up among the confederates, and all maritime Flanders having embraced the cause of the count, Ghent and Ypres were obliged to join him (1348). Louis, with an address and

firmness beyond his years, seized every occasion to re-establish the power weakened in previous reigns. He made himself feared without shedding over much blood, and had the wisdom to adopt a policy conformable to the needs of the country, declaring himself neutral between France and England.

His resolution was manifested upon the death of Philip of Valois (1351), when he refused to do homage to King John unless he restored to the Flemings those cities lost to them during long years. Negotiations begun with this end in view led to no result. Charles the Wise, who succeeded to the throne of France, comprehended the advisability of rendering justice to a people and to a prince whose resentments had not decreased with time. Lille, Douai, Béthune, Hesdin, Orchies, and other less important places were ceded to the count in 1369; and for this price his only daughter Margaret became the wife of Philip of Burgundy, one of the king's brothers. The duke of Brabant, Louis' brother-in-law, with whom he had had sharp disputes followed by open war, was forced in 1357 to cede to him Antwerp.

But in the midst of prosperity the count was poor. It was the state of most of the princes of that period: the greater part of their revenues accrued from taxes and dues. They thus fell into dependence on the communes, and therein lay perhaps the principal cause of the weakness of their government. Twice Louis went bankrupt, and the people paid his debts. A third demand for subsidies brought forth murmurs from the citizens of Ghent. The "White Caps" (such was the name they went by) let slip no occasion to foment strife; and the count having granted permission to the town of Bruges to open up a canal to the Lys, they attacked the workmen and dispersed them. All effort on the part of the influential middle classes to prevent a civil war proved futile.

Attacked upon all sides the nobles took up arms in their own defence; but their numbers proved too small to hold the country and the majority of them sought refuge in the city of Oudenarde, which became their headquarters. Besieged there by sixty thousand soldiers of the communes, they defended themselves vigorously until the duke of Burgundy came to interfere between the count and the people. A temporary reconciliation was effected, but the white caps having taken Oudenarde by surprise after the departure of the nobles, the quarrel broke out anew. Bruges thereupon withdrew from the alliance with Ghent and opened its gates to Louis of Male, though not without internal dissension and new massacres (1380).

Over the whole country, combat, attack, and siege shed patriotic blood. In the meanwhile the citizens of Ghent, whose animosity bade fair to eternalise the war, were beginning to pay dearly for the blood they had caused to flow; they lost a battle at Nevele (1381), and were abandoned by all the other communes. The count's soldiers succeeded in blockading the city in the midst of a conquered province: soon provisions gave out; indecision and discouragement crept in among the hitherto haughty population.

PHILIP VAN ARTEVELDE CHOSEN AS LEADER (1381)

It was then that the leaders offered the command to Philip van Artevelde, son of him whose name was still dear to Flanders. But the new captain, a stranger to the profession of arms and finding affairs in such a desperate state, seemed himself overcome with terror by the fate which menaced the inhabitants. He counselled them to surrender to the count and went himself to plead for them, consenting to every sacrifice on condition that no blood should be shed.

Louis demanded that the citizens should surrender to him unconditionally and that they should come to him outside their walls, barefoot and with cords around their necks.

Philip van Artevelde, although educated to inaction, had from the first day of his command proved his character to be not without vigour: the extremity in which he found himself gave birth to an unaccustomed courage and energy. He returned to Ghent, assembled the people, "of whom a large part had no longer any bread," and having reported the result of the conference to the count he interrupted the wailings of the crowd by exhorting them to choose between death, submission, and a desperate attack; their choice was soon determined upon, their pride and resentment blinding them to the inferiority of their numbers. Of all Ghent's valiant defenders, five thousand alone remained; these set out with the young leader to attack Louis of Male within the walls of Bruges; the citizens closed the gates, resolved to burn their city and bury themselves in its ruins, if their comrades failed of victory.

It was on the 3rd of May, during the procession of the Eucharist at Bruges, at which the count and nearly all his nobles assisted, that the last army of Ghent approached the rival city.

Louis and his knights, transported with indignation at the news of the approach, hurried out of the city, followed by a number of the people, and precipitated themselves upon their adversaries. The latter, calm and resolute, easily sustained the shock of so confused and disorderly a multitude. All gave way before them, and after a short combat Artevelde entered triumphant into the gates of Bruges, where the smaller guilds came to join him. The fugitive count with difficulty found refuge in the house of a poor widow, and the next morning succeeded in escaping from the town.

THE BATTLE OF ROOSEBEKE, AND FALL OF THE GUILDS (1382)

For the moment this prodigious success seemed to have re-established the superiority of Ghent, and nearly all Flanders took up anew the cause of this powerful commune new-risen in all its might despite numerous reverses; but already a new storm was gathering in the distance. Louis, who had taken refuge in Paris, had found the young king, Charles VI, disposed to espouse his cause, and that very year the French army advanced along the Lys, led by the monarch himself. The leaders of Ghent marched to meet him with forty thousand men — all that the exhaustion of the city and the ill-will of a certain section of the country would permit him to gather. He camped at Roosebeke, near Roulers.

The two armies remained several days in their positions without giving battle, but Artevelde's impetuous character could not brook delay. On the 27th of November he left his trenches to attack the royal troops. The first shock gained him some advantage; the Breton infantry were repulsed and their banner fell into the hands of the Flemings. Soon, however, a body of cavalry attacked their rear, while fresh forces were brought into play in advance. After a furious battle, which lasted much longer than they could have foreseen, Artevelde and half of his forces perished before the French nobles,[1] and from that day the count's standard was raised anew in Bruges and throughout maritime Flanders.

[1 "There is an important difference between the two great leaders from the race of Artevelde. But though the father perished miserably at the hands of a mob, while the son fell in honourable conflict against a foreign foe, the sympathy of posterity has gone out towards the father." — BLOK.]

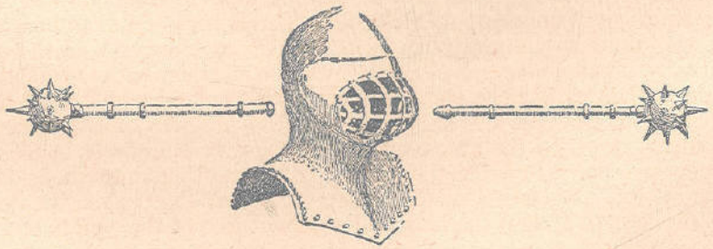
The war seemed ended, since the defeat at Roosebeke had dispersed the army of Ghent. But the indomitable courage of which that city had given so many proofs did not desert her on this terrible occasion. Abandoned, defeated, without leaders and without resources, the tradesmen of Ghent still harboured no thought of submission. They gave the command of their troops to Francis Ackerman, a capable and intrepid leader, who held himself on the defensive until after the departure of the French army, and thereupon commenced hostilities against the defenders of the count. The winter passed in continued combats, whence those of Ghent reaped certain advantages. In the spring a large body of English disembarked at Calais and united with Ackerman to besiege Ypres, but Charles VI himself marched to its assistance. The besieged retired without combat and unpursued. The duke of Burgundy, who already regarded Flanders as his appanage, prevented the king from following up the war too eagerly, to the ruin of so rich a country.

The count of Flanders submitted with but indifferent grace to his humiliating position. A treaty for one year between England and Ghent was concluded, in spite of his efforts, in October, 1382; and he died a few months afterwards (January 9th, 1384), either from grief which hastened his end, or, as some historians say, from a mortal blow which he had received during an altercation with one of the French princes.*i*

He was succeeded as count of Flanders, Artois, Nevers, and Rethel, by Philip of Burgundy, his son-in-law. The people were divided in the matter of acknowledging him, but after the murder of Ackerman, resistance ended and with it what is called "the heroic age of the guilds of Flanders."*a*

With Louis of Male died in Flanders the house of Dampierre, which had governed the country for nearly a century, alternately persecuted by the kings of France and supported by them against the communes. Under this dynasty — whose reign had been signalised by so much commotion and so many vicissitudes — the authority of the count, undermined on the one hand by the jealousy of the sovereign, on the other by the encroachments of the people, had been so rapidly weakened that no tie remained firm enough to guarantee the unity of government, the submission of the cities, and the peace of the country. At this crisis Flanders had need, not of new liberties but of repose and order.

Philip of Burgundy [the son-in-law of Louis], with whom was to begin a new dynasty, was to have for life-work the creation of a more fixed order of things, the consolidation of a tottering throne, and the imposition of habits of obedience upon the almost entirely independent communes, whose pride — the growth of many victories — was not yet weakened by reverses; but it was scarcely to be hoped that either he or his descendants would succeed in re-establishing a firm government in a country where popular resistance had been so frequently victorious.*i*



CHAPTER III

HOLLAND UNDER THE HOUSES OF HAINAULT AND BAVARIA

[1299–1436 A.D.]

THE general features of Netherlandish history thus far have been the feuds between the different sections of this small portion of Europe. The long struggle of Holland against the domination of Utrecht had left Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland mutually independent in the upper part of Lower Lorraine at the opening of the twelfth century. About this time Lorraine had begun to lose prestige and the name itself to give place to the various synonyms for *terræ inferiores* or Netherlands.

Flanders fought Holland for centuries over the islands of Zealand. A still longer race-war embittered Holland and Friesland along the borders of Kennemerland, West Friesland, and Waterland. Holland and Brabant had fought. Holland had joined with Gelderland against Utrecht. Gelderland, itself a rival for power with Holland, had given sympathy to the Hohenstaufens and had been in collision with the Guelfic dukes of Brabant; her vassal counts of Looz, or Loon, and of Namur were in frequent war with Flanders, Hainault, Limburg, and Brabant. The houses of Luxemburg and Limburg were united by marriage in 1246, and Count Henry IV of the dual line eventually became emperor of Germany after marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant. The embroilments with England and France have been indicated in the previous chapter, where the progress of Flanders has been recounted down to the accession of the house of Burgundy in 1384.

It is now necessary to bring the history of the northern provinces down to the same point. We left their chronicle at the year 1299, when the death of John I brought to a close the long and excellent line of the counts of Hol-

land. The end of this dynasty threw the countship to an alien family — that of Avennes in the county of Hainault.

THE SWAY OF HAINAULT (1299–1356)

Though the name of Holland far outweighs the name of Hainault to-day, for a long period the latter name was the weightier in Europe, and the house of Hainault ruled over Holland for more than half a century. "Its position in Netherlandish history," says Blok,[b] "has been rarely understood."

Though now partly absorbed in Belgium and partly in France, it had an independent existence as early as the seventh century, when the name first appears. The first lords of the country were elective; in the ninth century the title became hereditary, and the nobility took a high rank in Europe, especially as Hainault was the home of chivalry and romance. It was indeed the native land of the chronicler Froissart, who, as we have seen, had the characteristic contempt for such presumptuous and independent burghers as those led by the Van Arteveldes. The contrast of Hainault with commercial Holland was extreme, and when, in 1299, they were united under one ruler, there was little sympathy. But by contagion the cities of Hainault began to grow independent and the people to rise in power, especially as the nobility perished rapidly in the wars.

We have already described in Chapter I the means by which the Hainault count, John of Avennes, became heir to the rule of Holland on the failure of the lineage of Dirks, by the death of his cousin John I. The history that follows is for fifty-seven years the history of Holland under the family of Hainault.

There was at first some friction with the emperor of Germany, who claimed Holland as an escheated fief, but he was forced to retreat and accept a mere homage. The bishop of Utrecht, in 1301, began hostilities, but perished in the first battle, and John's brother, Guy, procured the election to the see, ending the disturbances in that direction.[a]

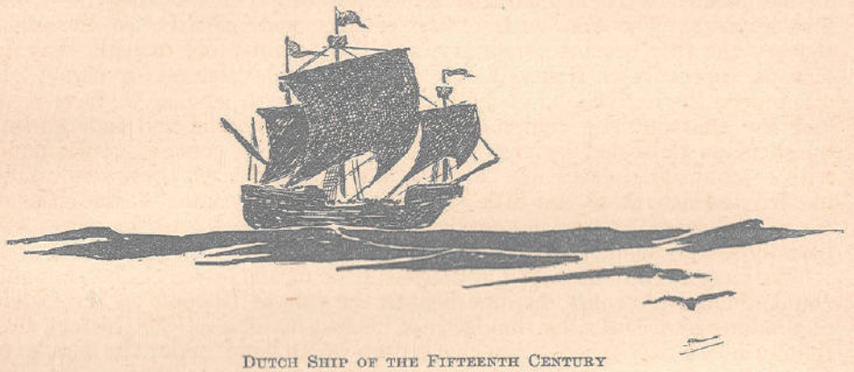
The Zealanders now prevailed with Guy, son of the old count of Flanders, who was still a prisoner in France, to grant them large reinforcements of men and ships for the purpose of invading Walcheren. This he was now enabled to do, since the obstinate and decisive battle fought with the French at Courtrai (1302) had placed him in possession of Flanders, which they were forced entirely to evacuate.

Count John, unable from the feeble state of his health to undergo the slightest exertion, in 1304 surrendered the whole government of the county into the hands of his son William, now his heir, and retired into Hainault for the last time. The greatest zeal in the service of their country, under the young prince William, then just eighteen, was found to pervade all ranks of men. But a severe battle ensued, in which the Hollanders sustained a total defeat.

Nearly the whole of Holland was now overrun by Flemish troops. It seemed, indeed, as if the county had wholly fallen a prey to her ancient and inveterate foe, when it was at once set free by one of those sudden bursts of enthusiastic energy which are characteristic of this remarkable people. Witte van Hamstede, a natural son of Floris V, proceeded with a few followers to Haarlem, the only town of North Holland which had not submitted to the Flemings. From hence he sent letters to the other towns, upbraiding them with cowardice, and earnestly exhorting them to resist to the last their insolent enemies. Within two days the burghers of Delft, Leyden, and

Schiedam rose with one accord, slew or drove out the Flemish garrisons, and Nicholas van Putten, of Dordrecht, taking advantage of the occasion to attack the Flemings in South Holland, the county in the space of a single week was nearly cleared of her invaders.

The recovery of Holland was ere long followed by that of Zealand. Count William, hearing that Guy was preparing a fleet, sent to petition for succours from Philip IV of France. Philip sent sixteen Genoese and twenty French vessels to Holland, under the command of Rinaldo di Grimaldi, of Genoa. The French fleet united with that of Holland in the mouth of the Maas; and after being long delayed by contrary winds, came within sight



DUTCH SHIP OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

of the Flemish ships, eighty[1] in number, on the evening of the 10th of August, 1304, not far from Zieriksee. The Hollanders, encouraged by a short and spirited address from their leader,[2] with loud shouts of "Holland, Holland! Paris, Paris!" threw a shower of arrows and stones among the enemy, which the Flemings were not slow in returning.

The fight was continued by moonlight with unremitting fury until past midnight, when the victory proved decisive on the side of the Hollanders, most of the Flemish ships being either captured or destroyed.[3] Count Guy was carried prisoner to France. The Flemish troops now left the siege of Zieriksee in confusion and dismay, concealing themselves for the most part among the sandhills of Schouwen, where about five thousand were made prisoners.

The imprisonment of Count Guy in France terminated the war. Count John died on the 22nd of August, 1304. John of Avennes was pious, affable, humane, and beneficent, but indolent and irresolute; negligent in the administration of justice, and averse to any kind of business; passionately fond of hunting and hawking, and too much addicted to the pleasures of the

[1] It is not mentioned of how many vessels the French and Holland fleet consisted; but it must have been inferior to that of Flanders, since Melis Stoke[c] says that he thinks "it never happened before that so small a number should fight with so great a force." He says also that the Flemings were ten to one on the water, and three to one on land; but this assertion seems hardly worthy of credit. The Flemish historian of later times tells us, on the contrary, that the Hollanders excelled their adversaries in large ships, but that their number of small vessels was inferior.

[2] Instead of the long and somewhat untimely orations which historians are apt to put into the mouth of their heroes, Melis Stoke[c] attributes to William merely these few words: "Let us defend ourselves bravely. I see the battle won: God will crown him who dies in heaven, and he who lives will be lauded through the whole world."

[3] Meyer[d] gives the number of captured vessels as one thousand, but it is scarcely credible.

table; "he laughed in his very heart," says his historian, Melis Stoke,[c] "when he saw a jolly company assembled round him."

William III

After the conclusion of the propitious peace which put a final termination to the long and desolating wars between Holland and Flanders,[1] William III (1304–1337) strengthened himself still further by alliances with the families of the principal sovereigns of Europe. The marriage of his younger daughter Philippa to Edward III of England in 1328 proved, in the sequel, an alliance no less honourable than advantageous to Holland. The old count expired at Valenciennes, on the 7th of June, 1337, leaving one son, William, who succeeded him, and four daughters — Margaret, empress of Germany, Philippa, queen of England, Joanna, married to the count of Jülich, and Elizabeth.

William III, besides the appellation of Good, or Pious, added to his name, was termed the master of knights and the chief of princes; he was brave in war, affable to his subjects, strict in the administration of justice. Yet was his government not altogether a happy one for Holland: he depressed the rising industry of the towns by the demand of enormous "petitions," to supply a lavish and often unnecessary expenditure; and he is accused of sacrificing the interests of Holland to those of Hainault, or, as his contemporary historian Gulielmus Procurator[e] expresses it, "forsaking the fruitful Leah for the more beautiful Rachel." Added to this, he was negligent of the commercial interests of his subjects.[2] He however effected a measure of great advantage to Holland, by incorporating with it the lordships of Amstel and Woerden after the death of his uncle, Guy, bishop of Utrecht; and from this time may be dated the rise of the city of Amsterdam.

William IV

The first act of William IV's government was to renew the treaty made by his father with Edward of England, stipulating that, if summoned by the emperor, his vicar, or lieutenant, to defend the boundaries of the empire, he would supply one thousand men-at-arms to be paid by the king, at the rate of fifteen Florentine guilders or forty-five shillings a month, each man; and in case of necessity, the count should levy one thousand additional men at arms for the king's service: besides the expenses of the troops, Edward was to pay the count the sum of £30,000. The immense sacrifice at which Edward purchased the alliance of the princes of the Netherlands cannot fail to excite our astonishment, and events, in fact, proved that he rated it far above its value.

The allied armies united with Edward to lay siege to Cambray, in 1338; but, finding that its reduction would prove a work of time, the king broke up the siege and began his march towards Picardy. Thither the count of Holland refused to follow him, asserting that, being a vassal of the king of France,

[1 These wars over Zealand had lasted a century and a half, and had involved most of the other Netherlandish states. At the same time the century-old feud between the Flemish houses of Avennes and Dampierre came to an end. The still longer war between Holland and Friesland was more of a race-war; in 1327 the Frieslanders acknowledged William's authority.]

[2 Blok[b] does not agree with this severe judgment of William III, and calls him "by far the most able ruler who had ever held his seat in the Binnenhof at the Hague." Blok admits, however, that he ruled with an iron hand, though he insists that the country was very prosperous under him.]

in respect of Hainault, he was bound rather to defend than assist in invading his dominions. Edward, out of revenge, took his way through Hainault, which suffered grievously from the passage of his troops. William immediately joined the French camp.

In the next year, the count of Holland, exasperated at Philip, again returned to the English alliance, and declared war against France, which he now invaded. In compliance with the solicitations of his ally, Edward embarked on the 22nd of June, 1339, at Dover, and fell in with the French fleet of one hundred and twenty large, besides numerous smaller vessels, near Sluys. It does not appear that either William or the Hollanders had any share in the signal victory gained by the English and Flemish on this occasion; a truce for nine months was brought about, which was afterwards prolonged for two years. In 1345 the count declared war against Utrecht and laid siege to the city. He was induced to conclude a truce, to which he consented only on condition that four hundred citizens should sue for pardon, kneeling before him, barefoot and bareheaded, and that he should receive a sum of twenty thousand pounds Flemish for the expenses of the war. When we call to mind the termination of a like siege in 1138, we cannot help being struck with the vast change which had taken place in the relative situations of the count and bishop.

From Utrecht, William returned to Dordrecht, whence he sailed shortly after to the Zuyder Zee, for the purpose of chastising the Frieslanders, who, irritated by his continual and heavy exactions, had taken up arms against him (1345). A storm separating his ships, the troops were forced to land in small bodies in different parts of the country: the Frieslanders, attacking them while thus divided, slew thirty-seven hundred; and the count himself, with some of his nobility, being surrounded by a great number of the enemy, was killed exactly on the spot where the ancient sovereigns of Friesland were accustomed to hold their supreme court. He left no children by his wife, Joanna of Brabant. She afterwards married Wenceslaus, count of Luxemburg, into whose family she brought the rich duchy of Brabant.

William IV was the first count of Holland who resumed the imperfect fiefs which devolved to the county in default of direct heirs, and divided them amongst his vassals, instead of granting them to one of the nearest collateral heirs, upon payment of a reasonable price, as his predecessors were accustomed to do. It is under the government of this count, also, that we meet with the first mention of loans. To enable him to carry on the war with Utrecht, he urged the towns of Holland and Zealand to lend him a sum equivalent to three hundred English pounds, promising not to levy any more petitions till this debt were paid. The towns made it a condition of their compliance that he should grant them new privileges, and required that the nobles should become surety for him.

Margaret and the Disputed Claim (1345)

William dying without issue, his nearest heirs were his four sisters; and as the county had always been an undivided hereditary state, it appeared naturally to devolve on Margaret the eldest, wife of the emperor of Germany. Edward, king of England, however, the husband of Philippa, the second daughter of William III, put in his claim to a share of the inheritance.

As the emperor Ludwig considered himself entitled to the whole of the states, whether as husband of the elder daughter or as suzerain of a fief escheated to the empire on failure of direct heirs, he delayed not to invest

his wife with the titles of countess of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. In spite of the rigorous season, Margaret repaired in the month of January to Holland, to secure herself in possession of her states before the king of England could gain a footing there.

The people took advantage of her anxiety to be acknowledged, to obtain some desired rights and immunities, of which the most important was the engagement she entered into for herself and her successors never to undertake a war beyond the limits of the county, unless with consent of the nobles, commons, and "good towns"; and if she did so, none should be bound to serve except by their own favour and freewill. She was then unanimously acknowledged by all the members of the state, but shortly after recalled by her husband to Bavaria. As Ludwig, the eldest son of the emperor, had resigned his right to the succession, she sent her second son, William, then in early youth, to take the administration of affairs during her absence, surrendering to him Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault, and retaining for herself merely a pension of ten thousand crowns.

After the death of the emperor, which happened in the October of 1347, Margaret, finding that William was either unable to pay or purposely withheld this trifling annuity, and irritated at his breach of faith, returned to Holland, and resuming the government, obliged William to retire into Hainault. He did not, however, remain tranquil under this deprivation, but secretly used every means in his power to conciliate the favour of the nobles; and the dissensions that now arose between the mother and son gave form and vigour to the two parties of nobles and people, which in this century divided Holland, as well as Germany and France.

WARS OF THE "CODS" AND "HOOKS"

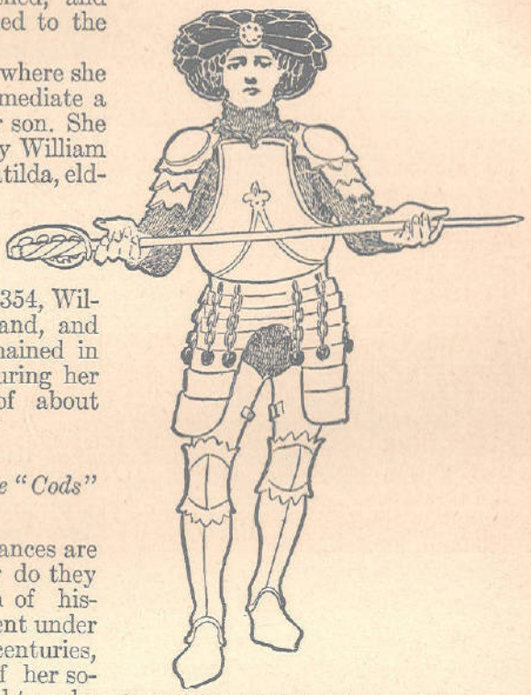
The nobles espoused the side of William, while the people and inhabitants of the towns, with the exception of the larger and more aristocratic cities, adhered to Margaret, who was supported besides by the lord of Brederode, and a few others of the most popular nobility. The former were called by the party name of Kabbeljauws or "Cods," because the cod devours all the smaller fish;[1] and the latter by that of Hoeks or "Hooks," because with that apparently insignificant instrument one is able to catch the cod. It does not appear what occasion gave rise to these very primitive appellations, so characteristic of the people and their pursuits.

The cods, dissatisfied ere long with the somewhat feeble administration of Margaret, sent repeated messages to William in Hainault, entreating him to come without delay into Holland, and assume the government of the county. After some hesitation, he secretly repaired to Gorkum, and shortly after, most of the principal towns of Holland and West Friesland acknowledged him as count. As soon as Margaret could collect a fleet of English, French, and Hainault ships, she sailed to the island of Walcheren (in 1351), where she fell in with a number of Holland vessels, commanded by her son in person. A sharp engagement ensued, in which William was totally defeated, and forced to retreat to Holland. Margaret, anxious to improve her advantage, followed him to the Maas, where, William having received some reinforcements, another desperate battle was fought, ending in the entire discomfiture of Margaret. A vast number of her adherents were slain,

[1 Blok thinks the name may have risen from "the light blue scaly-coat of arms" of Duke William. He believes that the guilds were involved and supported the Hooks, though William IV had sternly repressed and forbidden their organisation.]

and Dirk van Brederode, one of the few nobles who espoused her cause, and the chief stay of her party, was taken prisoner. The remainder of the hook nobles were afterwards banished, and their castles and houses razed to the ground.

Margaret fled to England, where she prevailed upon the king to mediate a peace between herself and her son. She was shortly after followed by William himself, who married there Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster. William likewise accepted the mediation of Edward. According to the terms of the agreement of 1354, William retained Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, while Hainault remained in the possession of Margaret during her life, with a yearly income of about twenty-four hundred pounds.



SOLDIER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Wenzelburger on the Wars of the "Cods" and "Hooks"

The cod and hook disturbances are no isolated phenomena; rather do they form a link in the great chain of historical processes of development under which Europe, during several centuries, trembled in the foundations of her social organisation, that she might make way for new conditions and new views. It is not difficult for a dispassionate eye to find and pursue the same scarlet thread which runs through all the trials of strength of the various parties; on the one side the towns form the kernel of the party, on the other the old nobility. In the north, in Oostergoo, the Vetkoopers and Schieringers bear the same relation to one another as the cods and hooks; in Utrecht, the Lichtenbergen and Lockhorsten; in Gelderland the Heekerens and Bronckhorsten; in Liège the Waroux and Awans; in Brussels the Hetfelds and Lombecks; in Flanders the Clauwaerts and the Leliaerts — stood opposed to one another.

"And if," says Löher, "we cast our eyes on the great German Empire, here also we shall see the two groups step into the foreground. Here indeed they appear in a different costume and with different weapons, according to whether they belong to the eastern or western portion of the empire. But, amid the bewildered tangle of facts and circumstances, the same fundamental political and social ideas will unfold themselves before our eyes, just as has already been the case with regard to a later period, the beginning of the sixteenth century, since the art and penetration of our historians have set the days of the Peasants' War at the beginning of the Reformation in a new light."

Adolphus of Nassau and Albert of Austria, Ludwig of Bavaria and Charles IV are, when measured by a wider standard, nothing else than the representatives of the same principles for which the hooks and cods contended with

one another in Holland; and what other importance have the wars of the Jacquerie, of the Burgundian party with the Armagnacs in France, the civil wars in England, the rebellion of Wat Tyler, than that of strengthening the royal power by the humiliation of the great feudal nobility and making it the only authority in the state? The struggles of the cods and hooks must be understood in this connection, and only thus can we comprehend their long duration, which was only possible on condition that the parties received new impulse and fresh nourishment from without. As in many other questions which deeply concern the fate of a country, here also it is idle to attempt to measure the actions and desires of the various parties from the standpoint of abstract justice.

It must be confessed that if we apply to history the petty view of rights — which clings to yellow parchments and holds to the existing order with its chartered privileges, even though this may actually be the most crying injustice — then right is exclusively on the side of the hooks. They desired only the confirmation and maintenance of existing conditions, the secure establishment of the rights always claimed and exercised by the nobility; whilst the opposing party sought to destroy them. Moreover, the character of the hooks appeals far more to sentiment than does that of their opponents. There the true knightly spirit displayed its fairest blossoms, the fidelity of the hook vassal to his feudal lord shines in a halo such as streams forth only from the Nibelungenlied and the old German mythology. Miracles of self-devoted gratitude and manly contempt of death, unshakable composure in a desperate and hopeless situation, gloomy defiance and quiet contempt of the victorious enemy to whom necessity compels submission — these are only to be found in the ranks of the hook champions defending the rights of a persecuted lady.

Far otherwise was it with their opponents. As the towns formed the prevailing element of the party, so here every enterprise was the result of skilful and cunning calculation; their unwieldiness formed a striking contrast to the readiness to strike and the lightning rapidity of the noble troops: they were ever inclined to meet the enemy half way, and conclude a peace with him, to which they consented under any circumstances so long as it suited their interest to do so. The hooks are not, according to the excellent characterisation of Hugo Grotius,[h] to be regarded as exactly a party, but only as a section of the population which "remained steadfast in its duty, to defend the laws, usages, liberties, and privileges of the country, against which the cods waged war," so that they would never have consented if the territorial prince had laid a reforming hand on the existing order. The cods, on the other hand, were not so particular about the conscientious observance of chartered rights; they had no objection if the territorial lord demanded more than his due so long as he raised no barrier against personal liberty and the material pursuit of industry and especially of trade.

In a word, the hooks represented the conservative element of the society of the period, adhering stoutly to what was old and had been handed down from times past, whilst the cods instinctively followed the forward-impelling pressure of the times, and formed the progressive factor of contemporary civilisation. But as in general the romantic deeds of heroism of the valiant knight have a greater charm for the people of their own day and for posterity than the quiet effectiveness of the citizen who, peaceful and modest as he was, yet still laboured ceaselessly and conscious of his aim, so the sympathy of posterity has been directed almost exclusively, and in an extremely one-sided fashion, to the side of the hooks, round whom the ivy of poetic legend and the mournful halo of tragedy have twined themselves.[i]

THE BAVARIAN HOUSE IN POWER

Margaret did not long survive the reconciliation with her son; she died in 1356, and thus the county was again transferred to a foreign family, passing from the house of Hainault into that of Bavaria. We find no event worthy to arrest our attention during the reign of William V. In 1357 he began to show symptoms of aberration of intellect, which soon increased to uncontrollable frenzy. He killed with his own hand, and without any cause of offence, a nobleman highly esteemed in the country; in consequence of which act he was deprived of the government, and placed in confinement. He continued a hopeless lunatic until his death, which did not occur till twenty years afterwards.

As William and the emperor Ludwig, his father, had declared Albert, younger brother of the former, heir to the county, if he should die without issue, the government in the present case appeared naturally to devolve on him, as standing next in succession. The cods also, after some resistance, acknowledged Albert as governor or *ruward*[1] in 1359.

Edward III gratified the governor of Holland by a final surrender, in 1372, of all claims in right of his wife to a share in the inheritance of William III.

The extravagance and rapacity of Louis of Male, count of Flanders, had excited discontent and hatred among his subjects, especially the inhabitants of Ghent, and their rebellion under the Van Arteveldes has been already described in Chapter II. The death of Louis in January, 1384, as we have seen, made way for the succession of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in right of his wife Margaret, the only legitimate child of Louis, to the counties of Flanders and Artois. Margaret was likewise heiress to the duchy of Brabant, through her aunt Joanna, the present duchess, who, in order to extend still further the influence of her family in the Netherlands, laboured effectually to promote a union between the houses of Burgundy and Holland. Through her means, a double marriage was concluded between William, count of Oosterhaut, eldest son of the count of Holland, and Margaret, daughter of Philip of Burgundy; and between John, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, and Margaret, daughter of Albert the governor. Their nuptials, attended by the king of France in person, were celebrated at Cambray in 1385 in a style of unparalleled magnificence.

Albert, after the loss of his wife, formed an illicit connection with Aleida (or Alice) van Poelgeest, the daughter of a nobleman of the cod party, whose youth, beauty, and insinuating manners soon gained such an ascendency over the mind of her lover that the whole court was henceforward governed according to her caprices.

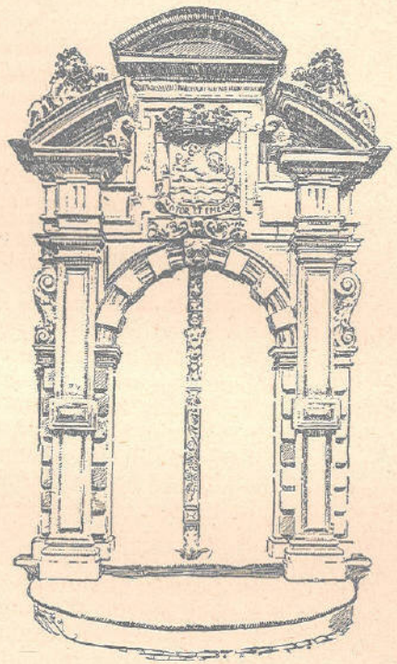
The hook nobles, instigated at once by ambition and revenge, resolved upon a deed of horror and blood to which it is said, they induced Albert's son, William of Oosterhaut, to lend his assistance.[2] A number of them

[1] Ruward, a word signifying "conservator of the peace."]

[2] Petrus Suffridus[j] accuses William of participation in this crime, and the accusation has been adopted by later authors, but, as it seems, without sufficient foundation. Neither Jan Gerbrandszoon (John of Leyden)[k] his contemporary, nor Beka[l] attributes to him any share in it; that he befriended the perpetrators, when brought to justice three years after, is undoubted; among them were some of the most illustrious of the nobility, and his personal friends; but that he should, if he had been a party concerned, have forsaken his accomplices to attend a tournament in England a month after, is highly improbable: he is mentioned by Froissart as being present at the one held about Michaelmas in this year by Richard II, when he was made knight of the garter.]

assembled at the Hague, where the Lady Aleida was then residing, and on the night of the 21st of August forced their way, completely armed, into her apartment. The count's steward threw himself before them to defend the terrified girl from their violence. He was slaughtered on the spot; and, a moment after, Aleida herself fell dead, and covered with wounds, at their feet.

William of Oosterhaut repeatedly besought his father to pardon the criminals; but, finding him deaf to his entreaties, he retired in anger to the court of France. Philip advised him to seek a reconciliation with his father, by proposing an expedition into Friesland, that he might at once avenge the death of his uncle, William IV, and reconquer his inheritance.



Door of Old Middelburg Abbey

Albert was readily induced to favour the designs of his son; he solicited succours from France and England, who each sent a body of troops to his aid. The allied troops set sail on the 22nd of August, 1396, in a fleet of four thousand and forty ships.[1] The Frieslanders, meanwhile, had made an alliance with the bishop of Utrecht, and assembled together in arms to the number of thirty thousand men. Unfortunately, however, they refused to follow the wise counsel of one of the chief of their nobility, Juw Juwinga. They were ill able to withstand the well-tempered weapons and heavy armour of their enemies. Fourteen hundred were slain, and the rest forced to take flight. The victorious army carried fire and sword through the country, until the approach of the rainy season obliged them to retire into winter quarters: they carried with them the body of Count William, which had been taken up from the place of its sepulture. Count Albert was, for the time, acknowledged lord of Friesland.

But little more than a year elapsed, however, before the Frieslanders again threw off their forced subjection, and at length, in 1400, Count Albert found himself obliged to make a truce with them for six years, without insisting upon their acknowledgment of him as lord of Friesland. The principal reason which prompted him to the adoption of this unpalatable measure was the exhausted condition of his finances; added to this was the rebellion of one of his own subjects, John, lord of Arkel, who had long filled the office of stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, as well as that of treasurer

[1 This number appears immense; but John of Leyden,[k] a contemporary, estimates the number of troops to be conveyed across the Zuyder Zee at one hundred and eighty thousand, in which the historian of Friesland agrees. Froissart[m] says they were more than one hundred thousand; consequently, if, as we may suppose, the vessels were for the most part small, they must have had this number for their transport, since five and twenty men would have been a sufficient average complement for each. The men of Haarlem alone are said to have supplied twelve hundred mariners.]

of the count's private domains, without having given any account of his administration of the revenues.

This was the last event of importance which occurred under Count Albert's administration. He died on the 15th of December, 1404, at the age of sixty-seven, having governed the county for forty-six years. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of the duke of Brieg, he left three sons — William, who succeeded him; Albert, duke of Mubingen; and John, bishop-elect of Liège: and four daughters, Joanna of Luxemburg, queen of Bohemia, who died without issue; Catherine, duchess of Gelderland, who likewise died childless; Margaret, married to John, son of the duke of Burgundy; and another Joanna, wife of the duke of Austria. He had no issue by his second wife, Margaret of Cleves, who survived him.

Albert appears to have been, on the whole, a mild, just, and pious prince, but remarkably deficient in talent, energy, and decision. His constant necessities enabled the towns to purchase of him many valuable additions to their privileges. The debts which he left unpaid at his death were so heavy that his widow found it advisable to make a *boedelafstandt*, or formal renunciation of all claim to his estate.

William VI (1404–1417)

The animosities between the cod and hook parties, which appeared to have been mitigated for a few years, now revived with increased fury, and a number of the most respectable burghers lost their lives.

The Hollanders, under the government of William, entirely lost their footing in Friesland; and in the year 1417 the Frieslanders obtained from the emperor Sigismund a charter, confirming the entire independence of their state. William was the less inclined to undertake any expedition into Friesland, as the alliance he had formed between his only daughter, Jacqueline, or Jacoba, and a son of the king of France, involved him in some degree in the cabals of that court.

The insanity of the king, Charles VI, and the weak and vicious character of the queen, Isabella of Bavaria, had rendered the royal authority in France utterly inefficient, leaving the kingdom a prey to the fury of the rival factions, so celebrated in history, of Burgundy and Orleans. It was during the ascendency of the former that John, duke of Touraine, second son of the king of France, had been betrothed to Jacqueline of Holland, niece of the duke of Burgundy. Owing to the youth of the parties, the marriage was not completed until 1415, when Jacqueline was declared heir to Hainault, Holland, and Friesland.

By the death of his elder brother, Louis, John succeeded, a few months after, to the title of dauphin, and became heir-apparent to the French crown, but he died in 1417.

To William his loss was irreparable. The succession to the county had been settled on his only legitimate child, Jacqueline, with the condition that the government was to remain in the hands of her husband. On both the previous occasions, when the county had been left without a male heir, a great proportion of the Hollanders had shown a vehement dislike to submit to the authority of a female, and he, therefore, dreaded lest the claims of his daughter might be set aside in favour of his brother John, bishop-elect of Liège. To guard against any such attempt, he assembled the nobles and towns of Holland, who, at his requisition, solemnly swore to acknowledge Jacqueline lawful heir and successor, in case he should die without a son. Most of the

principal nobles and the large towns of Holland signed this agreement, as well as the states of Zealand; and William, thinking he had now placed the succession of his daughter on a firm footing, returned to Hainault. Here he soon after died at Bouchain, in May, 1417. During the reign of William the herring fishery, a source of such immense national wealth to Holland, began rapidly to increase.

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF JACQUELINE

The death of William VI left the government of the county in the hands of his young and widowed daughter, who had barely attained the age of seventeen. Yet, endued with understanding far above her years and a courage uncommon to her sex, joined to the most captivating grace and beauty, the countess had already secured the respect and affection of her subjects, which, after her accession, she neglected no method to retain, by confirming everywhere their ancient charters and privileges; and the Hollanders might have promised themselves long years of tranquillity and happiness under her rule, had it not been for the unprincipled ambition of her paternal uncle, John of Bavaria, surnamed the Ungodly,[1] bishop-elect of Liège.

Being resolved to abandon the spiritual condition, and procure himself to be acknowledged governor of Holland, he repaired to Dordrecht, where he had many partisans, and was proclaimed there. The other towns, however, both of Holland and Zealand, and whether espousing the hook or cod party, refused to acknowledge him. Jacqueline assembled her troops, placing herself at their head. The followers of John were defeated, and more than a thousand men slain. The presence of so formidable an enemy in her states made it advisable that the young countess should marry without delay. Her father had in his will named as her future husband, John, eldest son of Anthony, late duke of Brabant, and first cousin to Jacqueline; and although she showed no inclination to the person of the young prince, the union was so earnestly pressed by her mother and John, duke of Burgundy, her uncle, that, a dispensation having been procured from the pope, the parties were married at Biervliet early in the following spring (1418).

John of Bavaria, to whom this marriage left no pretence for insisting on the regency, found means to induce the pope, Martin V, and the emperor Sigismund, to lend their aid to his project. John sent a trusty ambassador to resign his bishopric into the hands of the pope, and to solicit in return a dispensation from holy orders and liberty to enter the marriage state. Martin consented to his wishes, and a matrimonial alliance with Elizabeth of Luxemburg, widow of Anthony, duke of Brabant, and niece to the emperor, gained him the favour and support of Sigismund, who declared the county of Holland and Zealand a fief reverted in default of heirs male to the empire, with which he invested John of Bavaria, commanding the nobility, towns, and inhabitants in general, to acknowledge allegiance to him, and releasing them from the oaths they had taken to Jacqueline and John of Brabant.

John of Bavaria assumed the title of count, and was acknowledged at Dordrecht; but the other towns declared that the county of Holland and Zealand was no fief of the empire, nor was the succession in anywise restricted to heirs male.

[1 *Sine pietate*, from his refusal to receive holy orders according to Monstrelet; others give him the surname of "pitiless," which it is said he obtained by his cruelties at Liège: but he gave no orders for executions there, except in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy and the count of Holland.]

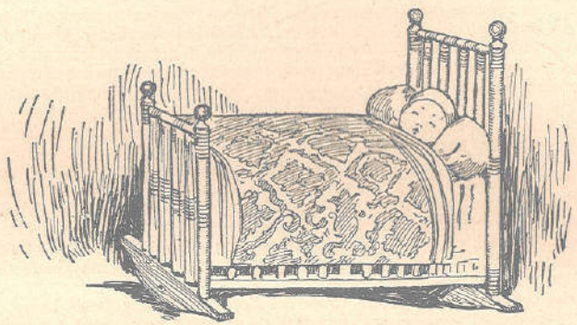
So far from supporting the pretensions of John, the towns of Haarlem, Delft, and Leyden had raised a loan for Jacqueline, and they laid siege to Dordrecht, the expedition being commanded by the young John of Brabant. His troops were not in sufficient number to carry the town. John of Bavaria advanced to Rotterdam, the capture of which John of Brabant found himself unable to prevent, and the former, in consequence, became master of a considerable portion of South Holland. The feeble John of Brabant was reduced to make a treaty with his rival in 1420, whereby he ceded to him Holland, Zealand, and Friesland for the space of twelve years; and this conduct, without bettering the condition of his affairs, served but to increase the dislike with which he had for some time been viewed by the Brabanters.

Nor was this feeling manifested by them alone. Countess Jacqueline had consented to the marriage with the young duke of Brabant, without the slightest sentiment of affection towards him, yielding her own inclinations on this point to the persuasions of her mother: nor were the circumstances of their union such as subsequently to conciliate her love or esteem. The princess was in her twenty-second year, of a healthy constitution and vigorous intellect, lively, spirited, and courageous; her husband, on the contrary, about two years younger than herself, was feeble alike in body and mind, indolent, and capricious. Through his incapacity, she now saw herself stripped of her fairest possessions, nor did there appear any security for her retaining the rest; he, moreover, maintained an illicit connection with the daughter of a Brabant nobleman; and, with the petty tyranny which little minds are so fond of exercising, he forced her to dismiss all the Holland ladies from her service, and to fill their places with those of Brabant. She secretly quitted the court; and, accompanied by her mother, escaped in 1421 by way of Calais to England, where she was courteously received by Henry V, and a hundred pounds a month allotted for her maintenance. In the winter of the same year she held at the baptismal font the infant son of the king, afterwards Henry VI.

Jacqueline was now determined at all risks to procure the dissolution of the bonds that had become so odious to her; and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, brother of the king, tempted by her large inheritance and captivated by her personal charms, eagerly entered into a negotiation with her for a future matrimonial alliance, which had been projected even before her flight from Brabant. An almost insurmountable difficulty, however, presented itself, in the necessity of procuring a dispensation from the pope. Martin V had granted one three years before, against the wishes both of the emperor and John of Bavaria, for her marriage with John of Brabant; and it appeared scarcely reasonable to ask him now to revoke it. Humphrey and Jacqueline applied to Benedict XIII, who had been deposed by the council of Pisa in 1409, and was acknowledged only by the king of Aragon. Benedict, flattered with the recognition of his authority, and pleased with the opportunity of acting in opposition to his rival, readily granted a bull of divorce, which they pretended to have obtained from the legitimate pope, and which Martin V afterwards publicly declared to be fictitious.

Although such a divorce could not by any means be considered as valid, the marriage between the duke of Gloucester and the countess Jacqueline was, nevertheless, solemnized in the end of the year 1422. But the proximity of his claims to the county of Holland rendered the marriage of the English duke with the countess in the highest degree distasteful to Philip of Burgundy. She had no children by the duke of Brabant, nor did it appear probable that she ever would; but her union with Humphrey might prove

more fruitful, and the birth of a child effectually bar Philip from the succession. He therefore complained of this step as an affront offered to himself. He found Humphrey, however, determined to resign, on no consideration, either his wife or his claim to her states; but having obtained for her an act of naturalisation from the English parliament, in 1424, together with subsidies of troops and money, he set out for Hainault, where, Philip of Burgundy and John of Brabant being unprepared for resistance, the towns universally opened their gates to him. Little occurred during the campaign, except mutual defiances between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester; and Humphrey, accepting the challenge of the former to single combat, in



DUTCH CRADLE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

the presence of the duke of Bedford, returned to England under pretext of making the necessary preparations, but in reality, probably, from a conviction that he should not be able long to withstand the power of Burgundy. He left the countess in Mons, which, shortly after his departure, was threatened with a siege. Jacqueline wrote a letter, couched in the most moving terms, to solicit succours from her husband, which, unhappily, never reached him, being intercepted by the duke of Burgundy.[i]

Jacqueline's Letter to Her Husband

The following is the letter as quoted by Monstrelet:

My very dear and redoubted lord and father, in the most humble of manners in this world I recommend myself to your kind favour. May it please you to know, my very redoubted lord and father, that I address myself to you as the most doleful, most ruined, and most treacherously deceived woman living; for, my very dear lord, on Sunday, the 13th of this present month of June, the deputies of your town of Mons returned, and brought with them a treaty that had been agreed on between our fair cousin of Burgundy and our fair cousin of Brabant; which treaty had been made in the absence and without the knowledge of my mother, as she herself signifies to me, and confirmed by her chaplain, Master Gerard le Grand.

My mother, most redoubted lord, has written to me letters, certifying the above treaty having been made; but that, in regard to it, she knew not how to advise me, for that she was herself doubtful how to act. She desired me, however, to call an assembly of the principal burghers of Mons, and learn from them what aid and advice they were willing to give me. Upon this, my sweet lord and father, I went on the morrow to the town-house, and remonstrated with them, that it had been at their request and earnest entreaties that you had left me under their safeguard and on their oaths, that they would be true and loyal subjects, and take especial care of me, so that they should be enabled to give you good accounts on your return; and these oaths had been taken on the holy sacrament at the altar, and on the sacred evangelists.

To this my harangue, my dear and honoured lord, they simply replied that they were not sufficiently strong within the town to defend and guard me; and instantaneously they rose in tumult, saying that my people wanted to murder them; and, my sweet lord, they carried matters so far that, in despite of me, they arrested one of your sergeants, called Maquart, whom they immediately beheaded, and hanged very many who were of your party and strongly attached to your interests, such as Bardould de la Porte, his brother Colart, and others, to the number of 250 of your adherents. They also wished to seize Sir Baldwin the treasurer, and Sir Louis de Montfort; but though they did not succeed, I know not what they intend doing; for, my very dear lord, they plainly told me that unless I make peace, they will deliver me into the hands of the duke of Brabant, and that I shall only remain eight days longer in their town, when I shall be forced to go into Flanders, which will be to me the most painful of events; for I very much fear that, unless you shall hasten to free me from the hands I am now in, I shall never see you more. Alas! my most dear and redoubted father, my whole hope is in your power, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings arise from my love to you. I therefore entreat, in the most humble manner possible, and for the love of God, that you would be pleased to have compassion on me and on my affairs; for you must hasten to succour your most doleful creature, if you do not wish to lose her forever. I have hopes that you will do as I beg, for, dear father, I have never behaved ill to you in my whole life, and so long as I shall live I will never do anything to displease you, but I am ready to die for love of you and your noble person.

Your government pleases me much; and by my faith, my very redoubted lord and prince, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you will consider, by the love of God and of my lord St. George, the melancholy situation of myself and my affairs more maturely than you have hitherto done, for you seem entirely to have forgotten me.

Nothing more do I know at present than that I ought sooner to have sent Sir Louis de Montfort to you, for he cannot longer remain here, although he attended me when all the rest deserted me; and he will tell you more particularly all that has happened than I can do in a letter. I entreat, therefore, that you will be a kind lord to him, and send me your good pleasure and commands, which I will most heartily obey. This is known to the blessed Son of God, whom I pray to grant you a long and happy life, and that I may have the great joy of seeing you soon.

Written in the false and traitorous town of Mons, with a doleful heart, the 6th day of June. Your sorrowful and well-beloved daughter, suffering great grief by your commands—your daughter, DE QUIENEBOURG.[n]

Last Days of Jacqueline

The appeal never reached its destination and, on June 13th, Jacqueline was delivered by the citizens of Mons into the hands of the duke of Burgundy's deputies, and conducted to Ghent, to be detained there until the pope should decide the question of her marriage.

After remaining some little time in confinement, Jacqueline escaped, in male disguise, to Antwerp, and resuming the attire of her sex proceeded thence to Woudrichen, which opened its gates to her, as well as Oudewater, Gouda, and Schoonhoven. The citadel of the latter resisted for some days the army which the hook nobles assembled to besiege it, but was ultimately forced to surrender on conditions. Their lives and estates were granted to all the defenders except one named Arnold Beiling, the cause of whose reservation is not known. His conduct on the occasion proved that the high principle of honour and undaunted courage which we are accustomed to attribute peculiarly to the knightly and the noble animated no less strongly the breast of a simple Dutch burgher. He was condemned to be buried alive, but besought a respite of one month to arrange his affairs, and take leave of his friends: it was granted upon his word of honour alone, and he was permitted to depart without further security. He returned punctually at the time appointed, and the sentence was executed a short distance without the walls of the town. The confidence with which this singular request was granted, showing, as it does, the habitual reliance placed on the good faith of the Hollanders, is only less admirable than the courageous integrity with which the promise was fulfilled.

The death of John of Bavaria in 1425 by poison, administered, as some

say, at the instigation of the countess-dowager, others, by his steward,[1] a knight of the hook party, some months after the return of Jacqueline to Holland, although it delivered her from an inveterate and powerful enemy, did not contribute to retrieve her fortunes. He had named Philip of Burgundy his heir in case he should die without issue, and that ambitious prince now took advantage of the event to obtain from John of Brabant the title of governor (or *ruward*) and heir to the county of Holland; John himself retaining the name of count, and being acknowledged as such by all the towns which had held to the party of John of Bavaria. From this time he does not appear to have concerned himself in any way with the government of the county. Philip came into Holland, where he was acknowledged governor by the greater portion of the towns.

The countess Jacqueline remained meanwhile at Gouda, where, hearing that some towns of the cod party had united their forces to besiege her, she obtained assistance from the Utrechters, who had always remained faithful to her cause, and advanced at the head of her troops to meet her enemies near Alpen, where she gained a considerable victory over them. This success was followed by the welcome news that an English fleet had been equipped for her service by the duke of Gloucester, bringing five hundred choice land troops. It arrived, in effect, early in 1426 at Schouwen, under the command of the earl Fitzwalter, whom he had appointed his stadholder over Holland and Zealand. Philip assembled an army of four thousand men, and sailed to Brouwershaven, where the English, joined with the Zealanders of the hook party, were encamped. Immediately on the landing of the cods the troops came to a severe engagement, which lasted the whole day, and terminated to the disadvantage of the English and hooks; one thousand four hundred of the former and some of the principal nobles of Zealand were slain, Fitzwalter himself being forced to seek safety by flight.

This unfortunate encounter lost Jacqueline the whole of Zealand; nevertheless, she did not yield to despair, but, taking advantage of the absence of Duke Philip from Holland, she engaged the men of Alkmaar, with the Kennemerlanders and West Frieslanders, to lay siege to Haarlem: this undertaking also was unsuccessful; but the Kennemerlanders made themselves masters of several forts belonging to the cod party.

The advance of Philip in person did not permit Jacqueline to continue any longer in North Holland. She therefore retreated once more to Gouda, when all the towns in that quarter opened their gates to Philip. The hooks vented their rage upon the town of Enkhuizen; having collected a few vessels, they surprised it as the burghers were engaged in their midday meal, seized more than a hundred of the principal persons, and beheaded them. Under pretext of securing them from similar assaults in future, Philip placed foreign garrisons in the greater number of the towns, and erected a citadel at Hoorn.

The filling the towns with foreign soldiers, an act unprecedented in the history of the country, was the first of those violent and unpopular measures pursued by Philip and his successors which, in the next century, lost them so rich and fair a portion of their dominions. It was followed by others no less inimical to the ancient customs and privileges of the people; the Kennemerlanders were punished for the support they had given to their lawful sovereign, by the forfeiture of their charters and immunities; the towns and villages which had adhered to Jacqueline were condemned to pay a fine of

[1 John van Vliet, who married Jacqueline's illegitimate sister, confessed to poisoning him by spreading on the leaves of a prayer-book poison bought from an English merchant. He was put to death. John of Bavaria was several months in dying.]

123,300 crowns within six months, and to be subject to a perpetual tax of four groots (halfpence) for every hearth. Even those towns which had been friendly to Philip were obliged to contribute heavy "petitions" for the payment of his troops.

The countess Jacqueline found her affairs in a desperate condition. The pope had not only declared her marriage with the duke of Brabant valid, but prohibited the contraction of any future marriage between her and the duke of Gloucester, even after the death of John of Brabant,[1] whose health and strength were rapidly decaying. This event, which occurred within a short time from the issuing of the papal bull, and the intelligence that the English parliament had granted 20,000 marks expressly for her relief, inspired Jacqueline with hopes, nevertheless, that Gloucester would lend effective aid towards reinstating her in possession of her inheritance, and emboldened her to appeal to a general council of the Church against the decree of the pope. But the duke of Bedford, having concluded a truce for his brother with the duke of Burgundy, forbade him to go to Holland, and Gloucester himself showed no inclination to second the efforts of the countess.

In spite of her remonstrances, and of the reproaches of his own countrywomen, he forsook his noble and highborn bride for the charms of Eleanor Cobham, whom he now married, after her having lived with him some years as his mistress. Jacqueline, conscious of possessing, besides her princely birth and rich estates, all the alluring attractions of her sex, was struck to the heart by this cruel and unlooked-for desertion. Jacqueline and the hook nobles, seeing no chance of defending themselves, offered terms of compromise to the duke, to which he readily listened.

By this treaty [called the Reconciliation of Delft, July 3rd, 1428] Jacqueline was to surrender her states to the administration of Philip as heir and governor, but retain the title of countess, with an engagement not to contract another marriage without the consent of the duke, of her mother, and of the three estates; in which case, she was to resign, in favour of Philip, her claim to the allegiance of her subjects. The government of Holland, in the duke's absence, was to be entrusted to nine councillors, of whom the countess should name three, and the duke the six others—three natives, and three from other parts of his dominions. (It had been an express stipulation, in the marriage articles of Jacqueline with the duke of Touraine, that no foreigners were to be admitted to offices within the county.) The duke was to have the sole nomination of all the higher offices, both in the towns and open country. The future revenues of the county, after the subtraction of salaries to public officers, and other necessary expenses, were to be paid to the countess. The exiles on both sides were to be permitted to return to their country, and no one, under a penalty, should reproach another with the party names of hook and cod.

Jacqueline was obliged to go through the towns of Holland with the duke, and cause the oaths to be taken to him as heir and governor; and thus deprived of all authority in the government, she retired to Goes in South Beveland. One friend, and one alone, was left to her in this time of need. Francis van Borselen, although a conspicuous member of the cod party, and appointed by Philip stadholder of Holland, was ever ready to assist her with his purse and counsel, though at the risk of alienating his friends, and even of losing his valuable offices. The gratitude and esteem which such conduct naturally

[1 This prince, although from his deficiency in talent he appears in so contemptible a light, is said by historians to have been just, pious, and benevolent. His name is honourable to posterity as the founder of the university of Louvain in 1426.

excited in the breast of the forsaken princess soon deepened into feelings of the tenderest attachment; and, under their impulse, she consented to a secret marriage with Borselen, though she well knew the penalty which must attach to a discovery. This event was soon known to Philip, who had too many of his partisans around her to admit of its remaining long concealed; nor did he delay to make use of it as a means of depriving Jacqueline of her title of countess, all that now remained of her birthright.

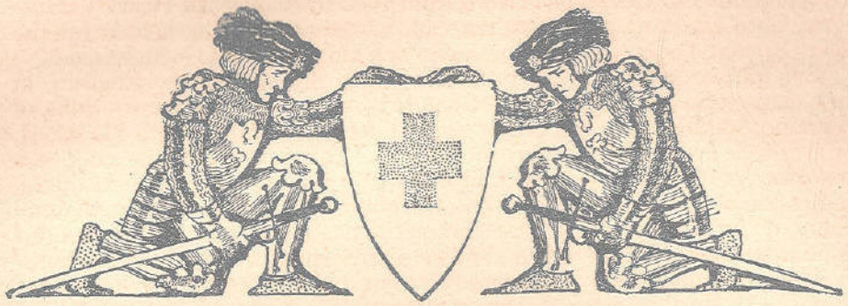
His first measure was to cause Francis van Borselen to be arrested at the Hague, and conducted prisoner to Ruppelmonde; after which, he allowed a report to go abroad that the unfortunate nobleman was to be released only by death; judging, with good reason, that the desire to save a husband so beloved would reduce the countess to such terms of submission as he should dictate.

The issue justified his expectations. Upon condition that the duke should release Francis van Borselen and confirm their marriage, she renounced in 1433 all right and title to the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault; in the event of the duke dying before her, the county was to revert to herself and her heirs. Philip afterwards appointed her grand forester of Holland and created Borselen count of Oosterhaut, but deprived him of the office of stadholder.

Such was the end of the troubled and disastrous reign of the countess Jacqueline. There are many points in the character and story of this lovely and unhappy lady which strongly remind us of the still more unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots: her personal beauty, captivating manners, masculine courage, and extraordinary talent; her early marriage to the heir of the French crown, with the disappointment of her high hopes, caused by his premature death; the disgust and misery attendant on her second union; and her final subjection to the power of an artful and ambitious rival. But, innocent of the crimes or indiscretions of Mary, she escaped also her violent and cruel death; and we may be tempted to believe that the period which she passed in obscurity, united, for the first time, by the ties of affection, to an object every way worthy of her love and esteem, was the happiest of her life. If so, however, her felicity was but of short duration, since in 1436 she died of consumption, about two years after her abdication, at the age of thirty-six.[f]

Of Jacqueline, Blok writes vividly: "Jacqueline was destined to play a romantic part in history. Poets have sung her fate, and even dry chronicles wax eloquent when she is their theme. The barren twigs of records begin to bear blossoms when her sorrows, her proud resistance, are recorded. She was a tall, well-formed, active woman, brought up in an isolated castle in Hainault, hardened by hunting and feats at arms, skilled in minnesong and tourneys, besides being at home in the English and French tongues. She was quite capable of leading troops, conducting sieges, and making plans of policy as well as the most skilled knight, the most experienced diplomat in her train. And she won many hearts by her courageous bearing. She was a woman in armour — the worthy granddaughter of the valiant empress Margaret; the worthy kinswoman of her famous great-aunt, Philippa of Hainault, queen of England; the worthy daughter of her proud mother, Margaret of Burgundy, and of her chivalrous father."[b]

It is a striking coincidence that this brave and beautiful princess, who often donned man's attire, should have been a contemporary of the warrior-peasant Joan of Arc. Jacqueline gave up her long struggle in 1428; Joan appeared at the French court and raised the siege of Orleans in 1429; Jacqueline's enemy, Burgundy, was in alliance with the English and it was he who delivered Joan to them. Joan was burned in 1431 at the age of twenty; Jacqueline died five years later at the age of thirty-six. Her four marriages had all been childless, and her death left the rest of her territories to the undisputed rule of the house of Burgundy.[a]



CHAPTER IV

THE NETHERLANDS UNDER BURGUNDY AND THE EMPIRE

[1436–1555 A.D.]

BURGUNDY, or Bourgogne, as it is called by the French who now possess the bulk of it, has played so important and complicated a rôle in the politics of Europe that some separate account of its history is desirable. The Burgundi or Burgundiones, so called from living in *burgi* or burghs, were apparently of Gothic stock. They are first discovered between the Vistula and the Oder about 289 A.D. They defeated the Alamanni, and in 406 migrated to Gaul under Gunther, or Gundicar, who had played a large part in the election of the emperor Jovinus. The Romans compelled the Celtic Ædui to divide lands, property, and slaves with the Burgundi, whose first definite kingdom was founded between the Rhone and the Aar, where Christianity was speedily adopted. Gundicar was killed in a battle with the Gauls, and succeeded by Gunderic (436–470), whose four sons divided his realm, setting their capitals at Geneva, Besançon, Lyons, and Vienne. In 507 Gundibald reunited the fragments into one realm, and made the code known either by his name, or as the *Loi Gombette*. He was succeeded in 516 by his son Sigismund, and he by Gundimar in 524, with whom ended this Burgundian dynasty, for in 534 he was expelled and his realm absorbed in the Frankish Empire.

THE RISE OF BURGUNDY

After the division of Verdun in 843 the Burgundians were separated into the duchy and the realm of Burgundy. The realm itself was subdivided, and Boson founded the kingdom of Lower Burgundy or Cisjuran; while in 888, Rudolf, a Guelfic Swiss count, organised the kingdom of Upper Burgundy or Transjuran. Boson in 882 accepted Charles the Stout as overlord, and Rudolf's son, Rudolf, was eventually allowed to add Cisjuran to Transjuran in 933, in exchange for his rights to the Italian crown. The united kingdom, often known as Arles or the Arelatian Kingdom, was governed by a line of princes who rivalled and often overbore the Carlovingian rulers. But in 1033 it was absorbed into the German Empire by Conrad II.

Meanwhile, Boson's brother, Richard, had given his allegiance to Charles the Bald, and received from the French king the so-called duchy of Burgundy.

It was reunited to the French crown from 1002 to 1032, when Henry I transferred it to his brother, Robert the Old, whose descendants held it for the older Capetian line till 1361, when the French king, John the Good, seized it.

But in the defeat of Poitiers he was taken prisoner by the English; in that disgraceful rout, his youngest son, Philip the Bold (*le hardi*), duke of Touraine, was the only one of the sons to defend his father with his sword. In gratitude he gave the youth the duchy of Burgundy with the rank of a first peer of France. Barante,[b] in his history of the Burgundian dukes, quotes the old charter which justifies the grant "for the reason that the said Philip, of his own free will, exposed himself to death with us, and, all wounded as he was, remained steadfast and fearless throughout the battle of Poitiers."

It was a kingly reward for princely valour, but the consequences were not happy. As Martin[c] says: "John as a farewell to his realm left an act that crowned all his faults — the alienation of the duchy of Burgundy, which had just been so happily reunited to the crown. The sage policy of Louis the Fat, of Philip Augustus, and of St. Louis was very remote. The insensate Valois voluntarily loosened the structure of the monarchy, to constitute this fatal oligarchy of the 'sires of the fleurs-de-lis,' which renewed the grand feudalism and upset France for a century."

It was not till 1364 that Philip the Bold came into full possession of the duchy; in that year he entered his capital, Dijon, in state. His brother, Charles V of France, enlarged his power by giving him the stadholdership of the Île-de-France, and arranging his marriage with Margaret of Flanders. Later he acquired from her inheritance also Artois and the countship of Burgundy, known later as the Franche-Comté, uniting two of the most important French fiefs in the hands of a new power destined to rival and threaten the French crown.[a]

PHILIP THE BOLD

Thus the house of Burgundy, which soon after became so formidable and celebrated, obtained this vast accession to its power. The various changes which had taken place in the neighbouring provinces during the continuance of these civil wars had altered the state of Flanders altogether. John d'Avesnes, count of Hainault, having also succeeded in 1299 to the county of Holland, the two provinces, though separated by Flanders and Brabant, remained from that time under the government of the same chief, who soon became more powerful than the bishops of Utrecht, or even than their formidable rivals the Frisians.

During the wars which desolated these opposing territories, in consequence of the perpetual conflicts for superiority, the power of the various towns insensibly became at least as great as that of the nobles to whom they were constantly opposed. The commercial interests of Holland, also, were considerably advanced by the influx of Flemish merchants forced to seek refuge there from the convulsions which agitated their province. Every day confirmed and increased the privileges of the people of Brabant; while at Liège the inhabitants gradually began to gain the upper hand, and to shake off the former subjection to their sovereign bishops.

Although Philip of Burgundy became count of Flanders, by the death of his father-in-law, in the year 1384, it was not till the following year that he concluded a peace with the people of Ghent, and entered into quiet possession of the province. In the same year the duchess of Brabant, the last descendant of the duke of that province, died, leaving no nearer relative

than the duchess of Burgundy; so that Philip obtained in right of his wife this new and important accession to his dominions.

But the consequent increase of the sovereign's power was not, as is often the case, injurious to the liberties or happiness of the people. Philip continued to govern in the interest of the country, which he had the good sense to consider as identified with his own. He augmented the privileges of the towns, and negotiated for the return into Flanders of those merchants who had emigrated to Germany and Holland during the continuance of the civil wars. He thus by degrees accustomed his new subjects, so proud of their rights, to submit to his authority; and his peaceable reign was only disturbed by the fatal issue of the expedition of his son, John the Fearless, count de Nevers, against the Turks. This young prince, filled with ambition and temerity, was offered the command of the force sent by Charles VI of France to the assistance of Sigismund of Hungary in his war against Bajazet. Followed by a numerous body of nobles, he entered on the contest, and was defeated and taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Nicopoli. His army was totally destroyed, and himself only restored to liberty on the payment of an immense ransom.

John the Fearless succeeded in 1404 to the inheritance of all his father's dominions, with the exception of Brabant, of which his younger brother, Anthony of Burgundy, became duke. John, whose ambitious and ferocious character became every day more strongly developed, now aspired to the government of France during the insanity of his cousin Charles VI. He occupied himself little with the affairs of the Netherlands, from which he only desired to draw supplies of men. But the Flemings, taking no interest in his personal views or private projects, and equally indifferent to the rivalry of England and France, which now began so fearfully to afflict the latter kingdom, forced their ambitious count to declare their province a neutral country; so that the English merchants were admitted as usual to trade in all the ports of Flanders, and the Flemings equally well received in England; while the duke made open war against that country in his quality of a prince of France and sovereign of Burgundy. This is probably the earliest well-established instance of such a distinction between the prince and the people.

Anthony, duke of Brabant, the brother of Philip, was not so closely restricted in his authority and wishes. He led all the nobles of the province to take part in the quarrels of France; and he suffered the penalty of his rashness, in meeting his death in the battle of Agincourt. But the duchy suffered nothing by this event, for the militia of the country had not followed their duke and his nobles to the war; and a national council was now established, consisting of eleven persons, two of whom were ecclesiastics, three barons, two knights, and four commoners. This council, formed on principles so fairly popular, conducted the public affairs with great wisdom during the minority of the young duke. Each province seems thus to have governed itself upon principles of republican independence. The sovereigns could not at discretion, or by the want of it, play the bloody game of war for their mere amusement; and the emperor putting in his claim at this epoch to his ancient rights of sovereignty over Brabant, as an imperial fief, the council and the people treated the demand with derision.

John the Fearless, after having caused the murder of his rival the duke of Orleans, was himself assassinated, on the bridge of Montereau, by the followers of the dauphin of France, and in his presence. Philip duke of Burgundy, the son and successor of John, had formed a close alliance with Henry V, to revenge his father's murder; and soon after the death of the

king Philip married his sister, and thus united himself still more nearly to the celebrated John duke of Bedford, brother of Henry, and regent of France, in the name of his infant nephew, Henry VI. But besides the share on which he reckoned in the spoils of France, Philip also looked with a covetous eye on the inheritance of Jacqueline of Holland, his cousin. Her death in 1436, at the age of thirty-six, removed all restraint from Philip's thirst for aggrandisement, in the indulgence of which he drowned his remorse. As if fortune had conspired for the rapid consolidation of his greatness, the death of Philip count of Saint Pol, who had succeeded his brother John in the dukedom of Brabant, gave him the sovereignty of that extensive province; and his dominions soon extended to the very limits of Picardy, by the Peace of Arras, concluded with the dauphin, now become Charles VII, and by his finally contracting a strict alliance with France.

Philip of Burgundy, thus become sovereign of dominions at once so extensive and compact, had the precaution and address to obtain from the emperor a formal renunciation of his existing though almost nominal rights as lord paramount. He next purchased the title of the duchess of Luxemburg to that duchy; and thus the states of the house of Burgundy gained an extent about equal to that of the existing kingdom of the Netherlands. For although on the north and east they did not include Friesland, the bishopric of Utrecht, Gelderland, or the province of Liège, still on the south and west they comprised French Flanders, the Boulonnais, Artois, and a part of Picardy, besides Burgundy.[d]

TORCHBEARER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

PHILIP AT WAR WITH ENGLAND (1436–1443)

As he equalled many of the sovereigns of Europe in the extent and excelled all of them in the riches of his dominions, so he now began to rival them in the splendour and dignity of his court. On the occasion of his marriage with Elizabeth, or Isabella, daughter of John, king of Portugal, celebrated at Bruges in January 1430, he instituted the famous order of the Golden Fleece, "to preserve the ancient religion, and to extend and defend the boundaries of the state." The number of knights, at the time of their institution, was twenty-four, besides the duke himself as president, and it was subsequently increased by the emperor Charles V to fifty-one.

The accession of a powerful and ambitious prince to the government of the county was anything but a source of advantage to the Dutch, excepting, perhaps, in a commercial point of view. Its effects were soon perceived in the declaration made by the council of Holland that the charters and privileges, acknowledged by the duke as governor and heir, were of no effect, unless afterwards confirmed by him as count. Nor was the diminution of their civil liberties the only evil which foreign dominion brought upon them. The last nation in Europe with which Holland would voluntarily wage war was perhaps England, and yet it was against her that she was now called upon to lavish her blood and treasure in an unprofitable contest.

The zeal of Philip for the English alliance had received its first check by the marriage of Jacqueline with Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; but the ready acquiescence of Humphrey in the decision of the pope, and his abandonment of his wife, had softened his resentment. The achievements of Joan of Arc changed the face of affairs, and rendered Philip less sanguine of the advantages to be reaped from the connection with England.

In 1435 he concluded a separate treaty with Charles VII. The English indignation at this treachery, as they termed it, knew no bounds. The populace of London, venting their rage indiscriminately on all the subjects of the duke of Burgundy, spared not, in the general pillage, even the houses of the Holland and Zealand merchants then residing in England, several of whom they seized and murdered. This served but to strengthen the determination that the duke had already formed of declaring war against England, which he did in the following year (1436). He opened the campaign with the siege of Calais, which the cowardice or disaffection of his Flemish troops,[1] and the backwardness of the Hollanders in bringing a fleet to his assistance, soon forced him to raise.

While the Hollanders manifested their unwillingness to take part in this unpopular war, the seditious state of the Flemish towns, caused by the imposition of a tax on salt, rendered Philip unable to prevent the ravages of the duke of Gloucester's army, which, marching from Calais, overran Flanders and Hainault (1437). The same cause embarrassed all his future operations against the English, and he was at length forced by his rebellious subjects to supplicate the king of England, through his wife, Isabella of Portugal, for the re-establishment of the commerce between the English and the Dutch and Flemings. This requisition, being granted, was followed by negotiations for a truce, which, prolonged until the year 1443, were at length concluded, and the peace was agreed upon. During the war between Burgundy and England, the Hollanders were engaged in hostilities more immediately on their own account with the Easterlings, or Hanse towns of the Baltic, which had plundered some of their ships.

Several sharp engagements were fought in which the Dutch generally had the advantage, though without any decisive event, until the spring of 1440, when the whole of a Hanseatic fleet was captured with little resistance. In 1441 a truce was concluded with the towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, and Lüneburg, for twelve years, within which period their differences were to be adjusted by five towns chosen by each party. This truce, being renewed from time to time, had all the beneficial effects of a regular and stable peace.

The cessation of foreign wars was, ere long, followed by the renewal of those intestine hook and cod commotions which had now for so protracted a period been the bane of Holland.

The lavish expenditure constantly maintained by the duke of Burgundy had reduced his finances to so low an ebb that he was obliged to have recourse to unpopular and even arbitrary measures, for the purpose of replenishing

[1 Only with difficulty could Philip keep the grumbling Flemings with his army. When at last the moment arrived that Humphrey's fleet was really in sight, they cried loudly about the Welsh treason, burned their tents, and stole away. In the meantime, Humphrey had landed without the least opposition, with ten thousand troops; and in this dilemma Philip instantly resolved to make an ignominious retreat with the small part of his army that remained. It was a hateful blot on the escutcheon of the grand master of the order of the Golden Fleece: and the inhuman judgments which he immediately put in train and destined for the Flemish states were chiefly owing to his indignation at being compelled to make this disgraceful retreat, to which the mutinous Flemings had forced him. — WENZELBURGER.e]

his treasury. Of this nature was the duty on salt, called in France the *gabelle*, a tax long established in that country, but hitherto unknown in any of the states of the Netherlands. Philip had not ventured to lay any impost of this kind upon Holland, but in Flanders he demanded eighteen pence upon every sack of salt sold there, which the citizens of Ghent absolutely refused to pay; and a new duty on grain, proposed in the next year, met in like manner with a universal and decided negative.

In the first emotions of his anger, Philip removed every member, both of the senate and great council of Ghent, from their offices; and the city being thus deprived of its magistrates, no power was left sufficiently strong to arrest the progress of sedition, for which men's minds were already too well prepared. The burghers, therefore, without delay, took an oath of mutual defence against the duke, assumed the white hood, the customary badge of revolt, elected captains of the burgher guards [*hoofdmannen*], and prepared to sustain a long siege, by laying up plentiful stores of ammunition and provisions. Several skirmishes were fought between the insurgents and the duke's forces with alternate success. The prisoners on both sides were massacred without mercy, no quarter was given, and no amount of ransom accepted.

Philip assembled an immense force, and entering Flanders in person captured Gaveren. The Ghenters marching out of Ghent to the number of 24,000, among whom were 7,000 volunteers from England, advanced to the village of Senmerssaken, within a short distance of Gaveren. On the first charge of the enemy, July 22nd, 1453, the Ghenters fled in disorder towards the Schelde, whither they were pursued by the Burgundians, when nearly the whole were slaughtered or drowned in attempting to escape by crossing the river. This overwhelming misfortune effectually broke the spirit of the insurgents.

The duke of Burgundy was so highly gratified with the alacrity which the Hollanders and Zealanders had shown (with a short-sighted policy perhaps) in lending their assistance to subdue the Ghenters, that he promised to release the people from the ten years' petition, in case of invasion, or the occurrence of a flood; and confirmed the valuable and important privilege *de non evocando* — that is, that no one should be brought to trial out of the boundaries of the county. A reservation, such as arbitrary princes have ever been fond of inserting in grants of popular privileges, that Philip himself was to be sole judge when a case of exception arose, considerably qualified this ancient right so deeply cherished by the Dutch nation.

It was during the war with the Ghenters that his son the count of Charolais, afterwards Charles the Bold, or Rash, first began to draw attention to himself.

Events now occurred in Utrecht which prepared the way for the future junction of this ecclesiastical state with the rest of the Netherlands. Philip had long desired this see for his natural son, David of Burgundy; but upon the death of the bishop, in 1455, the chapter unanimously elected Gilbert van Brederode. Philip prepared to secure by force the reception of his son in the bishopric; and for this purpose repaired to Holland to raise a general levy of troops. The Hollanders rarely failed to take advantage of a conjuncture, when their sovereigns required their support, to recover or extend their privileges; and the historian has often to admire their steady patience in waiting their opportunity — the manly but respectful earnestness with which they vindicated their claims, and the generous patriotism with which they made vast pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of their highly prized liberties.

On this occasion the West Frisians and Kennemerlanders, knowing that the duke must have recourse to their assistance, offered him a considerable sum of money for the restoration of the franchises of which they had been

deprived in 1426; the duke, in return, reinstated them in the same privileges as they had enjoyed before that time. The duke now sent an army into Utrecht. Gilbert surrendered all claim to the bishopric in favour of David of Burgundy.

Philip, fearing the effects of the restless temper of his son at the court, had created him stadholder-general of Holland; he had since then been put in possession of several rich lordships in the county, and as he found his influence daily increasing, he began to assume a more haughty tone, and to give evident tokens of dissatisfaction with many parts of his father's government.*i*

The relations of the house of Burgundy with Charles VII of France and his son, later Louis XI, have been so fully described in the French history, volume XI, chapters 9 and 10, that their repetition here will not be needed. It will only be necessary to remind the reader of the resemblance between the unruly and unfilial natures of the two young men, Charles and Louis, and the mutual hatred which they acquired for each other, probably in 1456, when Louis, then dauphin, fled from his father's wrath to the court of Philip of Burgundy. Later, war breaking out between France and Burgundy, Charles the Bold led his father's army to the very gates of Paris (1465), and held Louis XI at his mercy till after the conference and Treaty of Conflans.*a*

After the conclusion of this peace, Charles proceeded to chastise the insolence of the burghers of Liège and Dinant, who, having made an alliance with Louis on the breaking out of the war between France and Burgundy, invaded Brabant and Namur, and devastated the whole country with fire and sword. Charles, on his return from France, laid siege to Liège, defeated an army of Liègois before its walls, and the town, hopeless of assistance from Louis, surrendered on conditions. The citizens were forced to pay a fine of six hundred thousand Rhenish guilders. Dinant was taken by storm and pillaged (1466), its fortifications were razed to the ground, and eight hundred of the inhabitants drowned in the Maas, by order of Charles.

Whether or not the Hollanders took part in either of these expeditions is uncertain; but it is clear that they were by no means exempt from a share in the expenses they entailed on the states. A ten years' petition was levied on Holland and West Friesland, amounting to 55,183 crowns a year: and Zealand was taxed in the same proportion. Charles, during his residence in these provinces, had found means so greatly to increase his influence that he was little likely to meet with resistance to any of his demands, even if the example of Ghent had not afforded a severe lesson to such as might be inclined to offer it. He obtained, as we have seen, considerable baronies both in Holland and Zealand; he reduced the number of the council of state from eight-and-twenty to eight, besides the stadholder; and as he professed to choose them rather for their skill in affairs than for the nobility of their birth, they became entirely subservient to his will. He likewise deprived the council of the office of auditing the public accounts, which it had hitherto exercised, uniting the chamber of finance at the Hague with that of Brussels.

This was the first step towards a union between Holland and the rest of the Netherlands, which was afterwards partially, but never entirely, effected. Charles was recalled from Holland into Brabant in the early part of the year 1467, by the declining health of his father, who lay sick at Bruges of a quinsy, which terminated his existence on the 15th of February, in the seventy-second year of his age. He left by his wife, Isabella of Portugal, only one son, Charles. The number of his illegitimate children is said by some to have been thirty, but he made provision for no more than nineteen. Philip's

THE CITIZENS OF CASSEL SURRENDERING TO PHILIP THE GOOD
(From the painting by Francis Taddegrain, 1887, in the Lille Musée)

humanity, benevolence, affability, and strict regard to justice obtained for him the surname of Good; while his love of peace, and the advantageous treaties which the extent and importance of his dominions enabled him to make with foreign nations, tended greatly to increase the commerce of his subjects.

ART AND CULTURE OF THE PERIOD

The wealth procured by the genius and industry of the Netherlanders enabled them to sustain the heavy burdens laid upon them by Duke Philip with a comparative ease which led Comines,[g] a contemporary author, to suppose that they were, in fact, more lightly taxed than the subjects of other princes. As Philip, however, during the whole of his reign kept up a court which surpassed every other in Europe in luxury and magnificence, and contrived besides to amass vast sums of money, it is evident that his treasury must have been liberally supplied by his people. During his attendance on Louis XI, at Paris, when that monarch went to take possession of his kingdom, Monstrelet[h] says "he excited the admiration of the Parisians by the splendour of his dress, table, and equipages; the hôtel d'Artois, where he lived, was hung with the richest tapestries ever seen in France. When he rode through the streets, he wore every day some new dress, or jewel of price — the frontlet of his horse was covered with the richest jewels."

Noblewoman of the Sixteenth Century

We are told by Pontus Heuterus,[i] a native though not contemporary author, that Philip "received more money from his subjects than they had paid in four centuries together before; but they thought little of it, since he used no force, nor the words *sic volo, sic jubeo.*"

The supposition of Comines is contradicted also by the fact that Philip excited a dangerous revolt in Ghent by the imposition of new and oppressive taxes on the Flemings; while in Holland he introduced the unprecedented and unconstitutional custom of levying petitions for a number of years together. He left, at his death, a treasure amounting to four hundred thousand crowns of gold and one hundred thousand marks of silver, with pictures, jewels, and furniture, supposed to be worth two millions more. The necessary expenses of the government must have been comparatively small, and the principal portion of the large sums Philip drew into his treasury was expended on his private pleasures, or in festivals, shows, and entertainments.

The example of prodigality set by the sovereign infected his whole court: the nobles vied with each other in squandering their incomes upon articles of effeminate luxury, or puerile ostentation; and the poverty they thus entailed upon themselves and their posterity was made a subject of bitter reproach to them under his successors.

The same cause retarded in Holland the progress of literature and the arts,

which in Flanders and Brabant, under the munificent patronage and encouragement of Philip, were making rapid advances: the Dutch had no name to oppose to that of Jan van Eyck, of Bruges, who, in the early part of this century, marked out an era in the annals of painting by his invention of oil colours: and it is in the works of foreigners and Flemings, as contemporary historians, of Monstrelet, Roya, and Comines, that we must seek for the passing notices of a country which had produced a John of Leyden and a Melis Stoke. The beneficial effects of printing in the general advancement of learning and civilisation were not as yet perceived, since the expense of printed books being hitherto little less than that of manuscripts, the possession of them was still confined to the wealthy few. The honour of this invention is, as it is well known, disputed between Mainz and Haarlem.*f*

CHARLES THE BOLD (1467–1477)

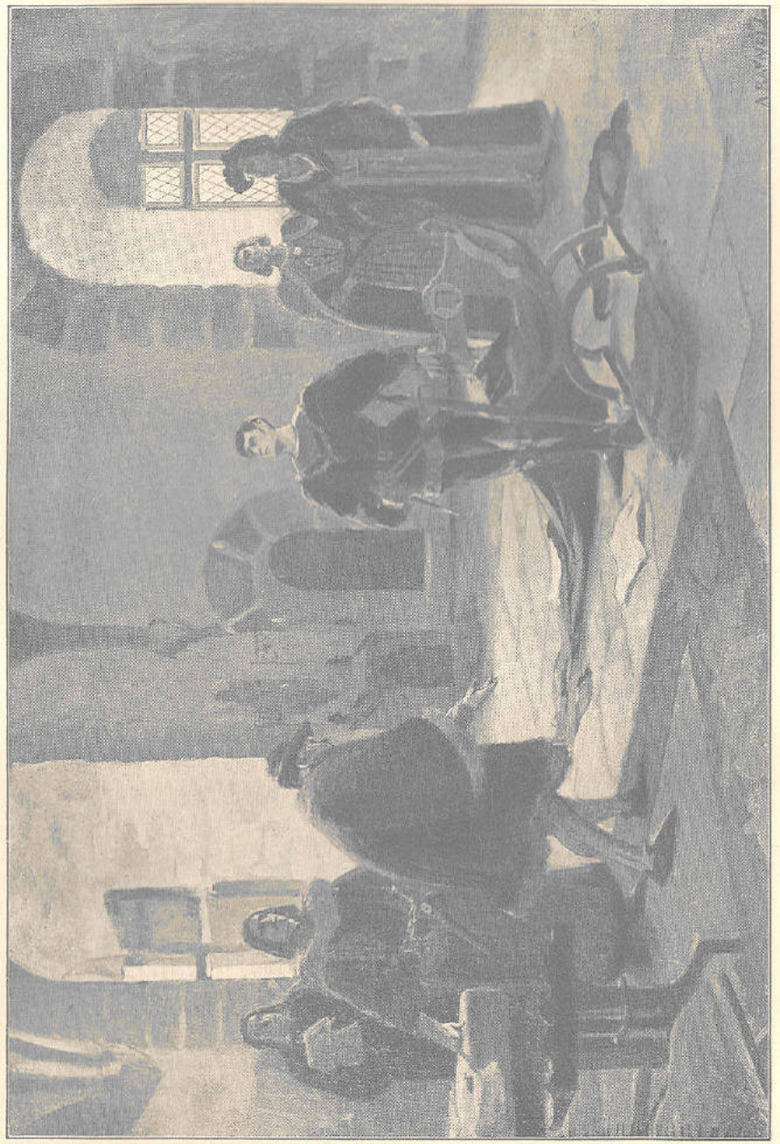
Charles began his career by seizing on all the money and jewels left by his father; he next dismissed the crowd of useless functionaries who had fed upon, under the pretence of managing, the treasures of the state. But this salutary and sweeping reform was only effected to enable the sovereign to pursue uncontrolled the most fatal of all passions, that of war. Nothing can better paint the true character of this haughty and impetuous prince than his crest (a branch of holly), and his motto, "Who touches it, pricks himself." Charles had conceived a furious and not ill-founded hatred for his base yet formidable neighbour and rival, Louis XI of France.

Charles was the proudest, most daring, and most unmanageable prince that ever made the sword the type and the guarantee of greatness; Louis the most subtle, dissimulating, and treacherous king that ever wove in his closet a tissue of hollow diplomacy and bad faith in government. The struggle between these sovereigns was unequal only in respect to this difference of character; for France, subdivided as it still was, and exhausted by the wars with England, was not comparable, either as regarded men, money, or the other resources of the state, to the compact and prosperous dominions of Burgundy.

Charles showed some symptoms of good sense and greatness of mind, soon after his accession to power, that gave a false colouring to his disposition, and encouraged illusory hopes as to his future career. Scarcely was he proclaimed count of Flanders at Ghent, when the populace, surrounding his hotel, absolutely insisted on and extorted his consent to the restitution of their ancient privileges. Furious as Charles was at this bold proof of insubordination, he did not revenge it; and he treated with equal indulgence the city of Mechlin, which had expelled its governor and rased the citadel. The people of Liège, having revolted against their bishop, Louis of Bourbon, who was closely connected with the house of Burgundy, were defeated by the duke in 1467, but he treated them with clemency; and immediately after this event, in February, 1468, he concluded with Edward IV[1] of England an alliance, offensive and defensive, against France.

Louis demanded an explanatory conference with Charles, and the town of Péronne in Picardy was fixed on for their meeting.[2] Louis, willing to imitate the boldness of his rival, who had formerly come to meet him in the very midst of his army, now came to the rendezvous almost alone. But he was severely mortified, and near paying a greater penalty than fright, for this

[1 He also married the king's sister, Margaret of York.]
[2 A full account of this famous interview by Comines, who was present, is given in volume XI.]



MEETING BETWEEN LOUIS XI AND CHARLES THE BOLD
(From the painting by Raynolt)

hazardous conduct. The duke, having received intelligence of a new revolt at Liège excited by some of the agents of France, instantly made Louis prisoner, in defiance of every law of honour or fair dealing. The excess of his rage and hatred might have carried him to a more disgraceful extremity, had not Louis, by force of bribery, gained over some of his most influential counsellors, who succeeded in appeasing his rage. He contented himself with humiliating, when he was disposed to punish. He forced his captive to accompany him to Liège, and witness the ruin of this unfortunate town, which he delivered over to plunder; and having given this lesson to Louis, he set him at liberty.

From this period there was a marked and material change in the conduct of Charles. He had been previously moved by sentiments of chivalry and notions of greatness. But sullied by his act of public treachery and violence towards the monarch who had, at least in seeming, manifested unlimited confidence in his honour, a secret sense of shame embittered his feelings and soured his temper. He became so insupportable to those around him that he was abandoned by several of his best officers, and even by his natural brother, Baldwin of Burgundy, who passed over to the side of Louis. Charles was at this time embarrassed by the expense of entertaining and maintaining Edward IV and numerous English exiles, who were forced to take refuge in the Netherlands by the successes of the earl of Warwick, who had replaced Henry VI on the throne. He then entered France at the head of his army, to assist the duke of Brittany; but he lost by his hot-brained caprice every advantage within his easy reach.

But he soon afterwards acquired the duchy of Gelderland from the old duke Arnold van Egmond, who had been temporarily despoiled of it by his son Adolphus. It was almost a hereditary consequence in this family that the children should revolt and rebel against their parents. Adolphus had the effrontery to found his justification on the argument that, his father having reigned forty-four years, he was fully entitled to his share — a fine practical authority for greedy and expectant heirs. The old father replied to this reasoning by offering to meet his son in single combat. Charles cut short the affair by making Adolphus prisoner and seizing on the disputed territory, for which he, however, paid Arnold the sum of 220,000 florins.[d]

Thus the whole of the Netherlands, with the exception of Friesland, was at this time under the dominion of the house of Burgundy; but the possession of Gelderland, which Charles so eagerly coveted, entailed a long and ruinous war upon his successors.

The favourite object of Charles' ambition was now to be ranked among the sovereigns of Europe, and to revive in his own person the ancient title of king of Burgundy.[1] He obtained the emperor's consent to invest him with this much-desired dignity by promising his only daughter and sole heiress, Mary, in marriage to Maximilian, son of Frederick, and a meeting at Treves was agreed upon between the two princes. Both repaired thither at the time appointed, with a splendid retinue; the crown, the sceptre, and the chair of state were already prepared, when the emperor insisted that the marriage of his son with Lady Mary should be first solemnised: suspecting, not without reason, that Charles, when once crowned, would never fulfil his part of the engagement, since he had often been heard to say that, on the day of his daughter's marriage, he would shave his head and become a monk. Charles was equally determined that the coronation should precede the marriage;

[1] He, however, possessed no part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, which comprised Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, Provence, Lyonnais, Savoy, Brescia, and great part of Switzerland.

and the coldness and mistrust which this dispute created in the mind of Frederick was so great that he suddenly quitted Treves, leaving the duke overwhelmed with confusion and anger, an object at once of derision and suspicion to the German princes.

Thus defeated in his favourite project, Charles was now obliged to turn his ambitious views to another quarter, and since he could not raise his states to a kingdom, he sought to extend them still more widely, by the possession of all the fortified places on the left side of the Rhine, from Nimeguen, where this river enters the Netherlands, to Bâle on the confines of Switzerland.[f]

Charles, urged on by the double motive of thirst for aggrandisement and vexation at his late failure, attempted, under pretext of some internal dissensions, to gain possession of Cologne and its territory, which belonged to the empire; and at the same time planned the invasion of France, in concert with his brother-in-law Edward IV, who had recovered possession of England. But the town of Neuss, in the archbishopric of Cologne, occupied him a full year before its walls (1474–5). The emperor, who came to its succour, actually besieged the besiegers in their camp; and the dispute was terminated by leaving it to the arbitration of the pope's legate, and placing the contested town in his keeping. This half triumph gained by Charles saved Louis wholly from destruction. Edward, who had landed in France with a numerous force, seeing no appearance of his Burgundian allies, made peace with Louis; and Charles, who arrived in all haste, but not till after the treaty was signed, upbraided and abused the English king, and turned a warm friend into an inveterate enemy.

Louis, whose crooked policy had so far succeeded on all occasions, now seemed to favour Charles' plans of aggrandisement, and to recognise his pretended right to Lorraine, which legitimately belonged to the empire, and the invasion of which by Charles would be sure to set him at variance with the whole of Germany. The infatuated duke, blind to the ruin to which he was thus hurrying, marched against and soon overcame Lorraine. Thence he turned his army against the Swiss, who were allies to the conquered province, but who sent the most submissive dissuasions to the invader. They begged for peace, assuring Charles that their romantic but sterile mountains were not altogether worth the bridles of his splendidly equipped cavalry. But the more they humbled themselves, the higher was his haughtiness raised. It appeared that he had at this period conceived the project of uniting in one common conquest the ancient dominions of Lothair I, who had possessed the whole of the countries traversed by the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Po; and he even spoke of passing the Alps, like Hannibal, for the invasion of Italy.

Switzerland was, by moral analogy as well as physical fact, the rock against which these extravagant projects were shattered. The army of Charles, which engaged the hardy mountaineers in the gorges of the Alps near the town of Granson (1476), was literally crushed to atoms by the stones and fragments of granite detached from the heights and hurled down upon their heads. Charles, after this defeat, returned to the charge six weeks later, having rallied his army and drawn reinforcements from Burgundy. But Louis had despatched a body of cavalry to the Swiss — a force in which they were before deficient; and thus augmented, their army amounted to thirty-four thousand men. They took up a position, skilfully chosen, on the borders of the Lake of Morat, where they were attacked by Charles at the head of sixty thousand soldiers of all ranks. The result was the total defeat of the latter, with the loss of ten thousand killed whose bones, gathered into an immense heap,

and bleaching in the winds, remained for above three centuries — a terrible monument of rashness and injustice on the one hand, and of patriotism and valour on the other.

Charles was now plunged into a state of profound melancholy; but he soon burst from this gloomy mood into one of renewed fierceness and fatal desperation. Nine months after the battle of Morat he re-entered Lorraine, at the head of an army not composed of his faithful militia of the Netherlands, but of those mercenaries in whom it was madness to place trust. The reinforcements meant to be despatched to him by those provinces were kept back by the artifices of the count of Campobasso, an Italian, who commanded his cavalry, and who only gained his confidence basely to betray it. René duke of Lorraine, at the head of the confederate forces, offered battle to Charles under the walls of Nancy; and the night before the combat Campobasso went over to the enemy with the troops under his command. Still Charles had the way open for retreat. Fresh troops from Burgundy and Flanders were on their march to join him; but he would not be dissuaded from his resolution to fight, and he resolved to try his fortune once more with his dispirited and shattered army. On this occasion the fate of Charles was decided, and the fortune of Louis triumphant. The rash and ill-fated duke lost both the battle and his life. His body, mutilated with wounds, was found the next day, and buried with great pomp in the town of Nancy, by the orders of the generous victor, the duke of Lorraine. Thus perished the last prince of the powerful house of Burgundy.[d]

Motley's Estimate of Charles the Bold

As a conqueror, he was signally unsuccessful; as a politician, he could outwit none but himself; it was only as a tyrant within his own ground that he could sustain the character which he chose to enact. He lost the crown, which he might have secured, because he thought the emperor's son unworthy the heiress of Burgundy; and yet, after his father's death, her marriage with that very Maximilian alone secured the possession of her paternal inheritance.

Few princes were ever a greater curse to the people whom they were allowed to hold as property. He nearly succeeded in establishing a centralised despotism upon the ruins of the provincial institutions. His sudden death alone deferred the catastrophe. His removal of the supreme court of Holland from the Hague to Mechlin, and his maintenance of a standing army, were the two great measures by which he prostrated the Netherlands. The tribunal had been remodelled by his father; the expanded authority which Philip had given to a bench of judges dependent upon himself, was an infraction of the rights of Holland. The court, however, still held its sessions in the country; and the sacred privilege — *de non evocando* — the right of every Hollander to be tried in his own land, was, at least, retained. Charles threw off the mask; he proclaimed that this council — composed of his creatures, holding office at his pleasure — should have supreme jurisdiction over all the charters of the provinces; that it was to follow his person, and derive all authority from his will. The usual seat of the court he transferred to Mechlin. It will be seen, in the sequel, that the attempt under Philip II to enforce its supreme authority was a collateral cause of the great revolution of the Netherlands.

Charles, like his father, administered the country by stadholders. From the condition of flourishing self-ruled little republics, which they had, for a

moment, almost attained, they became departments of an ill-assorted, ill-conditioned, ill-governed realm, which was neither commonwealth nor empire, neither kingdom nor duchy, and which had no homogeneousness of population, no affection between ruler and people, small sympathies of lineage or of language.

His triumphs were but few, his fall ignominious. His father's treasure was squandered, the curse of a standing army fixed upon his people, the trade and manufactures of the country paralysed by his extortions, and he accomplished nothing. He lost his life in the forty-fourth year of his age (1477), leaving all the provinces, duchies, and lordships, which formed the miscellaneous realm of Burgundy, to his only child, the lady Mary. Thus already the countries which Philip had wrested from the feeble hand of Jacqueline had fallen to another female. Philip's own granddaughter, as young, fair, and unprotected as Jacqueline, was now sole mistress of those broad domains.

MARY AND THE GREAT PRIVILEGE (1477)

A crisis, both for Burgundy and the Netherlands, succeeds. Within the provinces there is an elastic rebound, as soon as the pressure is removed from them by the tyrant's death. A sudden spasm of liberty gives the whole people gigantic strength. In an instant they recover all, and more than all, the rights which they had lost. The cities of Holland, Flanders, and other provinces call a convention at Ghent. Laying aside their musty feuds, men of all parties — hooks and cods, patricians and people — move forward in phalanx to recover their national constitutions. On the other hand, Louis XI seizes Burgundy, claiming the territory for his crown, the heiress for his son.

The situation is critical for the lady Mary. As usual in such cases, appeals are made to the faithful commons. Oaths and pledges are showered upon the people, that their loyalty may be refreshed and grow green. The congress[1] meets at Ghent [February 3rd, 1477]. The lady Mary professes much, but she will keep her vow. The deputies are called upon to rally the country around the duchess, and to resist the fraud and force of Louis. The congress is willing to maintain the cause of its young mistress.

The result of the deliberations is the formal grant [February 11th, 1477] by Duchess Mary of the *Groot Privilegie*, or Great Privilege, the Magna Charta of Holland. Although this instrument was afterwards violated, and indeed abolished, it became the foundation of the republic. It was a recapitulation and recognition of ancient rights, not an acquisition of new privileges. It was a restoration, not a revolution. Its principal points deserve attention from those interested in the political progress of mankind:

"The duchess shall not marry without consent of the states (estates) of her provinces. All offices in her gift shall be conferred on natives only. No man shall fill two offices. No office shall be farmed. The 'great council and supreme court of Holland' is re-established. Causes shall be brought before it on appeal from the ordinary courts. It shall have no original jurisdiction of matters within the cognisance of the provincial and municipal tribunals. The states and cities are guaranteed in their right not to be summoned to justice beyond the limits of their territory. The cities, in common with all the provinces of the Netherlands, may hold diets as often and at such places as they choose.

"No new taxes shall be imposed but by consent of the provincial states. Neither the duchess nor her descendants shall begin either an offensive or defensive war without consent of the states. In case a war be illegally undertaken, the states are not bound to contribute to its maintenance. In all public and legal documents, the Netherland language shall be employed. The commands of the duchess shall be invalid, if conflicting with the privileges of a city. The seat of the supreme council is transferred from Mechlin to the Hague. No money shall be coined, nor its value raised or lowered, but by consent of the states. Cities are not to be compelled to contribute to requests which they have not voted. The sovereign shall come in person before the states, to make his request for supplies."

[1] This is the first regular assembly of the states-general of the Netherlands; the county of Holland, before this time, does not appear to have sent deputies to the assemblies of the other states. In negotiations with foreign powers, it treated separately.*f*]

Here was good work. The land was rescued at a blow from the helpless condition to which it had been reduced. This summary annihilation of all the despotic arrangements of Charles was enough to raise him from his tomb. The law, the sword, the purse were all taken from the hand of the sovereign and placed within the control of parliament. Such sweeping reforms, if maintained, would restore health to the body politic. They gave, moreover, an earnest of what was one day to arrive. Certainly, for the fifteenth century, the Great Privilege was a reasonably liberal constitution. Where else upon earth, at that day, was there half so much liberty as was thus guaranteed? To no people in the world more than to the stout burghers of Flanders and Holland belongs the honour of having battled audaciously and perennially in behalf of human rights.

Similar privileges to the great charter of Holland are granted to many other provinces, especially to Flanders, ever ready to stand forward in fierce vindication of freedom. For a season all is peace and joy; but the duchess is young, weak, and a woman. There is no lack of intriguing politicians, reactionary councillors. There is a cunning old king in the distance, lying in wait, seeking what he can devour. A mission goes from the states to France. The well-known tragedy of Imbrecourt and Hugonet occurs. Envoys from the states, they dare to accept secret instructions from the duchess to enter into private negotiations with the French monarch, against their colleagues — against the great charter — against their country. Louis betrays them, thinking that policy the more expedient. They are seized in Ghent, rapidly tried, and as rapidly beheaded by the enraged burghers. All the entreaties of the lady Mary, who, dressed in mourning garments, with dishevelled hair, unloosed girdle, and streaming eyes, appears at the town-house and afterwards in the market place, humbly to intercede for her servants, are fruitless. There is no help for the juggling diplomatists. The punishment was sharp. Was it more severe and sudden than that which betrayed monarchs usually inflict? Would the Flemings, at that critical moment, have deserved their freedom had they not taken swift and signal vengeance for this first infraction of their newly recognised rights? Had it not been weakness to spare the traitors who had thus stained the childhood of the national joy at liberty regained?

Another step, and a wide one, into the great stream of European history: the lady Mary espouses the archduke Maximilian. The Netherlands are about to become Habsburg property.*k*

Louis XI, having frustrated the negotiations for peace, possessed himself of Arras, Thérouanne, and a large portion of Artois, but on the sea affairs were more prosperous for the Netherlanders, since the Hollanders were not

only able to protect their own commerce, but likewise to capture twenty large vessels belonging to the enemy. But the rapid advances made by Louis, who had subdued Artois and the county of Boulogne, and made himself master of Bouchain, Le Quesnoy, and Avesnes, induced the states to hasten the marriage of the duchess. Among the numerous suitors whom her late father had encouraged, the only question was now between Maximilian, son of the emperor of Germany, and the dauphin of France. But with respect to the latter — besides the probability that, from the disparity of age between the parties, the princess would despise her youthful bridegroom — who had just reached his eighth year, while Mary was now past twenty, there were many reasons of policy that rendered the marriage little desirable to the king. The contract, therefore, so abruptly broken off at Treves in 1473 was again renewed, Maximilian was summoned to repair to Ghent, and the marriage was solemnised in the month of August; not, however, with a magnificence by any means suitable to the union of the son of the emperor with the richest heiress in Europe.[1] It is said, indeed, that the poverty of the imperial exchequer was so excessive that the states were obliged to provide funds to defray the expenses of the bridegroom's journey into the Netherlands.*f*

MAXIMILIAN (1484–1494)

They not only supplied all his wants, but enabled him to maintain the war against Louis XI, whom they defeated at the battle of Guinegate[2] in Picardy in 1479 and forced to make peace on more favourable terms than they had hoped for. But these wealthy provinces were not more zealous for the national defence than bent on the maintenance of their local privileges, which Maximilian little understood, and sympathised with less. He was bred in the school of absolute despotism; and his duchess having met with a too early death by a fall from her horse in the year 1482, he could not even succeed in obtaining the nomination of guardian to his own children without passing through a year of civil war. His power being almost nominal in the northern provinces,[3] he vainly attempted to suppress the violence of the factions of hooks and cods. In Flanders his authority was openly resisted. The turbulent towns of that country, and particularly Bruges, taking umbrage at a government half German, half Burgundian, and altogether hateful to the people, rose up against Maximilian, seized on his person in 1488, imprisoned him in a house which still exists, and put to death his most faithful followers. But the fury of Ghent and other places becoming still more outrageous, Maximilian asked as a favour from his rebel subjects of Bruges to be guarded while a prisoner by them alone. He was then king of the Romans[4] and all Europe became interested in his fate. The pope addressed a brief to the

[1 The simplicity ill-fitted the importance of the event. The house of Austria had won the heritage of Burgundy, and the fate of the Netherland provinces was decided for a long period. It was, however, fifteen years before Maximilian could be said to have gained the Netherlands for his race. They were fifteen hard years for the provinces as well as for Maximilian. — BLOK.*j*]

[2 This dearly bought victory deprived Maximilian of the flower of the Netherland nobility, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The losses of the Netherlanders by sea also were very considerable. The fleet of France, under the command of Admiral Coulon, captured all the vessels engaged in the herring fishery, besides eighty large ships returning with corn from the Baltic, and carried them into the ports of Normandy. It was supposed that more injury was done to the Dutch navy in this year than during the whole of the previous century.*f*]

[3 According to the terms of the marriage treaty, his eldest son Philip succeeded to the sovereignty of the Netherlands immediately upon the death of his mother.*f*]

[4 For fuller accounts of his European relations see the history of Germany in a later volume.]

town of Bruges, demanding his deliverance. But the burghers were as inflexible as factious; and they at length released him, but not until they had concluded with him and the assembled states[1] a treaty, which most amply secured the enjoyment of their privileges and the pardon of their rebellion.*d*

Maximilian is to be regent of the other provinces; Philip, under guardianship of a council, is to govern Flanders. Moreover, a congress of all the provinces is to be summoned annually, to provide for the general welfare. Maximilian signs and swears to the treaty on the 16th of May, 1488. He swears, also, to dismiss all foreign troops within four days. Giving hostages for his fidelity, he is set at liberty. What are oaths and hostages when prerogative and the people are contending? Emperor Frederick sends to his son an army under the duke of Saxony. The oaths are broken, the hostages left to their fate. The struggle lasts a year, but, at the end of it, the Flemings are subdued. What could a single province effect, when its sister states, even liberty-loving Holland, had basely abandoned the common cause? A new treaty is made (October, 1489). Maximilian obtains uncontrolled guardianship of his son, absolute dominion over Flanders and the other provinces. The insolent burghers are severely punished for remembering that they had been freemen. The magistrates of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, in black garments, ungirdled, bare-headed, and kneeling, are compelled to implore the despot's forgiveness, and to pay three hundred thousand crowns of gold as its price. After this, for a brief season, order reigns in Flanders.

COURT ATTENDANT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The course of Maximilian had been stealthy, but decided. Allying himself with the city party, he had crushed the nobles. The power thus obtained he then turned against the burghers. Step by step he had trampled out the liberties which his wife and himself had sworn to protect. He had spurned the authority of the Great Privilege, and all other charters. Burgomasters and other citizens had been beheaded in great numbers for appealing to their statutes against the edicts of the regent, for voting in favour of a general congress according to the unquestionable law. He had proclaimed that all landed estates should, in lack of heirs male, escheat to his own exchequer. He had debased the coin of the country, and thereby authorised unlimited swindling on the part of all his agents, from stadholders down to the meanest official. If such oppression and knavery did not justify the resistance of the Flemings to the guardianship of Maximilian, it would be difficult to find any reasonable course in political affairs save abject submission to authority.

[1 This assembly was one of the earliest and most important signs of the growing sense of the unity of the Netherlandish interests, and the need of co-operation.]

In 1493 Maximilian succeeds to the imperial throne, at the death of his father. In the following year his son, Philip the Handsome, now seventeen years of age, receives the homage of the different states of the Netherlands. He swears to maintain only the privileges granted by Philip and Charles of Burgundy, or their ancestors, proclaiming null and void all those which might have been acquired since the death of Charles. Holland, Zealand, and the other provinces accept him upon these conditions, thus ignominiously, and without a struggle, relinquishing the Great Privilege, and all similar charters.[k]

PHILIP THE HANDSOME (1494–1506)

The reign of Philip, unfortunately a short one, was rendered remarkable by two intestine quarrels, one in Friesland, the other in Gelderland. The Frisians, true to their old character, held firm to their privileges, and fought for their maintenance with heroic courage. Albert of Saxony, furious at this resistance, had the horrid barbarity to cause to be impaled the chief burghers of the town of Leeuwarden, which he had taken by assault. But he himself died in the year 1500, without succeeding in his projects of an ambition unjust in its principle and atrocious in its practice.

The war of Gelderland was of a totally different nature. In this case it was not a question of popular resistance to a tyrannical nomination, but of patriotic fidelity to the reigning family. Adolphus, the duke who had dethroned his father, had died in Flanders, leaving a son who had been brought up almost a captive as long as Maximilian governed the states of his inheritance. This young man, called Charles van Egmond, who is honoured in the history of his country under the title of the Achilles of Gelderland, fell into the hands of the French during the combat in which he made his first essay in arms. The towns of Gelderland unanimously joined to pay his ransom; and, as soon as he was at liberty, they one and all proclaimed him duke. The emperor, Philip, and the German diet in vain protested against this measure, and declared Charles a usurper. We cannot follow this warlike prince in the long series of adventures which consolidated his power; nor stop to depict his daring adherents on land, who caused the whole of Holland to tremble at their deeds; nor his pirates — the chief of whom, Long Peter, called himself king of the Zuyder Zee. But amidst all the consequent troubles of such a struggle, it is marvellous to find Charles of Egmond upholding his country in a state of high prosperity, and leaving it at his death almost as rich as Holland itself.

The incapacity of Philip the Handsome doubtless contributed to cause him the loss of this portion of his dominions. This prince, after his first acts of moderation and good sense, was remarkable only as being the father of Charles V (born in 1500). The remainder of his life was worn out in undignified pleasures; and he died, in the year 1506, at Burgos in Castile, whither he had repaired to pay a visit to his brother-in-law, the king of Spain.[1]

[1 A handsome profligate, devoted to his pleasures and leaving the cares of state to his ministers, Philip, "*croit-conseil*," is the bridge over which the house of Habsburg passes to almost universal monarchy; but, in himself, he is nothing. Two prudent marriages, made by Austrian archdukes within twenty years, have altered the face of the earth. The stream, which we have been tracing from its source, empties itself at last into the ocean of a world-empire. Count Dirk I, lord of a half-submerged corner of Europe, is succeeded by Count Charles II of Holland, better known as Charles V, king of Spain, Sicily, and Jerusalem, duke of Milan, emperor of Germany, dominator in Asia and Africa, autocrat of half the world. — MOTLEY.[k]]

MARGARET, GOVERNESS FOR CHARLES V (1506–1530)

Philip being dead and his wife, Juana of Spain, having become mad[1] from grief at his loss, after nearly losing her senses from jealousy during his life, the regency of the Netherlands reverted to Maximilian, who immediately named his daughter Margaret governante of the country [in the name of Charles, who was only six years old]. This princess, scarcely twenty-seven years of age, had been, like the celebrated Jacqueline of Bavaria, already three times married, and was now again a widow. Her first husband, Charles VIII of France, had broken from his contract of marriage before its consummation; her second, the infante of Spain, died immediately after their union; and her third, the duke of Savoy, left her again a widow after three years of wedded life. She was a woman of talent and courage; both proved by the couplet she composed for her own epitaph, at the very moment of a dangerous accident which happened during her journey into Spain to join her second affianced spouse.[2] She was received with the greatest joy by the people of the Netherlands; and she governed them as peaceably as circumstances allowed. Supported by England, she firmly maintained her authority against the threats of France; and she carried on in person all the negotiations between Louis XII, Maximilian, the pope Julius II, and Ferdinand of Aragon, for the famous League of Venice. She also succeeded in repressing the rising pretensions of Charles van Egmond; and, assisted by the interference of the king of France, she obliged him to give up some places in Holland which he illegally held.

From this period the alliance between England and Spain raised the commerce and manufactures of the southern provinces of the Netherlands to a high degree of prosperity, while the northern parts of the country were still kept down by their various dissensions. Holland was at war with Denmark and the Hanseatic towns [1510–1511]. The Frisians continued to struggle for freedom against the heirs of Albert of Saxony. Utrecht was at variance with its bishop, and finally recognised Charles van Egmond as its protector. The consequence of all these causes was that the south took the start in a course of prosperity which was, however, soon to become common to the whole nation.

A new rupture with France, in 1513, united Maximilian, Margaret, and Henry VIII of England in one common cause. An English and Belgian army, in which Maximilian figured as a spectator (taking care to be paid by England), marched for the destruction of Thérouanne, and defeated and dispersed the French at the second "battle of the Spurs." But Louis XII soon persuaded Henry to make a separate peace; and the unconquerable duke of Gelderland made Margaret and the emperor pay the penalty of their success against France. He pursued his victories in Friesland, and forced the country to recognise him as stadholder of Groningen, its chief town; while the duke of Saxony at length renounced to another his unjust claim on a territory which engulfed both his armies and his treasure.

[1 See the history of Spain for a fuller account of these matters.]

[2 *Ci-gît Margot la gente demoiselle,*
Qui eut deux maris, et se mourut pucelle.

Here gentle Margot quietly is laid,
Who had two husbands, and yet died a maid.]

CHARLES V (1515–1555)

About the same epoch (1515), young Charles, son of Philip the Handsome, having just attained his fifteenth year, was inaugurated duke of Brabant and count of Flanders and Holland, having purchased the presumed right of Saxony to the sovereignty of Friesland. In the following year he was recognised as prince of Castile, in right of his mother, who associated him with herself in the royal power — a step which soon left her merely the title of queen. Charles procured the nomination of bishop of Utrecht for Philip, bastard of Burgundy, which made that province completely dependent on him. But this event was also one of general and lasting importance on another account.

The Reformation

This Philip of Burgundy was deeply affected by the doctrines of the Reformation, which had burst forth in Germany. He held in abhorrence the observances of the Roman church, and set his face against the celibacy of the clergy. His example soon influenced his whole diocese, and the new notions on points of religion became rapidly popular. It was chiefly, however, in Friesland that the people embraced the opinions of Luther, which were quite conformable to many of the local customs. The celebrated Edzard count of East Friesland openly adopted the Reformation; while Erasmus of Rotterdam, without actually pronouncing himself a disciple of Lutheranism, effected more than all its advocates to throw the abuses of Catholicism into discredit.

HEAD-DRESSES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The refusal of the dignity of emperor by Frederick "the wise," duke of Saxony, to whom it was offered by the electors, was also an event highly favourable to the new opinions; for Francis I of France, and Charles, already king of Spain and sovereign of the Netherlands, both claiming the succession to the empire, a sort of interregnum deprived the disputed dominions of a chief who might lay the heavy hand of power on the new-springing doctrines of Protestantism. At length the intrigues of Charles and his pretensions as grandson of Maximilian, having caused him to be chosen emperor,[1] a desperate rivalry resulted between him and the French king, which for a while absorbed his whole attention and occupied all his power.

War was declared on frivolous pretexts in 1521. Francis being obstinately bent on the conquest of the Milanese, he fell into the hands of the imperial troops at the battle of Pavia in 1525. Charles' dominions in the Netherlands suffered severely from the naval operations during the war; for the French cruisers having, on repeated occasions, taken, pillaged, and almost destroyed the principal resources of the herring fishery, Holland and Zealand felt considerable distress, which was still further augmented by the famine which desolated these provinces in 1524.

While such calamities afflicted the northern portion of the Netherlands,

[1 Maximilian died January, 1519, and Francis I disputed with Charles the right to succeed him.]

Flanders and Brabant continued to flourish, in spite of temporary embarrassments. The bishop of Utrecht having died, his successor found himself engaged in a hopeless quarrel with his new diocese, already more than half converted to Protestantism; and to gain a triumph over these enemies, even by the sacrifice of his dignity, he ceded to the emperor in 1527 the whole of his temporal power. The duke of Gelderland, who then occupied the city of Utrecht, redoubled his hostility at this intelligence; and after having ravaged the neighbouring country, he did not lay down his arms till the subsequent year, having first procured an honourable and advantageous peace. One year more saw the term of this long-continued state of warfare by the Peace of Cambray, between Charles and Francis, which was signed on the 5th of August, 1529.[1]

The perpetual quarrels of Charles V with Francis I and Charles of Gelderland[2] led, as may be supposed, to a repeated state of exhaustion, which forced the princes to pause, till the people recovered strength and resources. Charles rarely appeared in the Netherlands — fixing his residence chiefly in Spain, and leaving to his sister the regulation of those distant provinces. One of his occasional visits was for the purpose of inflicting a terrible example upon them. The people of Ghent, suspecting an improper or improvident application of the funds they had furnished for a new campaign, a sedition was the result. On this occasion, Charles formed the daring resolution of crossing the kingdom of France, to take promptly into his own hands the settlement of this affair — trusting to the generosity of his scarcely reconciled enemy not to abuse the confidence with which he risked himself in his power. Ghent, taken by surprise [1540], did not dare to oppose the entrance of the emperor, when he appeared before the walls; and the city was punished with extreme severity. Twenty-seven leaders of the sedition were beheaded; the principal privileges of the city were withdrawn; and a citadel was built to hold it in check for the future.

The Dutch and the Zealanders signalised themselves beyond all his other subjects on the occasion of two expeditions which Charles undertook against Tunis and Algiers in 1541. The two northern provinces furnished a greater number of ships than the united quotas of all the rest of his states. But though Charles' gratitude did not lead him to do anything in return as peculiarly favourable to these provinces, he obtained for them nevertheless a great advantage in making himself master of Friesland and Gelderland on the death of Charles van Egmond.[3] His acquisition of the latter, which took place in 1543, put an end to the domestic wars of the northern provinces.

Towards the end of his career, Charles redoubled his severities against the Protestants, and even introduced a modified species of inquisition into the Netherlands, but with little effect towards the suppression of the reformed doctrines. The misunderstandings between his only son Philip and Mary of England, whom he induced to marry, and the unamiable disposition of this young prince, tormented him almost as much as he was humiliated by the victories of Henry II of France, the successor of Francis I, and the successful dissimulation of Maurice elector of Saxony, by whom he was completely outwitted, deceived, and defeated. Impelled by these motives, and others, perhaps, which are and must ever remain unknown, Charles at length decided

[1 By this treaty France surrendered the claim of suzerainty over Flanders and Artois. A year later Margaret died. Her sway had been in many ways beneficial. Charles made a visit to the Netherlands, in which he wheedled many concessions from the states assembled in 1531, and appointed as governess his sister Mary, widow of King Louis II of Hungary.]

[2 In 1528 the Gelderland troops sacked and burned the Hague.]

[3 In 1540 Utrecht also was finally united with Holland.]

[1555 A.D.]

on abdicating the whole of his immense possessions. He chose the city of Brussels as the scene of the solemnity, and the day fixed for it was the 25th of October, 1555.[1] It took place accordingly, in the presence of an immense assemblage of nobles from various countries. Charles resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, already king of the Romans; and all the rest of his dominions to his son Philip II. Soon after the ceremony, Charles embarked from Zealand on his voyage to Spain. He retired to the monastery of San Yuste, near the town of Plasencia, in Estremadura. He entered this retreat in February, 1556, and died there on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The last six months of his existence, contrasted with the daring vigour of his former life, formed a melancholy picture of timidity and superstition.[d]

Motley's Estimate of Charles V

What was the emperor Charles to the inhabitants of the Netherlands that they should weep for him? His conduct towards them during his whole career had been one of unmitigated oppression. What to them were all these forty voyages by sea and land,[2] these journeyings back and forth from Friesland to Tunis, from Madrid to Vienna? The interests of the Netherlands had never been even a secondary consideration with their master. He had fulfilled no duty towards them: he had committed the gravest crimes against them. He had regarded them merely as a treasury upon which to draw; while the sums which he extorted were spent upon ceaseless and senseless wars, which were of no more interest to them than if they had been waged in another planet. Of five millions of gold annually, which he derived from all his realms, two millions came from these industrious and opulent provinces, while but a half million came from Spain and another half from the Indies. The mines of wealth which had been opened by the hand of industry in that slender territory of ancient morass and thicket [3] contributed four times as much income to the imperial exchequer as all the boasted wealth of Mexico and Peru. Yet the artisans, the farmers, and the merchants, by whom these riches were produced, were consulted about as much in the expenditure of the imposts upon their industry as were the savages of America as to the distribution of the mineral treasures of their soil. They paid 1,200,000 crowns a year regularly; they paid in five years an extraordinary subsidy of eight millions of ducats, and the states were roundly rebuked by the courtly representatives of their despot if they presumed to inquire into the objects of the appropriations, or to express an interest in their judicious administration. Yet it may be supposed to have been a matter of indifference to them whether Francis or Charles had won the day at Pavia, and it certainly was not a cause of triumph to the daily increasing thousands of religious reformers

[1 See the histories of Spain and Germany. At the same time the governess Mary resigned the office she had held for twenty-five years.]

[2 See the history of Spain, vol. X, Chapter 8, where the enormous drain Charles V made on the Spanish treasury will be found similar to his draughts on the Netherlands.]

[3 Badovaro [l] estimated the annual value of butter and cheese produced in those meadows which Holland had rescued from the ocean at eight hundred thousand crowns, a sum which, making allowance for the difference in the present value of money from that which it bore in 1557, would represent nearly eight millions. In agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the Netherlanders were the foremost nation in the world. The fabrics of Arras, Tournay, Brussels, Louvain, Ghent, and Bruges were entirely unrivalled. Antwerp was the great commercial metropolis of Christendom. "*Aversa*," says Badovaro, "*e stimata la maggiore piazza del Mondo — si puo credere quanto sia la somma si afferma passare 40 millioni d'oro l'anno, quelli che incontanto girano.*"

in Holland and Flanders that their brethren had been crushed by the emperor at Mühlberg.

But it was not alone that he drained their treasure and hampered their industry. He was in constant conflict with their ancient and dearly-bought political liberties. Like his ancestor Charles the Bold, he was desirous of constructing a kingdom out of the provinces. He was disposed to place all their separate and individual charters on a Procrustean bed, and shape them all into uniformity simply by reducing the whole to a nullity.[1] The difficulties in the way, the stout opposition offered by burghers whose fathers had gained these charters with their blood, and his want of leisure during the vast labours which devolved upon him as the autocrat of so large a portion of the world, caused him to defer indefinitely the execution of his plan. He found time only to crush some of the foremost of the liberal institutions of the provinces in detail. He found the city of Tournay a happy, thriving, self-governed little republic in all its local affairs; he destroyed its liberties, without a tolerable pretext, and reduced it to the condition of a Spanish or Italian provincial town. His memorable chastisement of Ghent for having dared to assert its ancient rights of self-taxation has been already narrated. Many other instances might be adduced, if it were not a superfluous task, to prove that Charles was not only a political despot, but most arbitrary and cruel in the exercise of his despotism.

But if his sins against the Netherlands had been only those of financial and political oppression, it would be at least conceivable, although certainly not commendable, that the inhabitants should have regretted his departure. His hand planted the inquisition in the Netherlands. Before his day it is idle to say that the diabolical institution ever had a place there. The isolated cases in which inquisitors had exercised functions proved the absence and not the presence of the system. Charles introduced and organised a papal inquisition, side by side with those terrible "placards" of his invention, which constituted a masked inquisition even more cruel than that of Spain. The execution of the system was never permitted to languish. The number of Netherlanders who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive, in obedience to his edicts, and for the offences of reading the Scriptures, of looking askance at a graven image, or of ridiculing the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in a wafer, has been placed as high as one hundred thousand by distinguished authorities, and has rarely been put at a lower mark than fifty thousand.[2] The Venetian envoy Navigero estimated the victims in the provinces of Holland and Friesland alone at thirty thousand, and this in 1546, ten years before the abdication, and five before the promulgation of the hideous edict of 1550!

The edicts and the inquisition were the gift of Charles to the Netherlands, in return for their wasted treasure and their constant obedience. For this, his name deserves to be handed down to eternal infamy, not only throughout the Netherlands, but in every land where a single heart beats for political or religious freedom. To eradicate these institutions after they had been watered

[1 The character of Charles has perhaps been more eloquently and elegantly maligned by Robertson [m] and Motley [k] than he deserved. A recent life by Edward Armstrong [n] offers a counterweight. Against the charges of despotic ambition Armstrong emphasises the fact that he convoked the diets in Germany more frequently than even the Protestant princes desired, and that during his reign the states-general of the Netherlands met over fifty times.]

[2 "*Nam post carnificata hominum non minus centum millia, ex quo tentatum an posset incendium hoc sanguine restingui, tanta multitudo per Belgicam insurrexerat, ut publica interdum supplicia quoties insignior reus, aut atrociores cruciatus seditione impedirentur.*—Hugo Grotius [de Groot]. [o] But Blok [j] scoffs at so high an estimate. See the next chapter.]

and watched by the care of his successor, was the work of an eighty years' war, in the course of which millions of lives were sacrificed.

Yet there is no doubt that the emperor was at times almost popular in the Netherlands, and that he was never as odious as his successor. There were some deep reasons for this, and some superficial ones; among others, a singularly fortunate manner. He spoke German, Spanish, Italian, French, and Flemish, and could assume the characteristics of each country as easily as he could use its language. He could be stately with Spaniards, familiar with Flemings, witty with Italians. He could strike down a bull in the ring like a matador at Madrid, or win the prize in the tourney like a knight of old; he could ride at the ring with the Flemish nobles, hit the popinjay with his crossbow among Antwerp artisans, or drink beer and exchange rude jests with the boors of Brabant. For virtues such as these, his grave crimes against God and man, against religion and chartered and solemnly-sworn rights, have been palliated as if oppression became more tolerable because the oppressor was an accomplished linguist and a good marksman.[k]

PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

The whole of the provinces of the Netherlands being now for the first time united under one sovereign, such a junction marks the limits of a second epoch in their history. It would be a presumptuous and vain attempt to trace, in a compass so confined as ours, the various changes in manners and customs which arose in these countries during a period of one thousand years. The extended and profound remarks of many celebrated writers on the state of Europe from the decline of the Roman power to the epoch at which we are now arrived must be referred to, to judge of the gradual progress of civilisation through the gloom of the dark ages, till the dawn of enlightenment which led to the grand system of European politics commenced during the reign of Charles V.

The amazing increase of commerce was, above all other considerations, the cause of the growth of liberty in the Netherlands. The Reformation opened the minds of men to that intellectual freedom without which political enfranchisement is a worthless privilege. The invention of printing opened a thousand channels to the flow of erudition and talent, and sent them out from the reservoirs of individual possession to fertilise the whole domain of human nature. Manufactures attained a state of high perfection, and went on progressively with the growth of wealth and luxury. The opulence of the towns of Brabant and Flanders was without any previous example in the state of Europe. A merchant of Bruges took upon himself alone the security for the ransom of John the Fearless, taken at the battle of Nicopolis, amounting to two hundred thousand ducats. A provost of Valenciennes repaired to Paris at one of the great fairs periodically held there, and purchased on his own account every article that was for sale. The meetings of the different towns for the sports of archery were signalised by the most splendid display of dress and decoration. The archers were habited in silk, damask, and the finest linen, and carried chains of gold of great weight and value. Luxury was at its height among women. The queen of Philip the Handsome of France, on a visit to Bruges, exclaimed, with astonishment not unmixed with envy, "I thought myself the only queen here; but I see six hundred others who appear more so than I."

The dresses of both men and women at this chivalric epoch were of almost incredible expense. Velvet, satin, gold, and precious stones seemed the ordinary materials for the dress of either sex; while the very housings of the horses sparkled with brilliants and cost immense sums. This absurd extravagance was carried so far that Charles V found himself forced at length to proclaim sumptuary laws for its repression.

Such excessive luxury naturally led to great corruption of manners and the commission of terrible crimes. During the reign of Philip de Male, there were committed in the city of Ghent and its outskirts, in less than a year, above fourteen hundred murders in gambling-houses and other resorts of debauchery. As early as the tenth century, the petty sovereigns established on the ruins of the empire of Charlemagne began the independent coining of money; and the various provinces were during the rest of this epoch inundated with a most embarrassing variety of gold, silver, and copper.

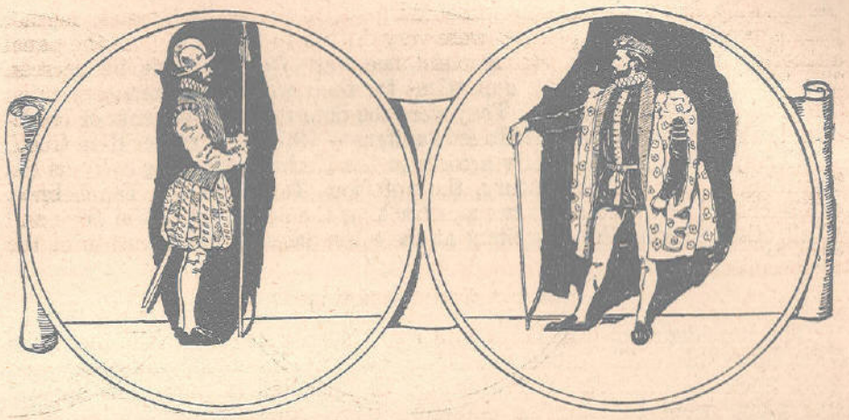
Even in ages of comparative darkness, literature made feeble efforts to burst through the entangled weeds of superstition, ignorance, and war. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries history was greatly cultivated; and Froissart, Monstrelet, Olivier de la Marche, and Philip de Comines gave to their chronicles and memoirs a charm of style since their days almost unrivalled. Poetry began to be followed with success in the Netherlands, in the Dutch, Flemish, and French languages; and even before the institution of the Floral Games in France, Belgium possessed its chambers of rhetoric (*rederykkamers*), which laboured to keep alive the sacred flame of poetry with more zeal than success. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these societies were established in almost every burgh of Flanders and Brabant, the principal towns possessing several at once.

The arts in their several branches made considerable progress in the Netherlands during this epoch. Architecture was greatly cultivated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of the cathedrals and town houses being constructed in that age. Their vastness, solidity, and beauty of design and execution, make them still speaking monuments of the stern magnificence and finished taste of the times. The patronage of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and Margaret of Austria brought music into fashion, and led to its cultivation in a remarkable degree. The first musicians of France were drawn from Flanders; and other professors from that country acquired great celebrity in Italy for their scientific improvements in their art.

Painting, which had languished before the fifteenth century, sprang at once into a new existence from the invention of Jan Van Eyck. His accidental discovery of the art of painting in oil quickly spread over Europe. Painting on glass, polishing diamonds, the carillon, lace, and tapestry were among the inventions which owed their birth to the Netherlands in these ages, when the faculties of mankind sought so many new channels for mechanical development.

The discovery of a new world by Columbus and other eminent navigators gave a fresh and powerful impulse to European talent, by affording an immense reservoir for its reward. The town of Antwerp was, during the reign of Charles V, the outlet for the industry of Europe, and the receptacle for the productions of all the nations of the earth. Its port was so often crowded with vessels that each successive fleet was obliged to wait long in the Schelde before it could obtain admission for the discharge of its cargoes. The University of Louvain, that great nursery of science, was founded in 1425, and served greatly to the spread of knowledge, although it degenerated into the hotbed of those fierce disputes which stamped on theology the degradation of bigotry, and drew down odium on a study that, if purely practised, ought only to inspire veneration.

The Netherlands were never in a more flourishing state than at the accession of Philip II. The external relations of the country presented an aspect of prosperity and peace. England was closely allied to it by Queen Mary's marriage with Philip; France, fatigued with war, had just concluded with it a five years' truce; Germany, paralysed by religious dissensions, exhausted itself in domestic quarrels; the other states were too distant or too weak to inspire any uneasiness; and nothing appeared wanting for the public weal. Nevertheless there was something dangerous and alarming in the situation of the Low Countries; but the danger consisted wholly in the connection between the monarch and the people, and the alarm was not sounded till the mischief was beyond remedy.[a]



CHAPTER V

PHILIP II AND SPANISH OPPRESSION

[1555–1567 A.D.]

THE eminent German historian and poet, Schiller, opening his account of the Netherlandish revolt, says:

"One of the most remarkable political events which have rendered the sixteenth century among the brightest of the world's epochs appears to me to be the foundation of the freedom of the Netherlands. If the glittering exploits of ambition and the pernicious lust of power claim our admiration, how much more should an event in which oppressed humanity struggles for its noblest rights, where with the good cause unwonted powers are united, and the resources of resolute despair triumph in unequal contest over the terrible arts of tyranny. It is not that which is extraordinary or heroic in this event which induces me to describe it. The annals of the world have recorded similar enterprises, which appear even bolder in the conception and more brilliant in the execution. Some states have fallen with a more imposing convulsion, others have risen with more exalted strides. Nor are we here to look for prominent heroes, colossal personages, or those marvellous exploits which the history of past times presents in such rich abundance.

"The people here presented to our notice were the most peaceful in this quarter of the globe, and less capable than their neighbours of that heroic spirit which imparts a higher character to the most insignificant actions. The pressure of circumstances surprised them with its peculiar power, and forced a transitory greatness upon them, which they never should have possessed, and may perhaps never possess again. It is, indeed, exactly the want of heroic greatness which makes this event peculiar and instructive; and while others aim at showing the superiority of genius over chance, I present here a picture where necessity created genius, and accident made heroes."[b]

It is impossible to comprehend the character of the great Netherland revolt in the sixteenth century without taking a rapid retrospective survey of the religious phenomena exhibited in the provinces. The introduction of

Christianity has been already indicated. From the earliest times, neither prince, people, nor even prelates were very dutiful to the pope. As the papal authority made progress, strong resistance was often made to its decrees. The bishops of Utrecht were dependent for their wealth and territory upon the good will of the emperor. They were the determined opponents of Hildebrand, warm adherents of the Hohenstauffens — Ghibelline rather than Guelf.

Heresy was a plant of early growth in the Netherlands. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century, the notorious Tanchelyn [or Tanchelinos, or Tanchelm] preached at Antwerp, attacking the authority of the pope and of all other ecclesiastics — scoffing at the ceremonies and sacraments of the Church.

EARLY NETHERLAND HERESY

The impudence of Tanchelyn and the superstition of his followers seem alike incredible. All Antwerp was his harem. He levied, likewise, vast sums upon his converts, and whenever he appeared in public his apparel and pomp were befitting an emperor. Three thousand armed satellites escorted his steps and put to death all who resisted his commands. So grovelling became the superstition of his followers that they drank of the water in which he had washed, and treasured it as a divine elixir. Advancing still further in his experiments upon human credulity, he announced his approaching marriage with the Virgin Mary, bade all his disciples to the wedding, and exhibited himself before an immense crowd in company with an image of his holy bride. His career was so successful in the Netherlands that he had the effrontery to proceed to Rome, promulgating what he called his doctrines as he went. He seems to have been assassinated by a priest in an obscure brawl, about the year 1115.

By the middle of the twelfth century, other and purer heresiarchs had arisen. Many Netherlanders became converts to the doctrines of Waldo. From that period until the appearance of Luther,[1] a succession of sects — Waldenses, Albigenses, Perfectists, Lollards, Poplicans, Arnaldists, Bohemian Brothers — waged perpetual but unequal warfare with the power and depravity of the Church, fertilising with their blood the future field of the Reformation. Nowhere was the persecution of heretics more relentless than in the Netherlands. Suspected persons were subjected to various torturing but ridiculous ordeals. After such trial, death by fire was the usual but, perhaps, not the most severe form of execution. In Flanders, monastic ingenuity had invented another most painful punishment for Waldenses and similar malefactors. A criminal, whose guilt had been established by the hot iron, hot ploughshare, boiling kettle, or other logical proof, was stripped and bound to the stake; he was then flayed, from the neck to the navel, while swarms of bees were let loose to fasten upon his bleeding flesh and torture him to a death of exquisite agony.

Nevertheless heresy increased in the face of oppression. The Scriptures, translated by Waldo into French, were rendered into Netherland rhyme, and the converts to the Vaudois doctrine increased in numbers and boldness. At the same time the power and luxury of the clergy were waxing daily. The bishops of Utrecht, no longer the defenders of the people against arbitrary power, conducted themselves like little popes. Yielding in dignity neither to king nor kaiser, they exacted homage from the most powerful princes of the Netherlands.

[1 For a general account of the Reformation and fuller details concerning Erasmus, see the history of Germany.]

[1300–1523 A.D.]

By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the clerical power was already beginning to decline. It was not the corruption of the Church, but its enormous wealth, which engendered the hatred with which it was by many regarded. Temporal princes and haughty barons began to dispute the right of ecclesiastics to enjoy vast estates, while refusing the burden of taxation and unable to draw a sword for the common defence. At this period, the counts of Flanders, of Holland, and other Netherland sovereigns issued decrees forbidding clerical institutions from acquiring property, by devise, gift, purchase, or any other mode. The downfall of the rapacious and licentious Knights Templar in the provinces and throughout Europe was another severe blow administered at the same time. The attacks upon Church abuses redoubled in boldness, as its authority declined.

In 1459, Duke Philip of Burgundy prohibits the churches from affording protection to fugitives. Charles the Bold, in whose eyes nothing is sacred save war and the means of making it, lays a heavy impost upon all clerical property. Upon being resisted, he enforces collection with the armed hand. The sword and the pen, strength and intellect, no longer the exclusive servants or instruments of priestcraft, are both in open revolt. Charles the Bold storms one fortress, Doctor Grandfort, of Groningen, batters another. This learned Frisian, called "the light of the world," friend and compatriot of the great Rudolf Agricola, preaches throughout the provinces, uttering bold denunciations of ecclesiastical error. He even disputes the infallibility of the pope, denies the utility of prayers for the dead, and inveighs against the whole doctrine of purgatory and absolution.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century, the great Reformation was actually alive. The name of Erasmus of Rotterdam was already celebrated — the man who, according to Grotius,[c] "so well showed the road to a reasonable reformation." But if Erasmus showed the road, he certainly did not travel far upon it himself. Perpetual type of the quietist, the moderate man, he censured the errors of the Church with discrimination and gentleness. He was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made, as he handsomely confessed on more than one occasion. The Reformation might have been delayed for centuries had Erasmus and other moderate men been the only reformers. He will long be honoured for his elegant Latinity. In the republic of letters, his efforts to infuse a pure taste, a sound criticism, a love for the beautiful and the classic, in place of the owlish pedantry which had so long flapped and hooted through mediæval cloisters, will always be held in grateful reverence. In the history of the religious Reformation, his name seems hardly to deserve the commendations of Grotius.

Erasmus, however, was offending both parties. A swarm of monks were already buzzing about him for the bold language of his Commentaries and Dialogues. On the other hand, he was reviled for not taking side manfully with the reformer. The moderate man received much denunciation from zealots on either side. He soon clears himself, however, from all suspicions of Lutheranism. He is appalled at the fierce conflict which rages far and wide.

SEVERE PUNISHMENT OF HERESY: THE ANABAPTISTS

Imperial edicts are soon employed to suppress the Reformation in the Netherlands by force. The provinces, unfortunately, are the private property of Charles, his paternal inheritance; and most paternally, according to his view of the matter, does he deal with them. The papal inquisition was introduced into the provinces to assist its operations. The bloody work

for which the reign of Charles is mainly distinguished in the Netherlands now began. In 1523, July 1st, two Augustine monks were burned at Brussels, the first victims to Lutheranism[1] in the provinces. Erasmus observed, with a sigh, that "two had been burned at Brussels, and that the city now began strenuously to favour Lutheranism."

Another edict, published in the Netherlands, forbids all private assemblies for devotion; all reading of the Scriptures; all discussions within one's own doors concerning faith, the sacraments, the papal authority, or other religious matter, under penalty of death. The edicts were no dead letter. The fires were kept constantly supplied with human fuel by monks, who knew the art of burning reformers better than that of arguing with them. The scaffold was the most conclusive of syllogisms, and used upon all occasions. Still the people remained unconvinced. Thousands of burned heretics had not made a single convert.

A fresh edict renewed and sharpened the punishment for reading the Scriptures in private or public. At the same time, the violent personal altercation between Luther and Erasmus, upon predestination, together with the bitter dispute between Luther and Zwingli concerning the real presence, did more to impede the progress of the Reformation than ban or edict, sword or fire. The spirit of humanity hung her head, finding that the bold reformer had only a new dogma in place of the old ones, seeing that dissenters, in their turn, were sometimes as ready as papists with axe, fagot, and excommunication. In 1526, Felix Mantz, the anabaptist, is drowned at Zurich, in obedience to Zwingli's pithy formula — *Qui iterum mergit mergatur*. Thus the anabaptists, upon their first appearance, were exposed to the fires of the Church and the water of the Zwinglians.

There is no doubt that the anabaptist delusion was so ridiculous and so loathsome as to palliate, or at least render intelligible, the wrath with which they were regarded by all parties. The turbulence of the sect was alarming to constituted authorities, its bestiality disgraceful to the cause of religious reformation. The evil spirit, driven out of Luther, seemed, in orthodox eyes, to have taken possession of a herd of swine. The Germans, Münzer and Hoffmann, had been succeeded, as chief prophets, by a Dutch baker, named Matthiaszoon, of Haarlem, who announced himself as Enoch. Chief of this man's disciples was the notorious John Bockhold [or Beukelzoon], of Leyden.

Under the government of this prophet, the anabaptists mastered the city of Münster. Here they confiscated property, plundered churches, violated females, murdered men who refused to join the gang, and, in brief, practised all the enormities which humanity alone can conceive or perpetrate. The prophet proclaimed himself king of Sion, and sent out apostles to preach his doctrines in Germany and the Netherlands. Polygamy being a leading article of the system, he exemplified the principle by marrying fourteen wives. Of these, the beautiful widow of Matthiaszoon was chief; she was called the queen of Sion, and wore a golden crown. The prophet made many fruitless efforts to seize Amsterdam and Leyden. The armed invasion of the anabaptists was repelled, but their contagious madness spread.

The plague broke forth in Amsterdam. On a cold winter's night (February, 1535), seven men and five women, inspired by the Holy Ghost, threw off their clothes and rushed naked and raving through the streets, shrieking, "Woe, woe, woe! the wrath of God, the wrath of God!" When arrested, they

[1 Luther wrote a hymn in their honour, exclaiming that "their ashes would not be lost but scattered in all the lands."]

obstinately refused to put on clothing. "We are," they observed, "the naked truth." In a day or two, these furious lunatics, who certainly deserved a madhouse rather than the scaffold, were all executed. The numbers of the sect increased with the martyrdom to which they were exposed, and the disorder spread to every part of the Netherlands. Many were put to death in lingering torments, but no perceptible effect was produced by the chastisement. Meantime the great chief of the sect, the prophet John, was defeated by the forces of the bishop of Münster, who recovered his city and caused the "king of Sion" to be pinched to death with red-hot tongs.

Unfortunately the severity of government was not wreaked alone upon the prophet and his mischievous crew. Thousands and ten thousands[1] of virtuous, well-disposed men and women, who had as little sympathy with anabaptistical as with Roman depravity, were butchered in cold blood, under the sanguinary rule of Charles V, in the Netherlands. In 1535 an imperial edict was issued at Brussels, condemning all heretics to death: repentant males to be executed with the sword, repentant females to be buried alive; the obstinate, of both sexes, to be burned. This and similar edicts were the law of the land for twenty years, and rigidly enforced. In the midst of the carnage, the emperor sent for his son Philip, that he might receive the fealty of the Netherlands as their future lord and master. Contemporaneously a new edict was published at Brussels (April 29th, 1549), confirming and re-enacting all previous decrees in their most severe provisions. Thus stood religious matters in the Netherlands at the epoch of the imperial abdication.

A BACKWARD GLANCE

Thus fifteen ages have passed away, and in the place of a horde of savages, living among swamps and thickets, swarm three millions of people, the most industrious, the most prosperous, perhaps the most intelligent under the sun. Their cattle, grazing on the bottom of the sea, are the finest in Europe, their agricultural products of more exchangeable value than if nature had made their land to overflow with wine and oil. Their navigators are the boldest, their mercantile marine the most powerful, their merchants the most enterprising in the world. Holland and Flanders, peopled by one race, vie with each other in the pursuits of civilisation.

Within the little circle which encloses the seventeen provinces are 208 walled cities, many of them among the most stately in Christendom, 150 chartered towns, 6,300 villages, with their watch-towers and steeples, besides numerous other more insignificant hamlets; the whole guarded by a belt of sixty fortresses of surpassing strength.

Thus in this rapid sketch of the course and development of the Netherland nation during sixteen centuries, we have seen it ever marked by one prevailing characteristic, one master passion — the love of liberty, the instinct of self-government. Largely compounded of the bravest Teutonic elements, Batavian and Frisian, the race ever battles to the death with tyranny, organises extensive revolts in the age of Vespasian, maintains a partial independence

[1 The figures range from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand, according to the words of Hugo Grotius[c] and according to William of Orange's *Apology;* but Blok[e] declares that these figures exceed the entire number of the reformed congregations, while the martyrs' books enumerate hardly a thousand. The number of those punished otherwise than by death, he thinks, must have run high into the thousands. He quotes the "blood-placard" of 1550 which orders that "the men shall be executed with the sword and the women buried alive." But he also emphasises the freedom of large districts from any persecution whatsoever, and the general inclination of the vast majority of the populace toward the tenets of the reformers.]

even against the sagacious dominion of Charlemagne, refuses in Friesland to accept the papal yoke or feudal chain, and, throughout the dark ages, struggles resolutely towards the light, wresting from a series of petty sovereigns a gradual and practical recognition of the claims of humanity. With the advent of the Burgundian family, the power of the commons has reached so high a point that it is able to measure itself, undaunted, with the spirit of arbitrary rule, of which that engrossing and tyrannical house is the embodiment. For more than a century the struggle for freedom, for civic life, goes on — Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary's husband Maximilian, Charles V, in turn, assailing or undermining the bulwarks raised, age after age, against the despotic principle. The combat is ever renewed. Liberty, often crushed, rises again and again from her native earth with redoubled energy.

At last, in the sixteenth century, a new and more powerful spirit, the genius of religious freedom, comes to participate in the great conflict. Arbitrary power, incarnated in the second Charlemagne, assails the new combination with unscrupulous, unforgiving fierceness. Venerable civic magistrates, haltered, grovel in sackcloth and ashes; innocent religious reformers burn in holocausts. By the middle of the century, the battle rages more fiercely than ever. In the little Netherland territory, Humanity, bleeding but not killed, still stands at bay and defies the hunters. The two great powers have been gathering strength for centuries. They are soon to be matched in a longer and more determined combat than the world had ever seen. The emperor is about to leave the stage. The provinces, so passionate for nationality, for municipal freedom, for religious reformation, are to become the property of an utter stranger — a prince foreign to their blood, their tongue, their religion, their whole habit of life and thought.

Such was the political, religious, and social condition of a nation who were now to witness a new and momentous spectacle.[d]

THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II (1555)

Philip II was in all respects the opposite of his father. As ambitious as Charles, but with less knowledge of men and of the rights of man, he had formed to himself a notion of royal authority which regarded men as simply the servile instruments of despotic will, and was outraged by every symptom of liberty. Born in Spain, and educated under the iron discipline of the monks, he demanded of others the same gloomy formality and reserve that marked his own character. The cheerful merriment of his Flemish subjects was as uncongenial to his disposition and temper as their privileges were offensive to his imperious will. He spoke no other language than the Spanish, endured none but Spaniards about his person, and obstinately adhered to all their customs. In vain did the loyal ingenuity of the Flemish towns through which he passed vie with each other in solemnising his arrival with costly festivities. Philip's eye remained dark; all the profusion of magnificence, all the loud and hearty effusions of the sincerest joy could not win from him one approving smile.

Charles entirely missed his aim by presenting his son to the Flemings. They might eventually have endured his yoke with less impatience if he had never set his foot in their land. But his look forewarned them what they had to expect; his entry into Brussels lost him all hearts. The emperor's gracious affability with his people only served to throw a darker shade on the

haughty gravity of his son.[1] They read in his countenance the destructive purpose against their liberties, which even then he already revolved in his breast. Forewarned to find in him a tyrant, they were forewarned to resist him.

The throne of the Netherlands was the first which Charles V abdicated. Before a solemn convention in Brussels, he had absolved the states-general of their oath, and transferred their allegiance to King Philip, his son.

The alarm which the arbitrary government of the emperor had inspired, and the distrust of his son, are already visible in the formula of his oath, which was drawn up in far more guarded and explicit terms than that which had been administered to Charles V himself, and all the dukes of Burgundy. Philip, for instance, was compelled to swear to the maintenance of their customs and usages, which before his time had never been required. In the oath which the states took to him, no other obedience was promised than such as should be consistent with the privileges of the country. Lastly, in this oath of allegiance, Philip is simply styled the natural, the hereditary prince, and not, as the emperor had desired, sovereign or lord—proof enough how little confidence was placed in the justice and liberality of the new sovereign.

Philip II received the lordship of the Netherlands in the brightest period of their prosperity. He was the first of their princes who united them all under his authority. They now consisted of seventeen provinces: the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Gelderland; the seven counties of Artois, Hainault, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, and Zealand; the marquisate of Antwerp; and the five lordships of Friesland, Mechlin (Malines), Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen, which, collectively, formed a great and powerful state able to contend with monarchies. Higher than it then stood, their commerce could not rise. The sources of their wealth were above the earth's surface, but they were more valuable and inexhaustible, and richer than all the mines in America.

The numerous nobility, formerly so powerful, cheerfully accompanied their sovereign in his wars, or amid the civil changes of the state courted the approving smile of royalty.

A large portion, moreover, of the nobility were deeply sunk in poverty and debt. Charles V had crippled all the most dangerous vassals of the crown, by expensive embassies to foreign courts, under the specious pretext of honorary distinctions. Thus, William of Orange was despatched to Germany with the imperial crown, and Count Egmont to conclude the marriage-contract between Philip and Queen Mary. Both, also, afterwards accompanied the duke of Alva to France, to negotiate the peace between the two crowns, and the new alliance of their sovereign with Madame Elizabeth. The expenses of these journeys amounted to three hundred thousand florins, towards which the king did not contribute a single penny.[b]

FIRST DEEDS OF PHILIP

Philip did not at first act in a way to make himself more particularly hated. He rather, by an apparent consideration for a few points of political interest and individual privilege, and particularly by the revocation of some of the edicts against heretics, removed the suspicions his earlier conduct had excited. He succeeded in persuading the states to grant him considerable subsidies, some of which were to be paid by instalments during a period of

[1 For a fuller presentation of the strange character of Philip II and for his deeds outside the Netherlands consult the history of Spain, volume X, chapter 9.]

nine years. That was gaining a great step towards his designs, as it superseded the necessity of a yearly application to the three orders, the guardians of the public liberty. At the same time he sent secret agents to Rome, to obtain the approbation of the pope to his insidious but most effective plan for placing the whole of the clergy in dependence upon the crown. He also kept up the army of Spaniards and Germans which his father had formed on the frontiers of France; and although he did not remove from their employments the functionaries already in place, he took care to make no new appointments to office among the natives of the Netherlands.

Philip was suddenly attacked in two quarters at once — by Henry II of France, and by Pope Paul IV. He promptly met the threatened dangers. He turned his first attention towards his contest with the pope; and he extricated himself from it with an adroitness that proved the whole force and cunning of his character. Having first publicly obtained the opinion of several doctors of theology, that he was justified in taking arms against the pontiff, he prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, by means of the afterwards notorious duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of his Italian dominions. Paul soon yielded to superior skill and force, and demanded terms of peace.

In the war with France, his army, under the command of Emmanuel Philibert duke of Savoy, consisting of Belgians, Germans, and Spaniards, with a considerable body of English sent by Mary to the assistance of her husband, penetrated into Picardy, and gained a complete victory over the French forces. The honour of this brilliant affair, which took place near St. Quentin, was almost wholly due to the count of Egmont, a Belgian noble, who commanded the light cavalry. In the early part of the year 1558, one of the generals of Henry II made an irruption into West Flanders; but the gallant count of Egmont once more proved his valour and skill by attacking and totally defeating the invaders near the town of Gravelines.

A general peace was concluded in April, 1559, which bore the name of Cateau-Cambrésis, from that of the place where it was negotiated. Philip now announced his intended departure on a short visit to Spain; and created for the period of his absence a provisional government, chiefly composed of the leading men among the Belgian nobility.

The composition of this new government was a masterpiece of political machinery. It consisted of several councils, in which the most distinguished citizens were entitled to a place, in sufficient numbers to deceive the people with a show of representation, but not enough to command a majority, which was sure on any important question to rest with the titled creatures of the court. The edicts against heresy, soon adopted, gave to the clergy an almost unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of the people. But almost all the dignitaries of the church being men of great respectability and moderation, chosen by the body of the inferior clergy, these extraordinary powers excited little alarm. Philip's project was suddenly to replace these virtuous ecclesiastics by others of his own choice, as soon as the states broke up from their annual meeting; and for this intention he had procured the secret consent and authority of the court of Rome.

In support of these combinations the Belgian troops were completely broken up and scattered in small bodies over the country. The whole of this force, so redoubtable to the fears of despotism, consisted of only three thousand cavalry. But the German and Spanish troops in Philip's pay were cantoned on the frontiers, ready to stifle any incipient effort in opposition to his plans. In addition to these imposing means for their execution, he had secured a still more secret and more powerful support — a secret

article in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis obliged the king of France to assist him with the whole armies of France against his Belgian subjects, should they prove refractory. Thus the late war, of which the Netherlands had borne all the weight and earned all the glory, only brought about the junction of the defeated enemy with their own king for the extinction of their national independence.

Philip convened an assembly of all the states at Ghent, August 7th, 1559.[1] This meeting of the representatives of the three orders of the state offered no apparent obstacle to Philip's views. The clergy, alarmed at the progress of the new doctrines, gathered more closely round the government of which they required the support. The nobles had lost much of their ancient attachment to liberty; and had become, in various ways, dependent on the royal favour. It was only from the third order — that of the commons — that Philip had to expect any opposition. Already, during the war, it had shown some discontent, and had insisted on the nomination of commissioners to control the accounts and the disbursements of the subsidies.

Anthony Perrenot de Granvella, bishop of Arras, who was considered Philip's favourite counsellor, was commissioned to address the assembly in the name of his master, who spoke only Spanish. His oration was one of cautious deception, and contained the most flattering assurances of Philip's attachment to the people of the Netherlands. It excused the king for not having nominated his only son Don Carlos to reign over them in his name; alleging, as a proof of his royal affection, that he preferred giving them as governant a Belgian princess, Margaret, duchess of Parma.

But notwithstanding all the talent, the caution, and the mystery of Philip and his minister, there was among the nobles one man who saw through all. This individual, endowed with many of the highest attributes of political genius, and pre-eminently with judgment, the most important of all, entered fearlessly into the contest against tyranny — despising every personal sacrifice for the country's good. Without making himself suspiciously prominent, he privately warned some members of the states of the coming danger. Those in whom he confided did not betray the trust. They spread among the other deputies the alarm, and pointed out the danger to which they had been so judiciously awakened. The consequence was a reply to Philip's demand, in vague and general terms, without binding the nation by any pledge; and a unanimous entreaty that he would diminish the taxes, withdraw the foreign troops, and entrust no official employments to any but natives of the country. The object of this last request was the removal of Granvella, who was born in Franche-Comté.

Philip was utterly astounded at all this. In the first moment of his vexation he imprudently cried out, "Would ye, then, also bereave me of my place — I, who am a Spaniard?" But he soon recovered his self-command, and resumed his usual mask; expressed his regret at not having sooner learned the wishes of the states; promised to remove the foreign troops within three months; and set off for Zealand, with assumed composure, but filled with the fury of a discovered traitor and humiliated despot.

A fleet under the command of Count Horn, the admiral of the United Provinces, waited at Flushing to form his escort to Spain. At the very moment of his departure, William of Nassau, prince of Orange and governor of Zealand, waited on him to pay his official respects. The king, taking him apart from the other attendant nobles, recommended him to hasten the

[1] This, says Blok,[e] was the last time that a Burgundian prince ever took part in an assembly of representatives from the seventeen provinces.]

execution of several gentlemen and wealthy citizens attached to the newly introduced religious opinions. Then, quite suddenly, whether in the random impulse of suppressed rage, or that his piercing glance discovered William's secret feelings in his countenance, he accused him of having been the means of thwarting his designs. "Sire," replied William, "it was the work of the national states." "No!" cried Philip, grasping him furiously by the arm; "it was not done by the states, but by you, and you alone!"[1]

This glorious accusation was not repelled. He who had saved his country in unmasking the designs of its tyrant, admitted by his silence his title to the hatred of the one and the gratitude of the other. On the 20th of August, Philip embarked and set sail, turning his back forever on the country which offered the first check to his despotism; and, after a perilous voyage, he arrived in that which permitted a free indulgence to his ferocious and sanguinary career.

For some time after Philip's departure the Netherlands continued to enjoy considerable prosperity. From the period of the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis commerce and navigation had acquired new and increasing activity. The fisheries, but particularly that of herrings, became daily more important, that one alone occupying two thousand boats. While Holland, Zealand, and Friesland made this progress in their peculiar branches of industry, the southern provinces were not less active or successful.[g]

SCHILLER'S PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

Among the Flemish nobles who could lay claim to the chief stadholdership, the expectations and wishes of the nation had been divided between Count Egmont and the prince of Orange, who were alike entitled to this high dignity by illustrious birth and personal merits, and by an equal share in the affections of the people.

William I, prince of Orange, was descended from the princely German house of Nassau, which had already flourished eight centuries, had long disputed the pre-eminence with Austria, and had given one emperor to Germany. Besides several extensive domains in the Netherlands, which made him a citizen of this republic and a vassal of the Spanish monarchy, he possessed also in France the independent princedom of Orange. William was born in the year 1533, at Dillenburg, in the county of Nassau, of a countess Stolberg. His father, the count of Nassau, of the same name, had embraced the Protestant religion, and caused his son also to be educated in it; but Charles V, who early formed an attachment for the boy, took him, when quite young, to his court, and had him brought up in the Romish church. This monarch, who already in the child discovered the future greatness of the man, kept him nine years about his person, thought him worthy of his personal instruction in the affairs of government, and honored him with a confidence beyond his years. He alone was permitted to remain in the emperor's presence, when he gave audience to foreign ambassadors — a proof that, even as a boy, he had already begun to merit the surname of the Silent.

William was twenty-three years old when Charles abdicated the government, and had already received from the latter two public marks of the highest esteem. The emperor had entrusted to him, in preference to all the nobles of his court, the honourable office of conveying to his brother Ferdinand the imperial crown. When the duke of Savoy, who commanded the imperial

[1] The words of Philip were: "*No, no los estados; ma vos, vos, vos!*" *Vos* thus used in Spanish is a term of contempt, equivalent to *toi* in French.

army in the Netherlands, was called away to Italy by the exigence of his domestic affairs, the emperor appointed him commander-in-chief, against the united representations of his military council, who declared it altogether hazardous to oppose so young a tyro in arms to the experienced generals of France. Absent and unrecommended by any, he was preferred by the monarch to the laurel-crowned band of his heroes, and the result gave him no cause to repent of his choice.

The marked favour which the prince had enjoyed with the father was, in itself, a sufficient ground for his exclusion from the confidence of the son. Philip, it appears, had laid it down for himself as a rule to avenge the wrongs of the Spanish nobility for the preference which Charles V had, on all important occasions, shown to his Flemish nobles. Still stronger, however, were the secret motives which alienated him from the prince. William of Orange was one of those lean and pale men who, according to Cæsar's words, "sleep not at night, and think too much," and before whom the most fearless spirits quail. The calm tranquillity of a never varying countenance concealed a busy, ardent soul, which never even ruffled the veil behind which it worked, and was alike inaccessible to artifice and to love — a versatile, formidable, indefatigable mind, soft and ductile enough to be instantaneously moulded into all forms, guarded enough to lose itself in none, and strong enough to endure every vicissitude of fortune.

A greater master in reading and in winning men's hearts never existed than William. Not that, after the fashion of courts, his lips avowed a servility to which his proud heart gave the lie, but because he was neither too sparing nor too lavish of the marks of his esteem, and through a skilful economy of the favours which mostly bind men, he increased his real stock in them. The fruits of his meditation were as perfect as they were slowly formed; his resolves were as steadily and indomitably accomplished as they were long in maturing. No obstacles could defeat the plan which he had once adopted as the best; no accidents frustrated it, for they all had been foreseen before they actually occurred. High as his feelings were raised above terror and joy, they were, nevertheless, subject in the same degree to fear; but his fear was earlier than the danger, and he was calm in tumult, because he had trembled in repose. William lavished his gold with a profuse hand, but he was a niggard of his moments. The hours of repast were the sole hours of relaxation, but these were exclusively devoted to his family and his friends. His household was magnificent; the splendour of a numerous retinue, the number and respectability of those who surrounded his person made his habitation resemble the court of a sovereign prince.

No one, probably, was better fitted by nature for the leader of a conspiracy than William the Silent. A comprehensive and intuitive glance into the past, the present, and the future; the talent for improving every favourable opportunity; a commanding influence over the minds of men; vast schemes which, only when viewed from a distance, show form and symmetry, and bold calculations, which were wound up in the long chain of futurity — all these faculties he possessed, and kept, moreover, under the control of that free and enlightened virtue which moves with firm step, even on the very edge of the abyss.

A man like this might, at other times, have remained unfathomed by his entire generation; but not so by the distrustful spirit of the age in which he lived. Philip II saw quickly and deeply into a character which, among good ones, most resembled his own. In him, Philip had to deal with an antagonist who was armed against his policy, and who, in a good cause,

could also command the resources of a bad one. And it was exactly this last circumstance which accounts for his having hated this man so implacably above all others of his day, and his having had so supernatural a dread of him.

The suspicion which already attached to the prince was increased by the doubts which were entertained of his religious bias. So long as the emperor, his benefactor, lived, William believed in the pope; but it was feared, with good ground, that the predilection for the reformed religion which had been imparted to his young heart had never entirely left it. Whatever church he may, at certain periods of his life, have preferred, each might console itself with the reflection that none other possessed him more entirely. In later years, he went over to Calvinism with almost as little scruple as in his early childhood he deserted the Lutheran profession for the Romish. He defended the rights of the Protestants, rather than their opinions, against Spanish oppression: not their faith, but their wrongs, had made him their brother.

WILLIAM THE SILENT

These general grounds for suspicion appeared to be justified by a discovery of his real intentions, which accident had made. William had remained in France as hostage for the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, in concluding which he had borne a part; and here, through the imprudence of Henry II, who imagined he spoke with the confidant of the king of Spain, he became acquainted with a secret plot, which the French and Spanish courts had formed against Protestants of both kingdoms. The prince hastened to communicate this important discovery to his friends in Brussels, whom it so nearly concerned, and the letters which he exchanged on the subject fell, unfortunately, into the hands of the king of Spain. Philip was less surprised at this decisive disclosure of William's sentiments, than incensed at the disappointment of his scheme; and the Spanish nobles, who had never forgiven the prince that moment when, in the last act of his life, the greatest of emperors leaned upon his shoulders, did not neglect this favourable opportunity of finally ruining, in the good opinion of their king, the betrayer of a state secret.

COUNT EGMONT

Of a lineage no less noble than that of William was Lamoral, count of Egmont[1] and prince of Gavre, a descendant of the dukes of Gelderland, whose martial courage had wearied out the arms of Austria. His family was highly distinguished in the annals of the country: one of his ancestors had, under Maximilian, already filled the office of stadholder over Holland. Egmont's marriage with the duchess Sabina of Bavaria reflected additional lustre on the splendour of his birth, and made him powerful through the great-

[1 This name is derived from that abbey of Egmond which was, as we said in the first chapter, bestowed on Dirk I of Holland by Charles the Simple in 912.]

ness of this alliance. Charles V had, in the year 1516, conferred on him, at Utrecht, the order of the Golden Fleece; the wars of this emperor were the school of his military genius, and the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines made him the hero of his age.

Egmont united all the eminent qualities which form the hero: he was a better soldier than the prince of Orange, but far inferior to him as a statesman: the latter saw the world as it really was; Egmont viewed it in the magic mirror of an imagination that embellished all that it reflected. Intoxicated with the idea of his own merits, which the love and gratitude of his fellow citizens had exaggerated, he staggered on in this sweet reverie, as in a delightful world of dreams. Even the most terrible experience of Spanish perfidy could not afterwards eradicate this confidence from his soul, and on the scaffold itself his latest feeling was hope. A tender fear for his family kept his patriotic courage fettered by lower duties. Because he trembled for property and life, he could not venture much for the republic. William of Orange broke with the throne, because its arbitrary power was offensive to his pride; Egmont was vain, and therefore valued the favours of the monarch. The former was a citizen of the world; Egmont had never been more than a Fleming.

Two such competitors, so equal in merit, might have embarrassed Philip in his choice, if he had ever seriously thought of selecting either of them for the appointment. But the pre-eminent qualities by which they supported their claim to this office were the very cause of their rejection; and it was precisely the ardent desire of the nation for their election to it that irrevocably annulled their title to the appointment.

MARGARET OF PARMA, REGENT OF THE NETHERLANDS

While the general expectation was concerned with the future destinies of the provinces, there appeared on the frontiers of the country the duchess Margaret of Parma, having been summoned by the king from Italy, to assume the government. Margaret was a natural daughter of Charles V and of a noble Flemish lady, named Vangeest, and born 1522. Out of regard for the honour of her mother's house, she was at first educated in obscurity; but her mother, who possessed more vanity than honour, was not very anxious to preserve the secret of her origin, and a princely education betrayed the daughter of the emperor. While yet a child, she was entrusted to the regent Margaret, her great-aunt, to be brought up at Brussels, under her eye. This guardian she lost in her eighth year, and the care of her education devolved on Queen Mary of Hungary, the successor of Margaret in the regency. Ottavio Farnese, a prince of thirteen years of age, and nephew of Paul III had obtained, with her person, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza as her portion. Thus, by a strange destiny, Margaret, at the age of maturity, was contracted to a boy, as in the years of infancy she had been sold to a man. Her disposition, which was anything but feminine, made this last alliance still more unnatural, for her taste and inclinations were masculine, and the whole tenor of her life belied her sex.

These unusual qualities were crowned by a monkish superstition, which was infused into her mind by Ignatius Loyola, her confessor and teacher. Among the charitable works and penances with which she mortified her vanity, one of the most remarkable was that during Passion-Week, she yearly washed, with her own hands, the feet of a number of poor men (who were most strictly

forbidden to cleanse themselves beforehand), waited on them at table like a servant, and sent them away with rich presents.

Margaret was born and also educated in the Netherlands. She had spent her early youth among the people, and had acquired much of their national manners.

According to an arrangement already made by Charles V, three councils or chambers were added to the regent, to assist her in the administration of state affairs. As long as Philip was himself present in the Netherlands, these courts had lost much of their power, and the functions of the first of them, the state council, were almost entirely suspended. Now, that he quitted the reins of government, they recovered their former importance. In the state council, which was to deliberate upon war and peace, and security against external foes, sat the Bishop of Arras, the prince of Orange, Count Egmont, the president of the privy council Wigele or Viglius van Zwychem van Aytta, and the count of Barlaymont, president of the chamber of finance. All knights of the Golden Fleece, all privy counsellors, and counsellors of finance, as also the members of the great senate at Mechlin, which had been subjected by Charles V to the privy council in Brussels, had a seat and vote in the council of state, if expressly invited by the regent. The management of the royal revenues and crown lands was vested in the chamber of finance, and the privy council was occupied with the administration of justice and the civil regulation of the country, and issued all letters of grace and pardon. The governments of the provinces, which had fallen vacant, were either filled up afresh, or the former governors were confirmed.

Count Egmont received Flanders and Artois; the prince of Orange, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland. Other provinces were given to some who have less claim to our attention. Philip de Montmorency, count of Horn [Hoorn], was confirmed as admiral of the Belgian navy. Brabant, alone, was placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the regent, who, according to custom, chose Brussels for her constant residence. The induction of the prince of Orange into his governments was, properly speaking, an infraction of the constitution, since he was a foreigner; but several estates which he either himself possessed in the provinces or managed as guardian of his son, his long residence in the country, and above all the unlimited confidence the nation reposed in him, gave him substantial claims in default of a real title of citizenship. But at the very time when Philip obliged the prince with these public marks of his esteem, he privately inflicted the most cruel injury on him. Apprehensive lest an alliance with the powerful house of Lorraine might encourage this suspected vassal to bolder measures, he thwarted the negotiation for a marriage between him and a princess of that family, and crushed his hopes on the very eve of their accomplishment — an injury which the prince never forgave.

The establishment of the council of state was intended rather to flatter the vanity of the Belgian nobility than to impart to them any real influence. The historian Strada[h] (who drew his information with regard to the regent from her own papers) has preserved a few articles of the secret instructions which the Spanish ministry gave her. Among other things it is there stated, if she observed that the councils were divided by factions, or, what would be far worse, prepared by private conferences before the session, and in league with one another, then she was to prorogue all the chambers and dispose arbitrarily of the disputed articles in a more select council or committee. In this select committee, which was called the *consulta*, sat the archbishop of Arras, the president Viglius [or Wigele], and the count of Barlaymont. A

[1555–1561 A.D.]

second maxim which the regent was especially to observe was to select the very members of council who had voted against any decree, to carry it into execution. By this means, not only would the people be kept in ignorance of the originators of such a law, but the private quarrels also of the members would be restrained, and a greater freedom insured in voting in compliance with the wishes of the court.

In order, at the same time, to assure himself of the fidelity of the regent, Philip subjected her, and through her all the affairs of the judicature, to the higher control of the bishop of Arras, Granvella. In this single individual he possessed an adequate counterpoise to the most dreaded cabal. To him, as an infallible oracle of majesty, the duchess was referred, and in him there watched a stern supervisor of her administration. Among all his contemporaries, Granvella was the only one whom Philip II appears to have excepted from his universal distrust: as long as he knew that this man was in Brussels, he could sleep calmly in Segovia.[b]

GRANVELLA AND THE REGENCY

This man, an immoral ecclesiastic, an eloquent orator, a supple courtier, and a profound politician, bloated with pride, envy, insolence, and vanity, was the real head of the government. Next to him among the royalist party was Viglius, president of the privy council, an erudite schoolman, attached less to the broad principles of justice than to the letter of the laws, and thus carrying pedantry into the very councils of the state. Next in order came the count of Barlaymont, head of the financial department — a stern and intolerant satellite of the court, and a furious enemy to those national institutions which operated as checks upon fraud. These three individuals formed the governante's privy council. The remaining creatures of the king were mere subaltern agents.

A government so composed could scarcely fail to excite discontent, and create danger to the public weal. The first proof of incapacity was elicited by the measures required for the departure of the Spanish troops. The period fixed by the king had already expired, and these obnoxious foreigners were still in the country, living in part on pillage, and each day committing some new excess. Complaints were carried in successive gradation from the government to the council, and from the council to the king. The Spaniards were removed to Zealand; but instead of being embarked at any of its ports, they were detained there on various pretexts; until, the king requiring his troops in Spain for some domestic project, they took their long-desired departure in the beginning of the year 1561. The public discontent at this just cause was soon, however, overwhelmed by one infinitely more important and lasting. The Belgian clergy had hitherto formed a free and powerful order in the state, governed and represented by four bishops chosen by the chapters of the towns, or elected by the monks of the principal abbeys. These bishops, possessing an independent territorial revenue, and not directly subject to the influence of the crown, had interests and feelings in common with the nation. But Philip had prepared, and the pope had sanctioned, a new system of ecclesiastical organisation, and the provisional government now put it into execution. Instead of four bishops, it was intended to appoint eighteen, their nomination being vested in the king. By a wily system of trickery the subserviency of the abbeys was also aimed at. The consequences of this vital blow to the integrity of the national institutions were evident; and the indignation of both clergy and laity was universal. Every legal

means of opposition was resorted to, but the people were without leaders; the states were not in session. The new bishops were appointed; Granvella securing for himself the archiepiscopal see of Mechlin, with the title of primate of the Low Countries. At the same time the pope put the crowning point to the capital of his ambition, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat.

The new bishops were to a man most violent, intolerant, and it may be conscientious opponents to the wide-spreading doctrines of reform. The execution of the edicts against heresy was confided to them. The provincial governors and inferior magistrates were commanded to aid them with a strong arm; and the most unjust and frightful persecution immediately commenced. The prince of Orange, stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, and the count of Egmont, governor of Flanders and Artois, permitted no persecutions in those five provinces.

Among the various causes of the general confusion, the situation of Brabant gave to that province a peculiar share of suffering. Brussels, its capital, being the seat of government, had no particular chief magistrate, like the other provinces. William penetrated the cause, and proposed the remedy in moving for the appointment of a provincial governor.

Granvella energetically dissented from the proposed measure, and William immediately desisted from his demand. But he at the same time claimed, in the name of the whole country, the convocation of the states-general. This assembly alone was competent to decide what was just, legal, and obligatory for each province and every town. Granvella found himself at length forced to avow that an express order from the king forbade the convocation of the states, on any pretext, during his absence.

The veil was thus rent asunder, which had in some measure concealed the deformity of Philip's despotism. The result was a powerful confederacy in 1562 for the overthrow of Granvella, to whom they chose to attribute the king's conduct; thus bringing into practical result the sound principle of ministerial responsibility, without which the name of constitutional government is but a mockery. Many of the royalist nobles united for the national cause; and even the governante joined her efforts to theirs, for an object which would relieve her from the tyranny which none felt more than she did. The duchess of Parma hated the minister, as a domestic spy robbing her of all real authority; the royalist nobles, as an insolent upstart at every instant mortifying their pride. But it is doubtful if any of the confederates except the prince of Orange clearly saw that they were putting themselves in direct and personal opposition to the king himself. William alone, clear-sighted in politics and profound in his views, knew, in thus devoting himself to the public cause, the adversary with whom he entered the lists.

This great man, for whom the national traditions still preserve the sacred title of "father" (*Vader-Willem*), and who was in truth not merely the parent but the political creator of the country, was at this period in his thirtieth year. He already joined the vigour of manhood to the wisdom of age.

He boldly put himself at the head of the confederacy. He wrote to the king, in 1563, conjointly with counts Egmont and Horn, faithfully portraying the state of affairs. The duchess of Parma backed this remonstrance with a strenuous request for Granvella's dismission. Philip's reply to the three noblemen was a mere tissue of duplicity to obtain delay.

In the meantime every possible indignity was offered to the cardinal by private pique and public satire. Philip, driven before the popular voice, found himself forced to the choice of throwing off the mask at once, or of sacrificing Granvella. An invincible inclination for manœuvring and deceit

decided him on the latter measure; and the cardinal, recalled but not disgraced, quitted the Netherlands on the 13th of March, 1564. The secret instructions to the governant remained unrevoked; the president Viglius succeeded to the post which Granvella had occupied; and it was clear that the projects of the king had suffered no change.

The public fermentation subsided; the patriot lords reappeared at court; and the prince of Orange acquired an increasing influence in the council and over the governant, who by his advice adopted a conciliatory line of conduct — a fallacious but still a temporary hope for the nation. But the calm was of short duration. Scarcely was this moderation evinced by the government, than Philip, obstinate in his designs and outrageous in his resentment, sent an order to have the edicts against heresy put into most rigorous execution, and to proclaim throughout the seventeen provinces the furious decree of the council of Trent.

The revolting cruelty and illegality of the first edicts were already admitted. As to the decrees of this memorable council, they were only adapted for countries in submission to an absolute despotism. They were received in the Netherlands with general reprobation. Even the new bishops loudly denounced them as unjust innovations; and thus Philip found zealous opponents in those on whom he had reckoned as his most servile tools. The governant was not the less urged to implicit obedience to the orders of the king by Viglius and Barlaymont, who took upon themselves an almost menacing tone. The duchess assembled a council of state, and asked its advice as to her proceedings. The prince of Orange at once boldly proposed disobedience to measures fraught with danger to the monarchy and ruin to the nation. The council could not resist his appeal to their best feelings. His proposal that fresh remonstrances should be addressed to the king met with almost general support. The president Viglius, who had spoken in the opening of the council in favour of the king's orders, was overwhelmed by William's reasoning, and demanded time to prepare his reply. His agitation during the debate, and his despair of carrying the measures against the patriot party, brought on in the night an attack of apoplexy.

It was resolved to despatch a special envoy to Spain, to explain to Philip the views of the council, and to lay before him a plan proposed by the prince of Orange for forming a junction between the two councils and that of finance, and forming them into one body. The object of this measure was at once to give greater union and power to the provisional government, to create a central administration in the Netherlands, and to remove from some obscure and avaricious financiers the exclusive management of the national resources. The count of Egmont, chosen by the council for this important mission, set out for Madrid in the month of January, 1565. Philip received him with profound hypocrisy; loaded him with the most flattering promises; sent him back in the utmost elation: and when the credulous count returned to Brussels, he found that the written orders, of which he was the bearer, were in direct variance with every word which the king had uttered.

These orders were chiefly concerning the reiterated subject of the persecution to be inflexibly pursued against the religious reformers. Not satisfied with the hitherto established forms of punishment, Philip now expressly commanded that the more revolting means decreed by his father in the rigour of his early zeal, such as burning, living burial, and the like, should be adopted; and he somewhat more obscurely directed that the victims should be no longer publicly immolated, but secretly destroyed. He endeavoured, by this vague phraseology, to avoid the actual utterance of the word "inqui-

sition"; but he thus virtually established that atrocious tribunal, with attributes still more terrific than even in Spain; for there the condemned had at least the consolation of dying in open day, and of displaying the fortitude which is rarely proof against the horror of a private execution.

Even Viglius was terrified by the nature of Philip's commands; and the patriot lords once more withdrew from all share in the government, leaving to the duchess of Parma and her ministers the whole responsibility of the new measures. They were at length put into actual and vigorous execution in the beginning of the year 1566. The inquisitors of the faith, with their familiars, stalked abroad boldly in the devoted provinces, carrying persecution and death in their train. Numerous but partial insurrections opposed these odious intruders. Every district and town became the scene of frightful executions or tumultuous resistance.[g]

THE INQUISITION

The great cause of the revolt which, within a few years, was to break forth throughout the Netherlands, was the Inquisition. It is almost puerile to look further or deeper, when such a source of convulsion lies at the very outset of any investigation. There has been a good deal of somewhat superfluous discussion concerning the different kinds of inquisition. The distinction drawn between the papal, the episcopal, and the Spanish inquisitions did not, in the sixteenth century, convince many unsophisticated minds of the merits of the establishment in any of its shapes.[1] However classified or entitled, it was a machine for inquiring into a man's thoughts, and for burning him if the result was not satisfactory. The Spanish inquisition — technically so called — was, according to Cabrera[i] the biographer of Philip, a "heavenly remedy, a guardian angel of Paradise, a lion's den in which Daniel and other just men could sustain no injury, but in which perverse sinners were torn to pieces."

The Spanish inquisition had never flourished in any soil but that of the peninsula. It is possible that the king and Granvella were sincere in their protestations of entertaining no intention of introducing it into the Netherlands, although the protestations of such men are entitled to but little weight. The truth was that the Inquisition existed already in the provinces. This establishment, like the edicts, was the gift of Charles V.

In the reign of Philip the Good, the vicar of the inquisitor-general gave sentence against some heretics, who were burned in Lille (1448). In 1459, Peter Troussart, a Jacobin monk, condemned many Waldenses, together with some leading citizens of Artois, accused of sorcery and heresy. Charles V had in the year 1522 applied for a staff of inquisitors to his ancient tutor, whom he had placed on the papal throne.

Adrian, accordingly, commissioned Van der Hulst to be universal and general inquisitor for all the Netherlands. At the same time it was expressly stated that his functions were not to supersede those exercised by the bishops as inquisitors in their own sees. In 1537, Ruard Tapper and Michael Drutius were appointed by Paul III. The powers of the papal inquisitors had been gradually extended, and they were, by 1545, not only entirely independent of the episcopal inquisition, but had acquired right of jurisdiction over bishops and archbishops, whom they were empowered to arrest and imprison.

[1 The history and methods of the Inquisition in its various forms have been fully treated in Appendix A to Volume X.]

The instructions to the inquisitors had been renewed and confirmed by Philip, in the very first month of his reign (28th Nov. 1555).

Among all the inquisitors, the name of Peter Titelman was now pre-eminent. He executed his infamous functions throughout Flanders, Douai, and Tournay, the most thriving and populous portions of the Netherlands, with a swiftness, precision, and even with a jocularity which hardly seemed human. He burned men for idle words or suspected thoughts; he rarely waited, according to his frank confession, for deeds.

This kind of work, which went on daily, did not increase the love of the people for the inquisition or the edicts. It terrified many, but it inspired more with that noble resistance to oppression, particularly to religious oppression, which is the sublimest instinct of human nature. Men confronted the terrible inquisitors with a courage equal to their cruelty. At Tournay, one of the chief cities of Titelman's district, and almost before his eyes, one Bertrand le Blas, a velvet manufacturer, committed what was held an almost incredible crime. Having begged his wife and children to pray for a blessing upon what he was about to undertake, he went on Christmas-day to the cathedral of Tournay and stationed himself near the altar. Having awaited the moment in which the priest held on high the consecrated host, Le Blas then forced his way through the crowd, snatched the wafer from the hands of the astonished ecclesiastic, and broke it into bits, crying aloud, as he did so, "Misguided men, do ye take this thing to be Jesus Christ, your Lord and Saviour?" With these words, he threw the fragments on the ground and trampled them with his feet.

The amazement and horror were so universal at such an appalling offence, that not a finger was raised to arrest the criminal. Priests and congregation were alike paralysed, so that he would have found no difficulty in making his escape. He did not stir, however; he had come to the church determined to execute what he considered a sacred duty, and to abide the consequences. After a time he was apprehended. The inquisitor demanded if he repented of what he had done. He protested, on the contrary, that he gloried in the deed, and that he would die a hundred deaths to rescue from such daily profanation the name of his Redeemer, Christ. He was then put thrice to the torture, that he might be forced to reveal his accomplices. Bertrand had none, however, and could denounce none. A frantic sentence was then devised as a feeble punishment for so much wickedness. He was dragged on a hurdle, with his mouth closed with an iron gag, to the market-place. Here his right hand and foot were burned and twisted off between two red-hot irons. His tongue was then torn out by the roots, and because he still endeavoured to call upon the name of God, the iron gag was again applied. With his arms and legs fastened together behind his back, he was then hooked by the middle of his body to an iron chain, and made to swing to and fro over a slow fire till he was entirely roasted. His life lasted almost to the end of these ingenious tortures, but his fortitude lasted as long as his life.

In the next year, Titelman caused one Robert Ogier, of Lille, to be arrested, together with his wife and two sons. Their crime consisted in not going to mass, and in practising private worship at home. They confessed the offence, for they protested that they could not endure to see the profanation of their Saviour's name in the idolatrous sacraments. They were asked what rites they practised in their own house. One of the sons, a mere boy, answered, "We fall on our knees, and pray to God that he may enlighten our hearts, and forgive our sins. We pray for our sovereign, that his reign may be prosperous, and his life peaceful. We also pray for the magistrates and others

in authority, that God may protect and preserve them all." The boy's simple eloquence drew tears even from the eyes of some of his judges; for the inquisitor had placed the case before the civil tribunal. The father and eldest son were, however, condemned to the flames. "O God!" prayed the youth at the stake, "Eternal Father, accept the sacrifice of our lives, in the name of thy beloved Son." "Thou liest, scoundrel!" fiercely interrupted a monk, who was lighting the fire; "God is not your father; ye are the devil's children." As the flames rose about them, the boy cried out once more, "Look, my father, all heaven is opening, and I see ten hundred thousand angels rejoicing over us. Let us be glad, for we are dying for the truth." "Thou liest! thou liest!" again screamed the monk; "all hell is opening, and you see ten thousand devils thrusting you into eternal fire." Eight days afterwards, the wife of Ogier and his other son were burned; so that there was an end of that family. Such are a few isolated specimens of the manner of proceeding in a single district of the Netherlands.

Are these things related merely to excite superfluous horror? Are the sufferings of these obscure Christians beneath the dignity of history? Is it not better to deal with murder and oppression in the abstract, without entering into trivial details? The answer is that these things are the history of the Netherlands at this epoch; that these hideous details furnish the causes of that immense movement out of which a great republic was born and an ancient tyranny destroyed; and that Cardinal Granvella was ridiculous when he asserted that the people would not open their mouths if the seigniors did not make such a noise. Because the great lords "owned their very souls," because convulsions might help to pay their debts and furnish forth their masquerades and banquets, because the prince of Orange was ambitious and Egmont jealous of the cardinal — therefore superficial writers found it quite natural that the country should be disturbed, although that "vile and mischievous animal, the people," might have no objection to a continuance of the system which had been at work so long. On the contrary, it was exactly because the movement was a popular and a religious movement that it will always retain its place among the most important events of history. Dignified documents, state papers, solemn treaties, are often of no more value than the lambskin on which they are engrossed. Ten thousand nameless victims, in the cause of religious and civil freedom, may build up great states and alter the aspect of whole continents.

Upon some minds, declamation concerning liberty of conscience and religious tyranny makes but a vague impression, while an effect may be produced upon them, for example, by a dry, concrete, cynical entry in an account book, such as the following, taken at hazard from the register of municipal expenses at Tournay, during the years with which we are now occupied:

"To M. Jacques Barra, executioner, for having tortured, twice, Jean de Lannoy, ten sous. To the same, for having executed, by fire, said Lannoy, sixty sous. For having thrown his cinders into the river, eight sous."

This was the treatment to which thousands had been subjected in the provinces. Men, women, and children were burned, and their "cinders" thrown away, for idle words against Rome, spoken years before, for praying alone in their closets, for not kneeling to a wafer when they met it in the streets, for thoughts to which they had never given utterance, but which, on inquiry, they were too honest to deny. Certainly with this work going on year after year in every city in the Netherlands, and now set into renewed and vigorous action by a man who wore a crown only that he might the better

torture his fellow creatures, it was time that the very stones in the streets should be moved to mutiny.

Thus it may be seen of how much value were the protestations of Philip and of Granvella, on which much stress has latterly been laid, that it was not their intention to introduce the Spanish inquisition. With the edicts and the Netherland inquisition, such as we have described them, the step was hardly necessary.

In fact, the main difference between the two institutions consisted in the greater efficiency of the Spanish in discovering such of its victims as were disposed to deny their faith. The invisible machinery was less requisite for the Netherlands. There was comparatively little difficulty in ferreting out the "vermin" — to use the expression of a Walloon historian of that age (Renon de France[f]) — so that it was only necessary to maintain in good working order the apparatus for destroying the noxious creatures when unearthed. Philip, who did not often say a great deal in a few words, once expressed the whole truth of the matter in a single sentence: "Wherefore introduce the Spanish inquisition?" said he; "the inquisition of the Netherlands is much more pitiless than that of Spain."

Such was the system of religious persecution commenced by Charles, and perfected by Philip. The king could not claim the merit of the invention, which justly belonged to the emperor. At the same time, his responsibility for the unutterable woe caused by the continuance of the scheme is not a jot diminished.[d]

THE COMPROMISE OF FEBRUARY, 1566

At length the moment came when the people had reached that pitch of despair which is the great force of the oppressed. Up to the present moment the prince of Orange and the counts Egmont and Horn, with their partisans and friends, had sincerely desired the public peace, and acted in the common interest of the king and the people. But all the nobles had not acted with the same constitutional moderation. Many of those, disappointed on personal accounts, others professing the new doctrines, and the rest variously affected by manifold motives, formed a body of violent and sometimes of imprudent malcontents. The marriage of Alessandro prince of Parma, son of the governante, which was celebrated in 1565 at Brussels, brought together an immense number of these dissatisfied nobles.

Nothing seemed wanting but a leader, to give consistency and weight to the confederacy which was as yet but in embryo. This was doubly furnished in the persons of Louis of Nassau and Henry of Brederode. The former, brother of the prince of Orange, was possessed of many of those brilliant qualities which mark men as worthy of distinction in times of peril. Educated at Geneva, he was passionately attached to the reformed religion, and identified in his hatred the Catholic church and the tyranny of Spain. Brave and impetuous, he was, to his elder brother, but as an adventurous partisan compared with a sagacious general. He loved William as well as he did their common cause, and his life was devoted to both.

Henry of Brederode, lord of Vianen and marquis of Utrecht, was descended from the ancient counts of Holland. This illustrious origin, which in his own eyes formed a high claim to distinction, had not procured him any of those employments or dignities which he considered his due.[g]

Louis of Nassau, Nicholas de Hames, and certain other gentlemen met at the baths of Spa. At this secret assembly, the foundations of the Com-

promise were definitely laid.[1] A document was afterwards drawn up, which was circulated for signatures in the early part of 1566. It is a mistake to suppose that this memorable paper was simultaneously signed and sworn to at any solemn scene like that of the Declaration of American Independence, or like some of the subsequent transactions in the Netherland revolt arranged purposely for dramatic effect. Several copies of the Compromise were passed secretly from hand to hand, and in the course of two months some two thousand signatures had been obtained. The original copy bore but three names — those of Brederode, Charles of Mansfeld, and Louis of Nassau. The composition of the paper is usually ascribed to Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde, although the fact is not indisputable.

A COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

At any rate, it is very certain that he was one of the originators and main supporters of the famous league. The language of the document was such that patriotic Catholics could sign as honestly as Protestants. It inveighed bitterly against the tyranny of "a heap of strangers," who, influenced only by private avarice and ambition, were making use of an affected zeal for the Catholic religion, to persuade the king into a violation of his oaths. It denounced the refusal to mitigate the severity of the edicts. It declared the Inquisition, which it seemed the intention of government to fix permanently upon them, as "iniquitous, contrary to all laws, human and divine, surpassing the greatest barbarism which was ever practised by tyrants, and as redounding to the dishonour of God and to the total desolation of the country."

The signers protested, therefore, that "having a due regard to their duties as faithful vassals of his majesty, and especially as noblemen, and in order not to be deprived of their estates and their lives by those who, under pretext of religion, wished to enrich themselves by plunder and murder," they had bound themselves to each other by holy covenant and solemn oath to resist the Inquisition. They mutually promised to oppose it in every shape, open or covert, under whatever mask it might assume, whether bearing the name of inquisition, placard, or edict, "and to extirpate and eradicate the thing in any form, as the mother of all iniquity and disorder." They protested before God and man that they would attempt nothing to the dishonour of the Lord or to the diminution of the king's grandeur, majesty, or dominion. They declared, on the contrary, an honest purpose to "maintain the monarch in his estate, and to suppress all seditions,

[1] This appears from the sentence pronounced against De Hames (Toisin d'Or) by the Blood-Council on the 17th May, 1568. "*Charge d'avoir este ung des autheurs de la seditieuse et pernicieuse conjuration et ligue des confederez (qui'ls appellent Compromis) et dicelle premierement avoir jecte les fondemens à la fontaine de Spa, avecq le Compte Loys de Nassau et aultres et après environ le mois de Decembre, 1565, l'arreste la signe et jure en ceste ville de Bruxelle en sa maison et a icelle attire et induict plusieurs aultres.*" — *Registre des Condamnés et Bannis a cause des Troubles des Pays-Bas dep. l'an* 1568 *à* 1572.

tumults, monopolies, and factions." They engaged to preserve their confederation, thus formed, forever inviolable, and to permit none of its members to be persecuted in any manner, in body or goods, by any proceeding founded on the Inquisition, the edicts, or the present league.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Compromise was in its origin a covenant of nobles. It was directed against the foreign influence by which the Netherlands were exclusively governed, and against the Inquisition, whether papal, episcopal, or by edict. There is no doubt that the country was controlled entirely by Spanish masters, and that it was intended to reduce the ancient liberty of the Netherlands into subjection to a junta of foreigners sitting at Madrid. Nothing more legitimate could be imagined than a constitutional resistance to such a policy.[d]

Men of all ranks and classes offered their signatures, and several Catholic priests among the rest. The prince of Orange and the counts Egmont, Horn, and Meghem declined becoming actual parties to this bold measure; and when the question was debated as to the most appropriate way of presenting an address to the governante, these noblemen advised the mildest and most respectful demeanour on the part of the purposed deputation.

At the first intelligence of these proceedings, the duchess of Parma, absorbed by terror, had no resource but to assemble hastily such members of the council of state as were at Brussels; and she entreated, by the most pressing letters, the prince of Orange and Count Horn to resume their places at this council. But three courses of conduct seemed applicable to the emergency: to take up arms; to grant the demands of the confederates; or to temporise and to amuse them with a feint of moderation, until the orders of the king might be obtained from Spain. It was not, however, till after a lapse of four months that the council finally met to deliberate on these important questions; and during this long interval at such a crisis, the confederates gained constant accession to their numbers, and completely consolidated their plans.

The opinions in the council were greatly divided as to the mode of treatment towards those whom one party considered patriots acting in their constitutional rights, and the other as rebels in open revolt against the king. The princes of Orange and Barlaymont were the principal leaders and chief speakers at either side. But the reasonings of the former, backed by the urgency of events, carried the majority of the suffrages; and a promised redress of grievances was agreed on beforehand, as the anticipated answer to the coming demands.

THE "REQUEST" OF THE "BEGGARS"

Even while the council of state held its sittings, the report was spread through Brussels that the confederates were approaching. And at length they did enter the city, to the amount of some hundreds of the representatives of the first families in the country.[1] On the following day, the 5th of April, 1566, they walked in solemn procession to the palace. Their demeanour was highly imposing, from their mingled air of forbearance and determination. All Brussels thronged out to gaze and sympathise with this extraordinary spectacle, of men whose resolute step showed they were no common suppliants, but whose modest bearing had none of the seditious air of faction. The government received the distinguished petitioners with courtesy, listened

[1 The total number was about four hundred instead of the thirty-five thousand soldiers the regent had been warned to expect. — BLOK.[e]]

to their detail of grievances [called "the Request"], and returned a moderate, conciliatory, but evasive answer.

The confederation, which owed its birth to and was cradled in social enjoyments, was consolidated in the midst of a feast. The day following this first deputation to the government, Brederode gave a grand repast to his associates in the hôtel Kuilenburg. Three hundred guests were present. Inflamed by joy and hope, their spirits rose high under the influence of wine, and temperance gave way to temerity. In the midst of their carousing, some of the members remarked that, when the governante received the written petition, Count Barlaymont observed to her that she had "nothing to fear from such a band of beggars" (*tas de gueux*). The fact was that many of the confederates were, from individual extravagance and mismanagement, reduced to such a state of poverty as to justify in some sort the sarcasm. The chiefs of the company being at that very moment debating on the name which they should choose for this patriotic league, the title of *gueux* was instantly proposed, and adopted with acclamation.[1]

The reproach it was originally intended to convey became neutralised, as its general application to men of all ranks and fortunes concealed its effect as a stigma on many to whom it might be seriously applied. Neither were examples wanting of the most absurd and apparently dishonouring nicknames being elsewhere adopted by powerful political parties. "Long live the gueux!" was the toast given and tumultuously drunk by this madbrained company; and Brederode, setting no bounds to the boisterous excitement which followed, procured immediately and slung across his shoulders a wallet such as was worn by pilgrims and beggars; drank to the health of all present, in a wooden cup or porringer; and loudly swore that he was ready to sacrifice his fortune and life for the common cause. Each man passed round the bowl, which he first put to his lips, repeated the oath, and thus pledged himself to the compact.

The tumult caused by this ceremony, so ridiculous in itself but so sublime in its results, attracted to the spot the prince of Orange and counts Egmont and Horn, whose presence is universally attributed by the historians

[1 Notwithstanding the scepticism of Gachard[k] it is probable that the seigneur of Barlaymont will retain the reputation of originating the famous name of the "beggars." Gachard cites Wesenbeke,[l] Bor,[m] Le Petit,[n] Meteren,[o] among contemporaries, and Strada,[k] and Van der Vynckt[p] among later writers, as having sanctioned the anecdote in which the taunt of Barlaymont is recorded. The learned and acute critic is disposed to question the accuracy of the report, both upon *a priori* grounds, and because there is no mention made of the circumstance either in the official or confidential correspondence of the duchess Margaret with the king. It is possible, however, that the duchess in her agitation did not catch the expression of Barlaymont, or did not understand it, or did not think it worth while to chronicle it, if she did. It must be remembered that she was herself not very familiar with the French language, and that she was writing to a man who thought that "*pistolle* meant some kind of knife." She certainly did not and could not report everything said upon that memorable occasion. On the other hand, some of the three hundred gentlemen present might have heard and understood better than Madame de Parma the sarcasm of the finance minister, whether it were uttered upon their arrival in the council-chamber, or during their withdrawal into the hall. The testimony of Pontus Payen,[q] a contemporary, almost always well informed, and one whose position as a Catholic Walloon, noble and official, necessarily brought him into contact with many personages engaged in the transactions which he describes, is worthy of much respect. It is to be observed, too, that this manuscript alludes to a repetition by Barlaymont of his famous sarcasm upon the same day. To the names of contemporary historians, cited by Gachard, may be added those of Van der Haer[r] and of two foreign writers, President De Thou[s] and Cardinal Bentivoglio;[t] Hooft,[u] not a contemporary certainly, but born within four or five years of the event, relates the anecdote, but throws a doubt upon its accuracy. Those inclined to acquit the baron of having perpetrated the immortal witticism will give him the benefit of the doubt if they think it a reasonable one. That it is so, they have the high authority of M. Gachard and of the provost Hooft. — MOTLEY.[d]]

to accident. They entered; and Brederode, who did the honours of the mansion, forced them to be seated, and to join in the festivity. The appearance of three such distinguished personages heightened the general excitement; and the most important assemblage that had for centuries met together in the Netherlands mingled the discussion of affairs of state with all the burlesque extravagance of a debauch.

But this frantic scene did not finish the affair. What they resolved on while drunk, they prepared to perform when sober. Rallying-signs and watchwords were adopted and soon displayed. It was thought that nothing better suited the occasion than the immediate adoption of the costume as well as the title of beggary. In a very few days the city streets were filled with men in grey cloaks, fashioned on the model of those used by mendicants and pilgrims. Each confederate caused this uniform to be worn by every member of his family, and replaced with it the livery of his servants. Several fastened to their girdles or their sword-hilts small wooden drinking-cups, clasp-knives, and other symbols of the begging fraternity; while all soon wore on their breasts a medal of gold or silver, representing on one side the effigy of Philip, with the words, "Faithful to the king," and on the reverse, two hands clasped, with the motto, "*Jusqu'à la besace*" (even to the wallet). From this origin arose the application of the word *gueux*, in its political sense, as common to all the inhabitants of the Netherlands who embraced the cause of the Reformation, and took up arms against their tyrant.

A MAN OF INFERIOR RANK, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Having presented two subsequent remonstrances to the governante and obtained some consoling promises of moderation, the chief confederates quitted Brussels, leaving several directors to sustain their cause in the capital; while they themselves spread into the various provinces, exciting the people to join the legal and constitutional resistance with which they were resolved to oppose the march of bigotry and despotism.

A new form of edict was now decided on by the governante and her council; and after various insidious and illegal but successful tricks, the consent of several of the provinces was obtained to the adoption of measures that, under a guise of comparative moderation, were little less abominable than those commanded by the king. These were formally signed by the council, and despatched to Spain to receive Philip's sanction, and thus acquire the force of law. The embassy to Madrid was confided to the marquis of Bergen and the baron of Montigny, the latter of whom was brother to Count Horn, and had formerly been employed on a like mission. Montigny appears to have had some qualms of apprehension in undertaking this new office. His good genius seemed for a while to stand between him and the fate which awaited him. An accident which happened to his colleague allowed an excuse for retarding his journey. But the governante urged him away: he

set out, and reached his destination — not to defend the cause of his country at the foot of the throne, but to perish a victim to his patriotism.

The situation of the patriot lords was at this crisis peculiarly embarrassing. The conduct of the confederates was so essentially tantamount to open rebellion, that the prince of Orange and his friends found it almost impossible to preserve a neutrality between the court and the people. All their wishes urged them to join at once in the public cause; but they were restrained by a lingering sense of loyalty to the king, whose employments they still held, and whose confidence they were, therefore, nominally supposed to share. Be their individual motives or reasoning what they might, they at length adopted the alternative, and resigned their places. Count Horn retired to his estates; Count Egmont repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], under the pretext of being ordered thither by his physicians; the prince of Orange remained for a while at Brussels.

In the meanwhile the confederation gained ground every day. Its measures had totally changed the face of affairs in all parts of the nation. The general discontent now acquired stability and consequent importance. The chief merchants of many of the towns enrolled themselves in the patriot band.

THE CALVINIST OUTBREAK

An occasion so favourable for the rapid promulgation of the new doctrines was promptly taken advantage of by the French Huguenots and their Protestant brethren of Germany. The disciples of reform poured from all quarters into the Low Countries, and made prodigious progress, with all the energy of proselytes, and too often with the fury of fanatics. The three principal sects into which the reformers were divided were those of the Anabaptists, the Calvinists, and the Lutherans. The first and least numerous were chiefly established in Friesland. The second were spread over the eastern provinces. Their doctrines being already admitted into some kingdoms of the north, they were protected by the most powerful princes of the empire. The third, and by far the most numerous and wealthy, abounded in the southern provinces, and particularly in Flanders. They were supported by the zealous efforts of French, Swiss, and German ministers; and their dogmas were nearly the same as those of the established religion of England. The city of Antwerp was the central point of union for the three sects; but the only principle they held in common was their hatred against popery, the Inquisition, and Spain.

The governante had now issued orders to the chief magistrates to proceed with moderation against the heretics — orders which were obeyed in their most ample latitude by those to whose sympathies they were so congenial. Until then, the Protestants were satisfied to meet by stealth at night; but under this negative protection of the authorities they now boldly assembled in public. Field-preachings commenced in Flanders; and the minister who first set this example was Herman Stricker, a converted monk, a native of Overyssel, a powerful speaker and a bold enthusiast. He soon drew together an audience of seven thousand persons. A furious magistrate rushed among this crowd, and hoped to disperse them sword in hand; but he was soon struck down, mortally wounded, with a shower of stones. Irritated and emboldened by this rash attempt, the Protestants assembled in still greater numbers near Alost; but on this occasion they appeared with poniards, guns, and halberds. They entrenched themselves under the protection of wagons and all sorts of obstacles to a sudden attack; placed outposts and

videttes; and thus took the field in the doubly dangerous aspect of fanaticism and war.

Similar assemblies soon spread over the whole of Flanders, inflamed by the exhortations of Stricker and another preacher, called Peter Dathen, of Poperinghe. It was calculated that fifteen thousand men attended some of these preachings; while a third apostle of Calvinism, Ambrose Ville, a Frenchman, successfully excited the inhabitants of Tournay, Valenciennes, and Antwerp, to form a common league for the promulgation of their faith. The sudden appearance of Brederode at the latter place decided their plan, and gave the courage to fix on a day for its execution. An immense assemblage simultaneously quitted the three cities at a preconcerted time; and when they united their forces at the appointed rendezvous, the preachings, exhortations, and psalm-singing commenced, under the auspices of several Huguenot and German ministers, and continued for several days in all the zealous extravagance which may be well imagined to characterise such a scene.

The citizens of Antwerp were terrified for the safety of the place, and courier after courier was despatched to the governante at Brussels to implore her presence. The duchess, not daring to take such a step without the authority of the king, sent Count Meghem as her representative, with proposals to the magistrates to call out the garrison. The populace soon understood the object of this messenger; and assailing him with a violent outcry, forced him to fly from the city. Then the Calvinists petitioned the magistrates for permission to openly exercise their religion, and for the grant of a temple in which to celebrate its rites. The magistrates in this conjuncture renewed their application to the governant, and entreated her to send the prince of Orange, as the only person capable of saving the city from destruction. The duchess was forced to adopt this bitter alternative; and the prince, after repeated refusals to mix again in public affairs, yielded at length, less to the supplications of the governante than to his own wishes to do another service to the cause of his country. At half a league from the city he was met by Brederode, with an immense concourse of people of all sects and opinions, who hailed him as a protector from the tyranny of the king, and a saviour from the dangers of their own excess. Nothing could exceed the wisdom, the firmness, and the benevolence with which he managed all conflicting interests and preserved tranquillity amidst a chaos of opposing prejudices and passions.

From the first establishment of the field-preachings the governante had implored the confederate lords to aid her for the re-establishment of order. Brederode seized this excuse for convoking a general meeting of the associates, which consequently took place at the town of St. Trond, in the district of Liège (July 13th, 1566). Full two thousand of the members appeared on the summons. The language held in this assembly was much stronger and less equivocal than that formerly used. The delay in the arrival of the king's answer presaged ill as to his intentions; while the rapid growth of the public power seemed to mark the present as the time for successfully demanding all that the people required. Several of the Catholic members, still royalists at heart, were shocked to hear a total liberty of conscience spoken of as one of the privileges sought for. The young count of Mansfeld, among others, withdrew immediately from the confederation; and thus the first stone seemed to be removed from this imperfectly constructed edifice.

The prince of Orange and Count Egmont were applied to, and appointed by the governante, with full powers to treat with the confederates. Twelve of

the latter, among whom were Louis of Nassau, Brederode, and Kuilenburg [or Culenborg], met them by appointment at Duffle, a village not far from Mechlin. The result of the conference was a respectful but firm address to the governante, repelling her accusations of having entered into foreign treaties; declaring their readiness to march against the French troops, should they set foot in the country; and claiming, with the utmost force of reasoning, the convocation of the states-general. This was replied to by an entreaty that they would still wait patiently for twenty-four days, in hopes of an answer from the king; and she sent the marquis of Bergen in all speed to Madrid, to support Montigny in his efforts to obtain some prompt decision from Philip.

The king, who was then at Segovia, assembled his council, consisting of the duke of Alva and eight other grandees. The two deputies from the Netherlands attended the deliberations, which were held for several successive days; but the king was never present. The whole state of affairs being debated with what appears a calm and dispassionate view, considering the hostile prejudices of this council, it was decided to advise the king to adopt generally a more moderate line of conduct in the Netherlands, and to abolish the Inquisition; at the same time prohibiting under the most awful threats all confederation, assemblage, or public preachings, under any pretext whatever.

The king's first care on receiving this advice was to order, in all the principal towns of Spain and the Netherlands, prayer and procession to implore the divine approbation on the resolutions which he had formed. He appeared then in person at the council of state, and issued a decree, by which he refused his consent to the convocation of the states-general, and bound himself to take several German regiments into his pay. He ordered the duchess of Parma, by a private letter, to immediately cause to be raised three thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot, and he remitted to her for this purpose three hundred thousand florins in gold. He next wrote with his own hand to several of his partisans in the various towns, encouraging them in their fidelity to his purposes, and promising them his support. He rejected the adoption of the moderation recommended to him; but he consented to the abolition of the Inquisition in its most odious sense, re-establishing that modified species [the Episcopal inquisition] which had been introduced into the Netherlands by Charles V. The people of that devoted country were thus successful in obtaining one important concession from the king, and in meeting unexpected consideration from this Spanish council. Whether these measures had been calculated with a view to their failure, it is not now easy to determine: at all events they came too late [Aug. 12th, 1566]. When Philip's letters reached Brussels, the iconoclasts or image-breakers were abroad.

It requires no profound research to comprehend the impulse which leads a horde of fanatics to the most monstrous excesses. That the deeds of the iconoclasts arose from the spontaneous outburst of mere vulgar fury, admits of no doubt.[g]

The historian Strada[h] was a contemporary of these scenes and has vividly described them, from the Spanish and Jesuit point of view. The old translation of Sir Robert Stapleton well accords with the spirit of the times.[a]

STRADA'S ACCOUNT OF THE IMAGE-BREAKING FRENZY (1566)

The people, partly corrupted with heresie, partly dreading the Inquisition, exceedingly favoured the hereticks that fought to overthrow that judicature. Upon Assumption-eve, they began to rifle the low-countrey churches; first

rising in the lower Flanders. In these parts a few of the raskall sort of hereticks met and joyned themselves with some companies of thieves, upon the day appointed for proclaiming war against heaven, led on by no commander but impietie; their arms were staves, hatchets, hammers, and ropes, fitter to pull down houses than to fight withall; some few of them had swords and muskets. Thus accoutred, as if they had been furies vomited from hell, they broke into the towns and villages about St. Omer, and if they had found the doors of churches or monasteries shut, forced them open, fighting away their religious inhabitants; and overturning the altars, they defaced the monuments of saints, and broke to pieces their sacred images. Whatsoever they saw dedicated to God, and to the blessed, they pulled it down and trod it under their feet to dirt, whilst their ringleaders clapt them on the backs and incouraged them with all their force to destroy the idols.

The hereticks, glad of this successe, with unanimous consent, shouted and cryed aloud — "Let us to Ypres!" that being a city much frequented by the Calvinists. And they were drawn thither, as well out of hope of protection, as out of hatred they bare to the bishop of that city, Martin Rithovins, an eminently virtuous and learned man, and therefore meriting the spleen of hereticks. Whereupon they ran violently thither, gathering upon the way such vagabonds and beggars as joyned with them out of hope of plunder. And as a snowball rolling from the top of a hill grows still greater by the accesse of new snow, through which it passes, and wherein it is involved; so these thievish vagabonds multiplying by the way, the farther they go the more they rage, and the more considerable their thievish strength appears.

And when they had pillaged a few small villages about Ypres, upon the very day of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the citizens of Ypres opening their gates unto them, they entered the town, and went directly to the cathedral church, where everyone fell to work. Some set ladders to the walls, with hammers and staves battering the pictures. Others broke asunder the iron work, seats, and pulpits. Others, casting ropes about the great statues of our Saviour Christ and the saints, pulled them down to the ground. Others stole the consecrated plate, burnt the sacred books, and stript the altars of their holy ornaments; and that, with so much securitie, with so little regard of the magistrate or prelates, as you would think they had been sent for by the common councell, and were in pay with the citie. With the same fury they likewise burnt the bishop of Ypres' library and destroyed the rest of the churches and religious houses of the town, reacting their villanies, and because the first prospered, still presuming. This sacrilegious robbery continued a whole day. Part of the people being amazed to see them, not taking them for men, but devils in human shapes; and part rejoicing, that now those things were done which they themselves had long ago designed. Nor had the magistrate and senatours any greater care of religion.

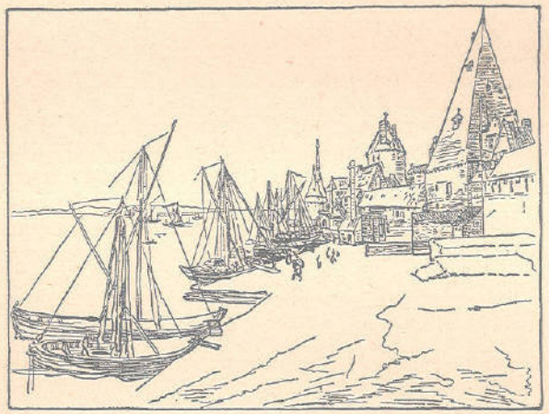
The Sack of the Antwerp Cathedral

Upon the 21st of August, the hereticks, increasing in their number, came into the great church with concealed weapons; as if they had resolved, after some light skirmishes for a few days past, to come now to a battel. And expecting till even-song was done, they shouted with a hideous cry — "Long live the Gheuses!" nay, they commanded the image of the Blessed Virgin to repeat their acclamation, which, if she refused to do, they madly swore they would beat and kill her.

Hearing the clock strike the last houre of the day, and darkness adding

confidence, one of them (lest their wickedness should want formality) began to sing a Geneva Psalme, and as if the trumpet had sounded a charge, the spirit moving them altogether, they fell upon the effigies of the mother of God, and upon the pictures of Christ and his saints: some tumbled them down and trod upon them; others thrust swords into their sides; others chopped off their heads with axes — with so much concord and forecast in their sacrilege that you would think everyone had his severall work assigned him. For the very harlots, those common appurtenances to thieves and drunkards, catching up the wax candles from the altars, and from the vestry, held them to light the men that were at work.[1] Part whereof, getting upon the altars, cast down the sacred plate, broke asunder the picture frames, defaced the painted walls; part, setting up ladders, shattered the goodly organes, broke the windows flourished with a new kind of paint.

Huge statues of saints that stood in the walls upon pedistalls, they unfastened and hurled down, among which, an ancient and great crucifix with the two thieves hanging on each hand of our Saviour, that stood right against the high altar, they pulled down with ropes and hewed it in pieces; but touched not the two thieves, as if they onely worshipped them, and desired them to be their good lords. Nay, they presumed to break open the conservatory of the celestial bread; and putting in their polluted hands, to pull out the blessed body of Our Lord.



THE PORT OF ANTWERP IN 1520
(Facsimile of a drawing by Albert Dürer)

Those base offscourings of men trod upon the Deity adored and dreaded by the angels. The pixes and chalices which they found in the vestry they filled with wine prepared for the altar, and drank them off in derision. They greased their shoes with the chrisme or holy oyl; and after the spoyl of all these things, laughed and were very merry at the matter. My meaning is not lest I should scandalise mankind, nor suits it with history to repeat all these foul actions wherewith, in the destruction of holy things, these traitours to God and his saints glutted their cruelty.

But the greatest wonder was to see them make so quick dispatch that one of the fairest and greatest churches of Europe, full of pictures and statues, richly adorned with about seventy-five altars, by a few men (for they were not above one hundred as the governesse wrote to the king that she was certainly informed), should before midnight, when they began but in the evening, have nothing at all left entire or unprofaned. Truly if the hundred men had not an hundred hands apiece, that in so short a space demolished such a

[1 Gresham, the English agent, is quoted by his biographer Burgon,[v] as follows: "And coming into Oure Lady Church, yt looked like hell where were above 1,000 torches brannying and syche a noise! as yf heven and erth had gone together, with fallying of images and fallying down of costly works."]

multitude of things, it is not unreasonable to believe (which I know some at that time suspected) that devils, mixing with them, joyned in dispatching their own work; or at least that the furious violence which (in scorn of religion) stript the altars, mangled the statues and pictures, defaced the tombes, and in foure houres' time robbed and laid waste so goodly a church, could not have any other cause but the immediate repulsion of those rebellious and infernall spirits, that add both rage and strength to sacrilegious villains, offering an acceptable sacrifice to hell.

While this was done at and about Antwerp, the rage of these traitours was no lesse, upon the very same dayes at Ghent, Oudenarde, and other towns in Flanders, from the river of Lys as farre as Schelde and Dender, all the churches and holy ornaments going to wrack. For this destruction was more like an earthquake, that devours all at once, than like the plague that steals upon a country by degrees. Insomuch, as the same tainture and whirlwind of religion, in an in tant, miserably involved and laid waste Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, Friesland, Overyssel, and almost all the low countreys except three or four provinces — *viz.*, Namur, Luxemburg, Artois, and part of Hainault. And as of old, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, they tell us that twelve cities were swallowed by an earthquake in one night, so in the low countreys, not the like number of cities, but provinces, by the spirit, struggling and bursting out from hell, were devoured, with so sudden, with so great a ruine, that the Netherlands, which had as many populous cities, towns, and villages, as any part of Europe, within ten days was overwhelmed in this calamitie; the particular province of Flanders having four hundred consecrated houses either profaned or burnt to the ground.[h]

RESULTS OF THE OUTBREAK; THE ACCORD

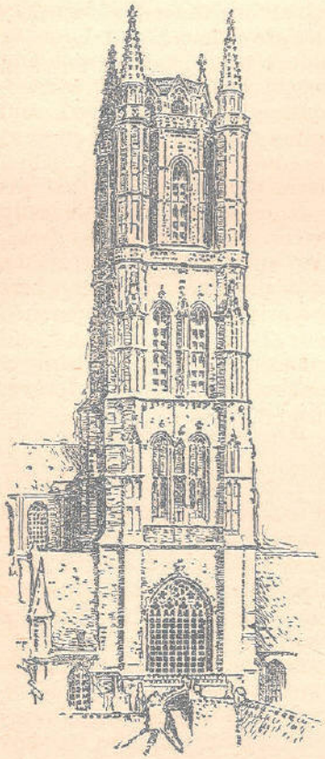
Such, in general outline and in certain individual details, was the celebrated iconomachy of the Netherlands.[1] The movement was a sudden explosion of popular revenge against the symbols of that Church by which the reformers had been enduring such terrible persecution. It was also an expression of the general sympathy for the doctrines which had taken possession of the national heart. It was the depravation of that instinct which had in the beginning of the summer drawn Calvinists and Lutherans forth in armed bodies, twenty thousand strong, to worship God in the open fields. The difference between the two phenomena was that the field-preaching was a crime committed by the whole mass of the reformers — men, women, and children confronting the penalties of death, by a general determination; while the image-breaking was the act of a small portion of the populace. A hundred persons belonging to the lowest order of society sufficed for the desecration of the Antwerp churches. It was, said Orange, "a mere handful of rabble" who did the deed. Sir Richard Clough saw ten or twelve persons entirely sack church after church, while ten thousand spectators looked on, indifferent or horror-struck. The bands of iconoclasts were of the lowest character, and few in number. Perhaps the largest assemblage was that which ravaged the province of Tournay, but this was so weak as to be entirely routed by a small and determined force. The duty of repression devolved upon both Catholics and Protestants. Neither party stirred. All seemed overcome with special wonder as the tempest swept over the land.

[1 This incident is not to be confused with the iconoclasm of the eighth century, which was far more bloody: it is described in the history of the Eastern Empire, volume VII, chapter 7, and in the history of the Papacy, volume VIII.]

[1566 A.D.]

The ministers of the reformed religion, and the chiefs of the liberal party, all denounced the image-breaking. The prince of Orange, in his private letters, deplored the riots, and stigmatised the perpetrators.

The next remarkable characteristic of these tumults was the almost entire abstinence of the rioters from personal outrage and from pillage. The testimony of a very bitter, but honest Catholic at Valenciennes, is remarkable upon this point: "Certain chroniclers," said he, "have greatly mistaken the character of this image-breaking. It has been said that the Calvinists killed a hundred priests in this city, cutting some of them into pieces, and burning others over a slow fire. I remember very well everything which happened upon that abominable day, and I can affirm that not a single priest was injured. The Huguenots took good care not to injure in any way the living images." This was the case everywhere. Catholic and Protestant writers agree that no deeds of violence were committed against man or woman.



TOWER OF ST. BAVON, WHERE THE PURITANICAL OUTRAGES TOOK PLACE

It would be also very easy to accumulate a vast weight of testimony as to their forbearance from robbery. They destroyed for destruction's sake, not for purposes of plunder. Although belonging to the lowest classes of society, they left heaps of jewelry, of gold and silver plate, of costly embroidery, lying unheeded upon the ground. They felt instinctively that a great passion would be contaminated by admixture with paltry motives. In Flanders a company of rioters hanged one of their own number for stealing articles to the value of five shillings.

At Tournay, the greatest scrupulousness was observed upon this point. The floor of the cathedral was strewn with "pearls and precious stones, with chalices and reliquaries of silver and gold"; but the ministers of the reformed religion, in company with the magistrates, came to the spot, and found no difficulty, although utterly without power to prevent the storm, in taking quiet possession of the wreck. Who will dare to censure in very severe language this havoc among stocks and stones in a land where so many living men and women, of more value than many statues, had been slaughtered by the Inquisition, and where Alva's "blood tribunal" was so soon to eclipse even that terrible institution in the number of its victims and the amount of its confiscations?

Yet the effect of the riots was destined to be most disastrous for a time to the reforming party. It furnished plausible excuses for many lukewarm friends of their cause to withdraw from all connection with it. Egmont denounced the proceedings as highly flagitious, and busied himself with punishing the criminals in Flanders. The regent was beside herself with indignation and terror. Philip, when he heard the news, fell into a paroxysm of frenzy.

[1566 A.D.]

"It shall cost them dear!" he cried, as he tore his beard for rage; "it shall cost them dear! I swear it by the soul of my father!"

Nevertheless, the first effect of the tumults was a temporary advantage to the reformers. A great concession was extorted from the fears of the duchess regent, who was certainly placed in a terrible position.

On the 25th of August came the crowning act of what the reformers considered their most complete triumph, and the regent her deepest degradation. It was found necessary, under the alarming aspect of affairs, that liberty of worship, in places where it had been already established, should be accorded to the new religion. Articles of agreement to this effect were accordingly drawn up and exchanged between the government and Louis of Nassau, attended by fifteen others of the confederacy. A corresponding pledge was signed by them that, so long as the regent was true to her engagement, they would consider their previously existing league annulled, and would assist cordially in every endeavour to maintain tranquillity and support the authority of his majesty. The important "accord" was then duly signed by the duchess. It declared that the Inquisition was abolished, that his majesty would soon issue a new general edict, expressly and unequivocally protecting the nobles against all evil consequences from past transactions, that they were to be employed in the royal service, and that public preaching according to the forms of the new religion was to be practised in places where it had already taken place. Letters general were immediately despatched to the senates of all the cities, proclaiming these articles of agreement and ordering their execution. Thus for a fleeting moment there was a thrill of joy throughout the Netherlands. The Inquisition was thought forever abolished, the era of religious reformation arrived.[d]

A BRIEF RESPITE

Soon after this the several governors repaired to their respective provinces, and their efforts for the re-establishment of tranquillity were attended with various degrees of success. Several of the ringleaders in the late excesses were executed; and this severity was not confined to the partisans of the Catholic church. The prince of Orange and Count Egmont, with others of the patriot lords, set the example of this just severity.

Again the Spanish council appears to have interfered between the people of the Netherlands and the enmity of the monarch; and the offered mediation of the emperor was recommended to his acceptance, to avoid the appearance of a forced concession to the popular will. Philip was also strongly urged to repair to the scene of the disturbances; and a main question of debate was whether he should march at the head of an army or confide himself to the loyalty and good faith of his Belgian subjects. But the indolence or the pride of Philip was too strong to admit of his taking so vigorous a measure; and all these consultations ended in two letters to the governant. In the first he declared his firm intention to visit the Netherlands in person; refused to convoke the states-general; passed in silence the treaties concluded with the Protestants and the confederates; and finished by a declaration that he would throw himself wholly on the fidelity of the country. In his second letter, meant for the governante alone, he authorised her to assemble the states-general if public opinion became too powerful for resistance, but on no account to let it transpire that he had under any circumstances given his consent.

During these deliberations in Spain, the Protestants in the Netherlands

amply availed themselves of the privileges they had gained. They erected numerous wooden churches with incredible activity. Young and old, noble and plebeian, of these energetic men, assisted in the manual labours of these occupations: and the women freely applied the produce of their ornaments and jewels to forward the pious work. But the furious outrages of the iconoclasts had done infinite mischief to both political and religious freedom: many of the Catholics, and particularly the priests, gradually withdrew themselves from the confederacy, which thus lost some of its most firm supporters. And, on the other hand, the severity with which some of its members pursued the guilty offended and alarmed the body of the people, who could not distinguish the shades of difference between the love of liberty and the practice of licentiousness.

The governante and her satellites adroitly took advantage of this state of things to sow dissension among the patriots. Autograph letters from Philip to the principal lords were distributed among them with such artful and mysterious precautions as to throw the rest into perplexity, and give each suspicions of the other's fidelity. The report of the immediate arrival of Philip had also considerable effect over the less resolute or more selfish; and the confederation was dissolving rapidly under the operations of intrigue, self-interest, and fear.[1] Even Count Egmont was not proof against the subtle seductions of the wily monarch, whose severe yet flattering letters half frightened and half soothed him into a relapse of royalism. But with the prince of Orange Philip had no chance of success. It is unquestionable that, be his means of acquiring information what they might, he did succeed in procuring minute intelligence of all that was going on in the king's most secret council.[2]

William summoned his brother Louis, the counts Egmont, Horn, and Hoogstraten, to a secret conference at Dendermonde; and he there submitted to them letters which he had received from Spain, confirmatory of his worst fears. Louis of Nassau voted for open and instant rebellion; William recommended a cautious observance of the projects of government, not doubting but that a fair pretext would be soon given to justify the most vigorous overt acts of revolt: but Egmont at once struck a death-blow to the energetic project of one brother and the cautious amendment of the other, by declaring his present resolution to devote himself wholly to the service of the king, and on no inducement whatever to risk the perils of rebellion. He expressed his perfect reliance on the justice and the goodness of Philip, when once he should see the determined loyalty of those whom he had hitherto had so much reason to suspect; and he exhorted the others to follow his example.

[1 The nobles made a great mistake in permitting the dissolution of the confederation at this juncture. They should not have trusted a promise forced from a hard-pressed and reluctant government. They actually threw their best weapon away, voluntarily. They thought that all was won — at least the majority thought so, and thus they separated rejoicing over the success finally obtained. — BLOK.[c]]

[2 Philip had here to do with a head which, in cunning, was superior to his own. The prince of Orange had, for a long time, held watch over him and his privy council in Madrid and Segovia, through a host of spies, who reported to him everything of importance that was transacted there. The court of this most secret of all despots had become accessible to his intriguing spirit, and his money; in this manner, he had gained possession of several autograph letters of the regent, which she had secretly written to Madrid, and had caused copies to be circulated in triumph in Brussels, and, in a measure, under her own eyes, insomuch that she saw with astonishment in everybody's hands what she thought was preserved with so much care, and entreated the king for the future to destroy her despatches immediately they were read. William's vigilance did not confine itself simply to the court of Spain: he had spies in France, and even in more distant courts. He is also charged with not having been overscrupulous in regard to the means by which he acquired his intelligence. — SCHILLER.[b]]

The two brothers and Count Horn implored him in their turn to abandon this blind reliance on the tyrant; but in vain. His new and unlooked-for profession of faith completely paralysed their plans. He possessed too largely the confidence of both the soldiery and the people to make it possible to attempt any serious measure of resistance in which he would not take a part. The meeting broke up without coming to any decision. All those who bore a part in it were expected at Brussels to attend the council of state; Egmont alone repaired thither.

EARLY FAILURES OF THE REBELS

The governante now applied her whole effort to destroy the union among the patriot lords. She in the mean time ordered levies of troops to the amount of some thousands, the command of which was given to the nobles on whose attachment she could reckon. The most vigorous measures were adopted. Noircarmes, governor of Hainault, appeared before Valenciennes, which being in the power of the Calvinists had assumed a most determined attitude of resistance. He vainly summoned the place to submission, and to admit a royalist garrison; and on receiving an obstinate refusal, he commenced the siege in form. An undisciplined rabble of between three thousand and four thousand gueux, under the direction of John de Soreas, gathered together in the neighbourhood of Lille and Tournay, with a show of attacking these places. But the governor of the former town dispersed one party of them; and Noircarmes surprised and almost destroyed the main body — their leader falling in the action.

These were the first encounters of the civil war, which raged without cessation for upwards of eighty years in these devoted countries, and which is universally allowed to be the most remarkable that ever desolated any isolated portion of Europe. Fierce events succeeded each other with frightful rapidity.

While Valenciennes prepared for a vigorous resistance, a general synod of the Protestants was held at Antwerp, and Brederode undertook an attempt to see the governante, and lay before her the complaints of this body; but she refused to admit him into the capital. He then addressed to her a remonstrance in writing, in which he reproached her with her violation of the treaties, on the faith of which the confederates had dispersed, and the majority of the Protestants laid down their arms. He implored her to revoke the new proclamations, by which she prohibited them from the free exercise of their religion; and above all things he insisted on the abandonment of the siege of Valenciennes, and the disbanding of the new levies. The governante's reply was one of haughty reproach and defiance. The gauntlet was now thrown down; no possible hope of reconciliation remained; and the whole country flew to arms. A sudden attempt on the part of the royalists, under Count Meghem, against Bois-le-duc, was repulsed by eight hundred men, commanded by an officer named Bomberg, in the immediate service of Brederode, who had fortified himself in his garrison town of Vianen.

The prince of Orange maintained at Antwerp an attitude of extreme firmness and caution.[1] His time for action had not yet arrived; but his advice and protection were of infinite importance on many occasions. John van Marnix, lord of Toulouse, brother of Philip of Sainte-Aldegonde, took posses-

[1 The Calvinists and beggars implored William to take the leadership. They blamed his refusal to act for their defeats, and were so exasperated at his caution that the Antwerp Calvinists threatened even to kill him. But he was immovable.]

sion of Osterweel on the Schelde, a quarter of a league from Antwerp, and fortified himself in a strong position. But he was impetuously attacked by Lannoy of Beauvoir with a considerable force, and perished, after a desperate defence, with full one thousand of his followers. Three hundred who laid down their arms were immediately after the action butchered in cold blood.

Antwerp was on this occasion saved from the excesses of its divided and furious citizens, and preserved from the horrors of pillage, by the calmness and intrepidity of the prince of Orange. Valenciennes at length capitulated to the royalists, disheartened by the defeat and death of Marnix, and terrified by a bombardment of thirty-six hours. The governor, two preachers, and about forty of the citizens were hanged by the victors, and the reformed religion was prohibited. Noircarmes promptly followed up his success. Maestricht, Turnhout, and Bois-le-duc submitted at his approach; and the insurgents were soon driven from all the provinces, Holland alone excepted. Brederode fled to Germany, where he died the following year.[1]

The governante showed, in her success, no small proofs of decision. She and her counsellors, acting under orders from the king, were resolved on embarrassing to the utmost the patriot lords; and a new oath of allegiance, to be proposed to every functionary of the state, was considered as a certain means for attaining this object without the violence of an unmerited dismissal. The terms of this oath were strongly opposed to every principle of patriotism and toleration. Count Mansfeld was the first of the nobles who took it. The duke of Aerschot, counts Meghem, Barlaymont, and Egmont, followed his example. The counts of Horn, Hoogstraten, Brederode, and others, refused on various pretexts. Every artifice and persuasion was tried to induce the prince of Orange to subscribe to this new test; but his resolution had been for some time formed. He saw that every chance of constitutional resistance to tyranny was for the present at an end. The time for petitioning was gone by. The confederation was dissolved. A royalist army was in the field; the duke of Alva was notoriously approaching at the head of another, more numerous. It was worse than useless to conclude a hollow convention with the governante, of mock loyalty on his part and mock confidence on hers. Many other important considerations convinced William that his only honourable, safe, and wise course was to exile himself from the Netherlands altogether, until more propitious circumstances allowed of his acting openly, boldly, and with effect.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE WITHDRAWS (1567)

Before he put this plan of voluntary banishment into execution, he and Egmont had a parting interview, at the village of Willebroeck, between Antwerp and Brussels. Count Mansfeld, and Berti, secretary to the governant, were present at this memorable meeting. The details of what passed were reported to the confederates by one of their party, who contrived to conceal himself in the chimney of the chamber. Nothing could exceed the

[1 The utter annihilation of the popular party at this period proves how erroneous is the assertion of the Jesuit Strada[h] and others, who state that the revolt of the Netherlands was to be attributed not to the Inquisition or the introduction of the new bishops, but solely to the machinations of some impoverished and disappointed nobles. In the first formation of the confederacy the nobles rather obeyed than excited the popular impulse which, instead of contributing to sustain, they, by their vacillation and dissensions, served but to divide and weaken. So far as they were concerned, the movement was now entirely at an end; and it is to their selfishness, treachery, or inconstancy that the temporary ruin of the people's cause is to be ascribed. — DAVIES.[f]]

energetic warmth with which the two illustrious friends reciprocally endeavoured to turn each other from their respective line of conduct; but in vain. Egmont's fatal confidence in the king was not to be shaken; nor was Nassau's penetrating mind to be deceived by the romantic delusion which led away his friend. They separated with most affectionate expressions; and Nassau was even moved to tears. His parting words were to the following effect: "Confide, then, since it must be so, in the gratitude of the king; but a painful presentiment (God grant it may prove a false one!) tells me that you will serve the Spaniards as the bridge by which they will enter the country, and which they will destroy as soon as they have passed over it!"[1]

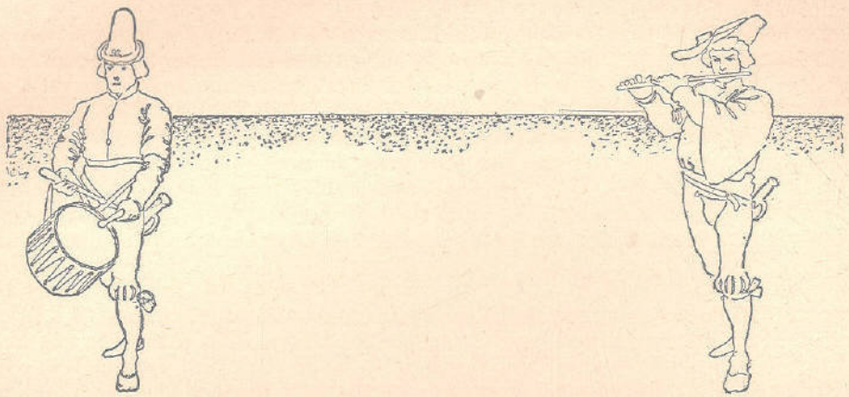
On the 11th of April, a few days after this conference, the prince of Orange set out for Germany, with his three brothers and his whole family, with the exception of his eldest son, Philip William count of Buren, whom he left behind a student in the university of Louvain. He believed that the privileges of the college and the franchises of Brabant would prove a sufficient protection to the youth; and this appears the only instance in which William's vigilant prudence was deceived. The departure of the prince seemed to remove all hope of protection or support from the unfortunate Protestants, now the prey of their implacable tyrant. The confederation of the nobles was completely broken up. The counts of Hoogstraten, Bergen, and Kuilenburg followed the example of the prince of Orange, and escaped to Germany; and the greater number of those who remained behind took the new oath of allegiance, and became reconciled to the government.

This total dispersion of the confederacy brought all the towns of Holland into obedience to the king. But the emigration which immediately commenced threatened the country with ruin.[2] England and Germany swarmed with Dutch and Belgian refugees; and all the efforts of the governante could not restrain the thousands that took to flight. She was not more successful in her attempts to influence the measures of the king. She implored him, in repeated letters, to abandon his design of sending a foreign army into the country, which she represented as being now quite reduced to submission and tranquillity. She added that the mere report of this royal invasion (so to call it) had already deprived the Netherlands of many thousands of its best inhabitants; and that the appearance of the troops would change it into a desert. These arguments, meant to dissuade, were the very means of encouraging Philip in his design. He conceived his project to be now ripe for the complete suppression of freedom.

On the 5th of May, 1567, Alva, the celebrated captain whose reputation was so quickly destined to sink into the notoriety of an executioner, began his memorable march.[g]

[1 Hooft[a] alludes to a rumour, according to which Egmont said to Orange at parting, "Adieu, landless prince!" and was answered by his friend with "Adieu, headless count!" "*Men voeght'er by dat zy voorts elkandre, Prins zonder goedt, Graaf zonder hooft, zouden adieu gezeit hebben.*" The story has been often repeated, yet nothing could well be more insipid than such an invention. Hooft observes that the whole conversation was reported by a person whom the Calvinists had concealed in the chimney of the apartment where the interview took place. It would be difficult to believe in such epigrams even had the historian himself been in the chimney. He, however, only gives the anecdote as a rumor, which he does not himself believe. — MOTLEY.[d]]

[2 Blok[e] accepts an estimate that, in thirty or forty years, four hundred thousand people emigrated.]



CHAPTER VI

ALVA

[1567–1573 A.D.]

The revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, in 1568, changed the political aspect of the greater part of the world. It is because of this revolt, and the war of eighty years following, that the people of the United States are not a Spanish-speaking nation, but are, instead, an English-speaking one.

Had the reigning family and the authorities of Spain exercised wise forethought in their dealings with the Netherland people, Spanish domination — assisted by Dutch co-operation under Spanish supremacy — would have rendered the whole of this territory Spanish many years before the English would have become strong enough to attempt the conquest and the independent settling of any part of the American continent. — VERSTEEG.[b]

It was determined at last that the Netherland heresy should be conquered by force of arms. The invasion resembled both a crusade against the infidel and a treasure-hunting foray into the auriferous Indies, achievements by which Spanish chivalry had so often illustrated itself. The banner of the cross was to be replanted upon the conquered battlements of three hundred infidel cities, and a torrent of wealth, richer than ever flowed from Mexican or Peruvian mines, was to flow into the royal treasury from the perennial fountains of confiscation. Who so fit to be the Tancred and the Pizarro of this bicoloured expedition as the duke of Alva, the man who had been devoted from his earliest childhood, and from his father's grave, to hostility against unbelievers, and who had prophesied that treasure would flow in a stream, a yard deep, from the Netherlands so soon as the heretics began to meet with their deserts?

Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alva,[1] was now in his sixtieth year. He was the most successful and experienced general of Spain, or of Europe. In the only honourable profession of the age, he was the most thorough and the most pedantic professor. Since the days of Demetrius Poliorcetes, no man had besieged so many cities. Since the days of Fabius Cunctator, no

[1 The name is also spelled Alba, the Spanish pronunciation still remaining Alva.]

[1567 A.D.]

general had avoided so many battles, and no soldier, courageous as he was, ever attained to a more sublime indifference to calumny or depreciation.

He was born in 1508, of a family which boasted imperial descent. A Palæologus, brother of a Byzantine emperor, had conquered the city of Toledo, and transmitted its appellation as a family name. The father of Fernando, Don Garcia, had been slain on the isle of Gerbes, in battle with the Moors, when his son was but four years of age. The child was brought up by his grandfather, Don Frederick, and trained from his tenderest infancy to arms. His maiden sword was fleshed at Fuenterrabia, where, although but sixteen years of age, he was considered to have contributed in no small degree to the success of the Spanish arms. In 1530 he accompanied the emperor in his campaign against the Turk. His mad ride from Hungary to Spain and back again, accomplished in seventeen days for the sake of a brief visit to his newly married wife, is not the least attractive episode in the history of an existence which was destined to be so dark and sanguinary. In 1546 and 1547 he was generalissimo in the war against the Smalkaldian League.

Having accompanied Philip to England in 1554, on his matrimonial expedition, he was destined in the following years, as viceroy and generalissimo of Italy, to be placed in a series of false positions. A great captain engaged in a little war, the champion of the cross in arms against the successor of St. Peter, he had extricated himself, at last, with his usual adroitness, but with very little glory. While he had been paltering with a dotard, whom he was forbidden to crush, Egmont had struck down the chosen troops of France, and conquered her most illustrious commanders. Here was the unpardonable crime which could only be expiated by the blood of the victor. Unfortunately for his rival, the time was now approaching when the long-deferred revenge was to be satisfied.

On the whole, the duke of Alva was inferior to no general of his age. As a disciplinarian he was foremost in Spain, perhaps in Europe. As a statesman, he had neither experience nor talent. As a man, his character was simple. He did not combine a great variety of vices, but those which he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues. He was neither lustful nor intemperate, but his professed eulogists admitted his enormous avarice, while the world has agreed that such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness and universal bloodthirstiness, were never found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human bosom. As difficult of access as Philip himself, he was even more haughty to those who were admitted to his presence. He addressed everyone with the depreciating second person plural. Possessing the right of being covered in the presence of the Spanish monarch, he had been with difficulty brought to renounce it before the German emperor.

In person he was tall, thin, erect, with a small head, a long visage, lean yellow cheeks, dark twinkling eyes, a dust complexion, black bristling hair, and a long sable-silvered beard, descending in two waving streams upon his breast.

Such being the design, the machinery was well selected. The best man in Europe to lead the invading force was placed at the head of ten thousand picked veterans. The privates in this exquisite little army, said the enthusiastic connoisseur Brantôme,[c] who travelled post into Lorraine, expressly to see them on their march, all wore engraved or gilded armour, and were in every respect equipped like captains. They were the first who carried muskets, a weapon which very much astonished the Flemings when it first

rattled in their ears. The musketeers, he observed, might have been mistaken for princes, with such agreeable and graceful arrogance did they present themselves. Each was attended by his servant or esquire, who carried his piece for him, except in battle, and all were treated with extreme deference by the rest of the army, as if they had been officers. The cavalry, amounting to about twelve hundred, was under the command of the natural son of the duke, Don Fernando de Toledo, prior of the knights of St. John.

With an army thus perfect, on a small scale, in all its departments — and furnished, in addition, with a force of two thousand prostitutes, as regularly enrolled, disciplined, and distributed as the cavalry or the artillery — the duke embarked upon his momentous enterprise.

THE DUKE OF ALVA
(1508–1582)

The duchess had in her secret letters to Philip continued to express her disapprobation of the enterprise thus committed to Alva. She had bitterly complained that now, when the country had been pacified by her efforts, another should be sent to reap all the glory, or perhaps to undo all that she had so painfully and so successfully done. She stated to her brother, in most unequivocal language, that the name of Alva was odious enough to make the whole Spanish nation detested in the Netherlands. She also wrote personally to Alva, imploring, commanding, and threatening, but with equally ill success. As to the effects of his armed invasion upon the temper of the provinces, he was supremely indifferent. He came as a conqueror, not as a mediator. "I have tamed people of iron in my day," said he contemptuously; "shall I not easily crush these men of butter?"

THE ARRIVAL OF ALVA (1567)

At Thionville he was officially waited upon by Barlaymont and Noircarmes, on the part of the regent. He at this point, moreover, began to receive deputations from various cities, bidding him a hollow and trembling welcome, and deprecating his displeasure for anything in the past which might seem offensive. To all such embassies he replied in vague and conventional language; saying, however, to his confidential attendants: "I am here: so much is certain; whether I am welcome or not is to me a matter of little consequence."

At Tirlemont, on the 22nd of August, he was met by Count Egmont, who had ridden forth from Brussels to show him a becoming respect, as the representative of his sovereign. The count was accompanied by several other noblemen, and brought to the duke a present of several beautiful horses. Alva received him, however, but coldly, for he was unable at first to adjust the mask to his countenance as adroitly as was necessary. "Behold the greatest of all the heretics," he observed to his attendants, as soon as the nobleman's presence was announced, and in a voice loud enough for him to hear. After a brief interval, however, Alva seems to have commanded himself. He passed his arm lovingly over that stately neck which he had already devoted to the block, and the two rode along side by side in friendly conversation; Alva, still attended by Egmont, rode soon afterwards through the Louvain gate into Brussels.

The day of doom for all the crimes which had ever been committed in the course of ages seemed now to have dawned upon the Netherlands. The sword which had so long been hanging over them seemed about to descend. Throughout the provinces there was but one feeling — cold and hopeless dismay. Those who still saw a possibility of effecting their escape from the fated land swarmed across the frontier. All foreign merchants deserted the great marts. The cities became as still as if the plague-banner had been unfurled on every house-top. Meantime the captain-general proceeded methodically with his work. He distributed his troops through Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and other principal cities. As a measure of necessity and mark of the last humiliation, he required the municipalities to transfer their keys to his keeping.

In order that Egmont, Horn, and other distinguished victims might not take alarm, and thus escape the doom deliberately arranged for them, royal assurances were despatched to the Netherlands, cheering their despondency and dispelling their doubts. With his own hand Philip wrote a letter, full of affection and confidence, to Egmont. He wrote it after Alva had left Madrid upon his mission of vengeance. The same stealthy measures were pursued with regard to others. The prince of Orange was not likely to be lured into the royal trap, however cautiously baited. Unfortunately he could not communicate his wisdom to his friends.

It is difficult to comprehend so very sanguine a temperament as that to which Egmont owed his destruction. It was not the prince of Orange alone who had prophesied his doom. Warnings had come to the count from every quarter, and they were now frequently repeated. Certainly he was not without anxiety, but he had made his decision — determined to believe in the royal word and in the royal gratitude for his services rendered.

The duke manifested the most friendly dispositions, taking care to send him large presents of Spanish and Italian fruits, received frequently by the government couriers. Lapped in this fatal security, Egmont not only forgot his fears, but unfortunately succeeded in inspiring Count Horn with a portion of his confidence. The admiral left his retirement at Weert to fall into the pit which his enemies had been so skilfully preparing at Brussels. September 9th, the grand prior, Don Fernando, gave a magnificent dinner, to which Egmont and Horn, together with Noircarmes, the viscount of Ghent, and many other noblemen were invited.

At four o'clock, the dinner being finished, Horn and Egmont, accompanied by the other gentlemen, proceeded to the "Jassy" house, then occupied

by Alva, to take part in the deliberations proposed. They were received by the duke with great courtesy. The council lasted till near seven in the evening. As it broke up, Don Sancho de Avila, captain of the duke's guard, requested Egmont to remain for a moment after the rest. After an insignificant remark or two, the Spanish officer, as soon as the two were alone, requested Egmont to surrender his sword. At the same moment the doors of the adjacent apartment were opened, and Egmont saw himself surrounded by a company of Spanish musqueteers and halberdmen. Finding himself thus entrapped, he gave up his sword, saying bitterly, as he did so, that it had at least rendered some service to the king in times which were past. Count Horn was arrested upon the same occasion. Upon the 23rd of September both were removed under a strong guard to the castle of Ghent. The consternation was universal throughout the provinces when the arrests became known.

The unfortunate envoys, the marquis of Bergen and the baron of Montigny, had remained in Spain under close observation. Of those doomed victims who, in spite of friendly remonstrances and of ominous warnings, had thus ventured into the lion's den, no retreating footmarks were ever to be seen. Their fate, now that Alva had at last been despatched to the Netherlands, seemed to be sealed, and the marquis of Bergen, accepting the augury in its most evil sense, immediately afterwards had sickened unto death. Before his limbs were cold, a messenger was on his way to Brussels, instructing the regent to sequestrate his property, and to arrest, upon suspicion of heresy, the youthful kinsman and niece, who, by the will of the marquis, were to be united in marriage and to share his estate. The baron of Montigny was closely confined in the alcazar of Segovia, never to leave a Spanish prison alive.

THE BLOODY "COUNCIL OF TROUBLES"

In the same despatch of the 9th of September, in which the duke communicated to Philip the capture of Egmont and Horn, he announced to him his determination to establish a new court for the trial of crimes committed during the recent period of troubles. This wonderful tribunal was accordingly created with the least possible delay. It was called the council of Troubles, but it soon acquired the terrible name, by which it will be forever known in history, of the Blood Council. It superseded all other institutions. Every court, from those of the municipal magistracies up to the supreme councils of the provinces, were forbidden to take cognisance in future of any cause growing out of the late troubles. Not only citizens of every province, but the municipal bodies and even the sovereign provincial estates themselves, were compelled to plead, like humble individuals, before this new and extraordinary tribunal.

It is unnecessary to allude to the absolute violation which was thus committed of all charters, laws, and privileges, because the very creation of the council was a bold and brutal proclamation that those laws and privileges were at an end. The constitution or maternal principle of this suddenly erected court was of a twofold nature. It defined and it punished the crime of treason. The definitions, couched in eighteen articles, declared it to be treason to have delivered or signed any petition against the new bishops, the Inquisition, or the edicts; to have tolerated public preaching under any circumstances; to have omitted resistance to the image-breaking, to the field-preaching, or to the presentation of the Request by the nobles, and "either through sympathy or surprise" to have asserted that the king did

not possess the right to deprive all the provinces of their liberties, or to have maintained that this present tribunal was bound to respect in any manner any laws or any charters. In these brief and simple but comprehensive terms was the crime of high treason defined. The punishment was still more briefly, simply, and comprehensively stated, for it was instant death in all cases. So well, too, did this new and terrible engine perform its work that, in less than three months from the time of its erection, eighteen hundred human beings had suffered death by its summary proceedings; some of the highest, the noblest, and the most virtuous in the land among the number. Yet, strange to say, this tremendous court, thus established upon the ruins of all the ancient institutions of the country, had not been provided with even a nominal authority from any source whatever. The Blood Council was merely an informal club, of which the duke was perpetual president, while the other members were all appointed by himself.

No one who was offered the office refused it. Noircarmes and Barlaymont accepted with very great eagerness. Several presidents and councillors of the different provincial tribunals were appointed, but all the Netherlanders were men of straw. Two Spaniards, Del Rio and Vargas, were the only members who could vote; while their decisions were subject to reversal by Alva. Del Rio was a man without character or talent, a mere tool in the hands of his superiors, but Juan de Vargas was a terrible reality.

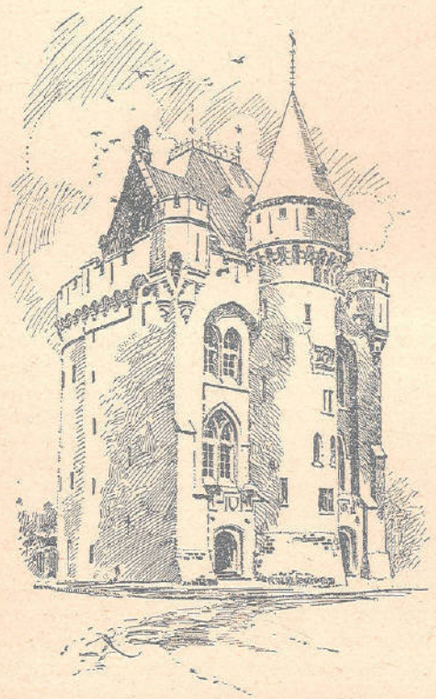
No better man could have been found in Europe for the post to which he was thus elevated. To shed human blood was, in his opinion, the only important business and the only exhilarating pastime of life. His youth had been stained with other crimes. He had been obliged to retire from Spain, because of his violation of an orphan child to whom he was guardian; but, in his manhood, he found no pleasure but in murder. He executed Alva's bloody work with an industry which was almost superhuman, and with a merriment which would have shamed a demon. His execrable jests ring through the blood and smoke and death-cries of those days of perpetual sacrifice. The figure of Vargas rises upon us through the mist of three centuries with terrible distinctness. Even his barbarous grammar has not been forgotten, and his crimes against syntax and against humanity have acquired the same immortality.

Among the ciphers who composed the rest of the board was the Flemish councillor Hessels. Hessels was accustomed to doze away his afternoon hours at the council table, and when awakened from his nap in order that he might express an opinion on the case then before the court, was wont to rub his eyes and to call out "*Ad patibulum, ad patibulum!*" ("to the gallows with him, to the gallows with him!") with great fervour, but in entire ignorance of the culprit's name or the merits of the case. His wife, naturally disturbed that her husband's waking and sleeping hours were alike absorbed with this hangman's work, more than once ominously expressed her hope to him that he, whose head and heart were thus engrossed with the gibbet, might not one day come to hang upon it himself; a gloomy prophecy which the future most terribly fulfilled.

The council of Blood, thus constituted, held its first session on the 20th of September, 1567, at the lodgings of Alva. There was a rude organisation by which a crowd of commissioners, acting as inferior officers of the council, were spread over the provinces, whose business was to collect information concerning all persons who might be incriminated for participation in the recent troubles. The greatest crime, however, was to be rich, and one which could be expiated by no virtues, however signal. Alva was bent upon

proving himself as accomplished a financier as he was indisputably a consummate commander, and he had promised his master an annual income of 500,000 ducats from the confiscations which were to accompany the executions.

It was necessary that the blood torrent should flow at once through the Netherlands, in order that the promised golden river, a yard deep, according to his vaunt, should begin to irrigate the thirsty soil of Spain. It is obvious, from the fundamental laws which were made to define treason at the same moment in which they established the council, that any man might be at any instant summoned to the court. Every man, whether innocent or guilty, whether papist or Protestant, felt his head shaking on his shoulders. If he were wealthy, there seemed no remedy but flight, which was now almost impossible, from the heavy penalties affixed by the new edict upon all carriers, shipmasters, and wagoners, who should aid in the escape of heretics.



PORTE DE HAL, BRUSSELS, ERECTED 1381. USED BY ALVA AS A BASTILLE (1568–1573)

The register of every city, village, and hamlet throughout the Netherlands showed the daily lists of men, women, and children thus sacrificed at the shrine of the demon who had obtained the mastery over this unhappy land. It was not often that an individual was of sufficient importance to be tried — if trial it could be called — by himself. It was found more expeditious to send them in batches to the furnace. Thus, for example, on the 4th of January, eighty-four inhabitants of Valenciennes were condemned; on another day, ninety-five miscellaneous individuals from different places in Flanders; on another, forty-six inhabitants of Mechlin; on another, thirty-five persons from different localities; and so on.

The sentences were occasionally in advance of the docket. Thus upon one occasion a man's case was called for trial, but before the investigation was commenced it was discovered that he had been already executed. A cursory examination of the papers proved, moreover, as usual, that the culprit had committed no crime. "No matter for that," said Vargas, jocosely; "if he has died innocent, it will be all the better for him when he takes his trial in the other world."

But however the councillors might indulge in these gentle jests among themselves, it was obvious that innocence was in reality impossible, according to the rules which had been laid down regarding treason. The practice was in accordance with the precept, and persons were daily executed with senseless pretexts, which was worse than executions with no pretexts at all. Thus Peter de Witt of Amsterdam was beheaded, because at one of the

tumults in that city he had persuaded a rioter not to fire upon a magistrate. This was taken as sufficient proof that he was a man in authority among the rebels, and he was accordingly put to death. Madame Juriaen, who, in 1566, had struck with her slipper a little wooden image of the Virgin, together with her maid-servant, who had witnessed without denouncing the crime, were both drowned by the hangman in a hogshead placed on the scaffold. Death, even, did not in all cases place a criminal beyond the reach of the executioner. Egbert Meynartzoon, a man of high official rank, had been condemned, together with two colleagues, on an accusation of collecting money in a Lutheran church. He died in prison of dropsy. The sheriff consoled himself by placing the body on a chair, and having the dead man beheaded in company with his colleagues.

Thus the whole country became a charnel-house; the death-bell tolled hourly in every village; not a family but was called to mourn for its dearest relatives, while the survivors stalked listlessly about, the ghosts of their former selves, among the wrecks of their former homes. The spirit of the nation, within a few months after the arrival of Alva, seemed hopelessly broken.

DEPARTURE OF THE REGENT (DECEMBER, 1567)

The duchess of Parma had been kept in a continued state of irritation. She had not ceased for many months to demand her release from the odious position of a cipher in a land where she had so lately been sovereign, and she had at last obtained it. Philip transmitted his acceptance of her resignation by the same courier who brought Alva's commission to be governor-general in her place. The letters to the duchess were full of conventional compliments for her past services, accompanied, however, with a less barren and more acceptable acknowledgment, in the shape of a life income of 14,000 ducats instead of the eight thousand hitherto enjoyed by her highness.

The horrors of the succeeding administration proved beneficial to her reputation. Upon the dark ground of succeeding years the lines which recorded her history seemed written with letters of light. Yet her conduct in the Netherlands offers but few points for approbation, and many for indignant censure. That she was not entirely destitute of feminine softness and sentiments of bounty, her parting despatch to her brother proved. In that letter she recommended to him a course of clemency and forgiveness, and reminded him that the nearer kings approached to God in station, the more they should endeavour to imitate him in his attributes of benignity. But the language of this farewell was more tender than had been the spirit of her government. One looks in vain, too, through the general atmosphere of kindness which pervades the epistle, for a special recommendation of those distinguished and doomed seigniors, whose attachment to her person and whose chivalrous and conscientious endeavours to fulfil her own orders had placed them upon the edge of that precipice from which they were shortly to be hurled.

Meantime the second civil war in France had broken out. The hollow truce by which the Guise party and the Huguenots had partly pretended to deceive each other was hastened to its end, among other causes, by the march of Alva to the Netherlands. The Huguenots had taken alarm, for they recognised the fellowship which united their foes in all countries against the Reformation, and Condé and Coligny knew too well that the same influence which had brought Alva to Brussels would soon create an exterminating

army against their followers. Hostilities were resumed with more bitterness than ever. The duke of Alva not only furnished Catherine de' Medici with advice, but with two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the count of Arenberg, attended by a choice band of the Catholic nobility of the Netherlands.

Alva was not meantime unmindful of the business which had served as a pretext in the arrest of the two counts. The fortifications of the principal cities were pushed on with great rapidity. The memorable citadel of Antwerp in particular had already been commenced in October under the superintendence of the celebrated engineers, Pacheco and Gabriel de Cerbelloni. In a few months it was completed, at a cost of 1,400,000 florins, of which sum the citizens, in spite of their remonstrances, were compelled to contribute more than one quarter. To four of the five bastions, the captain-general, with characteristic ostentation, gave his own names and titles. One was called the Duke, the second Ferdinando, a third Toledo, a fourth Alva, while the fifth was baptised with the name of the ill-fated engineer, Pacheco.

On the 19th of January, 1568, the prince of Orange, his brother Louis of Nassau, his brother-in-law Count van den Berg, the count Hoogstraten, the count Kuilenburg, and the baron of Montigny were summoned in the name of Alva to appear before the Blood Council, within thrice fourteen days from the date of the proclamation, under pain of perpetual banishment with confiscation of their estates. It is needless to say that these seigniors did not obey the summons. They knew full well that their obedience would be rewarded only with death. The prince replied to this summons by a brief and somewhat contemptuous plea to the jurisdiction. As a knight of the Fleece, as a member of the German Empire, as a sovereign prince in France, as a citizen of the Netherlands, he rejected the authority of Alva and of his self-constituted tribunal. His innocence he was willing to establish before competent courts and righteous judges.

From the general tenor of the document, it is obvious both that the prince was not yet ready to throw down the gauntlet to his sovereign, nor to proclaim his adhesion to the new religion. On departing from the Netherlands in the spring, he had said openly that he was still in possession of sixty thousand florins yearly, and that he should commence no hostilities against Philip, so long as he did not disturb him in his honour or his estates.

His character had, however, already been attacked, his property threatened with confiscation. His closest ties of family were now to be severed by the hand of the tyrant. His eldest child, the count of Buren, torn from his protection, was to be carried into indefinite captivity in a foreign land. It was a remarkable oversight, for a person of his sagacity, that, upon his own departure from the provinces, he should leave his son, then a boy of thirteen years, to pursue his studies at the college of Louvain. Thus exposed to the power of the government, he was soon seized as a hostage for the good behaviour of the father. A changeling, as it were, from his cradle, he seemed completely transformed by his Spanish tuition, for he was educated and not sacrificed by Philip. When he returned to the Netherlands, after a twenty years' residence in Spain, it was difficult to detect in his gloomy brow, saturnine character, and Jesuitical habits a trace of the generous spirit which characterised that race of heroes of Orange-Nassau.

Events now marched with rapidity. Early in the year, the most sublime sentence of death was promulgated which has ever been pronounced since the creation of the world. The Roman tyrant wished that his enemies' heads were all upon a single neck, that he might strike them off at a blow;

the Inquisition assisted Philip to place the heads of all his Netherland subjects upon a single neck for the same fell purpose. Upon the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the holy office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics. From this universal doom only a few persons, especially named, were excepted. A proclamation of the king, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree of the Inquisition, and ordered it to be carried into instant execution, without regard to age, sex, or condition.

This is probably the most concise death-warrant that was ever framed. Three millions of people, men, women, and children, were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines; and, as it was well known that these were not harmless thunders, like some bulls of the Vatican, but serious and practical measures, which were to be enforced, the horror which they produced may be easily imagined. It was hardly the purpose of government to compel the absolute completion of the wholesale plan in all its length and breadth; yet, in the horrible times upon which they had fallen, the Netherlanders might be excused for believing that no measure was too monstrous to be fulfilled. At any rate, it was certain that when all were condemned, any might at a moment's warning be carried to the scaffold, and this was precisely the course adopted by the authorities.

Men in the highest and humblest positions were daily and hourly dragged to the stake. Alva, in a single letter to Philip, coolly estimated the number of executions which were to take place immediately after the expiration of holy week "at eight hundred heads." Many a citizen, convicted of a hundred thousand florins and of no other crime, saw himself suddenly tied to a horse's tail with his hands fastened behind him, and so dragged to the gallows. But although wealth was an unpardonable sin, poverty proved rarely a protection. Reasons sufficient could always be found for dooming the starveling labourer as well as the opulent burgher. To avoid the disturbances created in the streets by the frequent harangues or exhortations addressed to the bystanders by the victims on their way to the scaffold, a new gag was invented. The tongue of each prisoner was screwed into an iron ring, and then seared with a hot iron. The swelling and inflammation which were the immediate result, prevented the tongue from slipping through the ring, and of course effectually precluded all possibility of speech.[d]

TRIAL AND FATE OF EGMONT AND HORN (1568)

The two counts had been confined in the citadel of Ghent for more than eight months. Their trial commenced in due form before the council of Twelve. The indictment against Egmont consisted of ninety counts, and that against Horn of sixty. Every action, however innocent, every omission of duty, was interpreted on the principle, which had been laid down in the opening of the indictment, that the two counts, in conjunction with the prince of Orange, had planned the overthrow of the royal authority in the Netherlands, and the usurpation of the government of the country; the expulsion of Granvella, the embassy of Egmont to Madrid, the confederacy of the gueux, the concessions which they made to the Protestants in the provinces under their government — all were made to have a connection with, and a reference to, this deliberate design. The accusations were sent to each of the prisoners, who were required to reply to them within five days.

The first step was to demur against the tribunal which was to try them, since, by the privilege of their order, they, as knights of the Golden Fleece, were amenable only to the king himself, the grand master. But this

demurrer was overruled, and they were required to produce their witnesses, in default of which they were to be proceeded against *in contumaciam*. Egmont had satisfactorily answered to eighty-two counts, while Count Horn had refuted the charges against him, article by article. The accusation and the defence are still extant; on that defence every impartial tribunal would have acquitted them both.

Egmont's wife, by birth a duchess of Bavaria, succeeded in obtaining the intercessions of almost every German court in behalf of her husband. Alva rejected them, with a declaration that they had no force in such a case as the present. On the 1st of June, 1568, the council of Twelve declared them guilty, and on the 4th of that month sentence of death was pronounced against them.

The execution of twenty-five noble Netherlanders, who were beheaded in three successive days, in the market-place at Brussels, was the terrible prelude.

The duke had reason to hasten the execution of the sentence. Count Louis of Nassau had given battle to the count of Arenberg, near the monastery of Heiligerlee in Groningen, and had the good fortune to defeat him. Immediately after his victory, he had advanced against Groningen, and laid siege to it. The success of his arms had raised the courage of his faction, and the prince of Orange, his brother, was close at hand with an army to support him.

On the day after the sentence was passed, the two counts were brought, under an escort of three thousand Spaniards, from Ghent to Brussels. During the night between the 4th and 5th of June the sentences were brought to the prisoners, after they had already gone to rest. Egmont called for pen and ink, and wrote two letters, one to his wife, the other to the king; the latter was as follows:

> SIRE: I have learned, this evening, the sentence which your majesty has been pleased to pronounce upon me. Although I have never had a thought, and believe myself never to have done a deed which could tend to the prejudice of your majesty's person or service, or to the detriment of our true ancient and Catholic religion, nevertheless I take patience to bear that which it has pleased the good God to send. If, during these troubles in the Netherlands, I have done or permitted aught which had a different appearance, it has been with the true and good intent to serve God and your majesty, and the necessity of the times. Therefore, I pray your majesty to forgive me, and to have compassion on my poor wife, my children, and my servants; having regard to my past services. In which hope I now commend myself to the mercy of God.
>
> From Brussels,
> Ready to die, this 5th June, 1568.
> Your majesty's very humble and loyal vassal and servant,
> LAMORAL D'EGMONT.

The family of the count was subsequently reinstated in all his property, fiefs, and rights, which, by virtue of the sentence, had escheated to the royal treasury.

Egmont paced the scaffold with noble dignity, and lamented that it had not been permitted him to die a more honourable death for his king and his country. Up to the last he seemed unable to persuade himself that the king was in earnest, and that his severity would be carried any further than the mere terror of execution. He then clenched his teeth, threw off his mantle and robe, knelt upon the cushion and prepared himself for the last prayer. He drew a silk cap over his eyes, and awaited the stroke. Over the corpse and the streaming blood a black cloth was immediately thrown.

All Brussels thronged around the scaffold, and the fatal blow seemed to fall on every heart. Loud sobs alone broke the appalling silence. The

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duke himself, who watched the execution from a window of the town-house, wiped his eyes as his victim died.[1]

Shortly afterwards, Count Horn advanced on the scaffold. Of a more violent temperament than his friend, he burst forth in bitter reproaches against the king, and the bishop with difficulty prevailed upon him to make a better use of his last moments than to abuse them in imprecations on his enemies. At last, however, he became more collected, and made his confession to the bishop, which at first he was disposed to refuse. He mounted the scaffold with the same attendants as his friend. In passing, he saluted many of his acquaintances; his hands were, like Egmont's, free. When he had ascended, he cast his eyes upon the corpse which lay under the cloth, and asked one of the by-standers if it was the body of his friend. On being answered in the affirmative, he said some words in Spanish, threw his cloak from him, and knelt upon the cushion. All shrieked aloud as he received the fatal blow.

The heads of both were fixed upon poles which were set upon the scaffold, where they remained until past three in the afternoon, when they were taken down, and, with the two bodies, placed in leaden coffins and deposited in a vault. In spite of the number of spies and executioners who surrounded the scaffold, the citizens of Brussels would not be prevented from dipping their handkerchiefs in the streaming blood, and carrying home with them these precious memorials.[g]

Egmont is a great historical figure, but he was certainly not a great man. His execution remains an enduring monument not only of Philip's cruelty and perfidy but of his dulness. The king had everything to hope from Egmont and nothing to fear. Granvella knew the man well, and, almost to the last, could not believe in the possibility of so unparalleled a blunder as that which was to make a victim, a martyr, and a popular idol of a personage brave indeed, but incredibly vacillating and inordinately vain, who, by a little management, might have been converted into a most useful instrument for the royal purposes.

He had no sympathy with the people, but he loved, as a grand seignior, to be looked up to and admired by a gaping crowd. He was an unwavering Catholic, held sectaries in utter loathing, and, after the image-breaking, took a positive pleasure in hanging ministers, together with their congregations, and in pressing the besieged Christians of Valenciennes to extremities. Upon more than one occasion he pronounced his unequivocal approval of the infamous edicts, and he exerted himself at times to enforce them within his province. The transitory impression made upon his mind by the lofty nature of Orange was easily effaced in Spain by court flattery and by royal bribes. Upon the departure of Orange, Egmont was only too eager to be employed by Philip in any work which the monarch could find for him to do. Yet this was the man whom Philip chose, through the executioner's sword, to convert into a popular idol, and whom Poetry has loved to contemplate as a romantic champion of freedom.

As for Horn, he was a person of mediocre abilities and thoroughly

[1 Even Bentivoglio[e] becomes softened in relating the pathetic scene. "I hear," wrote Morillon to Granvella (June 7th, 1568), "that his excellency shed tears as big as pease during the execution." (*Atjecté des larmes aussi grosses que poix.*) — VAN GROEN PRINSTERER[f] *Archives*. The prebendary goes on to say that "he had caused the story of the duke's tenderness to be trumpeted in many places" (*a faict sonner où il luy a semblé convenir, quia multorum animi exacerbeti*). Morillon also quotes Alva as having had the effrontery to say that he desired a mitigation of the punishment, but that the king had answered that he could forgive offences against himself, but the crimes committed against God were unpardonable.[d]]

commonplace character. His high rank and his tragic fate are all which make him interesting. The most interesting features in his character are his generosity toward his absent brother and the manliness with which, as Montigny's representative at Tournay, he chose rather to confront the anger of the government, and to incur the deadly revenge of Philip, than make himself the executioner of the harmless Christians in Tournay. In this regard, his conduct is vastly more entitled to our respect than that of Egmont, and he was certainly more deserving of reverence from the people, even though deserted by all men while living, and left headless and solitary in his coffin at St. Gudule. The hatred for Alva, which sprang from the graves of these illustrious victims, waxed daily more intense.[d]

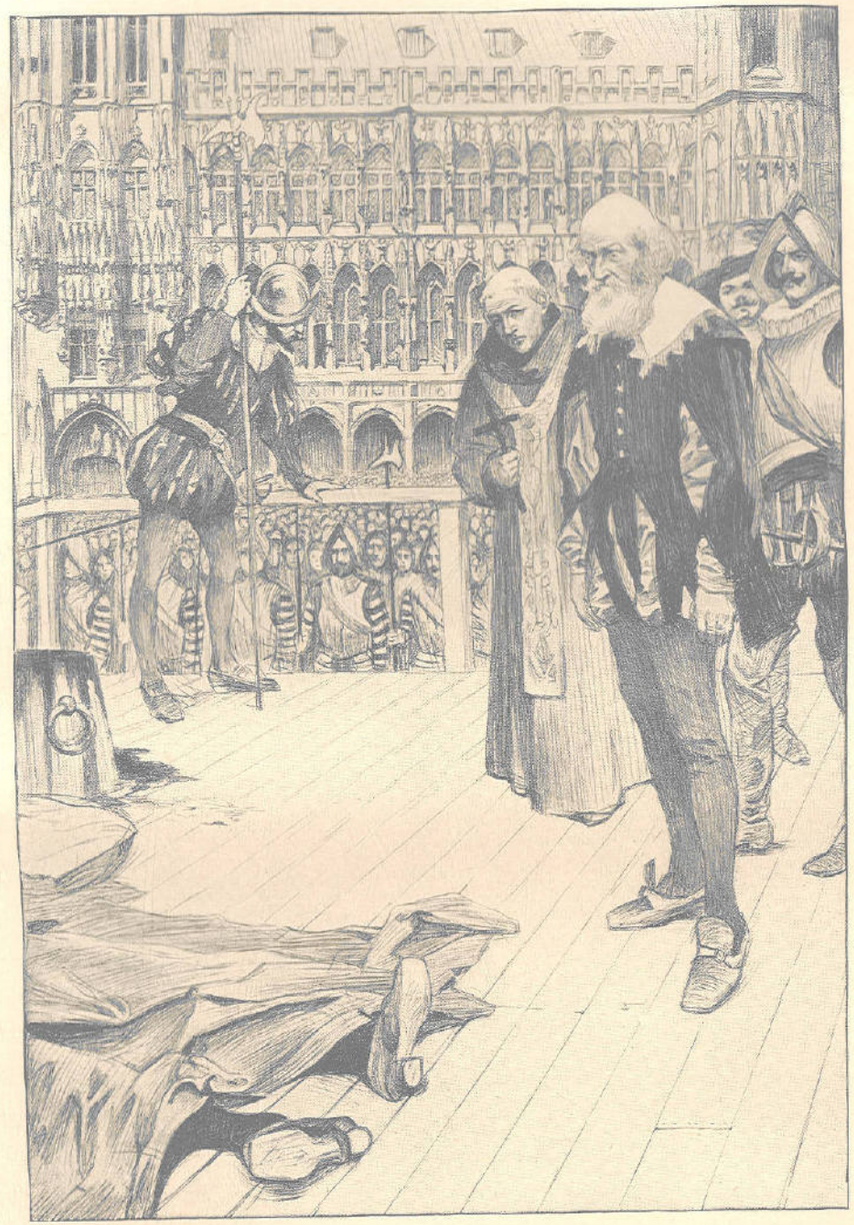
THE FIRST CAMPAIGN (1568)

Everything seemed now ripe, both at home and abroad, to favour the enterprise on which the prince of Orange was determined to risk his fortune and his life. But his principal resources were to be found in his genius and courage, and in the heroic devotion partaken by his whole family in the cause of their country. His brother, Count John, advanced him a considerable sum of money; the Flemings and Hollanders, in England and elsewhere, subscribed largely; the prince himself, after raising loans in every possible way on his private means, sold his jewels, his plate, and even the furniture of his houses, and threw the amount into the common fund.

The queen of England, the French Huguenots, and the Protestant princes of Germany all lent him their aid in money or in men; and he opened his first campaign with great advantage. He formed his army into four several corps, intending to enter the country on as many different points, and by a sudden irruption on that most vulnerable to rouse at once the hopes and the co-operation of the people. His brothers Louis and Adolphus, at the head of one of these divisions, had already penetrated into Friesland, and there commenced the contest. The count of Arenberg, governor of this province, assisted by the Spanish troops under Gonsalvo de Braccamonte, had quickly opposed the invaders. They had met on the 23d of May near the abbey of Heiligerlee, which gave its name to the battle; and after a short contest the royalists were defeated with great loss. The count of Arenberg and Adolphus of Nassau encountered in single combat, and fell by each other's hands.[1] The victory was dearly purchased by the loss of this gallant prince, the first of his illustrious family.

Alva immediately hastened to the scene of this first action, and soon forced Count Louis to another at a place called Jemmingen, near the town of Embden, on the 21st of July. Their forces were nearly equal — about fourteen thousand at either side: but all the advantage of discipline and skill was in favour of Alva, and the consequence was the total rout of the patriots with a considerable loss in killed and the whole of the cannon and baggage. The entire province of Friesland was thus again reduced to obedience, and Alva hastened back to Brabant to make head against the prince of Orange. The latter had now under his command an army of twenty-eight thousand men — an imposing force in point of numbers, being double that which his rival was able to muster. He soon made himself master of the towns of Tongres and St. Trond, and the whole province of Liège was in his power. He advanced boldly against Alva, and for several months did all that

[1 This is Strada's [h] account, but others differ so much that it is possible only to say that both men died in the battle.]



THE EXECUTION OF EGMONT AND HORN AT BRUSSELS

(From a drawing by Phillipps Ward)

manœuvring could do to force him to a battle. But the wily veteran knew his trade too well; he felt sure that in time the prince's force would disperse for want of pay and supplies; and he managed his resources so ably that with little risk and scarcely any loss he finally succeeded in his object. In the month of October the prince found himself forced to disband his large but undisciplined force;[1] and he retired into France to recruit his funds and consider on the best measures for some future enterprise.

The insolent triumph of Alva knew no bounds. The rest of the year was consumed in new executions. The hôtel Kuilenburg, the early cradle of Brederode's confederacy, was rased to the ground, and a pillar erected on the spot commemorative of the deed; while Alva, resolved to erect a monument of his success as well as of his hate, had his own statue in brass, formed of the cannons taken at Jemmingen, set up in the citadel of Antwerp, with various symbols of power and an inscription of inflated pride.[i]

OPPRESSIVE TAXATION; THE AMNESTY

The maintenance of the army required from two to four million florins (over a million guineas), and it was the royal treasury that had to pay the costs. Philip, deceived by the popular attitude or overwhelmed by the enormity of the burden imposed upon him, enjoined his general to seek in Belgium the needed resources. A plan of taxation was even drawn up in Madrid,[2] and sent to the governor, with orders to put it into immediate execution. It confined itself to two measures, which were to be general: first, the immediate levy of a duty amounting to the hundredth part of the value of all property, real and personal; and for the future a fixed tax of one twentieth on the sale of all real estate and one tenth on the sale of all merchandise and personal property. These were the taxes known as the hundredth, twentieth, and tenth pennies.

The duke of Alva called a general assembly of the states-general at Brussels, in March, 1569, and himself proposed the imposition of these taxes; but immediately lively protests came from all quarters. It was evident that a tax of a tenth on all sales would deal a mortal blow to commerce, and consequently to the general prosperity of the country, already compromised by internal troubles and by the commotions agitating the rest of Europe. The king's partisans were the first to try to turn the governor from a measure[3] as imprudent as it was impracticable and Viglius above all distinguished himself by his frankness. He succeeded in convincing the duke, who contented himself with a subsidy of two millions, to which the assembly consented. But the king and his council were far from satisfied with this transaction, which, far from furnishing the means to pay debts already contracted, was not even sufficient to guarantee the maintenance of the troops in the future.

Philip had moreover some reason to accuse his general, the latter having shown on this occasion no disposition to follow the course prescribed for him. The monarch had sent with the scheme of taxation a proclamation of

[1 He melted his last plate to satisfy his clamorous German mercenaries; then, with twelve hundred men, he joined the Huguenots in Gascony and fought under the duke of Zweibrücken [or Deux Ponts]. The campaign there was also a failure. The emperor was reconciled with Philip, and even Queen Elizabeth of England for the present wished him well.]

[2 Motley,[d] however, states that this plan of taxation was due entirely to the duke of Alva and that the authorities at Madrid had nothing to do with it.]

[3 Blok[j] also points out that a cherished scheme of Alva's was the unifying of all the provinces under one ruler with one capital and one law. This meant a sacrifice of dearly bought and ancient municipal, religious, and individual privileges that aroused ferocious protest. The experiment, however, failed even of trial, on account of new complications.]

amnesty which was to reassure the minds of the people at the very moment when they were to be called on to make new sacrifices. But the duke of Alva thought this amnesty premature. He withheld its publication; and when it was finally proclaimed the following year (1570), it contained so many restrictions that the tardy and incomplete pardon made no favourable impression.

The situation, daily becoming more difficult, was further complicated by an open rupture with England, which dealt a fatal blow to the prosperity of Antwerp and Bruges. Elizabeth, who had succeeded Mary, had long shown herself hostile to Philip. She made the duke of Alva feel her ill-will by the retention of 800,000 gulden sent him by a ship that had put into Plymouth (1568). Elizabeth had appropriated this sum, charging herself, however, with its repayment to the Italian merchants from whom the king had borrowed it. But the duke, who was awaiting this money in order to pay his troops, had been furious and had seized the property and ships of the English in Belgian ports. Whereupon the queen had retaliated and, not content with forbidding all trade with the Low Countries, offered asylum to the privateers which the discontented faction began to fit out and which caused some serious losses to commerce.

Thus came into existence the Beggars of the Sea — a band of bold, adventurous men, whose leaders were the emigrant nobles, the rest sailors from the coast. The success of their first attempts at piracy excited fresh clamours against the government in Belgium; and later deeds of a less doubtful character were to efface these obscure beginnings and to assign to their names a very different place in history.

While unrest and discontent thus increased around the Spanish governor, William of Nassau preserved a threatening attitude. This prince and his brother Louis were equally allied with Lutheran princes of Germany and with the leaders of the Calvinist party in France. They had even fought for the cause of the latter; for in spite of their exile they took part in all the great Protestant enterprises, identifying their cause with that of the cult they professed and seeking, in each European commotion, in some way to advance their own interests. Their hopes revived when the celebrated Coligny and the Huguenots came to an understanding with King Charles IX (1570). A plan was then formed to lead into the Belgian provinces a number of those old bands which for years had been fighting in France. Coligny and his brothers-at-arms were to enter Hainault with their French soldiers, while the prince of Orange at the head of a German army penetrated into Limburg and Brabant. Charles IX gave his consent to this project; the old-time jealousy against Spain made him desire the abasement and humiliation of Philip.

The duke of Alva saw the storm approaching. Pressed by the need of money and by the orders from the court, he made fresh attempts to obtain the consent of the states to the taxes the king wished to establish, but the resistance was the same as in former years. Thereupon he took it upon himself to direct without their consent the collection of the tenth and twentieth penny, violating thus all the rights of the provinces, but imputing the bold step to stern necessity. He consented, however, that a deputation should be sent to the king — in protest. Philip received the deputies with the greatest demonstrations of good will. It is related that he first tried to make them accept the tax as a war contribution; but, finally yielding to their remonstrances, he agreed to its provisional suspension.[k]

One of those frightful inundations to which the northern provinces were so constantly exposed occurred in 1572, carrying away the dikes, and

destroying lives and property to a considerable amount. In Friesland alone twenty thousand men were victims to this calamity. But no suffering could affect the inflexible sternness of the duke of Alva; and to such excess did he carry his persecution that Philip himself began to be discontented, and thought his representative was overstepping the bounds of delegated tyranny. He even reproached him sharply in some of his despatches. The governor replied in the same strain; and such was the effect of this correspondence that Philip resolved to remove him from his command. But the king's marriage with Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II, obliged him to defer his intentions for a while; and he at length named John de la Cerda, duke of Medina-Celi, as Alva's successor. Upwards of a year, however, elapsed before this new governor was finally appointed; and he made his appearance on the coast of Flanders with a considerable fleet, on the 11th of May, 1572. He was afforded on this very day a specimen of the sort of people he came to contend with; for his fleet was suddenly attacked by that of the patriots, and many of his vessels were burned and taken before his eyes, with their rich cargoes and considerable treasures intended for the service of the state.[1]

The duke of Medina-Celi proceeded rapidly to Brussels, where he was ceremoniously received by Alva, who however refused to resign the government, under the pretext that the term of his appointment had not expired, and that he was resolved first to completely suppress all symptoms of revolt in the northern provinces. He succeeded in effectually disgusting La Cerda, who demanded and obtained his own recall to Spain. Alva, left once more in undisputed possession of his power, turned it with increased vigour into new channels of oppression. He was soon again employed in efforts to effect the levying of his favourite taxes; and such was the resolution of the tradesmen of Brussels that, sooner than submit, they almost universally closed their shops altogether. Alva, furious at this measure, caused sixty of the citizens to be seized, and ordered them to be hanged opposite their own doors. The gibbets were actually erected, when, on the very day fixed for the executions, he received despatches that wholly disconcerted him, and stopped their completion.[i]

In the night arrived the intelligence that the town of Briel had been captured. The duke, feeling the full gravity of the situation, postponed the chastisement which he had thus secretly planned to a more convenient season, in order, without an instant's hesitation, to avert the consequences of this new movement on the part of the rebels.

THE SEA BEGGARS TAKE BRIEL

Allusion has been made to those formidable partisans of the patriot cause, the marine outlaws. Cheated of half their birthright by nature, and now driven forth from their narrow isthmus by tyranny, the exiled Hollanders took to the ocean. Its boundless fields, long arable to their industry, became more fruitful than ever now that oppression was transforming a peaceful seafaring people into a nation of corsairs.

The beggars of the sea asked their alms through the mouths of their

[1 It was the richest booty which the insurgents had yet acquired by sea or land. The fleet was laden with spices, money, jewelry, and the richest merchandise. Five hundred thousand crowns of gold were taken, and it was calculated that the plunder altogether would suffice to maintain the war for two years at least. One thousand Spanish soldiers and a good amount of ammunition were also captured. — MOTLEY.[d]]

cannon. Unfortunately, they but too often made their demands upon both friend and foe. Every ruined merchant, every banished lord, every reckless mariner, who was willing to lay the commercial world under contribution to repair his damaged fortunes, could, without much difficulty, be supplied with a vessel and crew at some northern port, under colour of cruising against the viceroy's government. Nor was the ostensible motive simply a pretext. To make war upon Alva was the leading object of all these freebooters, and they were usually furnished by the prince of Orange, in his capacity of sovereign, with letters of marque for that purpose. The prince, indeed, did his utmost to control and direct an evil which had inevitably grown out of the horrors of the time. His admiral, William de la Marck, was, however, incapable of comprehending the lofty purposes of his superior. A wild, sanguinary, licentious noble, wearing his hair and beard unshorn, according to ancient Batavian custom, until the death of his relative Egmont should have been expiated, a worthy descendant of the Wild Boar of Ardennes, this hirsute and savage corsair seemed an embodiment of vengeance. He had sworn to wreak upon Alva and upon popery the deep revenge owed to them by the Netherland nobility, and in the cruelties afterwards practised by him upon monks and priests, the Blood Council learned that their example had made at least one ripe scholar among the rebels. He was lying at this epoch with his fleet on the southern coast of England, from which advantageous position he was now to be ejected in a summary manner.

The negotiations between the duke of Alva and Queen Elizabeth had now assumed an amicable tone, and were fast ripening to an adjustment. It was urged that the continued countenance afforded by the English people to the Netherland cruisers must inevitably lead to a war with Philip. In the latter days of March, 1572, therefore, a sentence of virtual excommunication was pronounced against De la Marck and his rovers. A peremptory order of Elizabeth forbade any of her subjects to supply them with meat, bread, or beer. The command being strictly complied with, their further stay was rendered impossible. Twenty-four vessels accordingly set sail from Dover in the very last days of March. Being almost in a state of starvation, these adventurers determined to make a sudden foray upon the coasts of North Holland. On Palm Sunday they captured two Spanish merchantmen. Soon afterwards, however, the wind becoming contrary, they abandoned their original intention, dropped down towards Zealand, and entered the broad mouth of the river Maas.

Among the ships was that of William of Blois, seigneur of Treslong. This adventurous noble, whose brother had been executed by the duke of Alva in 1568, had himself fought by the side of Count Louis at Jemmingen, and, although covered with wounds, had been one of the few who escaped alive from the horrible carnage. During the intervening period he had become one of the most famous rebels on the ocean, and he had always been well known in Briel, where his father had been governor for the king. Treslong, who was really the hero of this memorable adventure, persuaded De la Marck to send a message to the city of Briel, demanding its surrender. This was a bold summons to be made by a handful of men.

The city of Briel (or Brill) was not populous but it was well walled and fortified. It was, moreover, a most commodious port. The whole rebel force was divided into two parties, one of which under Treslong made an attack upon the southern gate. Treslong, after a short struggle, succeeded in forcing his entrance. De la Marck and his men made a bonfire at the northern gate, and then battered down the half-burned portal with the end

of an old mast. Thus rudely and rapidly did the Netherland patriots conduct their first successful siege. The two parties, not more perhaps than two hundred and fifty men in all, met before sunset in the centre of the city, and the foundation of the Dutch Republic was laid. The weary spirit of freedom, so long a fugitive over earth and sea, had at last found a resting place, which rude and even ribald hands had prepared.

The panic created by the first appearance of the fleet had been so extensive that hardly fifty citizens had remained in the town. The rest had all escaped, with as much property as they could carry away. The admiral, in the name of the prince of Orange, as lawful stadholder of Philip, took formal possession of an almost deserted city. No indignity was offered to the inhabitants of either sex, but as soon as the conquerors were fairly established in the best houses of the place, the inclination to plunder the churches could no longer be restrained. The altars and images were all destroyed, the rich furniture and gorgeous vestments appropriated to private use. Adam van Haren appeared on his vessel's deck attired in a magnificent high mass chasuble. Treslong thenceforth used no drinking cups in his cabin save the golden chalices of the sacrament. Unfortunately, their hatred to popery was not confined to such demonstrations. Thirteen unfortunate monks and priests, who had been unable to affect their escape, were arrested and thrown into prison, from whence they were taken a few days later, by order of the ferocious admiral, and executed under circumstances of great barbarity.

The news of this important exploit spread with great rapidity. Alva, surprised at the very moment of venting his rage on the butchers and grocers of Brussels, deferred this savage design in order to deal with the new difficulty. He had certainly not expected such a result from the ready compliance of Queen Elizabeth with his request. The punsters of Brussels were sure not to let such an opportunity escape them, for the name of the captured town was susceptible of a quibble, and the event had taken place upon All Fools' Day.

On April Fool's Day,
Duke Alva's spectacles were stolen away

became a popular couplet. The word "spectacles," in Flemish, as well as the name of the suddenly surprised city, being Brill, this allusion to the duke's loss and implied purblindness was not destitute of ingenuity.

The duke, however, lost not an instant in attempting to repair the disaster. Count Bossu, who had acted as stadholder of Holland and Zealand under Alva's authority, since the prince of Orange had resigned that office, was ordered at once to recover the conquered seaport, if possible. The patriots, being very few in number, were at first afraid to venture outside the gates to attack the much superior force of their invaders. A carpenter, however, dashed into the water with his axe in his hand, and swimming to the Niewland sluice hacked it open with a few vigorous strokes. The sea poured in at once, making the approach to the city upon the north side impossible. Bossu then led his Spaniards along the Niewland dike to the southern gate, where they were received with a warm discharge of artillery, which completely staggered them. Meantime, Treslong and Robol had, in the most daring manner, rowed out to the ships which had brought the enemy to the island, cut some adrift, and set others on fire. The Spaniards at the southern gate caught sight of their blazing vessels, saw the sea rapidly rising over the dike, became panic-struck at being thus enclosed between fire and water, and dashed off in precipitate retreat along the slippery causeway and through the slimy

[1572 A.D.]

and turbid waters, which were fast threatening to overwhelm them.[1] Many were drowned or smothered in their flight, but the greater portion of the force effected their escape in the vessels which still remained within reach. This danger averted, Admiral de la Marck summoned all the inhabitants, a large number of whom had returned to the town after the capture had been fairly established, and required them, as well as all the population of the island, to take an oath of allegiance to the prince of Orange as stadholder for his majesty.

THE REVOLT OF THE TOWNS

The example thus set by Briel and later by Flushing was rapidly followed. The first half of the year 1572 was distinguished by a series of triumphs rendered still more remarkable by the reverses which followed at its close. Of a sudden, almost as it were by accident, a small but important seaport, the object for which the prince had so long been hoping, was secured. Instantly afterwards, half the island of Walcheren renounced the yoke of Alva. Next, Enkhuizen, the key to the Zuyder Zee, the principal arsenal and one of the first commercial cities in the Netherlands, rose against the Spanish admiral, and hung out the banner of Orange on its ramparts. The revolution effected here was purely the work of the people — of the mariners and burghers of the city. By the same spontaneous movement, nearly all the important cities of Holland and Zealand raised the standard of him in whom they recognised their deliverer. The revolution was accomplished under nearly similar circumstances everywhere. With one fierce bound of enthusiasm the nation shook off its chain.

Nor was it in Holland and Zealand alone that the beacon fires of freedom were lighted. City after city in Gelderland, Overyssel, and the see of Utrecht; all the important towns of Friesland, some sooner, some later, some without a struggle, some after a short siege, some with resistance by the functionaries of government, some by amicable compromise — accepted the garrisons of the prince, and formally recognised his authority. Out of the chaos which a long and preternatural tyranny had produced, the first struggling elements of a new and a better world began to appear. It were superfluous to narrate the details which marked the sudden restoration of liberty in these various groups of cities. Traits of generosity marked the change of government in some, circumstances of ferocity disfigured the revolution in others. The combats were perpetual and sanguinary, the prisoners on both sides instantly executed. On more than one occasion, men were seen assisting to hang with their own hands and in cold blood their own brothers, who had been taken prisoners in the enemy's ranks. When the captives were too many to be hanged, they were tied back to back, two and two, and thus hurled into the sea. The islanders found a fierce pleasure in these acts of cruelty. A Spaniard had ceased to be human in their eyes. On one occasion, a surgeon at Veer cut the heart from a Spanish prisoner, nailed it on a vessel's prow, and invited the townsmen to come and fasten their teeth in it, which many did with savage satisfaction. In other parts of the country the revolution was, on the whole, accomplished with comparative calmness. Even traits of generosity were not uncommon.

A new board of magistrates had been chosen in all the redeemed cities, by popular election. They were required to take an oath of fidelity to the king of Spain, and to the prince of Orange as his stadholder; to promise

[1 "*Door slyk, door slop, door dik en dun*" are the homely but vigorous expressions of the Netherland chronicler Bor.]

[1572 A.D.]

resistance to the duke of Alva, the tenth penny, and the Inquisition; "to support every man's freedom and the welfare of the country — to protect widows, orphans, and miserable persons, and to maintain justice and truth."

Diedrich Sonoy arrived on the 2nd of June at Enkhuizen. He was provided by the prince with a commission, appointing him lieutenant-governor of North Holland or Waterland. Thus, to combat the authority of Alva, was set up the authority of the king.[1] The stadholderate over Holland and Zealand to which the prince had been appointed, in 1559, he now reassumed. Upon this fiction reposed the whole provisional polity of the revolted Netherlands.

The written instructions given by the prince to his lieutenant Sonoy were to "see that the word of God was preached, without, however, suffering any hinderance to the Roman Church in the exercise of its religion; to restore fugitives and the banished for conscience' sake, and to require of all magistrates and officers of guilds and brotherhoods an oath of fidelity." The prince likewise prescribed the form of that oath, repeating therein, to his eternal honour, the same strict prohibition of intolerance. "Likewise," said the formula, "shall those of 'the religion' offer no let or hinderance to the Roman churches."

The prince was still in Germany, engaged in raising troops and providing funds. He directed, however, the affairs of the insurgent provinces in their minutest details, by virtue of the dictatorship inevitably forced upon him both by circumstances and by the people. In the meantime, Louis of Nassau, the Bayard of the Netherlands, performed a most unexpected and brilliant exploit. He had been long in France, negotiating with the leaders of the Huguenots, and, more secretly, with the court. He was supposed by all the world to be still in that kingdom, when the startling intelligence arrived that he had surprised and captured the important city of Mons, the capital of Hainault.

THE STATES-GENERAL AT DORT (1572)

Meantime, the duke, who was literally "without a single real" was forced at last to smother his pride in the matter of the tenth penny. On the 24th of June he summoned the states of Holland to assemble on the 15th of the ensuing month. In the missive issued for this purpose he formally agreed to abolish the whole tax, on condition that the states-general of the Netherlands would furnish him with a yearly supply of two millions of florins.

The states of Holland met, indeed, on the appointed day of July, but they assembled not in obedience to Alva but in consequence of a summons from William of Orange. The prince had again assembled an army in Germany, consisting of fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse, besides a number of Netherlanders, mostly Walloons, amounting to nearly three thousand more. Before taking the field, however, it was necessary that he should guarantee at least three months' pay to his troops. This he could no longer do, except by giving bonds endorsed by certain cities of Holland as his securities. He had accordingly addressed letters in his own name to all the principal cities, fervently adjuring them to remember, at last, what was due to him, to the fatherland, and to their own character.

"Let not a sum of gold," said he, in one of these letters, "be so dear to you, that for its sake you will sacrifice your lives, your wives, your children, and all your descendants, to the latest generations; that you will bring sin

[1 With this attitude of loyalty to a sovereign and resistance to his ministers, should be compared the similar beginnings of the French and American Revolutions.]

and shame upon yourselves, and destruction upon us who have so heartily striven to assist you. Think what scorn you will incur from foreign nations, what a crime you will commit against the Lord God, what a bloody yoke you will impose forever upon yourselves and your children, if you now seek for subterfuges; if you now prevent us from taking the field with the troops which we have enlisted. On the other hand, what inexpressible benefits you will confer on your country, if you now help us to rescue that fatherland from the power of Spanish vultures and wolves."

This and similar missives, circulated throughout the province of Holland, produced a deep impression. In accordance with his suggestions, the deputies from the nobility and from twelve cities of that province assembled on the 15th of July, at Dort. Strictly speaking, the states or government of Holland, the body which represented the whole people, consisted of the nobles and six great cities. On this occasion, however, Amsterdam, being still in the power of the king, could send no deputies; while, on the other hand, all the small towns were invited to send up their representatives to the congress. Eight accepted the proposal; the rest declined to appoint delegates, partly from motives of economy, partly from timidity.

These states were the legitimate representatives of the people, but they had no legislative powers. The people had never pretended to sovereignty, nor did they claim it now. The source from which the government of the Netherlands was supposed to proceed was still the divine mandate. The prince represented the royal authority, the nobles represented both themselves and the people of the open country, while the twelve cities represented the whole body of burghers. Together, they were supposed to embody all authority, both divine and human, which a congress could exercise. Thus the whole movement was directed against Alva and against Count Bossu, appointed stadholder by Alva in the place of Orange. Philip's name was destined to figure for a long time at the head of documents by which moneys were raised, troops levied, and taxes collected, all to be used in deadly war against himself.

The states were convened on the 15th of July, when Paul Buys, pensionary of Leyden, the tried and confidential friend of Orange, was elected advocate of Holland. The convention was then adjourned till the 18th, when Sainte-Aldegonde made his appearance, with full powers to act provisionally in behalf of his highness. The impassioned eloquence of Sainte-Aldegonde produced a profound impression. The men who had obstinately refused the demands of Alva now unanimously resolved to pour forth their gold and their blood at the call of Orange. "Truly," wrote the duke, a little later, "it almost drives me mad to see the difficulty with which your majesty's supplies are furnished, and the liberality with which the people place their lives and fortunes at the disposal of this rebel." It seemed strange to the loyal governor that men should support their liberator with greater alacrity than that with which they served their destroyer! All seemed determined, rather than pay the tenth to Alva, to pay the whole to the prince.

The states, furthermore, by unanimous resolution, declared that they recognised the prince as the king's lawful stadholder over Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and that they would use their influence with the other provinces to procure his appointment as protector of all the Netherlands during the king's absence. His highness was requested to appoint an admiral, on whom, with certain deputies from the water-cities, the conduct of the maritime war should devolve. With regard to religion, it was firmly established that the public exercises of divine worship should be permitted

not only to the Reformed Church but to the Roman Catholic — the clergy of both being protected from all molestation.

After these proceedings, Count de la Marck made his appearance before the assembly. His commission from Orange was read to the deputies, and by them ratified. The prince, in that document, authorised his "dear cousin" to enlist troops, to accept the fealty of cities, to furnish them with garrisons, to re-establish all the local laws, municipal rights, and ancient privileges which had been suppressed.

FIRST SUCCESSES

Meanwhile the war had opened vigorously in Hainault. Louis of Nassau had no sooner found himself in possession of Mons than he had despatched Genlis to France for those reinforcements which had been promised by royal lips. On the other hand, [Alva's son] Don Frederick held the city closely beleaguered; sharp combats before the walls were of almost daily occurrence.

On the 7th of July William crossed the Rhine at Duisburg, with fourteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse, enlisted in Germany, besides a force of three thousand Walloons. On the 23rd of July he took the city of Roermond, after a sharp cannonade, at which place his troops already began to disgrace the honourable cause in which they were engaged, by imitating the cruelties and barbarities of their antagonists; many priests and monks were put to death by the soldiery under circumstances of great barbarity. The prince, incensed at such conduct, but being unable to exercise very stringent authority over troops whose wages he was not yet able to pay in full, issued a proclamation denouncing such excesses and commanding his followers, upon pain of death, to respect the rights of all individuals, whether papist or Protestant, and to protect religious exercises both in Catholic and Reformed churches.

It was hardly to be expected that the troops enlisted by the prince in the same great magazine of hireling soldiers, Germany, whence the duke also derived his annual supplies, would be likely to differ very much in their propensities from those enrolled under Spanish banners; yet there was a vast contrast between the characters of the two commanders. One leader inculcated the practice of robbery, rape, and murder, as a duty, and issued distinct orders to butcher "every mother's son" in the cities which he captured; the other restrained every excess to the utmost of his ability, protecting not only life and property but even the ancient religion.

The prince had been delayed for a month at Roermond; because, as he expressed it, "he had not a single sou," and because, in consequence, the troops refused to advance into the Netherlands. Having at last been furnished with the requisite guarantees from the Holland cities for three months' pay, on the 27th of August he crossed the Maas and took his circuitous way through Diest, Tirlemont, Sichem, Dendermonde, Louvain, Mechlin, Oudenarde, Nivelles. Many cities and villages accepted his authority and admitted his garrisons.

Louvain purchased its neutrality for the time with 16,000 ducats; Brussels obstinately refused to listen to him, and was too powerful to be forcibly attacked at that juncture; other important cities, convinced by the arguments and won by the eloquence of the various proclamations which he scattered as he advanced, ranged themselves spontaneously and even enthusiastically upon his side. How different would have been the result of his campaign but for the unexpected earthquake which at that instant was to

appal Christendom, and to scatter all his well-matured plans and legitimate hopes. His chief reliance, under providence and his own strong heart, had been upon French assistance.

On the 11th of August, Coligny had written hopefully of his movements towards the Netherlands, sanctioned and aided by his king. A fortnight from that day occurred the "Paris wedding" [the St. Bartholomew massacre], and the admiral, with thousands of his religious confederates, invited to confidence by superhuman treachery, and lulled into security by the music of August marriage-bells, was suddenly butchered in the streets of Paris by royal and noble hands.

The prince proceeded on his march, but he felt convinced that, with the very arrival of the awful tidings, the fate of that campaign was sealed, and the fall of Mons inevitable. In his own language, he had been struck to the earth "with the blow of a sledge-hammer"; nor did the enemy draw a different augury from the great event. Nothing certainly could, in Philip's apprehension, be more delightful than this most unexpected and most opportune intelligence. Charles IX, whose intrigues in the Netherlands he had long known, had now been suddenly converted by this stupendous crime into his most powerful ally, while at the same time the Protestants of Europe would learn that there was still another crowned head in Christendom more deserving of abhorrence than himself.

Such was the condition of affairs when the prince of Orange arrived at Péronne, between Binche and the duke of Alva's entrenchments. The besieging army was rich in notabilities of elevated rank. Don Frederick of Toledo had hitherto commanded, but on the 27th of August the dukes of Medina-Celi and of Alva had arrived in the camp. Directly afterwards came the warlike archbishop of Cologne, at the head of two thousand cavalry. There was but one chance for the prince of Orange, and experience had taught him, four years before, its slenderness.[1] He might still provoke his adversary into a pitched battle, and he relied upon God for the result. In his own words, "he trusted ever that the great God of armies was with him, and would fight in the midst of his forces."

The Huguenot soldiers within Mons were in despair and mutiny; Louis of Nassau lay in his bed consuming with a dangerous fever; Genlis had been taken prisoner, and his army cut to pieces; Coligny was murdered, and Protestant France paralysed; the troops of Orange, enlisted but for three months, were already rebellious, and sure to break into open insubordination when the consequences of the Paris massacre should become entirely clear to them.

At midnight September 11, the Spaniards made a sudden attack, the sentinels were cut down, the whole army surprised, and for a moment powerless, while, for two hours long, from one o'clock in the morning until three, the Spaniards butchered their foes, hardly aroused from their sleep, ignorant by how small a force they had been thus suddenly surprised, and unable in the confusion to distinguish between friend and foe.

The boldest, led by Julian Romero, made at once for the prince's tent. His guards and himself were in profound sleep, but a small spaniel was a more faithful sentinel. The creature sprang forward, barking furiously at the sound of hostile footsteps, and scratching his master's face with his paws.

[1 Blok calls attention to the fact that William was now suffering, in addition to his political distresses, a grievous domestic calamity: Anna of Saxony, whom he had taken to wife after some opposition, repeatedly offered submission to Alva, and finally was found guilty of adultery with the father of the great painter Rubens. She was shut up in prison at Dillenburg, in March, 1571, as a madwoman, and died insane. Meanwhile Alva kept paid assassins on the hunt for William's life.]

There was but just time for the prince to mount a horse which was ready saddled, and to effect his escape through the darkness, before his enemies sprang into the tent. His servants were cut down, his master of the horse and two of his secretaries, who gained their saddles a moment later, all lost their lives; and but for the little dog's watchfulness William of Orange, upon whose shoulders the whole weight of his country's fortunes depended, would have been led within a week to an ignominious death. To his dying day, the prince ever afterwards kept a spaniel of the same race in his bedchamber. Six hundred of the prince's troops had been put to the sword, while many others were burned in their beds, or drowned in the little rivulet which flowed outside their camp. Only sixty Spaniards lost their lives.

COLLAPSE OF WILLIAM'S PLANS

The whole marrow of William's enterprise had been destroyed in an instant by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He retreated to Péronne and Nivelles, an assassin, named Heist, a German by birth but a French chevalier, following him secretly in his camp, pledged to take his life for a large reward promised by Alva—an enterprise not destined, however, to be successful.

The soldiers flatly refused to remain an hour longer in the field, or even to furnish an escort for Count Louis, if, by chance, he could be brought out of the town. The prince was obliged to inform his brother of the desperate state of his affairs, and to advise him to capitulate on the best terms which he could make. With a heavy heart, he left the chivalrous Louis besieged in the city which he had so gallantly captured, and took his way across the Maas towards the Rhine. A furious mutiny broke out among his troops. His life was, with difficulty, saved from the brutal soldiery infuriated at his inability to pay them except in the overdue securities of the Holland cities. Crossing the Rhine at Orsoy, he disbanded his army.

Yet even in this hour of distress and defeat, the prince seemed more heroic than many a conqueror in his day of triumph. He went to Holland, the only province which remained true, and which still looked up to him as its saviour; but he went thither expecting and prepared to perish. "There I will make my sepulchre," was his simple and sublime expression in a private letter to his brother.

Meanwhile, Count Louis lay confined to his couch with a burning fever. His soldiers refused any longer to hold the city.

On the 19th of September, accordingly, articles of capitulation were signed. The town was given over to Alva, but all the soldiers were to go out with their weapons and property. After Louis and his troops had retired, Noircarmes, in brutal violation of the terms upon which the town had surrendered, now set about the work of massacre and pillage. A commission of Troubles, in close imitation of the famous Blood Council at Brussels, was established, the members of the tribunal being appointed by Noircarmes and all being inhabitants of the town. The council commenced proceedings by condemning all the volunteers, although expressly included in the capitulation. Their wives and children were all banished; their property was all confiscated. On the 15th of December the executions commenced.

SPANISH ATROCITIES

The Spaniards had thus recovered Mons, by which event the temporary revolution throughout the whole Southern Netherlands was at an end. The

keys of that city unlocked the gates of every other in Brabant and Flanders. The towns which had so lately embraced the authority of Orange now hastened to disavow the prince and to return to their ancient, hypocritical, and cowardly allegiance. The new oaths of fidelity were in general accepted by Alva, but the beautiful archiepiscopal city of Mechlin was selected for an example and a sacrifice. There were heavy arrears due to the Spanish troops. To indemnify them, and to make good his blasphemous prophecy of divine chastisement for its past misdeeds, Alva now abandoned this town to the license of his soldiery.

A NOBLEWOMAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Three days long the horrible scene continued — one day for the benefit of the Spaniards, two more for that of the Walloons and Germans. All the churches, monasteries, religious houses of every kind were completely sacked. Every valuable article which they contained, the ornaments of altars, the reliquaries, chalices, embroidered curtains, and carpets of velvet or damask, the golden robes of the priests, the repositories of the host, the precious vessels of chrism and extreme unction, the rich clothing and jewelry adorning the effigies of the Holy Virgin — all were indiscriminately rifled by the Spanish soldiers. The holy wafers were trampled under foot, the sacramental wine was poured upon the ground, and, in brief, all the horrors which had been committed by the iconoclasts in their wildest moments, and for a thousandth part of which enormities heretics had been burned in droves, were now repeated in Mechlin by the especial soldiers of Christ, by Roman Catholics who had been sent to the Netherlands to avenge the insults offered to the Roman Catholic faith. The motive, too, which inspired the sacrilegious crew was not fanaticism, but the desire of plunder.

The iconoclasts of 1566 had destroyed millions of property for the sake of an idea, but they had appropriated nothing. Moreover, they had scarcely injured a human being, confining their wrath to graven images. The Spaniards at Mechlin spared neither man nor woman. The murders and outrages would be incredible, were they not attested by most respectable Catholic witnesses. Men were butchered in their houses, in the streets, at the altars. Women were violated by hundreds in churches and in graveyards. Moreover, the deed had been as deliberately arranged as it was thoroughly performed. It was sanctioned by the highest authority.

Zutphen attempted a feeble opposition to the entrance of the king's troops, and received a dreadful chastisement in consequence. Alva sent orders to his son to leave not a single man alive in the city, and to burn every house to the ground. The duke's command was almost literally obeyed. As the work of death became too fatiguing for the butchers, five hundred innocent burghers were tied two and two, back to back, and drowned like dogs in the river Yssel. A few stragglers, who had contrived to elude pursuit at first,

were afterwards taken from their hiding-places, and hung upon the gallows by the feet, some of which victims suffered days and nights of agony before death came to their relief. Nearly all of the inhabitants of Naarden were similarly destroyed, and for a long time Naarden ceased to exist. Alva wrote, with his usual complacency in such cases, to his sovereign, that they had cut the throats of the burghers and all the garrison, and that they had not left a mother's son alive. The statement was almost literally correct, nor was the cant with which these bloodhounds commented upon their crimes less odious than their guilt.

It is not without reluctance, but still with a stern determination, that the historian should faithfully record these transactions. To extenuate would be base; to exaggerate impossible. It is good that the world should not forget how much wrong has been endured by a single nation at the hands of despotism, and in the sacred name of God. There have been tongues and pens enough to narrate the excesses of the people, bursting from time to time out of slavery into madness. It is good, too, that those crimes should be remembered, and freshly pondered; but it is equally wholesome to study the opposite picture. Tyranny, ever young and ever old, constantly reproducing herself with the same stony features, with the same imposing mask which she has worn through all ages, can never be too minutely examined, especially when she paints her own portrait, and when the secret history of her guilt is furnished by the confessions of her lovers. The perusal of her traits will not make us love popular liberty the less.

The history of Alva's administration in the Netherlands is one of those pictures which strike us almost dumb with wonder. Was it necessary that many generations should wade through this blood in order to acquire for their descendants the blessings of civil and religious freedom?

The hearts of the Hollanders were rather steeled to resistance than awed into submission by the fate of Naarden. A fortunate event, too, was accepted as a lucky omen for the coming contest. A little fleet of armed vessels, belonging to Holland, had been frozen up in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam. Don Frederick, on his arrival from Naarden, despatched a body of picked men over the ice to attack the imprisoned vessels. The crews had, however, fortified themselves by digging a wide trench around the whole fleet, which thus became from the moment an almost impregnable fortress. Out of this frozen citadel a strong band of well-armed and skilful musketeers sallied forth upon skates as the besieging force advanced. A rapid, brilliant, and slippery skirmish succeeded, in which the Hollanders, so accustomed to such sports, easily vanquished their antagonists, and drove them off the field, with the loss of several hundred left dead upon the ice. "'Twas a thing never heard of before to-day," said Alva, "to see a body of arquebusiers thus skirmishing upon a frozen sea." In the course of the next four-and-twenty hours a flood and a rapid thaw released the vessels, which all escaped to Enkhuizen, while a frost, immediately and strangely succeeding, made pursuit impossible.

The Spaniards were astonished at these novel manœuvres upon the ice. It is amusing to read their elaborate descriptions of the wonderful appendages which had enabled the Hollanders to glide so glibly into battle with a superior force, and so rapidly to glance away, after achieving a signal triumph. Nevertheless, the Spaniards could never be dismayed, and were always apt scholars, even if an enemy were the teacher. Alva immediately ordered seven thousand pairs of skates, and his soldiers soon learned to perform military evolutions with these new accoutrements as audaciously, if not as adroitly, as the Hollanders.

THE SIEGE OF HAARLEM (1572–1573)

On December 11th, 1572, Don Frederick appeared before the walls of Haarlem and proceeded regularly to invest the place, nor did he cease reinforcing himself until at least thirty thousand men, including fifteen hundred cavalry, had been encamped around the city. Against this immense force, nearly equal in number to that of the whole population of the city, the garrison within the walls never amounted to more than four thousand men, one thousand pioneers or delvers, three thousand fighting men, and about three hundred fighting women. The last was a most efficient corps, all females of respectable character, armed with sword, musket, and dagger. The chief, Kanau Hasselaer, was a widow of distinguished family and unblemished reputation, about forty-seven years of age, who, at the head of her amazons, participated in many of the most fiercely contested actions of the siege, both within and without the walls.

Meantime, the prince of Orange, from his headquarters at Sassenheim, on the southern extremity of the mere, made every effort to throw succour into the place. The famous siege lasted during the winter and early spring. Alva might well write to his sovereign, that "it was a war such as never before was seen or heard of in any land on earth." Yet the duke had known near sixty years of warfare. After nearly six years' experience, he had found its "people of butter" less malleable than even those "iron people" whom he boasted of having tamed.

All efforts at relief failing, however, the ravages of starvation compelled a formal surrender on the 12th of July, 1573. On the following morning the massacre commenced. The plunder had been commuted for two hundred and forty thousand guilders, which the citizens bound themselves to pay in four instalments; but murder was an indispensable accompaniment of victory and admitted of no compromise. The garrison were immediately butchered. Five executioners, with their attendants, were kept constantly at work; and when at last they were exhausted with fatigue, or perhaps sickened with horror, three hundred wretches were tied two and two, back to back, and drowned in the Haarlem Lake.

At last, after twenty-three hundred human creatures had been murdered in cold blood, within a city where so many thousands had previously perished by violent or by lingering deaths, the blasphemous farce of a pardon was enacted. Ten thousand two hundred and fifty-six shots had been discharged against the walls during the siege. Twelve thousand of the besieging army had died of wounds or disease, during the seven months and two days between the investment and the surrender.

REVIVAL OF DUTCH EFFORTS

It was obvious that, if the reduction of Haarlem were a triumph, it was one which the conquerors might well exchange for a defeat. At any rate, it was certain that the Spanish empire was not strong enough to sustain many more such victories. If it had required thirty thousand choice troops, among which were three regiments called by Alva respectively the "Invincibles," the "Immortals," and the "None-such," to conquer the weakest city of Holland in seven months, and with the loss of twelve thousand men; how many men, how long a time, and how many deaths would it require to reduce the rest of that little province? Even the treasures of the New World were inadequate to pay for the conquest of that little sand-bank. Within five

years, 25,000,000 florins had been sent from Spain for war expenses in the Netherlands. Yet this amount, with the addition of large sums annually derived from confiscations, of five millions at which the proceeds of the hundredth penny was estimated, and the two millions yearly for which the tenth and twentieth pence had been compounded, was insufficient to save the treasury from beggary and the unpaid troops from mutiny.[d]

Ter Goes in South Beveland and other towns were about the same period the scenes of gallant actions, and of subsequent cruelties of the most revolting nature, as soon as they fell into the power of the Spaniards. Horrors like these were sure to force reprisals on the part of the maddened patriots. De la Marck carried on his daring exploits with a cruelty which excited the indignation of the prince of Orange, by whom he was removed from his command. The contest was for a while prosecuted, with a decrease of vigour proportioned to the serious losses on both sides; money and the munitions of war began to fail; and though the Spaniards succeeded in taking the Hague, they were repulsed before Alkmaar with great loss, and their fleet was almost entirely destroyed in a naval combat on the Zuyder Zee. The count Bossu, their admiral, was taken in this fight, with about three hundred of his best sailors.[i]

The states of the Netherlands had been formally assembled by Alva in September, at Brussels, to devise ways and means for continuing the struggle. It seemed to the prince a good opportunity to make an appeal to the patriotism of the whole country. He furnished the province of Holland, accordingly, with the outlines of an address which was forthwith despatched, in their own and his name, to the general assembly of the Netherlands:

> "'Tis only by the Netherlands that the Netherlands are crushed," said the appeal. "Whence has the duke of Alva the power of which he boasts, but from yourselves — from Netherland cities? Whence his ships, supplies, money, weapons, soldiers? From the Netherland people. Why has poor Netherland thus become degenerate and bastard? Whither has fled the noble spirit of our brave forefathers, that never brooked the tyranny of foreign nations, nor suffered a stranger even to hold office within our borders? If the little province of Holland can thus hold at bay the power of Spain, what could not all the Netherlands — Brabant, Flanders, Friesland, and the rest united—accomplish?"

At almost the same time the prince drew up and put in circulation one of the most impassioned productions which ever came from his pen. It was entitled, an "Epistle, in form of supplication, to his royal majesty of Spain, from the prince of Orange and the states of Holland and Zealand." The document produced a profound impression throughout Christendom. It was a loyal appeal to the monarch's loyalty — a demand that the land privileges should be restored, and the duke of Alva removed. It contained a startling picture of his atrocities and the nation's misery, and, with a few energetic strokes, demolished the pretence that these sorrows had been caused by the people's guilt. In this connection the prince alluded to those acts of condemnation which the governor-general had promulgated under the name of pardons, and treated with scorn the hypothesis that any crimes had been committed for Alva to forgive.

After having set forth the tyranny of the government and the innocence of the people, the prince, in his own name and that of the states, announced the determination at which they had arrived:

> "The tyrant," he continued, "would rather stain every river and brook with our blood, and hang our bodies upon every tree in the country, than not feed to the full his vengeance, and steep himself to the lips in our misery. Therefore we have taken up arms against the duke of Alva and his adherents, to free ourselves, our wives, and children from his blood-

thirsty hands. If he prove too strong for us, we will rather die an honourable death and leave a praiseworthy fame, than bend our necks and reduce our dear fatherland to such slavery. Herein are all our cities pledged to each other to stand every siege, to dare the utmost, to endure every possible misery, yea, rather to set fire to all our homes, and be consumed with them into ashes together, than ever submit to the decrees of this cruel tyrant."

As Alva's administration drew to a close it was marked by disaster and disgrace on land and sea. The brilliant exploits by which he had struck terror into the heart of the Netherlanders, at Jemmingen and in Brabant, had been effaced by the valour of a handful of Hollanders, without discipline or experience. To the patriots, the opportune capture of so considerable a personage as Bossu, the admiral and governor of the northern province, was of great advantage. Such of the hostages from Haarlem as had not yet been executed now escaped with their lives. Moreover, Sainte-Aldegonde, the eloquent patriot and confidential friend of Orange, who was taken prisoner a few weeks later, in an action at Maeslandsluis, was preserved from inevitable destruction by the same cause. The prince hastened to assure the duke of Alva that the same measure would be dealt to Bossu as should be meted to Sainte-Aldegonde. It was, therefore, impossible for the governor-general to execute his prisoner, and he was obliged to submit to the vexation of seeing a leading rebel and heretic in his power, whom he dared not strike. Both the distinguished prisoners eventually regained their liberty.

THE RECALL OF ALVA (1573)

The duke was, doubtless, lower sunk in the estimation of all classes than he had ever been before, during his long and generally successful life. The reverses sustained by his army, the belief that his master had grown cold towards him, the certainty that his career in the Netherlands was closing without a satisfactory result, the natural weariness produced upon men's minds by the contemplation of so monotonous and unmitigated a tyranny during so many years, all contributed to diminish his reputation. He felt himself odious alike to princes and to plebeians. With his cabinet councillors he had long been upon unsatisfactory terms. President Tisnacq had died early in the summer, and Viglius, much against his will, had been induced, provisionally, to supply his place. But there was now hardly a pretence of friendship between the learned Frisian and the Governor. Each cordially detested the other.

The duke had contracted in Amsterdam an enormous amount of debt, both public and private. He accordingly, early in November, caused a proclamation to be made throughout the city by sound of trumpet, that all persons having demands upon him were to present their claims, in person, upon a specified day. During the night preceding the day so appointed, the duke and his train very noiselessly took their departure, without notice or beat of drum. By this masterly generalship his unhappy creditors were foiled upon the very eve of their anticipated triumph; the heavy accounts which had been contracted on the faith of the king and the governor remained for the most part unpaid, and many opulent and respectable families were reduced to beggary. Such was the consequence of the unlimited confidence which they had reposed in the honour of their tyrant.

On the 17th of November, 1573, Don Luis de Requesens y Cuñiga, grand commander of St. Iago, the appointed successor of Alva, arrived in Brussels, where he was received with great rejoicings. The duke, on the same day, wrote to the king "kissing his feet" for thus relieving him of his functions.

[1573 A.D.]

On the 18th of December, 1573, the duke of Alva departed from the provinces forever. He had kept his bed for the greater part of the time during the last few weeks of his government — partly on account of his gout, partly to avoid being seen in his humiliation; but mainly, it was said, to escape the pressing demands of his creditors. He expressed a fear of travelling homeward through France, on the ground that he might very probably receive a shot out of a window as he went by. He complained pathetically that, after all his labours he had not "gained the approbation of the king," while he had incurred "the malevolence and universal hatred of every individual in the country."

On his journey from the Netherlands he is said to have boasted that he had caused eighteen thousand six hundred inhabitants of the provinces to be executed during the period of his government.[1] The number of those who had perished, by battle, siege, starvation, and massacre, defied computation. The duke was well received by his royal master, and remained in favour until a new adventure of Don Frederick brought father and son into disgrace. Having deceived and abandoned a maid of honour, he suddenly espoused his cousin, in order to avoid that reparation by marriage which was demanded for his offence. In consequence, both the duke and Don Frederick were imprisoned and banished, nor was Alva released till a general of experience was required for the conquest of Portugal. Thither, as it were with fetters on his legs, he went. After having accomplished the military enterprise entrusted to him, he fell into a lingering fever, at the termination of which he was so much reduced that he was only kept alive by milk, which he drank from a woman's breast. Such was the gentle second childhood of the man who had almost literally been drinking blood for seventy years. He died on the 12th of December, 1582.

MOTLEY'S ESTIMATE OF ALVA

The duke's military fame was unquestionable when he came to the provinces, and both in stricken fields and in long campaigns he showed how thoroughly it had been deserved; yet he left the Netherlands a baffled man.

As a commander, therefore, he gained, upon the whole, no additional laurels during his long administration of the Netherlands. As a financier, he exhibited a wonderful ignorance of the first principles of political economy.

As an administrator of the civil and judicial affairs of the country, he at once reduced its institutions to a frightful simplicity. He strode with gigantic steps over haughty statutes and popular constitutions; crushing alike the magnates who claimed a bench of monarchs for their jury, and the ignoble artisans who could appeal only to the laws of their land. From the pompous and theatrical scaffolds of Egmont and Horn, to the nineteen halters prepared by Master Karl to hang up the chief bakers and brewers of Brussels on their own thresholds; from the beheading of the twenty nobles on the horse-market, in the opening of the governor's career, to the roasting alive of Uitenhoove at its close; from the block on which fell the honored head of Antony Straalen, to the obscure chair in which the ancient gentlewoman of Amsterdam suffered death for an act of vicarious mercy; from one year's end to another's; from the most signal to the most squalid scenes of sacrifice — the eye and hand

[1 Gachard,[a] after a close study of the documents, thinks that Alva boasted extravagantly and that the eighteen thousand victims of his Blood Council should be reduced to six or eight thousand. He adds grimly that "even the smaller number will suffice to justify the execration to which history has devoted the name of the duke of Alva."]

of the great master directed, without weariness, the task imposed by the sovereign.

With all the bloodshed at Mons, and Naarden, and Mechlin, and by the council of Tumults, daily, for six years long, still crying from the ground, he taxed himself with a misplaced and foolish tenderness to the people. He assured the king that when Alkmaar should be taken, he would not spare a "living soul among its whole population"; and, as his parting advice, he recommended that every city in the Netherlands should be burned to the ground, except a few which could be occupied permanently by the royal troops. On the whole, so finished a picture of a perfect and absolute tyranny has rarely been presented to mankind by history, as in Alva's administration of the Netherlands.

No mode in which human beings have ever caused their fellow creatures to suffer was omitted from daily practice. Men, women, and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, hospital patients, lunatics, dead bodies, all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake. Men were tortured, beheaded, hanged by the neck and by the legs, burned before slow fires, pinched to death with red-hot tongs, broken upon the wheel, starved, and flayed alive. Their skins, stripped from the living body, were stretched upon drums, to be beaten in the march of their brethren to the gallows. The bodies of many who had died a natural death were exhumed, and their festering remains hanged upon the gibbet, on pretext that they had died without receiving the sacrament, but in reality that their property might become the legitimate prey of the treasury.

Marriages of long standing were dissolved by order of government, that rich heiresses might be married against their will to foreigners whom they abhorred. Women and children were executed for the crime of assisting their fugitive husbands and parents with a penny in their utmost need, and even for consoling them with a letter in their exile. Such was the regular course of affairs as administered by the Blood Council. The additional barbarities committed amid the sack and ruin of those blazing and starving cities are almost beyond belief; unborn infants were torn from the living bodies of their mothers; women and children were violated by thousands; and whole populations burned and hacked to pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty, in its wanton ingenuity, could devise. Such was the administration, of which Vargas affirmed, at its close, that too much mercy, "*nimia misericordia*," had been its ruin.

The character of the duke of Alva, so far as the Netherlands are concerned, seems almost like a caricature. As a creation of fiction, it would seem grotesque: yet even that hardy, historical scepticism which delights in reversing the judgment of centuries, and in re-establishing reputations long since degraded to the dust, must find it difficult to alter this man's position. No historical decision is final; an appeal to a more remote posterity, founded upon more accurate evidence, is always valid: but when the verdict has been pronounced upon facts which are undisputed, and upon testimony from the criminal's lips, there is little chance of a reversal of the sentence.

The time is past when it could be said that the cruelty of Alva, or the enormities of his administration, have been exaggerated by party violence. Human invention is incapable of outstripping the truth upon this subject. To attempt the defence of either the man or his measures at the present day is to convict oneself of an amount of ignorance or of bigotry against which history and argument are alike powerless. The publication of the duke's letters in the correspondence of Simancas and in the Besançon papers,

together with that compact mass of horror long before the world under the title of *Sententien van Alva* in which a portion only of the sentences of death and banishment pronounced by him during his reign have been copied from the official records — these in themselves would be a sufficient justification of all the charges ever brought by the most bitter contemporary of Holland or Flanders. If the investigator should remain sceptical, however, let him examine the *Registre des Condamnés et Bannis à Cause des Troubles des Pays-Bas* in three, together with the Records of the *Conseil des Troubles*, in forty-three folio volumes, in the Royal Archives at Brussels. After going through all these chronicles of iniquity, the most determined historic doubter will probably throw up the case. It is an affectation of philosophical candour to extenuate vices which are not only avowed, but claimed as virtues.[d]

CHAPTER VII

PROGRESS TOWARDS UNION

[1573–1579 A.D.]

The horrors of Alva's administration had caused men to look back with fondness upon the milder and more vacillating tyranny of the duchess Margaret. From the same cause the advent of the grand commander was hailed with pleasure and with a momentary gleam of hope.

Don Luis de Requesens and Cuñiga, grand commander of Castile and late governor of Milan, was a man of mediocre abilities, who possessed a reputation for moderation and sagacity which he hardly deserved. His military prowess had been chiefly displayed in the bloody and barren battle of Lepanto, where his conduct and counsel were supposed to have contributed, in some measure, to the victorious result. His administration at Milan had been characterised as firm and moderate. Nevertheless his character was regarded with anything but favourable eyes in the Netherlands. Men told each other of his broken faith to the Moors in Granada, and of his unpopularity in Milan, where, notwithstanding his boasted moderation, he had, in reality, so oppressed the people as to gain their deadly hatred. They complained, too, that it was an insult to send, as governor-general of the provinces, not a prince of the blood, as used to be the case, but a simple "gentleman of cloak and sword."

It was now evident to the world that the revolt had reached a stage in which it could be terminated only by absolute conquest or concession. The new governor accordingly, in case the Netherlanders would abandon every object for which they had been so heroically contending, was empowered to concede a pardon. It was expressly enjoined upon him, however, that no conciliatory measures should be adopted in which the king's absolute supremacy, and the total prohibition of every form of worship but the Roman Catholic, were not assumed as a basis. Now, as the people had been contending at least ten years long for constitutional rights against prerogative,

and at least seven for liberty of conscience against papistry, it was easy to foretell how much effect any negotiations thus commenced were likely to produce.

COST OF THE WAR

The rebellion had been an expensive matter to the Crown. The army in the Netherlands numbered more than sixty-two thousand men, eight thousand being Spaniards, the rest Walloons and Germans. Forty millions of dollars had already been sunk, and it seemed probable that it would require nearly the whole annual produce of the American mines to sustain the war. The transatlantic gold and silver, disinterred from the depths where they had been buried for ages, were employed, not to expand the current of a healthy, life-giving commerce, but to be melted into blood. The sweat and the tortures of the king's pagan subjects in the primeval forests of the New World were made subsidiary to the extermination of his Netherland people and the destruction of an ancient civilisation. To this end had Columbus discovered a hemisphere for Castile and Aragon, and the new Indies revealed their hidden treasures?

Forty millions of ducats had been spent. Six and a half millions of arrearages were due to the army, while its current expenses were six hundred thousand a month. The military expenses alone of the Netherlands were accordingly more than seven millions of dollars yearly, and the mines of the New World produced, during the half-century of Philip's reign, an anunal average of only eleven. Against this constantly-increasing deficit, there was not a stiver in the exchequer, nor the means of raising one. The tenth penny had been long virtually extinct, and was soon to be formally abolished. Confiscation had ceased to afford a permanent revenue, and the estates obstinately refused to grant a dollar. Such was the condition to which the unrelenting tyranny and the financial experiments of Alva had reduced the country. It was therefore obvious to Requesens that it would be useful at the moment to hold out hopes of pardon and reconciliation.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

It was, however, not possible to apply these hypocritical measures immediately. The war was in full career and could not be arrested even in that wintry season. The patriots held Mondragon closely besieged in Middelburg, the last point in the Isle of Walcheren which held for the king.[1] There was a considerable treasure in money and merchandise shut up in that city; and, moreover, so deserving and distinguished an officer as Mondragon could not be abandoned to his fate. At the same time, famine was pressing him sorely.

[1 The Spanish garrison, under Mondragon, had now sustained a blockade of nearly two years, with a constancy and fidelity which the Hollanders themselves could not surpass. Don Sancho de Avila, admiral of the Spanish fleet, had from time to time been able to throw in supplies, but it was invariably a work of much danger and difficulty, and attended with heavy loss both of men and ships, the gueux being constantly victorious in the numerous skirmishes which occurred. The attempt to preserve Middelburg had cost the king of Spain no less a sum than 7,000,000 florins, besides the pay of the soldiers. The gueux (or, as they were usually called, "water-gueux"), on the other hand, had no regular fund to depend upon for either pay or subsistence, being chiefly supported by the inhabitants of the places where they anchored, who gave them bread, money, and such other necessaries as they could afford; when this resource failed, they went in chase of the merchant ships going to Flanders, and lived upon the booty they thus captured; sometimes, however, they were reduced to extreme scarcity, and even the highest officers were content to subsist for weeks together on nothing but salted herrings. — DAVIES.c]

On the other hand, the situation of the patriots was not very encouraging. Their superiority on the sea was unquestionable, for the Hollanders and Zealanders were the best sailors in the world, and they asked of their country no payment for their blood but thanks. The land forces, however, were usually mercenaries, who were apt to mutiny at the commencement of an action if, as was too often the case, their wages could not be paid. Holland was entirely cut in twain by the loss of Haarlem and the leaguer of Leyden, no communication between the dissevered portions being possible, except with difficulty and danger. The states, although they had done much for the cause, and were prepared to do much more, were too apt to wrangle about economical details. They irritated the prince of Orange by huxtering about subsidies to a degree which he could hardly brook. He had strong hopes from France.[b]

Requesens had first of all to purchase, by victories over the people, the right to offer them peace. He fitted out at Antwerp and at Bergen-op-Zoom an expedition against the Zealand islands. But the indefatigable Boisot headed it off, attacked the fleet from Bergen-op-Zoom before it could effect a junction with the other, and captured a majority of the ships (January, 1574); Middelburg surrendered February 18th. This defeat, which would have discouraged a less able leader, did not stop Requesens.

The bulk of his troops was assembled on the banks of the Schelde awaiting transportation to Zealand. He led them in the direction of the Maas, whither he summoned at the same time the division encamped before Leyden; and thus, placing himself at the head of his entire body of troops, he set out to meet a German army which the prince of Orange was awaiting. This army, ten thousand men strong, had just crossed Limburg under the leadership of Counts Louis and Henry of Nassau. The governor came upon them above Nimeguen on a wide plain known as the Mooker Heath or Mookerheyde. He offered them battle; and the two counts, who accepted it, were disastrously defeated and included in the number of dead. (April 15th, 1574.)

After having re-established by this success the honour of his arms, the governor had to contend, for a time, with mutiny among his soldiers. The Spaniards, to whom twenty-eight months' pay was owing, rebelled against their officers, elected a chief called an *eletto*, and marched upon Antwerp, where the garrison permitted them to enter the town. They were threatening to sack the city when Requesens succeeded in pacifying them by distributing all the money he could get out of the citizens or borrow elsewhere among them. He even pawned his own plate. He then led his men to Leyden and recommenced the siege of that place[1] with such vigour that its inhabitants were soon reduced to the last extremity.

Requesens resolved to convoke the provincial states in order to obtain further subsidies and ask the king for a fleet powerful enough to attain the mastery of the sea. Philip, in truth, did order a fleet to be sent, but an epidemic made such ravages among the sailors that the ships could not sail. As to the states, they assembled at Brussels, May, 1574; but although the governor made them, in the king's name, several important concessions — general and unreserved amnesty, abolition of the new taxes, and suppression of the council of Troubles — yet the public discontent wanted a more extended satisfaction. They demanded the retirement of the foreigners and repression of "the extortions and pillaging" of the soldiers, who treated the king's subjects as "poor slaves and infidels." This was an allusion to the

[1 In the mean while Admiral Boisot had found and defeated a Spanish fleet of twenty-two ships off Antwerp, sinking fourteen of them and taking Vice-Admiral Haemstede prisoner.]

cruelties of the Spaniards in America. Besides this they called for the restoration of ignored and broken privileges, and some agreement with the provinces which had taken up arms. The deputies, taken aside one after another, proved inflexible. They refused to vote the money, and the governor got nothing from them but complaints and remonstrances. Such was the bitterness of the language that Requesens was affrighted at the ferment they raised. "God preserve us," he exclaimed, "from such estates!" For a moment he seemed to despair of the future. Nevertheless, he made a sufficiently favourable response to the demands he had received, and obtained a promise of the subsidy.[d]

THE SIEGE OF LEYDEN

The invasion of Louis of Nassau had, as already stated, effected the raising of the first siege of Leyden. That leaguer had lasted from the 31st of October, 1573, to the 21st of March, 1574. By an extraordinary and culpable carelessness, the citizens, neglecting the advice of the prince, had not taken advantage of the breathing time thus afforded them to victual the city and strengthen the garrison. On the 26th of May, Valdez reappeared before the place, at the head of eight thousand Walloons and Germans.

In the course of a few days Leyden was thoroughly invested, no less than sixty-two redoubts, some of them having remained undestroyed from the previous siege, now girdling the city. On the other hand, there were no troops in the town, save a small corps of "freebooters," and five companies of the burgher guard. The main reliance of the city was on the stout hearts of its inhabitants within the walls, and on the sleepless energy of William the Silent without. The prince implored them to hold out at least three months, assuring them that he would, within that time, devise the means of their deliverance.

It was now thought expedient to publish the amnesty which had been so long in preparation, and this time the trap was more liberally baited. The pardon, which had passed the seals upon the 8th of March, was formally issued by the grand commander on the 6th of June. By the terms of this document the king invited all his erring and repentant subjects to return to his arms, and to accept a full forgiveness for their past offences, upon the sole condition that they should once more throw themselves upon the bosom of the Mother Church.

It was received with universal and absolute contempt. No man came forward to take advantage of its conditions, save one brewer in Utrecht, and the son of a refugee peddler from Leyden. With these exceptions, the only ones recorded, Holland remained deaf to the royal voice although certain Netherlanders belonging to the king's party, and familiarly called "Glippers," despatched from the camp many letters to their rebellious acquaintances in the city. In these epistles the citizens of Leyden were urgently and even pathetically exhorted to submission.

The prince had his headquarters at Delft and at Rotterdam. He still held in his hand the keys with which he could unlock the ocean gates and let the waters in upon the land, and he had long been convinced that nothing could save the city but to break the dikes. Leyden was not upon the sea, but he could send the sea to Leyden, although an army fit to encounter the besieging force under Valdez could not be levied. The damage to the fields, villages, and growing crops would be enormous; but he felt that no other course could rescue Leyden, and with it the whole of Holland, from destruction.

[1574 A.D.]

His clear expositions and impassioned eloquence at last overcame all resistance. By the middle of July the states fully consented to his plan, and its execution was immediately undertaken.

"Better a drowned land than a lost land," cried the patriots, with enthusiasm, as they devoted their fertile fields to desolation. The enterprise for restoring their territory, for a season, to the waves from which it had been so patiently rescued, was conducted with as much regularity as if it had been a profitable undertaking. A capital was formally subscribed, for which a certain number of bonds were issued, payable at a long date. In addition to this preliminary fund, a monthly allowance of forty-five guldens was voted by the states, until the work should be completed, and a large sum was contributed by the ladies of the land, who freely furnished their plate, jewelry, and costly furniture to the furtherance of the scheme.

On the 3rd of August, the prince, accompanied by Paul Buys, chief of the commission appointed to execute the enterprise, went in person, and superintended the rupture of the dikes in sixteen places. The gates at Schiedam and Rotterdam were opened, and the ocean began to pour over the land. While waiting for the waters to rise, provisions were rapidly collected, according to an edict of the prince, in all the principal towns of the neighbourhood. The citizens of Leyden were, however, already becoming impatient, for their bread was gone. They received on the 21st of August a letter, dictated by the prince, who now lay in bed at Rotterdam with a violent fever, assuring them that the dikes were all pierced, and that the water was rising.

In the city itself, a dull distrust succeeded to the first vivid gleam of hope, while the few royalists among the population boldly taunted their fellow citizens to their faces with the absurd vision of relief which they had so fondly welcomed. "Go up to the tower, ye beggars," was the frequent and taunting cry — "go up to the tower, and tell us if ye can see the ocean coming over the dry land to your relief."

The fever of the prince had, meanwhile, reached its height. He lay at Rotterdam, utterly prostrate in body, and with mind agitated nearly to delirium, by the perpetual and almost unassisted schemes which he was constructing. Never was illness more unseasonable. His attendants were in despair, for it was necessary that his mind should for a time be spared the agitation of business. But from his sick bed he continued to dictate words of counsel and encouragement to the city; to Admiral Boisot, commanding the fleet, minute directions and precautions.

By the end of the first week of September, he wrote a long letter to his brother, assuring him of his convalescence and expressing, as usual, a calm confidence in the divine decrees. The preparations for the relief of Leyden, which, notwithstanding his exertions, had grown slack during his sickness, were now vigorously resumed. On the 1st of September, Admiral Boisot arrived out of Zealand with a small number of vessels, and with eight hundred veteran sailors. A wild and ferocious crew were those eight hundred Zealanders. Scarred, hacked, and even maimed, in the unceasing conflicts in which their lives had passed; wearing crescents in their caps, with the inscription, "Rather Turkish than popish"; renowned far and wide, as much for their ferocity as for their nautical skill — the appearance of these wildest of the "sea-beggars" was both eccentric and terrific. They were known never to give nor to take quarter, for they went to mortal combat only, and had sworn to spare neither noble nor simple, neither king, kaiser, nor pope, should they fall into their power.

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More than two hundred vessels had been now assembled, carrying generally ten pieces of cannon, with from ten to eighteen oars, and manned with twenty-five hundred veterans, experienced both on land and water. The work was now undertaken in earnest. The distance from Leyden to the outer dike, over whose ruins the ocean had already been admitted, was nearly fifteen miles. This reclaimed territory, however, was not maintained against the sea by these external barriers alone. The flotilla made its way with ease to the Land-scheiding, a strong dike within five miles of Leyden; but here its progress was arrested. It was necessary to break through a twofold series of defences.

The prince had given orders that the Land-scheiding, which was still one and a half feet above water, should be taken possession of, at every hazard. On the night of the 10th and 11th of September this was accomplished, by surprise, and in a masterly manner. No time was lost in breaking it through in several places, a work which was accomplished under the very eyes of the enemy. The fleet sailed through the gaps; but, after their passage had been effected in good order, the admiral found, to his surprise, that it was not the only rampart to be carried.

The Green-way, another long dike, three-quarters of a mile further inward, now rose at least a foot above the water, to oppose their further progress. Promptly and audaciously Admiral Boisot took possession of this barrier also, levelled it in many places, and brought his flotilla, in triumph, over its ruins. Again, however, he was doomed to disappointment. A large mere, called the Fresh-water Lake, was known to extend itself directly in his path about midway between the Land-scheiding and the city. To this piece of water, into which he had expected to float instantly, his only passage lay through one deep canal. The sea which had thus far borne him on, now diffusing itself over a very wide surface, and under the influence of an adverse wind, had become too shallow for his ships. The canal alone was deep enough, but it led directly towards a bridge, strongly occupied by the enemy. Hostile troops, moreover, to the amount of three thousand, occupied both sides of the canal. The bold Boisot, nevertheless, determined to force his passage, if possible. After losing a few men, and ascertaining the impregnable position of the enemy, he was obliged to withdraw, defeated and almost despairing. A week had elapsed since the great dike had been pierced, and the flotilla now lay motionless in shallow water, having accomplished less than two miles. The wind, too, was easterly, causing the sea rather to sink than to rise. Everything wore a gloomy aspect, when, fortunately, on the 18th, the wind shifted to the northwest, and for three days blew a gale. The waters rose rapidly, and before the second day was closed the armada was afloat again. Some fugitives from Zoetermeer village now arrived, and informed the admiral that, by making a detour to the right, he could completely circumvent the bridge and the mere. They guided him, accordingly, to a comparatively low dike, which led between the villages of Zoetermeer and Benthuyzen. A strong force of Spaniards was stationed in each place, but seized with a panic they fled inwardly towards Leyden, and halted at the village of North Aa.

The fleet was delayed at North Aa by another barrier, called the "Kirkway." The waters, too, spreading once more over a wider space, and diminishing under an east wind, which had again arisen, no longer permitted their progress; so that very soon the whole armada was stranded anew. The waters fell to the depth of nine inches, while the vessels required eighteen and twenty.

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Meantime, the besieged city was at its last gasp. At the dawn of each day every eye was turned wistfully to the vanes of the steeples. So long as the easterly breeze prevailed, they felt, as they anxiously stood on towers and housetops, that they must look in vain for the welcome ocean. Even the misery endured at Haarlem had not reached that depth and intensity of agony to which Leyden was now reduced.

The pestilence stalked at noonday through the city, and the doomed inhabitants fell like grass beneath its scythe. From six thousand to eight thousand human beings sank before this scourge alone, yet the people resolutely held out. Leyden was sublime in its despair. A few murmurs were, however, occasionally heard at the steadfastness of the magistrates, and a dead body was placed at the door of the burgomaster, as a silent witness against his inflexibility. A party of the more faint-hearted even assailed the heroic Pieter Adriaanszoon van der Werff with threats and reproaches as he passed through the streets. He waved his broad-leaved felt hat for silence, and then exclaimed, in language which has been almost literally preserved:

"What would ye, my friends? Why do ye murmur that we do not break our vows and surrender the city to the Spaniards — a fate more horrible than the agony which she now endures? I tell you I have made an oath to hold the city, and may God give me strength to keep my oath! I can die but once; whether by your hands, the enemy's, or by the hand of God; my life is at your disposal: here is my sword, plunge it into my breast, and divide my flesh among you. Take my body to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender, so long as I remain alive."

The words of the stout burgomaster inspired a new courage. From the ramparts they hurled renewed defiance at the enemy. "Ye call us rat-eaters and dog-eaters," they cried, "and it is true. So long, then, as ye hear dog bark or cat mew within the walls, ye may know that the city holds out. And when all has perished but ourselves, be sure that we will each devour our left arms, retaining our right to defend our women, our liberty, and our religion, against the foreign tyrant. When the last hour has come, with our hands we will set fire to the city, and perish, men, women, and children together, in the flames, rather than suffer our homes to be polluted and our liberties to be crushed."

"As well," shouted the Spaniards, derisively, to the citizens, "as well can the prince of Orange pluck the stars from the sky as bring the ocean to the walls of Leyden."

A violent equinoctial gale, on the night of the 1st and 2nd of October, came storming from the northwest, shifting after a few hours full eight points, and then blowing still more violently from the southwest. The waters of the North Sea were piled in vast masses upon the southern coast of Holland, and then dashed furiously landward, the ocean rising over the earth, and sweeping with unrestrained power across the ruined dikes. The Kirk-way, which had been broken through according to the prince's instructions, was now completely overflowed, and the fleet sailed at midnight, in the midst of the storm and darkness. There was a fierce naval midnight battle — a strange spectacle among the branches of those quiet orchards, and with the chimney stacks of half-submerged farm-houses rising around the contending vessels. The enemy's vessels were soon sunk, their crews hurled into the waves.

As they approached some shallows, which led into the great mere, the Zealanders dashed into the sea, and with sheer strength shouldered every vessel through. The panic, which had hitherto driven their foes before the

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advancing patriots, had reached Zoeterwoude. The Spaniards, in the early morning, poured out from the fortress, and fled precipitately. Their narrow path was rapidly vanishing in the waves, and hundreds sank beneath the constantly-deepening and treacherous flood. The wild Zealanders, too, sprang from their vessels upon the crumbling dike and drove their retreating foes into the sea. They hurled their harpoons at them, with an accuracy acquired in many a polar chase; they plunged into the waves in the keen pursuit, attacking them with boat-hook and dagger.

A few strokes of the oars brought the whole fleet close to Lammen. This last obstacle rose formidable and frowning directly across their path. Swarming as it was with soldiers, and bristling with artillery, it seemed to defy the armada either to carry it by storm or to pass under its guns into the city. Boisot anchored his fleet within a respectful distance, and spent what remained of the day in carefully reconnoitring.

Night descended upon the scene, a pitch dark night, full of anxiety to the Spaniards, to the armada, to Leyden. Strange sights and sounds occurred at different moments to bewilder the anxious sentinels. A long procession of lights issuing from the fort was seen to flit across the black face of the waters, in the dead of night, and the whole of the city wall, between the Cow-gate and the tower of Burgundy, fell with a loud crash.[1] The horror-struck citizens thought that the Spaniards were upon them at last; the Spaniards imagined the noise to indicate a desperate sortie of the citizens. Everything was vague and mysterious. Day dawned, at length, after the feverish night, and the admiral prepared for the assault. Suddenly a man was descried, wading breast-high through the water from Lammen towards the fleet; while, at the same time, one solitary boy was seen to wave his cap from the summit of the fort. After a moment of doubt, the happy mystery was solved. The Spaniards had fled, panic-struck, during the darkness. All obstacles being now removed, the fleet of Boisot swept by Lammen, and entered the city on the morning of the 3rd of October. Leyden was relieved.

The quays were lined with the famishing population, as the fleet rowed through the canals, every human being who could stand coming forth to greet the preservers of the city. Bread was thrown from every vessel among the crowd. The poor creatures who for two months had tasted no wholesome human food, and who had literally been living within the jaws of death, snatched eagerly the blessed gift, at last too liberally bestowed. Many choked themselves to death, in the greediness with which they devoured their bread. Magistrates and citizens, wild Zealanders, emaciated burgher guards, sailors, soldiers, women, children — nearly every living person within the walls all repaired without delay to the great church, stout Admiral Boisot leading the way. After prayers, the whole vast congregation joined in the thanksgiving hymn. Thousands of voices raised the song, but few were able to carry it to its conclusion, for the universal emotion, deepened by the music, became too full for utterance. The hymn was abruptly suspended, while the multitude wept like children.

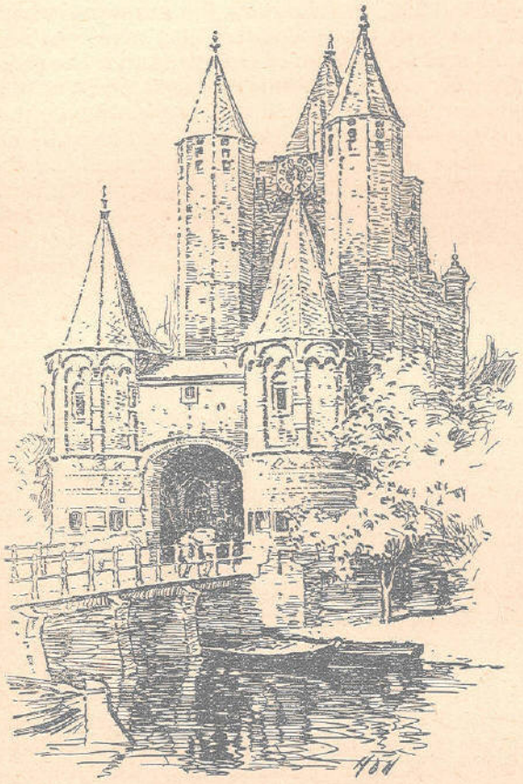
On the 4th of October, the day following that on which the relief of the city was effected, the wind shifted to the northeast, and again blew a tempest. It was as if the waters, having now done their work, had been rolled back to the ocean by an omnipotent hand; for in the course of a few days the land was bare again, and the work of reconstructing the dikes commenced.

After a brief interval of repose, Leyden had regained its former position.

[1 According to Hofdyk the fallen portion was only sixteen feet wide.]

The prince, with advice of the states, had granted the city, as a reward for its sufferings, a ten days' annual fair, without tolls or taxes; and, as a further manifestation of the gratitude entertained by the people of Holland and Zealand for the heroism of the citizens, it was resolved that an academy or university should be forthwith established within their walls. The University of Leyden, afterwards so illustrious, was thus founded in the very darkest period of the country's struggle.

The document by which the institution was founded was certainly a masterpiece of ponderous irony, for as the fiction of the king's sovereignty was still maintained, Philip was gravely made to establish the university, as a reward to Leyden for rebellion to himself.



OLD AMSTERDAM GATE, HAARLEM

THE STADHOLDER'S POWERS ENLARGED

Changes fast becoming necessary in the internal government of the provinces were undertaken during 1574. Hitherto the prince had exercised his power under the convenient fiction of the monarch's authority, systematically conducting the rebellion in the name of his majesty, and as his majesty's stadholder. By this process an immense power was lodged in his hands; nothing less, indeed, than the supreme executive and legislative functions of the land.

The two provinces, even while deprived of Haarlem and Amsterdam, now raised 210,000 florins monthly, whereas Alva had never been able to extract from Holland more than 271,000 florins yearly. In consequence of this liberality, the cities insensibly acquired a greater influence in the government. Moreover, while growing more ambitious, they became less liberal.

The prince, dissatisfied with the conduct of the cities, brought the whole subject before an assembly of the states of Holland, on the 20th of October, 1574. He stated the inconveniences produced by the anomalous condition of the government. He complained that the common people had often fallen into the error that the money raised for public purposes had been levied for his benefit only, and that they had, therefore, been less willing to contribute to the taxes. As the only remedy for these evils, he tendered his

resignation of all the powers with which he was clothed, so that the estates might then take the government, which they could exercise without conflict or control. For himself, he had never desired power, except as a means of being useful to his country, and he did not offer his resignation from unwillingness to stand by the cause, but from a hearty desire to save it from disputes among its friends. He was ready now, as ever, to shed the last drop of his blood to maintain the freedom of the land.

This straightforward language produced an instantaneous effect. They were embarrassed, for they did not like to relinquish the authority which they had begun to relish, nor to accept the resignation of a man who was indispensable. They felt that to give up William of Orange at that time was to accept the Spanish yoke forever. At an assembly held at Delft on the 12th of November, 1574, they accordingly requested him "to continue in his blessed government, with the council established near him," and for this end they formally offered to him, "under the name of governor or regent," absolute power, authority, and sovereign command. But they made it a condition that the states should be convened and consulted upon requests, impositions, and upon all changes in the governing body. It was also stipulated that the judges of the supreme court and of the exchequer, with other high officers, should be appointed by and with the consent of the states.

The prince expressed himself as willing to accept the government upon these terms. He, however, demanded an allowance of 45,000 florins monthly for the army expenses and other current outlays. Here, however, the states refused their consent. In a mercantile spirit, unworthy the occasion and the man with whom they were dealing, they endeavoured to chaffer where they should have been only too willing to comply, and they attempted to reduce the reasonable demand of the prince to 30,000 florins. The prince denounced the niggardliness of the states in the strongest language, and declared that he would rather leave the country forever, with the maintenance of his own honour, than accept the government upon such disgraceful terms. The states, disturbed by his vehemence, and struck with its justice, instantly, and without further deliberation, consented to his demand. They granted the forty-five thousand florins monthly, and the prince assumed the government, thus remodelled.

During the autumn and early winter of the year 1574, the emperor Maximilian had been actively exerting himself to bring about a pacification of the Netherlands. Ten commissioners, who were appointed by the states for peace negotiations, were all friends of the prince. Among them were Sainte-Aldegonde, Paul Buys, Charles Boisot, and Doctor Junius. The plenipotentiaries of the Spanish government were Leoninus, the seigneur de Rassinghem, Cornelius Suis, and Arnold Sasbout.

The proceedings were opened at Breda upon the 3rd of March, 1575. They ended July 13th, with nothing accomplished. The internal government of the insurgent provinces had remained upon the footing which we have seen established in the autumn of 1574, but in the course of this summer (1575), however, the foundation was laid for the union of Holland and Zealand, under the authority of Orange. The selfish principle of municipal aristocracy, which had tended to keep asunder these various groups of cities, was now repressed by the energy of the prince and the strong determination of the people.

On the 4th of June this first union was solemnised. Upon the 11th of July, the prince formally accepted the government. Early in this year the prince had despatched Sainte-Aldegonde on a private mission to the elector

palatine. During some of his visits to that potentate he had seen at Heidelberg the princess Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Montpensier, the most ardent of the Catholic princes of France. A woman of beauty, intelligence, and virtue, forced before the canonical age to take the religious vows, she had been placed in the convent of Jouarre, of which she had become abbess. Always secretly inclined to the Reformed religion, she had fled secretly from her cloister, in the year of horrors 1572, and had found refuge at the court of the elector palatine, after which step her father refused to receive her letters, to contribute a farthing to her support, or even to acknowledge her claims upon him by a single line or message of affection.

Under these circumstances the outcast princess, who had arrived at years of maturity, might be considered her own mistress, and she was neither morally nor legally bound, when her hand was sought in marriage by the great champion of the Reformation, to ask the consent of a parent who loathed her religion, and denied her existence. The legality of the divorce from Anna of Saxony had been settled by a full expression of the ecclesiastical authority which she most respected; the facts upon which the divorce had been founded having been proved beyond peradventure.

So far, therefore, as the character of Mademoiselle Bourbon and the legitimacy of her future offspring were concerned, she received ample guarantees. For the rest, the prince, in a simple letter, informed her that he was already past his prime, having reached his forty-second year, and that his fortune was encumbered not only with settlements for his children by previous marriages, but by debts contracted in the cause of his oppressed country. A convention of doctors and bishops of France, summoned by the duke of Montpensier, afterwards confirmed the opinion that the conventional vows of the princess Charlotte had been conformable neither to the laws of France nor to the canons of the Trent Council. She was conducted to Briel by Sainte-Aldegonde, where she was received by her bridegroom, to whom she was united on the 12th of June. The wedding festival was held at Dort with much revelry and holiday-making, "but without dancing."

In this connection, no doubt the prince consulted his inclination only. It was equally natural that he should make many enemies by so impolitic a match.

While these important affairs, public and private, had been occurring in the south of Holland and in Germany, a very nefarious transaction had disgraced the cause of the patriot party in the northern quarter. Diedrich Sonoy, governor of that portion of Holland, a man of great bravery, but of extreme ferocity of character, had discovered an extensive conspiracy among certain of the inhabitants, in aid of an approaching Spanish invasion. The governor, determined to show that the duke of Alva could not be more prompt nor more terrible than himself, improvised, of his own authority, a tribunal in imitation of the infamous Blood Council. Fortunately for the character of the country, Sonoy was not a Hollander, nor was the jurisdiction of this newly established court allowed to extend beyond very narrow limits. Eight vagabonds were, however, arrested and doomed to tortures the most horrible, in order to extort from them confessions implicating persons of higher position in the land than themselves. The individuals who had been thus designated were arrested. Charged with plotting a general conflagration of the villages and farm-houses, in conjunction with an invasion by Hierges and other Papist generals, they indignantly protested their innocence; but two of them, a certain Kopp Corneliszoon, and his son, Nanning Koppezoon, were selected to undergo the most cruel torture which had yet been practised in the Netherlands.

It was shown that Reformers were capable of giving a lesson even to inquisitors in this diabolical science. The affair now reached the ears of Orange. His peremptory orders, with the universal excitement produced in the neighbourhood, at last checked the course of the outrage. It is no impeachment upon the character of the prince that these horrible crimes were not prevented. It was impossible for him to be omnipresent. Neither is it just to consider the tortures and death thus inflicted upon innocent men an indelible stain upon the cause of liberty. They were the crimes of an individual who had been useful, but who, like the count de la Marck, had now contaminated his hand with the blood of the guiltless. The new tribunal never took root, and was abolished as soon as its initiatory horrors were known.

A SPANISH EXPLOIT

The grand commander had not yet given up the hope of naval assistance from Spain, notwithstanding the abrupt termination to the last expedition which had been organised. It was, however, necessary that a foot-hold should be recovered upon the seaboard, before a descent from without could be met with proper co-operation from the land forces within, and he was most anxious, therefore, to effect the reconquest of some portion of Zealand. Traitors from Zealand itself now came forward to teach the Spanish commander how to strike at the heart of their own country. These refugees explained to Requesens that a narrow flat extended under the sea from Philipsland, as far as the shore of Duiveland. A force sent through these dangerous shallows might take possession of Duiveland and lay siege to Zieriksee in the very teeth of the Zealand fleet, which would be unable to sail near enough to intercept their passage.

Requesens assembled three thousand infantry, partly Spaniards, partly Germans, partly Walloons, besides a picked corps of two hundred sappers and miners. One half was to remain in boats, under the command of Mondragon; the other half, accompanied by two hundred pioneers, to wade through the sea from Philipsland to Duiveland and Schouwen. Each soldier of this detachment was provided with a pair of shoes, two pounds of powder, and rations for three days, in a canvas bag suspended at his neck. The leader of this expedition was Don Osorio de Ulloa. It was a wild night, the 27th of September. Incessant lightning alternately revealed and obscured the progress of the midnight march through the black waters.

As they advanced cautiously, two by two, the daring adventurers found themselves soon nearly up to their necks in the waves, while so narrow was the submerged bank along which they were marching, that a mis-step to the right or left was fatal. Luckless individuals repeatedly sank to rise no more. Meantime, as the sickly light of the waning moon came forth at intervals through the stormy clouds, the soldiers could plainly perceive the files of Zealand vessels through which they were to march, and which were anchored as close to the flat as the water would allow.

Standing breast-high in the waves, and surrounded at intervals by total darkness, they were yet able to pour an occasional well-directed volley into the hostile ranks. The Zealanders, however, did not assail them with firearms alone. They transfixed some with their fatal harpoons; they dragged others from the path with boat-hooks; they beat out the brains of others with heavy flails.

The night wore on, and the adventurers still fought it out manfully, but very slowly, the main body of Spaniards, Germans, and Walloons, soon after

daylight, reaching the opposite shore, having sustained considerable losses, but in perfect order. The pioneers were not so fortunate. The tide rose over them before they could effect their passage, and swept nearly every one away. The rear-guard were fortunately enabled to retrace their steps.

Don Osorio, at the head of the successful adventurers, now effected his landing upon Duiveland. Reposing themselves but for an instant after this unparalleled march through the water, of more than six hours, they took a slight refreshment, prayed to the Virgin Mary and to St. James, and then prepared to meet their new enemies on land. Ten companies of French, Scotch, and English auxiliaries lay in Duiveland, under the command of Charles van Boisot. Strange to relate, by an inexplicable accident, or by treason, that general was slain by his own soldiers, at the moment when the royal troops landed. The panic created by this event became intense, as the enemy rose suddenly, as it were, out of the depths of the ocean to attack them. They magnified the numbers of their assailants, and fled terror-stricken in every direction. The city of Zieriksee was soon afterwards beleaguered.

The siege was protracted till the following June, the city holding out with firmness. Want of funds caused the operations to be conducted with languor, but the same cause prevented the prince from accomplishing its relief. Thus the expedition from Philipsland, the most brilliant military exploit of the whole war, was attended with important results. The communication between Walcheren and the rest of Zealand was interrupted, the province cut in two, a foot-hold on the ocean, for a brief interval at least, acquired by Spain. The prince was inexpressibly chagrined by these circumstances, and felt that the moment had arrived when all honourable means were to be employed to obtain foreign assistance.

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED (1575)

Hitherto the fiction of allegiance had been preserved, and, even by the enemies of the prince, it was admitted that it had been retained with no disloyal intent. The time, however, had come when it was necessary to throw off allegiance, provided another could be found strong enough and frank enough to accept the authority which Philip had forfeited. The question was, naturally, between France and England, unless the provinces could effect their re-admission into the body of the German Empire.

The states were summoned by the prince, to deliberate on this important matter, at Rotterdam. On the 1st of October he formally proposed either to make terms with their enemy (and that the sooner the better), or else, once for all, to separate entirely from the king of Spain, and to change their sovereign. After an adjournment of a few days, the diet again assembled at Delft, and it was then unanimously resolved by the nobles and the cities, that they would forsake the king and seek foreign assistance; referring the choice to the prince, who, in regard to the government, was to take the opinion of the states.

Thus the great step was taken, by which two little provinces declared themselves independent of their ancient master. That declaration, although taken in the midst of doubt and darkness, was not destined to be cancelled, and the germ of a new and powerful commonwealth was planted. So little, however, did these republican fathers foresee their coming republic, that the resolution to renounce one king was combined with a proposition to ask for the authority of another. It was not imagined that those two slender

columns, which were all that had yet been raised of the future stately peristyle, would be strong enough to stand alone.

Germany, England, France, however, all refused to stretch out their hands to save the heroic but exhaustless little provinces. It was at this moment that a desperate but sublime resolution took possession of the prince's mind. There seemed but one way left to exclude the Spaniards forever from Holland and Zealand, and to rescue the inhabitants from impending ruin. The prince had long brooded over the scheme, and the hour seemed to have struck for its fulfilment. His project was to collect all the vessels, of every description, which could be obtained throughout the Netherlands. The whole population of the two provinces, men, women, and children, together with all the movable property of the country, were then to be embarked on board this numerous fleet, and to seek a new home beyond the seas. The windmills were then to be burned, the dikes pierced, the sluices opened in every direction, and the country restored forever to the ocean, from which it had sprung.[1]

It is difficult to say whether the resolution, if providence had permitted its fulfilment, would have been, on the whole, better or worse for humanity and civilisation. The ships which would have borne the prince and his fortunes might have taken the direction of the newly discovered western hemisphere. A religious colony, planted by a commercial and liberty-loving race, in a virgin soil, and directed by patrician but self-denying hands, might have preceded, by half a century, the colony which a kindred race, impelled by similar motives, and under somewhat similar circumstances and conditions, was destined to plant upon the stern shores of New England. Had they directed their course to the warm and fragrant islands of the East, an independent Christian commonwealth might have arisen among those prolific regions, superior in importance to any subsequent colony of Holland, cramped from its birth by absolute subjection to a far-distant metropolis.

DEATH OF REQUESENS (1576)

The unexpected death of Requesens suddenly dispelled these schemes. A violent fever seized him on the 1st, and terminated his existence on the 5th of March, in the fifty-first year of his life.

Requesens was a man of high position by birth and office, but a thoroughly commonplace personage. His talents either for war or for civil employments were not above mediocrity. His sudden death arrested, for a moment, the ebb-tide in the affairs of the Netherlands, which was fast leaving the country bare and desolate, and was followed by a train of unforeseen transactions.

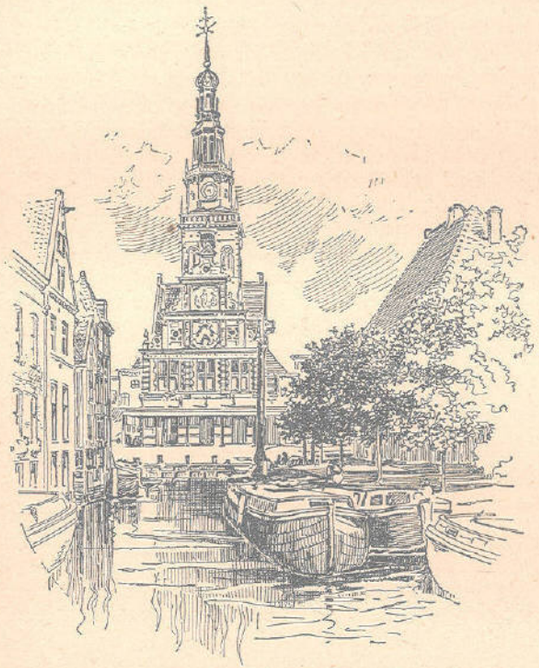
THE RISE OF FLANDERS AND BRABANT

The suddenness of Requesens' illness had not allowed time for even the nomination of a successor, to which he was authorised by letters patent from

[1] Bor[f] relates that this plan had been definitely formed by the prince. His authority is "a credible gentleman of quality" (*een geloofswaerdig edelmann van qualiteit*) who, at the time, was a member of the estates and government of Holland. Groen van Prinsterer,[g] however, rejects the tale as fabulous; or believes, at any rate, that the personage alluded to by Bor took the prince's words too literally. It is probable that the thought was often in the prince's mind, and found occasional expression, although it had never been actually reduced to a scheme. It is difficult to see that it was not consistent with his character, supposing that there had been no longer any room for hope. Hooft[h] adopts the story without hesitation. Wagenaar[i] alludes to it as a matter of current report.

the king. The government now devolved entirely into the hands of the council of state, which was at that period composed of nine members. The principal of these was Philip de Croy duke of Aerschot: the other leading members were Viglius, counts Mansfeld and Barlaymont; and the council was degraded by numbering, among the rest, Debris and De Roda, two of the notorious Spaniards who had formed part of the council of Blood.

The king resolved to leave the authority in the hands of this incongruous mixture, until the arrival of Don John of Austria, his natural brother, whom he had already named to the office of governor-general. But in the interval the government assumed an aspect of unprecedented disorder, and widespread anarchy embraced the whole country. The royal troops openly revolted, and fought against each other like deadly enemies. The nobles, divided in their views, arrogated to themselves in different places the titles and powers of command.



MARKET-PLACE AND BELL-TOWER AT ALKMAAR

The siege of Zieriksee was continued; but speedy dissensions among the members of the government rendered their authority contemptible, if not utterly extinct, in the eyes of the people. The exhaustion of the treasury deprived them of all power to put an end to the mutinous excesses of the Spanish troops, and the latter carried their licentiousness to the utmost bounds. Zieriksee, admitted to a surrender,[1] and saved from pillage by the payment of a large sum, was lost to the royalists within three months, from the want of discipline in its garrison; and the towns and burghs of Brabant suffered as much from the excesses of their nominal protectors as could have been inflicted by the enemy. The mutineers at length, to the number of some thousands, attacked and carried by force the town of Alost[2] [or Aalst]; imprisoned the chief citizens; and levied contributions on all the country round. It was then that the council of state found itself forced to proclaim them rebels, traitors, and enemies to the king and the country, and called on all loyal subjects to pursue and exterminate them wherever they were found in arms.

This proscription of the Spanish mutineers was followed by the convocation of the states-general; and the government thus hoped to maintain some show of union, and some chance of authority. But a new scene of intestine violence completed the picture of executive inefficiency. On the 4th of September, the grand bailiff of Brabant, as lieutenant of the baron de Hesse [or Hèze], governor of Brussels, entered the council chamber by force, and arrested all the members present, on suspicion of treacherously maintaining intelligence with the Spaniards. Counts Mansfeld and Barlaymont were imprisoned, with some others. Viglius escaped this indignity by being absent from indisposition. This bold measure was hailed by the people with unusual joy, as the signal for that total change in the government which they reckoned on as the prelude to complete freedom.

[1 The brave admiral Louis Boisot was killed while attempting to relieve the town, which surrendered June 21st, 1576.]

[2 According to Bloκ the soldiers congregated at Alost in such numbers as to leave Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, and Utrecht almost free of foreign soldiery.]

The states-general were all at this time assembled, with the exception of those of Flanders, who joined the others with but little delay. The general reprobation against the Spaniards procured a second decree of proscription; and their desperate conduct justified the utmost violence with which they might be pursued. They still held the citadels of Ghent and Antwerp, as well as Maestricht, which they had seized on, sacked, and pillaged with all the fury which a barbarous enemy inflicts on a town carried by assault.[1] On the 3rd of November, the other body of mutineers, in possession of Alost, marched to the support of their fellow brigands in the citadel of Antwerp; and both, simultaneously attacking this magnificent city, became masters of it in all points, in spite of a vigorous resistance on the part of the citizens. They then began a scene of rapine and destruction unequalled in the annals of these desperate wars, and the most opulent town in Europe was thus reduced to ruin and desolation by a few thousand frantic ruffians.[2]

THE SPANISH FURY AT ANTWERP

Five thousand veteran foot soldiers, besides six hundred cavalry, armed to the teeth, sallied from the portals of Alva's citadel. In the counterscarp they fell upon their knees, to invoke, according to custom, the blessing of God upon the devil's work which they were about to commit. The eletto bore a standard, one side of which was emblazoned with the crucified Saviour, and the other with the Virgin Mary.

The eletto was first to mount the rampart; the next instant he was shot dead, while his followers, undismayed, sprang over his body, and poured into the streets. So soon as it was known that the Spaniards had crossed the rampart, that its six thousand defenders were in full retreat, it was inevitable that a panic should seize the city.

Their entrance once effected, the Spanish force had separated, according to previous arrangement, into two divisions, one half charging up the long street of St. Michael, the other forcing its way through the street of St. Joris. "*Santiago, Santiago! España, España! á sangre, á carne, á fuego, á sacco!*" (St. James, Spain, blood, flesh, fire, sack!) — such were the hideous cries which rang through every quarter of the city, as the savage horde advanced.

[1 Even Spanish bravery recoiled at so desperate an undertaking, but unscrupulous ferocity supplied an expedient where courage was at fault. Each soldier was commanded to seize a woman, and placing her before his own body, to advance across the bridge. The column, thus bucklered, to the shame of Spanish chivalry, by female bosoms, moved in good order toward the battery. The soldiers levelled their muskets with steady aim over the shoulders or under the arms of the women whom they thus held before them. On the other hand, the citizens dared not discharge their cannon at their own townswomen, among whose numbers many recognised mothers, sisters, or wives. Maestricht was recovered, and an indiscriminate slaughter instantly avenged its temporary loss.δ]

Van Ende, with his German troops, had been stationed by the marquis of Havré to defend the St. Joris gate, but no sooner did the Spaniards under Vargas present themselves than he deserted to them instantly with his whole force. United with the Spanish cavalry, these traitorous defenders of Antwerp dashed in pursuit of those who had been only faint-hearted. Thus the burghers saw themselves attacked by many of their friends, deserted by more. Whom were they to trust? Nevertheless, Oberstein's Germans were brave and faithful, resisting to the last, and dying every man in his harness. The tide of battle flowed hither and thither, through every street and narrow lane. The confused mob of fugitives and conquerors, Spaniards, Walloons, Germans, burghers, struggling, shouting, striking, cursing, dying, swayed hither and thither like a stormy sea. Every house became a fortress. It was difficult to carry the houses by storm, but they were soon set on fire.

In a brief interval, the city hall and other edifices on the square were in flames. The conflagration spread with rapidity — house after house, street after street, taking fire. Nearly a thousand buildings, in the most splendid and wealthy quarter of the city, were soon in a blaze, and multitudes of human beings were burned with them. The many tortuous streets which led down a slight descent from the rear of the town-house to the quays were all one vast conflagration. On the other side, the magnificent cathedral, separated from the Grande place by a single row of buildings, was lighted up, but not attacked by the flames. The tall spire cast its gigantic shadow across the last desperate conflict. Women, children, old men were killed in countless numbers, and still, through all this havoc, directly over the heads of the struggling throng, suspended in mid-air above the din and smoke of the conflict, there sounded, every half quarter of every hour, as if in gentle mockery, from the belfry of the cathedral, the tender and melodious chimes.

Never was there a more monstrous massacre, even in the blood-stained history of the Netherlands. It was estimated that, in the course of this and the two following days, not less than eight thousand human beings were murdered.[1] The Spaniards seemed to cast off even the vizard of humanity. Hell seemed emptied of its fiends. Night fell upon the scene before the soldiers were masters of the city; but worse horrors began after the contest was ended. This army of brigands had come thither with a definite, practical purpose, for it was not blood-thirst, nor lust, nor revenge which had impelled them, but it was greediness for gold. The fire, spreading more extensively and more rapidly than had been desired through the wealthiest quarter of the city, had unfortunately devoured a vast amount of property. Six millions, at least, had thus been swallowed; a destruction by which no one had profited. There was, however, much left. The strong boxes of the merchants. the gold, silver, and precious jewelry, the velvets, satins, brocades, laces, and

[1] This is the estimate of Mendoza[j]; *viz.*, two thousand five hundred slain with the sword, and double that number burned and drowned. Cabrera[k] puts the figures at seven thousand and upwards. Bor[f] and Hooft[h] give the same number of dead bodies actually found in the streets, *viz.*, two thousand five hundred; and, estimating the drowned at as many more, leave the number of the burned to conjecture. Meteren,[l] who on all occasions seeks to diminish the number of his countrymen slain in battle or massacre, while he magnifies the loss of his opponents, admits that from four to five thousand were slain; adding, however, that but fifteen hundred bodies were found, which were all buried together in two great pits. He thus deducts exactly one thousand from the number of counted corpses, as given by every other authority, Spanish or Flemish. Strada[m] gives three thousand as the number of those slain with the sword. The letter of Jerome de Roda to the king, written from the citadel of Antwerp upon the 6th of November, when the carnage was hardly over, estimates the number of the slain at eight thousand, and one thousand horses. This authority, coming from the very hour and spot, and from a man so deeply implicated, may be considered conclusive. — [Blok[n] puts the number of slain at between six and seven thousand.]

similar well-concentrated and portable plunder, were rapidly appropriated. So far the course was plain and easy, but in private houses it was more difficult. The cash, plate, and other valuables of individuals were not so easily discovered. Torture was, therefore, at once employed to discover the hidden treasures.

Two days longer the havoc lasted in the city. Of all the deeds of darkness yet compassed in the Netherlands, this was the worst. It was called the Spanish Fury, by which dread name it has been known for ages. The city which had been a world of wealth and splendour was changed to a charnel-house, and from that hour its commercial prosperity was blasted.

Rarely has so small a band obtained in three days' robbery so large an amount of wealth. Four or five millions divided among five thousand soldiers made up for long arrearages.

In this Spanish Fury many more were massacred in Antwerp than in the St. Bartholomew at Paris. Almost as many living human beings were dashed out of existence now as there had been statues destroyed in the memorable image-breaking of Antwerp, ten years before — an event which had sent such a thrill of horror through the heart of Catholic Christendom.

Marvellously few Spaniards were slain in these eventful days. Two hundred killed is the largest number stated. The discrepancy seems monstrous, but it is hardly more than often existed between the losses inflicted and sustained by the Spaniards in such combats. Their prowess was equal to their ferocity, and this was enough to make them seem endowed with preterhuman powers.

Bor's[f] estimate is two hundred Spaniards killed and four hundred wounded. Hooft's[h] gives the same. Mendoza's[j] allows only fourteen Spaniards to have been killed, and rather more than twenty wounded. Meteren's[l] as usual, considering the honour of his countrymen at stake, finds a grim consolation in adding a few to the number of the enemies slain, and gives a total of three hundred Spaniards killed. Strada's[m] gives the two extremes; so that it is almost certain that the number was not less than fourteen nor more than two hundred. These statistics are certainly curious, for it would seem almost impossible that a force numbering between thirty-five hundred and five thousand men (there is this amount of discrepancy in the different estimates) should capture and plunder, with so little loss to themselves, a city of two hundred thousand souls, defended by an army of at least twelve thousand besides a large proportion of burghers bearing weapons. No wonder that the chivalrous Brantôme[o] was in an ecstasy of delight at the achievement, and that the Netherlanders, seeing the prowess and the cruelty of their foes, should come to doubt whether they were men or devils.

This disproportion between the number of Spaniards and states' soldiers slain was the same in all the great encounters, particularly in those of the period which now occupies us. In the six months between the end of August, 1576, and the signing of the Perpetual Edict on the 17th of February, 1577, the Spaniards killed twenty thousand, by the admission of the Netherlanders themselves, and acknowledged less than six slain on their own side! So much for the blood expended annually or monthly by the Netherlanders in defence of liberty and religion. As for the money consumed, the usual estimate of the expense of the states' army was from 800,000 to 1,000,000 guldens monthly, according to Meteren.[l] The same historian calculates the expense of Philip's army at 42,000,000 crowns for the nine years, from 1567 to 1576, which would give nearly 400,000 dollars monthly, half of which, he says, came from Spain. The Netherlanders, therefore, furnished the other half, so that

200,000 dollars, equal to 500,000 guldens, monthly were to be added to the million required for their own war department. Here then was a tax of one and a half millions monthly, or eighteen millions yearly, simply for the keeping of the two armies on foot to destroy the Netherlanders and consume their substance. The frightful loss by confiscations, plunderings, brandschettings, and the sackings of cities and villages innumerable, was all in addition, of course, but that enormous amount defies calculation. The regular expense in money which they were to meet, if they could, for the mere pay and provision of the armies, was as above, and equal to at least sixty millions yearly to-day, making allowance for the difference in the value of money. This was certainly sufficient for a population of three millions. Their frequent promise to maintain their liberty with their "goods and their blood" was no idle boast — three thousand men and one and a half million florins being consumed monthly.

THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT (1576)

Meantime the prince of Orange sat at Middelburg, watching the storm. The position of Holland and Zealand with regard to the other fifteen provinces was distinctly characterised. Upon certain points there was an absolute sympathy, while upon others there was a grave and almost fatal difference. It was the task of the prince to deepen the sympathy, to extinguish the difference. In Holland and Zealand there was a warm and nearly universal adhesion to the reformed religion, a passionate attachment to the ancient political liberties. The prince, although an earnest Calvinist himself, did all in his power to check the growing spirit of intolerance towards the old religion, omitted no opportunity of strengthening the attachment which the people justly felt for their liberal institutions.

On the other hand, in most of the other provinces, the Catholic religion had been regaining its ascendency. Even in 1574, the states assembled at Brussels declared to Requesens that they would rather die the death than see any change in their religion. That feeling had rather increased than diminished.

As to political convictions, the fifteen provinces differed much less from their two sisters. There was a strong attachment to their old constitutions, a general inclination to make use of the present crisis to effect their restoration. At the same time, it had not come to be the general conviction, as in Holland and Zealand, that the maintenance of those liberties was incompatible with the continuance of Philip's authority. The great bond of sympathy, however, between all the seventeen was their common hatred to the foreign soldiery. Upon this deeply embedded, immovable fulcrum of an ancient national hatred, the sudden mutiny of the whole Spanish army served as a lever of incalculable power. The prince seized it as from the hand of God. Thus armed, he proposed to himself the task of upturning the mass of oppression under which the old liberties of the country had so long been crushed. To effect this object, adroitness was as requisite as courage.

The prince, therefore, in all his addresses and documents, was careful to disclaim any intention of disturbing the established religion, or of making any rash political changes.

Having sought to impress upon his countrymen the gravity of the position, he led them to seek the remedy in audacity and in union. He familiarised them with his theory that the legal, historical government of the provinces belonged to the states-general, to a congress of nobles, clergy, and commons,

appointed from each of the seventeen provinces. He maintained, with reason, that the government of the Netherlands was a representative constitutional government, under the hereditary authority of the king. Letters were addressed to the states of nearly every province. Those bodies were urgently implored to appoint deputies to a general congress, at which a close and formal union between Holland and Zealand with the other provinces might be effected. The place appointed for the deliberations was the city of Ghent. Here, by the middle of October, a large number of delegates had already assembled although the citadel commanding the city was held by the Spaniards.

The massacre at Antwerp and the eloquence of the prince produced a most quickening effect upon the congress at Ghent. Their deliberations had proceeded with decorum and earnestness, in the midst of the cannonading against the citadel, and the fortress fell on the same day which saw the conclusion of the treaty.

This important instrument, by which the sacrifices and exertions of the prince were, for a brief season at least, rewarded, contained twenty-five articles. The prince of Orange, with the states of Holland and Zealand on the one side, and the provinces signing, or thereafter to sign the treaty, on the other, agreed that there should be a mutual forgiving and forgetting, as regarded the past. They vowed a close and faithful friendship for the future. They plighted a mutual promise to expel the Spaniards from the Netherlands without delay. As soon as this great deed should be done, there was to be a convocation of the states-general, on the basis of that assembly before which the abdication of the emperor had taken place.

By this congress, the affairs of religion in Holland and Zealand should be regulated, as well as the surrender of fortresses and other places belonging to his majesty. There was to be full liberty of communication and traffic between the citizens of the one side and the other. It should not be legal, however, for those of Holland and Zealand to attempt anything outside their own territory against the Roman Catholic religion, nor for cause thereof to injure or irritate any one, by deed or word. All the placards and edicts on the subject of heresy, together with the criminal ordinances made by the duke of Alva, were suspended, until the states-general should otherwise ordain. The prince was to remain lieutenant, admiral, and general for his majesty in Holland, Zealand, and the associated places, till otherwise provided by the states-general, after the departure of the Spaniards. The cities and places included in the prince's commission, but not yet acknowledging his authority, should receive satisfaction from him, as to the point of religion and other matters, before subscribing to the union. All prisoners, and particularly the count of Bossu, should be released without ransom. All estates and other property not already alienated should be restored, all confiscations since 1566 being declared null and void. The countess palatine, widow of Brederode, and count of Buren, son of the prince of Orange, were expressly named in this provision. Prelates and ecclesiastical persons, having property in Holland and Zealand, should be reinstated, if possible; but in case of alienation, which was likely to be generally the case, there should be reasonable compensation. It was to be decided by the states-general whether the provinces should discharge the debts incurred by the prince of Orange in his two campaigns. Provinces and cities should not have the benefit of this union until they had signed the treaty, but they should be permitted to sign it when they chose.

This memorable document was subscribed at Ghent on the 8th of Novem-

ber, by Sainte-Aldegonde, with eight other commissioners appointed by the prince of Orange and the estates of Holland on the one side, and by Elbertus Leoninus and other deputies appointed by Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, Lille, Douai, Orchies, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht, and Mechlin on the other side.

The arrangement was a masterpiece of diplomacy on the part of the prince, for it was as effectual a provision for the safety of the reformed religion as could be expected under the circumstances. It was much, considering the change which had been wrought of late years in the fifteen provinces, that they should consent to any treaty with their two heretic sisters. It was much more that the Pacification should recognise the new religion as the established creed of Holland and Zealand, while at the same time the infamous edicts of Charles were formally abolished. In the fifteen Catholic provinces, there was to be no prohibition of private reformed worship. The whole strength of the nation enlisted to expel the foreign soldiery from the soil. This was the work of William the Silent, and the prince thus saw the labour of years crowned with at least a momentary success.

His satisfaction was very great when it was announced to him, many days before the exchange of the signatures, that the treaty had been concluded. He was desirous that the Pacification should be referred for approval, not to the municipal magistrates only, but to the people itself. Proclaimed in the market-place of every city and village, it was ratified, not by votes, but by hymns of thanksgiving, by triumphal music, by thundering of cannon, and by the blaze of beacons, throughout the Netherlands.

Another event added to the satisfaction of the hour. The country so recently and by deeds of such remarkable audacity conquered by the Spaniards in the north, was recovered almost simultaneously with the conclusion of the Ghent treaty. It was a natural consequence of the great mutiny. The troops having entirely deserted Mondragon, it became necessary for that officer to abandon Zieriksee, the city which had been won with so much valour. In the beginning of November, the capital, and with it the whole island of Schouwen, together with the rest of Zealand, excepting Tholen, was recovered by Count Hohenlohe, lieutenant-general of the prince of Orange, and acting according to his instructions.

Thus on this particular point of time many great events had been crowded. At the very same moment Zealand had been redeemed, Antwerp ruined, and the league of all the Netherlands against the Spaniards concluded. It now became known that another and most important event had occurred at the same instant. On the day before the Antwerp massacre, four days before the publication of the Ghent treaty, a foreign cavalier, attended by a Moorish slave and by six men-at-arms, rode into the streets of Luxemburg. The cavalier was Don Ottavio Gonzaga, brother of the prince of Melfi. The Moorish slave was Don John of Austria, the son of the emperor, the conqueror of Granada, the hero of Lepanto. The new governor-general had traversed Spain and France in disguise with great celerity, and in the romantic manner which belonged to his character. He stood at last on the threshold of the Netherlands, but with all his speed he had arrived a few days too late.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

Don John of Austria was now in his thirty-second year, having been born in Ratisbon on the 24th of February, 1545. His father was Charles V, emperor of Germany, king of Spain, dominator of Asia, Africa, and America;

his mother was Barbara Blomberg, washerwoman of Ratisbon. Introduced to the emperor, originally, that she might alleviate his melancholy by her singing, she soon exhausted all that was harmonious in her nature, for never was a more uncomfortable, unmanageable personage than Barbara in her after life. Married to one Pyramus Kegell, who was made a military commissary in the Netherlands, she was left a widow in the beginning of Alva's administration. Placed under the especial superintendence of the duke, she became the torment of that warrior's life. The terrible governor, who could almost crush the heart out of a nation of three millions, was unable to curb this single termagant.

Notwithstanding every effort to entice, to intimidate, and to kidnap her from the Netherlands, there she remained, through all vicissitudes, even till the arrival of Don John. By his persuasions or commands she was, at last, induced to accept an exile for the remainder of her days in Spain, but revenged herself by asserting that he was quite mistaken in supposing himself the emperor's child; a point, certainly, upon which her authority might be thought conclusive. Thus there was a double mystery about Don John. He might be the issue of august parentage on one side; he was, possibly, sprung of most ignoble blood on both. Base-born at best, he was not sure whether to look for the author of his being in the halls of the Cæsars or the booths of Ratisbon mechanics.

Perhaps there was as much good faith on the part of Don John, when he arrived in Luxemburg, as could be expected of a man coming directly from the cabinet of Philip. The king had secretly instructed him to conciliate the provinces, but to concede nothing. He was directed to restore the government to its state during the imperial epoch. Seventeen provinces, in two of which the population were all dissenters, in all of which the principle of mutual toleration had just been accepted by Catholics and Protestants, were now to be brought back to the condition according to which all Protestants were beheaded, burned, or buried alive. The crusader of Granada and Lepanto, the champion of the ancient church, was not likely to please the rugged Zealanders who had let themselves be hacked to pieces rather than say one Paternoster, and who had worn crescents in their caps at Leyden, to prove their deeper hostility to the pope than to the Turk.

It was with a calm determination to counteract and crush the policy of the youthful governor that William the Silent awaited his antagonist. Were Don John admitted to confidence, the peace of Holland and Zealand was gone. He had arrived, with all the self-confidence of a conqueror; he did not know that he was to be played upon like a pipe, to be caught in meshes spread by his own hands, to struggle blindly, to rage impotently — to die ingloriously.[b]

CONCILIATORY POLICY OF DON JOHN

It is probable that his intentions were really honourable and candid. The states-general were not less embarrassed than the prince. His sudden arrival threw them into great perplexity, which was increased by the conciliatory tone of his letter. They had now removed from Ghent to Brussels; and first sending deputies to pay the honours of a ceremonious welcome to Don John, they wrote to the prince of Orange, then in Holland, for his advice in this difficult conjuncture. The prince replied by a memorial of considerable length, dated Middelburg, the 30th of November, in which he gave them the most wise and prudent advice; the substance of which was to receive any propositions coming from the wily and perfidious Philip with the utmost

suspicion, and to refuse all negotiation with his deputy, if the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops was not at once conceded and the acceptance of the pacification guaranteed in its most ample extent.

This advice was implicitly followed; the states in the mean time taking the precaution of assembling a large body of troops at Wavre, between Brussels and Namur, the command of which was given to the count of Lalaing. A still more important measure was the despatch of an envoy to England, to implore the assistance of Elizabeth. She acted on this occasion with frankness and intrepidity; giving a distinguished reception to the envoy Sweveghem, and advancing a loan of £100,000, on condition that the states made no treaty without her knowledge or participation.

To secure still more closely the federal union that now bound the different provinces, a new compact was concluded by the deputies on the 9th of January, 1577, known by the title of the Union of Brussels, and signed by the prelates, ecclesiastics, lords, gentlemen, magistrates, and others, representing the states of the Netherlands.[1] A copy of this act of union was transmitted to Don John, and after some months of cautious parleying, in the latter part of which the candour of the prince seemed doubtful, and which the native historians do not hesitate to stigmatise as merely assumed, a treaty was signed at Marche-en-Famène, a place between Namur and Luxemburg, in which every point insisted on by the states was, to the surprise and delight of the nation, fully consented to and guaranteed.

This important document is called the Perpetual Edict, bears date the 12th of February, 1577, and contains nineteen articles. They were all based on the acceptance of the Pacification; but one expressly stipulated that the count of Buren should be set at liberty as soon as the prince of Orange, his father, had on his part ratified the treaty.[p]

In the Pacification of Ghent, the prince had achieved the price of his life-long labours. He had banded a mass of provinces, by the ties of a common history, language, and customs, into a league against a foreign tyranny. He had grappled Holland and Zealand to their sister provinces by a common love for their ancient liberties, by a common hatred to a Spanish soldiery. He had exorcised the evil demon of religious bigotry by which the body politic had been possessed so many years; for the Ghent treaty, largely interpreted, opened the door to universal toleration. In the Perpetual Edict the prince saw his work undone. Holland and Zealand were again cut adrift from the other fifteen provinces, and war would soon be let loose upon that devoted little territory.[b]

Don John made his solemn entry into Brussels on the 1st of May, and assumed the functions of his limited authority. The conditions of the treaty were promptly and regularly fulfilled. The citadels occupied by the Spanish soldiers were given up to the Flemish and Walloon troops; and the departure of these ferocious foreigners took place at once. The large sums required to facilitate this measure made it necessary to submit for a while to the presence of the German mercenaries.

But Don John's conduct soon destroyed the temporary delusion which had deceived the country. Whether his projects were hitherto only concealed,

[1 The Ghent Pacification, which was in the nature of a treaty between the prince and the states of Holland and Zealand on the one side, and a certain number of provinces on the other, had only been signed by the envoys of the contracting parties. Though received with deserved and universal acclamation, it had not the authority of a popular document. This, however, was the character studiously impressed upon the Brussels Union. The people, subdivided according to the various grades of their social hierarchy, had been solemnly summoned to council, and had deliberately recorded their conviction.[b]]

or that they were now for the first time excited by the disappointment of those hopes of authority held out to him by Philip, and which his predecessors had shared, it is certain that he very early displayed his ambition, and very imprudently attempted to put it in force. He at once demanded from the council of state the command of the troops and the disposal of the revenues. The answer was a simple reference to the Pacification of Ghent; and the prince's rejoinder was an apparent submission, and the immediate despatch of letters in cipher to the king, demanding a supply of troops sufficient to restore his ruined authority. These letters were intercepted by the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV of France, who immediately transmitted them to the prince of Orange, his old friend and fellow soldier.

Public opinion, to the suspicions of which Don John had been from the first obnoxious, was now unanimous in attributing to design all that was unconstitutional and unfair. His impetuous character could no longer submit to the restraint of dissimulation, and he resolved to take some bold and decided measure. A very favourable opportunity was presented in the arrival of the queen of Navarre, Marguerite of Valois, at Namur, on her way to Spa. The prince, numerously attended, hastened to the former town under pretence of paying his respects to the queen. As soon as she left the place, he repaired to the glacis of the town, as if for the mere enjoyment of a walk, admired the external appearance of the citadel, and expressed a desire to be admitted inside. The young count of Barlaymont, in the absence of his father, the governor of the place, and an accomplice in the plot with Don John, freely admitted him. The prince immediately drew forth a pistol, and exclaimed that that was the first moment of his government, took possession of the place with his immediate guard, and instantly formed them into a devoted garrison.

ORANGE MADE RUWARD; MATTHIAS GOVERNOR

The prince of Orange immediately made public the intercepted letters; and, at the solicitation of the states-general, repaired to Brussels; into which city he made a truly triumphant entry on the 23rd of September, and was immediately nominated governor, protector, or ruward[1] of Brabant — a dignity which had fallen into disuse, but was revived on this occasion, and which was little inferior in power to that of the dictators of Rome.[p] A ruward was not exactly dictator, although his authority was universal. He was not exactly protector, nor governor, nor stadholder. His functions were unlimited as to time — therefore superior to those of an ancient dictator; they were commonly conferred on the natural heir to the sovereignty — therefore more lofty than those of ordinary stadholders. The individuals who had previously held the office in the Netherlands had usually reigned

[1 The fact that the election of Orange as *ruward* or *ruwaert* of Brabant was due to violence, though not mentioned by English and American historians of the Netherlands, has been clearly established by Belgian scholars. In fact, the prince himself, when charged in Philip's ban with securing his election "by force and tumult," did not deny that these means were employed, but declared in his memorable *Apology* that instead of seeking he had refused the office. His subsequent acceptance of it showed that he thought it was time to use this exalted position to baffle the designs of his enemies. The important fact, which even Motley[b] does not mention, that Orange owed his election to a popular tumult, is proved by Gachard.[q] — *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne;* and by De Robaulx de Soumoy,[r] the learned editor of *Mémoires de Frédéric Perrenot* (the famous Champagny). It is noticeable that both these competent critics trace the prince's subtle agency in this uprising, as well as in the seizure of the duke of Aerschot and other Catholic leaders, which had such serious results for the cause of liberty and union in the Netherlands. — YOUNG.[s]]

afterwards in their own right. Duke Albert, of the Bavarian line, for example, had been ruward of Hainault and Holland for thirty years, during the insanity of his brother, and on the death of Duke William had succeeded to his title. Philip of Burgundy had declared himself ruward of Brabant in 1425, and had shortly afterwards deprived Jacqueline of all her titles and appropriated them to himself.[b]

The prince's authority, now almost unlimited, extended over every province of the Netherlands, except Namur and Luxemburg, both of which acknowledged Don John.

The first care of the liberated nation was to demolish the various citadels rendered celebrated and odious by the excesses of the Spaniards. This was done with an enthusiastic industry in which every age and sex bore a part, and which promised well for liberty. Among the ruins of that of Antwerp the statue of the duke of Alva was discovered, dragged through the filthiest streets of the town, and, with all the indignity so well merited by the original, it was finally broken into a thousand pieces.[1]

The country, in conferring such extensive powers on the prince of Orange, had certainly gone too far — not for his desert, but for its own tranquillity. It was impossible that such an elevation should not excite the discontent and awaken the energy of the haughty aristocracy of Flanders and Brabant; and particularly of the house of Croy, the ancient rivals of that of Nassau. The then representative of that family seemed the person most suited to counterbalance William's excessive power. The duke of Aerschot was therefore named governor of Flanders; and he immediately put himself at the head of a confederacy of the Catholic party, which quickly decided to offer the chief government of the country, still in the name of Philip, to the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rudolf II, and cousin german to Philip of Spain, a youth but nineteen years of age. A Flemish gentleman named Maelsted was entrusted with the proposal. Matthias joyously consented; and, quitting Vienna with the greatest secrecy, he arrived at Maestricht, without any previous announcement, and expected only by the party that had invited him, at the end of October, 1577.

The prince of Orange, instead of showing the least symptom of dissatisfaction at this underhand proceeding aimed at his personal authority, announced his perfect approval of the nomination, and was the foremost in recommending measures for the honour of the archduke and the security of the country. He drew up the basis of a treaty for Matthias' acceptance, on terms which guaranteed to the council of state and the states-general the virtual sovereignty, and left to the young prince little beyond the fine title which had dazzled his boyish vanity. The prince of Orange was appointed his lieutenant, in all the branches of the administration, civil, military, or financial; and the duke of Aerschot, who had hoped to obtain an entire domination over the puppet he had brought upon the stage, saw himself totally foiled in his project, and left without a chance or a pretext for the least increase to his influence.

But a still greater disappointment attended this ambitious nobleman in the very stronghold of his power. The Flemings, driven by persecution to a state of fury almost unnatural, had, in their antipathy to Spain, adopted a hatred against Catholicism which had its source only in political frenzy, while the converts imagined it to arise from reason and conviction.

Two men had taken advantage of this state of the public mind, and

[1 The bulk was melted again and reconverted by a most natural metamorphosis into the cannon from which it had originally sprung. — MOTLEY.[b]]

gained over it an unbounded ascendency. They were Francis van der Kéthulle lord of Ryhove, and Jan van Hembyze [or Imbize], who each seemed formed to realise the beau-ideal of a factious demagogue. They had acquired supreme power over the people of Ghent, and had at their command a body of twenty thousand resolute and well-armed supporters. The duke of Aerschot vainly attempted to oppose his authority to that of these men; and he on one occasion imprudently exclaimed that "he would have them hanged, even though they were protected by the prince of Orange himself." The same night Ryhove summoned the leaders of his bands; and quickly assembling a considerable force, they repaired to the duke's hotel, made him prisoner, and, without allowing him time to dress, carried him away in triumph. At the same time the bishops of Bruges and Ypres, the high bailiffs of Ghent and Courtrai, the governor of Oudenarde, and other important magistrates, were arrested — accused of complicity with the duke, but of what particular offence the lawless demagogues did not deign to specify. The two tribunes immediately divided the whole honours and authority of administration — Ryhove as military, and Hembyze as civil chief.[1]

The latter of these legislators completely changed the forms of the government; he revived the ancient privileges destroyed by Charles V, and took all preliminary measures for forcing the various provinces to join with the city of Ghent in forming a federative republic. The states-general and the prince of Orange were alarmed lest these troubles might lead to a renewal of the anarchy from the effects of which the country had but just obtained breathing time. Ryhove consented, at the remonstrance of the prince of Orange, to release the duke of Aerschot; but William was obliged to repair to Ghent in person, in the hope of establishing order. He arrived on the 29th of December, and entered on a strict inquiry with his usual calmness and decision. He could not succeed in obtaining the liberty of the other prisoners, though he pleaded for them strongly. Having severely reprimanded the factious leaders, and pointed out the dangers of their illegal course, he returned to Brussels, leaving the factious city in a temporary tranquillity which his firmness and discretion could alone have obtained.

The archduke Matthias, having visited Antwerp, and acceded to all the conditions required of him, made his public entry into Brussels on the 18th of January, 1578, and was installed in his dignity of governor-general amidst the usual fêtes and rejoicings. Don John of Austria was at the same time declared an enemy to the country, with a public order to quit it without delay; and a prohibition was issued against any inhabitant acknowledging his forfeited authority.

OUTBREAK OF WAR

War was now once more openly declared, some fruitless negotiations having afforded a fair pretext for hostilities. The rapid appearance of a numerous army under the orders of Don John gave strength to the suspicions of his former dissimulation. It was currently believed that large bodies of the Spanish troops had remained concealed in the forests of Luxemburg and Lorraine; while several regiments, which had remained in France in the service of the League, immediately re-entered the Netherlands. Alessandro Farnese prince

[1 Thus audaciously, successfully, and hitherto without bloodshed, was the anti-Catholic revolution commenced in Flanders. The event was the first of a long and most signal series. The effect of this sudden rising of the popular party was prodigious throughout the Netherlands. At the same time the audacity of such extreme proceedings could hardly be countenanced by any considerable party in the states-general.[b]]

of Parma, son of the former governant, came to the aid of his uncle Don John at the head of a large force of Italians; and these several reinforcements, with the German auxiliaries still in the country, composed an army of twenty thousand men. The army of the states-general was still larger, but far inferior in point of discipline. It was commanded by Antoine de Goignies, a gentleman of Hainault, and an old soldier of the school of Charles V.

After a sharp affair at the village of Riminants, in which the royalists had the worst, the two armies met at Gembloux [or Gembloux] on the 31st of January, 1578.[p]

THE DISASTER OF GEMBLOUX (1578)

Don John, making a selection of some six hundred cavalry, all picked men, with a thousand infantry, divided the whole into two bodies, which he placed under command of Gonzaga and the famous old Christopher Mondragon. These officers received orders to hang on the rear of the enemy, to harass him, and to do him all possible damage consistent with the possibility of avoiding a general engagement, until the main army under Parma and Don John should arrive. The retiring army of the states was then proceeding along the borders of a deep ravine, filled with mire and water, and as broad as and more dangerous than a river. In the midst of the skirmishing, Alessandro of Parma rode up to reconnoitre. He saw at once that the columns of the enemy were marching unsteadily to avoid being precipitated into this creek. He observed the waving of their spears, the general confusion of their ranks, and was quick to take advantage of the fortunate moment.

He drew up his little force in a compact column. Then, with a few words of encouragement, he launched them at the foe. The violent and entirely unexpected shock was even more successful than the prince had anticipated. The hostile cavalry reeled and fell into hopeless confusion, Egmont in vain striving to rally them to resistance. That name had lost its magic. Goignies also attempted, without success, to restore order among the panic-struck ranks. Assaulted in flank and rear at the same moment, and already in temporary confusion, the cavalry of the enemy turned their backs and fled. The centre of the states' army, thus left exposed, was now warmly attacked by Parma. It had, moreover, been already thrown into disorder by the retreat of its own horse, as they charged through them in rapid and disgraceful panic. The whole army broke to pieces at once, and so great was the trepidation that the conquered troops had hardly courage to run away. They were utterly incapable of combat. Not a blow was struck by the fugitives. Hardly a man in the Spanish ranks was wounded; while, in the course of an hour and a half, the whole force of the enemy was exterminated.

It is impossible to state with accuracy the exact numbers slain. Some accounts spoke of ten thousand killed, or captive, with absolutely no loss on the royal side.

Rarely had a more brilliant exploit been performed by a handful of cavalry. A whole army was overthrown. Everything belonging to the enemy fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Thirty-four standards, many field-pieces, much camp equipage, and ammunition, besides some seven or eight thousand dead bodies, and six hundred living prisoners, were the spoils of that winter's day. Of the captives, some were soon afterwards hurled off the bridge at Namur, and drowned like dogs in the Maas, while the rest were all hanged, none escaping with life. Don John's clemency was not superior to that of his sanguinary predecessors.

And so another proof was added — if proofs were still necessary — of Spanish prowess. The Netherlanders may be pardoned if their foes seemed to them supernatural, and almost invulnerable. How else could these enormous successes be accounted for? How else could thousands fall before the Spanish swords, while hardly a single Spanish corpse told of effectual resistance? At Jemmingen, Alva had lost seven soldiers, and slain seven thousand; in the Antwerp Fury, two hundred Spaniards, at most, had fallen, while eight thousand burghers and states' troops had been butchered; and now at Gembloux, six, seven, eight, ten — heaven knew how many thousands had been exterminated, and hardly a single Spaniard had been slain! Undoubtedly, the first reason for this result was the superiority of the Spanish soldiers. They were the boldest, the best disciplined, the most experienced in the world. Their audacity, promptness, and ferocity made them almost invincible. Moreover, they were commanded by the most renowned captains of the age.[b]

The news of this battle threw the states into the utmost consternation. Brussels being considered insecure, the archduke Matthias and his council retired to Antwerp; but the victors did not feel their forces sufficient to justify an attack upon the capital. They, however, took Louvain, Tirlemont, and several other towns; but these conquests were of little import in comparison with the loss of Amsterdam, which declared openly and unanimously for the patriot cause. The states-general recovered their courage, and prepared for a new contest. They sent deputies to the diet of Worms, to ask succour from the princes of the empire. The count palatine John Kasimir repaired to their assistance with a considerable force of Germans and English, all equipped and paid by Queen Elizabeth. Francis duke of Alençon and of Anjou, and brother of Henry III of France, hovered on the frontiers of Hainault with a respectable army.[1]

But all the various chiefs had separate interests and opposite views; while the fanatic violence of the people of Ghent sapped the foundations of the pacification to which the town had given its name.[2] The Walloon provinces, deep-rooted in their attachment to religious bigotry, which they loved still better than political freedom, gradually withdrew from the common cause; and without yet openly becoming reconciled with Spain, they adopted a neutrality which was tantamount to it. Don John was, however, deprived of all chance of reaping any advantage from these unfortunate dissensions. He was suddenly taken ill in his camp at Bougy; and died [probably of a camp fever], after a fortnight's suffering, on the 1st of October, 1578, in the 33rd year of his age.[p]

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF PARMA

On the death of Don John the command of the royal army fell to his nephew Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma. He was descended from Charles V through his mother the duchess Margaret, under whose administration the first troubles had broken out. He had already fought in Belgium on the side of his young and unfortunate relative — they were both of the same

[1 He had been vainly offered the sovereignty of the provinces, and called to assist under the title of "Protector of Netherlandish liberty." Motley [b] accuses him of being "the most despicable personage who had ever entered the Netherlands," and claims that Orange encouraged him only to keep Queen Elizabeth anxious to forestall a French alliance.]

[2 All Flanders was prey to a Calvinist terrorism which made the Catholics long for Don John's sovereignty. They had lost faith in Orange. — BLOK.[f]]

age — and the latter, on his death-bed, had named him as his successor. Everything justified the choice — none of the old Spanish generals exceeded the duke in valour, military experience, prudence in council, and resources in danger. To these qualities was joined great executive ability. Perhaps he had more talents than virtues, but his conduct was that of a man who was master of himself, and too used to leading others to let his own faults interfere with his success.

He soon managed to get together, in the provinces that remained loyal to him (Namur and Luxemburg), as many as thirty-two thousand soldiers, almost all foreigners. This would have been but a small force to oppose to the Belgians if harmony had reigned among the latter. But there was already open schism between the Catholics and the Protestants. Hembyze and Ryhove took John Kasimir's troops into the pay of the city and with this reinforcement made themselves master of all *La Flandre Flamingante*, where Protestantism had already spread among the lower classes; all the more eager for the change since they were experiencing a condition of affairs the like of which had never been known before. Everywhere power was seized by the most factious, and such was their violence that French Flanders, Artois, and Hainault became indignant and formed a defensive alliance, seceding in a formal manner from the confederated provinces (January 6th, 1579).[d]

THE UNION OF UTRECHT (1579)

The states-general and the whole national party regarded, with prophetic dismay, the approaching dismemberment of their common country. They sent deputation on deputation to the Walloon states, to warn them of their danger, and to avert, if possible, the fatal measure. Treachery and religious fanaticism had undermined the bulwark almost as soon as reared. As, in besieged cities, a sudden breastwork is thrown up internally, when the outward defences are crumbling — so the energy of Orange had been silently preparing the Union of Utrecht, as a temporary defence until the foe should be beaten back and there should be time to decide on their future course of action.

During the whole month of December, an active correspondence had been carried on between the prince and his brother John, with various agents in Gelderland, Friesland, and Groningen, as well as with influential personages in the more central provinces and cities. Gelderland, the natural bulwark to Holland and Zealand, commanding the four great rivers of the country, had been fortunately placed under the government of the trusty John of Nassau, that province being warmly in favour of a closer union with its sister provinces, and particularly with those more nearly allied to itself in religion and in language.

Already in December (1578), Count John, in behalf of his brother, had laid before the states of Holland and Zealand, assembled at Gorkum, the project of a new union with "Gelderland, Ghent, Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen." The proposition had been favourably entertained, and commissioners had been appointed to confer with other commissioners at Utrecht, whenever they should be summoned by Count John. The prince chose not to be the ostensible mover in the plan himself. He did not wish to startle unnecessarily the archduke Matthias, nor to be cried out upon as infringing the Ghent Pacification, although the whole world knew that treaty to be hopelessly annulled. For these and many other weighty motives he

proposed that the new union should be the apparent work of other hands, and only offered to him and to the country when nearly completed.

After various preliminary meetings in December and January, the deputies of Gelderland and Zutphen, with Count John, stadholder of these provinces, at their head, met with the deputies of Holland, Zealand, and the provinces between the Ems and the Lauwers, early in January, 1579, and on the 23rd of that month, without waiting longer for the deputies of the other provinces, they agreed provisionally upon a treaty of union which was published afterwards on the 29th, from the town-house of Utrecht.

This memorable document — which is ever regarded as the foundation of the Netherland Republic — contained twenty-six articles. The preamble stated the object of the union. It was to strengthen, not to forsake the Ghent Pacification, already nearly annihilated by the force of foreign soldiery. The contracting provinces agreed to remain eternally united, as if they were but one province. At the same time, it was understood that each was to retain its particular privileges, liberties, laudable and traditionary customs, and other laws. The cities, corporations, and inhabitants of every province were to be guaranteed as to their ancient constitutions. The provinces, by virtue of the union, were to defend each other "with life, goods, and blood," against all force brought against them in the king's name or behalf. They were also to defend each other against all foreign or domestic potentates, provinces, or cities, provided such defence were controlled by the "generality" of the union. For the expense occasioned by the protection of the provinces, certain imposts and excises were to be equally assessed and collected. No truce or peace was to be concluded, no war commenced, no impost established affecting the "generality," but by unanimous advice and consent of the provinces.

Upon other matters the majority was to decide, the votes being taken in the manner then customary in the assembly of states-general. None of the united provinces, or of their cities or corporations, was to make treaties with other potentates or states, without consent of its confederates. If neighbouring princes, provinces, or cities wished to enter into this confederacy, they were to be received by the unanimous consent of the united provinces. A common currency was to be established for the confederacy. In the matter of divine worship, Holland and Zealand were to conduct themselves as they should think proper. The other provinces of the union, however, were either to conform to the "religious peace" already laid down by Archduke Matthias and his council, or to make such other arrangements as each province should for itself consider appropriate for the maintenance of its internal tranquillity — provided always that every individual should remain free in his religion, and that no man should be molested or questioned on the subject of divine worship as had been already established by the Ghent Pacification.

Such were the simple provisions of that instrument which became the foundation of the powerful commonwealth of the United Netherlands. On the day when it was concluded, there were present deputies from five provinces only. Count John of Nassau signed first, as stadholder of Gelderland and Zutphen. His signature was followed by those of four deputies from that double province; and the envoys of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and the Frisian provinces then signed the document.

The prince himself, although in reality the principal director of the movement, delayed appending his signature until May the 3rd, 1579. Herein he was actuated by the reasons already stated, and by the hope which he still entertained that a wider union might be established, with Matthias for its

nominal chief. His enemies, as usual, attributed this patriotic delay to baser motives. They accused him of a desire to assume the governor-generalship himself, to the exclusion of the archduke — an insinuation which the states of Holland took occasion formally to denounce as a calumny. For those who have studied the character and history of the man, a defence against such slander is superfluous. Matthias was but the shadow, Orange the substance. The archduke had been accepted only to obviate the evil effects of a political intrigue, and with the express condition that the prince should be his lieutenant-general in name, his master in fact. Directly after his departure in the following year, the prince's authority, which nominally departed also, was re-established in his own person, and by express act of the states-general.

The Union of Utrecht was the foundation-stone of the Netherland Republic: but the framers of the confederacy did not intend the establishment of a republic, or of an independent commonwealth of any kind. They had not forsworn the Spanish monarch. It was not yet their intention to forswear him. Certainly the act of union contained no allusion to such an important step. On the contrary, in the brief preamble they expressly stated their intention to strengthen the Ghent Pacification, and the Ghent Pacification acknowledged obedience to the king. They intended no political innovation of any kind. No doubt the formal renunciation of allegiance, which was to follow within two years, was contemplated by many as a future probability; but it could not be foreseen with certainty.

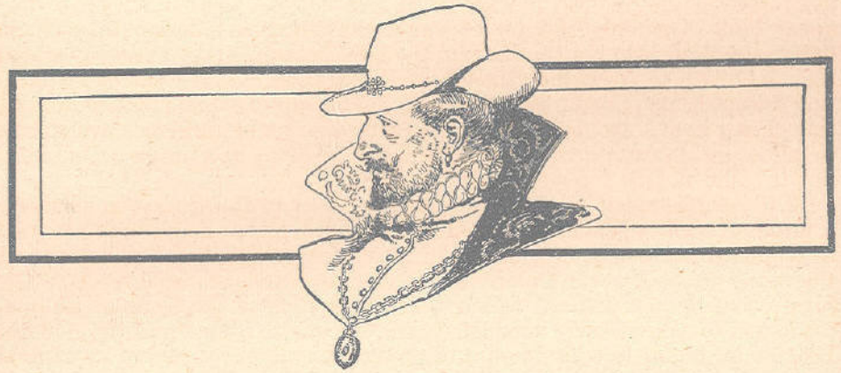
The establishment of a republic, which lasted two centuries, which threw a girdle of rich dependencies entirely round the globe, and which attained so remarkable a height of commercial prosperity and political influence, was the result of the Utrecht Union; but it was not a premeditated result. The future confederacy was not to resemble the system of the German Empire, for it was to acknowledge no single head. It was to differ from the Achæan League, in the far inferior amount of power which it permitted to its general assembly, and in the consequently greater proportion of sovereign attributes which were retained by the individual states.

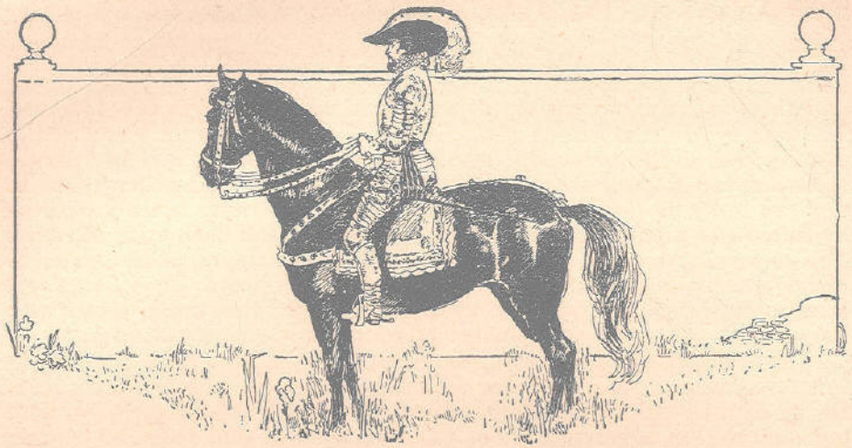
It was, on the other hand, to furnish a closer and more intimate bond than that of the Swiss confederacy, which was only a union for defence and external purposes, of cantons otherwise independent. It was, finally, to differ from the American federal commonwealth in the great feature that it was to be merely a confederacy of sovereignties, not a representative republic. Its foundation was a compact, not a constitution. The contracting parties were states and corporations, who considered themselves as representing small nationalities *de jure et de facto*, and as succeeding to the supreme power at the very instant in which allegiance to the Spanish monarch was renounced. The general assembly was a collection of diplomatic envoys, bound by instruction from independent states. The voting was not by heads, but by states. The deputies were not representatives of the people, but of the states; for the people of the United States of the Netherlands never assembled — as did the people of the United States of America two centuries later — to lay down a constitution, by which they granted a generous amount of power to the union, while they reserved enough of sovereign attributes to secure that local self-government which is the life-blood of liberty.

Could the jealousy of great nobles, the rancour of religious differences, the Catholic bigotry of the Walloon population on the one side, contending with the democratic insanity of the Ghent populace on the other, have been restrained within bounds by the moderate counsels of William of Orange,

it would have been possible to unite seventeen provinces instead of seven, and to save many long and blighting years of civil war.

Thus by the Union of Utrecht on the one hand, and the fast approaching reconciliation of the Walloon provinces on the other, the work of decomposition and of construction went hand in hand.[b]





CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST YEARS OF WILLIAM THE SILENT

[1579–1584 A.D.]

By a few wise concessions made in good time at the origin of the troubles and loyally maintained, Philip II might have saved intact the heritage of the house of Burgundy, and also preserved the old religion in the whole extent of the seventeen provinces. As a result of adopting an inexorable system and calling tyranny to his aid, before his death the son of Charles V beheld his inheritance dismembered and Protestantism triumphant and dominant in the new republic of the united provinces. The punishment of the proudest and most powerful king of the sixteenth century was still more cruel.

That Batavian federation, so feeble in its commencement, gradually became one of the most formidable states of Europe, and as stadholders the descendants of the proscribed William the Silent raised themselves above the descendants of his proscriber. They vanquished Spain and dictated laws to it. The Dutch Republic was extending its power and commanding admiration when the Spanish monarchy, exhausted by such a long struggle, was drawing after it in its humiliation and its ruin the states which, unhappily for themselves, had not been able to detach themselves irrevocably from the fatal dominion of Philip II.

After joining the Protestants and valiantly fighting with them, the Belgian malcontents finally abandoned them, thus deserting the great cause of the Netherlands. But this fatal determination, which even the tumults and aggressions of the Calvinist party could scarcely excuse, was cruelly expiated. The submission of the Catholic Belgians to Spain, accomplished too quickly and with too great lack of foresight, was the principal cause of the long decay and dismemberment of the southern Netherlands.[b]

[1579 A.D.]

PARMA BESIEGES MAESTRICHT (1579)

After the Union of Utrecht, the North and South ceased to fight together. The duke of Alençon, jealous of the count palatine, had abruptly returned to France, and, as the archduke Matthias possessed neither money nor troops, he was reduced to an absolute nullity. The duke of Parma knew how to profit skilfully by these circumstances. He advanced into Brabant with all his forces and compelled the troops of the states to fall back upon Antwerp. This movement brought to light John Kasimir's German bands, isolated in Flanders and already embroiled with the people of Ghent. Their leader had gone to England, and, without waiting his return, they made terms with Parma and obtained a safe conduct to return to their own country.

Then the duke, now master of the country, came down upon Maestricht.[c] The investment of Maestricht was commenced upon the 12th of March, 1579. In the city, besides the population, there were two thousand peasants, both men and women, a garrison of one thousand soldiers, and a trained burgher guard numbering about twelve hundred. The name of the military commandant was Melchior. Sebastian Tappin, a Lorraine officer, was, in truth, the principal director of the operations.

After a heavy cannonade from forty-six great guns, continued for several days, a portion of the brick curtain had crumbled, but through the breach was seen a massive terreplein, well moated, which, after six thousand shots already delivered on the outer wall, still remained uninjured. Four thousand miners, who had passed half their lives in burrowing for coal in that anthracite region, had been furnished by the bishop of Liège, and this force was now set to their subterranean work. A mine having been opened at a distance, the besiegers slowly worked their way towards the Tongres gate, while at the same time the more ostensible operations were in the opposite direction. The besieged had their miners also, for the peasants in the city had been used to work with mattock and pickaxe. The women, too, enrolled themselves into companies, chose their officers — or "mine-mistresses," as they were called — and did good service daily in the caverns of the earth.

Subterranean Fighting

Thus a whole army of gnomes were noiselessly at work to destroy and defend the beleaguered city. The contending forces met daily, in deadly encounter, within these sepulchral gangways. The citizens secretly constructed a dam across the Spanish mine, and then deluged their foe with hogsheads of boiling water. Hundreds were thus scalded to death. They heaped branches and light fagots in the hostile mine, set fire to the pile, and blew thick volumes of smoke along the passage with organ bellows, brought from the churches for the purpose. Many were thus suffocated.

The discomfited besiegers abandoned the mine where they had met with such able countermining, and sank another shaft, at midnight, in secret. They worked their way, unobstructed, till they arrived at their subterranean port, directly beneath the doomed ravelin. Here they constructed a spacious chamber, supporting it with columns, and making all their architectural arrangements with as much precision and elegance as if their object had been purely æsthetic. Coffers full of powder, to an enormous amount, were then placed in every direction. The explosion was prodigious; a part of the tower fell with the concussion, and the moat was choked with heaps of

rubbish. The assailants sprang across the passage thus afforded, and mastered the ruined portion of the fort.

On the 8th of April, after uniting in prayer, and listening to a speech from Alessandro Farnese, the great mass of the Spanish army advanced to the breach. The tried veterans of Spain, Italy, and Burgundy were met face to face by the burghers of Maestricht, together with their wives and children. All were armed to the teeth, and fought with what seemed superhuman valour. The women, fierce as tigresses defending their young, swarmed to the walls, and fought in the foremost rank. They threw pails of boiling water on the besiegers, they hurled firebrands in their faces, they quoited blazing pitch-hoops with unerring dexterity about their necks. The rustics too, armed with their ponderous flails, worked as cheerfully at this bloody harvesting as if threshing their corn at home.

A new mine — which was to have been sprung between the ravelin and the gate, but which had been secretly countermined by the townspeople, exploded with a horrible concussion, at a moment least expected by the besiegers. Ortiz, a Spanish captain of engineers, who had been inspecting the excavations, was thrown up bodily from the subterranean depth. He fell back again instantly into the same cavern, and was buried by the returning shower of earth which had spouted from the mine. Forty-five years afterwards, in digging for the foundations of a new wall, his skeleton was found. Clad in complete armour, the helmet and cuirass still sound, with his gold chain around his neck, and his mattock and pickaxe at his feet, the soldier lay unmutilated, seeming almost capable of resuming his part in the same war which, even after his half-century sleep, was still ravaging the land.

Five hundred of the Spaniards perished by the explosion, but none of the defenders were injured, for they had been prepared. Recovering from the momentary panic, the besiegers again rushed to the attack. The battle raged. Six hundred and seventy officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, had already fallen, more than half mortally wounded. Four thousand royalists, horribly mutilated, lay on the ground.

Alessandro reluctantly gave the signal of recall at last, and accepted the defeat. For the future he determined to rely more upon the sapper and miner. His numerous army was well housed and amply supplied, and he had built a strong and populous city in order to destroy another. Relief was impossible.

At length, on June 29th, after three months of siege, the Spanish forced their way through a breach, and surprised at last — in its sleep — the city which had so long and vigorously defended itself. The battle, as usual when Netherland towns were surprised by Philip's soldiers, soon changed to a massacre. Women, old men, and children had all been combatants; and all, therefore, had incurred the vengeance of the conquerors. Women were pursued from house to house, and hurled from roof and window. They were hunted into the river; they were torn limb from limb in the streets. Men and children fared no better; but the heart sickens at the oft-repeated tale. Horrors, alas, were commonplaces in the Netherlands.

On the first day four thousand men and women were slaughtered. The massacre lasted two days longer; nor would it be an exaggerated estimate, if we assume that the amount of victims upon the last two days was equal to half the number sacrificed on the first.[1] It was said that not four hundred

[1] Strada[d] puts the total number of inhabitants of Maestricht slain during the siege at eight thousand, of whom seventeen hundred were women.

citizens were left alive after the termination of the siege.[1] These soon wandered away, their places being supplied by a rabble rout of Walloon sutlers and vagabonds. Maestricht was depopulated as well as captured.

ORANGE BECOMES STADHOLDER OF FLANDERS

The prince of Orange, as usual, was blamed for the tragical termination to this long drama. All that one man could do he had done to awaken his countrymen to the importance of the siege. He had repeatedly brought the subject solemnly before the assembly, and implored for Maestricht, almost upon his knees. Now that the massacre to be averted was accomplished, men were loud in reproof, who had been silent and passive while there was yet time to speak and to work.

To save himself, they insinuated, he was now plotting to deliver the land into the power of the treacherous Frenchman, and he alone, they asserted, was the insuperable obstacle to an honourable peace with Spain.

A letter brought by an unknown messenger was laid before the states' assembly, in full session, and sent to the clerk's table, to be read aloud. After the first few sentences, that functionary faltered in his recital. Several members also peremptorily ordered him to stop; for the letter proved to be a violent and calumnious libel upon Orange, together with a strong appeal in favour of the peace propositions then under debate at Cologne. The prince alone, of all the assembly, preserving his tranquillity, ordered the document to be brought to him, and forthwith read it aloud himself, from beginning to end. Afterwards, he took occasion to express his mind concerning the ceaseless calumnies of which he was the mark. He especially alluded to the oft-repeated accusation that he was the only obstacle to peace, and repeated that he was ready at that moment to leave the land, and to close his lips forever, if by so doing he could benefit his country and restore her to honourable repose. The outcry, with the protestations of attachment and confidence which at once broke from the assembly, convinced him, however, that he was deeply rooted in the hearts of all patriotic Netherlanders, and that it was beyond the power of slanderers to loosen his hold upon their affection.

Meantime, his efforts had again and again been demanded to restore order in that abode of anarchy, the city of Ghent. Early in March however, that master of misrule, Jan van Hembyze, had once more excited the populace to sedition. Again the property of Catholics, clerical and lay, was plundered; again the persons of Catholics, of every degree, were maltreated. The magistrates, with first senator Hembyze at their head, rather encouraged than rebuked the disorder. Hembyze, fearing the influence of the prince, indulged in open-mouthed abuse of a man whose character he was unable even to comprehend. In all the insane ravings, the demagogue was most ably seconded by the ex-monk. Incessant and unlicensed were the invectives hurled by Peter Dathen from his pulpit upon William the Silent's head. He denounced him — as he had often done before — as an atheist in heart; as a

[1] Not more than three or four hundred, says Bor.[e] Not more than four hundred, says Hooft.[f] Not three hundred, says Meteren.[g] This must of course be an exaggeration, for the population had numbered thirty-four thousand at the commencement of the siege. At any rate, the survivors were but a remnant, and they all wandered away. The place, which had been so recently a very thriving and industrious town, remained a desert. During the ensuing winter most of the remaining buildings were torn down, that the timber and woodwork might be used as firewood by the soldiers and vagabonds who from time to time housed there.

man who changed his religion as easily as his garments[1]; as a man who knew no God but state expediency, which was the idol of his worship; a mere politician, who would tear his shirt from his back and throw it in the fire, if he thought it were tainted with religion.

Such witless but vehement denunciation from a preacher who was both popular and comparatively sincere could not but affect the imagination of the weaker portion of his hearers. The faction of Hembyze became triumphant. By the influence of Ryhove, however, a messenger was despatched to Antwerp in the name of a considerable portion of the community of Ghent. The counsel and the presence of the man to whom all hearts in every part of the Netherlands instinctively turned in the hour of need were once more invoked.

The prince again addressed them in language which none but he could employ with such effect. He told them that his life, passed in service and sacrifice, ought to witness sufficiently for his fidelity. As for the matter of religion it was almost incredible that there should be any who doubted the zeal which he bore the religion for which he had suffered so much. "I desire," he continued fervently, "that men should compare that which has been done by my accusers during the ten years past with that which I have done. In that which touches the true advancement of religion, I will yield to no man. They who so boldly accuse me have no liberty of speech, save that which has been acquired for them by the blood of my kindred, by my labours, and my excessive expenditures. To me they owe it that they dare speak at all." This letter (which was dated on the 24th of July, 1579) contained an assurance that the writer was about to visit Ghent.

On the following day, Hembyze executed a *coup d'état*. Having a body of near two thousand soldiers at his disposal, he suddenly secured the persons of all the magistrates and other notable individuals not friendly to his policy, and then, in violation of all law, set up a new board of eighteen irresponsible functionaries, according to a list prepared by himself alone.

The prince came to Ghent, August 18th, 1579, great as had been the efforts of Hembyze and his partisans to prevent his coming. His presence was like magic. The demagogue and his whole flock vanished like unclean birds at the first rays of the sun. Orange rebuked the populace in the strong and indignant language that public and private virtue, energy, and a high purpose enabled such a leader of the people to use. He at once set aside the board of eighteen — the Grecian-Roman-Genevese establishment of Hembyze — and remained in the city until the regular election, in conformity with the privileges, had taken place. In company with his clerical companion, Peter Dathen, Hembyze fled to the abode of John Kasimir, who received both with open arms, and allowed them each a pension.

Order being thus again restored in Ghent by the exertions of the prince, when no other human hand could have dispelled the anarchy which seemed to reign supreme, William the Silent, having accepted the government of Flanders, which had again and again been urged upon him, now returned to Antwerp.[h]

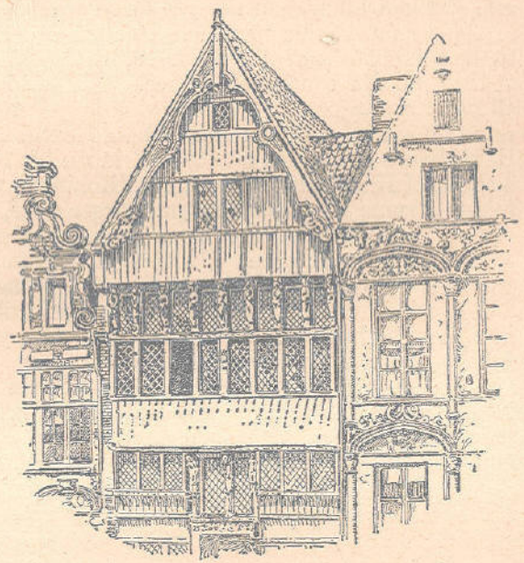
FURTHER SECESSION FROM THE CAUSE

The states-general in session at Antwerp had not made any serious efforts to support the heroic defence of Maestricht, as we have seen. The assembly

[1 So Strada[d] says: "Whether he wrote truth, and was indeed a Calvinist in opinion; or rather by that means sought to ingratiate himself with the men whose service he had use of, some have made a doubt: it is most probable his religion was but pretended, which he could put on like a cloak, to serve him for such a time, and put it off again when it was out of fashion."]

was divided in opinion and stripped of all authority. Under its very eyes fanatical preachers had incited the populace to fresh violence against the clergy. On Ascension Day, a Catholic procession had been attacked and dispersed in spite of the archduke Matthias' presence. This was an added grievance for the malcontents, and on the 19th of May, 1579, the deputies of Hainault and Artois as well as of French Flanders had concluded a treaty with the duke of Parma. By this treaty the provinces returned to the king's authority and rejected all other creeds than the Catholic religion, but they exacted that he should send his foreign troops out of the country, and he was compelled to put this hard condition into execution immediately after the capture of Maestricht.

It was not the Walloon provinces alone that returned to the king's side; Mechlin passed about the same time over to the duke of Parma, and Bois-le-Duc opened its gate to him as well after a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant townspeople. Similar trouble took place at Bruges, and the preachers were driven out by the inhabitants. But a body of Scotch troops, in the service of the states, threw itself upon the town and prevented its being given over to Parma's soldiers. Some of the nobles[1] who hitherto had fought under the banner of the confederation also came to terms with the duke of Parma when they saw vanish the hopes of pacification roused by a congress assembled at Cologne, through the emperor's efforts. One of them who thus set the example was the duke of Aerschot, who had taken part in the congress as a delegate from the provinces still under arms.



OLD HOUSES OF MECHLIN

These successes, as important as they were rapid, frightened the estates; of the large force they had raised the year before but a small body remained garrisoned in the towns, for whom there was no means of pay. The prince of Orange, who still retained some influence in the assembly, had recourse to the old expedient of offering the Low Countries to a foreign prince; but this time he proposed first to declare the downfall of Philip. This bold resolution was adopted, in May, 1580, and homage given to the same duke of Alençon and Anjou who had already received the title of protector — a man of slight mind, weak and inconstant, from whom neither firmness nor wisdom could be expected. But he could bring a French army with him and thus provide for the immediate defence of the country; this was probably all that

[1 Among these was the young count Philip of Egmont, whose father had been executed by Alva; Renneberg, the prince's trusted stadholder in Groningen, turned traitor and was put in command of royalist troops.]

he could be counted on to do. William, however, knew how to reserve the right to serve him as counsel and guide.[c]

The war continued in a languid and desultory manner in different parts of the country. At an action near Ingelmunster, the brave and accomplished De la Noue was made prisoner and placed in the castle of Limburg. At last, in June, 1585, he was exchanged, on extremely rigorous terms, for Egmont [who had been captured]. During his captivity in this vile dungeon, De la Noue composed not only his famous political and military discourses but several other works.

The siege of Groningen proceeded, and Parma ordered some forces under Martin Schenk to advance to its relief. On the other hand, the meagre states forces under Sonoy, Hohenlohe, Entes, and Count John of Nassau's young son, William Louis, had not yet made much impression upon the city.

After a few trifling operations before Groningen, Hohenlohe was summoned to the neighbourhood of Koeworden, by the reported arrival of Martin Schenk, at the head of a considerable force. On the 15th of June, the count marched all night and a part of the following morning, in search of the enemy. He came up with them upon Hardenberg Heath, in a broiling summer forenoon. Hohenlohe's army was annihilated in an hour's time, the whole population fled out of Koeworden, the siege of Groningen was raised, Renneberg was set free to resume his operations on a larger scale, and the fate of all the north-eastern provinces was once more swinging in the wind. The boors of Drenthe and Friesland rose again. They had already mustered in the field at an earlier season of the year in considerable force. Calling themselves "the desperates," and bearing on their standard an egg-shell with the yolk running out — to indicate that having lost the meat they were yet ready to fight for the shell — they had swept through the open country, pillaging and burning.

A small war now succeeded, with small generals, small armies, small campaigns, small sieges. For the time, the prince of Orange was even obliged to content himself with such a general as Hohenlohe. As usual, he was almost alone. "*Donec eris felix*," said he, emphatically —

multos numerabis amicos,
Tempora cum erunt nubila, nullus erit,

and he was this summer doomed to a still harder deprivation by the final departure of his brother John from the Netherlands in August, 1580. The count had been wearied out by petty miseries. His stadholderate of Gelderland [1] had overwhelmed him with annoyance, for throughout the northeastern provinces there was neither system nor subordination. Never had prætor of a province a more penurious civil list. "The baker has given notice," wrote Count John, in November, "that he will supply no more bread after to-morrow, unless he is paid." The states would furnish no money to pay the bill. It was no better with the butcher. "The cook has often no meat to roast," said the count, in the same letter, "so that we are often obliged to go supperless to bed." His lodgings were a half-roofed, half-finished, unfurnished barrack, where the stadholder passed his winter days and evenings in a small, dark, freezing-cold chamber, often without firewood. Having already loaded himself with a debt of 600,000 florins, which he had spent in the states' service, and having struggled manfully against the petty tortures of his situation, he cannot be severely censured for relinquishing his post.

[1 His office was technically that of "Director of the college of the Nearer Union."]

Soon afterwards, a special legation, with Sainte-Aldegonde at its head, was despatched to France to consult with the duke of Anjou, and settled terms of agreement with him by the Treaty of Plessis-les-Tours (on the 29th of September, 1580), afterwards definitely ratified by the convention of Bordeaux, signed on the 23rd of the following January.

The states of Holland and Zealand, however, kept entirely aloof from this transaction, being from the beginning opposed to the choice of Anjou. From the first to the last, they would have no master but Orange, and to him, therefore, this year they formally offered the sovereignty of their provinces; but they offered it in vain.

The conquest of Portugal had effected a diversion in the affairs of the Netherlands. It was but a transitory one. From the moment of this conquest, Philip was more disposed, and more at leisure than ever, to vent his wrath against the Netherlands, and against the man whom he considered the incarnation of their revolt.

THE "BAN" AGAINST WILLIAM (1580)

Cardinal Granvella had ever whispered in the king's ear the expediency of taking off the prince by assassination. In accordance with these suggestions and these hopes, the famous ban was drawn up, and dated on the 15th of March, 1580. It was, however, not formally published in the Netherlands until the month of June of the same year.

This edict will remain the most lasting monument to the memory of Cardinal Granvella. It will be read when all his other state-papers and epistles — able as they incontestably are — shall have passed into oblivion. No panegyric of friend, no palliating magnanimity of foe, can roll away this rock of infamy from his tomb. It was by Cardinal Granvella and by Philip that a price was set upon the head of the foremost man of his age, as if he had been a savage beast, and that admission into the ranks of Spain's haughty nobility was made the additional bribe to tempt the assassin.

The ban consisted of a preliminary narrative to justify the penalty.

"For these causes," concluded the ban, "we declare him traitor and miscreant, enemy of ourselves and of the country. As such we banish him perpetually from all our realms, forbidding all our subjects, of whatever quality, to communicate with him openly or privately — to administer to him victuals, drink, fire, or other necessaries. We allow all to injure him in property or life. We expose the said William Nassau as an enemy of the human race — giving his property to all who may seize it. And if any one of our subjects or any stranger should be found sufficiently generous of heart to rid us of this pest, delivering him to us, alive or dead, or taking his life, we will cause to be furnished to him immediately after the deed shall have been done, the sum of twenty-five thousand crowns in gold. If he have committed any crime, however heinous, we promise to pardon him; and if he be not already noble, we will ennoble him for his valour."

THE "APOLOGY" OF WILLIAM

Such was the celebrated ban against the prince of Orange. It was answered before the end of the year by the memorable *Apology of the Prince of Orange*, one of the most startling documents in history. No defiance was ever thundered forth in the face of a despot in more terrible tones. It had become sufficiently manifest to the royal party that the prince was not to be

purchased by "millions of money," or by unlimited family advancement — not to be cajoled by flattery or offers of illustrious friendship. It had been decided, therefore, to terrify him into retreat, or to remove him by murder. The government had been thoroughly convinced that the only way to finish the revolt, was to "finish Orange," according to the ancient advice of Antonio Perez. The rupture being thus complete, it was right that the "wretched hypocrite" should answer ban with ban, royal denunciation with sublime scorn. He had ill deserved, however, the title of hypocrite, he said. When the friend of government, he had warned them that by their complicated and perpetual persecutions they were twisting the rope of their own ruin. Was that hypocrisy? Since becoming their enemy, there had likewise been little hypocrisy found in him — unless it was hypocrisy to make open war upon government, to take their cities, to expel their armies from the country.

The proscribed rebel, towering to a moral and even social superiority over the man who affected to be his master by right divine, repudiated the idea of a king in the Netherlands. The word might be legitimate in Castile, or Naples, or the Indies, but the provinces knew no such title. Philip had inherited in those countries only the power of duke or count — a power closely limited by constitutions more ancient than his birthright. Orange was no rebel then — Philip no legitimate monarch. Even were the prince rebellious, it was no more than Philip's ancestor, Albert of Austria, had been towards his anointed sovereign, emperor Adolphus of Nassau, ancestor of William. The ties of allegiance and conventional authority being severed, it had become idle for the king to affect superiority of lineage to the man whose family had occupied illustrious stations when the Habsburgs were obscure squires in Switzerland, and had ruled as sovereign in the Netherlands before that overshadowing house had ever been named.

But whatever the hereditary claims of Philip in the country, he had forfeited them by the violation of his oaths, by his tyrannical suppression of the charters of the land; while by his personal crimes he had lost all pretension to sit in judgment upon his fellow man. Was a people not justified in rising against authority when all their laws had been trodden under foot, "not once only, but a million of times"? — and was William of Orange, lawful husband of the virtuous Charlotte de Bourbon, to be denounced for moral delinquency by a lascivious, incestuous, adulterous, and murderous king? With horrible distinctness he laid before the monarch all the crimes of which he believed him guilty, and having thus told Philip to his beard, "thus didst thou," he had a withering word for the priest who stood at his back. "Tell me," he cried, "by whose command Cardinal Granvella administered poison to Emperor Maximilian? I know what the emperor told me, and how much fear he felt afterwards for the king and for all Spaniards."

He ridiculed the effrontery of men like Philip and Granvella in charging "distrust upon others, when it was the very atmosphere of their own existence." He proclaimed that sentiment to be the only salvation for the country. He reminded Philip of the words which his namesake of Macedon — a school-boy in tyranny, compared to himself — had heard from the lips of Demosthenes — that the strongest fortress of a free people against a tyrant was distrust. That sentiment, worthy of eternal memory, the prince declared that he had taken from the "divine philippic," to engrave upon the heart of the nation, and he prayed God that he might be more readily believed than the great orator had been by his people. He treated with scorn the price set upon his head, ridiculing this project to terrify him, for its want of novelty, and asking the monarch if he supposed the rebel ignorant of the

various bargains which had frequently been made before with cut-throats and poisoners to take away his life. "I am in the hand of God," said William of Orange; "my worldly goods and my life have been long since dedicated to his service. He will dispose of them as seems best for his glory and my salvation."

On the contrary, however, if it could be demonstrated, or even hoped, that his absence would benefit the cause of the country, he proclaimed himself ready to go into exile. "Would to God," said he, in conclusion, "that my perpetual banishment, or even my death, could bring you a true deliverance from so many calamities. Oh, how consoling would be such banishment — how sweet such a death! For why have I exposed my property? Was it that I might enrich myself? Why have I lost my brothers? Was it that I might find new ones? Why have I left my son so long a prisoner? Can you give me another? Why have I put my life so often in danger? What reward can I hope after my long services, and the almost total wreck of my earthly fortunes, if not the prize of having acquired, perhaps at the expense of my life, your liberty? If then, my masters, you judge that my absence or my death can serve you, behold me ready to obey. Command me — send me to the ends of the earth — I will obey. Here is my head, over which no prince, no monarch, has power but yourselves. Dispose of it for your good, for the preservation of your republic, but if you judge that the moderate amount of experience and industry which is in me, if you judge that the remainder of my property and of my life can yet be a service to you, I dedicate them afresh to you and to the country." [1]

His motto — most appropriate to his life and character — "*Je maintiendrai*," was the concluding phrase of the document. His arms and signature were also formally appended, and the *Apology*, translated into most modern languages, was sent to nearly every potentate in Christendom. It had been previously, on the 13th of December, 1580, read before the assembly of the united states at Delft, and approved as cordially as the ban was indignantly denounced.

ALLEGIANCE TO PHILIP FORMALLY RENOUNCED (1581)

During the remainder of the year 1580, and the half of the following year, the seat of hostilities was mainly in the northeast — Parma, while waiting the arrival of fresh troops, being inactive. The operations, like the armies and the generals, were petty. Hohenlohe was opposed to Renneberg. After a few insignificant victories, the latter laid siege to Steenwijk. Upon the 22nd of February, 1581, at the expiration of the third week, Norris succeeded in victualling the town, and Count Renneberg abandoned the siege in despair.

The subsequent career of that unhappy nobleman was brief. On the 19th of July his troops were signally defeated by Sonoy and Norris, the fugitive royalists retreating into Groningen at the very moment when their general, who had been prevented by illness from commanding them, was

[1] The *Apologie* was drawn up by Villiers, a clergyman of learning and talent. No man, however, at all conversant with the writings and speeches of the prince, can doubt that the entire substance of the famous document was from his own hand. The whole was submitted to him for his final emendations, and it seems by no means certain that it derived anything from the hand of Villiers, save the artistic arrangement of the parts, together with certain inflations of style, by which the general effect is occasionally marred. The appearance of the *Apology* created both admiration and alarm among the friends of its author. "Now is the Prince a dead man," cried Sainte-Aldegonde, when he read it in France. Blok[i] agrees with Motley[h] that "the prince's part in the apology is evident."

receiving the last sacraments. Remorse, shame, and disappointment had literally brought Renneberg to his grave. "His treason," says Bor,[e] a contemporary, "was a nail in his coffin," and on his deathbed he bitterly bemoaned his crime. "Groningen! Groningen! would that I had never seen thy walls!" he cried repeatedly in his last hours. He refused to see his sister, whose insidious counsels had combined with his own evil passions to make him a traitor; and he died on the 23rd of July, 1581, repentant and submissive.[1]

Philip was in Portugal, preparing for his coronation in that new kingdom — an event to be nearly contemporaneous with his deposition from the Netherland sovereignty, so solemnly conferred upon him a quarter of a century before in Brussels. He committed the profound error of sending the duchess Margaret of Parma to the Netherlands again. The Netherlanders were very moderately excited by the arrival of their former regent, but the prince of Parma was furious. He was unflinching in his determination to retain all the power or none. The duchess, as docile to her son after her arrival as she had been to the king on undertaking the journey, and feeling herself unequal to the task imposed upon her, implored Philip's permission to withdraw, but continued to reside there under an assumed name until the autumn of 1583, when she was at last permitted to return to Italy.

During the summer of 1581 the same spirit of persecution which had inspired the Catholics to inflict such infinite misery upon those of the reformed faith in the Netherlands began to manifest itself in overt acts against the papists by those who had at last obtained political ascendency over them. Edicts were published in Antwerp, in Utrecht, and in different cities of Holland, suspending the exercise of the Roman worship. These statutes were certainly a long way removed in horror from those memorable placards which sentenced the Reformers by thousands to the axe, the cord, and the stake, but it was still melancholy to see the persecuted becoming persecutors in their turn.

A most important change was now to take place in the prince's condition, a most vital measure was to be consummated by the provinces. The step, which could never be retraced, was, after long hesitation, finally taken upon the 26th of July, 1581, upon which day the united provinces, assembled at the Hague, solemnly declared their independence of Philip, and renounced their allegiance for ever.

This act was accomplished with the deliberation due to its gravity. At the same time it left the country in a very divided condition. The Walloon provinces had already fallen off from the cause, notwithstanding the entreaties of the prince. The other Netherlands, after long and tedious negotiation with Anjou, had at last consented to his supremacy, but from this arrangement Holland and Zealand held themselves aloof. They were willing to contract with him and with their sister provinces — over which he was soon to exercise authority — a firm and perpetual league, but as to their own chief, their hearts were fixed. The prince of Orange should be their lord and master, and none other. It lay only in his self-denying character that he had not been clothed with this dignity long before.

As it was evident that the provinces, thus bent upon placing him at their head, could by no possibility be induced to accept the sovereignty of Anjou — as, moreover, the act of renunciation of Philip could no longer be deferred,

[1 Renneberg was succeeded as commander of the royalists, by Francesco de Verdugo, but, as Blok[i] says, guerrilla war prevailed since "both sides were hampered by lack of money and men."]

the prince of Orange reluctantly and provisionally accepted the supreme power over Holland and Zealand. This arrangement was finally accomplished upon the 24th of July, 1581, and the act of abjuration took place two days afterwards. The offer of the sovereignty over the other united provinces had been accepted by Anjou six months before. Thus the Netherlands were divided into three portions — the reconciled provinces, the united provinces under Anjou, and the northern provinces under Orange; the last division forming the germ, already nearly developed, of the coming republic.

WILLIAM BECOMES SOVEREIGN OF HOLLAND (1581)

The sovereignty thus pressingly offered, and thus limited as to time [to the end of the war], was finally accepted by William of Orange, according to a formal act dated at the Hague, 5th of July, 1581, but no powers were conferred by this new instrument beyond those already exercised by the prince. It was as it were a formal continuance of the functions which he had exercised since 1576 as the king's stadholder, according to his old commission of 1555, although a vast difference existed in reality. The limitation as to time was, moreover, soon afterwards secretly, and without the knowledge of Orange, cancelled by the states. They were determined that the prince should be their sovereign — if they could make him so — for the term of his life.

The offer having thus been made and accepted upon the 5th of July, oaths of allegiance and fidelity were exchanged between the prince and the states upon the 24th of the same month. Two days afterwards, upon the 26th of July. 1581, the memorable declaration of independence was issued by the deputies of the united provinces, then solemnly assembled at the Hague. It was called the Act of Abjuration.

The document by which the provinces renounced their allegiance was not the most felicitous of their state papers. It was too prolix and technical. Its style had more of the formal phraseology of legal documents than befitted this great appeal to the whole world and to all time. Nevertheless, this is but matter of taste. The Netherlanders were so eminently a law-abiding people, that, like the American patriots of the eighteenth century, they on most occasions preferred punctilious precision to florid declamation. They chose to conduct their revolt according to law. At the same time, while thus decently wrapping herself in conventional garments, the spirit of Liberty revealed none the less her majestic proportions.

At the very outset of the Abjuration, these fathers of the republic laid down wholesome truths, which at that time seemed startling blasphemies in the ears of Christendom. "All mankind know," said the preamble, "that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfil his duty as protector; when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his room."

Having enunciated these maxims, the estates proceeded to apply them to their own case, and certainly never was an ampler justification for renouncing a prince since princes were first instituted. The states ran through the history of the past quarter of a century, patiently accumulating a load of charges against the monarch, a tithe of which would have furnished cause for his dethronement. Without passion or exaggeration they told

the world their wrongs. The picture was not highly coloured. On the contrary, it was rather a feeble than a striking portrait of the monstrous iniquity which had so long been established over them.

They calmly observed, after this recital, that they were sufficiently justified in forsaking a sovereign who for more than twenty years had forsaken them. Obeying the law of nature — desirous of maintaining the rights, charters, and liberties of their fatherland — determined to escape from slavery to Spaniards — and making known their decision to the world, they declared the king of Spain deposed from his sovereignty, and proclaimed that they should recognise thenceforth neither his title nor jurisdiction. Three days afterwards, on the 29th of July, the assembly adopted a formula by which all persons were to be required to signify their abjuration.[1]

Such were the forms by which the united provinces threw off their allegiance to Spain, and *ipso facto* established a republic, which was to flourish for two centuries. This result, however, was not exactly foreseen by the congress which deposed Philip. The fathers of the commonwealth did not baptise it by the name of "republic." They did not contemplate a change in their form of government. They had neither an aristocracy nor a democracy in their thoughts. Like the actors in the American national drama, these Netherland patriots were struggling to sustain, not to overthrow; unlike them, they claimed no theoretical freedom for humanity — promulgated no doctrine of popular sovereignty: they insisted merely on the fulfilment of actual contracts, signed, sealed, and sworn to by many successive sovereigns. The deposition and election could be legally justified only by the inherent right of the people to depose and to elect; yet the provinces, in their declaration of independence, spoke of the divine right of kings, even while dethroning, by popular right, their own king!

So also, in the instructions given by the states to their envoys charged to justify the abjuration before the imperial diet held at Augsburg, twelve months later, the highest ground was claimed for the popular right to elect or depose the sovereign, while at the same time kings were spoken of as "appointed by God." It is true that they were described in the same clause as "chosen by the people" — which was, perhaps, as exact a concurrence in the maxim of *Vox populi vox Dei*, as the boldest democrat of the day could demand.

Such, then, being the spirit which prompted the provinces upon this great occasion, it may be asked who were the men who signed a document of such importance? In whose name and by what authority did they act against the sovereign? The signers of the declaration of independence acted in the name and by the authority of the Netherland people. The states were the constitutional representatives of that people.[2] The statesmen of that day, discovering, upon cold analysis of facts, that Philip's sovereignty was legally forfeited, formally proclaimed that forfeiture. Then inquiring what had become of the sovereignty, they found it not in the mass of the people, but

[1] It ran as follows: "I solemnly swear that I will henceforward not respect, nor obey, nor recognise the king of Spain as my prince and master; but that I renounce the king of Spain, and abjure the allegiance by which I may have formerly been bound to him. At the same time I swear fidelity to the United Netherlands — to wit, the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Gelderland, Holland, Zealand, etc., and also to the national council established by the estates of these provinces; and promise my assistance according to the best of my abilities against the king of Spain and his adherents."

[2] Blok points out the great importance in future history of this idea that "the origin of sovereignty was not vested in the lord of the land, but in the states as representing the subjects."]

in the representative body, which actually personated the people. The states of the different provinces — consisting of the knights, nobles, and burgesses of each — sent, accordingly, their deputies to the general assembly at the Hague, and by this congress the decree of abjuration was issued.

The want of personal ambition on the part of William the Silent inflicted perhaps a serious damage upon his country. He believed a single chief requisite for the united states; he might have been, but always refused to become that chief; and yet he has been held up for centuries by many writers as a conspirator and a self-seeking intriguer. "It seems to me," said he, with equal pathos and truth, upon one occasion, "that I was born in this bad planet that all which I do might be misinterpreted." The people worshipped him, and there was many an occasion when his election would have been carried with enthusiasm. Said John of Nassau, "He refuses only on this account — that it may not be thought that, instead of religious freedom for the country, he has been seeking a kingdom for himself and his own private advancement. Moreover, he believes that the connection with France will be of more benefit to the country and to Christianity than if a peace should be made with Spain, or than if he should himself accept the sovereignty, as he is desired to do."

The unfortunate negotiations with Anjou, to which no man was more opposed than Count John, proceeded therefore. In the meantime, the sovereignty over the united provinces was provisionally held by the national council, and, at the urgent solicitation of the states-general, by the prince. The archduke Matthias, whose functions were most unceremoniously brought to an end by the transactions which we have been recording, took his leave of the states, and departed in the month of October. Brought to the country a beardless boy, by the intrigues of a faction who wished to use him as a tool against William of Orange, he had quietly submitted, on the contrary, to serve as the instrument of that great statesman. His personality during his residence was null, and he had to expiate, by many a petty mortification, by many a bitter tear, the boyish ambition which brought him to the Netherlands. The states voted him, on his departure, a pension of fifty thousand guldens annually, which was probably not paid with exemplary regularity.

By midsummer the duke of Anjou made his appearance in the western part of the Netherlands. The prince of Parma had recently come from Cambray with the intention of reducing that important city. On the arrival of Anjou, however, at the head of five thousand cavalry — nearly all of them gentlemen of high degree, serving as volunteers — and of twelve thousand infantry, Alessandro raised the siege precipitately, and retired towards Tournay. Anjou victualled the city, strengthened the garrison, and then, as his cavalry had only enlisted for a summer's amusement, and could no longer be held together, he disbanded his forces. The bulk of the infantry took service for the states under the prince of Espinoy, governor of Tournay. The duke himself, finding that, notwithstanding the treaty of Plessis-les-Tours and the present showy demonstration upon his part, the states were not yet prepared to render him formal allegiance, and being, moreover, in the heyday of what was universally considered his prosperous courtship of Queen Elizabeth, soon afterwards took his departure for England.

Parma, being thus relieved of his interference, soon afterwards laid siege to the important city of Tournay. The prince of Espinoy was absent with the army in the north, but the princess commanded in his absence. She fulfilled her duty in a manner worthy of the house from which she sprang, for the blood of Count Horn was in her veins. The princess appeared daily

among her troops, superintending the defences, and personally directing the officers.

The siege lasted two months. The princess made an honourable capitulation with Parma. She herself, with all her garrison, was allowed to retire with personal property, and with all the honours of war, while the sack of the city was commuted for one hundred thousand crowns, levied upon the inhabitants. The princess, on leaving the gates, was received with such a shout of applause from the royal army that she seemed less like a defeated commander than a conqueror. Upon the 30th November, Parma accordingly entered the place which he had been besieging since the 1st of October.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ANJOU

The states sent a special mission to England, to arrange with the duke of Anjou for his formal installation as sovereign. Sainte-Aldegonde and other commissioners were already there. It was the memorable epoch in the Anjou wooing, when the rings were exchanged between Elizabeth and the duke, and when the world thought that the nuptials were on the point of being celebrated.

Nevertheless, the marriage ended in smoke. There were plenty of tournays, pageants, and banquets; a profusion of nuptial festivities, in short, where nothing was omitted but the nuptials. By the end of January, 1582, the duke was no nearer the goal than upon his arrival three months before. Acceding, therefore, to the wishes of the Netherland envoys he prepared for a visit to their country, where the ceremony of his joyful entrance (*La Joyeuse Entrée*) as duke of Brabant and sovereign of the other provinces was to take place. No open rupture with Elizabeth occurred.

On the 10th of February, 1582, fifteen large vessels cast anchor at Flushing. The duke of Anjou, attended by the earl of Leicester, the lords Hunsdon, Willoughby, Sheffield, Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, and many other personages of high rank and reputation, landed from this fleet. He was greeted on his arrival by the prince of Orange. Francis Hercules, son of France, duke of Alençon and Anjou, was at that time just twenty-eight years of age; yet not even his flatterers, or his "minions," of whom he had as regular a train as his royal brother, could claim for him the external graces of youth or of princely dignity. It was thought that his revolting appearance was the principal reason for the rupture of the English marriage, and it was in vain that his supporters maintained that if he could forgive her age, she might, in return, excuse his ugliness.

No more ignoble yet more dangerous creature had yet been loosed upon the devoted soil of the Netherlands. With a figure which was insignificant, and a countenance which was repulsive, he had hoped to efface the impression made upon Elizabeth's imagination by the handsomest man in Europe. With a commonplace capacity, and with a narrow political education, he intended to circumvent the most profound statesman of his age. And there, upon the pier at Flushing, he stood between them both; between the magnificent Leicester, whom he had thought to outshine, and the silent prince of Orange, whom he was determined to outwit.

The terms of the treaty concluded at Plessis-les-Tours and Bordeaux were now made public. The duke had subscribed to twenty-seven articles, which made as stringent and sensible a constitutional compact as could be desired by any Netherland patriot. These articles, taken in connection with the ancient charters which they expressly upheld, left to the new sovereign no

vestige of arbitrary power. He was merely the hereditary president of a representative republic. He was to be duke, count, marquis, or seignior of the different provinces on the same terms which his predecessors had accepted. He was to transmit the dignities to his children. If there were more than one child, the provinces were to select one of the number for their sovereign. He was to maintain all the ancient privileges, charters, statutes, and customs, and to forfeit his sovereignty at the first violation. He was to assemble the states-general at least once a year. He was always to reside in the Netherlands. He was to permit none but natives to hold office. His right of appointment to all important posts was limited to a selection from three candidates, to be proposed by the states of the province concerned, at each vacancy. He was to maintain "the religion" and the "religious peace" in the same state in which they then were, or as should afterwards be ordained by the states of each province, without making any innovation on his own part. Holland and Zealand were to remain as they were, both in the matter of religion and otherwise. His highness was not to permit that anyone should be examined or molested in his house, or otherwise, in the matter or under pretext of religion. He was to procure the assistance of the king of France for the Netherlands. He was to maintain a perfect and a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between that kingdom and the provinces; without, however, permitting any incorporation of territory. He was to carry on the war against Spain with his own means and those furnished by his royal brother, in addition to a yearly contribution by the estates of 2,400,000 guldens. He was to dismiss all troops at command of the states-general. He was to make no treaty with Spain without their consent.

ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE WILLIAM

The first-fruits of the ban now began to display themselves. Sunday, 18th of March, 1582, was the birthday of the duke of Anjou, and a great festival had been arranged, accordingly, for the evening, at the palace of St. Michael, the prince of Orange as well as all the great French lords being of course invited. On rising from the table, Orange led the way from the dining-room to his own apartments. As he stood upon the threshold of the antechamber, a youth offered him a petition. He took the paper, and as he did so, the stranger suddenly drew a pistol and discharged it at the head of the prince. The ball entered the neck under the right ear, passed through the roof of the mouth, and came out under the left jawbone, carrying with it two teeth. The pistol had been held so near that the hair and beard of the prince were set on fire by the discharge. He remained standing, but blinded, stunned, and for a moment entirely ignorant of what had occurred. As he afterwards observed, he thought perhaps that a part of the house had suddenly fallen. Finding very soon that his hair and beard were burning, he comprehended what had occurred, and called out quickly, "Do not kill him — I forgive him my death!" and turning to the French noblemen present, he added, "Alas! what a faithful servant does his highness lose in me!"

These were his first words, spoken when, as all believed, he had been mortally wounded. The message of mercy came, however, too late; for two of the gentlemen present, by an irresistible impulse, had run the assassin through with their rapiers. The halberdiers rushed upon him immediately afterwards, so that he fell pierced in thirty-two vital places. The prince, supported by his friends, walked to his chamber, where he was put to bed, while the surgeons examined and bandaged the wound. It was most

dangerous in appearance, but a very strange circumstance gave more hope than could otherwise have been entertained. The flame from the pistol had been so close that it had actually cauterised the wound inflicted by the ball. But for this, it was supposed that the flow of blood from the veins which had been shot through would have proved fatal before the wound could be dressed. The prince, after the first shock, had recovered full possession of his senses, and believing himself to be dying, he expressed the most unaffected sympathy for the condition in which the duke of Anjou would be placed by his death. "Alas, poor prince!" he cried frequently; "alas, what troubles will now beset thee!" The surgeons enjoined and implored his silence, as speaking might cause the wound to prove immediately fatal. He complied, but wrote incessantly. As long as his heart could beat, it was impossible for him not to be occupied with his country.

Sainte-Aldegonde, who had meantime arrived, now proceeded, in company of the other gentlemen, to examine the articles and papers taken from the assassin. The pistol with which he had done the deed was lying upon the floor; a naked poniard, which he would probably have used also, had his thumb not been blown off by the discharge of the pistol, was found in his trunk hose. In his pocket were an *Agnus Dei*, a taper of green wax, two bits of hareskin, two dried toads — which were supposed to be sorcerer's charms — a crucifix, a Jesuit catechism, a prayer-book, a pocket-book containing two Spanish bills of exchange — one for two thousand, and one for eight hundred and seventy-seven crowns — and a set of writing tablets. These last were covered with vows and pious invocations, in reference to the murderous affair which the writer had in hand.

The poor fanatical fool had been taught by deeper villains than himself that his pistol was to rid the world of a tyrant, and to open his own pathway to heaven, if his career should be cut short on earth. To prevent so undesirable a catastrophe to himself, however, his most natural conception had been to bribe the whole heavenly host, from the Virgin Mary downwards, for he had been taught that absolution for murder was to be bought and sold like other merchandise. He had also been persuaded that, after accomplishing the deed, HE WOULD BECOME INVISIBLE.

Sainte-Aldegonde hastened to lay the result of this examination before the duke of Anjou. Information was likewise instantly conveyed to the magistrates at the town-house, and these measures were successful in restoring confidence throughout the city as to the intentions of the new government. Anjou immediately convened the state council, issued a summons for an early meeting of the states-general, and published a proclamation that all persons having information to give concerning the crime which had just been committed, should come instantly forward, upon pain of death. The body of the assassin was forthwith exposed upon the public square, and was soon recognised as that of one Juan Jaureguy, a servant in the employ of Gaspar de Anastro, a Spanish merchant of Antwerp. The letters and bills of exchange had also, on nearer examination at the town-house, implicated Anastro in the affair. His house was immediately searched, but the merchant had taken his departure, upon the previous Tuesday, under pretext of pressing affairs at Calais. His cashier, Venero, and a Dominican friar, named Anthony Zimmermann, both inmates of his family, were, however, arrested upon suspicion. Venero wrote a full confession.

It appeared that the crime was purely a commercial speculation on the part of Anastro. That merchant, being on the verge of bankruptcy, had entered with Philip into a mutual contract, which the king had signed with

his hand and sealed with his seal, and according to which Anastro, within a certain period, was to take the life of William of Orange, and for so doing was to receive 80,000 ducats, and the cross of Santiago. To be a knight companion of Spain's proudest order of chivalry was the guerdon, over and above the eighty thousand pieces of silver, which Spain's monarch promised the murderer, if he should succeed. The cowardly and crafty principal escaped.

The process against Venero and Zimmermann was rapidly carried through, for both had made a full confession of their share in the crime. The prince had enjoined from his sick-bed, however, that the case should be conducted with strict regard to justice, and, when the execution could no longer be deferred, he had sent a written request, by the hands of Sainte-Aldegonde, that they should be put to death in the least painful manner. The request was complied with, but there can be no doubt that the criminals, had it not been made, would have expiated their offence by the most lingering tortures. Owing to the intercession of the man who was to have been their victim, they were strangled, before being quartered, upon a scaffold erected in the market-place, opposite the town-house. This execution took place on Wednesday, the 28th of March, 1582.

The prince for eighteen days lay in a most precarious state. On the 5th of April the cicatrix by which the flow of blood from the neck had been prevented, almost from the first infliction of the wound, fell off. The veins poured forth a vast quantity of blood; it seemed impossible to check the hæmorrhage, and all hope appeared to vanish. The prince resigned himself to his fate, and bade his children "good-night forever," saying calmly, "it is now all over with me."

It was difficult, without suffocating the patient, to fasten a bandage tightly enough to staunch the wound, but Leonardo Botalli, of Asti, body physician of Anjou, was nevertheless fortunate enough to devise a simple mechanical expedient, which proved successful. By his advice, a succession of attendants, relieving each other day and night, prevented the flow of blood by keeping the orifice of the wound slightly but firmly compressed with the thumb. After a period of anxious expectation, the wound again closed, and by the end of the month the prince was convalescent. On the 2nd of May he went to offer thanksgiving in the Great Cathedral, amid the joyful sobs of a vast and most earnest throng.

The prince was saved, but unhappily the murderer had yet found an illustrious victim. The princess of Orange, Charlotte de Bourbon — the devoted wife who for seven years had so faithfully shared his joys and sorrows — lay already on her death-bed. Exhausted by anxiety, long watching, and the alternations of hope and fear during the first eighteen days, she had been prostrated by despair at the renewed hæmorrhage. A violent fever seized her, under which she sank on the 5th of May, three days after the solemn thanksgiving for her husband's recovery. The prince, who loved her tenderly, was in great danger of relapse upon the sad event, which, although not sudden, had not been anticipated. She was a woman of rare intelligence, accomplishment, and gentleness of disposition, whose only offence had been to break, by her marriage, the church vows to which she had been forced in her childhood, but which had been pronounced illegal by competent authority, both ecclesiastical and lay. For this, and for the contrast which her virtues afforded to the vices of her predecessor, she was the mark of calumny and insult.

The offer of the sovereign countship of Holland was again made to the prince of Orange in most urgent terms. It will be recollected that he had

accepted the sovereignty on the 5th of July, 1581, only for the term of the war. In a letter, dated Bruges, 14th of August, 1582, he accepted the dignity without limitation. This offer and acceptance, however, constituted but the preliminaries, for it was further necessary that the letters of *renversal* should be drawn up, that they should be formally delivered, and that a new constitution should be laid down, and confirmed by mutual oaths. After these steps had been taken, the ceremonious inauguration or rendering of homage was to be celebrated.

All these measures were duly arranged except the last. The installation of the new count of Holland was prevented by his death, and the northern provinces remained a republic, not only in fact but in name.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1582

In political matters, the basis of the new constitution was the "Great Privilege" of the lady Mary, the Magna Charta of the country. That memorable monument in the history of the Netherlands and of municipal progress had been overthrown by Mary's son, with the forced acquiescence of the states, and it was therefore stipulated by the new article that even such laws and privileges as had fallen into disuse should be revived. It was furthermore provided that the little state should be a free countship, and should thus silently sever its connection with the empire.

With regard to the position of the prince, as hereditary chief of the little commonwealth, his actual power was rather diminished than increased by his new dignity. By the new constitution he ceased to be the source of governmental life, or to derive his own authority from above by right divine. Orange's sovereignty was from the states, as legal representatives of the people, and instead of exercising all the powers not otherwise granted away, he was content with those especially conferred upon him. He could neither declare war nor conclude peace without the co-operation of the representative body. The appointing power was scrupulously limited.

With respect to the great principle of taxation, stricter bonds even were provided than those which already existed. As executive head, save in his capacity as commander-in-chief by land or sea, the new sovereign was, in short, strictly limited by self-imposed laws. It had rested with him to dictate or to accept a constitution. He had, in his memorable letter of August, 1582, from Bruges, laid down generally the articles prepared at Plessis and Bordeaux, for Anjou — together with all applicable provisions of the joyous entry of Brabant — as the outlines of the constitution for the little commonwealth then forming in the north. To these provisions he was willing to add any others which, after ripe deliberation, might be thought beneficial to the country. Thus limited were his executive functions. As to his judicial authority, it had ceased to exist. The count of Holland was now the guardian of the laws, but the judges were to administer them.

As to the count's legislative authority, it had become co-ordinate with, if not subordinate to, that of the representative body. He was strictly prohibited from interfering with the right of the separate or the general states to assemble as often as they should think proper; and he was also forbidden to summon them outside their own territory. This was one immense step in the progress of representative liberty, and the next was equally important. It was now formally stipulated that the states were to deliberate upon all measures which "concerned justice and polity," and that no change was to

be made — that is to say, no new law was to pass — without their consent as well as that of the council. Thus, the principle was established of two legislative chambers, with the right, but not the exclusive right, of initiation on the part of government, and in the sixteenth century one would hardly look for broader views of civil liberty and representative government. The foundation of a free commonwealth was thus securely laid, which, had William lived, would have been a representative monarchy, but which his death converted into a federal republic. It was necessary for the sake of unity to give a connected outline of these proceedings with regard to the sovereignty of Orange. The formal inauguration only remained, and this, as will be seen, was forever interrupted.

During the course of the year 1582, the military operations on both sides had been languid and desultory. In consequence, however, of the treaty concluded between the united states and Anjou, Parma had persuaded the Walloon provinces that it had now become absolutely necessary for them to permit the entrance of fresh Italian and Spanish troops. This, then, was the end of the famous provision against foreign soldiery in the Walloon Treaty of Reconciliation.

In the meantime, Farnese, while awaiting these reinforcements, had not been idle, but had been quietly picking up several important cities. Early in the spring he had laid siege to Oudenarde. An attempt upon Lochum, an important city in Gelderland, was unsuccessful, the place being relieved by the duke of Anjou's forces, and Parma's troops forced to abandon the siege. At Steenwijk, the royal arms were more successful. With this event the active operations under Parma closed for the year. By the end of the autumn, however, he had the satisfaction of numbering, under his command, full sixty thousand well-appointed and disciplined troops, including the large reinforcements recently despatched from Spain and Italy. The monthly expense of this army — half of which was required for garrison duty, leaving only the other moiety for field operations — was estimated at six hundred and fifty thousand florins. The forces under Anjou and the united provinces were also largely increased, so that the marrow of the land was again in fair way of being thoroughly exhausted by its defenders and its foes.

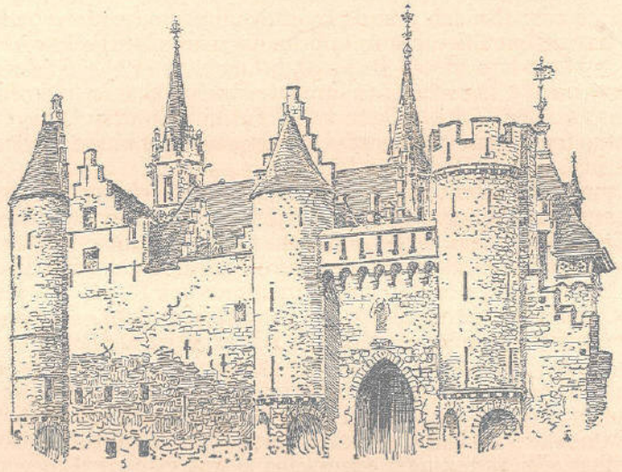
The incidents of Anjou's administration, meantime, during the year 1582, had been few and of no great importance. After the pompous and elaborate "homage-making" at Antwerp, he had, in the month of July, been formally accepted, by writing, as duke of Gelderland and lord of Friesland. In the same month he had been ceremoniously inaugurated at Bruges as count of Flanders — an occasion upon which the prince of Orange had been present.

In the midst of this event, an attempt was made upon the lives both of Orange and Anjou. An Italian, named Basa, and a Spaniard, called Salseda, were detected in a scheme to administer poison to both princes, and when arrested, confessed that they had been hired by the prince of Parma to compass this double assassination. Basa destroyed himself in prison. His body was, however, gibbeted, with an inscription that he had attempted, at the instigation of Parma, to take the lives of Orange and Anjou. Salseda, less fortunate, was sent to Paris, where he was found guilty, and executed by being torn to pieces by four horses. Sad to relate, Lamoral Egmont, younger son and namesake of the great general, was intimate with Salseda, and implicated in this base design. His mother, on her death-bed, had especially recommended the youth to the kindly care of Orange. The young noble was imprisoned; his guilt was far from doubtful; but the powerful intercessions of Orange himself, combined with Egmont's near relationship to

the French queen, saved his life, and he was permitted, after a brief captivity, to take his departure to France.[h]

ANJOU'S PLOT AND THE "FRENCH FURY" (1583)

The duke of Anjou, intemperate, inconstant, and unprincipled, saw that his authority was but the shadow of power, compared to the deep-fixed practices of despotism which governed the other nations of Europe. The French officers, who formed his suite and possessed all his confidence, had no difficulty in raising his discontent into treason against the people with



THE STEEN AT ANTWERP—SCENE OF THE INQUISITION

whom he had made a solemn compact. The result of their councils was a deep-laid plot against Flemish liberty; and its execution was ere long attempted. He sent secret orders to the governors of Dunkirk, Bruges, Dendermonde, and other towns, to seize on and hold them in his name; reserving for himself the infamy of the enterprise against Antwerp. To prepare for its execution, he caused his numerous army of French and Swiss to approach the city; and they were encamped in the neighbourhood, at a place called Borgerhout.

On the 17th of January, 1583, the duke dined somewhat earlier than usual, under the pretext of proceeding afterwards to review his army in their camp. He set out at noon, accompanied by his guard of two hundred horse; and when he reached the second drawbridge, one of his officers gave the preconcerted signal for an attack on the Flemish guard, by pretending that he had fallen and broken his leg. The duke called out to his followers, "Courage, courage! the town is ours!" The guard at the gate was all soon despatched; and the French troops, which waited outside to the number of 3,000, rushed quickly in, furiously shouting the war-cry, "Town taken! town taken! kill! kill!" The astonished but intrepid citizens, recovering from their confusion, instantly flew to arms. All differences in religion or politics were forgotten in the common danger to their freedom. Catholics and Protestants, men and women, rushed alike to the conflict.

The ancient spirit of Flanders seemed to animate all. Workmen, armed with the instruments of their various trades, started from their shops and flung themselves upon the enemy. A baker sprang from the cellar where he was kneading his dough, and with his oven shovel struck a French dragoon to the ground. Those who had fire-arms, after expending their bullets, took from their pouches and pockets pieces of money, which they bent between their teeth, and used for charging their arquebuses. The French were driven successively from the streets and ramparts, and the cannons planted on the latter were immediately turned against the reinforcements which attempted to enter the town. The French were everywhere beaten; the duke of Anjou saved himself by flight, and reached Dendermonde, after the perilous necessity of passing through a large tract of inundated country [the citizens of Mechlin having cut the dikes to impede his march]. His loss in this base enterprise amounted to fifteen hundred, while that of the citizens did not exceed eighty men. The attempts simultaneously made on the other towns succeeded at Dunkirk and Dendermonde; but all the others failed.

The character of the prince of Orange never appeared so thoroughly great as at this crisis. With wisdom and magnanimity rarely equalled and never surpassed, he threw himself and his authority between the indignation of the country and the guilt of Anjou; saving the former from excess, and the latter from execration. The disgraced and discomfited duke proffered to the states excuses as mean as they were hypocritical[1]; and his brother, the king of France, sent a special envoy to intercede for him. But it was the influence of William that screened the culprit from public reprobation and ruin, and regained for him the place and power which he might easily have secured for himself, had he not prized the welfare of his country far above all objects of private advantage.[n]

The estates of the Union, being in great perplexity as to their proper course, now applied formally, as they always did in times of danger and doubt, to the prince, for a public expression of his views. Somewhat reluctantly, he complied with their wishes in one of the most admirable of his state papers.

He was far from palliating the crime, or from denying that the duke's rights under the Treaty of Bordeaux had been utterly forfeited. He was now asked what was to be done. Of three courses, he said, one must be taken: they must make their peace with the king, or consent to a reconciliation with Anjou, or use all the strength which God had given them to resist, single-handed, the enemy. The French could do the Netherlands more harm as enemies than the Spaniards.

Two powerful nations like France and Spain would be too much to have on their hands at once. How much danger, too, would be incurred by braving at once the open wrath of the French king and the secret displeasure of the English queen! She had warmly recommended the duke of Anjou. She had said that honours to him were rendered to herself, and she was now entirely opposed to their keeping the present quarrel alive.

The result of these representations by the prince — of frequent letters from Queen Elizabeth, urging a reconciliation — and of the professions made by the duke and the French envoys, was a provisional arrangement, signed on the 26th and 28th of March 1583. The negotiations, however, were languid. The quarrel was healed on the surface, but confidence so recently and violently uprooted was slow to revive. On the 28th of June, the duke

[1 He ascribed the enterprise partly to accident, and partly to the insubordination of his troops. — MOTLEY.[h]]

of Anjou left Dunkirk for Paris, never to return to the Netherlands, but he exchanged on his departure affectionate letters with the prince and the states. M. des Pruneaux remained as his representative, and it was understood that the arrangements for re-installing him as soon as possible in the sovereignty which he had so basely forfeited, were to be pushed forward with earnestness.

On the 12th of April, the prince of Orange was married, for the fourth time, to Louise, widow of the seigneur de Teligny, and daughter of the illustrious Coligny.

In August, 1583, the states of the united provinces assembled at Middelburg formally offered the general government — which under the circumstances was the general sovereignty — to the prince, warmly urging his acceptance of the dignity. Like all other attempts to induce the acceptance, by the prince, of supreme authority, this effort proved ineffectual, from the obstinate unwillingness of his hand to receive the proffered sceptre. But, firmly refusing to heed the overtures of the united states, and of Holland in particular, he continued to further the re-establishment of Anjou — a measure in which, as he deliberately believed, lay the only chance of union and independence.

Parma, meantime, had been busily occupied in the course of the summer in taking up many of the towns which the treason of Anjou had laid open to his attacks. Eindhoven, Diest, Dunkirk, Nieuport, and other places, were successively surrendered to royalist generals. On the 22nd of September, 1583, the city of Zutphen, too, was surprised by Colonel Tassis, on the fall of which most important place the treason of Orange's brother-in-law, Count van den Bergh, governor of Gelderland, was revealed. While treason was thus favouring the royal arms in the north, the same powerful element, to which so much of the Netherland misfortunes had always been owing, was busy in Flanders.

Early in the spring of 1584 a formal resolution was passed by the government of Ghent, to open negotiations with Parma. The whole negotiation was abruptly brought to a close by a new incident, the demagogue Hembyze having been discovered in a secret attempt to obtain possession of the city of Dendermonde, and deliver it to Parma. The old acquaintance, ally and enemy of Hembyze the lord of Ryhove, being thoroughly on his guard, arrested his old comrade, who was shortly afterwards brought to trial and executed at Ghent. Meanwhile the citizens of Ghent, thus warned by word and deed, passed an earnest resolution to have no more intercourse with Parma, but to abide faithfully by the union. Their example was followed by the other Flemish cities, excepting, unfortunately, Bruges, for that important town, being entirely in the power of Chimay, was now surrendered by him to the royal government.

On the 10th of June, 1584, Anjou expired at Château Thierry, in great torture, sweating blood from every pore, and under circumstances which, as usual, suggested strong suspicions of poison.

FURTHER ATTEMPTS ON WILLIAM'S LIFE

It has been seen that the ban against the prince of Orange had not been hitherto without fruits, for, although unsuccessful, the efforts to take his life, and earn the promised guerdon, had been incessant. The attempt of Jaureguy, at Antwerp, of Salseda and Basa at Bruges, have been related, and in March, 1583, moreover, one Pietro Dordogno was executed in Antwerp

for endeavouring to assassinate the prince. Before his death, he confessed that he had come from Spain solely for the purpose. In April, 1584, Hans Hanzoon, a merchant of Flushing, had been executed for attempting to destroy the prince by means of gunpowder, concealed under his house in that city, and under his seat in the church. Within two years there had been five distinct attempts to assassinate the prince, all of them with the privity of the Spanish government. A sixth was soon to follow.

In the summer of 1584, William of Orange was residing at Delft, where his wife, Louise de Coligny, had given birth, in the preceding winter, to a son, afterwards the celebrated stadholder, Frederick Henry. The child had received these names from his two godfathers, the kings of Denmark and of Navarre, and his baptism had been celebrated with much rejoicing on the 12th of June, in the place of his birth.

Francis Guion, in reality Balthasar Gérard, a fanatical Catholic, before reaching man's estate, had formed the design of murdering the prince of Orange, "who, so long as he lived, seemed like to remain a rebel against the Catholic king, and to make every effort to disturb the repose of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion." Parma had long been looking for a good man to murder Orange, feeling — as Philip, Granvella, and all former governors of the Netherlands had felt — that this was the only means of saving the royal authority in any part of the provinces. Many unsatisfactory assassins had presented themselves from time to time, and Alessandro had paid money in hand to various individuals — Italians, Spaniards, Lorrainers, Scotchmen, Englishmen — who had generally spent the sums received without attempting the job. Others were supposed to be still engaged in the enterprise, and at that moment there were four persons — each unknown to the others, and of different nations — in the city of Delft, seeking to compass the death of William the Silent. Shag-eared, military, hirsute ruffians — ex-captains of free companies and such marauders — were daily offering their services; there was no lack of them, and they had done but little. How should Parma, seeing this obscure, under-sized, thin-bearded, run-away clerk before him, expect pith and energy from him? He thought him quite unfit for an enterprise of moment, and declared as much to his secret councillors and to the king.

A second letter decided Parma so far that he authorised Assonleville to encourage the young man in his attempt, and to promise that the reward should be given to him in case of success, and to his heirs in the event of his death.

Certain despatches having been entrusted to Gérard, he travelled post haste to Delft, and, to his astonishment, the letters had hardly been delivered before he was summoned in person to the chamber of the prince. Here was an opportunity such as he had never dared to hope for. Gérard, had, moreover, made no preparation for an interview so entirely unexpected, had come unarmed, and had formed no plan for escape. He was obliged to forego his prey when most within his reach. Gérard now came to Delft. It was Sunday morning, and the bells were tolling for church. Upon leaving the house he loitered about the courtyard, furtively examining the premises, so that a sergeant of halberdiers asked him why he was waiting there. Balthasar meekly replied that he was desirous of attending divine worship in the church opposite, but added, pointing to his shabby and travel-stained attire, that, without at least a new pair of shoes and stockings, he was unfit to join the congregation. Insignificant as ever, the small, pious, dusty stranger excited no suspicion in the mind of the good-natured sergeant. He forthwith spoke of the wants of Gérard to an officer, by whom they were

communicated to Orange himself, and the prince instantly ordered a sum of money to be given him. Thus Balthasar obtained from William's charity what Parma's thrift had denied — a fund for carrying out his purpose!

Next morning, with the money thus procured, he purchased a pair of pistols, or small carabines, from a soldier, chaffering long about the price because the vender could not supply a particular kind of chopped bullets or slugs which he desired. Before the sunset of the following day that soldier had stabbed himself to the heart, and died despairing, on hearing for what purpose the pistols had been bought.

On Tuesday, the 10th of July, 1584, at about half-past twelve, the prince, with his wife on his arm, and followed by the ladies and gentlemen of his family, went to the dining-room. At two o'clock the company rose from table. The prince led the way, intending to pass to his private apartments above. He had only reached the second stair, when a man emerged from the sunken arch, and standing within a foot or two of him, discharged a pistol full at his heart. Three balls entered his body, one of which, passing quite through him, struck with violence against the wall beyond. The prince exclaimed in French, as he felt the wound, "O my God, have mercy upon my soul! O my God, have mercy upon this poor people!"

These were the last words he ever spoke, save that when his sister, Catherine of Schwarzburg, immediately afterwards asked him if he commended his soul to Jesus Christ, he faintly answered, "Yes." The prince was then placed on the stairs for an instant, when he immediately began to swoon. He was afterwards laid upon a couch in the dining-room, where in a few minutes he breathed his last in the arms of his wife and sister.

The murderer succeeded in making his escape through the side door, and sped swiftly up the narrow lane. He had almost reached the ramparts, from which he intended to spring into the moat, when he stumbled over a heap of rubbish. As he rose, he was seized by several pages and halberdiers, who had pursued him from the house. He was brought back to the house, where he immediately underwent a preliminary examination before the city magistrates. He was afterwards subjected to excruciating tortures; for the fury against the wretch who had destroyed the Father of the country was uncontrollable, and William the Silent was no longer alive to intercede — as he had often done before — in behalf of those who assailed his life.

After sustaining day after day the most horrible tortures, he conversed with ease, and even eloquence, answering all questions addressed to him with apparent sincerity. His constancy in suffering so astounded his judges that they believed him supported by witchcraft. "*Ecce homo!*" he exclaimed, from time to time, with insane blasphemy, as he raised his blood-streaming head from the bench.

The sentence pronounced against the assassin was execrable — a crime against the memory of the great man whom it professed to avenge. It was decreed that the right hand of Gérard should be burned off with a red-hot iron, that his flesh should be torn from his bones with pincers in six different places, that he should be quartered and disembowelled alive, that his heart should be torn from his bosom and flung in his face, and that, finally, his head should be taken off. Not even his horrible crime, with its endless consequences, nor the natural frenzy of indignation which it had excited, could justify this savage decree, to rebuke which the murdered hero might have almost risen from the sleep of death. The sentence was literally executed on the 14th of July, the criminal supporting its horrors with the same astonishing fortitude.

The reward promised by Philip to the man who should murder Orange was paid to the heirs of Gérard. Parma informed his sovereign that the "poor man" had been executed, but that his father and mother were still living, to whom he recommended the payment of that "merced" which "the laudable and generous deed had so well deserved." This was accordingly done, and the excellent parents, ennobled and enriched by the crime of their son, received, instead of the twenty-five thousand crowns promised in the ban, the three seigniories of Lievremont, Hostal, and Dampmartin, in the Franche-Comté, and took their place at once among the landed aristocracy. Thus the bounty of the prince had furnished the weapon by which his life was destroyed, and his estates supplied the fund out of which the assassin's family received the price of blood. At a later day, when the unfortunate eldest son of Orange returned from Spain after twenty-seven years' absence, a changeling and a Spaniard, the restoration of those very estates was offered to him by Philip II, provided he would continue to pay a fixed proportion of their rents to the family of his father's murderer. The education which Philip William had received, under the king's auspices, had, however, not entirely destroyed all his human feelings, and he rejected the proposal with scorn. The estates remained with the Gérard family, and the patents of nobility which they had received were used to justify their exemption from certain taxes, until the union of Franche-Comté with France, when a French governor tore the documents in pieces and trampled them under foot.

William of Orange, at the period of his death, was aged fifty-one years and sixteen days. He left twelve children. By his first wife, Anne of Egmont, he had one son, Philip, and one daughter, Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe. By his second wife, Anna of Saxony, he had one son, the celebrated Maurice of Nassau, and two daughters, Anna, married afterwards to her cousin, Count William Louis, and Emilia, who espoused Emmanuel, son of the pretender of Portugal. By Charlotte de Bourbon, his third wife, he had six daughters; and by his fourth, Louise de Coligny, one son, Frederick Henry, afterwards stadholder of the republic in her most palmy days. The prince was entombed on the 3rd of August, at Delft, amid the tears of a whole nation. Never was a more extensive, unaffected, and legitimate sorrow felt at the death of any human being.

MOTLEY'S ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM THE SILENT

The life and labours of Orange had established the emancipated commonwealth upon a secure foundation, but his death rendered the union of all the Netherlands into one republic hopeless. The efforts of the malcontent nobles, the religious discord, the consummate ability, both political and military, of Parma, all combined with the lamentable loss of William the Silent, to separate forever the southern and Catholic provinces from the northern confederacy. So long as the prince remained alive, he was the Father of the whole country; the Netherlands — saving only the two Walloon provinces — constituting a whole. Philip and Granvella were right in their estimate of the advantage to be derived from the prince's death; in believing that an assassin's hand could achieve more than all the wiles which Spanish or Italian statesmanship could teach, or all the armies which Spain or Italy could muster.

Had he lived twenty years longer, it is probable that the seven provinces would have been seventeen; and that the Spanish title would have been forever extinguished both in Nether Germany and Celtic Gaul. Although there was to be the length of two human generations more of warfare ere

Spain acknowledged the new government, yet before the termination of that period the united states had become the first naval power and one of the most considerable commonwealths in the world; while the civil and religious liberty, the political independence of the land, together with the total expulsion of the ancient foreign tyranny from the soil, had been achieved ere the eyes of William were closed. The republic existed, in fact, from the moment of the abjuration in 1581.

The history of the rise of the Netherland Republic has been at the same time the biography of William the Silent. This, while it gives unity to the narrative, renders an elaborate description of his character superfluous. That life was a noble Christian epic; inspired with one great purpose from its commencement to its close; the stream flowing ever from one fountain with expanding fulness, but retaining all its original purity.

He was more than anything else a religious man. From his trust in God, he ever derived support and consolation in the darkest hours. Sincerely and deliberately himself a convert to the Reformed Church, he was ready to extend freedom of worship to Catholics on the one hand, and to Anabaptists on the other, for no man ever felt more keenly than he that the reformer who becomes in his turn a bigot is doubly odious.

His firmness was allied to his piety. His constancy in bearing the whole weight of as unequal a struggle as men have ever undertaken, was the theme of admiration even to his enemies. The rock in the ocean, "tranquil amid raging billows," was the favourite emblem by which his friends expressed their sense of his firmness. A prince of high rank and with royal revenues, he stripped himself of station, wealth, almost at times of the common necessaries of life, and became, in his country's cause, nearly a beggar as well as an outlaw. Ten years after his death, the account between his executors and his brother John amounted to 1,400,000 florins due to the count, secured by various pledges of real and personal property, and it was finally settled upon this basis. He was besides largely indebted to every one of his powerful relatives, so that the payment of the encumbrances upon his estate very nearly justified the fears of his children. While on the one hand, therefore, he poured out these enormous sums like water, and firmly refused a hearing to the tempting offers of the royal government, upon the other hand he proved the disinterested nature of his services by declining, year after year, the sovereignty over the provinces; and by only accepting, in the last days of his life, when refusal had become almost impossible, the limited, constitutional supremacy over that portion of them which now makes the realm of his descendants. He lived and died, not for himself, but for his country: "God pity this poor people!" were his dying words.

His intellectual faculties were various and of the highest order. He had the exact, practical, and combining qualities which make the great commander, and his friends claimed that, in military genius, he was second to no captain in Europe.[1] This was, no doubt, an exaggeration of partial attachment, but it is certain that the emperor Charles had an exalted opinion of his capacity for the field. His fortification of Philippeville and Charlemont, in the face of the enemy — his passage of the Maas in Alva's sight — his unfortunate but well-ordered campaign against that general — his sublime plan of relief, projected and successfully directed at last from his sick bed, for the besieged city of Leyden — will always remain monuments of his practical military skill.

[1] "*Belli artibus neminem suo tempore parem habuit,*" says Everard van Reyd.

Of the soldier's great virtues — constancy in disaster, devotion to duty, hopefulness in defeat — no man ever possessed a larger share. He arrived, through a series of reverses, at a perfect victory. He planted a free commonwealth under the very battery of the Inquisition in defiance of the most powerful empire existing. He was, therefore, a conqueror in the loftiest sense, for he conquered liberty and a national existence for a whole people. The contest was long, and he fell in the struggle, but the victory was to the dead hero, not to the living monarch. It is to be remembered, too, that he always wrought with inferior instruments. His troops were usually mercenaries, who were but too apt to mutiny upon the eve of battle, while he was opposed by the most formidable veterans of Europe, commanded successively by the first captains of the age. That, with no lieutenant of eminent valour or experience, save only his brother Louis, and with none at all after that chieftain's death, William of Orange should succeed in baffling the efforts of Alva, Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Alessandro Farnese — men whose names are among the most brilliant in the military annals of the world — is in itself sufficient evidence of his warlike ability. At the period of his death he had reduced the number of obedient provinces to two; only Artois and Hainault acknowledging Philip, while the other fifteen were in open revolt, the greater part having solemnly forsworn their sovereign.

The supremacy of his political genius was entirely beyond question. He was the first statesman of the age. The quickness of his perception was only equalled by the caution which enabled him to mature the results of his observations. His knowledge of human nature was profound. He governed the passions and sentiments of a great nation as if they had been but the keys and chords of one vast instrument; and his hand rarely failed to evoke harmony even out of the wildest storms. The turbulent city of Ghent, which could obey no other master, which even the haughty emperor could only crush without controlling, was ever responsive to the master-hand of Orange. His presence scared away Hembyze and his bat-like crew, confounded the schemes of John Kasimir, frustrated the wiles of prince Chimay, and while he lived, Ghent was what it ought always to have remained, the bulwark, as it had been the cradle, of popular liberty. After his death it became its tomb.

His power of dealing with his fellow-men he manifested in the various ways in which it has been usually exhibited by statesmen. He possessed a ready eloquence — sometimes impassioned, oftener argumentative, always rational. His influence over his audience was unexampled in the annals of that country or age; yet he never condescended to flatter the people. He never followed the nation, but always led her in the path of duty and of honour, and was much more prone to rebuke the vices than to pander to the passions of his hearers. He never failed to administer ample chastisement to parsimony, to jealousy, to insubordination, to intolerance, to infidelity, wherever it was due, nor feared to confront the states or the people in their most angry hours, and to tell them the truth to their faces. While, therefore, he was ever ready to rebuke, and always too honest to flatter, he at the same time possessed the eloquence which could convince or persuade. He knew how to reach both the mind and the heart of his hearers. His orations, whether extemporaneous or prepared — his written messages to the states-general, to the provincial authorities, to the municipal bodies — his private correspondence with men of all ranks, from emperors and kings down to secretaries, and even children — all show an easy flow of language, a fulness of thought, a power of expression rare in that age, a fund of historical allusion,

a considerable power of imagination, a warmth of sentiment, a breadth of view, a directness of purpose — a range of qualities, in short, which would in themselves have stamped him as one of the master-minds of his century, had there been no other monument to his memory than the remains of his spoken or written eloquence. The bulk of his performances in this department was prodigious. Not even Philip was more industrious in the cabinet. Not even Granvella held a more facile pen. He wrote and spoke equally well in French, German, or Flemish; and he possessed, besides, Spanish, Italian, Latin. The weight of his correspondence alone would have almost sufficed for the common industry of a lifetime, and although many volumes of his speeches and letters have been published, there remain in the various archives of the Netherlands and Germany many documents from his hand which will probably never see the light. The efforts made to destroy the Netherlands by the most laborious and painstaking of tyrants were counteracted by the industry of the most indefatigable of patriots.

It is difficult to find many characteristics deserving of grave censure, but his enemies have adopted a simpler process. They have been able to detect few flaws in his nature, and therefore have denounced it in gross. It is not that his character was here and there defective, but that the eternal jewel was false. The patriotism was counterfeit; the self-abnegation and the generosity were counterfeit. He was governed only by ambition — by a desire of personal advancement. They never attempted to deny his talents, his industry, his vast sacrifices of wealth and station; but they ridiculed the idea that he could have been inspired by any but unworthy motives.[1] But as far as can be judged by a careful observation of undisputed facts, and by a

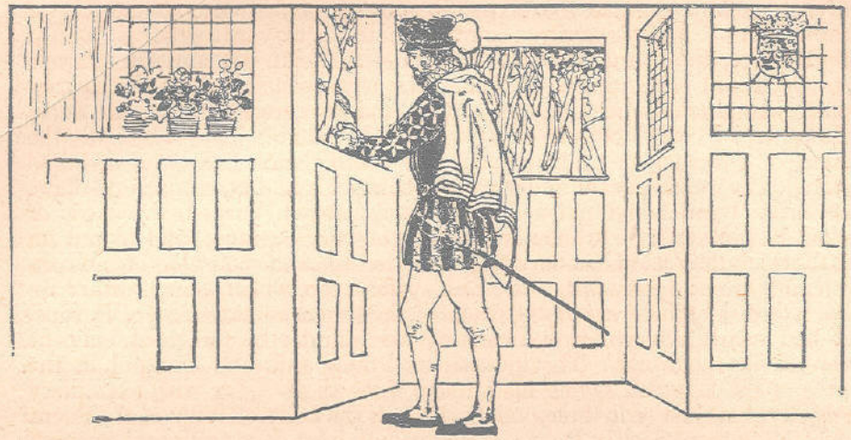
[1] "A man born to the greatest fame," says Bentivoglio,[j] "if, content with his fortunes, he had not sought amid precipices for a still greater one." While paying homage to the extraordinary genius of the prince, to his energy, eloquence, perspicacity in all kinds of affairs, his absolute dominion over the minds and hearts of men, and his consummate skill in improving his own position and taking advantage of the false moves of his adversary, the cardinal proceeds to accuse him of "ambition, fraud, audacity, and rapacity." The last qualification seems sufficiently absurd to those who have even superficially studied the life of William the Silent. Of course, the successive changes of religion by the prince are ascribed to motives of interest — "*Videsi variare di Religione secondo che vario d'interessi. Da fanciullo in Germania fú Luterano. Passato in Fiandra mostrossi Cattolico. Al principio della rivolte si dichiara fautore delle nuove sette ma non professore manifesto d' alcuna; sinche finalmente gli parve di seguitar quella de' Calvinisti, come la più contraria di tutte alla Religione Cattolica sostenuta dal Rè di Spagna.*" The cardinal does not add that the conversion of the prince to the reformed religion was at the blackest hour of the Reformation. Cabrera[k] is cooler and coarser. According to him the prince was a mere impostor. The emperor even had been often cautioned as to his favourite's arrogance, deceit, and ingratitude, and warned that the prince was "a fox who would eat up all his majesty's chickens." While acknowledging that he "could talk well of public affairs," and that he "entertained the ambassadors and nobility with splendour and magnificence," the historian proclaims him, however, "faithless and mendacious, a flatterer and a cheat."[m] Tassis[n] accused the prince of poisoning Count Bossu with oysters, and that Strada[d] had a long story of his attending the death-bed of that nobleman in order to sneer at the viaticum. We have also seen the simple and heartfelt regret which the prince expressed in his private letters for Bossu's death and the solid service which he rendered to him in life. Of false accusations of this nature there was no end. One of the most atrocious has been recently resuscitated. A certain Christophe de Holstein accused the prince in 1578 of having instigated him to murder Duke Eric of Brunswick. The assassin undertook the job, but seems to have been deterred by a mysterious bleeding at his nose from proceeding with the business. As this respectable witness, by his own confession, had murdered his own brother, for money, and two merchants besides, had moreover been concerned in the killing or plundering of a "curate, a monk, and two hermits," and had been all his life a professional highwayman and assassin, it seems hardly worth while to discuss his statements. Probably a thousand such calumnies were circulated at different times against the prince. Yet the testimony of this wretched malefactor is gravely reproduced, at the expiration of near three centuries, as if it were admissible in any healthy court of historical justice. Truly says the adage: "*Calomniez toujours, il en restera quelque chose.*"

diligent collation of public and private documents, it would seem that no man — not even Washington — has ever been inspired by a purer patriotism. At any rate, the charge of ambition and self-seeking can only be answered by a reference to the whole picture. The words, the deeds of the man are there. As much as possible, his inmost soul is revealed in his confidential letters, and he who looks in a right spirit will hardly fail to find what he desires.

Whether originally of a timid temperament or not, he was certainly possessed of perfect courage at last. In siege and battle — in the deadly air of pestilential cities — in the long exhaustion of mind and body which comes from unduly protracted labour and anxiety — amid the countless conspiracies of assassins — he was daily exposed to death in every shape. Within two years, five different attempts against his life had been discovered. Rank and fortune were offered to any malefactor who would compass the murder. He had already been shot through the head, and almost mortally wounded. Under such circumstances even a brave man might have seen a pitfall at every step, a dagger in every hand, and poison in every cup. On the contrary he was ever cheerful, and hardly took more precaution than usual. "God in his mercy," said he, with unaffected simplicity, "will maintain my innocence and my honour during my life and in future ages. As to my fortune and my life, I have dedicated both, long since, to his service. He will do therewith what pleases him for his glory and my salvation." Thus his suspicions were not even excited by the ominous face of Gérard, when he first presented himself at the dining-room door. The prince laughed off his wife's prophetic apprehension at the sight of his murderer, and was as cheerful as usual to the last.

He possessed, too, that which to the heathen philosopher seemed the greatest good — the sound mind in the sound body. His physical frame was after death found so perfect that a long life might have been in store for him, notwithstanding all which he had endured. The desperate illness of 1574, the frightful gunshot wound inflicted by Jaureguy in 1582, had left no traces. The physicians pronounced that his body presented an aspect of perfect health. His temperament was cheerful. At table, the pleasures of which, in moderation, were his only relaxation, he was always animated and merry, and this jocoseness was partly natural, partly intentional. In the darkest hours of his country's trial, he affected a serenity which he was far from feeling, so that his apparent gaiety at momentous epochs was even censured by dullards, who could not comprehend its philosophy, nor applaud the flippancy of William the Silent.[1]

He went through life bearing the load of a people's sorrows upon his shoulders with a smiling face. Their name was the last word upon his lips, save the simple affirmative with which the soldier who had been battling for the right all his lifetime commended his soul in dying "to his great captain, Christ." The people were grateful and affectionate, for they trusted the character of their "Father William," and not all the clouds which calumny could collect ever dimmed to their eyes the radiance of that lofty mind to which they were accustomed, in their darkest calamities, to look for light. As long as he lived, he was the guiding-star of a brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets.[h]



CHAPTER IX

LEICESTER IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

[1584–1598 A.D.]

WILLIAM THE SILENT, prince of Orange, had been murdered on the 10th of July, 1584. It is difficult to imagine a more universal disaster than the one thus brought about by the hand of a single obscure fanatic. For nearly twenty years the character of the prince had been expanding steadily as the difficulties of his situation increased. Habit, necessity, and the natural gifts of the man had combined to invest him at last with an authority which seemed more than human. There was such general confidence in his sagacity, courage, and purity that the nation had come to think with his brain and to act with his hand. It was natural that, for an instant, there should be a feeling as of absolute and helpless paralysis.

The ban of the pope and the offered gold of the king had accomplished a victory greater than any yet achieved by the armies of Spain, brilliant as had been their triumphs on the blood-stained soil of the Netherlands. Had that "exceeding proud, neat, and spruce" doctor of laws, William Parry, who had been busying himself at about the same time with his memorable project against the queen of England, proved as successful as Balthasar Gérard, the fate of Christendom would have been still darker.

Yet such was the condition of Europe at that day. A small, dull, elderly, imperfectly educated, patient, plodding invalid, with white hair and protruding under-jaw and dreary visage, was sitting day after day, seldom speaking, never smiling, seven or eight hours out of every twenty-four, at a writing table covered with heaps of interminable despatches, in a cabinet far away beyond the seas and mountains, in the very heart of Spain. A clerk or two, noiselessly opening and shutting the door, from time to time, fetching fresh bundles of letters and taking away others — all written and composed by secretaries or high functionaries — and all to be scrawled over in the margin by the diligent old man in a big schoolboy's hand and style —

[1584 A.D.]

if ever schoolboy, even in the sixteenth century, could write so illegibly or express himself so awkwardly; couriers in the courtyard arriving from or departing for the uttermost parts of earth — Asia, Africa, America, Europe — to fetch and carry these interminable epistles which contained the irresponsible commands of this one individual, and were freighted with the doom and destiny of countless millions of the world's inhabitants — such was the system of government against which the Netherlands had protested and revolted. It was a system under which their fields had been made desolate, their cities burned and pillaged, their men hanged, burned, drowned, or hacked to pieces; their women subjected to every outrage: and to put an end to which they had been devoting their treasure and their blood for nearly the length of one generation. It was a system, too, which, among other results, had just brought about the death of the foremost statesman of Europe, and had nearly effected simultaneously the murder of the most eminent sovereign in the world. The industrious Philip, safe and tranquil in the depths of the Escorial, saying his prayers three times a day with exemplary regularity, had just sent three bullets through the body of William the Silent at his dining-room door in Delft. "Had it only been done two years earlier," observed the patient old man, "much trouble might have been spared me; but it is better late than never."

Philip stood enfeoffed, by divine decree, of all America, the East Indies, the whole Spanish peninsula, the better portion of Italy, the seventeen Netherlands, and many other possessions far and near; and he contemplated annexing to this extensive property the kingdoms of France, of England, and Ireland. The holy league, maintained by the sword of Guise, the pope's ban, Spanish ducats, Italian condottieri, and German mercenaries, was to exterminate heresy and establish the Spanish dominion in France. The same machinery, aided by the pistol or poniard of the assassin, was to substitute for English protestantism and England's queen the Roman Catholic religion and a foreign sovereign. "The holy league," said Duplessis-Mornay,[b] one of the noblest characters of the age, "has destined us all to the same sacrifice. The ambition of the Spaniard, which has overleaped so many lands and seas, thinks nothing inaccessible."

The Netherlands revolt had therefore assumed world-wide proportions. Had it been merely the rebellion of provinces against a sovereign, the importance of the struggle would have been more local and temporary. But the period was one in which the geographical landmarks of countries were almost removed. The dividing-line ran through every state, city, and almost every family.

A vast responsibility rested upon the head of a monarch placed, as Philip II found himself, at this great dividing point in modern history. To judge him, or any man in such a position, simply from his own point of view, is weak and illogical. History judges the man according to its point of view. It condemns or applauds the point of view itself. The point of view of a malefactor is not to excuse robbery and murder. Nor is the spirit of the age to be pleaded in defence of the evil-doer at a time when mortals were divided into almost equal troops. The age of Philip II was also the age of William of Orange and his four brethren, of Sainte-Aldegonde, of Olden-Barneveld, of Duplessis-Mornay, La Noue, Coligny, of Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin, Walsingham, Sidney, Raleigh, Queen Elizabeth, of Michel Montaigne, and William Shakespeare. It was not an age of blindness, but of glorious light.

The king perhaps firmly believed that the heretics of the Netherlands, of France, or of England could escape eternal perdition only by being extir-

pated from the earth by fire and sword, and therefore, perhaps, felt it his duty to devote his life to their extermination. But he believed still more firmly that his own political authority, throughout his dominions, and his road to almost universal empire lay over the bodies of those heretics. Three centuries have passed since this memorable epoch; and the world knows the fate of the states which accepted the dogma which it was Philip's life-work to enforce, and of those who protested against the system. The Spanish and Italian peninsulas have had a different history from that which records the career of France, Prussia, the Dutch Commonwealth, the British Empire, the Transatlantic Republic.

Yet the contest between those seven meagre provinces upon the sand-banks of the North Sea and the great Spanish Empire seemed at the moment with which we are now occupied a sufficiently desperate one.

THE SITUATION AFTER THE DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM

The limit of the Spanish or "obedient" provinces, on the one hand, and of the United Provinces on the other, cannot be briefly and distinctly stated. The memorable treason — or, as it was called, the "Reconciliation" of the Walloon Provinces in the year 1583-84 — had placed the provinces of Hainault, Artois, Douai, with the flourishing cities Arras, Valenciennes, Lille, Tournay, and others — all Celtic Flanders, in short — in the grasp of Spain. Cambray was still held by the French governor, Seigneur de Balagny, who had taken advantage of the duke of Anjou's treachery to the states to establish himself in an unrecognised but practical petty sovereignty, in defiance both of France and Spain; while East Flanders and South Brabant still remained a disputed territory, and the immediate field of contest With these limitations, it may be assumed, for general purposes, that the territory of the united states was that of the modern kingdom of the Netherlands, while the obedient provinces occupied what is now the territory of Belgium. Such, then, were the combatants in the great eighty-years' war for civil and religious liberty; sixteen of which had now passed away.

What now was the political position of the United Provinces at this juncture? The sovereignty which had been held by the states, ready to be conferred respectively upon Anjou and Orange, remained in the hands of the states. There was no opposition to this theory. No more enlarged view of the social compact had yet been taken. The people, as such, claimed no sovereignty. Had any champion claimed it for them they would hardly have understood him. The nation dealt with facts. After abjuring Philip in 1581 — an act which had been accomplished by the states — the same states in general assembly had exercised sovereign power, and had twice disposed of that sovereign power by electing a hereditary ruler. Their right and their power to do this had been disputed by none, save by the deposed monarch in Spain. Having the sovereignty to dispose of, it seemed logical that the states might keep it, if so inclined. They did keep it, but only in trust.

Even on the very day of the murder, the states of Holland, then sitting at Delft, passed a resolution "to maintain the good cause, with God's help, to the uttermost, without sparing gold or blood." At the same time, the sixteen members — for no greater number happened to be present at the session — addressed letters to their absent colleagues, urging an immediate convocation of the states. Among these sixteen were Van Zuylen, Van Nyvelt,

the seigneur de Warmont, the advocate of Holland, Paul Buys, Joost de Menin, and John van Olden-Barneveld.

The next movement, after the last solemn obsequies had been rendered to the prince, was to provide for the immediate wants of his family. For the man who had gone into the revolt with almost royal revenues left his estate so embarrassed that his carpets, tapestries, household linen — nay, even his silver spoons, and the very clothes of his wardrobe — were disposed of at auction for the benefit of his creditors. The eldest son, Philip William, had been a captive in Spain for seventeen years. He had already become thoroughly hispaniolised. All of good that he had retained was a reverence for his father's name — a sentiment which he had manifested to an extravagant extent on a memorable occasion in Madrid, by throwing out of the window and killing on the spot a Spanish officer who had dared to mention the great prince with insult.

The next son was Maurice, then seventeen years of age, a handsome youth, with dark blue eyes, well-chiselled features, and full red lips, who had already manifested a courage and concentration of character beyond his years. The son of William the Silent, the grandson of Maurice of Saxony, whom he resembled in visage and character, he was summoned by every drop of blood in his veins to do life-long battle with the spirit of Spanish absolutism, and he was already girding himself for his life's work. He assumed at once for his device a fallen oak, with a young sapling springing from its root. His motto, "*Tandem fit surculus arbor*" (the twig shall yet become a tree), was to be nobly justified by his career.

The remaining son, Frederick Henry, then six months old, was also destined to high fortunes, and to win an enduring name in his country's history. For the present he remained with his mother, the noble Louise de Coligny, who had thus seen, at long intervals, her father and two husbands fall victims to the Spanish policy; for it is as certain that Philip knew beforehand, and testified his approbation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as that he was the murderer of Orange.

The states of Holland implored the widowed princess to remain in their territory, settling a liberal allowance upon herself and her child, and she fixed her residence at Leyden.

Very soon afterwards the states-general established a state council, as a provisional executive board, for the term of three months, for the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, and such parts of Flanders and Brabant as still remained in the union. At the head of this body was placed young Maurice, who accepted the responsible position after three days' deliberation. The salary of Maurice was fixed at 30,000 florins a year. The council consisted of three members from Brabant, two from Flanders, four from Holland, three from Zealand, two from Utrecht, one from Mechlin, and three from Friesland — eighteen in all. Diplomatic relations, questions of peace and war, the treaty-making power were not entrusted to the council, without the knowledge and consent of the states-general, which body was to be convoked twice a year by the state council.

THE ACTIVITY OF PARMA

Thus the provinces in the hour of danger and darkness were true to themselves, and were far from giving way to a despondency which under the circumstances would not have been unnatural. For the waves of bitterness were rolling far and wide around them. A medal, struck in Holland at this

period, represented a dismasted hulk reeling through the tempest. The motto, "*Incertum quo fata ferent?*" (who knows whither fate is sweeping her?) expressed most vividly the shipwrecked condition of the country.

Alessandro of Parma, the most accomplished general and one of the most adroit statesmen of the age, was swift to take advantage of the calamity which had now befallen the rebellious provinces. Had he been better provided with men and money, the cause of the states might have seemed hopeless. He addressed many letters to the states-general, to the magistracies of various cities, and to individuals, affecting to consider that with the death of Orange had died all authority, as well as all motive for continuing the contest with Spain.

In Holland and Zealand the prince's blandishments were of no avail. He was, moreover, not strong in the field, although he was far superior to the states at this contingency. He had, besides his garrisons, something above eighteen thousand men. The provinces had hardly three thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, and these were mostly lying in the neighbourhood of Zutphen. Alessandro was threatening at the same time Ghent, Dendermonde, Mechlin, Brussels, and Antwerp. These five powerful cities lie in a narrow circle, at distances varying from six miles to thirty, and are, as it were, strung together upon the Schelde, by which river, or its tributary, the Senne, they are all threaded. It would have been impossible for Parma, with one hundred thousand men at his back, to undertake a regular and simultaneous siege of these important places. His purpose was to isolate them from each other and from the rest of the country, by obtaining the control of the great river, and so to reduce them by famine. The scheme was a masterly one, but even the consummate ability of Farnese would have proved inadequate to the undertaking, had not the preliminary assassination of Orange made the task comparatively easy.

Upon the 17th of August Dendermonde surrendered, and no lives were taken save those of two preachers, one of whom was hanged, while the other was drowned. Upon the 7th of September Vilvorde capitulated, by which event the water-communication between Brussels and Antwerp was cut off.

The noble city of Ghent — then as large as Paris, thoroughly surrounded with moats, and fortified — was ignominiously surrendered September 17th. The fall of Brussels was deferred till March, and that of Mechlin to the 19th July, 1585; but the surrender of Ghent foreshadowed the fate of Flanders and Brabant. Ostend and Sluys, however, were still in the hands of the patriots, and with them the control of the whole Flemish coast. The command of the sea was destined to remain for centuries with the new republic.

The prince of Parma, thus encouraged by the great success of his intrigues, was determined to achieve still greater triumphs with his arms, and steadily proceeded with his large design of closing the Schelde and bringing about the fall of Antwerp. That siege was one of the most brilliant military operations of the age and one of the most memorable in its results.[c]

But these domestic victories of the prince of Parma were barren in any of those results which humanity would love to see in the train of conquest. The reconciled provinces presented the most deplorable spectacle. The chief towns were almost depopulated. The inhabitants had in a great measure fallen victims to war, pestilence, and famine. Little inducement existed to replace by marriage the ravages caused by death, for few men wished to propagate a race which divine wrath seemed to have marked for persecution. The thousands of villages which had covered the face of the country were

absolutely abandoned to the wolves, which had so rapidly increased that they attacked not merely cattle and children, but grown-up persons. The dogs, driven abroad by hunger, had become as ferocious as other beasts of prey, and joined in large packs to hunt down brutes and men. Neither fields, nor woods, nor roads were now to be distinguished by any visible limits. All was an entangled mass of trees, weeds, and grass. The prices of the necessaries of life were so high that people of rank, after selling everything to buy bread, were obliged to have recourse to open beggary in the streets of the great towns.[d]

ANTWERP BESIEGED (1584)

The fall of Ghent had enabled Parma to resume his attack on Antwerp. The Antwerpers having inundated the whole country from Hulst to Beveren, he erected strong forts along the Kowenstyn dike, to prevent the passage of vessels to Lillo and Antwerp from Zealand.

Parma, finding that the Zealand vessels continued, notwithstanding his fortifications along the dike, to pass up the Schelde to Antwerp, resolved upon the stupendous and apparently impracticable undertaking of throwing a bridge across the broad, deep, and rapid part of that river between Antwerp and Calloo. Its execution was entrusted to Sebastian Baroccio, an Italian engineer of eminent ability, who built a fort at each end of the intended work, which he named the St. Philip and the St. Mary. By means of this "stoccade," as it was called, the river was narrowed, 1,250 feet being left between the two blockhouses at the ends. This space Baroccio filled with boats, placed at a distance of about twenty feet from each other, and fastened by two anchors against the flood and ebb tide; these boats, linked together by four strong cables, were connected with each other by means of masts, over which were laid planks; thirty men were stationed in each boat, with a cannon fore and aft. Besides this defence, Parma stationed all the men-of-war he could collect both above and below the bridge.

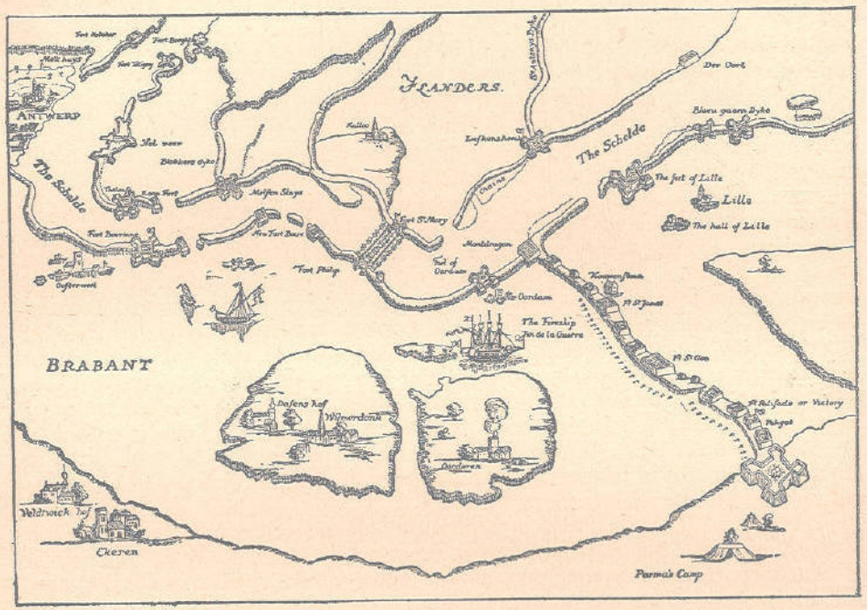
The besieged had relied on the impossibility of his achieving an enterprise of such difficulty, carried on during the winter months, when, if it escaped being broken in pieces by the masses of floating ice in the river, it could easily be destroyed by the Holland and Zealand vessels, which in the long dark nights might approach it unperceived. Both these expectations turned out delusive. The winter proved remarkably mild, so that there was not sufficient ice in the river to do the slightest damage to the works; and the assistance from Holland and Zealand, which the Antwerpers besought with reiterated entreaties, did not arrive.

Prince Maurice, however, and the council of Zealand, issued repeated orders to William of Treslong, admiral of Zealand, to sail into the Schelde, with which he refused compliance, alleging that his fleet was not sufficiently strong to risk the attempt. Treslong, who was strongly suspected of a secret understanding with the enemy, was afterwards deprived of his office and thrown into prison, Justin of Nassau, natural son of the prince of Orange, being created admiral in his stead; but the irrevocable opportunity had passed away, and Parma was left unmolested during the long period of seven months to complete a work of which the ultimate fall of Antwerp was the inevitable consequence.

The embarrassed condition of their affairs determined the Netherlanders, notwithstanding the severe lesson afforded them by past experience, to put themselves once more under the protection of a foreign prince. The late duke of Brabant had declared by will his brother, Henry III of France, heir

to all his rights over the Netherlands, and in an assembly held at Delft the states of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin strongly advocated the full acknowledgment of the king of France as sovereign. In Holland and Zealand the proposition gave rise to vehement and lengthened debates.

A strong party existed in favour of seeking the protection of England in preference to that of France.[1] The sovereign of England, it was said, sought no further dominion over the Netherlands than the possession of a sufficient



THE SIEGE OF ANTWERP (FROM AN OLD PRINT), SHOWING THE INUNDATION OF THE COUNTRY

number of towns to insure the indemnification of her expenses; she was of the same religion as the Netherlanders, and her power, though inferior to that of France, was chiefly maritime, and therefore more available for their defence. On the other hand, it was urged that the government of the English in Ireland, and wherever they had dominion, was harsh and insolent; that the succession to the crown was uncertain, and would most probably fall to the queen of Scotland, a Catholic, and a devoted friend of Spain; that France had more power and opportunity to defend them from their enemies, owing to the situation of the two countries, and the facility wherewith she might impede the passage of troops and supplies from Spain; the succession to the throne, also, would devolve on the king of Navarre, himself a Protestant, and of a family which had always shown itself friendly towards the reformed religion. Upon these grounds, the states of Zealand and the council of state of Holland recommended the treaty with France, which was opposed principally by the

[1 Among the most ardent of the English party was the famous Paul Buys, the advocate of Holland. When his efforts failed he was forced to resign. After a year's interim the office was given in March, 1586, to the still more famous pensionary of Rotterdam, Jan van Olden-Barneveld.]

councils of the towns. At length the entreaties of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin prevailed with the states of Holland to give a reluctant consent.

It did not appear that the king would long hesitate to accept conditions of so highly flattering a nature, in the framing of which, indeed, we recognise nothing of the usual spirit of freedom and jealous watchfulness of the Dutch people. But the feeble and irresolute king, instead of grasping at once the powerful weapon which the possession of the Netherlands would have placed in his hands both against Spain and the disaffected of his own kingdom, refused for the present the offer of the deputies, alleging that the disturbances excited in his kingdom by the king of Spain prevented his affording the Netherlanders any assistance.

The city of Brussels had long been grievously straitened for want of provisions, in consequence of the obstruction of the Schelde by the bridge of boats. Brussels surrendered, therefore, on conditions sufficiently favourable, except that the privileges of the town were to be retrenched according to the pleasure of the king. Nearly at the same time the Catholics in the city of Nimeguen found themselves in sufficient number and strength to drive out the garrison of the states and place the town under the government of the prince of Parma. The like happened with respect to Doesborgh. Ostend was also attempted by La Motte, governor of Gravelines, who, with a detachment of soldiers, surprised and took possession of the part called the Old Town, which was but weakly fortified. But Ostend was not destined to sink thus ingloriously under the power of the enemy; an honourable place was yet reserved for her on the page of history as a martyr to the cause of liberty. The citizens, joining their arms with those of the garrison, attacked La Motte before the remainder of his troops arrived, or he had time to strengthen himself in his position, and drove him back with a loss of two hundred men and forty officers.[e]

The details of the military or political operations by which the reduction of most of these places was effected possess but little interest. The siege of Antwerp, however, was one of the most striking events of the age. All the science then at command was applied both by the prince and by his burgher antagonists to the advancement of their ends — hydrostatics, hydraulics, engineering, navigation, gunnery, pyrotechnics, mining, geometry, were summoned as broadly, vigorously, and intelligently to the destruction or preservation of a trembling city as they have ever been, in more commercial days, to advance a financial or manufacturing purpose. Land converted into water and water into land, castles built upon the breast of rapid streams, rivers turned from their beds and taught new courses, the distant ocean driven across ancient bulwarks, mines dug below the sea, and canals made to percolate obscene morasses — which the red hand of war, by the very act, converted into blooming gardens — a mighty stream bridged and mastered in the very teeth of winter, floating icebergs, ocean-tides, and an alert and desperate foe, ever ready with fleets and armies and batteries — such were the materials of which the great spectacle was composed: a spectacle which enchained the attention of Europe for seven months, and on the result of which, it was thought, depended the fate of all the Netherlands and, perhaps, of all Christendom.[e]

Seeking too late to repair the fatal error committed in allowing Parma to complete his bridge, the count of Hohenlohe and Justin of Nassau, admiral of Zealand, with a considerable force of Holland and Zealand vessels, captured the fort of Liefhenshoek. Numerous plans were devised for the purpose of breaking down the bridge, and among the rest Giambelli, an engineer of

Mantua (the same who was in the service of Queen Elizabeth at the defeat of the armada), undertook to blow it up by means of two fire-ships, laden each with six or seven thousand pounds of powder. One of these, taking fire before it had approached sufficiently near the works, proved useless; but the other, named the *Hope*, of about eighty tons' burden, exploded with fatal and terrific effect.

The Spanish soldiers, thinking that the intention was to set fire to the bridge, crowded upon it for the purpose of extinguishing the flames, when the vessel blew up, and above eight hundred were mingled in one horrible and promiscuous slaughter. Parma himself, who had quitted the bridge only a few moments before, was struck down stunned, but quickly recovered his senses and with them his accustomed intrepidity. The shock was so violent that it was felt at the distance of nine miles; the waters of the Schelde, driven from their bed, inundated the surrounding country, and entirely filled the fort of St. Mary, at the Flanders end of the bridge.

But it seemed destined that all the efforts made for the delivery of Antwerp should be untimely or incomplete. The crew of the boat which Hohenlohe sent to reconnoitre were afraid to approach sufficiently near to ascertain the amount of damage done; and, in consequence, both the Antwerpers and a fleet of Holland and Zealand vessels, stationed at Lillo, were left in ignorance of the rupture of the bridge till Parma had time to repair it, which he effected with his customary celerity in two or three days.

Among other measures of defence adopted by the citizens of Antwerp, they had constructed an enormous vessel, or rather floating castle, being regularly fortified, at an expense of 1,000,000 florins, with which they hoped to break through the bridge; and so sanguine were they of the effect it was to produce, that, with a presumption but ill justified by the event, they named it the *End of the War* (*Fin de la Guerre*). But its vast bulk rendered it wholly unmanageable, and having stranded in the mud near Oordam, all efforts to set it afloat again proved unavailing. Meanwhile, the scarcity of corn within the walls of Antwerp became extreme, although the government successfully endeavoured to conceal it for some time from the people, by keeping the price of bread down to its usual standard. As, however, the discovery of the fact could not much longer be delayed, and no hope of assistance appeared either by sea or la[illegible]nce Parma had possessed himself of all the surrounding forts, they deem[illegible] it advisable to propose terms of surrender.

The negotiations were opened by Sainte-Aldegonde, one of the strongest advocates for a pacification. Reasons of policy combined with the natural generosity of Parma's disposition to induce him to grant the most favourable terms. The affair, therefore, was not long pending; the inhabitants received a general pardon and oblivion of offences; those of the reformed religion were allowed to remain two years in the city, and within that time to dispose of their property as they pleased; a ransom of 400,000 guilders was to be paid; and the ill-omened citadel was to be restored, but with a promise that it should be destroyed as soon as Holland and Zealand returned to the obedience of the king. Notwithstanding the permission granted them to remain, however, the Reformers did not wait for the triumphal entry of Parma into Antwerp. Three days after the surrender they held their last melancholy service, and within a short time the whole body, among whom the most intelligent, wealthy, and industrious burghers were numbered, retired into exile, the greater portion to Holland and Zealand.

The consequence of the surrender of Antwerp was to deprive the stat[illegible] of the services of one of the earliest, the most active, and the most devo[illegible]

defenders of Netherland liberty. It is utterly impossible to believe that Sainte-Aldegonde, a man of the very highest virtues and attainments, could for a moment contemplate betraying that cause for which he had made such vast sacrifices.[1] He presented an able defence of his conduct to the states, and his cause was strenuously pleaded by the renowned De la Noue; but, severe in punishing the slightest appearance of treachery, the states excluded him from any share in public affairs until several years after, when he was employed by Prince Maurice in an embassy to France.

ALESSANDRO FARNESE, PRINCE OF PARMA
(1546–1592)

The loss of Sainte-Aldegonde was in some, though a small degree repaired by the acquisition of Martin Schenk, an able and experienced captain, who, having formerly deserted to the royalist side, now, finding that he was treated by Parma with less consideration than he imagined due to him, returned to his allegiance under the states, and delivered his fortress of Blyenbeek into the hands of the count of Mörs. The states now despatched a solemn embassy to England, for the purpose of soliciting the queen to become sovereign of the United Provinces.[e]

MOTLEY'S PORTRAIT OF OLDEN-BARNEVELD

There was at this moment one Netherlander, the chief of the present mission to England, already the foremost statesman of his country, whose name will not soon be effaced from the record of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That man was Jan van Olden-Barneveld.[2] He was now in his thirty-eighth year, having been born at Amersfoort on the 14th of September, 1547. He bore an imposing name, for the Olden-Barnevelds of Gelderland were a race of unquestionable and antique nobility. His enemies, however, questioned his right to the descent which he claimed.

He had been a profound and indefatigable student from his earliest youth.

[1 It is certain, whatever his motives, that his attitude had completely changed. For it was not Antwerp alone that he had reconciled, or was endeavouring to reconcile, with the king of Spain, but Holland and Zealand as well, and all the other independent provinces. The ancient champion of the patriot army, the earliest signer of the Compromise, the bosom friend of William the Silent, the author of the "Wilhelmus" national song, now avowed his conviction, in a published defence of his conduct against the calumnious attacks upon it, that it was "impossible, with a clear conscience, for subjects, under any circumstances, to take up arms against Philip, their king." Certainly if he had always entertained that opinion he must have suffered many pangs of remorse during his twenty years of active and illustrious rebellion. He now made himself secretly active in promoting the schemes of Parma and in counteracting the negotiation with England. He flattered himself, with an infatuation which it is difficult to comprehend, that it would be possible to obtain religious liberty for the revolting provinces, although he had consented to its sacrifice in Antwerp. — MOTLEY.c]

[2 In his biography of this man, Motley d adopts Barneveld, the English and French form of the name, while confessing that "Oldenbarnevelt" was more correct.]

He had read law at Leyden, in France, at Heidelberg. Here, in the head-quarters of German Calvinism, his youthful mind had long pondered the dread themes of foreknowledge, judgment absolute, free will, and predestination. Perplexed in the extreme, the youthful Jan bethought himself of an inscription over the gateway of his famous but questionable great-grandfather's house at Amersfoort — "*Nil scire tutissima fides*" [To know nothing is the safest creed]. He resolved thenceforth to adopt a system of ignorance upon matters beyond the flaming walls of the world; to do the work before him manfully and faithfully while he walked the earth, and to trust that a benevolent Creator would devote neither him nor any other man to eternal hell-fire. For this most offensive doctrine he was howled at by the strictly pious, while he earned still deeper opprobrium by daring to advocate religious toleration. In face of the endless horrors inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition upon his native land, he had the hardihood — although a determined Protestant himself — to claim for Roman Catholics the right to exercise their religion in the free states on equal terms with those of the reformed faith. At a later period the most zealous Calvinists called him pope John.

After completing his very thorough legal studies, he had practised as an advocate in Holland and Zealand. An early defender of civil and religious freedom, he had been brought into contact with William the Silent, who recognised his ability. He had borne a snap-hance on his shoulder as a volunteer in the memorable attempt to relieve Haarlem, and was one of the few survivors of that bloody night. He had stood outside the walls of Leyden in company of the prince of Orange when that magnificent destruction of the dikes had taken place by which the city had been saved from the fate impending over it. At a still more recent period he landed from the gunboats upon the Kowenstyn, on the fatal 26th of May. These military adventures were, however, but brief and accidental episodes in his career, which was that of a statesman and diplomatist. As pensionary of Rotterdam, he was constantly a member of the general assembly and had already begun to guide the policy of the new commonwealth.[1] His experience was considerable, and he was now in the high noon of his vigour and his usefulness.

THE EMBASSY TO ELIZABETH (1585)

The commissioners arrived at Greenwich Stairs, and were at once ushered into the palace. Certainly, if the provinces needed a king, they might have wandered the whole earth over, and, had it been possible, searched through the whole range of history, before finding a monarch with a more kingly spirit than the great queen to whom they had at last had recourse. But the queen, besides other objections to the course proposed by the provinces, thought that she could do a better thing in the way of mortgages. In this, perhaps, there was something of the penny-wise policy which sprang from one great defect in her character. At any rate much mischief was done by the mercantile spirit which dictated the hard chaffering on both sides the Channel at this important juncture; for, during this tedious flint-paring, Antwerp, which might have been saved, was falling into the hands of Philip. It should never be forgotten, however, that the queen had no standing army, and but a small revenue. The men to be sent from England to the Netherland wars were first to be levied wherever it was possible to find them.[c]

[1 Elsewhere Motley says: "There can be no doubt that if William the Silent was the founder of the independence of the United Provinces, Barneveld was the founder of the commonwealth itself. . . . And the states-general were virtually Jan van Barneveld."]

Though the queen declined accepting the sovereignty for the present, she consented to appoint a governor-general of the United Provinces in her name; she promised also to send at her own cost an army of five thousand foot and one thousand horse into the Netherlands. As a security for the repayment of her expenses, the states were to admit English garrisons into Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel, and into two fortresses in the province of Holland, until the debt were liquidated, the governors of the garrisons being bound not to interfere with the political or civil government of these towns, which was to be administered according to their own laws, by the customary magistrates and officers, nor to levy any contribution on the inhabitants; two Englishmen were to have a sitting in the council of state, to which also the governors of the above-mentioned garrisons were to be admitted, to confer on any subject relating to the queen's interests, but without the liberty of voting. A council of war, to which the queen might appoint such persons as the governor recommended, was, in conjunction with the council of state, to remedy the abuses in the levy of the taxes, to abrogate all useless offices, and to apply the public funds as they thought expedient. Thus, it will be seen that Elizabeth secured to herself a pretty large share of influence in the provinces, and placed herself in such a position with regard to them that she might easily assume the supreme power whenever she found it convenient.

Within little more than a month after the conclusion of the treaty, Sir John Norris arrived with the English forces in Utrecht. The command of the garrisons at Flushing and Rammekens was given to Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Thomas Cecil being made governor of Briel and the fortresses in Holland. The office of governor-general was conferred on Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, a man every way unfitted for the discharge of so delicate and important a trust. Vainglorious, ambitious, inconstant, and insincere, the mediocrity of his talents was thrown into still deeper shade by the brilliant luminaries which at this period surrounded the throne of Elizabeth; and while his reputation as a public character was contemptible, in private life it was stained by the darkest suspicions.

The knowledge probably which Barneveld had obtained of his character during his mission to England induced him to urge the states of Holland, on his return, to confirm the authority of Prince Maurice as stadholder of that province and Zealand, which they did, November 1st, 1585, before the coming of Leicester; the prince being bound, however, by his instructions to respect the authority of the governor-general.[e]

THE ENGLISH UNDER LEICESTER IN HOLLAND

The earl had raised a choice body of lancers to accompany him to the Netherlands, but the expense of the levy had come mainly upon his own purse. The queen had advanced five thousand pounds, which was much less than the requisite amount. She violently accused him of cheating her, reclaimed money which he had wrung from her on good security, and when he repaid the sum objected to give him a discharge. As for receiving anything by way of salary, that was quite out of the question. At that moment he would have been only too happy to be reimbursed for what he was already out of pocket. Whether Elizabeth loved Leicester as a brother or better than a brother may be a historical question, but it is no question at all that she loved money better than she did Leicester. Unhappy the man, whether [illegible]e or favourite, who had pecuniary transactions with her highness.

Davison had been meantime doing his best to prepare the way in the Netherlands for the reception of the English administration. What man could do, without money and without authority, he had done. As might naturally be expected, the lamentable condition of the English soldiers, unpaid and starving — according to the report of the queen's envoy himself — exercised anything but a salutary influence upon the minds of the Netherlanders and perpetually fed the hopes of the Spanish partisans that a composition with Philip and Parma would yet take place. On the other hand, the states had been far more liberal in raising funds than the queen had shown herself to be, and were somewhat indignant at being perpetually taunted with parsimony by her agents.

At last, however, the die had been cast. The queen, although rejecting the proposed sovereignty of the Netherlands, had espoused their cause, by solemn treaty of alliance, and thereby had thrown down the gauntlet to Spain. She deemed it necessary, therefore, out of respect for the opinions of mankind, to issue a manifesto of her motives to the world. The document was published simultaneously in Dutch, French, English, and Italian.

Subsequently to the publication of the queen's memorial, and before the departure of the earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, having received his appointment, together with the rank of general of cavalry, arrived in the isle of Walcheren, as governor of Flushing, at the head of a portion of the English contingent. It is impossible not to contemplate with affection so radiant a figure, shining through the cold mists of that Zealand winter, and that distant and disastrous epoch. There is hardly a character in history upon which the imagination can dwell with more unalloyed delight. Not in romantic fiction was there ever created a more attractive incarnation of martial valour, poetic genius, and purity of heart.

At last the earl of Leicester came, embarking at Harwich, with a fleet of fifty ships, and attended by "the flower and chief gallants of England." Now began a triumphal progress through the land, with a series of mighty banquets and festivities, in which no man could play a better part than Leicester. Not Matthias, nor Anjou, nor King Philip, nor the emperor Charles, in their triumphal progresses, had been received with more spontaneous or more magnificent demonstrations. Beside himself with rapture, Leicester almost assumed the god. In Delft he is said so far to have forgotten himself as to declare that his family had — in person of Lady Jane Grey, his father, and brother — been unjustly deprived of the crown of England; an indiscretion which caused a shudder in all who heard him.

Spain moved slowly. Philip the Prudent was not sudden or rash, but his whole life had proved and was to prove him inflexible in his purposes, and patient in his attempts to carry them into effect. Before the fall of Antwerp he had matured his scheme for the invasion of England, in most of its details — a necessary part of which was of course the reduction of Holland and Zealand.

What now was the disposition and what the means of the provinces to do their part in the contest? If the twain, as Holland wished, had become of one flesh, would England have been the loser? Was it quite sure that Elizabeth — had she even accepted the less compromising title which she refused — would not have been quite as much the protected as the "protectress"?

It is very certain that the English, on their arrival in the provinces, were singularly impressed by the opulent and stately appearance of the country and its inhabitants. Notwithstanding the tremendous war which t

Hollanders had been waging against Spain for twenty years, their commerce had continued to thrive, and their resources to increase.

But the rank and file of the English army needed strengthening. The soldiers required shoes and stockings, bread and meat, and for these articles there were not the necessary funds.

The English soldiers became mere barefoot starving beggars in the streets, as had never been the case in the worst of times, when the states were their paymasters.

The states-general, being assembled at the Hague, did not limit their welcome to mere empty compliments. They passed a resolution, January 10th, 1586, conferring on Leicester, in addition to the queen's commission, the absolute government of the Netherlands, as it had been exercised in the reign of Charles V; and joined to this office those of captain and admiral-general of the United Provinces. By this step the states had gone too far to recede, or the manner in which their offer was received by Leicester might have opened their eyes to the real nature of their rash and misplaced confidence. On the proposition to join the council of state with him in the administration, he refused to accept an authority so greatly circumscribed, and the states were obliged to concede that, besides the two Englishmen who had a vote in the council, he himself might appoint a member for each province out of a double number nominated by them. On this condition, he consented to assume the government, in which he no sooner found himself established than he began to aim at that uncontrolled power for which he had so early and so undisguisedly shown his desire.

GROOTE KERK OF HAARLEM, WHICH SUFFERED FROM THE SPANISH SIEGE

If the states-general designed, by conferring the government on Leicester, to conciliate the favour of the queen, or to involve her as a principal in their quarrel, they found themselves widely mistaken; since Elizabeth felt the most violent anger at their proceedings. She immediately sent her ambassador, Sir Thomas Heneage, to the Hague, to complain, as of an extreme insult and contempt offered to her, that her vassal should be allowed to assume the sovereignty after she herself had refused it. At the same time, she laid her commands upon Leicester to exercise no more authority than his commission from her warranted. The states justified themselves with an appearance of great humility, at the same time contriving to give their new governor pretty intelligible notice of the precarious tenure by which he held his dignity.

The haughty tone assumed by Elizabeth towards the states was no whit lowered in the mouth of her vassal. Leicester issued an edict forbidding the transport of provisions or ammunition to any enemy's or neutral country, and commanding that all mercantile intercourse by bills of exchange or otherwise should cease between the United Provinces and Spain, France, and the nations of the Baltic. The states of Holland and Zealand had, in the last year, issued an edict of the like import as regarded that part of the Netherlands in possession of their enemies, which, as it was suffering under severe scarcity, and not easily supplied by other nations, was the surest way of inflicting damage upon them. But with respect to Spain and Portugal, the case was far different; since, as they could be plentifully supplied by England, Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanse towns, the measure had no other effect than to deprive Holland of an advantageous trade, and throw it into the hands of those nations. The strong representations of the states of Holland to this effect were passed over unheeded by Leicester.

Besides the losses which the commerce of Holland suffered in consequence of this edict, incalculable damage was at this time inflicted upon it by the unceasing piracies of the English. The navigation of the Channel was rendered so unsafe to the Dutch that their ships, trading to the west, were obliged to perform the tedious and dangerous circuit round the north of Scotland.[1]

Another cause of dissatisfaction between the states-general and Leicester was the institution by the latter of a council of finance, of which he appointed the count of Mörs and Sir Henry Killigrew presidents, and James Ringault the treasurer. The creation of this body was vehemently opposed by the council of state, not only as contrary to the instructions they were sworn to observe, and by which they were bound to provide for the administration of the finances, but as throwing the public moneys, entirely into the hands of foreigners, especially of Ringault, whose unfitness for the office conferred on him was notorious. Leicester, nevertheless, declaring that he was in no wise bound by the opinions of the council, persisted in his design, and visited the advocate of Utrecht, Paul Buys, who had declared his opinion of Ringault in somewhat bold terms, with the effects of his high displeasure. Buys remained in prison till the next year, when he was released by the states-general.

While the earl of Leicester was thus embarrassing the domestic affairs of the United Provinces, the prince of Parma was pushing the war, with his usual prosperity, close to their boundaries. Sir John Norris and Hohenlohe having captured the fort of Batenburg, Parma advanced in person to the walls of Grave, which he cannonaded incessantly. The defenders suddenly lost courage, and, by their clamours and entreaties, prevailed upon the sieur de Hemert, the governor, to surrender the same day. The earl of Leicester was on his march to relieve Grave, when he was met by Hemert, with the news of its capitulation. In a furious passion of anger, he retraced his steps to Utrecht, taking Hemert with him, whom he caused to be tried for high treason before a council of war, and executed. The death of this officer alienated the minds of many of the nobles in the provinces.

The sincerity of the professions made by Leicester, on this occasion, of his anxiety to maintain fidelity and military discipline, was strongly suspected by those who saw him bestow his highest favour and countenance on two of his own countrymen, of whom one, Rowland York, was a devoted adherent of Hembyze, in Ghent, and had afterwards been chiefly instrumental in de-

[1] Ambassadors being sent into England in 1589 to remonstrate with the queen on this subject, it was alleged, according to Bor,[h] that the losses sustained by the Holland and Zealand merchants amounted, within three years, to 3,000,000 guilders.

livering up Brussels to the royalists; and the other, Captain Welsh, had borne the principal share in the sale and surrender of Alost.

Venloo and Neuss (or Nuys) next fell before the victorious arms of Parma. During the siege of Neuss, Leicester commanded Sir Philip Sidney to undertake an invasion of Flanders. Under his brilliant auspices, the young Prince Maurice commenced his glorious military career, and wetted his maiden sword in the capture of the small town of Axel.

At length, in the month of August, Leicester took the field in person at the head of an army of 8,000 infantry[1] and 3,000 cavalry; but, not sufficiently strong to encounter Parma, whose forces numbered 12,000 of the former and 3,500 of the latter, he sat down before Doesborgh, while his adversary was engaged at the siege of Rhynberg. In this his first military undertaking he was happily successful, as Doesborgh surrendered without waiting for an assault. Thence he marched to besiege Zutphen. Parma, well aware that this important town was but slenderly provided, sent forward three hundred wagons laden with corn, under a convoy. They had arrived at the village of Warnsfeld, about half a mile from Zutphen, when a body of musketeers and cavalry sallied out, headed by Sir Philip Sidney and several of the English volunteers. The English troops commenced the attack with extraordinary vigour, and forced their adversaries to retreat; during the engagement, however, Verdugo, having been warned of the approach of the convoy, advanced at the head of a small body of troops and brought the supplies safely into the town.[e]

DEATH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

This battle, in which the English showed such bravery, yet also such useless rashness, has been the subject of much controversy, the number of English present being set as high as 3,400, though Motley[c] accepts Leicester's official report that there were 550 English engaged and Parma's statement that the Spanish numbered 3,100. As often happens in war reports, the accounts of rival generals are most discrepant concerning each other's losses, Leicester stating that 33 English were killed or wounded, and 250 to 350 Spaniards, while Parma sets the Spanish loss at 9 killed and 29 wounded, and the English at 200 killed. The truth of this matter is probably that about 33 Englishmen were lost and about 38 Spaniards. But the Spaniards accomplished their purposes and victualled the town.

The true fame of the skirmish rises from the fact that it put an end to the beautiful career of Sir Philip Sidney. Seeing that old Sir William Pelham fought in light armour, he threw off his own cuishes, or thigh-guards, and rode everywhere in the thick of the fight. Finally, having had one horse killed under him, he mounted another and charged through the Spanish ranks: a musket-ball shattered his unprotected thigh; and his horse, too restive to control, carried him a mile and a half back to his own entrenchments. It was here that the famous incident probably occurred which hallows his fame: for his attendants brought him a bottle of water to quench his burning thirst; but, seeing a dying English soldier cast his eyes longingly at the flask, Sidney handed it to him instantly, saying, "Thy necessity is even greater than mine."

Anecdotes of humanity in time of battle are always cherished by the populace and suspected by the critical historian, and this incident has not

[1] Among them was a regiment of 1,400 Irish, whom Strada[f] describes as "a rude and wild ce, naked from the hips upward; they walked on high stilts, by means of which they were to cross rivers, and were formidable for their skill in the use of the bow."

escaped incredulity. The story seems to have appeared first in a biography by Sidney's friend Lord Brooke.[i] Motley[c] says that he had "searched in vain for its confirmation through many contemporary letters and chronicles," yet he concludes that "there is no reason for rejecting its authenticity." The incident is comparable for its exquisite beauty with a self-sacrificing act of Alexander the Great during the desert-march of his troops.

Of the battle itself, Froude[k] says, "No dispositions could apparently have been worse than those which Leicester made." He now gave up hope of conquering Zutphen except by siege and retired to winter quarters. His campaign had been, says Froude, "like a blaze of straw." He adds: "It was well for England, it was well for the queen, that those who were entrusted with the interests and honour of their country were not all such as Leicester, and were not all within reach of her own paralysing hand." Fortunately the time of his stay in the Netherlands was short.[a]

THE FAILURE OF LEICESTER (1587)

Leicester's conduct was now become quite intolerable to the states. His incapacity and presumption were every day more evident and more revolting. He retired to the town of Utrecht; and pushed his injurious conduct to such an extent that he became an object of utter hatred to the provinces. Conferences took place at the Hague between Leicester and the states, in which Barneveld overwhelmed his contemptible shuffling by the force of irresistible eloquence and well-deserved reproaches; and after new acts of treachery this unworthy favourite at last set out for England, to lay an account of his government at the feet of the queen.[1]

The growing hatred against England may be excused, from the various instances of treachery displayed, not only by the commander-in-chief but by several of his inferiors in command. A strong fort, near Zutphen, under the government of Rowland York, the town of Deventer under that of William Stanley, and subsequently Gelderland under a Scotchman named Pallot, were delivered up to the Spaniards by these men; and about the same time the English cavalry committed some excesses in Gelderland and Holland, which added to the prevalent prejudice against the nation in general. This enmity was no longer to be concealed. The partisans of Leicester were one by one, under plausible pretexts, removed from the council of state; and Elizabeth having required from Holland the exportation into England of a large quantity of rye, it was firmly but respectfully refused, as inconsistent with the wants of the provinces.

Prince Maurice, relieved of the caprice and jealousy of Leicester, now united in himself the whole power of command, and commenced that brilliant course of conduct which consolidated the independence of his country and elevated him to the first rank of military glory. His early efforts were turned to the suppression of the partiality which in some places existed for English domination.[d]

The miserable condition of the Spanish Netherlands, and the difficulty of finding supplies for his troops, caused the duke of Parma to delay taking the field until late in the summer; when, making a feint attack upon Ostend, he afterwards commenced a vigorous siege of Sluys. This hastened the

[1 After he left, a secret document was found in which he instructed the English governors to pay no heed to the commands of the states, to release no prisoners, and accept no order removal. This discovery emphasized the general distrust of the English, and led the states declare Maurice "prince" and to require an oath of allegiance to him.]

return of the Earl of Leicester to the Netherlands, who arrived in Ostend with seven thousand foot and five hundred horse; the queen having placed in his hands the whole of the £18,000 appointed for the payment of the soldiers.

Leicester made an attempt to master the fort of Blankenburg, in the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp; but on intelligence that Parma was approaching to give him battle, he hastily retreated to Ostend. As there were, therefore, no hopes of relief from the English, and all the artillery in the town was destroyed, except four pieces, the governor, Arnold de Groeneveldt, proposed a capitulation, which Parma granted, on highly honourable conditions. The loss of Sluys exasperated the dissensions between Leicester and the states into undisguised and irreconcilable hostility. He spared no pains to throw on them the blame of this miscarriage, accusing them (not, indeed, wholly without grounds) of neglecting to provide either sufficient troops, funds, or ammunition.

The states, on the other hand, possessed a powerful weapon against Leicester in an intercepted letter to his secretary Junius, desiring him to use his influence with the well-disposed in the provinces to bestow on him an authority free from the continual opposition and countermining of the states, who ought to be content with the share of power they had enjoyed under Charles V and his son, so that he might be sovereign in reality, and not in appearance only.

But it was not with the states alone that Leicester was at variance; the English ambassador Buckhurst, Sir John Norris, Prince Maurice, and the count of Hohenlohe alike shared his resentment. Leicester even entertained the design of seizing the person of the prince, together with Jan Olden-Barneveld, and conveying them to England; of which the latter having received information, they retired precipitately from the Hague to Delft.

While thus at issue with all the authorities of the state, Leicester had still a powerful party among the clergy, whom he affected to treat on all occasions with the most profound consideration and respect. Guided and fostered by the preachers, the time of popular opinion had, during the first part of Leicester's government, set strongly in his favour against the states. But the surrender of Deventer and the fort of Zutphen had given the first shock to his popularity, which rapidly declined after the fall of Sluys; and the conduct he now thought fit to pursue was such as might well have annihilated the little that remained.

Eight of the nobles of Utrecht having ventured to present a petition for the restoration of their former customs and privileges, they were seized all on one day, and confined in the public prison; an act which, though disavowed by Leicester, excited such an uproar against him in the city, that he was fain to retire to North Holland, where he possessed a devoted partisan in Theodore Sonoy, to whom he had given a commission as governor of that district, independent of the stadholder, Prince Maurice. This event was followed by a far more dangerous disturbance at Leyden, where a number of refugees from Flanders and Brabant formed a conspiracy to deliver the town into the hands of Leicester, which was only prevented by a timely and fortuitous discovery. The states, at the same time, as well those of Holland as the states-general, evinced their doubts of their personal safety by transferring their assemblies from the Hague to the fortified town of Haarlem.

Greatly alarmed at these unequivocal demonstrations of hostile feeling, and feeling too surely that his authority was irretrievably gone, Leicester retired to Flushing, where he shortly after received a summons to return to England, through Lord Herbert, whom the queen had appointed her

ambassador to the United Provinces. Having taken leave of the states in a letter, couched in terms considerably more mild and moderate than any of his previous communications, he set sail from Zealand. Shortly after his arrival in England, an accusation of maladministration in his government in the Netherlands was brought against him by Lord Buckhurst, from the effects of which the queen permitted him to screen himself under the plea of her private instructions; she even detained Buckhurst a prisoner in his own house for several months; but obliged Leicester, nevertheless, to execute a formal act of resignation early in the following year, which finally terminated his misguided and unfortunate government.

But the Act of Resignation remained some time unpublished; and the soldiers, of whom a great portion were English, took occasion from thence to refuse obedience to the council and Prince Maurice; being, as they declared, still bound by their oath to the late governor. The garrisons of Medemblik, Hoorn, Naarden, Workum, Heusden, and other places, encouraged by secret emissaries from Leicester, were in a state of revolt from this ostensible reason. Prince Maurice wrote to the privy council in England, making heavy complaints of the conduct of their countrymen and partisans in the provinces; in consequence of which, Willoughby and Sir Thomas Killigrew, received orders from the queen to disavow in her name all acts of sedition against the council or the prince, pretended to be done for her service. The effects of this measure, together with the publication of the Act of Resignation by Leicester, were beneficial in the extreme.

MAURICE, PRINCE OF ORANGE
(1567–1625)

The time, indeed, was now come when all trivial dissensions, all petty jealousies, should be hushed. The gigantic armada, which was to crush England at a blow, was now ready. Henceforth, she must fight hand in hand with Holland.[e]

THE SPANISH ARMADA (1588)

Irritated and mortified by the assistance which Elizabeth had given to the revolted provinces, Philip resolved to employ his whole power in attempting the conquest of England itself; hoping afterwards to effect with ease the subjugation of the Netherlands. He caused to be built, in almost every port of Spain and Portugal, galleons, carricks, and other ships of war of the largest dimensions; and at the same time gave orders to the duke of Parma to assemble in the harbours of Flanders as many vessels as he could collect together. This prodigious force obtained, in Spain, the ostentatious title of the Invincible Armada.

The details of the progress and the failure of this celebrated attem are so thoroughly the province of English history, that they would b

this place superfluous. But it must not be forgotten that the glory of the proud result was amply shared by the new republic, whose existence depended on it. While Howard and Drake held the British fleet in readiness to oppose the Spanish armada, that of Holland, consisting of but twenty-five ships, under the command of Justin of Nassau, prepared to take a part in the conflict. This gallant though illegitimate scion of the illustrious house whose name he upheld on many occasions, proved himself on the present worthy of such a father as William and such a brother as Maurice. While the duke of Medina Sidonia, ascending the channel as far as Dunkirk, there expected the junction of the duke of Parma with his important reinforcement, Justin of Nassau, by a constant activity and a display of intrepid talent, contrived to block up the whole expected force in the ports of Flanders from Lillo to Dunkirk. The duke of Parma found it impossible to force a passage on any one point; and was doomed to the mortification of knowing that the attempt was frustrated, and the whole force of Spain frittered away, discomfited, and disgraced, from the want of a co-operation which he could not, however, reproach himself for having withheld. The issue of the memorable expedition which cost Spain years of preparation, thousands of men, and millions of treasure, was received in the country which sent it forth with consternation and rage. Philip alone possessed or affected an apathy which he covered with a veil of mock devotion.[d]

The grief and disappointment of Parma at the destruction of this powerful armada were intense. In accordance with the advice of others, rather than his own judgment, he determined to employ his large and hitherto useless army in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. It was the last town in Brabant left to the states except Gertruydenberg. The preservation of Bergen was chiefly owing to the extraordinary courage and dexterity of two Englishmen, Grimston, a lieutenant of the garrison, and one Redhead, a sutler. They had been offered large bribes, by two Spanish prisoners, to deliver the North Fort into the hands of Parma. By the orders of Lord Willoughby, to whom they discovered the affair, they pretended to give a ready consent to the proposal, and secretly left the camp, provided with letters from the two Spaniards to the duke of Parma. Parma obliged them to take an oath on the sacrament that they were acting in good faith: still, however, doubting somewhat of their fidelity, he ordered their hands to be tied behind them, and placed a Spanish soldier as guard over each, with a naked poniard, ready to plunge into their breasts on the slightest suspicion of treachery; thus secured, he ventured to entrust them with the conduct of the expedition. The assailants, marching at low water over the drowned land between their camp and the fort, found the gate open, as they expected. About fifty entered, when Willoughby let down the portcullis, and excluded the remainder. Those within were immediately slain or captured; the two who guarded the English prisoners, forgetting, in their confusion and terror, the orders they had received from Parma, allowed them to escape unhurt. The troops on the outside being assailed on their retreat by an ambush on the dike, a great number were slain, and several officers of distinction made prisoners. Grimston and Redhead received a present of 1,000 florins each from the queen, and an annuity of 600 florins.

Parma, therefore, broke up the siege, his troops abandoning the entrenchments in some disorder, and leaving a great portion of their arms, material, nd baggage behind them. The count of Mansfeld captured the small town Wachtendonck, in Gelderland, at the siege of which the bomb-shell was used, having been invented shortly before by an artisan of Venloo.

Gertruydenberg was delivered, by its English governor, Sir John Wingfield, to Parma on the payment of the arrears due to the troops, and a gratuity of five months' pay in addition. Provoked beyond endurance at this mingled insolence and treachery, the states issued a decree, condemning the whole of the garrison to death as traitors. Several who were arrested in the provinces were executed without form of law.[c]

Martin Schenk who had lately, for the last time, gone over to the side of the states, had caused a fort to be built in the isle of Betewe — that possessed of old by the Batavians — which was called by his name, and was considered the key to the passage of the Rhine. From this stronghold he constantly harassed the archbishop of Cologne, and had as his latest exploit surprised and taken the strong town of Bonn (1590). The indefatigable Schenk resolved to make an attempt on the important town of Nimeguen. His enterprise seemed almost crowned with success, when the inhabitants, recovering from their fright, precipitated themselves from the town; forced the assailants to retreat to their boats; and, carrying the combat into those overcharged and fragile vessels, upset several, and among others that which contained Schenk himself, who, covered with wounds, and fighting to the last gasp, was drowned with the greater part of his followers. His body, when recovered, was treated with the utmost indignity, quartered, and hung in portions over the different gates of the city.

The following year (1591) was distinguished by another daring attempt on the part of the Hollanders, but followed by a different result. A captain named Haranguer concerted with one Adrian Vandenberg a plan for the surprise of Breda, on the possession of which prince Maurice had set a great value. The associates contrived to conceal in a boat, laden with turf (which formed the principal fuel of the inhabitants of that part of the country), and of which Vandenberg was master, eighty determined soldiers, and succeeded in arriving close to the city without any suspicion being excited. One of the soldiers, named Mathew Helt, being suddenly affected with a violent cough, implored his comrades to put him to death, to avoid the risk of a discovery. But a corporal of the city guard having inspected the cargo with unsuspecting carelessness, the immolation of the brave soldier became unnecessary, and the boat was dragged into the basin by the assistance of some of the very garrison who were so soon to fall victims to the stratagem. At midnight the concealed soldiers quitted their hiding places, leaped on shore, killed the sentinels, and easily became masters of the citadel. Prince Maurice, following close with his army, soon forced the town to submit.

The duke of Parma had snatched a short interval for the purpose of recruiting his health at the waters of Spa. While at that place he received urgent orders from Philip to abandon for a while all his proceedings in the Netherlands, and to hasten into France with his whole disposable force, to assist the army of the League. The duke of Parma received his uncle's orders with great repugnance. He nevertheless obeyed; and leaving count Mansfeld at the head of the government, he conducted his troops against the royal opponent.

But while this expedition added greatly to the renown of the general, it considerably injured the cause of Spain in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice, taking prompt advantage of the absence of his great rival, had made himself master of several fortresses; and some Spanish regiments having mutinied against the commanders left behind by the duke of Parma, others, encouraged by the impunity they enjoyed, were ready on the slightest pretext to follow their example. Maurice did not lose a single opportunity

of profiting by circumstances so favourable; and even after the return of Alessandro he seized on Nimeguen, despite all the efforts of the Spanish army.[d]

THE MILITARY GENIUS OF MAURICE

With the reduction of Nimeguen, which involved the submission of nearly the whole of Gelderland, in 1591, Prince Maurice terminated his brilliant and successful campaign; having, in the space of five months, mastered Zutphen Deventer, Hulst, and Nimeguen, besides Delfzijl and other smaller forts. The lateness of the season, and the continued rains, together with the sickness of Barneveld, upon whose able and active co-operation he chiefly depended, induced him to arrest his progress for the present, and withdraw his army into winter quarters. On his return to Holland, he was greeted with unbounded joy and affection by all ranks of men. Under his auspices had dawned the first bright hopes — the first firm expectation of ultimate success to the cause of freedom. The military undertakings of his father had been peculiarly and uniformly unfortunate; the small advantages gained by Leicester had been more than counterbalanced by the discontents and cabals which had grown rife under his government: hitherto the provinces had had to struggle for their actual existence in miserable dependence on the aid of foreign princes; now they were able to treat on equal terms with those powers which had before disdained to receive them as subjects, and to render effective assistance to their ally the king of France. Their own boundaries were not only secured, but extended; and the enemy was harassed on every side by an army whose small numerical force was more than compensated by the celerity of its movements, its admirable spirit, and the perfect knowledge which every one of its members possessed of his respective duties.

The people beheld the hitherto invincible duke of Parma, indisputably the first captain of his age, retreat, or rather fly before their young general.

Prince Maurice, indeed, though the ostensible, was not the sole nor perhaps even the principal creator of the vast change that had been worked in the condition of the provinces. A powerful though unseen hand had now grasped the pivot on which public affairs turned. Jan Olden-Barneveld, from the time of his appointment to the office of advocate of Holland, had begun to acquire that influence which ultimately became almost unbounded; he it was whose eloquence prevailed with the states to consent at once to all the beneficial measures which his fertile genius suggested; and whose comprehensive intellect combined those plans which his unceasing diligence, in supplying the army with material, ammunition, and provisions enabled Prince Maurice to execute.[e]

Nevertheless Prince Maurice must be recognised as one of the great military geniuses of all time. He was the true creator of the Dutch army, and recognised that a small body of highly trained patriots was far superior to the rabbles of mercenary troops on which the fate of Holland had been hanging so long. In his tactics he had the aid of his cousin Louis William, stadholder of Friesland, who revived the old Greek and Roman manœuvres in the evolutions of small bodies of men trained to the utmost agility. These small units of high mobility, in place of the cumbersome masses in vogue, excited the ridicule of the old school; and the suppression of the system of "blind names," by which a colonel often drew pay for a thousand men while actually recruiting only a hundred, excited still greater hostility. The private soldiers were similarly outraged by being compelled to dig trenches and build fortifications a supposedly menial task for which peasants had been previously hired.

But victory is the soldier's consolation for every ill, and Maurice soon had an army which was a model for all Europe in its organisation and administration, as in its proficiency in field manœuvre and siege work.

The modernity of his ideas is also seen in the fact that he took away from his cavalry the spear and gave them the carbine, thus making them mounted infantry, an ideal recently revived.

In any history of the art of war, the name of Maurice must appear as an important contributor to progress.[a]

THE DEATH OF PARMA: HIS SUCCESSOR (1592)

The duke of Parma, daily breaking down under the progress of disease, and agitated by reverses, repaired again to Spa, in 1592, taking at once every possible means for the recruitment of his army and the recovery of his health, on which its discipline and the chances of success now so evidently depended. But all his plans were again frustrated by a renewal of Philip's peremptory orders to march once more into France, to uphold the failing cause of the League against the intrepidity and talent of Henry IV.

On his return to the Netherlands (1592), the duke found himself again under the necessity of repairing to Spa, in search of some relief from the suffering which was considerably increased by the effects of a wound received in this last campaign. In spite of his shattered constitution, he maintained to the latest moment the most active endeavours for the reorganisation of his army; and he was preparing for a new expedition into France, when he was surprised by death on the 3rd of December, 1592, at the abbey of St. Vaast, near Arras, at the age of forty-seven years.

Alessandro of Parma was certainly one of the most remarkable and, it may be added, one of the greatest characters of his day. Most historians have upheld him even higher perhaps than he should be placed on the scale; asserting that he can be reproached with very few of the vices of the age in which he lived. Others consider this judgment too favourable, and accuse him of participation in all the crimes of Philip, whom he served so zealously. But even allowing that Alessandro's fine qualities were sullied by his complicity in these odious measures, we must still in justice admit that they were too much in the spirit of the times, and particularly of the school in which he was trained; and while we lament that his political or private faults place him on so low a level, we must rank him as one of the very first masters in the art of war in his own or any other age.

He had chosen the count of Mansfeld for his successor, and the nomination was approved by the king. He entered on his government under most disheartening circumstances. The rapid conquests of Prince Maurice in Brabant and Flanders were scarcely less mortifying than the total disorganisation into which those two provinces had fallen. They were ravaged by bands of robbers called Picaroons, whose audacity reached such a height that they opposed in large bodies the forces sent for their suppression by the government. They on one occasion killed the provost of Flanders, and burned his lieutenant in a hollow tree; and on another they mutilated a whole troop of the national militia, and their commander, with circumstances of most revolting cruelty.

The authority of governor-general, though not the title, was now fully shared by the count of Fuentes, who was sent to Brussels by the king of Spain; and the ill effects of this double viceroyalty were soon seen in the brilliant progress of Prince Maurice and the continual reverses sustained

the royalist armies. The king, still bent on projects of bigotry, sacrificed without scruple men and treasure for the overthrow of Henry IV and the success of the League. The affairs of the Netherlands seemed now a secondary object; and he drew largely on his forces in that country for reinforcements to the ranks of his tottering allies. A final blow was, however, struck against the hopes of intolerance in France, and to the existence of the League, by the conversion of Henry IV to the Catholic religion; he deeming theological disputes, which put the happiness of a whole kingdom in jeopardy, as quite subordinate to the public good.

Such was the prosperity of the United Provinces that they had been enabled to send a large supply, both of money and men, to the aid of Henry, their constant and generous ally. And notwithstanding this, their armies and fleets, so far from suffering diminution, were augmented day by day. Philip, resolved to summon up all his energy for the revival of the war against the republic, now appointed the archduke Ernest, brother of the emperor Rudolf, to the post which the disunion of Mansfeld and Fuentes rendered as embarrassing as it had become inglorious. This prince, of a gentle and conciliatory character, was received at Brussels with great magnificence and general joy; his presence reviving the deep-felt hopes of peace entertained by the suffering people. Such were also the cordial wishes of the prince[1]; but more than one design, formed at this period against the life of Prince Maurice, frustrated every expectation of the kind.

A priest of the province of Namur, named Michael Renichon, disguised as a soldier, was the new instrument meant to strike another blow at the greatness of the house of Nassau, in the person of its gallant representative, Prince Maurice; as also in that of his brother, Frederick Henry, then ten years of age. On the confession of the intended assassin, he was employed by Count Barlaymont to murder the two princes. Renichon happily mismanaged the affair, and betrayed his intention. He was arrested at Breda, conducted to the Hague, and there tried and executed on the 3rd of June, 1594.

In this same year a soldier named Peter Dufour embarked in a like atrocious plot. He, too, was seized and executed before he could carry it into effect.

Prince Maurice, in the meantime, with his usual activity, passed the Maas and the Rhine, and invested and quickly took the town of Groningen (July 24th, 1594),[2] by which he consummated the establishment of the republic, and secured its rank among the principal powers of Europe.

The archduke Ernest, finding all his efforts for peace frustrated, and all hopes of gaining his object by hostility to be vain, became a prey to disappointment and regret, and died, from the effects of a slow fever, on the 21st of February, 1595; leaving to the count of Fuentes the honours and anxieties of the government, subject to the ratification of the king. This nobleman began the exercise of his temporary functions by an irruption into France, at the head of a small army; war having been declared against Spain by Henry IV, who, on his side, had despatched the admiral De Villars to attack

[1 He convened the states-general of the loyal provinces in 1595, and sent a proposal of peace to the Hague on the basis of the pacification of Ghent. Blok[m] quotes the protests of the loyal provinces against the ruinous Spanish policy; they protested that little remained to them "except one great heart-break and despair" (*sinon ung très grand crèvecœur et désespoir*).]

[2 Of this success by Maurice, Motley[c] says: "Again the commander-in-chief enlightened the world by an exhibition of a more artistic and humane style of warfare than previously to his appearance on the military stage had been known." In May, 1596, the states were actually admitted as equals in a tripartite alliance against Spain. Queen Elizabeth bitterly opposed such recognition of a popular government, but was compelled to take the step, and the treaty was signed at the Hague, October 31st, 1596.]

Philip's possessions in Hainault and Artois. This gallant officer lost a battle and his life in the contest; and Fuentes, encouraged by the victory, took some frontier towns.

Some trifling affairs took place in Brabant; but the arrival of the archduke Albert, whom the king had appointed to succeed his brother Ernest in the office of governor-general, deprived Fuentes of any further opportunity of signalising his talents for supreme command. Albert arrived at Brussels on the 11th of February, 1596, accompanied by Philip William, the prince of Orange, who, when count of Buren, had been carried off from the university of Louvain, twenty-eight years previously, and held captive in Spain during the whole of that period.

THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT

The archduke Albert, fifth son of the emperor Maximilian II, and brother of Rudolf, stood high in the opinion of Philip his uncle, and merited his reputation for talents, bravery, and prudence. He had been early made archbishop of Toledo, and afterwards cardinal; but his profession was not that of these nominal dignities. He was a warrior and politician of considerable capacity; and had for some years faithfully served the king, as viceroy of Portugal. But Philip meant him for the more independent situation of sovereign of the Netherlands, and at the same time destined him to be the husband of his daughter Isabella. He now sent him, in the capacity of governor-general, to prepare the way for the important change.

He opened his first campaign early; and, by a display of clever manœuvring, which threatened an attempt to force the French to raise the siege of La Fère, in the heart of Picardy, he concealed his real design — the capture of Calais; and he succeeded in its completion almost before it was suspected. By prudently avoiding a battle, to which he was constantly provoked by Henry IV who commanded the French army in person, he established his character for military talent of no ordinary degree.

He at the same time made overtures of reconciliation to the United Provinces, and hoped that the return of the prince of Orange would be a means of effecting so desirable a purpose. But the Dutch were not to be deceived by the apparent sincerity of Spanish negotiation. They even doubted the sentiments of the prince of Orange, whose attachments and principles had been formed in so hated a school; and nothing passed between them and him but mutual civilities. They clearly evinced their disapprobation of his intended visit to Holland; and he consequently fixed his residence in Brussels, passing his life in an inglorious neutrality.

A naval expedition formed in this year by the English and Dutch against Cadiz, commanded by the earl of Essex,[1] was crowned with brilliant success, and somewhat consoled the provinces for the contemporary exploits of the archduke. But the following year opened with an affair which at once proved his unceasing activity and added largely to the reputation of his rival, Prince Maurice. The former had detached the count of Varax, with about six thousand men, for the purpose of invading the province of Holland: but Maurice, with equal energy and superior talent, followed his movements; came up with him near Turnhout, on the 24th of January, 1597, and after a

[1 The Dutch admiral was Duivenvoorde, lord of Warmond, and the combined fleet, destroyed a Spanish squadron in Cadiz, July, 1596, returning home with booty. Previously, in 1595, some five hundred Netherlandish ships, nearly half the entire merchant marine, were released from Spanish and Portuguese harbors where they had been detained. Their release was partly for conciliation and partly because of Spain's need for the supplies they brought.]

sharp action, of which the Dutch cavalry bore the whole brunt, Varax was killed, and his troops defeated with considerable loss.[1]

This was in its consequences a most disastrous affair to the archduke. His army was disorganised, and his finances exhausted; while the confidence of the states in their troops and their general was considerably raised. During this year Prince Maurice took a number of towns in rapid succession; and the states, according to their custom, caused various medals, in gold, silver, and copper, to be struck, to commemorate the victories which had signalised their arms.

Philip II, feeling himself approaching the termination of his long and agitating career, now wholly occupied himself in negotiations for peace with France. Henry IV desired it as anxiously. The pope, Clement VIII, encouraged by his exhortations this mutual inclination. The king of Poland sent ambassadors to the Hague and to London, to induce the states and Queen Elizabeth to become parties in a general pacification. These overtures led to no conclusion; but the conferences between France and Spain went on with apparent cordiality and great promptitude, and a peace was concluded between these powers at Vervins, on the 2nd of May, 1598.

The states had used all their influence to keep Elizabeth from making peace with Spain, and abandoning her alliance with them. Their delay in paying their debt to her had, however, occasioned frequent outbursts of temper and even of threats of war, but terms were finally patched up.[a] It was agreed that she should henceforth be released from the obligation to afford any further subsidies to the provinces, who engaged to assist her with forty ships in any naval expedition she might undertake against Spain, and with five thousand foot and five hundred horse, or an equivalent in money, in case the king of Spain should invade any part of her dominions; the debt which she herself had estimated at two millions was fixed at £800,000, to be paid by instalments of £30,000 a year until the half were liquidated; the mode of discharging the remainder to be arranged at the end of the war, when, if any of the first moiety was still unpaid, the annual sum should be reduced to £20,000. The states also bound themselves to pay the garrisons of Briel and Flushing to the number of 1,150 men. They were permitted to retain the English troops already in the Netherlands at their own expense, and the queen was to continue to name one English member in the council of state.[c 2]

THE PROVINCES CEDED TO ALBERT AND ISABELLA (1598)

Shortly after the publication of the treaty of Vervins, another important act was made known to the world, by which Philip ceded to Albert and Isabella, on their being formally affianced — a ceremony which now took place — the sovereignty of Burgundy and the Netherlands. This act bears

[1 This action may be taken as a fair sample of the difficulty with which any estimate can be formed of the relative losses on such occasions. The Dutch historians state the loss of the royalists, in killed, at upwards of 2,000. Meteren,[n] a good authority, says the peasants buried 2,250; while Bentivoglio,[o] an Italian writer in the interest of Spain, makes the number exactly half that amount. Grotius[l] says that the loss of the Dutch was four men killed. Bentivoglio states it at 100. But, at either computation, it is clear that the affair was a brilliant one on the part of Prince Maurice. [Motley[c] says of it: "The nation was electrified, transformed in an instant. Who now should henceforth have to say that one Spanish fighting man was equal to five or ten Hollanders? Here in the open field a Spanish army, after in vain refusing a combat and endeavouring to escape, had literally bitten the dust before a fourth of its own number. And this effect was a permanent one."]

[2 Blok[m] well calls these "pretty stiff terms," the only cause for satisfaction being the acceptance of only one Englishman on the council of state.]

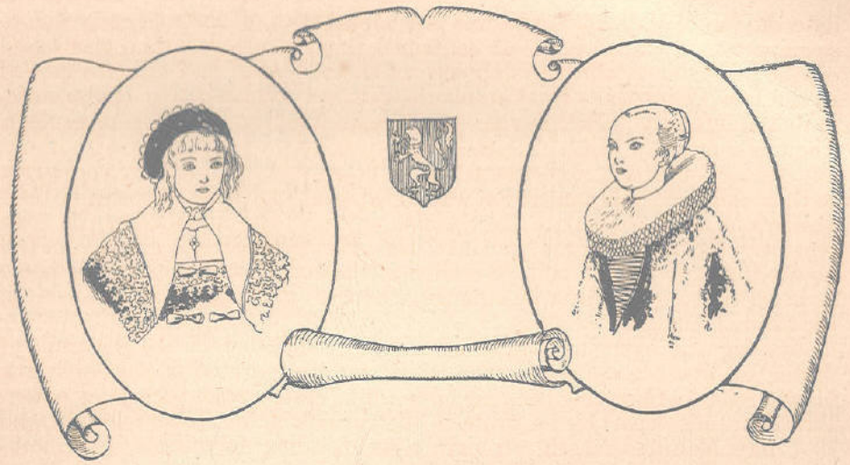
date the 6th of May, 1598, and was proclaimed with all the solemnity due to so important a transaction. It contained thirteen articles; and was based on the misfortunes which the absence of the sovereign had hitherto caused to the Low Countries. The Catholic religion was declared that of the state, in its full integrity. The provinces were guaranteed against dismemberment. The archdukes, by which title the joint sovereigns were designated without any distinction of sex, were secured in the possession, with right of succession to their children; and a provision was added, that in default of posterity their possessions should revert to the Spanish crown. The infanta Isabella soon sent her procuration to the archduke, her affianced husband, giving him full power and authority to take possession of the ceded dominions in her name as in his own; and Albert was inaugurated with great pomp at Brussels, on the 22nd of August.

Having put everything in order for the regulation of the government during his absence, he set out for Spain, for the purpose of accomplishing his spousals, and bringing back his bride to the chief seat of their joint power. But before his departure he wrote to the various states of the republic, and to Prince Maurice himself, strongly recommending submission and reconciliation. These letters received no answer; a new plot against the life of Prince Maurice, by a wretched individual named Peter Pann, having aroused the indignation of the country, and determined it to treat with suspicion and contempt every insidious proposition from the tyranny it defied.

THE DEATH OF PHILIP II (1598)

Albert placed his uncle, the cardinal Andrew of Austria, at the head of the temporary government, and set out on his journey. He had not made much progress when he received accounts of the demise of Philip II, who died, after long suffering, and with great resignation, on the 13th of September, 1598, at the age of seventy-two. Albert was several months on his journey through Germany; and the ceremonials of his union with the infanta did not take place till the 18th of April, 1599, when it was finally solemnised in the city of Valencia in Spain.

This transaction, by which the Netherlands were positively erected into a separate sovereignty, seems naturally to make the limits of another epoch in their history. It completely decided the division between the northern and southern provinces, which, although it had virtually taken place long previous to this period, could scarcely be considered as formally consummated until now.[d]



CHAPTER X

THE SWAY OF OLDEN-BARNEVELD

[1598-1609 A.D.]

THE first act of the young sovereign of Spain, Philip III, was one of more bitter hostility against the provinces than his father had ever exercised; since he not only arrested all their ships in his ports (which had been often done heretofore) but made the whole of the crews prisoners; caused such as were suspected of having taken part in the expeditions of the English to be put to the torture, and forced the remainder to work as galley-slaves. Coincident with this proceeding was an edict issued in the Spanish Netherlands, February, 1599, forbidding the inhabitants to traffic in any manner with Holland and Zealand, or their adherents, till they had returned to obedience under their lawful prince. But these measures, like most others devised by Spain against her former subjects, recoiled upon herself, and tended ultimately to the advantage of those whom they were designed to injure. The states, on their part, issued a decree, prohibiting the ships, not only of their own subjects but those of foreign powers, from carrying provisions or other wares to Spain; all goods belonging to that country, wherever found, were declared lawful prizes; permits or safe-conducts to the enemy were forbidden; and indemnity for all injuries done by them, and for the extortion of exorbitant ransoms, was to be levied on the hostile territories of Flanders and Brabant.

They followed up this measure by the immediate equipment of seventy-three vessels of war, containing eight thousand men, for the purpose of either making a descent on Spain, or intercepting the India fleets. Setting sail from the Maas, under the command of Peter van der Does, the armament reached in safety the harbour of Corunna, where they found the Spanish fleet anchored under cover of the artillery on the shore. Unable to draw out the enemy to a combat, and not venturing to attack them thus protected, Van der Does changed his purpose, and, directing his course to the Canary

[1599 A.D.]

Islands, effected a landing on the largest of them, called the Gran Canaria, which he occupied and plundered with but trifling loss. Gomra next shared the same fate.

Sailing along the coast of Africa, he arrived at St. Thomas, an island in the gulf of Guinea, where they found a numerous colony of Portuguese established. The principal town surrendered at the first summons. But the burning summer heats combined with imprudent indulgence to produce a pestilential sickness of the most terrific description; which, in a short time, carried off great numbers, and among the rest the admiral himself and his nephew, George van der Does, son of the heroic defender of Leyden. The admiral was buried in the island, and the sailors, to secure his remains from insult, heaped the ruins of the whole town of Pavoasa upon his grave. After the death of their commander, the ships immediately set out on their return homewards; above one thousand perished on the voyage in the space of fifteen days: and on their arrival in Holland, at the end of the winter, not more than two captains were left alive. Such was the end of the fleet, which had cost vast sums in preparation, and from which the most important results had been expected. But however unprosperous the expedition, it had produced the effect of exciting great alarm in Spain, as appearing a prelude to others of the same nature, and had put the king to considerable charges in providing convoys for his fleets from the Indies.

It was September, 1599, before the new sovereigns arrived in their dominions, which they found the scene of universal discontent. The soldiery were on the brink of a general insurrection for want of pay, for which the treasury was too much exhausted to provide funds; and the people, oppressed and impoverished, were offended alike with the footing of lavish expenditure on which the court was placed, and the Spanish manners, dress, and customs which they remarked in its members. The "archdukes" having immediately on their coming summoned the states of the provinces, preparatory to their inauguration, the latter required as a preliminary to the acknowledgment of the new sovereigns the removal of the foreign troops in garrison in the Netherlands; that the public offices should be filled only by natives; and the conclusion of a definitive peace with the United Provinces. To these requisitions Isabella haughtily replied that she had received the Netherlands from her father, as a free gift without any conditions whatsoever; and the states, bowed down by poverty and sorrow, did not venture to persevere in this last struggle for a remnant of their former freedom.

Prince Maurice, anxious to take advantage of the widely-spread insurrection which prevailed among the archduke's troops, more especially those in the forts of Crèvecœur and St. Andrew, laid siege to the former, which he mastered with little difficulty. The garrison of St. Andrew accepted the offer of a payment of 125,000 guilders which he made them, and delivered the fort into his hands. Nearly the whole of the troops entered into the service of the states, and being formed into a separate regiment (to which the soldiers gave the name of the "New Gueux" from the ragged appearance they made on coming out of the fort) were placed under the command of the young prince Frederick Henry.

From hence Prince Maurice was desirous of pursuing his success along the course of the Maas; but at the vivid instances of the Zealanders, who were greatly vexed and incommoded by the near neighbourhood of the enemy, he, in concert with the states-general determined upon the invasion of Flanders. The rendezvous of the troops was, accordingly, appointed at Rammekens, in Walcheren, where nearly one thousand boats were collected,

[1600 A.D.]

on board of which were embarked twelve thousand infantry, with three thousand cavalry, four field-pieces, and thirty smaller pieces of artillery. Having waited in vain for some days for a fair wind to carry them to Ostend, they sailed up the Maas, and landed at the Sas de Gand; the fort of Philippine, by which it is defended, having been first captured by Count Ernest of Nassau.

From thence, the prince began his march overland towards Nieuport. Maurice sat down before the town, hoping to effect its reduction ere the enemy could collect sufficient forces for its relief. But the archduke repairing in person with the infanta to Diest, of which his mutinous troops held possession, the latter employed her entreaties, persuasions, and promises with such effect that she prevailed with them again to join her husband's standard, though under the banner of their own "eletto." With these, and the troops already in Brabant and Flanders, Albert found himself at the head of ten thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse. Marching from Bruges, he first attacked Oldenburg, a fort commanding the passage between that town and Nieuport, and lately captured by Prince Maurice, which surrendered without resistance. The loss of this fort was followed by that of Snaaskerke, of which the garrison was massacred in cold blood after the surrender; and of Breden, which was abandoned.

THE BATTLE OF NIEUPORT (1600)

Maurice sent forward Count Ernest of Nassau, with the Scottish regiment, under Colonel Edmonds, and a regiment of Zealanders, making together about nineteen hundred men, with four troops of horse, to occupy a bridge at Leffingham on the road to Ostend, over which the hostile army must pass. Though he used all possible expedition, Ernest found on his arrival the enemy already in possession of the post, who, remarking the smallness of his force, immediately advanced to the attack. His cavalry, seized with a sudden panic, rapidly gave way, and communicating their terror to the infantry, the rout soon became universal; the Zealanders fled towards Ostend, but the Scottish soldiers, heedlessly directing their course over the sand-hills towards the sea, were pursued and cut in pieces by the victors. Nine hundred were slain, and all their standards taken; but none were made prisoners, since the archduke, who deemed himself certain of the destruction of Maurice's army, had, it is said, given orders that no lives should be spared except those of the prince himself and his brother, Frederick Henry, whom he had determined to send prisoners, bound hand and foot, into Spain.

The time occupied by this calamitous encounter enabled Maurice to transport his whole army across the harbour of Nieuport, which is fordable at low water, to the right bank of the Yperlee, where he drew up on the sands and adjacent downs to await the coming of the hostile forces. The van of his army was occupied by two thousand six hundred English infantry and eighteen hundred Frieslanders, commanded by Sir Francis Vere, and his brother Horatio; on the left of which, towards the sea, were placed Vere's ten troops of cavalry, and six pieces of artillery; the remainder of the cavalry under Louis of Nassau being stationed so as to be ready to give assistance where it was required. The main army, composed of French, Swiss, and Prince Frederick Henry's regiment of New Gueux, was commanded by Count George de Solmes; while the Hollanders and Utrechters, forming the reserve, were under the special direction of Maurice himself, and led by Sir Oliver Temple. With the hostile town of Nieuport in the rear, the river and enemy's forts on the right, and the sea on the left, the only mode of retreat

in case of a defeat was on board the ships, which must inevitably be attended with extreme confusion and danger; and it was not improbable that during the engagement the vessels might themselves be attacked by the garrison of Nieuport.

Maurice, therefore, determined upon the bold and wise measure of cutting off all hopes of safety but in victory, by commanding the vessels to set sail for Ostend, as soon as the tide should serve.[1] Before their departure, he earnestly exhorted the young prince Frederick Henry to retire on board, that both might not perish at one blow; but his entreaties were without effect on the heroic boy, who expressed his resolute determination to share equally with his brother the dangers and glory of the day. At this juncture, a straggler from the enemy's camp, who allowed himself to be taken, gave intelligence of the defeat and flight of Count Ernest's detachment, which the prince was careful to conceal from the troops, causing a report to be spread that they had entered Ostend in safety.

After the repulse of Count Ernest, the archduke continued his march along the sands.[2] The returning tide having narrowed the space between the sea and the downs, or sand hills, a portion of the cavalry were obliged to proceed along a road in the latter, considerably harassed by two field-pieces, which Maurice had stationed so as to command it. The number of troops which the prince had left in the forts, with the loss of Count Ernest's detachment, had reduced his army to an equality with that of his opponent. In other respects also, their strength was nicely balanced; the situation depriving the allied troops of the advantage to be reaped from their superior dexterity, and from the quick and agile movements of their battalions, in which they greatly surpassed the Spaniards. On both sides were disciplined and experienced troops, full of courage and ardour, these hoping to achieve by an easy victory, won under the eyes of their sovereign, the termination of a thirty years' war; those fighting for their freedom, their religion, the sanctity of their homes, and even for life itself.

The shock of battle was commenced by the English, under Vere, who was attacked by the van of the enemy's horse, followed by the musketeers: here were concentrated the strength and fury of the contest; Vere had told Prince Maurice that, living or dead, he would this day deserve his thanks; and he well redeemed his pledge. Every foot of the slippery and uncertain ground was alternately lost and won, with an intensity of toil of which it is scarcely possible to form an idea. Vere himself was twice wounded, and had his horse killed under him; he, nevertheless, remained at his post till his brother Horatio came up to take the command.

The artillery played incessantly on both sides; but after two or three murderous discharges, the enemy's cannon sank deep into the sand, which rendered their subsequent fire of little effect; the Dutch had prudently raised theirs on floors formed of planks and hurdles, a circumstance which contributed, in no small degree, to the result of the battle. The combat had lasted four hours, each side pouring in fresh troops, until the whole of both armies, except a reserve of about three hundred cavalry on the side of the Dutch, were engaged in a sharp and desperate struggle. Maurice and his brother presented themselves in every part of the field, rousing the fainting and

[1 No more heroic decision was ever taken by fighting man. — MOTLEY.b]

[2 This is one of the many instances to prove the error of passing judgment on the conduct of a general according to the event; had the archduke not attacked the enemy on this occasion, there is little doubt that he would have been accused of having wantonly thrown away an opportunity of effecting the entire destruction of the states' army.

cheering the strong; the efforts of the archduke were no less strenuous; but the soldiers of both, who had tasted but little food or refreshment during the day, were now grown feeble and wearied.

At length the English, from utter exhaustion, began slowly to retreat towards the cannon in the rear, when the archduke, hoping to achieve the victory by one bold stroke, ordered a general pursuit: at this moment, Prince Maurice, who had been on the watch to seize some such opportunity, made an unexpected and rapid charge with his reserve of cavalry — a movement which caused some confusion among the enemy. Perceiving this, the troops raised a sudden shout of victory, and rushed on to the attack with renewed ardour. The archduke, eager to seize a chance that remained of restoring the fortune of the day, rode with his helmet off, before the mutineers of Diest, and vehemently exhorted them to renew the fight. While thus engaged, he received a severe wound in the face from the pike of a German soldier, which forced him to leave the field. His departure was the signal for a general flight. The soldiers, scattered in every direction, made their escape, favoured by the approaching darkness. About three thousand were killed in the battle and pursuit, of whom two hundred and fifty were officers, and the whole of their artillery and standards taken; the admiral of Aragon and many other noblemen were made prisoners; the archduke himself narrowly escaped capture, but the superb white charger, on which he had made his *joyeuse entrée*, and several pages and officers of his household, fell into the hands of Prince Maurice, who immediately restored the latter without ransom.

Tears gushed from the eyes of Maurice, when he beheld the victory certain: he felt that his country was saved; and, dismounting for a moment, he knelt down on the field of battle, and offered up a short but heartfelt thanksgiving to the Almighty: "What are we, O Lord," he exclaimed, "that thou hast enlarged us with thy bounty! Glory be to thy name forever."

The wearied condition of the troops, and the number of wounded, together with the darkness of the night and the danger from the hostile forts in the vicinity, deterred Maurice from pursuing the fugitives to any distance. Neither was the victory purchased without bloodshed on the side of the conqueror; ten hundred remained dead on the field, of whom six hundred were English, besides those who had perished in the defeat of the morning. The prince continued the whole night in a tent pitched upon the spot, and entertained at supper his illustrious captive, the admiral Mendoza, to whom he observed, in a tone of good-humoured raillery, that he was more fortunate than all his army, since, having for four years desired to visit Holland, he had now an opportunity of doing so. The admiral was sent, a few days after, to Woerden, and subsequently exchanged, together with the rest of the captives, and the governors of the Canary and St. Thomas's islands, for all the prisoners of war, inhabitants or allies of the United Provinces, within the dominions of the king of Spain and the archduke, including those whom the king had seized in the Dutch ships and forced to work as galley-slaves. The standards, more than one hundred in number, were deposited in the great saloon of the provincial court at the Hague.

The situation of the states-general who had followed the army to Ostend, to be ready with their assistance and advice, and to provide necessaries for the campaign, had been anxious in the extreme: their own safety and that of the republic was now, they felt, placed upon the cast of a single die. But they neglected to send six hundred cavalry, in garrison there, to secure the bridge of Leffingham; which, if they had done, they would inevitably have made themselves master of the person of the archduke.

The results of this famous battle were, except in regard to the moral effects it produced on the feelings of the belligerents, chiefly negative: a defeat would probably have involved the subjugation, if not the utter destruction of the republic, in the loss of her only army, and all her most eminent men; but the consequences of the victory were in surprising disproportion to its magnitude. The states at this juncture committed a grave fault, by insisting that Prince Maurice should pursue the design upon Nieuport, instead of at once attacking the surrounding forts, which would have given them the command of the open country in Flanders, and which they, in consequence, left the archduke leisure to strengthen. The prince, in obedience to their dictates, though contrary to his own judgment, recommenced the siege, but Albert, having rapidly reassembled his scattered troops, enabled La Barlotte to throw a succour of twenty-five hundred men into the town, which circumstance, coupled with the incessant heavy rains, induced Maurice to retire within a few days; when, hopeless of being able to undertake any further enterprise of importance, he sent his cavalry to Brabant, and embarking his infantry for Zealand, returned himself to Holland.[c]

Early in the spring Prince Maurice opened the campaign at the head of sixteen thousand men, chiefly composed of English and French. The town of Rheinberg soon fell into the hands of the prince. His next attempt was against Bois-le-Duc, but he was forced to raise the siege, and turn his attention in another direction.

THE SIEGE OF OSTEND (1601–1604)

The archduke Albert had now resolved to invest Ostend,[1] a place of great importance to the United Provinces, but little worth to either party in comparison with the dreadful waste of treasure and human life which was the consequence of its memorable siege. Sir Francis Vere commanded in the place at the period of its final investment; but governors, garrisons, and besieging forces were renewed and replaced with a rapidity which gives one of the most frightful instances of the ravages of war. The siege of Ostend lasted upwards of three years. It became a school for the young nobility of all Europe, who repaired to either one or the other party to learn the principles and the practise of attack and defence. Everything that the art of strategy could devise was resorted to on either side. The slaughter in the various assaults, sorties, and bombardments was enormous. Squadrons at sea gave a double interest to the land operations; and the celebrated brothers Federigo and Ambrogio Spinola founded their reputation on these opposing elements. Federigo was killed in one of the naval combats with the Dutch galleys, and the fame of reducing Ostend was reserved for Ambrogio. This afterwards celebrated general had undertaken the command at the earnest entreaties of the archduke and the king of Spain, and by the firmness and vigour of his measures he revived the courage of the worn-out assailants of the place. Redoubled attacks and multiplied mines at length reduced the town to a mere mass of ruin, and scarcely left its still undaunted garrison sufficient footing on which to prolong their desperate defence.

Ostend at length surrendered, on the 22nd of September, 1604, and the victors marched in over its crumbled walls and shattered batteries. Scarcely a vestige of the place remained beyond those terrible evidences of destruction. Its ditches, filled up with the rubbish of ramparts, bastions, and redoubts, left no distinct line of separation between the operations of its attack and its

[1 Haestens[d] called it, from the length of its siege, "the modern Troy."]

defence. It resembled rather a vast sepulchre than a ruined town, a mountain of earth and rubbish, without a single house in which the wretched remnant of the inhabitants could hide their heads — a monument of desolation on which victory might have sat and wept.[g]

Ostend had surrendered, after a siege of three years and two months, the garrison being permitted to march out with all the honours of war. On their arrival in the camp near Sluys, they received, before the whole army, the thanks of the prince and states for the eminent services they had rendered

STREET SCENE, LOW LIFE, AFTER BROUWER
(1606–1637)

their country. The defence had cost the states the sum of 4,000,000 guilders, and the loss of 50,000 men — an expenditure which, however enormous, was yet far surpassed by that of the besiegers. Immediately after the surrender, the archdukes came to visit the city, and found that they had lavished blood, time, and treasure, to gain a heap of ruins.[1] They subsequently offered valuable privileges to any persons who would fix their residence in Ostend; but years elapsed before the people could endure the sight of a spot defiled with the blood and whitening bones of their countrymen. The greater portion of the citizens settled permanently at Sluys.[c]

During the progress of this memorable siege Queen Elizabeth of England had died. With respect to the United Provinces she was a harsh protectress

[1 Upon that miserable sandbank more than a hundred thousand men had laid down their lives. The numbers of those who were killed or who died of disease in both armies during this memorable siege have been placed as high as one hundred and forty thousand by Gallucci.[e] Meteren[f] says that on the body of a Spanish officer, who fell in one of the innumerable assaults, was found a list of all the officers and privates killed in the Catholic army up to that date (which he does not give), and the amount was 72,124 — MOTLEY.[b]]

and a capricious ally. She in turns advised them to remain faithful to the old impurities of religion and to their intolerable king; refused to incorporate them with her own states; and then used her best efforts for subjecting them to her sway. She seemed to take pleasure in the uncertainty to which she reduced them, by constant demands for payment of her loans and threats of making peace with Spain. Thus the states-general were not much affected by the news of her death: and so rejoiced were they at the accession of James I to the throne of England, that all the bells of Holland rang out merry peals; bonfires were set blazing all over the country;[1] a letter of congratulation was despatched to the new monarch; and it was speedily followed by a solemn embassy, composed of Prince Frederick Henry, the grand pensionary Barneveld and others of the first dignitaries of the republic. These ambassadors were grievously disappointed at the reception given to them by James, who treated them as little better than rebels to their lawful king.

The states-general considered themselves amply recompensed for the loss of Ostend, by the taking of Sluys, Rheinberg, and Graves, all of which had in the interval surrendered to Prince Maurice; but they were seriously alarmed on finding themselves abandoned by King James, who concluded a separate peace with Philip III of Spain in the month of August of this year.

The two monarchs stipulated in the treaty that "neither was to give support of any kind to the revolted subjects of the other." It is nevertheless true that James did not withdraw his troops from the service of the states; but he authorised the Spaniards to levy soldiers in England. The United Provinces were at once afflicted and indignant at this equivocal conduct. Their first impulse was to deprive the English of the liberty of navigating the Schelde. They even arrested the progress of several of their merchant ships. But soon after, gratified at finding that James received their deputy with the title of ambassador, they resolved to dissimulate their resentment.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1605–1606

In 1605, Prince Maurice and Spinola took the field with their respective armies; and a rapid series of operations placing them in direct contact displayed their talents in the most striking points of view. The first steps on the part of the prince were a new invasion of Flanders and an attempt on Antwerp, which he hoped to carry before the Spanish army could arrive to its succour. But the promptitude and sagacity of Spinola defeated this plan, which Maurice was obliged to abandon after some loss; while the royalist general resolved to signalise himself by some important movement; and, ere his design was suspected, he had penetrated into the province of Overyssel, and thus retorted his rival's favourite measure of carrying the war into the enemy's country.

Several towns were rapidly reduced; but Maurice flew towards the threatened provinces, and by his active measures forced Spinola to fall back on the Rhine and take up a position near Ruhrort, where he was impetuously attacked by the Dutch army. But the cavalry having followed up too slowly the orders of Maurice, his hopes of surprising the royalists were frustrated; and the Spanish forces, gaining time by this hesitation, soon changed the fortune of the day. The Dutch cavalry shamefully took to flight, despite the gallant endeavours of both Maurice and his brother Frederick Henry; and at this juncture a large reinforcement of Spaniards arrived under the

[1 According to certain authorities this ostentatious celebration was conceived in some anxiety, purely as a measure to conciliate James I of whom they well felt uncertain.]

command of Velasco. Maurice now brought forward some companies of English and French infantry under Horatio Vere and D'Omerville, also a distinguished officer.

The battle was again fiercely renewed; and the Spaniards now gave way, and had been completely defeated, had not Spinola put in practice an old and generally successful stratagem. He caused almost all the drums of his army to beat in one direction, so as to give the impression that a still larger reinforcement was approaching. Maurice, apprehensive that the former panic might find a parallel in a fresh one, prudently ordered a retreat, which he was able to effect in good order, in preference to risking the total disorganisation of his troops. The loss on each side was nearly the same; but the glory of this hard-fought day remained on the side of Spinola, who proved himself a worthy successor of the great duke of Parma, and an antagonist with whom Maurice might contend without dishonour.

The naval transactions of this year restored the balance which Spinola's successes had begun to turn in favour of the royalist cause. A squadron of ships, commanded by Hautain [or William de Zoete], admiral of Zealand attacked a superior force of Spanish vessels close to Dover, and defeated them with a considerable loss. But the victory was sullied by an act of great barbarity. All the soldiers found on board the captured ships were tied two and two and mercilessly flung into the sea.[1] Some contrived to extricate themselves, and gained the shore by swimming; others were picked up by the English boats, whose crews witnessed the scene and hastened to their relief.

The Dutch vessels pursuing those of Spain, which fled into Dover harbour, were fired on by the cannon of the castle and forced to give up the chase. The English loudly complained that the Dutch had on this occasion violated their territory;[2] and this transaction laid the foundation of the quarrel which subsequently broke out between England and the republic, and which the jealousies of rival merchants in either state unceasingly fomented. In this year also the Dutch succeeded in capturing the chief of the Dunkirk privateers, which had so long annoyed their trade; and they cruelly ordered sixty of the prisoners to be put to death. But the people, more humane than the authorities, rescued them from the executioners and set them free.

But these domestic instances of success and inhumanity were trifling, in comparison with the splendid train of distant events, accompanied by a course of wholesale benevolence that redeemed the traits of petty guilt. The maritime enterprises of Holland, forced by the imprudent policy of Spain to seek a wider career than in the narrow seas of Europe, were day by day extended in the Indies. To ruin if possible their increasing trade, Philip III sent out the admiral Hurtado, with a fleet of eight galleons and thirty-two galleys. The Dutch squadron of five vessels, commanded by Wolfert Hermanszoon, attacked them off the coast of Malabar, and his temerity was crowned with great success. He took two of their vessels, and completely drove the remainder from the Indian seas. He then concluded a treaty

[1 This barbarous custom, called in the provinces *voetspoelen* (feetwashing), was constantly enforced by the authority of the states and admiralty, against the pirates of Dunkirk. At length the sailors refused to go to sea unless it were abolished, when it was allowed to fall into disuse.—DAVIES.c]

[2 The English, during the combat, siding with their newly-reconciled foes, pointed the fire of the cannon at Dover against their ancient allies, of whom they killed more than one hundred. The king afterwards justified this act, by complaining that the neutrality of the English shores had been violated by the too near approach of the Dutch; an insulting pretext, the harder to be borne by the latter, as the pirates of Dunkirk were allowed to pursue the Holland and Zealand merchant-ships into every port of England. — DAVIES.c]

with the natives of the isle of Banda, by which he promised to support them against the Spaniards and Portuguese, on condition that they were to give his fellow countrymen the exclusive privilege of purchasing the spices of the island. This treaty was the foundation of the influence which the Dutch so soon succeeded in forming in the East Indies; and they established it by a candid, mild, and tolerant conduct, strongly contrasted with the pride and bigotry which had signalised every act of the Portuguese and Spaniards.

The states-general now resolved to confine their military operations to a war merely defensive.[1] Spinola had, by his conduct during the late campaign, completely revived the spirits of the Spanish troops, and excited at least the caution of the Dutch. He now threatened the United Provinces with invasion; and he exerted his utmost efforts to raise the supplies necessary for the execution of his plan. He not only exhausted the resources of the king of Spain and the archduke, but obtained money on his private account from all those usurers who were tempted by his confident anticipations of conquest. He soon equipped two armies of about twelve thousand men each. At the head of one of those he took the field; the other, commanded by the count of Buquoy, was destined to join him in the neighbourhood of Utrecht; and he was then resolved to push forward with the whole united force into the very heart of the republic.

Prince Maurice in the meantime concentrated his army, amounting to twelve thousand men, and prepared to make head against his formidable opponents. By a succession of the most prudent manœuvres he contrived to keep Spinola in check, disconcerted all his projects, and forced him to content himself with the capture of two or three towns — a comparatively insignificant conquest. Desiring to wipe away the disgrace of this discomfiture, and to risk everything for the accomplishment of his grand design, Spinola used every method to provoke the prince to a battle, even though a serious mutiny among his troops, and the impossibility of forming a junction with Buquoy, had reduced his force below that of Maurice; but the latter, to the surprise of all who expected a decisive blow, retreated from before the Italian general — abandoning the town of Groenlo, which immediately fell into Spinola's power, and gave rise to manifold conjectures and infinite discontent at conduct so little in unison with his wonted enterprise and skill.[2] Even Henry IV acknowledged it did not answer the expectation he had formed from Maurice's splendid talents for war. The fact seems to be that the prince, much as he valued victory, dreaded peace more; and that he was resolved to avoid a decisive blow, which, in putting an end to the contest, would at the same time have decreased the individual influence in the state, which his ambition now urged him to augment by every possible means.

The Dutch naval expeditions of 1606 were not more brilliant than those on land. Admiral Hautain, with twenty ships, was surprised off Cape St.

[1 As Blok[a] points out, Holland had carried so much more than her share of expense, that the burden was growing intolerable. The debt alone was 26,000,000 florins, and in August, 1606, a secret commission with Olden-Barneveld at the head declared that further war was growing impossible. Olden-Barneveld even felt inclined to offer the sovereignty to a foreign monarch.]

[2 The campaign was closed. And thus the great war, which had run its stormy course for nearly forty years, dribbled out of existence, sinking away that rainy November in the dismal fens of Zutphen. The long struggle for independence had come, almost unperceived, to an end. Peace had not arrived, but the work of the armies was over for many a long year. Freedom and independence were secured. A deed or two, never to be forgotten by Netherland hearts, was yet to be done on the ocean, before the long and intricate negotiations for peace should begin, and the weary people permit themselves to rejoice; but the prize was already won. — MOTLEY.[b]]

Vincent by the Spanish fleet. The formidable appearance of their galleons inspired on this occasion a perfect panic among the Dutch sailors. They hoisted their sails and fled, with the exception of one ship, commanded by Vice-Admiral Klaazoon, whose desperate conduct saved the national honour. Having held out until his vessel was quite unmanageable, and almost his whole crew killed or wounded, he prevailed on the rest to agree to the resolution he had formed, knelt down on the deck, and putting up a brief prayer for pardon for their act, thrust a light into the powder magazine, and was instantly blown up with his companions. Only two men were snatched from the sea by the Spaniards; and even these, dreadfully burned and mangled, died in the utterance of curses on the enemy.

HEEMSKERK AT GIBRALTAR (1607)

This disastrous occurrence was soon, however, forgotten in the rejoicings for a brilliant victory gained in 1607 by Heemskerk, so celebrated for his voyage to Nova Zembla, and by his conduct in the East. He set sail from the ports of Holland in the month of March, determined to signalise himself by some great exploit, now necessary to redeem the disgrace which had begun to sully the reputation of the Dutch navy. He soon got intelligence that the Spanish fleet lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, and he speedily prepared to offer them battle. Before the combat began he held a council of war, and addressed the officers in an energetic speech, in which he displayed the imperative call on their valour to conquer or die in the approaching conflict. He led on to the action in his own ship; and, to the astonishment of both fleets, he bore right down against the enormous galleon in which the flag of the Spanish admiral-in-chief was hoisted. Avila could scarcely believe the evidence of his eyes at this audacity: he at first burst into laughter at the notion; but as Heemskerk approached he cut his cables, and attempted to escape under the shelter of the town. The heroic Dutchman pursued him through the whole of the Spanish fleet, and soon forced him to action. At the second broadside Heemskerk had his left leg carried off by a cannon ball, and he almost instantly died. Verhoef, the captain of the ship, concealed the admiral's death; and the whole fleet continued the action with a valour worthy of the spirit in which it was commenced. The victory was soon decided: four of the Spanish galleons were sunk or burned, the remainder fled; and the citizens of Cadiz trembled with the apprehension of sack and pillage. But the death of Heemskerk, when made known to the surviving victors, seemed completely to paralyse them: they attempted nothing further; but sailing back to Holland with the body of their lamented chief, thus paid a greater tribute to his importance than was to be found in the mausoleum erected to his memory in the city of Amsterdam.

The news of this battle, reaching Brussels before it was known in Holland, contributed not a little to quicken the anxiety of the archdukes for peace. The king of Spain, worn out by the war which drained his treasury, had for some time ardently desired it. The Portuguese made loud complaints of the ruin that threatened their trade and their East Indian colonies. The Spanish ministers were fatigued with the apparently interminable contest which baffled all their calculations. Spinola, even in the midst of his brilliant career, found himself so overwhelmed with debts, and so oppressed by the reproaches of the numerous creditors who were ruined by his default of payment, that he joined in the general demand for repose. In the month of May, 1607, proposals were made by the archdukes, in compliance with the

general desire; and their two plenipotentiaries, Van Wittenhorst and Gevaerts, repaired to the Hague.

Public opinion in the united states was divided on this important question. An instinctive hatred against the Spaniards, and long habits of warfare, influenced the great mass of the people to consider any overture for peace as some wily artifice aimed at their religion and liberty. War seemed to open inexhaustible sources of wealth; while peace seemed to threaten the extinction of the courage which was now as much a habit as war appeared to be a want. This reasoning was particularly convincing to Prince Maurice, whose fame, with a large portion of his authority and revenues, depended on the continuance of hostilities: it was also strongly relished and supported in Zealand generally, and in the chief towns which dreaded the rivalry of Antwerp.[1] But those who bore the burden of the war saw the subject under a different aspect: they feared that the present state of things would lead to their conquest by the enemy, or to the ruin of their liberty by the growing power of Maurice. They hoped that peace would consolidate the republic and cause the reduction of the debt, which now amounted to 26,000,000 florins. At the head of the party who so reasoned was Barneveld; and his name is a guarantee with posterity for the wisdom of the opinion.

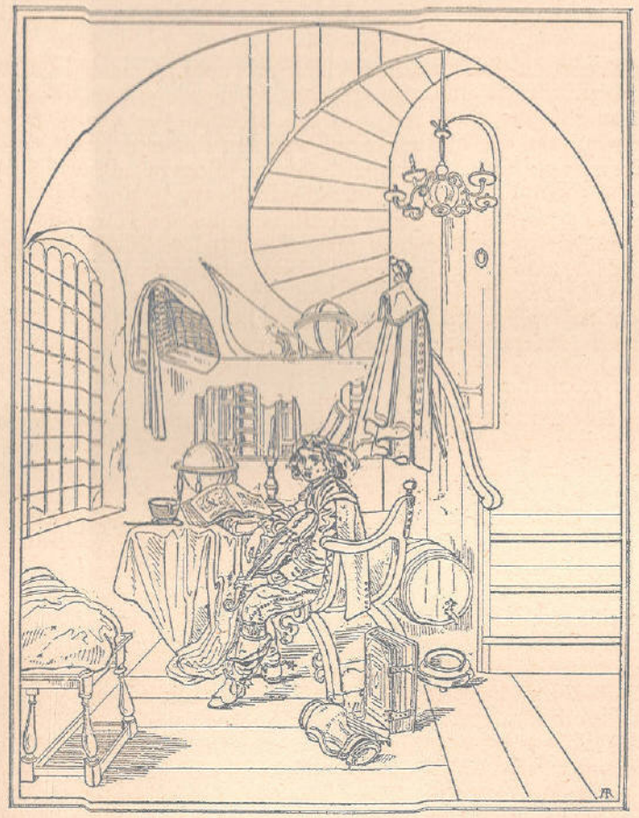
To allow the violent opposition to subside, and to prevent any explosion of party feuds, the prudent Barneveld suggested a mere suspension of arms, during which the permanent interests of both states might be calmly discussed: he even undertook to obtain Maurice's consent to the armistice. The prince listened to his arguments, and was apparently convinced by them. He, at any rate, sanctioned the proposal; but he afterwards complained that Barneveld had deceived him, in representing the negotiation as a feint for the purpose of persuading the kings of France and England to give greater aid to the republic. It is more than likely that Maurice reckoned on the improbability of Spain's consenting to the terms of the proposed treaty; and, on that chance, withdrew an opposition which could scarcely be ascribed to any but motives of personal ambition. It is, however, certain that his discontent at this transaction, either with himself or Barneveld, laid the foundation of that bitter enmity which proved fatal to the life of the latter, and covered his own name, otherwise glorious, with undying reproach.

The United Provinces positively refused to admit even the commencement of a negotiation without the absolute recognition of their independence by the archdukes. A new ambassador was accordingly chosen on the part of these sovereigns. He was a monk of the order of St. Francis, named John Neyen, a native of Antwerp. The suspicions of the states-general seem fully justified by the dubious tone of the various communications, which avoided the direct admission of the required preliminary as to the independence of the United Provinces. It was at length concluded in explicit terms; and a suspension of arms for eight months was the immediate consequence.

But the negotiation for peace was on the point of being completely broken, in consequence of the conduct of Neyen, who justified every doubt of his

[1 Blok has stated various reasons for the war-party's action: "In time of war, the supremacy of Holland and Zealand, the soul of the union, had been endured. In time of peace, jealousy would be excited by this dominance, and the lack of a strong central government would become more patent. Moreover, the Calvinist minority now in power would have to yield, more or less, to the majority composed of nominal Catholics, of libertines, and of indifferent people. The house of Orange, whose reputation Maurice had sustained during active hostilities, might find its influence weaken. Maurice could not stand in his father's shadow as statesman, and wholly lacked capacity to revise the articles of union. Thus there was much ground for reluctance to make peace. Moreover, the war had become a source of commercial prosperity, which could not be checked without affecting the existence of many thousands."]

sincerity by an attempt to corrupt Aarssens the greffier of the states-general, or at least to influence his conduct in the progress of the treaty. Neyen presented him, in the name of the archdukes, and as a token of his esteem, with a diamond of great value and a bond for 50,000 crowns. Aarssens accepted these presents with the approbation of Prince Maurice, to whom he had confided the circumstance, and who was no doubt delighted at what promised



AN INTERIOR — AFTER GERARD DOUW
(1613–1675)

a rupture of the negotiations. Verreyken, a counsellor of state, who assisted Neyen in his diplomatic labours, was formally summoned before the assembled states-general, and there Barneveld handed to him the diamond and the bond; and at the same time read him a lecture of true republican severity on the subject. Verreyken was overwhelmed by the violent attack: he denied the authority of Neyen for the measure he had taken.

In the month of January, 1608, the various ambassadors were assembled at the Hague. Spinola was the chief of the plenipotentiaries appointed by the king of Spain; and Jeannin, president of the parliament of Dijon, a man of rare endowments, represented France. Prince Maurice, accompanied

by his brother Frederick Henry, the various counts of Nassau his cousins, and a numerous escort, advanced some distance to meet Spinola, conveyed him to the Hague in his own carriage, and lavished on him all the attentions reciprocally due between two such renowned captains during the suspension of their rivalry. The president Richardot was, with Neyen and Verreyken, ambassador from the archdukes; but Barneveld and Jeannin appear to have played the chief parts in the important transaction which now filled all Europe with anxiety. Every state was more or less concerned in the result; and the three great monarchies of England, France, and Spain had all a vital interest at stake. The conferences were therefore frequent; and the debates assumed a great variety of aspects, which long kept the civilised world in suspense.

The main points for discussion, and on which depended the decision for peace or war, were those which concerned religion; and the demand, on the part of Spain, that the United Provinces should renounce all claims to the navigation of the Indian seas. Philip required for the Catholics of the United Provinces the free exercise of their religion; this was opposed by the states-general: and the archduke Albert, seeing the impossibility of carrying that point, despatched his confessor Fra Inigo de Brizuela to Spain.

The conferences at the Hague were not interrupted on this question; but they went on slowly, months being consumed in discussions on articles of trifling importance. They were resumed in the month of August with greater vigour. It was announced that the king of Spain abandoned the question respecting religion; but that it was in the certainty that his moderation would be recompensed by ample concessions on that of the Indian trade, on which he was inexorable. This article became the rock on which the whole negotiation eventually split. The court of Spain on the one hand, and the states-general on the other, inflexibly maintained their opposing claims. It was in vain that the ambassadors turned and twisted the subject with all the subtleties of diplomacy. Every possible expedient was used to shake the determination of the Dutch. But the influence of the East India Company, the islands of Zealand, and the city of Amsterdam prevailed over all. Reports of the avowal on the part of the king of Spain that he would never renounce his title to the sovereignty of the United Provinces, unless they abandoned the Indian navigation and granted the free exercise of religion, threw the whole diplomatic corps into confusion; and, on the 25th of August, the states-general announced to the marquis of Spinola and the other ambassadors that the congress was dissolved, and that all hopes of peace were abandoned.

Nothing seemed now likely to prevent the immediate renewal of hostilities, when the ambassadors of France and England proposed the mediation of their respective masters for the conclusion of a truce for several years. The king of Spain and the archdukes were well satisfied to obtain even this temporary cessation of the war; but Prince Maurice and a portion of the provinces strenuously opposed the proposition. The French and English ambassadors, however, in concert with Barneveld, who steadily maintained his influence, laboured incessantly to overcome those difficulties; and finally succeeded in overpowering all opposition to the truce. A new congress was agreed on, to assemble at Antwerp for the consideration of the conditions; and the states-general agreed to remove from the Hague to Bergen-op-Zoom, to be more within reach and ready to co-operate in the negotiation.

But, before matters assumed this favourable turn, discussions and disputes had intervened on several occasions to render fruitless every effort of those who so incessantly laboured for the great causes of humanity and the

general good. On one occasion Barneveld, disgusted with the opposition of Prince Maurice and his partisans, had actually resigned his employments; but brought back by the solicitations of the states-general, and reconciled to Maurice by the intervention of Jeannin, the negotiations for the truce were resumed; and, under the auspices of the ambassadors, they were happily terminated. After two years' delay, this long-wished-for truce was concluded and signed on the 9th of April, 1609, to continue for the space of twelve years.

THE TWELVE YEARS' TRUCE

This celebrated treaty contained thirty-two articles; and its fulfilment on either side was guaranteed by the kings of France and England. Notwithstanding the time taken up in previous discussions, the treaty is one of the most vague and unspecific state papers that exist. The archdukes, in their own names and in that of the king of Spain, declared the United Provinces to be free and independent states, on which they renounced all claim whatever. By the third article each party was to hold respectively the places which they possessed at the commencement of the armistice. The fourth and fifth articles grant to the republic, but in a phraseology obscure and even doubtful, the right of navigation and free trade to the Indies. The eighth contains all that regards the exercise of religion; and the remaining clauses are wholly relative to points of internal trade, custom-house regulations, and matters of private interest. Ephemeral and temporary as this peace appeared, it was received with almost universal demonstrations of joy by the population of the Netherlands in their two grand divisions.

The ten southern provinces, now confirmed under the sovereignty of the house of Austria, and from this period generally distinguished by the name of Belgium, immediately began, like the northern division of the country, to labour for the great object of repairing the dreadful sufferings caused by their long and cruel war. Their success was considerable. Albert and Isabella, their sovereigns, joined to considerable probity of character and talents for government a fund of humanity which led them to unceasing acts of benevolence. The whole of their dominions quickly began to recover from the ravages of war. Agriculture and the minor operations of trade resumed all their wonted activity. But the manufactures of Flanders were no more; and the grander exercise of commerce seemed finally removed to Amsterdam and the other chief towns of Holland.[g]

DUTCH COMMERCE AND EXPLORATION

The year 1595 is signalised in the annals of Dutch commerce as being that of the commencement of the trade between the United Provinces and the East Indies. The arrest of their ships by the king of Spain, in 1586, had induced the merchants to undertake more distant voyages; since which time, the scarcity that had prevailed for some years in Italy had afforded them a rich harvest of traffic in carrying corn thither from the countries of the Baltic. The restoration of plenty in that quarter caused these speculations, in great measure, to cease, which obliged the mariners of Holland and Zealand to seek out some new market for their industry; while, at the same time, their emulation was roused by the fame of the voyages and discoveries of the English and Portuguese.

One Cornelis Houtman, of Gouda, having spent some years in Lisbon, returned to Amsterdam, with such tempting accounts of the profits to be

gained by a trade with the spice islands of India, that he induced nine merchants of that city to form themselves into a company for the establishment of a commerce with the nations of the East. They equipped, entirely at their own cost, four vessels, equally fitted for war and the transport of merchandise. Setting sail from the Texel on the 2nd of April, it was June of the next year before they reached the island of Java. Here they had to encounter the hostility of a company of Portuguese merchants, settled at Bantam, the capital. Three ships returned in 1597, after a voyage of more than two years, to Amsterdam, where their arrival, laden with pepper, nutmegs, and mace, was the signal for a general jubilee, though but 90 out of 250 of their crews were left alive.

Arctic Exploration

This enterprise had been preceded by an expedition undertaken in the last year, towards the north pole, with a view of discovering a shorter and safer passage to China than that round the cape of Good Hope. For this purpose two Vlie-boats (so called from being built expressly for the difficult navigation of the Vlie) were fitted out, one in Holland and the other in Zealand, the admiralty of these provinces providing half the expense, with instructions to attempt the passage into the sea of Tatary, through the straits of Weygat between Nova Zembla and Russia. At the same time, some merchants of Amsterdam, at the suggestion of the celebrated geographer and divine, Petrus Plancius, prepared another vessel, with the view of discovering if it were possible to effect a passage into the same sea to the north of Nova Zembla. The three vessels parted company at the island of Kildin (69° 40′), when the two former, shaping their course north-northeast, discovered Staten Island; and passing the Weygat, to which they gave the name of the straits of Nassau, succeeded, though frequently in danger of being enclosed by the ice or dashed in pieces by the floating bergs, in effecting their passage into the sea of Tatary, along which they sailed as far as the mouth of the Obi.

The Amsterdam vessel reached Lombsbay (lat. 74° 20′), but was prevented from advancing further by the continual mists and the quantity of ice, as well as the unwillingness of the crew to continue the voyage. On the report brought by the two former vessels, the states-general were induced to fit out seven ships in this year for the same expedition, but they added nothing to the previous discoveries, their navigation being impeded by the ice. Determined, however, if possible, to effect their purpose, the merchants of Amsterdam once more equipped two vessels — the one commanded by Jan Corneliszoon Rijp, the other by Jakob van Heemskerk, both resolute, able, and enterprising captains, with one Willem Barentz, famed for his skill as a pilot. Setting sail in company on the 10th of May, they separated on the coast of Norway, when the ship of Rijp, steering towards the northwest discovered the island of Spitzbergen, to which they gave this name from the pointed appearance of its mountains.[1]

They had reached the 75th degree of north latitude, when their vessel became firmly locked in the ice at no great distance from the shore. Hopeless of moving, they had no other resource left than to make the best preparations they might for a residence there during the whole winter. Happily they were well supplied with clothing, wine, and food, except meat; and having found a quantity of drift-wood in a fresh-water stream, at about three miles distance, which singularly enough remained unfrozen, they soon completed a spacious and tolerably commodious hut; from the same source, also, they obtained ample provision of firewood. Here they ran imminent risk of destruction from the multitude of bears which, attracted probably by the smell, prowled day and night around their new habitation; some of these they killed, and found their fat highly serviceable in keeping their lamps burning during the season of darkness, which lasted from the 4th of November to the 24th of January.

[1] From the Dutch words "spitz," pointed, and "berg," mountain.

They remained here ten months, and the middle of June, 1596, arrived without any appearance of probability of their being able to float the vessel; and fearing lest, if they delayed longer, the ice might again accumulate and prevent their return, they set out in two open boats on their voyage homeward. After a series of incredible hardships and perils, from the effect of which their pilot, Willem Barentz, died, they arrived at Waardhuys, on the coast of Norway, where they met with their consort, which they supposed to have perished long ago. Rijp, the commander, having taken them on board his vessel, set sail for Amsterdam, where they were received as men risen from the dead, the failure in the object of their expedition being wholly forgotten in admiration at the surpassing courage and patience with which they had endured their sufferings.[1]

JAKOB VAN HEEMSKERK
(1567–1607)

A quarrel between the queen of England and the Hanse towns, which had existed for some years, became so violent in 1598 that the emperor banished from the empire the company of English merchant adventurers resident in the town of Stade. Intelligence of the circumstance no sooner reached the United Provinces, than all the principal towns sent to offer the merchants extensive privileges, in the hope of inducing them to settle there. After some consideration, they chose the town of Middelburg in Zealand, whither they drew an immense trade in cloths, serges, and baize; the queen

[1] In the relation of this voyage, we meet with an instance of the extraordinary elasticity of spirit, and of the predilection for their national customs, peculiar to this people. The 5th of January, the eve of the day of the Three Kings, is one of those periodical seasons consecrated by the Dutch to idleness and frolic. The sufferings of the ship's crew from cold were intense; they had not seen the sun for two months, and many more must be passed before they could be released from their ice-girt prison; but, philosophically observing that because they expected so many sad days was no reason they should not have one merry one, they chose the chief boatswain as their king (a potentate of like authority and functions with the Lord of Misrule in our Christmas revels); drank to the health of the new sovereign of Nova Zembla in bumpers of wine, which they had spared for the occasion; tossed the pancake (*de rigueur* on such occasions) with the prescribed ceremonies, and made the dreary realms of the snow-king re-echo for the first time to the sounds of human mirth and jollity.

commanding that all the wools exported from England should be consigned to them. About the same time, the city of Amsterdam was enriched by the settlement of an immense number of wealthy Jews, who had fled from Portugal to avoid the renewed persecutions exercised against them on account of their religion.

A new source of foreign commerce, also, was at this period opened to the provinces by a treaty with the grand signior of Constantinople, from whom they obtained entire liberty of traffic to Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, for all their vessels sailing under the protection of the king of France. The expedition to the East Indies undertaken by the merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, though attended with some disasters, had roused the emulation of the other towns of Holland and Zealand. Eighty ships of considerable size sailed this summer to the East and West Indies, to Brazil, and to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought large quantities of ivory and gold-dust. Nor did these novel and exciting enterprises divert them from their long-established and profitable trade with the countries of the north; 640 vessels from the Baltic arrived early in the next year in the port of Amsterdam, bearing one hundred thousand tons of merchandise, (timber, corn, hemp, tar, etc.), of which each ton paid a duty of twenty guilders.

The Dutch East India Company

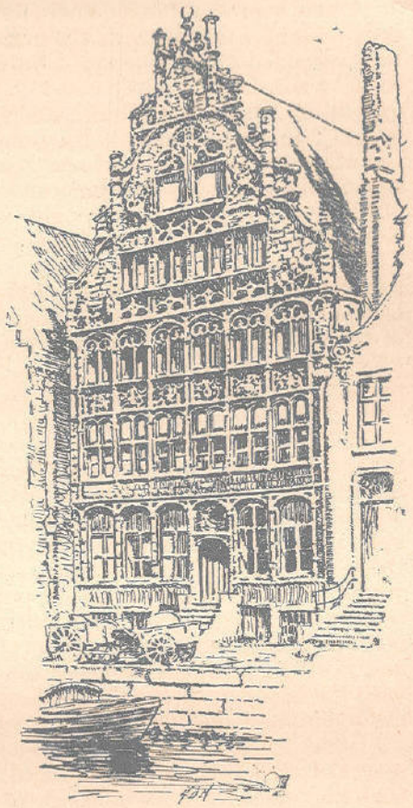
In the year 1602 is dated the erection of the famed Dutch East India Company, a source of immense wealth to Holland, and of continual heart-burnings and jealousies between herself and other nations. The groundwork of this company had been formed by a few merchants of Amsterdam in 1595; and, notwithstanding the losses and disasters subsequently occasioned by the combined hostility of the natives and Portuguese, the trade had become yearly more profitable, and the public appetite for it had constantly and rapidly increased. The commanders of the Dutch vessels had been able to obviate in some measure the effects of the misrepresentations of the Spaniards and Portuguese on the minds of the people of India, and had made alliances with the islanders of Banda, the king of Ternate, and of Kandy in the island of Ceylon, and the sovereign of Achin.

Under these favourable circumstances, companies were established in several towns both of Holland and Zealand; but they perceived, ere long, that they unconsciously inflicted extensive damage on each other. For this reason, the states determined upon consolidating all the companies into one general East India Company, which for a term of twenty-one years should have the exclusive privilege of navigating east of the cape of Good Hope, and west of the straits of Magellan. The capital amounted to 6,600,000 guilders; the company was empowered to make alliances with the sovereigns of India in the name of the states or chief magistrate of the provinces, to build forts, and appoint governors taking the oath to the states. The company commenced operations by the equipment of a fleet of fourteen armed vessels, of which Wybrand van Warwyk was appointed admiral. Wybrand remained nearly five years abroad, and in the year 1606 discovered the island to which he gave the name of Mauritius.

The commencement of the career of the new East India Company was one of almost uninterrupted prosperity. In 1603 another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Stephen van der Hagen, sailing to the coast of Malabar, made with the king of Calicut an advantageous treaty of commerce and alliance against the Portuguese; and early in this year arrived

before Amboyna, the citadel of which the Portuguese were forced to surrender. It was a remarkable proof of the bitter and savage hatred which subsisted between the Dutch and Spaniards that the former on this, as on most other occasions, when they captured an enemy's ship, put the whole of the Spaniards to death, while the Portuguese they brought safely to land, and often released them without a ransom.

During the negotiations for the truce the greater number of deputies in the states were determined at all hazards to insist upon the continuation of a commerce which had now become actually necessary to their well-being; which employed 190 ships, and above eight thousand men; and of which the annual returns were estimated at 43,000,000 guilders. The trade with Spain, which was offered in the stead, was of far inferior value. It was in vain that they had fought during forty years for their liberty, and against the duke of Alva's tenth, as destructive of commerce, if they were now to endure the slavery of being excluded from the greater portion of the world.



Old Houses of Ghent

The provinces were the less disposed to make the immense sacrifice required of them by Spain, in consequence of the tidings which reached them in 1608, of the successes obtained by their countrymen, and the rich prizes they had captured in the Indian seas. A fleet of thirteen vessels, which had been equipped for India in 1605, under the admiral Matelief, one of the directors of the company, sailing to the peninsula of Malay, made alliances with the four kings then reigning in Johore, whose ancestors had been deprived of Malacca by the Portuguese, and, in concert with them, in 1608, undertook the siege of that city. He had lain before it four months, when Don Alonzo de Castro, viceroy of India, came to its relief with a fleet of fourteen galleons and twenty smaller vessels, on board of which were 3,700 men. The number of the Dutch amounted to no more than 1,200. At the approach of the enemy, Matelief broke up the siege, and re-embarked his artillery; when, advancing to meet the Spanish fleet, a sharp contest ensued, in which each side lost three vessels; but the Dutch had no more than eight men killed, while a considerable number perished on the side of the Spaniards. A second engagement, fought not long after, was far more decisive; two ships of Castro's fleet were captured, a third destroyed by fire, and the remainder so entirely disabled that, retreating into the roads of Malacca, they were burned by the Spaniards themselves.

The advantages of this victory were counterbalanced by the loss of Tidor,

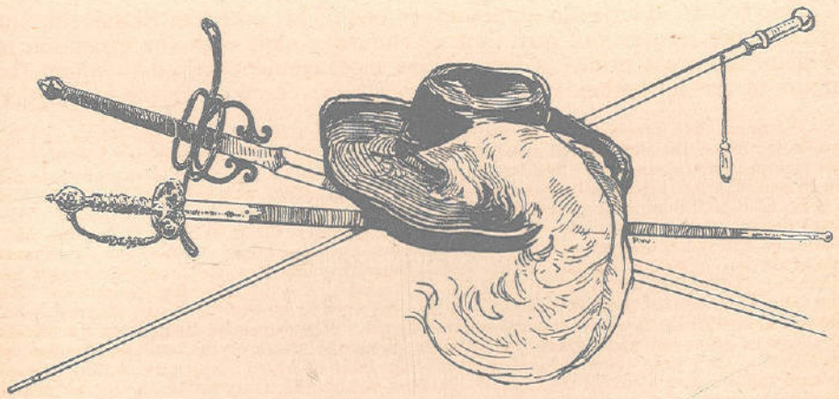
where, the citadel having been destroyed, in compliance with the wishes of the king, the Portuguese regained possession of the island without difficulty.

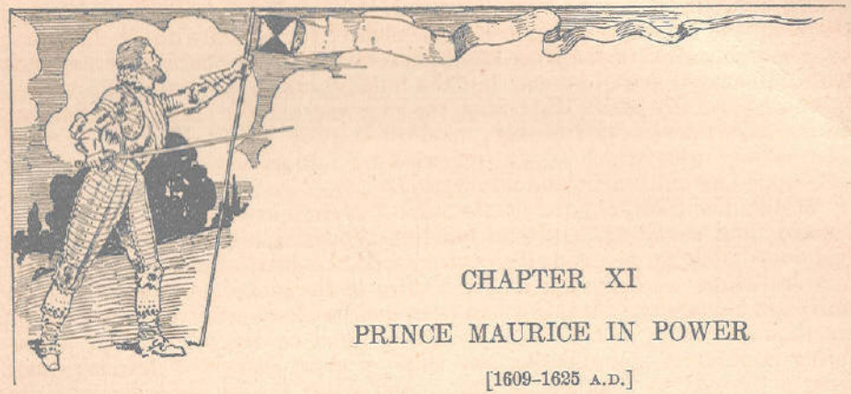
The publication of the truce had been received in the Spanish Netherlands with unbounded acclamations; but the inhabitants of the United Provinces, in whose naturally pacific disposition the long war, and the successes attendant on it, had worked a vast change, manifested a joy less lively and universal. The feelings with which it was regarded by foreign nations were those of unbounded astonishment and admiration.[c]

Motley has thus summed up the war: "A commonwealth of sand-banks, lagoons, and meadows, less than fourteen thousand square miles in extent, had done battle for nearly half a century with the greatest of existing powers, a realm whose territory was nearly a third of the globe, and which claimed universal monarchy. And this had been done with an army averaging forty-six thousand men, half of them foreigners hired by the job, and by a seafaring population, volunteering into ships of every class and denomination, from a fly-boat to a galleot of war. And when the republic had won its independence, after this almost eternal warfare, it owed four or five millions of dollars, and had sometimes an annual revenue of nearly that amount." [b]

In his biography of Olden-Barneveld, Motley has thus summed up the truce:

"The convention was signed in the spring of 1609. The ten ensuing years in Europe were comparatively tranquil, but they were scarcely to be numbered among the full and fruitful sheaves of a pacific epoch. It was a pause, a breathing spell during which the sulphurous clouds which had made the atmosphere of Christendom poisonous for nearly half a century had sullenly rolled away, whilst at every point of the horizon they were seen massing themselves anew in portentous and ever-accumulating strength. To us of a remote posterity the momentary division of epochs seems hardly discernible. So rapidly did that fight of demons which we call the Thirty Years' War tread on the heels of the forty years' struggle for Dutch Independence which had just been suspended, that we are accustomed to think and speak of the Eighty Years' War as one pure, perfect, sanguinary whole." [i]





CHAPTER XI

PRINCE MAURICE IN POWER

[1609–1625 A.D.]

WITH the exception of a bloodless mimicry of war, in a dispute over the succession to the duchy of Jülich, or Juliers, the United Provinces presented for the space of twelve years a long-continued picture of peace, as the term is generally received: but a peace so disfigured by intestine troubles, and so stained by actions of despotic cruelty, that the period which should have been that of its greatest happiness becomes but an example of its worst disgrace.

The assassination of Henry IV, in the year 1609, whilst robbing France of one of its best monarchs, deprived the United Provinces of their truest and most powerful friend.

But the death of this powerful supporter of their efforts for freedom, and the chief guarantee for its continuance, was a trifling calamity to the United Provinces, in comparison with the rapid fall from the true point of glory so painfully exhibited in the conduct of their own domestic champion. It had been well for Prince Maurice of Nassau had the last shot fired by the defeated Spaniards in the battle of Nieuport struck him dead in the moment of his greatest victory, and on the summit of his fame. From that celebrated day he had performed no deed of war that could raise his reputation as a soldier, and all his acts as stadholder were calculated to sink him below the level of civil virtue [1] and just government.

Opposed to Maurice in almost every one of his acts was Barneveld, one of the truest patriots of any time or country; and, with the exception of William the great prince of Orange, the most eminent citizen to whom the affairs of the Netherlands have given celebrity. Long after the completion

[1 Jeannin had proposed to the states the ample provisions made for the prince and his whole family on the occasion of the treaty. Philip, prince of Orange, besides his share of his paternal estates, received 1,000,000 guilders; an annuity of 25,000 guilders was conferred on Prince Maurice, who was likewise to retain his present offices, at a salary of 80,000 guilders a year, with 80,000 more as an indemnification for the loss he sustained by the cessation of the war; and proportional pensions were settled on Prince Henry, Count William of Nassau, stadholder of Friesland, the princess dowager, and even upon Justin of Nassau, the illegitimate son of the late prince of Orange. Of the selfish rapacity of Maurice, the prominent vice of his character, the English ambassador, Sir Ralph Winwood [b] gives the following testimony: "No one thing hath been of greater trouble to us than the craving humour of Count Maurice, who, not satisfied with the large treatments granted by the states, demanded satisfaction for certain pretensions, grounded upon grants to his father from the states of Brabant and Flanders, at such time as they were under the government of the duke of Anjou; which demand he pressed so hard that he gave a charge to Count William not to sign the treaty unless in this particular he should receive contentment." [c]]

of the truce, every minor point in the domestic affairs of the republic seemed merged in the conflict between the stadholder and the pensionary. Without attempting to specify these, we may say, generally, that almost every one redounded to the disgrace of the prince and the honour of the patriot.

THE ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY

But the main question of agitation was the fierce dispute which soon broke out between two professors of theology of the university of Leyden, Francis Gomarus and Jakobus Arminius [Jacob van Harmensen]. We do not regret on this occasion that our confined limits spare us the task of recording in detail controversies on points of speculative doctrine. The whole strength of the intellects which had long been engaged in the conflict for national and religious liberty was now directed to metaphysical theology, and wasted upon interminable disputes about predestination and grace. Barneveld enrolled himself among the partisans of Arminius; Maurice eventually became a Gomarist. It was, however, scarcely to be wondered at that a country so recently delivered from slavery both in church and state should run into wild excesses of intolerance. Persecutions of various kinds were indulged in against papists, anabaptists, Socinians, and all the shades of doctrine into which Christianity had split. Every minister who, in the milder spirit of Lutheranism, strove to moderate the rage of Calvinistic enthusiasm, was openly denounced by its partisans; and one, named Gaspard Koolhaas, was actually excommunicated by a synod.

FRANCIS GOMARUS
(1563–1641)

Arminius had been appointed professor at Leyden in 1603, for the mildness of his doctrines, which were joined to most affable manners, a happy temper, and a purity of conduct which no calumny could successfully traduce. His colleague Gomarus, a native of Bruges, learned, violent, and rigid in sectarian points, soon became jealous of the more popular professor's influence. A furious attack on the latter was answered by recrimination; and the whole battery of theological authorities was reciprocally discharged by one or other of the disputants.

The states of Holland interfered between them: they were summoned to appear before the council of state; and grave politicians listened for hours to the dispute. Arminius obtained the advantage, by the apparent reasonableness of his creed, and the gentleness and moderation of his conduct. He was meek, while Gomarus was furious; and many of the listeners declared that they would rather die with the charity of the former than in the faith of the latter. A second hearing was allowed them before the states of Holland (August 20th, 1609). Again Arminius took the lead; and the controversy went on unceasingly, till this amiable man, worn out by his exertions

and the presentiment of the evil which these disputes were engendering for his country, expired October 19th, 1609, in his forty-ninth year, piously persisting in his opinions.

The Gomarists now loudly called for a national synod, to regulate the points of faith. The Arminians remonstrated on various grounds, and thus acquired the name of "Remonstrants," by which they were soon generally distinguished. The most deplorable contests ensued. Serious riots occurred in several of the towns of Holland; and James I of England could not resist the temptation of entering the polemical lists, as a champion of orthodoxy and a decided Gomarist. His hostility was chiefly directed against Vorstius, the successor and disciple of Arminius. He pretty strongly recommended the states-general to have him burned for heresy. His inveterate intolerance knew no bounds; and it completed the melancholy picture of absurdity which the whole affair presents to reasonable minds.

In this dispute, which occupied and agitated all, it was impossible that Barneveld should not choose the congenial temperance and toleration of Arminius. Maurice, with probably no distinct conviction, or much interest in the abstract differences on either side, joined the Gomarists. His motives were purely temporal; for the party he espoused was now decidedly as much political as religious. King James rewarded him by conferring on him the riband of the order of the Garter vacant by the death of Henry IV of France. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great pomp by the English ambassador at the Hague; and James and Maurice entered from that time into a close and uninterrupted correspondence.

BARNEVELD OUTWITS KING JAMES

During the long continuance of the theological disputes, the United Provinces had nevertheless made rapid strides towards commercial greatness; and the year 1616 witnessed the completion of an affair which was considered the consolidation of their independence. This important matter was the recovery of the towns of Briel and Flushing, and the fort of Rammekins, which had been placed in the hands of the English as security for the loan granted to the republic by Queen Elizabeth. The whole merit of the transaction was due to the perseverance and address of Barneveld acting on the weakness and the embarrassments of King James. Religious contention did not so fully occupy Barneveld but that he kept a constant eye on political concerns. He was well informed on all that passed in the English court: he knew the wants of James, and was aware of his efforts to bring about the marriage of his son with the infanta of Spain. The danger of such an alliance was evident to the penetrating Barneveld, who saw in perspective the probability of the wily Spaniard's obtaining from the English monarch possession of the strong places in question. He therefore resolved on obtaining their recovery; and his great care was to get them back with a considerable abatement of the enormous debt for which they stood pledged, and which now amounted to 8,000,000 florins. It was finally agreed that the states should pay in full of the demand 2,728,000 florins (about £250,000), being about one-third of the debt. Prince Maurice repaired to the cautionary towns in the month of June, 1616, and received them at the hands of the English governors, the garrisons at the same time entering into the service of the republic.

The accomplishment of this measure afforded the highest satisfaction to

the United Provinces. It caused infinite discontent in England; and James, with the common injustice of men who make a bad bargain (even though its conditions be of their own seeking, and suited to their own convenience) turned his own self-dissatisfaction into bitter hatred against him whose watchful integrity had successfully laboured for his country's good. Barneveld's leaning towards France and the Arminians filled the measure of James' unworthy enmity. Its effects were soon apparent, on the arrival at the Hague of Carleton, who succeeded Winwood as James' ambassador. The haughty pretensions of this diplomatist, whose attention seemed turned to theological disputes rather than politics, gave great disgust; and he contributed not a little to the persecution which led to the tragical end of Barneveld's life. Frans van Aarssens, son to him who proved himself so incorruptible when attempted to be bribed by Neyen, was one of the foremost of the faction who now laboured for the downfall of the pensionary. He was a man of infinite dissimulation; versed in all the intrigues of courts; and so deep in all their tortuous tactics, that cardinal Richelieu, well qualified to prize that species of talent, declared that he knew only three great political geniuses, of whom Francis Aarssens was one.

The honorary empire of the seas seems at this time to have been successfully claimed by the United Provinces: they paid back with interest the haughty conduct with which they had been long treated by the English; and they refused to pay the fishery duties to which the inhabitants of Great Britain were subject. The Dutch sailors had even the temerity, under pretext of pursuing pirates, to violate the British territory: they set fire to the town of Crookhaven, in Ireland, and massacred several of the inhabitants. King James, immersed in theological studies, appears to have passed lightly over this outrage. But he took fire at the news that the states had prohibited the importation of cloth dyed and dressed in England. It required the best exertion of Barneveld's talents to pacify him.

The influence of Prince Maurice had gained complete success for the Calvinist party, in its various titles of Gomarists, non-remonstrants, etc. The audacity and violence of these ferocious sectarians knew no bounds. Outrages, too many to enumerate, became common through the country; and Arminianism was on all sides assailed and persecuted. Barneveld frequently appealed to Maurice without effect; and all the efforts of the former to obtain justice by means of the civil authorities were paralysed by the inaction in which the prince retained the military force. Schism upon schism was the consequence, and the whole country was reduced to that state of anarchy so favourable to the designs of an ambitious soldier already in the enjoyment of almost absolute power.

All efforts were subservient to the one grand object of utterly destroying, by a public proscription, the whole of the patriot party, now identified with Arminianism. A national synod was loudly clamoured for by the Gomarists in spite of opposition on constitutional grounds. Uitenbogaard, the enlightened pastor and friend of Maurice, who on all occasions laboured for the general good, now moderated, as much as possible, the violence of either party; but he could not persuade Barneveld to render himself, by compliance, a tacit accomplice in a measure that he conceived fraught with violence to the public privileges. He had an inflexible enemy in Carleton the English ambassador. His interference carried the question; and it was at his suggestion that Dordrecht, or Dort, was chosen for the assembling of the synod. Du Maurier, the French ambassador, acted on all occasions as a mediator. *f*

MAURICE *versus* BARNEVELD OR AUTOCRACY *versus* ARISTOCRACY

To recount fully the feud between Holland's most eminent politician and her most eminent soldier would require a further explication of fine religious and political distinctions than is possible in this work. It is desirable however, to contradict the impression given by many historians, that Maurice was altogether a self-seeking tyrant and Barneveld altogether a self-effacing patriot. It must be remembered always that Maurice refused the crown as positively as did George Washington, and that Barneveld was not only a man of a grasping and domineering nature, but also a representative of the aristocracy, not of the populace. The populace was as little represented in the republic of Holland as in the early republic of Switzerland. The internal contests in both came about from the mutual jealousies of states and cantons.

Holland, having borne more than half of the financial and other burdens of the seven provinces, had easily maintained control in time of war; but with peace came a desire for equality among the other states, and a corresponding unwillingness on the part of Holland to relinquish pre-eminence. The ensuing contest has been well likened to the quarrel between the doctrines of states' rights and of centralisation in the United States of America, with this modification — that in the Netherlands centralisation meant the states-general under the dominance of the states of Holland. As Motley *d* says in his biography, "The states-general were virtually John of Barneveld." And Barneveld, being the advocate of Holland, felt a deeper concern for Holland than for the entire seven provinces, as later many a confederate leader felt a heavier duty to his own state than to the United States.

Involved in the tangle was Barneveld's strong feeling that the safety of the provinces lay in the friendship of France, then closely allied with Spain. He had already carried through his Spanish truce in spite of much opposition; and this collusion with the Catholic Spanish sovereignty, at a time of great religious bitterness, led many to believe that Barneveld was inclining to revert to Spanish domination and was even in Spanish pay — a cruelly unjust accusation, yet one that was honestly believed and openly averred. Furthermore, he stood for the eccentric and unpopular creed of religious tolerance; he wore an agnostic motto, "To know nothing is the safest creed," and he leaned towards the Arminian minority.

Prince Maurice, for his part, felt that he had many a just grievance. During the war he had been constantly hampered by the states-general, who disgusted him with their inexpert advice and compelled him to manœuvres that often risked his whole campaign. The truce with Spain, at a time when he felt himself capable of imposing a far more advantageous treaty, had provoked his vain opposition. The end of war had removed him from the field of glory and the focus of European admiration. Now, Maurice was the direct descendant of an emperor. His father had been called the "father of his country." He had been repeatedly offered the crown. Yet the son, Maurice, had won brilliant victories where William the Silent had been able only to manipulate defeat after defeat. If William of Orange had deserved the crown, Maurice of Orange deserved it. He would not have taken it, he said; and when the opportunity came, and his friends recommended this step, he forbore. Later, it was indeed his bitterest charge against Barneveld that the advocate had accused him of seeking the crown. But, none the less, he felt that he deserved a foremost place in the government of the country, and it irritated him to find himself constantly over-

reached by Barneveld. His acts became more and more dictatorial; but, for the matter of that, Barneveld was similarly dictatorial, and if Maurice made use of the troops he had led to such prestige, Barneveld enrolled other troops, the Waardgelders, against them.

If Maurice sought to increase his own power, similarly Barneveld sought both to crush the other states under the sway of Holland and to insist upon the non-interference of the other states in the affairs of Holland. Maurice came gradually to represent the anti-Holland party and the anti-Barneveld faction. He began to gain away Barneveld's majority in the states-general, leaving him only the Holland delegation, and not all of that.

The intense religious disputes brought this duel between two ambitious politicians to that fanatic length whither religious disputes usually tend. The states-general, under Barneveld's strong control, had at first sought to allay the fever of the Gomarists or Calvinists, but had only infuriated them by this "interference" of the state in the solemn doctrines of the church. Barneveld thus became an object of hatred to the other states of the union and to the majority of religious enthusiasts. But Maurice gradually inclined to the Calvinist side, and found himself heading the mass of the public in the resistance to Barneveld. Maurice was distinctly the leader of the populace.

PHILIPPE DUPLESSIS-MORNAY
(1549–1623)

These statements are not meant as palliation of the cruel excesses to which Maurice afterward drifted, but only as an offset to the unjudicial tendency to make an ideal martyr of the splendid but domineering Barneveld, and a complete villain of the illustrious warrior. Barneveld was undoubtedly the larger-minded, the wiser, and nobler of the two men, and, above all, he stood for religious toleration. He was, as Motley[d] said, "the prime minister of Protestantism." But he also was human, and the pity for his fate should not lead to a misjudgment of his historical meaning.

As Blok[e] admits, "Rarely has any state government been so complicated as was that of the young commonwealth in its early years of acknowledged independence." The union was rather adhesive than cohesive, its elements being unlike in almost every way: Holland and Zealand were countships; Gelderland was a duchy; Sticht was a bishopric; Utrecht was more nearly democratic. Then there were the ancient privileges to which individual cities clung, as dearer than life.

A strong central power was lacking.[1] There was a council of state, but

[1 Was the supreme power of the union, created at Utrecht in 1579, vested in the states-general? They were beginning theoretically to claim it, but Barneveld denied the existence of any such power either in law or fact. It was a league of sovereignties, he maintained; a confederacy of seven independent states, united for certain purposes by a treaty made some thirty years before. Nothing could be more imbecile, judging by the light of subsequent events and

the states-general disputed its right to authority, and limited its prerogatives more and more. The states-general was a college of deputies from the seven provinces, which called themselves "sovereign powers." The number of representatives from each province was not regulated by any uniform law, nor was their term of office. The deputies had assumed almost no responsibilities; they wished to be instructed from home on every point. The laws they made must be proclaimed by the separate provincial states, each in its own province; and disagreement between these two groups was constant.

The office of governor or stadholder was really an anachronism, Maurice having been elected solely as a counterweight to the grasping Leicester. Now he was stadholder in five of the provinces, and his cousin William Louis of Nassau in the other two. Owing to the fact that the stadholder Maurice happened to have become also the prince of Orange, his powers were enlarged into nearly royal dignities; he was furthermore financially independent, and he had the support of the great mass of people, who, though they cheerfully ignored any rights to suffrage, were yet of inevitably great weight in carrying any policy to success.

JAKOBUS ARMINIUS
(1560–1609)

The shapelessness and disunity of the government were recognised, but no remedy could be agreed upon. A union under a countship had been suggested, but Maurice said he would rather throw himself from the tower at the Hague than accept so limited a sovereignty as had been offered to his father; and the majority was not inclined to relinquish the limitations. The city of Utrecht, however, was prey to various disturbances in 1610 and so strongly inclined to uplift Maurice to the sovereignty that a civil war threatened; but the states-general under Barneveld's leadership managed to repress the movement.

Next the Arminian and Gomarist religious war broke out; and Barneveld, fearing a renewal of the church disturbances of Leicester's time, felt that only vigorous action by the states-general could avert serious trouble. He declared it to be better to be ruled by a lord than by a mob, though he equally abhorred hierarchy, monarchy, and democracy. He cared little about creeds, but he cared much about peace. The states forbade the Gomarist or counter-

the experience of centuries, than such an organisation. Yet it was difficult to show any charter, precedent, or prescription for the sovereignty of the states-general. Necessary as such an incorporation was for the very existence of the union, no constitutional union had ever been enacted. Practically the province of Holland, representing more than half the population, wealth, strength, and intellect of the whole confederation, had achieved an irregular supremacy in the states-general. But its undeniable superiority was now causing a rank growth of envy, hatred, and jealousy throughout the country, and the great Advocate of Holland, who was identified with the province, and had so long wielded its power, was beginning to reap the full harvest of that malice. — MOTLEY.[d]]

remonstrant synod, repressed the violence of preachers, and sought to gain control over church administration by reviving an ordinance of 1591.

This provoked such fierce opposition that Barneveld, Grotius, and others felt that military repression of the mob's intolerance for the Arminians would be needed. But where was it to be found? Not among the militia, because the populace was generally in favour of the counter-remonstrants. Not in the army, for Prince Maurice had been gradually driven to take a counter-remonstrant stand, though at first he had declined to meddle in theology and declared that he "knew nothing of predestination whether it were green or blue. He only knew that his flute and Barneveld's were not likely to make music together."

Frans van Aarssens and others called loudly on Maurice to protect the church from Arminian heresy and from Barneveld. It was the latter word that decided him, for he seems honestly to have believed that Barneveld was intriguing with France, Spain, and the archdukes, and was in their pay. When, then, Barneveld, on February 23rd, 1616, asked him to help the states-general to discipline the churchmen, he refused and demanded that a synod be called.

The turmoil grew more furious, and Barneveld seems to have tried to persuade the states of Holland even to offer Maurice the countship for his support; this step they refused. Yet something must be done, he felt, to maintain their authority. In despair he proposed that force should be employed and that four thousand mercenaries, or *Waardgelders*, be recruited by the magistrates of the towns for independent action. This meant to bring matters to a crisis and Maurice to open opposition. It was a desperate step and against a large majority with which Maurice allied himself more and more definitely. Barneveld found the states of Holland more and more timid of solving the question of church government as definitely as he wished. The city of Amsterdam was openly opposed to him. The states-general showed a majority against him.

The counter-remonstrants seized a church, August 5th, 1617. In rebuke of this, Barneveld managed to put through the states of Holland the so-called Sharp Resolution (*Scherpe Resolutie*) declaring the supremacy of the states in church matters, refusing to call any synod to debate matters in the province of the states, empowering the levy of Waardgelders to quell disturbance, and calling on all officials and all officers and soldiers to take an immediate oath of obedience to the states on pain of dismissal. Several towns accordingly enlisted bodies of Waardgelders, and administered the oath of obedience.

This brought Maurice to the forefront of the opposition. He carried through the states-general a motion forbidding the states of Holland to demand the oath; they then withdrew the clause concerning the oath, but the levy of troops went on. Now, Holland found herself without allies except Utrecht, and not agreed within her own bounds. The storm of pamphlets and orations against Barneveld left no part of his career, origin, or family unscathed, and finally drove him to publish an eloquent review of his life, a *Remonstrantie*, appealing to Maurice to recognise his fidelity to the nation.

But, in spite of Barneveld, the states-general declared that the national synod of churchmen should be called to solve the problems which Barneveld believed to belong to state jurisdiction and to take measures for deciding what and what only could be believed and preached in the Netherlands. July 9th, 1619, the states-general demanded the disbandment of the Waardgelders of Utrecht. They now sent the prince and others with troops to carry

out the order. Holland sent emissaries, Hugo Grotius among them, to persuade Utrecht to resist. Maurice prevailed, the Utrecht mercenaries were disbanded, and disarmed; the municipal officers took flight, and were replaced by counter-remonstrants chosen for life. Briel had been similarly reduced.

Holland was to be disarmed next; but eight cities declared that they would retain their Waardgelders in spite of Maurice and as a protection against him. Barneveld and others begged the prince not to use force. He refused to grant the request. The mercenaries were ordered to disband. In spite of their early bravado, they dispersed, and the threatened opposition did not materialise, for Barneveld refused to put himself at its head and begin a civil war. He was warned then to take flight. This counsel also he refused.[a]

THE ARREST OF BARNEVELD

On August 18th, 1618, Barneveld proceeded to the assembly of the states of Holland. A messenger informed him that the prince desired to speak with him. He accordingly went into the chamber where they were accustomed to hold their conferences, and was immediately arrested by Nythof, lieutenant of the prince's bodyguard, in the name of the states-general. The same pretence was used towards Grotius and Hoogerbeets, who were in like manner seized and conducted to separate apartments, each in ignorance of what had happened to the others. To these was afterwards added Ledenberg, secretary of the states of Utrecht.[1] Uitenbogaard fortunately effected his escape to Antwerp, where he continued during the remainder of the truce.

Although the arrest had been made in the name of the states-general, it had never been proposed in that assembly, but was resolved on by those members only who had accompanied Maurice to Utrecht, and executed by order of the prince himself. Barneveld, moreover, was under the especial protection of the states of Holland; and the two others as pensionaries of Rotterdam and Leyden were under the jurisdiction of those towns, or the court of Holland only; nor could they be legally arrested at all, unless *flagrante delicto*, without a previous complaint made to the municipal governments.

Violent and arbitrary as the arrest was, however, the states-general signified their approval of it. The states of Holland unhesitatingly expressed their surprise that a matter of such importance should have been resolved on and executed without their consent, or even knowledge, and demanded in strong terms satisfaction for the injury they had sustained by a proceeding so derogatory to the privileges and liberty of the province.

The remonstrance of the majority, accordingly, had but little weight with the prince, who replied that what had been done was by the command of the states-general, with whom the province of Holland must arrange the matter of their jurisdiction. Similar applications from Rotterdam and Leyden met with a like reception. The sons-in-law of Barneveld, the lords of Van der Myle, and Veenhuizen, with his son, the lord of Groeneveld, having besought the prince that their father, in consideration of his age and infirmity, might be allowed his own house as a prison, he threw this likewise upon the

[1] It was supposed by many persons that the ambassador Carleton was a party to this transaction, from the circumstance of his having arrived at the Hague the evening before from England, and having continued till a late hour of the night in conversation with the prince of Orange.

states-general, saying that it was their business alone. He added that their father should suffer no more harm than himself.[1]

Maurice now repaired at the head of his body-guard of three hundred troops, first to Schoonhoven, where he discharged the magistrates from their oaths, and deposed all those members of the great council who had recommended toleration in religious matters, filling their places with the most violent of the counter-remonstrants. Thence he proceeded to effect a similar change in Briel, Delft, and other places, which, the garrisons being favourable to him, offered not the slightest resistance. The governments of Haarlem, Leyden, and Rotterdam soon after shared a like fate with the rest, and Amsterdam itself, which, though conspicuous on the side of the counter-remonstrants, had only been so in consequence of a small majority in the council, underwent a similar change.

JAN VAN OLDEN-BARNEVELD
(1549–1601)

On intelligence of the arrest of Barneveld, Louis XIII of France commanded Boissize, his ambassador extraordinary to the states-general, in conjunction with Du Maurier, to use his utmost efforts towards preventing them, if possible, from proceeding to extremities against the prisoners, and to offer his mediation in appeasing the present discontents. The states-general made answer that the country was in no such danger as had been falsely represented to the king; that the prince of Orange had, by mild measures, and without tumult or bloodshed, remedied the disorders that had arisen in the civil constitution, and that those which infected the church would be appeased by the synod which was shortly to be held at Dordrecht.

THE SYNOD OF DORT (OR DORDRECHT)

This measure had since the consent of Holland encountered no further difficulty. As a preliminary, it was necessary that provincial synods should

[1] It is evident from the letters of this period that considerable persuasion, and even importunity, was necessary to engage Maurice to adopt the unconstitutional measures he was hurried into; the ministers of the church, and the English ambassador, Carleton, made themselves particularly active.

be held, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the assembly, which was fixed for the 8th of November. To secure the majority in these synods was a measure of vital importance to the counter-remonstrants, and they accordingly employed every means they could devise to this end. The foreign churches that had been invited to commission delegates to the synod all complied with the request, except the Reformed church of France, whose delegates were forbidden by the king to repair thither. At the head of those appointed by King James was George Carleton, bishop of Llandaff.

On the 13th of November, this renowned assembly held its first meeting at Dordrecht, in the house called the "Doel," a building and yard set apart in the Dutch towns for the military exercises of the schuttery. The number of ecclesiastical delegates from the provinces amounted to thirty-eight ministers, twenty elders, and five professors of theology; to these were added eighteen "political commissioners," or deputies from the states-general. The whole number of delegates sent by the different foreign churches was twenty-eight, so that the native members, being in considerable majority, were enabled to outvote them whenever it might be found expedient.

The remonstrants, on the opening of the synod, demanded that they might send deputies under a safe conduct, to be present as parties, who should be permitted to defend their opinions in any manner they thought best. The political commissioners, however, determined that they could not recognise any other body in the Netherland church than that which was represented by the synod, and that the remonstrants were to be heard in no other way than in answer to a citation issued to those among them whom the assembly itself should choose. The synod accordingly issued citations to thirteen ministers of that party.

During the time that intervened before the cited parties could appear, the question was discussed of a new and accurate translation of the Bible into the Dutch language; work begun in pursuance of an order of the states in 1594, by Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde, who died before it was finished. Six theologians of eminent learning were now appointed to this task, who applied themselves to its execution with sedulous care and diligence, and their version has accordingly been held in high esteem by posterity. Finally, the expulsion of the remonstrants, in which act not a third of the synod participated, was approved of by a decree of the states-general.

The canons, consisting of the refutation and condemnation of the opinions of the remonstrants on the five articles, and an exposition of the doctrines held to be orthodox by the synod, laid down that "God has pre-ordained, by an eternal and immutable decree, before the creation of the world, upon whom he will bestow the free gift of his grace; that the atonement of Christ, though sufficient for all the world, is efficacious only for the elect; that conversion is not effected by any effort of man, but by the free grace of God given to those only whom he has chosen from all eternity; and that it is impossible for the elect to fall away from this grace."

The canons having been read and approved of, the 137th and 138th sessions were occupied in passing judgment on the persons of the remonstrants who had been cited. They were pronounced innovators, and disturbers of the church and nation; obstinate and rebellious; leaders of faction, teachers of false doctrine, and workers of schism; and deprived of their offices, both ecclesiastical and academical, till such time as they had satisfied the churches with evident signs of repentance; which sentence was subsequently confirmed by a decree of the states-general. Sentence of condemna-

tion was passed upon Vorstius and his doctrine: the former being declared unfit to serve the office of preacher and minister in the Reformed church; the latter, impious, blasphemous, and such as should be rooted out with abhorrence. He was banished from the United Provinces on pain of death.

Thus terminated this celebrated synod with the 180th session, after having been assembled more than seven months, at a cost to the state of 1,000,000 guilders [or £100,000]; and which, by some, has been looked up to with reverence as an assembly of learned and pious divines, whose decrees were inferior in purity and excellence of doctrine only to Scripture itself; while by others it has been regarded as a meeting of bigoted polemics, whose proceedings aimed rather at the discomfiture and mortification of their antagonists than the discovery and promulgation of truth. Without subscribing to either of these opinions, we may observe that, exhibiting little of the Christian spirit of forbearance, the synod proposed no one single measure of toleration or of conciliation, nor devised any other mode of putting an end to the divisions of the church, than the entire oppression of the weaker party; and that, instead of tending to unite the different sects upon the common doctrines of the Reformation, it promulgated opinions of such an extreme tendency as to cause a still wider alienation between the Lutherans and Calvinists; an alienation of which the consequences were, perhaps, more severely felt in the course of after events than is commonly supposed.[1]

THE TRIAL OF BARNEVELD

The resolute spirit displayed by the remonstrants at the synod contributed, with some disturbances which occurred at Alkmaar and Hoorn, to exercise a sinister influence on the destiny of the prisoners of state, the career of one of whom was now drawing fast to a close. From the period of their arrest they had, contrary to the provisions of the law of Holland, whereby persons accused of a capital crime are to be tried within six weeks of their arrest, been detained three months without examination, in order that the change of the deputies of Holland, both in the states of that province and the states-general, might ensure an appointment of judges by the latter entirely adverse to them. During this time Barneveld, now past seventy years of age, had been closely confined in the room which had served as a prison for the Spanish commander Mendoza, after the battle of Nieuport; and, besides being subjected to every petty indignity that malice could invent, was debarred the sight of his wife and children, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper, as were also the other two captives.

On the assembly of the newly-organised states of Holland, they allowed the states-general and prince of Orange to usurp, without opposition, that

[1 Grattan thus vigorously sums it up: "Theology was mystified; religion disgraced; Christianity outraged. And after six months' display of ferocity and fraud, the solemn mockery was closed by the declaration of its president that its miraculous labours had made hell tremble. Proscriptions, banishments, and death were the natural consequences of this synod. The divisions which it had professed to extinguish were rendered a thousand times more violent than before. Its decrees did incalculable ill to the cause they were meant to promote. The Anglican church was the first to reject the canons of Dort with horror and contempt. The Protestants of France and Germany, and even Geneva, the nurse and guardian of Calvinism, were shocked and disgusted, and unanimously softened down the rigour of their respective creeds. But the moral effects of this memorable conclave were too remote to prevent the sacrifice which almost immediately followed the celebration of its rites. A trial by twenty-four prejudiced enemies, by courtesy called judges, which in its progress and its result throws judicial dignity into scorn, ended in the condemnation of Barneveld and his fellow patriots for treason against the liberties they had vainly laboured to save."]

authority over the prisoners which belonged to themselves alone; and these, with equally little scruple, superseded the ordinary courts of justice by the institution of a commission of inquiry, of which, besides the attorneys-general of Utrecht and Gelderland, Pieter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, most of the members had been deputies to Utrecht on the occasion of the disbanding of the Waardgelders, and the whole had rendered themselves conspicuous by their implacable hostility to Barneveld in particular. These persons exercised their functions with an injustice and severity unequalled even in the trials of the counts of Egmont and Horn, under the government of Alva. Barneveld was subjected to twenty-three examinations, during which he was neither allowed to take down the questions in writing, to make memoranda of his answers, nor to refer to notes; the interrogatories were not confined to any definite period, but extended over his whole public life, no effort being spared to involve him in those contradictions which, from decay of memory, or confusion of dates, might easily occur. Ledenberg, secretary of the states of Utrecht, was so terrified by the menaces of torture which they used, that, dreading lest he might be forced by such means to make any admission detrimental to his friends, he committed suicide in prison.

As the commission was not invested with judicial powers, the states-general, after the conclusion of the examinations, appointed twenty-four judges, half the number only being Hollanders, an appointment illegal alike in its origin and constitution. By this court Barneveld was, after forty-eight interrogatories, found guilty, and condemned to death upon the following accusations among others: that he had disturbed the peace of religion, and maintained the exorbitant and pernicious maxim that the sovereignty belonged to each province over its own ecclesiastical matters; that he had dictated the protest of Holland, Utrecht, and Overyssel against the acts of the states-general; that he had opposed the application of any remedies to the disorders in the Church and State; that he had encouraged disunion and disorders in the provinces, placing himself at the head of a faction, and had held separate assemblies of deputies from eight of the towns of Holland devoted to his interests; that in these assemblies the "severe edict" was resolved on, whereby the authority of the ordinary courts of justice was suspended; that he was one of the principal promoters of the levy of the Waardgelders; that he had degraded the character of the prince of Orange by his calumnies, accusing him of aiming at the sovereignty of the provinces; that he had attempted to seduce the regular troops from their allegiance to the states-general; that he had received divers large sums of money from foreign princes, without giving due information thereof; and that he had squandered the finances of the country, and created general distrust among the inhabitants and allies of the provinces.

With respect to some of these charges, such as placing himself at the head of a faction, introducing his friends into public offices and the like, it will be observed that similar imputations may be made at any time against any distinguished member of a party in a free state, and certainly could never form the ground of a criminal accusation. The "exorbitant and pernicious maxim," that each province retained its sovereignty with regard to religious matters, was a principle acted upon from the commencement of the revolt of Holland, without which the Pacification of Ghent, in 1576, between the Reformed provinces of Holland and Zealand, and the Catholic ones of Brabant and Flanders, never could have been effected, and which was expressly laid down in the exposition of the thirteenth article of the Union of Utrecht.

The only capital charge, that of entertaining a correspondence with Spain,

which before his trial had been so long and so vehemently insisted on by his enemies, was entirely abandoned. This accusation the court of inquiry had taken the utmost pains to prove, even going so far as to use alternate threats and promises to Grotius in order to force him to say something in confirmation of it, but had wholly failed. The states-general, aware of the doubt that the entire innocence of the prisoner on the principal charge would tend to throw on his guilt with respect to the whole — which, moreover, had he been guilty and responsible for all the acts contained therein, would, neither separately nor together, have constituted treason — issued a manifesto to the several provinces, declaring that many other crimes were laid to his charge, which could not be proved without stricter examination, such as the great age of the prisoner rendered inadvisable; by which was understood the application of the torture. It is somewhat difficult to imagine why the same consideration for his age which prevented the judges from adopting measures to prove his crime, should not have prevailed to deter them from condemning him without proof.

THE EXECUTION OF BARNEVELD (1619)

On the evening of Sunday, the 12th of May, Pieter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, two of the judges, entered the prison of Barneveld, for the purpose of summoning him the next morning to receive sentence of death. "Sentence of death," exclaimed the aged patriot; "sentence of death! I did not expect that." He then asked permission to write a farewell letter to his wife. While Leeuwen was gone to make his request known to the states, he said to the attorney-general of Gelderland, "Sylla, Sylla, could your father but see that you have allowed yourself to be employed in this business!" — the only expression of anger or impatience which the heroic old man permitted to escape him during the whole of this trying period.

The materials being brought him, he began to write with the utmost composure, when Sylla observed to him to be careful what he said, lest it might prevent the delivery of the letter. "What, Sylla," he answered, half smiling, "are you come to dictate to me what I shall write in my last hour?" He then sent to the prince of Orange, to ask his forgiveness if he had offended him, and to entreat him to be gracious to his children.

Maurice, whether from an excess of dissimulation, or that he in fact repented of having pushed matters so far, received the minister with tears; he professed that he had always loved the advocate, but that two things had vexed him: first, that he had accused him of aiming at the sovereignty, and next, that he had exposed him to danger at Utrecht; adding that, nevertheless, he freely forgave him, and would protect his children so long as they deserved it. As the messenger left the room the prince, calling him back, asked him if the prisoner had made no mention of pardon. "No," he answered, "he spoke not a word of it." Barneveld constantly refused to acknowledge himself in the slightest degree guilty of any of the accusations brought against him, except in so far as that, sometimes, provoked at the insults and libels directed against the states of Holland, his masters, he had expressed himself with too much haste and acrimony: "I governed," said he, "when I was in authority, according to the maxims of that time; and now I am condemned to die according to the maxims of this."

Before he left his prison, Barneveld wrote his last letter to his family, recommending his servant, John Franken, who had attended him throughout with affectionate fidelity, to their care. He was shortly after led into a lower room of the court-house to hear his sentence. During the reading

he turned round quickly several times, and rose from his seat, as if about to speak. When it was concluded, he observed that there were many things in it which were not in the examinations; and added, "I thought the states-general would have been satisfied with my blood, and would have allowed my wife and children to keep what is their own." "Your sentence is read," replied Leonard Vooght, one of the judges, "away, away." Leaning on his staff, and with his servant on the other side to support his steps, grown feeble with age, Barneveld walked composedly to the place of execution, prepared before the great saloon of the court-house. With how deep feeling must he have uttered the exclamation as he ascended the scaffold, "O God! what then is man?"

Kneeling down on the bare boards, he was supported by his servant, while the minister, John Lamotius, delivered a prayer. When prepared for the block, he turned to the spectators and said, with a loud and firm voice, "My friends, believe not that I am a traitor. I have lived a good patriot, and such I die." He then, with his own hands, drew his cap over his eyes, and bidding the executioner "be quick," bowed his venerable head to the stroke.[1] The populace, from various feelings, some inspired by hatred, some by affection, dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, or carried away morsels of the blood-stained wood and sand: a few were even found to sell these as relics. The body and head were laid in a coffin and buried decently, but with little ceremony, at the court church of the Hague. The states of Holland rendered to his memory that justice which he had been denied while living, by the words in which they recorded his death. After stating the time and manner of it, and his long period of service to his country, the resolution concludes, "a man of great activity, diligence, memory, and conduct; yea, remarkable in every respect. Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall; and may God be merciful to his soul."

A Dutch Costume of the Seventeenth Century

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

The scaffold upon which the advocate had been beheaded was left standing for fifteen days after his death, with the view, as the two remaining prison-

[1 The sword flickered in the sun and the head of the greatest Netherland statesman, who had "carried Holland in the heart," rolled down in the sand. The last word about the troubles of the Truce must be that both parties were culpable in their actions, but that the dominant party committed the greater sin by the judicial murder of their great opponent—a judicial murder, as Macaulay,[a] Motley,[d] and Fruin[f] rightly termed the atrocious execution of May 13th, 1619. Olden-Barneveld was not condemned according to the demands of justice, but according to those of policy conflicting with principles which he himself had earnestly espoused. — Blok.[e]]

ers, Grotius and Hoogerbeets, supposed, of compelling their wives and friends by fear into an acknowledgment of their guilt, by soliciting their pardon. The wife of Grotius, especially, was strongly urged to this course, and promises were held out to her of a favourable hearing on the part of the prince of Orange. But she refused to cast this dishonour on her husband, with an almost terrific resolution: "I will not do it," she said; "if he have deserved it, let them strike off his head." The more to alarm the prisoners, sentence was executed on the dead body of Ledenberg, which was hanged in the coffin to a gallows. The accusations against Grotius and Hoogerbeets were nearly similar to those against Barneveld. Upon these they were found guilty; but the Prince of Orange, dreading probably, if he sacrificed Grotius to his vengeance, that the execrations of Europe — through the greater part of which the immortal works and fame of his wonderful genius had already spread — would fall upon him, forbore to shed their blood. They were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Louvestein.

The conduct of the dominant party, from the conclusion of the synod, strongly evinced how much that assembly had tended to exasperate rather than allay the spirit of persecution; and that, had not the feeling of the times been abhorrent of bloodshed, this spirit would have displayed itself in as relentless a manner as it had ever done amongst the Catholics. Were it not indeed for the change of names, we might imagine ourselves to have turned some pages back, and to be reading again the penal edicts of the emperor Charles and Philip III. All assemblies of the remonstrants were strictly prohibited; and everyone who attended them was condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders. This proving ineffectual, a second edict was promulgated, offering a reward of 500 guilders to whoever should arrest a remonstrant minister, and 300 for a student in theology. This system of severity was adopted against the remonstrants alone, since the Lutherans and Anabaptists were permitted to enjoy their respective places of worship in public, and on equal terms with the Calvinists; and the Catholics and Jews had the liberty of holding their private assemblies.

The ministers who had appeared before the synod, and had been deprived of their functions by that assembly, were afterwards offered a competent maintenance by the states-general if they would bind themselves to abstain entirely from preaching; a condition with which all except one, Henry Leo, steadily and repeatedly refused compliance. Sentence of banishment was, in consequence, pronounced against them after they had, in violation of the safe-conduct they had received, been many months under arrest, and immediately carried into effect. Without being allowed time to arrange their affairs, or to take leave of their families, they were conveyed in carriages, provided for them by the states-general, from the Hague to Waalwijk, amid the benedictions and tears of a multitude of persons who had assembled to bid them farewell; a mournful spectacle for those patriots who had contributed to shed a deluge of blood for a liberty of conscience which, if it were not a right inherent in man, themselves had formerly been far less entitled to claim than the sufferers now before them. The professors at the University of Leyden, not only of theology but of other sciences, were displaced, and their offices filled with counter-remonstrants, and all the pupils who refused to subscribe to the canons were expelled.

Notwithstanding fines, imprisonment, and banishment, however, the remonstrants persisted in holding their assemblies. The scenes of 1565 were acted over again. In some of the towns, the soldiers of the garrison, at the command of the magistrates, rushed in among the defenceless multitude

while engaged in their devotions, and bloodshed and massacre were the consequence. Again the people were forced to take refuge in the woods and fields, to worship God according to their conscience. Many voluntarily quitted their country, and retired to Antwerp; and thus, by a singular revolution in human affairs, the dominions of the archdukes, formerly the stronghold of religious persecutions, now became an asylum for the persecuted refugees of a nation whose very existence was founded on religious liberty.[c] [1]

THE ESCAPE OF GROTIUS

Thus Arminianism, deprived of its chiefs, was for the time completely stifled. The remonstrants, thrown into utter despair, looked to emigration as their last resource. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden and Frederick duke of Holstein offered them shelter and protection in their respective states. Several availed themselves of these offers; but the states-general, alarmed at the progress of self-expatriation, moderated their rigour, and thus checked the desolating evil.[2] Several of the imprisoned Arminians had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of their gaolers; but the escape of Grotius is the most remarkable of all, both from his own celebrity as one of the first writers of his age in the most varied walks of literature, and from its peculiar circumstances.

Grotius was freely allowed during his close imprisonment all the relaxations of study. His friends supplied him with quantities of books, which were usually brought into the fortress in a trunk something less than four feet long, which the governor regularly and carefully examined during the first year. But custom brought relaxation in the strictness of the prison rules; and the wife of the illustrious prisoner, his faithful and constant visitor, proposed the plan of his escape, to which he gave a ready and, all hazards considered, a courageous assent. Shut up in this trunk for two hours, and with all the risk of suffocation, and of injury from the rude handling of the soldiers who carried it out of the fort, Grotius was brought clear off by the very agents of his persecutors, and safely delivered to the care of his devoted and discreet female servant, who knew the secret and kept it well. She attended the important consignment in the barge to the town of Gorkum; and after various risks of discovery, providentially escaped, Grotius at length found himself safe beyond the limits of his native land. His wife, whose torturing suspense may be imagined the while, concealed the stratagem as long as it was possible to impose on the gaoler with the fiction of her husband's

[1] It was not, however, in the spirit of disinterested charity that they were protected by the archduke's government, but in the hope of their being made useful to cause some embarrassment to the United Provinces. Neither bribes nor promises were spared to induce them to espouse measures hostile to their country, but in vain. To such proposals their leader, Uitenbogaard, replied, according to Brandt,[a] with true Dutch frankness, "Let not the king of Spain trust to any revolt excited in our fatherland by the remonstrants; it will never happen." England was now shut out from the fugitives, who had formed the most exaggerated idea of the persecuting spirit of the government of that country. The remonstrant preachers were not unfrequently in dread of being seized and sent thither, where they conceived that the stake and the tar-barrel awaited them.

[2] Though the story of the Puritans belongs chiefly to the history of England and her American colonies, it may be well to remember that the persecuted members of the Scrooby church fled to Leyden in 1609, the year of the Truce. Their pastor, John Robinson, agreed fully with the Gomarists and was a fierce opponent of Arminian arguments. The Puritans thus escaped persecution, and attracted little or no attention in Holland; Motley,[d] indeed, searched the archives at the Hague in vain for even a mention of them. Eventually, they decided to emigrate to America. The states-general declined to offer them protection in New Amsterdam, and they obtained permission from the Virginia Company of England. They sailed in the *Mayflower*, and reached America in 1620.[a]]

illness and confinement to his bed. The government, infuriated at the result of the affair, at first proposed to hold this interesting prisoner in place of the prey they had lost, and to proceed criminally against her. But after a fortnight's confinement she was restored to liberty, and the country saved from the disgrace of so ungenerous and cowardly a proceeding. Grotius repaired to Paris, where he was received in the most flattering manner, and distinguished by a pension of 1,000 crowns allowed by the king. He soon published his vindication — one of the most eloquent and unanswerable productions of its kind, in which those times of unjust accusations and illegal punishments were so fertile.

END OF THE TRUCE (1620)

The expiration of the twelve years' truce was now at hand; and the United Provinces, after that long period of intestine trouble and disgrace, had once more to recommence a more congenial struggle against foreign enemies; for a renewal of the war with Spain might be fairly considered a return to the regimen best suited to the constitution of the people. The republic saw, however, with considerable anxiety, the approach of this new contest. It was fully sensible of its own weakness. Exile had reduced its population; patriotism had subsided; foreign friends were dead; the troops were unused to warfare; the hatred against Spanish cruelty had lost its excitement; the finances were in confusion; Prince Maurice had no longer the activity of youth; and the still more vigorous impulse of fighting for his country's liberty was changed to the dishonouring task of upholding his own tyranny.

The archdukes, encouraged by these considerations, had hopes of bringing back the United Provinces to their domination. They accordingly sent an embassy to Holland with proposals to that effect. It was received with indignation; and according to Wagenaar[h] the ambassador Pecquius was obliged to be escorted back to the frontiers by soldiers, to protect him from the insults of the people. Military operations were, however, for a while refrained from on either side, in consequence of the deaths of Philip III of Spain and the archduke Albert. Philip IV succeeded his father at the age of sixteen; and the archduchess Isabella found herself alone at the head of the government in the Belgian provinces. She held the reins of power with a firm and steady hand.

In the celebrated Thirty Years' War[1] which had commenced between the Protestants and Catholics of Germany, in 1618, the former had met with considerable assistance from the United Provinces. Barneveld, who foresaw the embarrassments which the country would have to contend with on the expiration of that truce, had strongly opposed its meddling in the quarrel: but his ruin and death left no restraint on the policy which prompted the republic to aid the Protestant cause. Fifty thousand florins a month to the revolted Protestants, and a like sum to the princes of the union, were for some time advanced. Frederick, the elector palatine, nephew of the prince, was chosen by the Bohemians for their king: but the new monarch, aided only by the United Provinces, and that feebly, was utterly defeated at the battle of Prague, and obliged to take refuge in Holland.

Spinola was resolved to commence the war against the republic by some important exploit. He therefore laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, a place of great consequence, commanding the navigation of the Maas and the coast

[1 The causes and details of this conflict will be found in the volumes devoted to Spain, France, Germany, and Austria.]

of all the islands of Zealand. But Maurice repaired to the scene of threatened danger; and succeeded, after a series of desperate efforts on both sides, in raising the siege, forcing Spinola to abandon his attempt with a loss of upwards of 12,000 men. Frederick Henry in the meantime had made an incursion into Brabant with a body of light troops; and ravaging the country up to the very gates of Mechlin, Louvain, and Brussels, levied contributions to the amount of 600,000 florins. The states completed this series of good fortune by obtaining the possession of West Friesland, by means of Count Mansfeld, whom they had despatched thither at the head of his formidable army, and who had, in spite of the opposition of Count Tilly, successfully performed his mission.

THE PLOT OF BARNEVELD'S SONS (1623)

Prince Maurice had enjoyed without restraint the fruits of his ambitious daring. His power was uncontrolled and unopposed. In the midst, however, of the apparent calm, a deep conspiracy was formed against the life of the prince. The motives, the conduct, and the termination of this plot excite feelings of many opposite kinds. Commiseration is mingled with blame, when we mark the sons of Barneveld, urged on by the excess of filial affection, to avenge their venerable father's fate. Willem of Stoutenburg and Reinier of Groeneveld were the names of these two sons of the late pensionary. The latter, of a more impetuous character than his brother, was the principal in the plot. Instead of any efforts to soften down the hatred of this unfortunate family, these brothers had been removed from their employments,[1] their property was confiscated, and despair soon urged them to desperation.

In such a time of general discontent it was easy to find accomplices. Seven or eight determined men readily joined in the plot: of these, two were Catholics, the rest Arminians; the chief of whom was Henricus Slatius, a preacher of considerable eloquence, talent, and energy. The death of the prince of Orange was not the only object intended. During the confusion subsequent to the hoped-for success of that first blow, the chief conspirators intended to excite simultaneous revolts at Leyden, Gouda, and Rotterdam, in which town the Arminians were most numerous. A general revolution throughout Holland was firmly reckoned on as the infallible result; and success was enthusiastically looked for to their country's freedom and their individual fame.

But the plot, however cautiously laid and resolutely persevered in, was doomed to the fate of many another, and the horror of a second murder averted from the illustrious family to whom was still destined the glory of consolidating the country it had formed. Four sailors had laid the whole of the project before the prince, and measures were instantly taken to arrest

[1 The promise Maurice made to Barneveld, in his last moments, to protect his children, he had violated in every possible manner. Their estates had been confiscated, notwithstanding an ordinance of the states-general, issued in 1593, decreeing that no noble should forfeit more than eighty guilders, except for treason, in addition to the penalty of death; to evade which, the judges had been reassembled a year after the delivery of the sentence, when their commission had been for some time expired, to declare that their meaning was to condemn the prisoners as guilty of high treason, of which not a word had been mentioned in the sentence. The eldest son of the advocate, Reinier, lord of Groeneveld, had been deprived, for no cause whatever, except the personal animosity of the prince, of the office of deputy grand master of the rivers and forests, which Maurice had some years before bestowed on him; and William Barneveld, lord of Stoutenburg, the younger son, was in like manner stripped of the government of Bergen-op-Zoom.c]

the various accomplices. Groeneveld, Slatius, and others were intercepted in their attempts at escape. Stoutenburg, the most culpable of all, was the most fortunate. By the aid of a faithful servant, he accomplished his escape through various perils, and finally reached Brussels, where the archduchess Isabella took him under her special protection. He for several years made efforts to be allowed to return to Holland; but finding them hopeless, even after the death of Maurice, he embraced the Catholic religion, and obtained the command of a troop of Spanish cavalry, at the head of which he made incursions into his native country, carrying before him a black flag with the effigy of a death's head, to announce the mournful vengeance which he came to execute.

Fifteen persons were executed for the conspiracy. If ever mercy was becoming to a man, it would have been pre-eminently so to Maurice on this occasion; but he was inflexible as adamant. The mother, the wife, and the son of Groeneveld threw themselves at his feet, imploring pardon. Prayers, tears, and sobs were alike ineffectual. It is even said that Maurice asked the wretched mother why she begged mercy for her son, having refused to do as much for her husband? To which she is reported to have made the sublime answer — "Because my son is guilty, and my husband was not."

THE LAST ACTS OF MAURICE

These bloody executions caused a deep sentiment of gloom. The conspiracy excited more pity for the victims than horror for the intended crime. Maurice, from being the idol of his countrymen, was now become an object of their fear and dislike. When he moved from town to town, the people no longer hailed him with acclamations; and even the common tokens of outward respect were at times withheld. The Spaniards, taking advantage of the internal weakness consequent on this state of public feeling in the states, made repeated incursions into the provinces, which were now united but in title, not in spirit. Spinola was once more in the field, and had invested the important town of Breda, which was the patrimonial inheritance of the princes of Orange.

Maurice was oppressed with anxiety and regret. He could effect nothing against his rival; and he saw his own laurels withering from his care-worn brow. The only hope left of obtaining the so much wanted supplies of money was in the completion of a new treaty with France and England. Cardinal Richelieu, desirous of setting bounds to the ambition and the successes of the house of Austria, readily came into the views of the states; and an obligation for a loan of 1,200,000 livres during the year 1624, and 1,000,000 more for each of the two succeeding years, was granted by the king of France, on condition that the republic made no new truce with Spain without his mediation.

An alliance nearly similar was at the same time concluded with England. Perpetual quarrels on commercial questions loosened the ties which bound the states to their ancient allies.[1] King James agreed to furnish six thousand

[1 In 1623 occurred the Amboyna Massacre, long a subject of bitterness in English memory. Amboyna, one of the Molucca Islands, had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1607. The English entered it, but were expelled. In 1619 they secured by treaty a trading privilege. In 1623 the Dutch claimed that the English were conspiring with the natives to seize the island, and having wrung a confession by torture—a confession denied on the gallows—they put 10 Englishmen and 10 Javanese to death. Three Englishmen, being pardoned, carried home the story of the tortures inflicted on their countrymen. The whole nation was horrified and demanded revenge. In 1654 Holland agreed to pay the heirs of the victims £300,000 as compensation. Amboyna was captured by the British in 1796 and in 1810, but

men, and supply the funds for their pay, with a provision for repayment by the states at the conclusion of a peace with Spain. Prince Maurice had no opportunity of reaping the expected advantages from these treaties.

Chagrined at his ill success, Maurice discovered too late that, in grasping at the sole authority by the destruction of his illustrious rival, he had, in fact, annihilated the source of his own prosperity. With the advocate, the stay and support of his fortunes was gone; the head which had planned his most brilliant achievements, the hand that had always been able to place money and troops at his disposal the instant he required them, he himself had laid in the dust; in the bitterness of his heart, he was heard to exclaim that God had abandoned him. His present coadjutor, Adrian Duyk, who had succeeded Barneveld, under the title of pensionary (that of advocate being ever after dropped by tacit consent) was immeasurably inferior to him in talents, diligence, and resources.

The disappointments and vexations Maurice suffered were supposed to have contributed greatly to increase the disease (obstruction of the liver) under which he had for some time laboured, and which now began to manifest alarming symptoms. Finding his strength rapidly declining, he summoned from the camp at Sprang his brother Frederick Henry, between whom and himself there had long existed a coldness, arising from the favour which the former had openly testified, and the still greater degree which he was suspected of secretly entertaining towards the remonstrants. He now induced him to gratify his last wish by consenting to a union with Amelie, princess of Solmes. Three weeks after the marriage, April 23rd, 1625, the prince of Orange died, aged fifty-seven years and five months, having filled the office of stadholder for nearly forty years. As he never married, he left Prince Frederick Henry heir to all his possessions, with the exception of legacies to his sister, the princess of Portugal, his mistress, Anne van Mechelen, and her two sons.

The character of Maurice has been often produced in bold and marked features, in the transactions in which he bore so conspicuous a share. In military talent he equalled the most celebrated captains of any age or nation. Whether in the attack and defence of cities, in the enforcement of discipline or the conduct of an army in rapid and difficult marches, his reputation is yet unsurpassed; nor was he less distinguished by his profound knowledge of mathematics, and his skill in the invention of military engines and contrivances for passing rivers and marshes. The Fabius of his country, he, with a handful of soldiers, not only defended her frontiers against numerous armies of veteran troops, commanded by (next to himself) the ablest generals in Europe, but carried the war with success into the enemy's territory.

In his political capacity he appears to far less advantage. His ambition, unlike the pure and noble passion which swayed his father, was wholly selfish, devoted to his individual advancement, and directed quite as much to the emoluments as to the dignity of his offices.

The escutcheon of Maurice is bright with the record of many a deed of glory. But there is one dark deep stain on which the eye of posterity, unheeding the surrounding radiance, is constantly fixed: it is the blood of Barneveld.

PROSPERITY OF THE PERIOD

The truce, which, as the foundation of the dissensions between the heads of the government, was productive of so many evils to the provinces, opened

in both cases restored by subsequent treaties. It should be remembered that torture was still used in the courts of both England and Holland, though the methods differed.]

on the other hand a new field for the rapid advancement of commerce and navigation. The year preceding it (1608) was signalised by the invention of the telescope, by one Zachary Jansen, an optician of Middelburg.

In the year 1609 was established the celebrated bank of Amsterdam, which for a long series of years afforded such immense facilities to commerce, and maintained its credit so high that a large portion of the wealth of Europe was by degrees drawn into its coffers.

Alliances of commerce and amity with Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and the Hanse towns secured to the Dutch an easy and profitable trade in the northern seas; and their frequent voyages thither gave occasion to the establishment of a company at Amsterdam (1614), for carrying on the whale-fishery from the coast of Nova Zembla to Davis Strait, Spitzbergen, and the surrounding islands. The fishery, notwithstanding the opposition of the English, who sometimes attacked and rifled the vessels on their return, was for several years a source of considerable revenue to the proprietors. The charter, granted at first but for three years, was renewed for four more in 1617; and the company, uniting in 1622 with another formed in Zealand, obtained a fresh charter for twelve years, which was renewed in 1633. After its expiration in 1645, the whales having become scarce, and the profits of the fishery no longer sufficing for the support of a company, it dissolved itself, and the fishery again became free.

Shortly after the erection of this company, the states, in order to encourage their subjects to undertake distant voyages, granted to the discoverer of a new territory the privilege of making four voyages before anyone else was permitted to trade thither, provided he gave information of such discovery to the government within fourteen days of his return. The first who entitled himself to the benefit of this regulation was the famous Jacob le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, who, in the beginning of the year 1616, sailed through the straits to which he gave his name, and completed his voyage round the world, having discovered on his route the islands of Staten, Prince's Island, and Barneveld, of which he took possession in the name of the states. Cape Horn, which received its name from a native of Hoorn (Willem Schouten the pilot), was discovered at the same time.

In the year 1609 Henry Hudson, an English pilot in the employ of the East India Company of Holland, being sent with a single vlie-boat and twenty men to find a northwest passage to China, discovered the river and bay which received his name. Instead, however, of returning to Holland, he went to England, which he was not permitted to leave. The Dutch afterwards planted a colony on that tract of country to which they gave the name of New Holland, and about 1624 built the town of New Amsterdam.

The character of the Dutch people, at once energetic and patient, enterprising and steady, renders them peculiarly adapted for the formation of flourishing and successful colonies. In planting them it is to be remarked that they never sought an extension of empire, but merely an acquisition of trade and commerce; and consequently they were always either commercial or agricultural, never military. They attempted conquest only when forced by the pressure of exterior circumstances — such, for instance, as the hostilities of the Portuguese in the East Indies.

To this general rule the formation of the West India Company formed a singular exception. The project had been agitated before the commencement of the truce, but steadily opposed by Barneveld, after whose death the states gave permission for the establishment of a company, which was not however effected till 1621, when a charter was granted for the term of twenty-

four years, on conditions nearly similar to that of the East India Company, with the sole privilege of trade from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, and in America from the south boundary of Newfoundland and the Anian or Bering Straits, to those of Magellan and Le Maire. As Spain claimed the sovereignty of a vast portion of this tract in America, and was in actual possession of the places where the company purposed forming their settlements, conquest must be a necessary preliminary; and the colonists, maintaining a hostile possession, must be constantly prepared with arms in their hands, if not engaged in actual warfare. Accordingly, at the very outset, the company were obliged to incur the cost of equipping a large fleet of men-of-war, instead of making an essay at first with a few vessels as the projectors of the East India trade had done.[c]

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION OF THE EIGHTY YEARS' WAR

[1625–1648 A.D.]

FREDERICK HENRY succeeded to almost all his brother's titles and employments, and found his new dignities clogged with an accumulation of difficulties sufficient to appal the most determined spirit. Everything seemed to justify alarm and despondency. If the affairs of the republic in India wore an aspect of prosperity, those in Europe presented a picture of past disaster and approaching peril. Disunion and discontent, an almost insupportable weight of taxation, and the disputes of which it was the fruitful source, formed the subjects of internal ill. Abroad were to be seen navigation harassed and trammelled by the pirates of Dunkirk, and the almost defenceless frontiers of the republic exposed to the irruptions of the enemy. The king of Denmark, who endeavoured to make head against the imperialist and Spanish forces, was beaten by Tilly, and made to tremble for the safety of his own states. England did nothing towards the common cause of Protestantism, in consequence of the weakness of the monarch; and civil dissensions for a while disabled France from resuming the system of Henry IV for humbling the house of Austria.

Frederick Henry was at this period in his forty-second year. His military reputation was well established; he soon proved his political talents. He commenced his career by a total change in the tone of government on the subject of sectarian differences. He exercised several acts of clemency in favour of the imprisoned and exiled Arminians, at the same time that he upheld the dominant religion. By these measures he conciliated all parties; and by degrees the fierce spirit of intolerance became subdued. The foreign relations of the United Provinces now presented the anomalous policy of a fleet furnished by the French king, manned by rigid Calvinists, and commanded by a grandson of Admiral Coligny, for the purpose of combating the remainder of the French Huguenots, whom they considered as brothers in religion, though political foes: and during the joint expedition which was undertaken by the allied French and Dutch troops against Rochelle, the stronghold of Protestantism, the preachers of Holland put up prayers for the

[1625–1628 A.D.]

protection of those whom their army was marching to destroy. The states-general, ashamed of this unpopular union, recalled their fleet, after some severe fighting with that of the Huguenots. Cardinal Richelieu and the king of France were for a time furious in their displeasure; but interests of state overpowered individual resentments, and no rupture took place.

Charles I had now succeeded his father on the English throne. He renewed the treaty with the republic, who furnished him with twenty ships to assist his own formidable fleet in his war against Spain. Frederick Henry had, soon after his succession to the chief command, commenced an active course of martial operations, and was successful in almost all his enterprises.[b]

Maurice had, before his death, made the most strenuous exertions to collect troops for the relief of Breda. Nevertheless, every effort on the part of Prince Frederick Henry to raise the siege or to introduce supplies into the town proved futile; and being reduced to extreme scarcity of provisions, the governor, Justin of Nassau, capitulated to Spinola on favourable conditions in 1625. But the strength of Spain, so imposing in outward appearance, so exhausted in reality, was now put forth only in isolated and convulsive efforts, followed by long intervals of prostrate inanition. The conquest of Breda reduced the spirit and resources of the Spanish army, as the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom had done, to so low an ebb that it was forced to act entirely on the defensive; and the summer of the next year passed without any event worthy of remark. Taking advantage of the continued inactivity of the enemy, the prince of Orange commenced the siege of Groenlo with one hundred companies of infantry, fifty-five of cavalry, and ninety pieces of artillery. The capture of this strong town, within the space of a month, and in sight of a hostile army which made strenuous attempts to relieve it, added greatly to the reputation of Frederick Henry, more especially as his brother had in the year 1606 failed in a similar enterprise, under far more favourable circumstances.

PIETER PIETERSEN HEIJN, LIEUTENANT-ADMIRAL OF HOLLAND (1578–1629)

But it was on sea that the Dutch constantly gained such advantages as brought at once ruin and dishonour on their enemies. The West India Company, having equipped a fleet of twenty-four vessels, placed them under the command of one Pieter Pietersen Heijn, or "Piet Heijn" of Delfshaven — a man who, by his courage and ability, had raised himself from a low station to the rank of admiral, and had signalised himself, as well by the share he had taken in the conquest of San Salvador as by the destruction of twenty-six Spanish vessels in the last year. He now (1628) received orders to sail towards America, for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish fleet, commonly called the "silver fleet," on its return from thence laden with specie. On his arrival off the island of Havana, he received intelligence that

the fleet was close at hand and could not escape him; and, in effect, early on the following morning, he fell in with ten ships, which he captured in a few hours. About mid-day eight or nine more galleons were perceived at three leagues' distance, of which the Dutch immediately went in chase under press of sail.

Heijn brought the whole of his booty, except two of the captured vessels, safely into the ports of Holland. It was estimated at 12,000,000 florins, a portion of it being 138,600 lbs-weight of pure silver. On his return the office of lieutenant-admiral, vacant by the death of William of Nassau, who was killed before Groenlo, was in a manner forced upon him, in spite of his modest refusal of a dignity unbefitting, he said, his mean birth and unpolished manners. To acquit himself honourably of his charge, he resolved to undertake the extirpation of the pirates of Dunkirk.

On the 17th of June, 1629, he espied three privateers, to which he gave chase, and coming up with his single ship, which had left the others far behind, he placed himself between two of the enemy's vessels, and fired a broadside into both at the same time. The third discharge of the privateer's guns stretched him dead upon the deck; but his crew, becoming furious at the spectacle, attacked with such vigour that they soon captured both vessels, putting every man on board to death, in obedience to the barbarous custom enjoined by the states. The body of Heijn was interred near that of William, prince of Orange, at Delft, and a monument of white marble erected to his memory.*d*[1]

The year 1629 brought three formidable armies at once to the frontiers of the republic, and caused a general dismay all through the United Provinces: but the immense treasures taken from the Spaniards enabled them to make preparations suitable to the danger; and Frederick Henry, supported by his cousin William of Nassau, his natural brother Justin, and other brave and experienced officers, defeated every effort of the enemy. He took many towns in rapid succession; and finally forced the Spaniards to abandon all notion of invading the territories of the republic. Deprived of the powerful talents of Spinola, who was called to command the Spanish troops in Italy, the armies of the archduchess, under the count of Berg, were not able to cope with the genius of the prince of Orange. The consequence was the renewal of negotiations for a second truce. But these were received on the part of the republic with a burst of opposition. All parties seemed decided on that point; and every interest, however opposed on minor questions, combined to give a positive negative on this.

The gratitude of the country for the services of Frederick Henry induced the provinces of which he was stadholder to grant the reversion in this title to his son, a child three years old; and this dignity had every chance of becoming as absolute as it was now pronounced almost hereditary, by the means of an army of 120,000 men devoted to their chief. However, few military occurrences took place, the sea being still chosen as the element best suited to the present enterprises of the republic. In the widely-distant settlements of Brazil and Batavia the Dutch were equally successful; and the East and West India companies acquired eminent power and increasing solidity.

The year 1631 was signalised by an expedition into Flanders consisting

[1] According to Cerisier,*c* the states having upon the occasion of his death sent a message of condolence to his mother, an honest peasant who, notwithstanding the elevation of her son, had been content to remain in her original station, she replied: "Ay, I thought what would be the end of him. He was always a vagabond; but I did my best to correct him. He has got no more than he deserved."

of 18,000 men, intended against Dunkirk, but hastily abandoned, in spite of every probability of success, by the commissioners of the states-general, who accompanied the army and thwarted all the ardour and vigour of the prince of Orange. But another great naval victory in the narrow seas of Zealand recompensed the disappointments of this inglorious affair.

ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE: BELGIAN EFFORTS FOR FREEDOM (1633)

The splendid victories of Gustavus Adolphus against the imperial arms in Germany changed the whole face of European affairs. Protestantism began once more to raise its head; and the important conquests by Frederick Henry of almost all the strong places on the Maas, including Maestricht, the strongest of all, gave the United Provinces their ample share in the glories of the war. The death of the archduchess Isabella, which took place at Brussels in the year 1633, added considerably to the difficulties of Spain in the Belgian provinces.

The defection of the count of Berg, the chief general of their armies, who was actuated by resentment on the appointment of the marquis of Sainte-Croix over his head, threw everything into confusion, in exposing a widespread confederacy among the nobility of these provinces to erect themselves into an independent republic, strengthened by a perpetual alliance with the United Provinces against the power of Spain. But the plot failed, chiefly, it is said, by the imprudence of the king of England, who let the secret slip, from some motives vaguely hinted at, but never sufficiently explained. After the death of Isabella, the prince of Brabançon was arrested. The prince of Epinoi and the duke of Burnonville made their escape; and the duke of Aerschot, who was arrested in Spain, was soon liberated, in consideration of some discoveries into the nature of the plot. An armistice, published in 1634, threw this whole affair into complete oblivion.

The king of Spain appointed his brother Ferdinand, a cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, to the dignity of governor-general of the Netherlands. He repaired to Germany at the head of seventeen thousand men, and bore his share in the victory of Nordlingen; after which he hastened to the Netherlands, and made his entry into Brussels in 1634. Richelieu had hitherto only combated the house of Austria in these countries by negotiation and intrigue; but he now entered warmly into the proposals made by Holland, for a treaty offensive and defensive between Louis XIII and the republic. By a treaty soon after concluded (February 8th, 1635), the king of France engaged to invade the Belgian provinces with an army of thirty thousand men, in concert with a Dutch force of equal number. It was agreed that, if Belgium would consent to break from the Spanish yoke, it was to be erected into a free state; if, on the contrary, it would not co-operate for its own freedom, France and Holland were to dismember and to divide it equally.

The plan of these combined measures was soon acted on. The French army took the field under the command of the marshals De Châtillon and De Brézé; and defeated the Spaniards in a bloody battle, near Avein, in the province of Luxemburg, on the 20th of May, 1635, with the loss of four thousand men. The victors soon made a junction with the prince of Orange; and the towns of Tirlemont, St. Trond, and some others, were quickly reduced. The former of these places was taken by assault, and pillaged with circumstances of cruelty that recall the horrors of the early transactions of the war. The prince of Orange was forced to punish severely the authors of these offences. The consequences of this event were highly injurious to the allies.

A spirit of fierce resistance was excited throughout the invaded provinces. Louvain set the first example. The citizens and students took arms for its defence; and the combined forces of France and Holland were repulsed, and forced by want of supplies to abandon the siege and rapidly retreat. The prince-cardinal, as Ferdinand was called, took advantage of this reverse to press the retiring French; recovered several towns; and gained all the advantages as well as glory of the campaign. The remains of the French army, reduced by continual combats, and still more by sickness, finally embarked at Rotterdam to return to France in the ensuing spring, a sad contrast to its brilliant appearance at the commencement of the campaign.

The military events for several ensuing years present nothing of sufficient interest to induce us to record them in detail. A perpetual succession of sieges and skirmishes afford a monotonous picture of isolated courage and skill; but we see none of those great conflicts which bring out the genius of opposing generals, and show war in its grand results, as the decisive means of enslaving or emancipating mankind. The prince-cardinal, one of the many who on this bloody theatre displayed consummate military talents, incessantly employed himself in incursions into the bordering provinces of France, ravaged Picardy, and filled Paris with fear and trembling. He, however, reaped no new laurels when he came into contact with Frederick Henry, who on almost every occasion, particularly that of the siege of Breda in 1637, carried his object in spite of all opposition. The triumphs of war were balanced; but Spain and the Belgian provinces, so long upheld by the talent of the governor-general, were gradually become exhausted. The revolution in Portugal and the succession of the duke of Braganza, under the title of John IV, to the throne of his ancestors, struck a fatal blow to the power of Spain. A strict alliance was concluded between the new monarch of France and Holland; and hostilities against the common enemy were on all sides vigorously continued.[b]

It was in this year that the singular mania, "tulipo-mania" as it was afterwards termed, the offspring of wealth and luxury, became prevalent among the Dutch, especially in the province of Holland. The price of tulips suddenly rose to an incredible height, the most esteemed varying from 2,600 guilders to 150 for a single root. Large fortunes were acquired by speculations on this article, which, in Amsterdam alone, involved, it is said, no less a sum than 10,000,000 guilders. Persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages neglected their ordinary avocations to amuse themselves with this novel species of gambling; but as those who purchased were often of slender means and unable to fulfil their engagements, the speculation became so unsafe that men lost their confidence in it, and in course of time it died away of itself. The Hollanders, though still retaining their passion for tulips, have since been able to restrain it within more reasonable bounds. However we may condemn this idle traffic, and however well deserved the ridicule it has incurred, it is still gratifying to reflect in what a state of ease and prosperity, how free from care and light-hearted a people must be, who could find opportunity and inclination to devote their attention to such agreeable trifles.[d]

The successes of the republic at sea and in their distant enterprises were continual, and in some instances brilliant. Brazil was gradually falling into the power of the West India Company. The East India possessions were secure. The great victory of Tromp,[1] known by the name of the battle

[1 He had been made vice-admiral in place of Van Dorp who had in 1637 not only allowed a Spanish fleet carrying four million florins, to escape him, but had allowed the Dunkirk pirates to capture certain Dutch ships.]

of the Downs, from being fought off the coast of England, on the 21st of October, 1639, raised the naval reputation of Holland as high as it could well be carried. Fifty ships taken, burned, and sunk were the proofs of their admiral's triumph; and the Spanish navy never recovered the loss. The victory was celebrated throughout Europe, and Tromp was the hero of the day. The king of England was, however, highly indignant at the hardihood with which the Dutch admiral broke through the etiquette of territorial respect, and destroyed his country's bitter foes under the very sanction of English neutrality. But the subjects of Charles I did not partake their monarch's feelings. They had no sympathy with arbitrary and tyrannic government; and their joy at the misfortune of their old enemies the Spaniards gave a fair warning of the spirit which afterwards proved so fatal to the infatuated king, who on this occasion would have protected and aided them.

MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

In an unsuccessful enterprise in Flanders, in 1640, Count Henry Kasimir of Nassau was mortally wounded, adding another to the list of those of that illustrious family whose lives were lost in the service of their country. His brother, Count William Frederick, succeeded him in his office of stadholder of Friesland; but the same dignity in the provinces of Groningen and Drent devolved on the prince of Orange. The latter had conceived the desire of a royal alliance for his son William. Charles I readily assented to the proposal of the states-general that this young prince should receive the hand of his daughter Mary. Embassies were exchanged; the conditions of the contract agreed on. The marriage took place at Whitehall, May 1st, 1641; Tromp, with an escort of twenty ships, conducted the princess, then twelve years old, to the country of her future husband. The republic did not view with an eye quite favourable this advancing aggrandisement of the house of Orange. Frederick Henry had shortly before been dignified by the king of France, at the suggestion of Richelieu, with the title of "highness," instead of the inferior one of "excellency"; and the states-general, jealous of this distinction granted to their chief magistrate, adopted for themselves the sounding appellation of "high and mighty lords." The prince of Orange, whatever might have been his private views of ambition, had, however, the prudence to silence all suspicion, by the mild and moderate use which he made of the power which he might perhaps have wished to increase but never attempted to abuse.

On the 9th of November, 1641, the prince-cardinal Ferdinand died at Brussels in his thirty-third year; Don Francisco de Mello, a nobleman of highly reputed talents, was the next who obtained this onerous situation. He commenced his governorship by a succession of military operations, and after taking some towns, and defeating the marshal De Guiche in the battle of Honnecourt tarnished all his fame by the great faults which he committed in the famous battle of Rocroi. The duke d'Enghien, then twenty-one years of age, and subsequently so celebrated as the great Condé, completely defeated De Mello, and nearly annihilated the Spanish and Walloon infantry. The military operations of the Dutch army were this year remarkable only by the gallant conduct of Prince William, son of the prince of Orange, who, not yet seventeen years of age, defeated near Hulst, in 1642, under the eyes of his father, a Spanish detachment in a very warm skirmish.

Considerable changes were now insensibly operating in the policy of

Europe. Cardinal Richelieu had finished his dazzling but tempestuous career of government, in which the hand of death arrested him on the 4th of December, 1642. Louis XIII soon followed to the grave him who was rather his master than his minister. Anne of Austria was declared regent during the minority of her son, Louis XIV, then only five years of age: and Cardinal Mazarin succeeded to the station from which death alone had power to remove his predecessor.

The civil wars in England now broke out, and their terrible results seemed to promise to the republic the undisturbed sovereignty of the seas. The prince of Orange received with great distinction the mother-in-law of his son, when she came to Holland under pretext of conducting her daughter: but her principal purpose was to obtain, by the sale of the crown jewels and the assistance of Frederick Henry, funds for the supply of her unfortunate husband's cause. The prince and several private individuals contributed largely in money; and several experienced officers passed over to serve in the royalist army of England. The provincial states of Holland, however, sympathising wholly with the parliament, remonstrated with the stadholder; and the Dutch colonists encouraged the hostile efforts of their brethren, the Puritans of Scotland, by all the absurd exhortations of fanatic zeal. The province of Holland, and some others, leaned towards the parliament; the prince of Orange favoured the king; and the states-general endeavoured to maintain a neutrality.

The struggle was still furiously maintained in Germany. Everything tended to make peace necessary to some of the contending powers, as it was at length desirable for all. Among other strong motives to that line of conduct, the finances of Holland were in a state perfectly deplorable. Every year brought the necessity of a new loan; and the public debt of the provinces now amounted to 150,000,000 florins, bearing interest at 6¼ per cent. Considerable alarm was excited at the progress of the French army in the Belgian provinces; and escape from the tyranny of Spain seemed only to lead to the danger of submission to a nation too powerful and too close at hand not to be dangerous, either as a foe or an ally. These fears were increased by the knowledge that Cardinal Mazarin projected a marriage between Louis XIV and the infanta of Spain, with the Belgian provinces, or Spanish Netherlands as they were now called, for her marriage portion. This project was confided to the prince of Orange, under the seal of secrecy, and he was offered the marquisate of Antwerp as the price of his influence towards effecting the plan. The prince revealed the whole to the states-general. Great fermentation was excited: the stadholder himself was blamed, and suspected of complicity with the designs of the cardinal. Frederick Henry was deeply hurt at this want of confidence, and the injurious publications which openly assailed his honour in a point where he felt himself entitled to praise instead of suspicion.

DEATH OF FREDERICK HENRY; ACCESSION OF WILLIAM II

The French laboured to remove the impression which this affair excited in the republic: but the states-general felt themselves justified by the intriguing policy of Mazarin in entering into a secret negotiation with the king of Spain, who offered very favourable conditions. The negotiations were considerably advanced by the marked disposition evinced by the prince of Orange to hasten the establishment of peace. Yet, at this very period, and while anxiously wishing this great object, he could not resist the desire for another

campaign; one more exploit, to signalise the epoch at which he finally placed his sword in the scabbard. Frederick Henry was essentially a soldier, with all the spirit of his race; and this evidence of the ruling passion, while he touched the verge of the grave, is one of the most striking points of his character. He accordingly took the field; but, with a constitution broken by a lingering disease, he was little fitted to accomplish any feat worthy of his splendid reputation. He failed in an attempt on Venlo, and another on Antwerp, and retired to the Hague, where for some months he rapidly declined.

On the 14th of March, 1647, he expired, in his sixty-third year; leaving behind him a character of unblemished integrity, prudence, toleration, and valour. He was not of that impetuous stamp which leads men to heroic deeds, and brings danger to the states whose liberty is compromised by their ambition. He was a striking contrast to his brother Maurice, and more resembled his father in many of those calmer qualities of the mind, which make men more beloved without lessening their claims to admiration. Frederick Henry had the honour of completing the glorious task which William began and Maurice followed up. He saw the oppression they had combated now humbled and overthrown; and he forms the third in a sequence of family renown, the most surprising and the least chequered afforded by the annals of Europe.[1]

FREDERICK HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE

William II succeeded his father in his dignities; and his ardent spirit longed to rival him in war. He turned his endeavours to thwart all the efforts for peace. But the interests of the nation and the dying wishes of Frederick Henry were of too powerful influence with the states to be overcome by the martial yearnings of an inexperienced youth.

TREATIES OF MÜNSTER AND WESTPHALIA

The negotiations were pressed forward; and, despite the complaints, the murmurs, and the intrigues of France, the treaty of Münster was finally signed by the respective ambassadors of the United Provinces and Spain, on the 30th of January, 1648. This celebrated treaty contains seventy-nine

[1 His veneration for his father, whom he resembled in many points of his character, amounted almost to idolatry, a sentiment which he evinced by his adoption of the motto *Patriaque, patrique*, signifying that his life was devoted to his country, and to vengeance for the murder of his father. Without brilliancy of genius, or extraordinary power of mind, his clear good sense and sound judgment combined with his moderation and integrity to render him one of the best and most esteemed stadholders the provinces ever possessed. By virtue of the Act of Reversion, passed in 1631, his offices devolved immediately on his son William; but the states of Holland and Zealand, desiring to convince the young prince that the stadholdership was their free gift, and not a right he was entitled to claim, allowed the delay of a year to intervene before they confirmed him in the office. — DAVIES.[d]]

articles. Three points were of main and vital importance to the republic: the first acknowledges an ample and entire recognition of the sovereignty of the states-general, and a renunciation forever of all claims on the part of Spain; the second confirms the rights of trade and navigation in the East and West Indies, with the possession of the various countries and stations then actually occupied by the contracting powers; the third guarantees a like possession of all the provinces and towns of the Netherlands, as they then stood in their respective occupation — a clause highly favourable to

THE CHARLATAN: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STREET SCENE
(From a painting by Franz von Mieris)

the republic, which had conquered several considerable places in Brabant and Flanders.

The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Münster with great solemnity on the 15th of May following the signature; the peace was published in that town and in Osnabrück on the 19th, and in all the different states of the king of Spain and the United Provinces as soon as the joyous intelligence could reach such various and widely separated destinations. Thus, after eighty years of unparalleled warfare, only interrupted by the truce of 1609, during which hostilities had not ceased in the Indies, the new republic rose from the horrors of civil war and foreign tyranny to its unconcontested rank as a free and independent state among the most powerful nations of Europe. No country had ever done more for glory; and the result of its efforts was the irrevocable guarantee of civil and religious liberty, the great aim and end of civilisation.

The internal tranquillity of the republic was secured from all future alarm by the conclusion of the general Peace of Westphalia, definitely signed the 24th of October, 1648. This treaty was long considered not only as the fundamental law of the empire, but as the basis of the political system of Europe. As numbers of conflicting interests were reconciled, Germanic liberty secured, and a just equilibrium established between the Catholics and Protestants, France and Sweden obtained great advantages; and the various princes of the empire saw their possessions regulated and secured, at the same time that the powers of the emperor were strictly defined.[b]

DAVIES' REVIEW OF THE WAR AND THE DUTCH CHARACTER

Thus ended this long and remarkable war, having continued for a period of sixty-eight years, exclusive of the twelve years' truce — a war which, unexampled in the history of nations, had brought commerce, wealth, civilisation, learning, and the arts in its train; and which well deserved its high exemption from the common lot of humanity, because of the nobleness, the purity, and the elevation of the motives from whence it originated; a war which had its foundation in justice, and its termination in glory.[1] Often, in the annals of other nations, examples of bold and successful struggles for liberty against the oppressor and invader have roused the sympathy and inspired the pen of the historian: Athens has had her Marathon, Sparta her Thermopylæ, Switzerland her Morgarten, and Spain her Saragossa; but it was left for Holland alone to present the spectacle of the continuance of such a struggle, against power, wealth, discipline, numbers — in defiance, it seemed, of fate itself for a long series of years: with resolution unwavering, with courage undaunted, with patience unwearied; rejecting, proudly and repeatedly, the solicitations for peace proffered by their mighty foe, and yielding to them at last only when she had, as it were, the destiny of that foe in her hands.

The results of this war, as wonderful as were its commencement and progress, are to be attributed chiefly to the moral qualities of the Dutch; to their maritime power; to the constitution of their government anterior to the revolt; their geographical position; and the rapid increase of their population by the influx of foreigners of all nations. Among the moral qualities which distinguished the Dutch of this period, the most remarkable was honesty — a homely virtue, but none the less real, none the less efficacious in the circumstances in which they were placed. Of the advantage it proved to them in their pecuniary relations with other states, their history affords

[1 Grotius,[e] indeed, adduces as the sole motive of the war the reluctance of the Dutch to pay the tenth demanded by Alva, but in this instance he does his countrymen a cruel injustice. It was not the mere payment of the tax, but the mode of its levy (without consent of the states), and the fear of its perpetuity, which drove the Hollanders to revolt, as after events most fully proved; and he himself makes the observation, a few pages lower down, "*Omnia dabant, ne decimam darent*" ["they gave all, rather than give a tenth"]; it was because they knew that their forefathers had been accustomed to arrest the arbitrary measures of their sovereigns chiefly by withholding the supplies; because they knew that, if deprived of this power, their only means of redress, except by arms, was gone, and those privileges which they might expect to recover when the government became needy or impoverished would then be lost forever; because they must then afford their tyrant a constant supply of strength to oppress them; in the words of their historian, Bor,[f] "everyone feared an eternal slavery."]

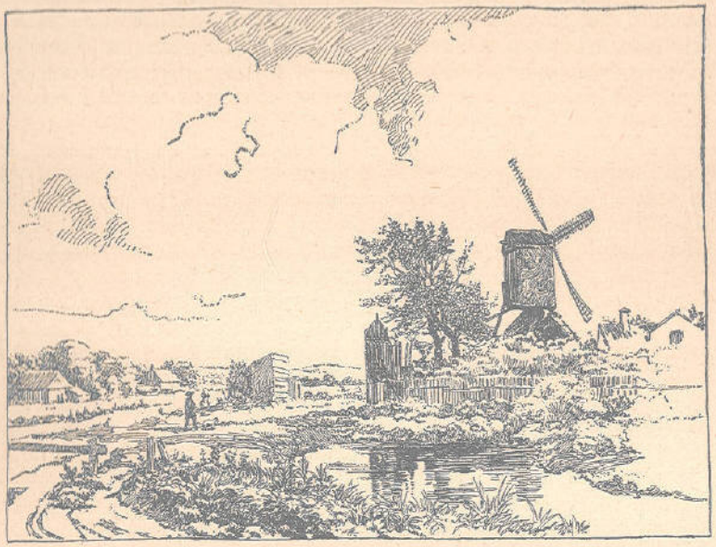
sufficient evidence. At the time when their affairs were most desperate, none ever doubted their national credit; the parsimonious queen of England, the cautious William of Orange, the mistrustful German princes, never hesitated for a moment to advance them loans, or to trust to their honour for the payment of the troops which served under their standards. Carried into their commercial transactions, this probity won them the confidence of the merchants of foreign countries, and caused them to become in course of time the providers and cashiers of nearly the whole civilised world. Pervading their political counsels, it produced a spirit of mutual confidence which bound together all ranks of men in an indissoluble tie. The government, acting in perfect good faith itself, never suspected the fidelity of the people, nor descended to the mean arts of rousing their passions by fictions or misrepresentations; they never deceived them as to their relations with foreign powers, as to the exact condition of their strength and resources, or as to the true nature of the contest in which they were engaged; and the people on their part awarded to the government entire reliance and obedience. Thus a state, formed of the most heterogeneous parts, was united by the strong bond of mutual fidelity into a firm and compact whole, which defied alike the assaults of force from without and the undermining of intrigue from within.

From the effects of this virtue of integrity sprang another, which characterised the Dutch no less strongly — that of firmness. Never led astray by false rumours or false opinions, they contemplated calmly and clearly the object they had in view — security of person and property, and freedom of religion — and employed with undeviating steadiness of purpose the means they conceived calculated to attain it; they desired no more, they would be satisfied with no less; the most flattering promises, the most advantageous offers of peace, which did not realise that object to the full extent, never caused them to waver for a moment; they were exempt from that reckless spirit of innovation, that prurient desire of change, usually remarkable in the actors in great revolutions. The goal which they had determined to reach, therefore, did not change its position from day to day, as whim, ambition, or circumstances dictated; in their deepest reverses, at their highest elevation of prosperity, it was still the same; they pursued their path towards it with slow and measured steps; and when at last they attained it, they suffered no disappointment, they experienced no reaction; they did not, as it too often happens, in the bitterness of a deceived hope, rush back to a condition worse than that they had left; but were content to find what they had sought — freedom and security; and riches, glory, and honour were added to them.

Not the least among the moral causes which led to the national aggrandisement of the Dutch may be found in the singular absence of selfishness and personal vanity observable in all ranks of men. In the great events which occurred during the revolt and subsequent war, and which might easily be supposed to call forth stirring and ambitious spirits, each man performed his part quietly and unostentatiously, without aiming to draw on himself public attention, or to place himself in a prominent light. In other cases it often appears as if the revolution were made for the man; in this, the man was made for the revolution: his individuality was lost, if we may so express it, in his nationality; the Dutchman was less a man than a Dutchman, less a Dutchman than a Hollander or Zealander; himself and his country were identified — her glory was his glory, her wealth his wealth, her greatness his greatness. This sentiment it was which rendered the Dutch so universally

incorruptible that neither during the war nor the truce, though offers and promises were never spared by Spain, do we find a single instance of a traitor of that nation bought with gold.

The reputation of their military officers was little displayed, since the stadholders, as captains-general, being constantly in the field, the credit of all the successes obtained redounded to them; but very rarely do we find their movements embarrassed, or their plans disordered, by want of capacity or promptitude in their inferiors: and the results of their operations bear



DUTCH LANDSCAPE
(From the painting by Ruysdael, 1630)

testimony that they must have been as ably carried out as skilfully combined. Their naval commanders, as their sphere of action was more extensive and independent, so their genius and ability shone out with a more marked and brilliant lustre; Heemskerk, Warmont, Heijn, Matelief, Coen, and Spilbergen are names of which any people may justly be proud. Nor was it only in profound and practical knowledge of matters relating to their profession that these great captains excelled; the admirable treaties made with the native sovereigns of India, and the advantageous terms they obtained for their merchants and factors in foreign countries, proved them no less skilled in the mysteries of political science, and the delicate and intricate subject of the commercial interests of their nation. The merchants also of Holland were as remarkable for enterprise and judgment as for integrity in the management of their commerce; nor less so for the dexterity with which they secured a footing in foreign countries, and the confidence and prudence with which, often in spite of very adverse circumstances, they contrived to retain it.

But though probity, firmness, courage, patriotism, and wisdom might have given the Dutch strength to prolong the contest, and to obtain at the end favourable terms of peace, these qualities might yet scarcely have sufficed to render them independent and powerful, had they not been favoured by

some considerable incidental advantages. Among such may be reckoned, as one of the principal, the excellence of their navy. We have shown that, at the reign of Philip III (II of Spain) the fleets of the Netherlands were able to cope with, if they did not surpass, those of any of the great powers of Europe. These fleets consisted for the most part of armed merchant ships, and of vessels of war belonging, not to the central government but to the municipal governments of the towns by which they were equipped. The breaking out of hostilities, therefore, found the Dutch prepared with a maritime force sufficient to keep the seas against the enemy. The ships merely, which were banished from the ports of England in 1572, were twenty-four in number, at that time a considerable armament; and, in the next year, the fleet of the towns of North Holland was sufficiently powerful to obtain a signal victory over that of Alva, which gave them the possession of the Zuyder Zee.

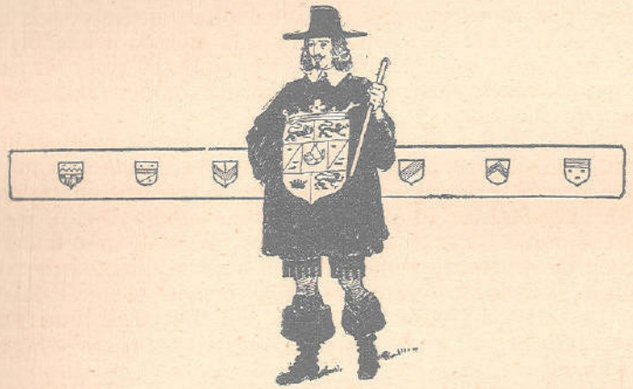
From the very early period of the war, indeed, when they were to all appearance a mere feeble band of insurgents, they were rarely worsted by the enemy in any naval encounter; and the mastery of the seas which they thus retained enabled them at all times to supply themselves with ammunition, corn, and other provisions, and to transport in safety the subsidies in money and troops afforded them by England; to prevent the conveyance of the armies from Spain by water, forcing them to undergo the tedious and difficult journey overland at an immense waste of men and money; and to hinder the passage of supplies and oblige the enemy to have recourse to themselves, drawing by this means the greater portion of the sums applied to the maintenance of the troops into their own hands. While thus benefiting by the streams that flowed from the treasury of their enemy, they were often able to drain it at its very source, by the capture of the vessels laden with the specie on which her sole dependence was placed; while the provinces themselves, trading in comparative security, collected from all parts of the world the wealth which enabled them to sustain burdens apparently so disproportioned to their strength.

The municipal system of government, which for so many centuries prevailed in the United Provinces, has been remarked upon as tending to disunion, since, attaching its subjects principally to their own town or province, it caused them sometimes to overlook, in their anxiety for its interest, the interest of the whole. But in circumstances where all were bound together by one strong tie, where the same powerful impulse directed the movements of all in unison, it went far towards rendering them invincible. The oppressor found that he had the Hydra to subdue, and that each head was imbued with the strength of the whole body. Every city was, as it were, a fresh nation to conquer.

As another cause of the rapid increase of Holland has justly been adduced, the influx of multitudes of refugees of different nations who sought shelter within her boundaries. Fugitives from the Spanish Netherlands, from Spain itself, Protestants driven from Germany by the miseries of the Thirty Years' War, Jews from Portugal, and Huguenots from France, found here welcome, safety, and employment. Nor was it more in the numbers than in the sort of population she thus gained, that Holland found her advantage. The fugitives were not criminals escaped from justice, speculators lured by the hope of plunder, nor idlers coming thither to enjoy the luxuries which their own country did not afford; they were generally men persecuted on account of their love of civil liberty, or their devotion to their religious tenets; had they been content to sacrifice the one or the other to their present ease and interest

they had remained unmolested where they were; it was by their activity, integrity, and resolution that they rendered themselves obnoxious to the tyrannical and bigoted governments which drove them from their native land; and these virtues they carried with them to their adopted country, peopling it not with vagabonds or indolent voluptuaries, but with brave, intelligent, and useful citizens. Thus, not only was the waste in the population of the provinces consequent on the war rapidly supplied, but by means of the industry and skill of the new-comers their manufactures were carried to so high a pitch of perfection that, in a short time, they were able to surpass and undersell the traders of every other nation.[d]

To Thorold Rogers,[g] the victory of the Dutch means even more than this material prosperity suggests. "I hold," he says, "that the revolt of the Netherlands and the success of Holland is the beginning of modern political science and of modern civilisation. To the true lover of liberty, Holland is the Holy Land of modern Europe, and should be held sacred." These are enthusiastic words, yet perhaps not more enthusiastic than the subject warrants.[a]



CHAPTER XIII

SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART IN THE NETHERLANDS

NEVER, if we except the ancient Greeks, has a people restricted to so small a territory accomplished such great things in a century and a half, or given the world such illustrious examples as the Dutch. From the oldest times the struggle with the sea had strengthened the character of the peoples from the delta of the Rhine to beyond Friesland. But now, calling on the eternal rights of man, they had declared themselves free. As wise as they were brave and enduring, they took advantage of every circumstance in European politics which could be turned to their profit. The new common-wealth which they founded suggested new ideas to the statesmen and philos-ophers of Europe. They became the creators of a colonial system which we cannot, however, place on a par with that of the Hellenes, for it was founded solely on egoism.

The Dutch did not, like the Greeks from Cyrene, Massilia, and numerous other seaport towns, spread a beautiful and lofty civilisation from the sea inland. And yet the extended sea authority called all forces into the field, even the scientific; geography, cartography, astronomy reached a height undreamed of. The cities grew so rapidly that the Russian ambassadors who appeared in Holland in 1615 described the country even then as one continuous city. The little land could not shine by natural production: the natives, to be sure, boast that certain branches, as horticulture and the production of art works, brought large sums into the country; but it was chiefly through its industries and through its colonial organisation that Holland, even after England had begun to be a formidable rival, remained a model state until well into the eighteenth century. Even the high taxes were held to be only a sign of prosperity. The popular spirit found expression not only in festivals but also more worthily in state buildings and public institutions. In Holland, the democratic idea, which had already been proclaimed in single imperial cities and in the Hanse towns, was kept alive at just the time that the latter declined; Holland became in the north the home of the modern system of institution for the common good. The council house at Amsterdam (used as a palace by Louis Bonaparte in 1808) was

called the eighth wonder of the world; institutions for the insane and prisons arose, in which care was taken for the improvement of the inmates.

Especially creditable, and also advantageous for the states-general, was their attitude towards intellectual culture and the sciences. Like every art, so also learning and ideas of liberty in their origins were closely associated with religion. Discussions concerning subtle doctrines of faith took place in Holland at the family table and in the taverns. A translation of the Bible was undertaken by Philip van Marnix, lord of Sainte-Aldegonde; but not until 1637, at the instigation of the synod of Dort (Dordrecht), did the so-called state Bible gain official rec-ognition.

In the year in which the Peace of Westphalia was concluded (1648) Holland received its fifth university, Harderwijk; the other four were Ley-den, Franeker, Utrecht, and Gron-ingen. In addition the *Athenæum illus-tré*, founded at Amsterdam in 1632, had almost the rank of a university. Ley-den always held the first place, as well in mathematics, jurisprudence, and medicine as especially in philology. Holland became the chief seat of poly-history — a new kind of learning which may be regarded as the successor of Italian humanism.

GERARDUS JOHANNES VOSSIUS (1577–1649)
(The typical Dutch polyhistor, known also as "the per-fect grammarian")

The scholars of Leyden and of other places did indeed start out in their investigation of classic authors from textual correction and from a linguistic standpoint, but they sought, above all, the realities; they tried to explain the real nature of the so-called antiquities and heaped up an enormous amount of erudition for that purpose.

SPINOZA

Holland in its great century attained the highest reputation among posterity for the freedom and protection it afforded to thought. It was here that Descartes[1] and Locke developed their systems. In no other country of Europe could the great thinker Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza have shown to an after world the spectacle of an independent scholar who, bound by no religious obligations, lived for truth alone.

Spinoza, born at Amsterdam in 1632, was descended from an immigrant Portuguese Jew. He received a rabbinical education and studied ancient languages with a Dutch physician, Van den Ende. But his abandonment of their idea of God could not long remain hidden to the Jews; the formula of the Jewish ban (*cherem*) was pronounced against him, and he even received a knife wound in front of the synagogue. After that time he kept wholly aloof from the Jewish community, without formally assuming any Chris-tian tie. He was, however, in close connection with the Arminians and

[1 The celebrated French philosopher spent the last twenty years of his life, from 1629–1649, in Holland, and did all his important work there. John Locke spent the years 1683–1689 in voluntary exile in Holland and there wrote his "Essay concerning Human Understanding."]

occasionally urged others to attend their preaching services. He earned his living by grinding lenses, and refused a call to Heidelberg to avoid giving offence to any man. One of his most important works, the *Ethics* was not published until after his death.

The wonderful calm of his style of writing, where everything is proved mathematically, has from the first not failed to make a deep impression upon simple readers. Since Spinoza recognises only one Being, a single, unlimited, self-existing substance, in which all individual existence with its opposites is included; since this substance takes the place of God with him, there is lacking in his conception of divinity the personality which seems indispensable to most people and the likeness to man which is indispensable to mythology. Since, moreover, this universal existence moves in time and space according to immutable laws, there is no place for the freedom of will.

BARUCH SPINOZA (1632–1677)

Spinoza's conception of good and evil likewise did not fit into any current moral system. If we further take into consideration that in his states, doctrine the connection of right and might could easily be misinterpreted into an abolition of all moral obligation, we see that there were elements enough to make his whole philosophy appear objectionable for long years to come. Thus the stigma of atheism remained attached to him, whereas in reality the last axioms of his philosophy teach that the highest cognition is the knowledge of God; from this springs the highest intellectual bliss, the inward repose which comes from reflecting upon the necessity of all things; the release from the fruitless struggle with the finality of our being. The highest spiritual virtue according to him is love to God; who really loves God does not expect God to love him in return; his reward consists in the blessedness of that higher cognition.

Among the foreigners who from Holland attacked antiquated doctrines and aroused a spirit of doubt and criticism, Pierre Bayle was unquestionably the one who exercised the most direct and active influence, especially through the tireless energy by means of which he was able to create new forms of expression. In Bayle the spirit of investigation and contradiction was ever active. In the seventeenth century he was known pre-eminently as the doubter, somewhat like Hume in the eighteenth.

In the Spanish Netherlands, which remained monarchistic and Catholic, intellectual activity retreated wholly into the background during the seventeenth century. The rhetorical chambers had already been suppressed under Philip II; the sciences also could not flourish under the absolute dominion and the clerical servitude. Philip's daughter Isabella and her husband Duke Albert had patronised literature to a certain extent and had attended lectures by the celebrated philologian Lipsius. During the newly beginning seventeenth century there is no literary activity of a national character to be recorded, in the country now called Belgium; only a few Jesuits like Haschins distinguished themselves as Latin poets.[b] In Holland, however, there had been a splendid efflorescence.

GOLDEN AGE OF DUTCH LITERATURE

The first writer who used the Dutch tongue with grace and precision of style was a woman and a professed opponent of Lutheranism and reformed thought. Modern Dutch literature practically begins with Anna Bijns. Against the crowd of rhetoricians and psalm-makers of the early part of the sixteenth century, she stands out in relief as the one poet of real genius. The language, oscillating before her time between French and German, formless, corrupt, and invertebrate, took shape and comeliness, which none of the male pedants could give it, from the impassioned hands of a woman. Anna Bijns, who is believed to have been born at Antwerp in 1494, was a schoolmistress at that city in her middle life and in old age she still "instructed youth in the Catholic religion." She was named "the Sappho of Brabant" and the "princess of all rhetoricians." She bent the powerful weapon of her verse against the faith and character of Luther. In Dirk Volckersten Coornhert (1522–1590) Holland for the first time produced a writer at once eager to compose in his native tongue and to employ the weapons of humanism.

Towards the end of the period of transition, Amsterdam became the centre of all literary enterprise in Holland. In 1585 two of the most important chambers of rhetoric in Flanders, the "White Lavender" and the "Fig-Tree," took flight from the south, and settled themselves in Amsterdam by the side of the "Eglantine." The last-named institution had already observed the new tendency of the age, and was prepared to encourage intellectual reform of every kind, and its influence spread through Holland and Zealand. In Flanders, meanwhile, crushed under the yoke of Parma, literature and native thought absolutely expired.

In the chamber of the Eglantine at Amsterdam two men took a very prominent place, more by their intelligence and modern spirit than by their original genius. Hendrick Laurenssen Spieghel (1549–1612) was a humanist of a type more advanced and less polemical than Coornhert.

Roemer Pieterssen Visscher (1545–1620) proceeded a step further than Spieghel in the cultivation of polite letters. He was deeply tinged with a spirit of classical learning that was much more genuine and nearer to the true antique than any that had previously been known in Holland. His own disciples called him the Dutch Martial, but he was at best little more than an amateur in poetry, although an amateur whose function it was to perceive and encourage the genius of professional writers.

The Visscher Family

Roemer Visscher stands at the threshold of the new Renaissance literature, himself practising the faded arts of the rhetoricians, but pointing by his counsel and his conversation to the naturalism of the great period. It was in the salon at Amsterdam which the beautiful daughters of Roemer Visscher formed around their father and themselves that the new school began to take form. The republic of the United Provinces, with Amsterdam at its head, had suddenly risen to the first rank among the nations of Europe, and it was under the influence of so much new emotion and brilliant ambition that the country no less suddenly asserted itself in a great school of painting and poetry. The intellect of the whole of the Low Countries was concentrated in Holland and Zealand, while the six great universities, Leyden, Groningen, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Harderwijk, and Franeker, were enriched by a flock of learned exiles from Flanders and Brabant. It had occurred, however, to Roemer Visscher only

that the path of literary honour lay, not along the utilitarian road cut out by Maerlant and Boendale, but in the study of beauty and antiquity. In this he was curiously aided by the school of ripe and enthusiastic scholars who began to flourish at Leyden, such as Drusius, Vossius, and Hugo Grotius, who themselves wrote little in Dutch, but who chastened the style of the rising generation by insisting on a pure and liberal latinity. Out of that generation arose the greatest names in the literature of Holland — Vondel, Hooft, Cats, Huygens — in whose hands the language, so long left barbarous and neglected, took at once its highest finish and melody. By the side of this serious and æsthetic growth there is to be noticed a quickening of the broad and farcical humour which had been characteristic of the Dutch nation from its commencement.

Of the famous daughters of Roemer, two cultivated literature with marked success: Anna (1584–1651) was the author of a descriptive and didactic poem, *De Roemster van den Aemstel* (the Glory of the Aemstel), and of various miscellaneous writings; Tesselschade (1594–1649) wrote some lyrics which still place her at the head of the female poets of Holland, and she translated the great poem of Tasso. They were women of universal accomplishment, graceful manners, and singular beauty; and their company attracted to the house of Roemer Visscher all the most gifted youths of the time, several of whom were suitors, but in vain, for the hand of Anna or of Tesselschade.

Hooft and Vondel

Of this Amsterdam school, the first to emerge into public notice was Pieter Cornelissen Hooft (1581–1647). In his poetry, especially in the lyrical and pastoral verse of his youth, he is full of Italian reminiscences both of style and matter; in his noble prose work he has set himself to be a disciple of Tacitus. Mr. Motley[c] has spoken of Hooft as one of the greatest historians, not merely of Holland but of Europe. His influence in purifying the language of his country and in enlarging its sphere of experience can hardly be overrated.

Very different from the long and prosperous career of Hooft was the brief, painful life of the greatest comic dramatist that Holland has produced, Gerbrand Adriaanssen Brederoo (1585–1618), the son of an Amsterdam shoemaker.

The greatest of all Dutch writers, Joost van der Vondel, was born at Cologne on the 17th of November, 1587. In 1612 he brought out his first work, *Het Pascha*, a tragedy or tragicomedy on the exodus of the children of Israel, written, like all his succeeding dramas, on the recognised Dutch plan, in alexandrines, in five acts, and with choral interludes between the acts. There is comparatively little promise in *Het Pascha*. In 1625 he published what seemed an innocent study from the antique, his tragedy of *Palamedes, or Murdered Innocence*. All Amsterdam discovered, with smothered delight, that under the name of the hero was thinly concealed the figure of Barneveld, whose execution in 1618 had been a triumph of the hated Calvinists. Thus, at the age of forty-one, the obscure Vondel became in a week the most famous writer in Holland.

A purely fortuitous circumstance led to the next great triumph in Vondel's slowly developing career. The Dutch Academy, founded in 1617, almost wholly as a dramatic guild, had become so inadequately provided with stage accommodation that in 1638, having coalesced with the two chambers of the "Eglantine" and the "White Lavender," it ventured on the erection of a large

public theatre, the first in Amsterdam. Vondel, as the greatest poet of the day, was invited to write a piece for the first night; on the 3rd of January, 1638, the theatre was opened with the performance of a new tragedy out of early Dutch history, the famous *Gysbreght van Aemstel*. The next ten years were rich in dramatic work from Vondel's hand. In 1654, having already attained an age at which poetical production is usually discontinued by the most energetic of poets, he brought out the most exalted and sublime of all his works, the tragedy of Lucifer.[1] Very late in life, through no fault of his own, financial ruin fell on the aged poet, and from 1658 to 1668 — that is, from his seventieth to his eightieth year — this venerable and illustrious person, the main literary glory of Holland through her whole history, was forced to earn his bread as a common clerk in a bank, miserably paid, and accused of wasting his masters' time by the writing of verses.

Vondel is the typical example of Dutch intelligence and imagination at their highest development. Not merely is he to Holland all that Camoens is to Portugal and Mickiewicz to Poland, but he stands on a level with these men in the positive value of his writings.

Cats and Huygens

While the genius of Holland clustered around the circle of Amsterdam, a school of scarcely less brilliance arose in Middelburg, the capital of Zealand. The ruling spirit of this school was the famous Jakob Cats (1577–1660). In this voluminous writer, to whom modern criticism almost denies the name of poet, the genuine Dutch habit of thought, the utilitarian and didactic spirit which we have already observed in Houwaert and in Boendale, reached its zenith of fluency and popularity.

A poet of dignified imagination and versatile form was Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) the diplomatist. Though born and educated at the Hague, he threw in his lot with the great school of Amsterdam, and became the intimate friend and companion of Vondel, Hooft, and the daughters of Roemer Visscher. His famous poem in praise of the Hague, *Batava Tempe*, appeared in 1621, and was, from a technical point of view the most accomplished and elegant poem till that time produced in Holland. Huygens represents the direction in which it would have been desirable that Dutch literature, now completely founded by Hooft and Vondel, should forthwith proceed, while Cats represents the tame and mundane spirit which was actually adopted by the nation. Huygens had little of the sweetness of Hooft or of the sublimity of Vondel, but his genius was eminently bright and vivacious, and he was a consummate artist in metrical form. The Dutch language has never proved so light and supple in any hands as in his, and he attempted no class of writing, whether in prose or verse, that he did not adorn by his delicate taste and sound judgment.

Three Dutchmen of the seventeenth century distinguished themselves very prominently in the movement of learning and philosophic thought, but the illustrious names of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) can scarcely be said to belong to Dutch literature, since they wrote in Latin. Balthazar Bekker (1634–1698), on the contrary, was a disciple of Descartes, who deserves to be remembered as the greatest philosophical writer who has used the Dutch language.[d]

[1 This great work bears so much similarity to a greater work, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that it is frequently stated that Milton must have been acquainted with it. Milton's poem was begun in 1655, and finished in 1667.]

Hugo Grotius

In the annals of precocious genius there is no greater prodigy on record than Hugo Grotius [in Dutch, Huig de Groot], who was able to make good Latin verses at nine, was ripe for the university at twelve, and at fifteen edited the encyclopædic work of Martianus Capella. At Leyden he was much noticed by J. J. Scaliger, whose habit it was to engage his young friends in the editing of some classical text, less for the sake of the book so produced than as a valuable education for themselves. At fifteen Grotius accompanied Count Justin of Nassau and the grand pensionary Olden-Barneveld on their special embassy to the court of France. After a year profitably spent in that country in acquiring the language and making acquaintance with the leading men, Grotius returned home. He took the degree of doctor of law at Leyden, and entered on practice as an advocate.

HUGO GROTIUS (1583–1645)

Grotius vied with the latinists of his day in the composition of Latin verses. Some lines on the siege of Ostend were greatly admired, and spread his fame beyond the circle of the learned. He wrote three dramas in Latin: *Christus Patiens*; *Sophomphaneas*, on the story of Joseph and his brethren; and *Adamus Exul*, a production which is still remembered as having given hints to Milton. In 1603 the United Provinces, desiring to transmit to posterity some account of their struggle with Spain, determined to appoint a historiographer. Several candidates appeared, Dominicus Bandius among them. But the choice of the states fell upon Grotius, though only twenty years of age, and not having offered himself for the post.

His next preferment was that of advocate-general of the fisc for the provinces of Holland and Zealand. He had already passed from occupation with the classics to studies more immediately connected with his profession. In the winter of 1604 he composed a treatise entitled *De jure prædæ*. This treatise he did not publish, and the MS. of it remained unknown to all the biographers of Grotius till 1868, when it was brought to light, and printed at the Hague under the auspices of Professor Fruin. It discovers to us that

the principles and the plan of the celebrated *De jure belli*, which was not composed till 1625, more than twenty years after, had already been conceived by a youth of twenty-one.

A short treatise which was printed in 1609, Grotius says without his permission, under the title of *Mare Liberum*, is nothing more than a chapter (the twelfth) of the *De jure prædæ*. It was necessary to Grotius's defence of Heemskerk that he should show that the Portuguese pretence that Eastern waters were their private property was untenable. Grotius maintains that the ocean is free to all, and cannot be appropriated by any one nation. Many years afterwards the jealousies between England and Holland gave importance to the novel doctrine broached in the tract by Grotius, a doctrine which Selden set himself to refute in his *Mare clausum* (1632).

In June, 1619, Grotius, as we have seen, was immured in the fortress of Loevestein, near Gorkum. He had now before him, at thirty-six, no prospect but that of a lifelong captivity. He did not abandon himself to despair, but sought refuge in returning to the classical pursuits of his youth.

The address and ingenuity of Madame Grotius at length devised a mode of escape. His first place of refuge was Antwerp, from which he proceeded to Paris, where he arrived in April, 1621. In October he was joined by his wife. There he was presented to the king, Louis XIII, and a pension of 3,000 livres conferred upon him. French pensions were easily granted, all the more so as they were never paid.

In March, 1625, the printing of the *De jure belli*, which had taken four months, was completed. But though his book brought him no profit it brought him reputation, so widely spread and of such long endurance as no other legal treatise has ever enjoyed.

As in many other points Grotius inevitably recalls to us Erasmus, so he does in his attitude towards the great schism. Grotius was indeed a man of profound religious sentiment, which Erasmus was not; but he had an indifference to dogma equal to that of Erasmus, although his disregard sprang from another source. Erasmus felt the contempt of a man of letters for the barbarous dissonance of the monkish wrangle. Grotius was animated by an ardent desire for peace and concord. He thought that a basis for reconciliation of Protestant and Catholic might be found in a common piety, combined with reticence upon discrepancies of doctrinal statement. His *De veritate religionis Christianæ* (1627), a presentment of the evidences, is so written as to form a code of common Christianity, irrespective of sect. The little treatise diffused itself rapidly over Christendom, gaining rather than losing popularity in the eighteenth century. It became the classical manual of apologetics in Protestant colleges, and was translated for missionary purposes into Arabic (by Pocock, 1660), Persian, Chinese, etc.

Grotius was a great jurist, and his *De jure belli et pacis* (Paris, 1625), though not by any means the first attempt in modern times to ascertain the principles of jurisprudence, went far more fundamentally into the discussion than anyone had done before him. It is in the larger questions to which he opened the way that the merit of Grotius consists. His was the first attempt to obtain a principle of right, and a basis for society and government, outside the church or the Bible. The distinction between religion on the one hand and law and morality on the other is not indeed clearly conceived by Grotius, but he wrestles with it in such a way as to make it easy for those who followed him to seize it: The law of nature is unalterable; God himself cannot alter it any more than he can alter a mathematical axiom. This law has its source in the nature of man as a social being; it would be

valid even were there no God, or if God did not interfere in the government of the world.

These positions, though Grotius' religious temper did not allow him to rely unreservedly upon them, yet, even in the partial application they find in his book, entitle him to the honour of being held the founder of the modern science of the law of nature and nations. The *De jure* exerted little influence on the practice of belligerents, yet its publication was an epoch in the science. Mackintosh[e] affirmed that his work is "perhaps the most complete that the world has yet owed, at so early a stage in the progress of any science, to the genius and learning of one man."[i]

PETER PAUL RUBENS
(1577–1640)

From 1600 to 1650 was the blossoming time in Dutch literature. During this period the names of greatest genius were first made known to the public, and the vigour and grace of literary expression reached their highest development. It happened, however, that three men of particularly commanding talent survived to an extreme old age, and under the shadow of Vondel, Cats, and Huygens there sprang up a new generation which sustained the great tradition until about 1680, when the final decline set in.[d]

TAINE ON FLEMISH ART

There are moments in the history of a nation when it resembles Christ transported by Satan to the mountain top; it becomes necessary for it to choose between the higher ideal and the lower. In the case of the Netherlands the tempter was Philip II with his army; put to the same test, the people of the North and the people of the South differed decidedly, following the slight differences of make-up and character. The choice once made, these differences increased, exaggerated by the result of the situation they had produced. The two peoples were two almost similar varieties of the same species; they became two distinct species. There always exist moral as well as physical

types; their origin is the same, but as they develop they vary and this variation is the birth of their separate existence.

After the separation, when the southern provinces became Belgium, the predominating idea was a need of peace and well-being, a disposition to accept existence comfortably and mirthfully — in a word, the spirit of Teniers, the state of mind that can laugh and sing, smoke a good pipe, quaff a good beer in a bare tavern, a dilapidated cottage, or on a wooden bench. In fact, it was now possible to sleep in beds, to amass provision, to enjoy work, travel, converse, live without fear; one had a house, a country: the future opened up. All the ordinary affairs of life took on interest; the people felt the resurrection and seemed to live for the first time. It is under such conditions that the arts and literature are born. The great shock undergone had broken the uniform glazing that tradition and custom had spread over everything. Man now occupied the centre of things; the essential traits of his nature, transformed and renewed, were grasped; the mind was as Adam's at his awakening. Later was to come the refining and weakening; at this moment the conception of things was large and simple. Man was competent because he was born in a period of disintegration and raised in the midst of naked tragedy; like Victor Hugo and George Sand, Rubens as a child was in exile, near his imprisoned father, and heard on all sides the din of tempests and ruin.

After the generation of activity which had suffered and created came the poetic generation which expressed itself in literature and the arts. It explained and amplified the desires and energies of the world founded by its fathers. This was the cause of Flemish art glorifying in heroic types the sensual instincts, the coarse enjoyments, the rude energy of the surrounding souls, and the finding in the tavern of Teniers the heaven of Rubens.

Peter Paul Rubens

Among the painters was one who stood out from all the others. This was Peter Paul Rubens.[1]

Rubens was not an isolated genius, and the resemblance of the works of the painters of his period to his, shows that the tree of which he was the most splendid shoot was the product of his nation and his epoch. Before him came his master Adam van Noort and the master of Jordaens; around him his contemporaries educated in other studios, and whose creative faculties were as great as his — Jordaens, Crayer, Gerard Zeghers, Rombouts, Abraham Janssens, Van Roose; after him his pupils — Van Thulden, Diepenbeck, Van den Hoecke, Cornelius Schut, Boyermans, Vandyke greatest of them all; and Jakob van Oost of Bruges; the great animal and still-life painters Snyders, Jan Fyt, the Jesuit Seghers: the same sap gave sustenance to all these branches, the large and small alike.

In Belgium as in Italy the religion consisted in rites: Rubens went to mass in the mornings and gave a picture to obtain indulgences; after which

[1 His father, a legal scholar and lay assessor of Antwerp, had fled to Cologne, and it is generally supposed that Rubens was born there, or, as has been latterly stated, at Siegen. In his tenth year his mother brought him to Antwerp. In 1600 he went to Italy, received from the duke of Mantua the title of court equerry, and was sent by him to Madrid. After 1608 Antwerp became his home; Duke Albert appointed him to be court painter. Yet at one time he accepted commissions in Paris for a considerable period, and then sold his art collection to the duke of Buckingham for 100,000 guldens. In 1629 he took part in the peace negotiations between Spain and England, for which Charles I gave him a golden chain with his picture. Rubens lived the life of a great lord, and had many paintings executed after his sketches by numerous pupils. He died at Antwerp in 1640.[b]]

he would return to the poetic feeling of his daily existence, and paint in the same style a Magdalene overflowing with repentance or a corpulent siren. Aside from this his art is truly Flemish; it is harmonious, spontaneous, original, in this being distinct from the preceding period, which was but a discordant imitation. From Greece to Florence, from Florence to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, one can follow all the steps of passage. The conception of man and life lost in nobleness and gained in breadth.

Rubens is to Titian what Titian is to Raphael and what Raphael is to Phidias. Never has the artistic sympathy grasped nature with so frank and general an embrace. The ancient landmarks, already so often pushed back, seemed to be entirely destroyed in order to open an infinite course. The historic laws were disregarded; he put together allegorical and realistic figures, cardinals and a nude Mercury. So with the moral laws: he introduced into the ideal, mythological, and evangelistic heaven brutal or malignant figures — a Magdalene who is a nurse, a Ceres who whispers a joke into her neighbour's ear. He did not fear shocking the physical sensibilities; he went to the limit of the horrible, through all the tortures of suffering flesh and all the thrill of agonised screams. He did not shrink from shocking the moral sense; he represents Minerva as a shrew who lashes herself into a fury, Judith as a butcher accustomed to blood, Paris as a scoffer and an amateur epicure. To describe the impression given by his Susannas, Magdalenes, his Saint Sebastians, his graces, his sirens, his great kirmesses of divinity and humanity, ideal or realistic, Christian or pagan, would require the words of a Rabelais.

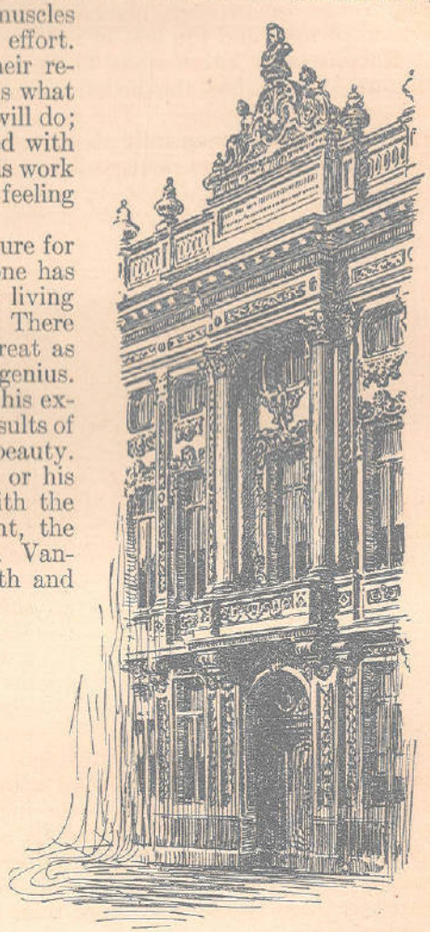
ADAM VAN NOORT (1557–1641)
(Rubens' first master)

With him all the animal instincts enter upon the scene. He fails in nothing except the very pure and idealistic; he has under the control of his brush all human nature save the highest plane. This is the reason that his creations are the most numerous ever seen and that they include all types: Italian cardinals, Roman emperors, contemporary nobles, bourgeois, peasants, cowherds, with the innumerable variations that the play of nature creates in these types; and more than fifteen hundred pictures have failed to exhaust his creative faculties.

For the same reason, in representing the human body, he more than anyone has understood it; in this he surpasses the Venetians as they surpassed the Florentines; he feels even more than they that the flesh is a substance that is constantly renewing itself. This is why no one has surpassed him in rendering contrasts, or in showing so visibly the destruction and the blooming of life: sometimes it is death — heavy, flabby, without blood or substance, pale, bluish, drawn with suffering, a clot of blood at the mouth, the eyes glazed, feet and hands corpse-like, swollen, and deformed; at other times the freshness of the living flesh tints, the young athlete, blooming and radiant, the easy flexibility of his torso acting in a youthful body well nourished, the cheeks smooth and rosy; the placid frankness of a maiden

in whom no harmful thought has ever quickened the pulse or dulled the eye; the groups of chubby cherubims and trifling cupids, the delicacy, the pucker, the delicious under rose-glow of the child-skin like the wet petal of a rose impregnated by the light of dawn. No one has given to figures such an impulse, gestures so impetuous, motion so furious and with so much abandon, so great and general a movement of muscles swollen and twisted in one great effort. His characters are speaking, even their repose is on the edge of action; one feels what they wish to do and that which they will do; the present with them is impregnated with the past and full of the future. In his work most subtle and fine distinctions of feeling are found.

In this respect Rubens is a treasure for the novelist and psychologist; no one has gone further in the knowledge of the living organisation of the human animal. There is but one Rubens in Flanders. Great as were the others they lack some of his genius. Crayer has neither his audacity nor his excess; he painted, with the delicate results of fresh soft colouring, a quiet happy beauty. Jordaens has not his royal grandeur or his fund of heroic poetry; he painted with the wine colouring of the thick-set giant, the packed crowds, the plebeian roisterers. Vandyke even had not his love of strength and life for itself.



RUBENS' HOUSE IN ANTWERP

Fromentin's Estimate of Vandyke

With his many works, his immortal portraits, his soul capable of the finest sensations, his individual style, his distinguished personality, his taste, his standard and charm in all he touched, one asks what Vandyke[1] would have been without Rubens.

How would he have seen nature, how conceived painting? What palette would he have created — what model would he have chosen? What laws of colour would he have laid down — what poetry have accepted? Would he have leaned to the Italian schools? If the revolution made by Rubens had been later, or had never been, what would have happened to the followers for whom he prepared the way — all his gifted scholars, and particularly Vandyke the most gifted of all? Take away from them the influence, direct

[1 Born at Antwerp in 1599, educated at the school founded by Rubens in Belgium, Vandyke went himself to drink from the fertile and living source open by the Italian masters in the sixteenth century. He took this voyage in 1620, and returned in 1626. During this period he visited all the great art centres of Italy and studied seriously. While studying all the great masters, it was Titian whom he chose as a model. In 1632 he was knighted by Charles I, and lived in England as court painter till his death in 1641 at London.h]

or indirect, of Rubens, and imagine what is left to these luminous satellites. There is always more sentiment, and profound sentiment, in the refined Vandyke than in Rubens. Yet is this certain, or is it an affair of differences of temperament? Between these two souls, so unequal in other things also, there was a feminine influence, first of all a difference of sex. Vandyke made slender the statues that Rubens made heavy; he put less muscle, bone, and blood. He was more quiet, never brutal; his conceptions were not so vulgar; he laughed less, felt compassion often, but did not know the great sob of the more passionate temperament. He often corrected the unevenness of his master; he was easy in his work because with him his talent was wonderfully natural; he is free, active, but never loses himself.

RUBENS AND HIS WIFE. AFTER HIS OWN PAINTING, SHOWING EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ARISTOCRATIC COSTUME

He was twenty-four years younger than Rubens; he belongs not at all to the sixteenth century but entirely to the generation of the seventeenth. This one feels physically and morally, in the man and in the painter, in his own well-cut features and in his choice of beautiful faces; and most of all is this felt in his portraits. In this regard he is wonderfully in touch with the world, his world and the world of the period. Never having created one set type which would blind him to the truth, he was exact, correct, and saw the right likeness. Perhaps he put into all his portraits something of his own graceful personality — an air more noble, a finer bearing, more beautiful hands; in any case he knew better than his master the proper adjustment, the things of his world, and had taste in the painting of silks, satins, ribbons, plumes, and swords.

His were not chevaliers but cavaliers. The men of war had forsaken their armours and helmets; these were courtiers in unbuttoned doublets, floating laces, silk shoes, knee-breeches, all the fashions and customs which were familiar to him and which he better than anyone else knew how to reproduce in the perfection of their worldliness. With his manner, in his line, by the unique conformity of his nature with his times he occupied a high place in the world of art. His Charles I, in its perfect understanding of the model and subject, the easiness of style and its nobility, the beauty of the whole

work, the drawing of the face, the colouring, the wonderful technique, bears comparison with the highest achievements.

He created in his country an original style, and consequently he is a factor in the new school of art. He also had a foreign following: Reynolds, Lawrence, Gainsborough, in fact almost all the genre painters who were faithful to English traditions and the strongest landscape painters, are the result of Vandyke, and indirectly of Rubens through Vandyke. Posterity, always just in its decisions, has given to Vandyke a place of his own, between the greatest and the next rank. After his death, as during his life, he seems to have stood near the throne and to have held well his position there.[a]

David Teniers

David Teniers the Younger, the son of an able painter of the same name, was born at Antwerp in 1610. He is especially noteworthy because in his choice of subjects he took the road which led the Dutch to their peculiar greatness. It is significant that Louis XIV would not hear of him; but Duke Leopold William made him inspector of his picture gallery, which was afterwards taken to Vienna.

Teniers even became rich so that at his castle of the Three Towers (Dry Toren) at Lerck, not far from Brussels, he gathered the scholars and artists of Belgium about him like a princely Mæcenas. He died at Brussels in 1685. He liked to paint contented people in modest circumstances, peasant dances, card players, bowlers, and fairs; his figures, even those of youths and maidens, he reproduces without any idealisation as the national style demanded. He has fantastic representations of an alchemist in a room crowded full of peculiar apparatus; also St. Anthony tempted with visions by the devil.

DUTCH ART

In Holland, however, there was developed a new school of art, which cut itself loose from all symbolic restrictions and apparently even from all idealism; but which in compensation obtained new and unsuspected charm and deep sentiment out of human life and external nature. It should be remembered, on the one hand, that a certain sense of droll humour always existed in the Netherlands and that it was there that the fable of Reynard was developed in which the human traits of animals are shown in their life. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that in the seventeenth century philosophers and naturalists attempted to investigate objects as they actually exist without any preconceived opinions and that at the same time the English drama represented the impulses of humanity with living, objective, reality and without regard for time, manner, or position. Human existence develops its innermost pulsebeats and the external world its most intimate traits, in an environment which in antiquity and in the early Middle Ages was seldom handled poetically and even less often artistically.[b]

Taine's estimate of Rembrandt

One of the greatest merits of the Dutch school is its colouring. This was the result of the natural training of the eye. This country, a great alluvial tract of land, like that of the Po, with its rivers, canals, and humid atmosphere, resembled Venice. Here, as in Venice, nature made colourists of men. In Italy a tone remains the same; in the Netherlands it varies

incessantly with the variations of the light and ambient mists. At times full light strikes an object: it is not usual, and the green stretch of country, the red roofs, the varnished façades, the satiny flesh or flush stand out with extraordinary distinctness. At other times the light is dull; this is the usual condition in Holland, and objects scarcely show, almost losing themselves in the shadows. The eye becoming accustomed to this obscure light, the painter instead of using his whole scale of colours employs but the beginning of that scale; all his picture is in shade save one point. He gives us a continuous low-keyed concert broken sometimes by a brilliant burst of sound. In this way he discovers unknown harmonies, all those of obscure light, all those of the soul, harmonies infinite and penetrating; with a daub of dirty yellow, of wine dregs, of mixed grey, of vague blacks, in the midst of which is placed a dash of life, he stirs the farthest depths of our souls. This is the last great creation in the art of painting; it is in this style that to-day the painter speaks most effectively to the modern soul, and such was the colour that the light of Holland furnished to the genius of Rembrandt.

REMBRANDT VAN RIJN (1607–1669)
(Portrait drawn by himself)

Among all the Dutch painters Rembrandt Van Rijn (1607–1669) through his wonderfully trained eye and an extraordinary almost savage genius, went ahead of his nation and century, and grasped the common instincts which unite the Germanic races and lead to modern ideas. This man, collector, recluse, drawn along by the development of a mighty power, lived as Balzac did, a magician and a visionary, in a world of his own to the door of which he alone held the key. Superior to all other painters in the fineness and natural acuteness of his impressions, he understood and followed in all its consequences the great truth that for the eye all the essence of a visible object is in a spot, that the simplest colour is infinitely complex, that all visual sensation is the outcome of its own elements and the outside surroundings, that every seen object is but a spot modified by other spots, and that therefore the principal element of a picture is the coloured vibrating atmosphere in which the figures are plunged as fish in a sea. He rendered this atmosphere palpable, filled with mysterious life; he has put into it the light of his country, that light dull and yellowish like that of a lamp in the depths of a cave; he felt its pitiful struggle with the shadow, the weakness of the rays that died away into the depths, the trembling of the reflections that clung to the shining walls and all the vague population of the half-shadows, which, invisible to

the ordinary observer, seem in his pictures and etchings like a submarine world viewed across an abyss of waters. From out of this obscurity, the full light for his eyes was a dazzling shower; he felt it as a flash of lightning, a magic illumination, or a bundle of arrows. Thus he found in the inanimate world the most complete and expressive drama, all the contrasts, all the conflicts, all that is most oppressive and most lugubrious in the night, that which is most elusive and most melancholy in ambiguous shadows, that which is most violent and irresistible in the breaking forth of day. This done, he had but to pose in the midst of the natural drama, his human drama; a theatre so constructed gave birth to its own characters.

The Greeks and Italians knew man and life in their most correct and highest paths, the healthy flower that blossoms in the light; Rembrandt saw far back to the source, all that goes down and moulds in the shadows; the obscure paupers, the Jews of Amsterdam, the deformed and stunted, the begrimed suffering populace of a large city and a bad climate, the crooked, the bald head of the old decrepit artisan, faces with the paleness of ill-health, all the mass of humanity alive with evil passions and hideous miseries which multiply in our civilisation like worms in a rotten tree.

Once started on this road he was able to understand the religion of sorrow, the true Christianity, to interpret the Bible as a Lollard would have done, to find again the eternal Christ. He himself as a result was capable of feeling pity; in contrast with his conservative and aristocratic contemporaries, he was of the people; at least he is the most human of them all: his sympathies, more broad, embrace nature in its entirety; no ugliness was repugnant to him and no appearance of joy or nobility hid from him the reality that lay beneath. Thus, untrammeled and guided by his fine sensibility, his interpretation of humanity not only includes the general framework and the abstract type which suffices for classical art, but also the peculiarities and depth of the individual, the infinite complexity and indefinable traits of the moral character, all this moving picture which concentrates in a human face in a single moment the life history of a soul, and which has been seen clearly by only one other man — Shakespeare. In this he is the most original of the modern artists and has forged one end of a chain the other end of which was made by the Greeks; all the other great masters lie between, and when to-day our over-excited sentiment, our insatiable curiosity in the pursuit of fine distinctions, our pitiless search after the truth, our divination of the remote characteristics and under-currents of human nature seek for precursors and masters, it is in Rembrandt and Shakespeare that Balzac and Delacroix would find them.*f*

Fromentin's Estimate of Frans Hals

It is at Haarlem that one best sees Frans Hals (1584–1666). Here as elsewhere in the French galleries and other Dutch galleries, the idea one receives of this brilliant master is that he is unequal although seductive, amiable, spiritual, neither true nor equitable. The man loses what the artist gains. He astonishes, amuses. With his quickness, his wonderful good nature, his tricks of technique, he separates himself by his joking of mind and hand from the severe atmosphere of the painters of his time. Sometimes he astounds; he gives the impression that he is wise as well as highly gifted, and that his irresistible humour is but the happy grace of great genius; then almost immediately he compromises himself, discredits himself and discourages one. To-day the name of Hals reappears in our modern school at the moment when

the love of realism enters with great noise and not less excess. His method has served as precedent to certain theories in virtue of which the most vulgar realism is wrongly taken for the truth. To invoke in support of this the works which he flatly contradicted in his best moods is a mistake and but injures him.

In the large hall of Haarlem which contains many of his works, Frans Hals has eight large canvases. These pictures cover the whole period of his work. The first (1616) was painted at the age of thirty-two, the last, in 1664, two years before his death, at the advanced age of eighty. In these works one sees his debut, his growth, and his searching for the way. He arrived at his zenith late, toward middle age, even a little later; his strongest work and development was in his old age.[h]

Public Paintings

The most interesting pictures are those which, in expressive groups, represent the public life of the Netherlands as it flourished under the influence of civil and religious freedom. Holland has had no poet to immortalise its growth, like Æschylus in the *Persians* or Shakespeare in his historical dramas; on the other hand the native civic life, elevated by culture, appears before us strong and cheerful. Pictures were banished from the Reformed church, and it cannot be denied that from now on public taste was largely influenced by the needs of private ownership. Nevertheless the halls of the council houses, of the guilds, also of the universities provided exhibition room, although for commemorative pictures of monumental importance. After the independence of the United Provinces had been recognised by the Peace of Westphalia, the festivities which greeted this event at home were preserved in animated paintings, some of which are groups of portraits. Among these is the *Banquet* at Amsterdam (in the museum of that place) by Bartholomeus van der Helst, a work of the first rank; the strong, cheerful faces around the richly spread table, in the midst the captain with the city banner, show at once that the scene is taken from a flourishing state life. By the same painter is the *Distribution of Prizes by the Amsterdam Rifle Corps* (now in the Louvre). Rembrandt himself represents the departure of the sharpshooters from Amsterdam under the leadership of Captain Korn, in that splendid colour picture which is often incorrectly called the *Night Watch*.

In the *Hospital for Lepers*, Amsterdam had a group picture by Ferdinand Bol of Dordrecht, one of Rembrandt's best pupils, which portrays the five directors of the hospital as they are receiving a poor peasant boy. We should also mention Rembrandt's *Anatomy*, celebrated for its wonderful colouring, which shows Professor Tulp as he explains a dead body to his pupils.

Terburg and Other Painters of the Dutch School

Since in such pictures portraits are grouped in one scene or action, they take the form of representations of actual life, of so called *genre* pictures. We use the word without here investigating its origin. Even many a picture from the Old and New Testaments is turned into a family or street scene in the Dutch treatment. When Teniers paints the liberation of Peter, our gaze lingers in the foreground where the guards who should be watching the apostle are playing at dice while he escapes. In the same way in the old German or Dutch passion-plays we find scenes introduced where a peddler is offering his salves for sale and Mary Magdalene is bargaining with him.

It is of great importance, however, that the Dutch painting applies itself to the reproduction of actual life with as much skill as affection, that it makes a

scene of most intimate family associations into a work of art and increases its value by the perfection of the style. One paints persons of the lower classes in quiet situations, represents a drinker, a soldier smoking, a cook at her work, with all the contentment of unaffected existence; another prefers animated scenes, disputes, even brawls in a tavern. But the life of the higher classes in its more dignified attitude likewise finds perfect expression, whereby the highest art is manifested in silken garments, draperies, ornaments, just as in the earthen pitchers or the dully lighted-up wooden benches of the former class.

Terburg, Van Ostade, and Steen

Here we must mention Terburg, who shows us scenes from the higher classes of society painted with great delicacy and spirit; his pictures and others like them have not unjustly been called novelistic. Adrian van Ostade, who likes to paint comfortable scenes in peasant homes with admirable use of hearth and chimney-fire effects, was born at Lübeck; like various other Germans who were either educated in Holland or else assimilated the Dutch style by long residence in the country, he is reckoned among the painters of the Netherlands, as is also Balthasar Denner of Hamburg, who was so opposed to a smooth and elegant style of representation that he of a preference painted old men and women and most carefully supplied their faces with all the natural wrinkles, hairs, and warts. Gaspar Netscher from Heidelberg is distinguished for his society pictures and is unexcelled in the reproduction of costly stuffs (died 1684).

FRANS VAN MIERIS (1635–1690)

A real Hollander, however, was Jan Steen of Delft, who was himself an innkeeper for a time and reproduces jovial scenes from tavern life as well as cozy family pictures, with a masterful gift of observation and splendid execution; no painter excels him in the complete unaffectedness with which his characters seem to act in the situation he portrays. Steen died in 1679 in bitter poverty. Less realistic in his choice of quiet scenes is Gerard Dow [Douw], who is extremely exact and painstaking in his treatment. Close to him in the minute execution of detail stand his pupils Frans van Mieris and Gabriel Metzu of Leyden.

Landscape, Still Life, and Animal Painters

Landscape painting first began with the putting of objects like woods, hills, towers, and bridges into the background of religious pictures instead of painting them on a gold ground. These beginnings hardly give an inkling of the deep importance which this branch of art, as it was developed in the Netherlands, was to have in the future. Landscape painting clothes the objects of external nature with character and tone; in forest and meadow, on

the strand of the sea, by the clear light of day, by twilight and moonlight, it coaxes from nature those motives which appeal to human sentiment.

The greatest Dutch master in this field is Jakob Ruysdael of Holland, whose composition is especially happy in the treatment of woods and water and in such subjects as impress by a feeling of solitude. During the last decades it has become customary to put Meyndert Hobbema, who was formerly little known, on a level with him. In this field, as also in that of the genre painting, each painter chooses his own narrow sphere. Only through the most extreme care and technical finish could they attain that perfection of art which makes so-called cabinet pieces of their works, which in our day are the joy of art lovers. New schools arise in marine and in animal pictures. The monumental demand, consideration of church and council-house, retreat into the back ground; the artists work solely for private ownership; their works are reviewed and compared.

Only thus could the branch of still-life painting come into existence, which shows lifeless objects, table appointments and goblets, dead game, flowers, and fruit; it is effective through its pleasing combination of colour and acquires a special life of its own by affording a glimpse into a wealthy or luxurious existence. Whereas in the older periods of art, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Albrecht Dürer had achieved great things in several fields at once and had besides comprehended in spirit the knowledge and researches of their times, we now see single masters restrict themselves to an extremely narrow sphere in order there to claim complete mastery. The number of good painters brought forth by Holland in the seventeenth century is almost incalculable. But one (Schalcken) paints only small groups lighted by candle-light; another only the interior of churches; Pieter Wouverman, the unsurpassed horse painter, does indeed also paint hunting scenes, fairs, and the meeting of cavaliers and is likewise great in landscape. In the pictures of Paul Potter, who lived to be only twenty-nine years old, the faithfulness to life of his stalled animals, cows, and sheep astonishes us.

Johann Heinrich Roos, who was born in the Palatinate and died at Frankfort, likewise devoted his attention to animals; Frans Snyders of Antwerp acquired a reputation for his hunting scenes. Art drew nature and human life in its most varied scenes within its realm. It was long before it began to be felt that a one-sided cultivation of perfection leads to tedium.[b]

DECLINE OF DUTCH ART

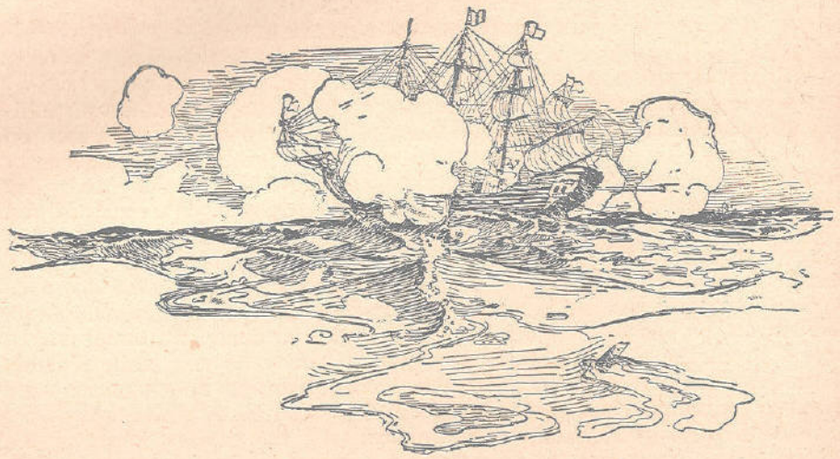
Such a period of bloom is necessarily but temporary, for the sap which produced it is expended in the production. Towards 1667, after the naval defeats of the English, there were slight indications of a change in the customs and feeling which had given rise to the national art. The well-being was too great. The India companies paid a dividend of 45 per cent. The heroes became bourgeois. They desired enjoyment, and the houses of the great, which the Venetian ambassadors in the commencement of the century found so simple and bare, became luxurious; in the homes of the prominent bourgeois, tapestries, priceless pictures, and vessels of gold and silver were to be found. The rich interiors of Terburg and Metzu show us new elegance, robes of pale silks, velvet jackets, jewels, pearls, hangings embossed with gold, high mantels of marble. The old activity relaxed.

When Louis XIV in 1672 invaded the country he found no resistance. With this declining of national energy declined the arts; taste altered. In 1669, Rembrandt died in poverty, forgotten by almost all; the new element of

luxury took its models from foreigners in France and Italy. Already, during the flourishing period, many painters had gone to Rome to paint figures and landscapes; Jan Both, Berghem, Karel Dujardin, twenty others, Wouverman himself, formed side by side with the national school a semi-Italian school; but this school was natural and spontaneous; among the mountains, the ruins, the fabrics, and the rags, from beyond the mountains, the mistiness of the air, the well-being of the figures, the softness of the reds, the gaiety and humour of the painter had marked the tenacity of instinct of the Hollander. Now on the contrary these national characteristics begin to disappear before the invasion of fashion. On the Kaisergracht and on the Heeregracht sprung up great hôtels in the Louis XIV style. Gerard de Lairesse, a Flemish painter, founder of the Academy, commenced to decorate them with his learned allegories and his mythological hybrids.

True, the national art did not disappear immediately; it survived by a series of chefs d'œuvre until the early years of the eighteenth century; at the same time the national sentiment, awakened by its humiliation and danger, provoked a popular revolution, heroic sacrifices, the inundation of the country, and all the successes which followed. During the war of the Succession in Spain, Holland, when the stadholder had become king of England, was sacrificed to the allies; after the treaty of 1713 she lost her supremacy on the sea, fell to the second class, and then still lower; soon Frederick the Great was to say of her that she was towed by the English as a fishing boat is towed by a liner. France trampled upon her during the war of the Austrian Succession; later England imposed on her the right of visitation and took away from her the Coromandel coast. Finally Prussia overwhelmed her republican party and established the stadholderate. Following the fate of the weak, she was roughly treated by the strong, and after 1789 conquered and reconquered. The result was fatal; she resigned herself to her fate and was content to become a good commercial and banking country. Herein is the cause of the disappearance of creative art with the disappearance of practical energy.

Ten years after the commencement of the eighteenth century, all the great painters are dead. For a century the decadence in art had shown itself by a poorer style, a restrained imagination, and the minute finish found in the works of Frans van Mieris, Schalcken, and others. One of the last, Adrian van der Werf, by his painting cold and polished, by his creamy reds, by his weak return to the Italian style, showed that the Dutch had forgotten their native taste and their proper genius. His successors resemble the man who would speak but has nothing to say; the pupils of the masters or of illustrious fathers, Pieter van der Werf, Hendri van Limboech, Philip van Dyck, Mieris the son, Mieris the grand-son, Nicholas Verkolie, Constantin Netscher, but repeat automatically the phrases they have heard. Talent survived only in the genre painting of Jacob de Witt, Rachel Ruysch, and Van Huysum, which required but slight creation, and endured but a few years, like a tenacious briar clinging to the dry earth where all the great trees have died. It in turn died and the soil rested barren — last proof of the bond which links individual originality to social life and proportions, the creative faculties of the artist to the active energy of the nation.[1]



CHAPTER XIV

THE DE WITTS AND THE WAR WITH ENGLAND

[1648–1672 A.D.)

THE completion of the Peace of Münster opens a new scene in the history of the republic. Its political system experienced considerable changes. Its ancient enemies became its most ardent friends, and its old allies loosened the bonds of long continued amity. The other states of Europe, displeased at its imperious conduct or jealous of its success, began to wish its humiliation; but it was little thought that the consummation was to be effected at the hands of England. While Holland prepared to profit by the peace so brilliantly gained, England, torn by civil war, was hurried on in crime and misery to the final act which has left an indelible stain on her annals. Cromwell and the parliament had completely subjugated the kingdom. The unfortunate king, delivered up by the Scotch, was condemned to an ignominious death.

The United Provinces had preserved a strict neutrality while the contest was undecided. The prince of Orange warmly strove to obtain a declaration in favour of his father-in-law Charles I. The prince of Wales and the duke of York, his sons, who had taken refuge at the Hague, earnestly joined in the entreaty; but all that could be obtained from the states-general was their consent to an embassy. Pauw and Joachimi, the one sixty-four years of age, the other eighty-eight, the most able men of the republic, undertook the task of mediation. They were scarcely listened to by the parliament, and the bloody sacrifice took place.

The details of this event and its immediate consequences belong to English history; and we must hurry over the brief, turbid, and inglorious stadholderate of William II, to arrive at the more interesting contest between the republic and the rival commonwealth.

THE AMBITIONS OF WILLIAM II

William II was now in his twenty-fourth year. He had early evinced that heroic disposition which was common to his race. He panted for military glory. All his pleasures were those usual to ardent and high-spirited men, although his delicate constitution seemed to forbid the indulgence of hunting, tennis, and the other violent exercises in which he delighted. He was highly accomplished; spoke five different languages with elegance and fluency; and had made considerable progress in mathematics and other abstract sciences. His ambition knew no bounds. Had he reigned over a monarchy as absolute king, he would most probably have gone down to posterity a conqueror and a hero. But, unfitted to direct a republic as its first citizen, he has left but the name of a rash and unconstitutional magistrate. From the moment of his accession to power he was made sensible of the jealousy and suspicion with which his office and his character were observed by the provincial states of Holland.

The province of Holland, arrogating to itself the greatest share in the reforms of the army, and the financial arrangements called for by the transition from war to peace, was soon in fierce opposition to the states-general, which supported the prince in his early views. Cornelis Bikker, one of the burgomasters of Amsterdam, was the leading person in the states of Holland; and a circumstance soon occurred which put him and the stadholder in collision, and quickly decided the great question at issue.

The admiral Cornelis de Witt arrived from Brazil [1] with the remains of his fleet, and without the consent of the council of regency established there by the states-general. He was arrested in 1650 by order of the prince of Orange, in his capacity of high admiral. The admiralty of Amsterdam was at the same time ordered by the states-general to imprison six of the captains of this fleet. The states of Holland maintained that this was a violation of their provincial rights, and an illegal assumption of power on the part of the states-general; and the magistrates of Amsterdam forced the prison doors and set the captains at liberty.

William, backed by the authority of the states-general, now put himself at the head of a deputation from that body, and made a rapid tour of visitation to the different chief towns of the republic, to sound the depths of public opinion on the matters in dispute. The deputation met with varied success; but the result proved to the irritated prince that no measures of compromise were to be expected, and that force alone was to arbitrate the question. The army was to a man devoted to him. The states-general gave him their entire and somewhat servile support. He therefore on his own authority arrested the six deputies of Holland, in the same way that his uncle Maurice had seized on Barneveld, Grotius, and the others; and they were immediately conveyed to the castle of Louvestein.

In adopting this bold and unauthorised measure, he decided on an imme-

[1 In 1645 the West India Company had begun rapidly to lose the conquests they had been acquiring in South America during the last fifteen years. The company had, in the last year, recalled Count Maurice of Nassau, in order to spare the expenses attendant on a governor of his rank and dignity, and the same ill-judged parsimony which thus left the colony destitute of any chief of ordinary military skill had kept the establishment of troops in a condition wholly inefficient for its protection. Immediately on the departure of Maurice, the Portuguese broke out into open revolt, captured several forts, amongst which were Surinam and St. Vincent, and had it not been for a timely succour sent by the Company in the next year, the Dutch must have been forced to abandon all their possessions in South America. Cornelis de Witt was a captain in the service of the company.e]

diate attempt to gain possession of the city of Amsterdam, the central point of opposition to his violent designs. William Frederick count of Nassau, stadholder of Friesland, at the head of a numerous detachment of troops, marched secretly and by night to surprise the town; but the darkness and a violent thunder storm having caused the greater number to lose their way, the count found himself at dawn at the city gates with a very insufficient force; and had the farther mortification to see the walls well manned, the cannon pointed, the drawbridges raised, and everything in a state of defence. The courier from Hamburg, who had passed through the scattered bands of soldiers during the night, had given the alarm. The first notion was, that a roving band of Swedish or Lorraine troops, attracted by the opulence of Amsterdam, had resolved on an attempt to seize and pillage it. The magistrates could scarcely credit the evidence of day, which showed them the count of Nassau and his force on their hostile mission. A short conference with the deputies from the citizens convinced him that a speedy retreat was the only measure of safety for himself and his force, as the sluices of the dykes were in part opened, and a threat of submerging the intended assailants only required a moment more to be enforced.

Nothing could exceed the disappointment and irritation of the prince of Orange consequent on this transaction. He at first threatened, then negotiated, and finally patched up the matter in a manner the least mortifying to his wounded pride. Bikker nobly offered himself for a peace-offering, and voluntarily resigned his employments in the city he had saved; and De Witt and his officers were released. William was in some measure consoled for his disgrace by the condolence of the army, the thanks of the province of Zealand, and a new treaty with France, strengthened by promises of future support from Cardinal Mazarin; but, before he could profit by these encouraging symptoms, domestic and foreign, a premature death cut short all his projects of ambition. Over-violent exercises in a shooting party in Gelderland brought on a fever, which soon terminated in an attack of small-pox. On the first appearance of his illness he was removed to the Hague; and he died there on the 6th of November, 1650, aged twenty-four years and six months.

The death of this prince left the state without a stadholder, and the army without a chief. The whole of Europe shared more or less in the joy or the regret it caused. The republican party, both in Holland and in England, rejoiced in a circumstance which threw back the sovereign power into the hands of the nation;[1] the partisans of the house of Orange deeply lamented the event. But the birth of a son, of which the widowed princess of Orange was delivered within a week of her husband's death, revived the hopes of those who mourned his loss, and offered her the only consolation which could assuage her grief.

This child was, however, the innocent cause of a breach between his mother and grandmother, the dowager princess, who had never been cordially attached to each other. Each claimed the guardianship of the young prince; and the dispute was at length decided by the states, who adjudged the important office to the elector of Brandenburg and the two princesses jointly. The states of Holland soon exercised their influence on the other

[1 On the meeting of the deputies from the provinces, or, as it was termed, the Great Assembly, the proceedings were opened January 18th, 1651, by the pensionary of Holland, Jacob Catz, who, in a long oration, recommended to the assembly the consideration of the maintenance of the Union, as framed in 1579; of religion, as established by the decrees of the synod of Dort (Dordrecht); and of the militia, in conformity with the resolutions passed at the time of the peace.[c] The Union, notwithstanding the complaints lately made of the violation of it by the states of Holland, was adjudged to exist in its integrity and pristine vigour.[c]]

provinces. Many of the prerogatives of the stadholder were now assumed by the people; and, with the exception of Zealand, which made an ineffectual attempt to name the infant prince to the dignity of his ancestors under the title of William III, a perfect unanimity seemed to have reconciled all opposing interests. The various towns secured the privileges of appointing their own magistrates, and the direction of the army and navy devolved to the states-general.[b]

FOREIGN RELATIONS

At the termination of the negotiations at Münster, the United Provinces found themselves on a footing of cordial amity with scarcely any nation of Europe, except Spain, their ancient enemy, and Denmark, whom they had forced to conclude a disadvantageous treaty with Sweden a few years before. Sweden, closely allied with France, shared in some degree the resentment of that nation against the states-general, on account of their separate treaty with Spain; and was further alienated by the support they had given to the claims of the elector of Brandenburg to the restoration of Pomerania.

The truce with Portugal, so hastily concluded in 1641, had never since been observed, either in the East or West Indies; and the revolt of Pernambuco was strongly suspected to have been fomented, if not occasioned, by the secret machinations of that court. Hostilities continued in Brazil, until terminated in the manner we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.

LOSSES OF THE WAR WITH ENGLAND

The feeling with which the intelligence of the execution of Charles I was received by all ranks of men in the United Provinces was one of unmingled detestation. The states-general and states of Holland immediately waited upon the prince of Wales, attired in deep mourning, to condole with him for his loss; they saluted him with the title of majesty as king of Scotland; but Holland and Zealand, whom the interests of their commerce obliged to keep some appearance of terms with the new republic, obtained that the title of king of Great Britain should be omitted, and no mention made of congratulations upon his accession to the throne of his ancestors. But, however modified this proceeding, it failed not to give the deepest offence to the parliament, more particularly as not one of the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Christina, queen of Sweden, ventured to pay the fugitive monarch a similar compliment. The ministers of the churches at the Hague, also, a class of men hitherto the most unfriendly to the royalists of England, presented an address of condolence to Charles, in which they compared the execution of the deceased king to the martyrdom of St. Stephen. But for this they were sharply reprehended by the states of Holland, as assuming an interference in political affairs unbecoming their character and calling.

On the other hand, the ambassador of the parliament, Strickland, had been constantly refused a public audience by the states-general; and the melancholy fate of Isaac Dorislaus, who was now sent over to propose a league of amity between the two republics, afforded new matter of bitterness and hatred. This man, the son of a minister of Enkhuizen, had been made professor of history in the university of Cambridge; but afterwards espousing warmly the side of the parliament, was nominated one of the counsel for conducting the prosecution of the king.

These circumstances rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the royalist party, of whom great numbers had taken refuge at the Hague, and he was

accordingly marked out as the first victim upon whom vengeance was to be exercised. The evening after his arrival, as he was sitting with some other persons in the room of an inn at the Hague, four men entered in masks, leaving several others stationed outside to keep watch. They first mortally wounded a gentleman of Gelderland, whom they mistook for Dorislaus. The latter endeavoured to make use of the opportunity to escape; but, unable in his agitation to open the door, he was seized upon and murdered with several wounds. The assassins, who proved to be followers of the earl of Montrose, then dispersed unmolested; and were subsequently enabled, by the aid of their numerous friends, to quit the Hague in safety.

The court of Holland immediately took Strickland under their special protection, and offered a reward of 1,000 guilders for the discovery of the criminals; but the parliament of England persisted in believing, or affecting to believe, that they were allowed to escape by connivance; and made violent complaints of the outrage committed against them in the person of their ambassador, to Joachimi, resident of the states in London. Not long after, Strickland quitted the provinces without having succeeded in procuring an audience of the states-general; and Joachimi, to whom they refused to send letters of credence to the new government of England, was commanded to leave that country. Thus matters appeared ripe for an immediate rupture; the only friendly relations between the commonwealths being maintained by the states of Holland, who sent a commissioner to London with instructions to award to the republican government such style and title as might be found most pleasing, and to watch over the commercial interests of the province.

The death of William II had inspired the parliament with the hope that, through the influence of Holland with the other provinces which had now no counterpoise, they might be brought to consent to an alliance of close and exclusive amity with England. Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland were accordingly sent with this view as ambassadors to the Hague, where — so much were affairs changed — they immediately obtained a public audience of the great assembly which was then sitting, and commissioners were appointed to treat with them concerning the terms of the proposed alliance. Never, perhaps, were negotiations opened between two powers to both of whom the maintenance of peace with the other was an object of more vital importance.

A war with England was to the United Provinces ever an event to be deprecated and dreaded. It must necessarily be maritime; and, even if attended with the most signal success, as ruinous to themselves as to her. In debasing the power of England, they cast down the bulwark of their own religion and liberties against their natural enemies, the Catholic and absolute sovereigns of Europe; in destroying her commerce, they annihilated the most ready and advantageous market for their own wares; while the expense of protecting their vessels must in any case swallow up the profits of their merchants, and occasion a certain and immense decay of trade. In the event of adverse fortune, which, considering the relative strength of their antagonist, would appear almost inevitable, the very existence of the provinces was endangered.

Neither was it from motives of national interest alone that the Dutch might be supposed to view a war with England with the deepest aversion. They could not but reflect in how large a measure she had contributed to their own happiness and glory; that all their proudest recollections were associated with her; that nearly a century had now elapsed since the Dutch-

man had appeared on the field of battle without the Englishman by his side, or a drop of his blood been shed but the bravest and noblest of England had been mingled with it; that the bones of their fathers had lain whitening together on the ramparts of Haarlem and on the strand of Nieuport. Long and intimate intercourse had, indeed, so mixed together the population of the two countries, that a war between them was scarcely less than fratricidal.

Neither was it less incumbent upon the present government of England to keep peace with the provinces, the only foreign power from whence any vigorous attempt to restore the exiled royal family was to be apprehended. The nation, exhausted by the civil war she had now waged for so many years, filled with discontents, and weary of the extortions of the parliament, was ill-prepared to sustain the vast charges which a war with so powerful a maritime nation as the Dutch must necessarily bring in its train. In this state of affairs, and with no objects of dispute existing between the two nations but such as might have been readily arranged, it might be supposed that an alliance would prove a matter of speedy and easy accomplishment. Yet was this desirable object frustrated by unforeseen, and, as it would appear, wholly inadequate causes.

Officer of the Seventeenth Century, after Painting by Terburg

Among other visionary schemes in which the parliament of England indulged was that of forming a coalition between the two republics under one sovereign, and a council, sitting in England, wherein the states were to be represented by a certain number of members. To this end the negotiations of the ambassadors were to be directed; but fearful that if too abruptly broached, the proposal would be at once rejected by the states as absurd and infeasible, they were instructed to keep it carefully in the background, and to pave the way for its introduction by the offer of a close and intimate alliance between the two republics. But even this was proposed upon terms with which it was utterly impossible for the states to comply, had they been ever so well inclined. The parliament demanded that the states should expel

those who were declared rebels in England from the United Provinces, or any territory belonging to the prince or princess of Orange, and that they should not permit the prince or princess to aid or succour such rebels in any manner, on pain of forfeiture for life of the estates on which they had been harboured. As the English fugitives were protected and warmly favoured by the Orange party, any attempt to dislodge them from the boundaries of the provinces would be resisted by the whole power of that party. The states therefore, unanimously resolved that they would not interfere in any manner in the quarrel between the English parliament and Charles II of Scotland. The negotiations thus made no progress, and were soon terminated by the hasty recall of the ambassadors, in consequence of the treatment they had experienced at the Hague.

The Orange party in the United Provinces, strongly attached to the royal cause in England, were even desirous of involving their country in a war to accomplish the restoration of Charles II. The English ambassadors, immediately on their arrival at the Hague, were surrounded, and greeted with the cry of "regicides" and "executioners," by a rabble of the lowest class, to whom, it is said, a page of the princess royal had distributed money; and during the whole period of their stay, neither themselves nor any of their household could appear in the streets without being loaded with reproaches and contumely, and even incurring danger of personal violence from the populace, encouraged and assisted by the English royalists and the chiefs of the Orange party. Prince Edward, son of the titular Queen of Bohemia, who had taken a prominent share in these outrages, was summoned to appear before the court of Holland, and one of his servants was scourged and another banished. But all the efforts of the authorities to arrest the petulance of the mob proved futile; and a military guard was at length placed over the house where the ambassadors resided.

THE ACT OF NAVIGATION (1651)

The insults they had received sank deep into the minds of the ambassadors, more especially St. John. On his return to England, he delayed not to exhibit his feelings of vengeance by carrying through the parliament the celebrated Act of Navigation, the object of which was the ruin of the Dutch commerce. By this act it was decreed that no productions of Asia, Africa, or America should be brought to England, except in vessels belonging to that nation, and of which the greater portion of the crews were English; and that no productions of Europe were to be imported into England except in ships belonging to the country of which such productions were the growth or manufacture. As the United Provinces had little of their own produce to export, but maintained an immense carrying trade to England, as well from the other nations of Europe as the more distant quarters of the globe, the drift of this measure could scarcely be mistaken, even had it not been rendered evident by an article declaring that the prohibition did not extend to bullion or silk wares brought from Italy; while salted fish, whales, and whale oil, commodities of special traffic with the Dutch, were expressly forbidden to be exported or imported except in English bottoms. This step was followed by letters of reprisal issued to such persons as conceived themselves aggrieved by the inhabitants of the United Provinces; and by the equipment of two men-of-war, which inflicted immense injury on the Holland and Zealand merchant ships.

FIRST NAVAL ENGAGEMENT (1652)

Regarding these proceedings as equivalent to a declaration of hostility, the states-general, while they dispatched an embassy to London to complain to the parliament on the subject, and to propose the renewal of a treaty, framed, as far as present circumstances permitted, upon the model of that of 1496, resolved on the immediate equipment of one hundred and fifty ships of war to protect their navigation and fishery. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Marten Harpertzoon Tromp, with instructions to cruise in the Channel, but to avoid as much as possible the coasts of England; the question of striking the flag to the vessels of that nation being left to his discretion.

Tromp, receiving intelligence that seven rich merchantmen from Turkey were closely pressed by some English privateers, sailed towards the coast of Dover, with forty-two vessels, where he encountered the English admiral, Blake, at the head of a squadron fifteen in number. He was preparing for lowering his sails to the English flag, when Blake fired two shots into his ship. A third, Tromp answered with a shot that went through the English admiral's flag. Blake instantly sent a broadside into the Dutch ship, which Tromp was not slow in returning. The English being reinforced with eight vessels from the Downs, both fleets then engaged in a fierce contest, which, after four hours' duration, was terminated by the approach of night, with the loss of two ships on the side of the Dutch.

Such is the account given by Tromp, in a letter to the states-general; but Blake asserted that Tromp, being warned by three shots to strike to the English flag, fired a broadside instead of obeying. Which of the two was to blame, is impossible to decide.

Immediately on information of this engagement, the states, desirous of proving that they were not wilfully the aggressors, commissioned Adrian Pauw, lately chosen pensionary of Holland on the resignation of Jacob Catz, to represent to the parliament that if Tromp had committed the first act of hostility, it was entirely in consequence of a misunderstanding, since no instructions of that nature had been given him; and to endeavour to terminate the affair by an amicable arrangement. To this the parliament showed itself by no means inclined; they demanded a reimbursement of their expenses, or satisfaction, as they termed it, and security for the preservation of peace in future, by which was meant an immediate compliance with their proposal of coalition between the two republics; conditions which were of course inadmissible for a moment. The states-general, therefore, ordered Tromp to engage with the English ships on every opportunity, and the war now commenced in good earnest.

WAR OPENLY DECLARED

Blake having attacked the Dutch herring boats, destroyed several, and scattered the remainder, Tromp directed his course in search of the English fleet; but, being overtaken by a violent storm, he was forced to seek refuge, with his ships much disabled, in the ports of Holland. This misfortune, though wholly beyond his control, brought Tromp into temporary disfavour with the common people; and many members of the government suspecting that, to serve the purposes of the house of Orange, of which he was a zealous partisan, he had wilfully given rise to the dispute concerning the flag, in order to involve

his country in a war, he was superseded by Michel de Ruyter. The new admiral, at the head of thirty light vessels and eight fire-ships, fell in with Sir George Ayscue, near Plymouth. After a sharp and well-fought engagement, Ayscue was forced to retire into the harbour, whither the Dutch ships were prevented by a contrary wind from following him. De Ruyter having soon after joined another squadron, under the vice-admiral, Cornelis de Witt, they were attacked while cruising on the Flemish coast by Blake and Ayscue. In this encounter, twenty of the Dutch ships kept out of gunshot; and De Ruyter, finding himself considerably weaker than his opponent, retired to the haven of Gorée.

The unrivalled skill and experience of Tromp, in maritime affairs, prompted the states once more to reinstate him in his post as head of the fleet, De Ruyter taking the command of a squadron under him. The coasts of Dover and Folkestone were the next scene of combat, when two English ships were captured; Blake, being himself wounded, and many of his ships disabled, was obliged to retire to the Thames, leaving the sea clear for the passage of a large number of merchant ships into the ports of the United Provinces.

Both the belligerents took advantage of the cessation of hostilities during the winter months to improve the condition of their naval armaments. The states proposed to add another hundred and fifty vessels to the fleet of that number they already possessed; but the public finances not admitting of so heavy an expense, they were obliged to content themselves with repairing and refitting the old ones. Seventy only remained under the immediate command of Tromp, the rest being employed in various quarters as convoys. With these he received orders to blockade the Thames; but while previously escorting two hundred merchant ships on their return home, he was intercepted by Blake off Portland Point, Feb. 28, 1653. The two fleets were equal in number, but vastly disproportioned in strength, from the inferior size and equipment of the Dutch vessels, of which a great number were merely armed merchant ships, hired by the states in the beginning of the war.

Blake commenced the attack by a distant fire into the ship of the Dutch admiral, which Tromp left unanswered till he had come within musket-shot of the enemy, when he gave him a broadside, and rapidly veering round sent in another from the opposite side of his vessel. The lightness of his ship enabling him to sail round his antagonist, he discharged a third fire into her opposite side, which was followed by a loud cry, as though several in the English ship were wounded. Blake, then retreating, kept up only a skirmishing fight. De Ruyter at first engaged with the *Prosperity*, of fifty-four guns, his own vessel being no more than twenty-eight. Suffering considerably from the enemy's cannon, he ran close up for the purpose of boarding, and on the second assault captured the English vessel. But, being afterwards surrounded by twenty others, he was obliged to abandon it; and with difficulty extricated himself from his perilous situation by the aid of the vice-admiral, Evertsen. He afterwards, with two of his captains, engaged seven large vessels of the English. Many others performed prodigies of valour; but, as evening approached, Tromp descried about six-and-twenty of his ships taking advantage of the wind to escape.

Darkness at length separated the combatants. Two vessels were sunk on the side of the English, and as many on that of the Dutch; one of the latter was captured and burned, another blew up, and that of De Ruyter was greatly damaged. During the night the Dutch retired towards the Isle of Wight, whither they were pursued by the English, who renewed the attack the next morning. The latter now fired, chiefly from a distance, at the masts and

rigging of their opponents, with the view, after having disabled the vessels of war, to take possession of the merchantmen, which Tromp was endeavouring to protect by ranging the fleet in a semicircle around them. The contest was again prolonged, with unflinching courage on both sides, until evening, when the fleets separated without any decisive advantage; but the Dutch had expended nearly all their ammunition, and De Ruyter's ship was so disabled that she was obliged to be taken in tow. Nevertheless, Tromp commanded his captains to show a good face to the enemy, and prepared to renew the engagement, which commenced at ten in the forenoon of the following day. At the first attack Tromp approached close to the ship of the vice-admiral, which he cannonaded so briskly as to force him to retire. De Ruyter, though still in tow, was found in the midst of the enemy until his ship was so damaged as to become utterly helpless. But again a portion of the Dutch captains failed in their duty by retreating from the fight; some did so in consequence of having no more ammunition, others had no excuse but their cowardice.

MARTIN HARPERTZOON TROMP (1597–1653)

Mere exhaustion at length compelled both parties to a cessation of hostilities; yet, after sunset, Blake made as if he was about to renew the attack. Tromp took in his sails to await his approach, when the English admiral, changing his purpose, sailed towards the shores of England, and the Dutch continued their course homewards without pursuit. The Dutch had nine vessels missing, the English only five or six; but the loss in killed among the latter far surpassed that of their antagonists, amounting to two thousand, while no more than six hundred perished on the side of the Dutch. The former claimed the victory; but the latter reckoned it as an advantage, more than equivalent to a triumph, that they had been able to preserve all their merchant vessels — except twenty-four, which fell into the hands of the enemy. The states-general testified the highest satisfaction at the conduct of Tromp and De Ruyter, and the other commanders who had offered such determined resistance to a fleet so vastly more powerful than their own.[1]

About the same time the Dutch commander, Jan van Galen, obtained a signal victory over some English vessels under Appleton, near the port of Leghorn. The English had three ships captured, and as many destroyed; but their loss was counterbalanced on the side of their enemies by the death of Van Galen.

After the event of the last battle the states were active in repairing their fleet and putting it in a condition again to take the sea. The command was given to Tromp, which he accepted, but with extreme reluctance.

The English fleet, now commanded by George Monk (the restorer of

[1 After the victory Tromp is said to have placed a broom at his masthead to intimate that he would sweep the channel free of English ships. Although this incident has been pronounced mythical by some recent historians, it is accepted by such authorities as Green,[d] Bright,[e] Gardiner,[f] etc.]

royalty to his country) and Richard Deane, consisted of ninety-five sail. In cruising about the shores of Zealand and Flanders, they at length fell in with the Dutch vessels under Tromp, at the harbour of Nieuport. The latter were ninety-eight in number, with six fire ships, but incomparably inferior in size to the enemy. In spite of this overwhelming disadvantage the contest was terrific; and, though several ships were disabled on both sides, and the admiral, Deane, was slain, it continued until nine at night, and was renewed the next day before Dunkirk. The English had now the advantage of the wind, and the Dutch were thus precluded from adopting the only mode of attack, that of closing and boarding, which could place them on anything like an equal footing with their antagonists. Some disorder also occurred in the Dutch fleet, by the ships running foul of each other, and seven fell into the enemy's hands. At the close of the day, Tromp found so great a number of his ships damaged, and all so deficient in ammunition, that he was forced to retire behind the sandbank of the Wielingen, on the coast of Zealand.

This, the first decided defeat which the Dutch navy had sustained, called forth grievous complaints from Tromp and the principal commanders to the states-general. They urged that it would be impossible for them to carry on the war without a powerful reinforcement of good and well equipped vessels; since there were in the English fleet more than fifty, of which the smallest was larger than the Dutch admiral, and thirty of their own were totally unfit for battle. The vice-admiral De Witt, in his address to the states, bluntly exclaimed: "I am here before my masters: but why dissemble? The English are in fact our masters, and we are debarred from the navigation of the seas till we have better ships"; and De Ruyter declared that he would go to sea no more unless some remedy were provided for the present state of things. Though time did not admit of the completion of new vessels, the states, convinced of the justice of the remonstrances made by their officers, laboured so earnestly to satisfy them, that within six weeks Tromp was despatched, with nearly ninety sail.[c]

DEATH OF TROMP (1653)

The English had crossed to Texel with a large fleet, and it was difficult for the two Dutch squadrons to meet. Tromp set sail the 6th of August with ninety vessels intending to attack the English fleet, cross it, and join De Witt, return with him to the enemy, and force them to quit the coast of Holland. On the morning of the 8th he discovered the English; and withdrew in order to draw the English after him and away from Texel, where De Witt would be able to join him. Several of De Witt's vessels with less sail than his own were engaged by the English; Tromp went to their assistance, and the combat commenced at four in the evening. The fight continued until an hour after sunset without any advantage being gained by the English, although their fleet far out-numbered the Dutch, there being about 125 sail. Tromp's venture succeeded and De Witt escaped from Texel during the fight, joining him the next day, so increasing his fleet by twenty-seven sail. Tromp, now reinforced, advanced on the English.

The 10th of August at seven in the morning the opposing fleets met and the combat commenced. Tromp commanded the right wing, De Ruyter the left, Vice-Admiral Evertsen the centre, and De Witt the rear. The Dutch passed at first across the enemy. Tromp was already in the middle of the English fleet; wishing to give an order to the gunners he started to leave the deck, but was struck in the breast with a musket-ball. Crying out: "It is over with me; but for you, take courage," he expired. The captain

THE EMBARKATION OF RUYTER AND WILLIAM DE WITT
(From the painting by Eugene Isabey in the Luxembourg)

of the vessel signaled the other captains to come and hold council. They were overcome with grief on seeing their commander stretched on the deck. It is said that De Ruyter, pausing to contemplate his body, said: "Ah! would that God had taken me in his place; he was more useful to the country than I."

Orders were immediately given to leave the admiral's pennant on his vessel in order that the enemy and the rest of the Dutch fleet might be kept in ignorance of the misfortune. Vice-admiral Evertsen took command and the men returned to their posts. The desire to avenge the death of their general incited the Dutch to prodigies of valour. De Ruyter, who commanded the *Agneau*, threw himself into the most perilous places, and by the terrific fire which he kept up forced his way: this course, however, brought upon him all the enemy's attacks; and, losing the greater part of his men and failing of ammunition, he was forced to go toward the Maas. At four o'clock the two fleets were so weary and in such bad condition that they separated.*g*

Each side claimed the honour of a victory; both shared the disasters of a defeat. The English lost eight vessels and eleven hundred men in killed and wounded; the Dutch nine or ten vessels, about an equal number of slain, with seven hundred prisoners. Neither fleet kept the sea — the Dutch retiring into the Texel, and the English towards the Thames. The former considered it as a decisive advantage to have freed their coasts from the presence of the enemy's ships, but this was more than counterbalanced by the inestimable loss they sustained in the death of their commander Tromp. The states evinced their gratitude to his memory by the care they took of his widow and posterity, and the erection of a magnificent monument to him in the church at Delft.

Determined to show that they had regained possession of the sea, the states despatched the fleet under De Witt to convoy the merchant vessels from the north, which arrived, to the number of four hundred, safely in port. No further engagement occurred during this season.

Both the belligerents had now become heartily weary of a war engaged in for no valid reason, between parties who had no cause of quarrel except such as their mutual pride and obstinacy afforded. Among the Dutch the causes of anxiety for the termination of hostilities were increased in tenfold proportion. The whole of the eighty years' maritime war with Spain had neither exhausted their treasury nor inflicted so much injury on their commerce as the events of the last two years. The province of Holland alone paid from six to seven millions annually as interest for her debt, and while the taxes began to press severely on all ranks of the people, their usual sources of gain were nearly closed: the Greenland fishery was stopped; the herring fishery, the "gold mine of Holland," unsafe, and almost worthless, the English having captured an immense number of the boats; and the decay of trade was so great that in Amsterdam alone three thousand houses were lying vacant.

To these causes were added others peculiar to the province of Holland. The states of this province, whom the proceedings of the late stadholder had rendered strongly averse to the Orange family, had applied all their efforts to prevent the young prince William from being appointed to that office, and that of captain and admiral-general. These had hitherto been successful; but the increased influence which his party gained by the continuance of the war might soon enable them to carry that measure in spite of all opposition. The name of the prince of Orange had heretofore been used in raising recruits

for the army and navy; and the people readily flew to the conclusion that the unwonted disasters of the late maritime encounters were to be attributed to the want of the customary head of affairs. The states of Zealand had already found themselves obliged, in compliance with the clamours of the populace, to propose a resolution that the young prince should be invested with the offices enjoyed by his father, and Count William of Nassau appointed his lieutenant; and it might be feared that the discontents arising from the present state of things would incline Gelderland, Utrecht, and Overyssel, and even some towns of Holland itself, to the same measure for which Friesland and Groningen were strenuous advocates.

JAN DE WITT

At the head of the party favourable to peace, and opposed to the prince of Orange, or the "Louvestein faction," as it was termed, was Jan De Witt, chosen in the early part of this year pensionary of Holland, on the death of Adrian Pauw. He was the son of Jacob De Witt, pensionary of Dordrecht, one of the six deputies who had been thrown into prison by the late stadholder; an injury which had implanted in the mind of the young man feelings of resentment deep, bitter, and implacable.[1] De Witt obtained the usual act of indemnity, whereby reparation was promised him for all the injuries he might sustain in the execution of his office, and that he should be bound to give an account of his actions to none but the states of Holland. He was at this time not quite eight and twenty; yet had merited and obtained so high an esteem for his talents and prudence, that he was often called the Wisdom of Holland. The enmity existing between him and the family of Orange rendered him, however, always unpopular with the multitude.

The states of Holland, informed by a spy whom they kept in England of the favourable dispositions of that government, had, in the early part of the year, secretly dispatched a letter expressive of their desire that the parliament would unite with them in terminating a war ruinous to both nations and to the Reformed religion which they mutually professed. The parliament returned an answer both to the states of Holland and the states-general, signifying their willingness to put an end to the present state of affairs. But notwithstanding that secrecy was in the highest degree requisite, at the beginning at least of the negotiations, they caused the letter of the states of Holland to be printed and published, with the title of *The Humble Petition of the States of Holland to the Parliament of England for Peace.*

This display of insolence had well-nigh frustrated all attempts at accommodation. The states-general testified extreme chagrin at the opening of a separate negotiation on the part of Holland; Groningen and Gelderland strongly urged that it should be pursued no further; and, together with Zealand, proposed to take advantage of the opportunity to enter into a strict alliance with France against England. At the persuasion of the states of Holland, however, the states-general ultimately consented to send ambassadors to London; the lords Beverning and Nieuport from Holland, Van de Perre from Zealand, and Peter Jongestal from Friesland; the two former adherents of the Louvestein party, the latter partisans of the house of Orange.[c]

[1] These sentiments were sedulously inculcated and nourished by his father, whose morning salutation to him is said to have often been "Remember the prison of Louvestein."

PEACE WITH ENGLAND (1654)

The want of peace was felt throughout the whole country. Cromwell was not averse to grant it; but he insisted on conditions every way disadvantageous and humiliating. He had revived his chimerical scheme of a total conjunction of government, privileges, and interests between the two republics. This was firmly rejected by Jan De Witt and by the states under his influence. But the Dutch consented to a defensive league; to punish the survivors of those concerned in the massacre of Amboyna; to pay £9,000 of indemnity for vessels seized in the Sound, £5,000 for the affair of Amboyna, and £85,000 to the English East India Company; to cede to them the island of Polerone in the East; to yield the honour of the national flag to the English; and, finally, that neither the young prince of Orange nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of stadholder. These two latter conditions were certainly degrading to Holland; and the conditions of the treaty proved that an absurd point of honour was the only real cause for the short but bloody and ruinous war which plunged the provinces into overwhelming difficulties.

WAR WITH SWEDEN

The supporters of the house of Orange, and every impartial friend of the national honour, were indignant at the Act of Exclusion. Murmurs and revolts broke out in several towns; and all was once more tumult, agitation, and doubt. No event of considerable importance marks particularly this epoch of domestic trouble. A new war was at last pronounced inevitable, and was the means of appeasing the distractions of the people, and reconciling by degrees contending parties. Denmark, the ancient ally of the republic, was threatened with destruction by Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, who held Copenhagen in blockade. The interests of Holland were in imminent peril should the Swedes gain the passage of the Sound. This double motive influenced De Witt; and he persuaded the states-general to send Admiral Opdam with a considerable fleet to the Baltic (1658). This intrepid successor of the immortal Tromp soon came to blows with a rival worthy to meet him. Wrangel the Swedish admiral, with a superior force, defended the passage of the Sound; and the two castles of Cronenberg and Elsenberg supported his fleet with their tremendous fire. But Opdam resolutely advanced: though suffering extreme anguish from an attack of gout, he had himself carried on deck, where he gave his orders with the most admirable coolness and precision, in the midst of danger and carnage. The rival monarchs witnessed the battle; the king of Sweden from the castle of Cronenberg, and the king of Denmark from the summit of the highest tower in his besieged capital. A brilliant victory crowned the efforts of the Dutch admiral, dearly bought by the death of his second in command the brave Cornelis De Witt, and Peter Florizon another admiral of note. Relief was poured into Copenhagen. Opdam was replaced in the command, too arduous for his infirm-

[c The absorbing events of the English war, and the previous commotions in the provinces, had prevented the states from affording to the West India Company that aid of which they had long stood in the most pressing need. After the revolt of the Portuguese, in 1645, it had so rapidly lost its possessions in Brazil, that at the time of the peace of Münster they were reduced to three forts. In 1654, the fort of the Recif was taken, that of Rio Grande burned, and, by the surrender of the third to the Portuguese, they became sole and undisputed masters of Brazil.c]

ities, by the still celebrated De Ruyter, who was greatly distinguished by his valour in several successive affairs: and after some months more of useless obstinacy, the king of Sweden, seeing his army perish in the island of Funen, by a combined attack of those of Holland and Denmark, consented to a peace highly favourable to the latter power.

These transactions placed the United Provinces on a still higher pinnacle of glory than they had ever reached. Intestine disputes were suddenly calmed. The Algerines and other pirates were swept from the seas by a succession of small but vigorous expeditions. The mediation of the states re-established peace in several of the petty states of Germany. England and France were both held in check, if not preserved in friendship, by the dread of their recovered power. Trade and finance were reorganised. Everything seemed to promise a long-continued peace and growing greatness, much of which was owing to the talents and persevering energy of De Witt; and, to complete the good work of European tranquillity, the French and Spanish monarchs concluded in 1659 the treaty known by the name of the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Cromwell had now closed his career, and Charles II was restored to the throne from which he had so long been excluded. The complimentary entertainments rendered to the restored king in Holland were on the proudest scale of expense. He left the country which had given him refuge in misfortune, and done him honour in his prosperity, with profuse expressions of regard and gratitude. Scarcely was he established in his recovered kingdom, when a still greater testimony of deference to his wishes was paid, by the states-general formally annulling the Act of Exclusion against the house of Orange. A variety of motives, however, acting on the easy and plastic mind of the monarch, soon effaced whatever of gratitude he had at first conceived. He readily entered into the views of the English nation, which was irritated by the great commercial superiority of Holland, and a jealousy excited by its close connection with France at this period.

ENGLAND DECLARES WAR

It was not till the 22nd of February, 1665, that war was formally declared against the Dutch; but many previous acts of hostility had taken place in expeditions against their settlements on the coast of Africa and in America, which were retaliated by De Ruyter with vigour and success in 1664. The Dutch used every possible means of avoiding the last extremities. De Witt employed all the powers of his great capacity to avert the evil of war; but nothing could finally prevent it[1] and the sea was once more to witness the conflict between those who claimed its sovereignty.

A great battle was fought on the 31st of June. The duke of York, afterwards James II, commanded the British fleet, and had under him the earl of Sandwich and Prince Rupert. The Dutch were led on by Opdam; and the victory was decided in favour of the English by the accidental blowing up of that admiral's ship, with himself and his whole crew. The loss of the Dutch was altogether nineteen ships. De Witt, the pensionary, then took in person the command of the fleet, which was soon equipped; and he gave a high proof of the adaptation of genius to a pursuit previously unknown, by the rapid knowledge and the practical improvements he introduced into some of the most intricate branches of naval tactics.

[1 Without declaration of war the English seized 130 Dutch merchantmen in their ports. The formal declaration did not follow for some months, March 4, 1665.]

Immense efforts were now made by England, but with a very questionable policy, to induce Louis XIV to join in the war. Charles offered to allow of his acquiring the whole of the Spanish Netherlands, provided he would leave him without interruption to destroy the Dutch navy (and, consequently, their commerce), in the by no means certain expectation that its advantages would all fall to the share of England. But the king of France resolved to support the republic. The king of Denmark, too, formed an alliance with them, after a series of the most strange tergiversations. Spain, reduced to feebleness, and menaced with invasion by France, showed no alacrity to meet with Charles' overtures for an offensive treaty. Galen, bishop of Münster, a restless prelate, was the only ally he could acquire. This bishop, at the head of a tumultuous force of twenty thousand men, penetrated into Friesland; but six thousand French were despatched by Louis to the assistance of the republic, and this impotent invasion was easily repelled.

A Ship of De Ruyter's Day

The republic, encouraged by all these favourable circumstances, resolved to put forward its utmost energies. Internal discords were once more appeased; the harbours were crowded with merchant ships; the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the states of Holland and of De Witt, who faithfully executed his trust; and De Ruyter was ready to lead on the fleet. The English, in spite of the dreadful calamity of the great fire of London, the plague which desolated the city, and a declaration of war on the part of France, prepared boldly for the shock.[b]

RICHER'S ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FOUR DAYS' BATTLE (JUNE 11TH–14TH, 1666)

While Holland was preparing for war with England, England on her side was arming against Holland; eighty-one vessels stood ready in the Thames under the command of Prince Rupert and General Monk, duke of Albemarle.

De Ruyter left Texel the 8th of June, 1666, directing his course toward the coast of England, hoping to find the English fleet there and give them battle. Arriving at the entrance of the straits of Dover, he gave a signal for all the captains to come aboard and addressed them in the following language: "The moment of combat is at hand. We have to deal with an enemy full of pride, and presumptuous, who seeks our destruction; the salvation of Holland, the safety and honour of our women, our children, our families, depend this day on our prudence and valour. Let us efface the

dishonour which we suffered in the defeat of the past year. We shall meet with a vigorous defence; the English are good sailors and good soldiers, but it is for us to conquer or to die. On our side we have justice and may hope for divine protection. Should there be any too cowardly to follow my example they will find a shameful death in avoiding a glorious one." With one voice the captains declared themselves ready to sacrifice themselves for the honour of their country, and then returned to their ships.

The Dutch fleet continued on its way, and cast anchor the 11th of June in the mouth of the Thames. Towards two in the morning the advance guard made known by a signal that the enemy had been sighted; towards eleven the English fleet was seen advancing in order of battle. De Ruyter had sought battle; now was the moment to which he had aspired. With that coolness which always marks the great man, he gave his orders. The officers and soldiers, filled with admiration for their commander, resolved to conquer or perish; but already their confidence in him gave them the premonition of victory. The English fleet continued to advance. Vice-Admiral Tromp, who was in the advance guard, began fighting an hour after mid-day. De Ruyter from his side attacked the enemy with that fierceness which was his custom; his example was followed by all the captains. The English, having the wind on one side, were unable to use some of their guns. The Dutch, on the contrary, made good use of their batteries and crushed the enemy. The fight was sustained with equal valour and obstinacy on all sides. Four hours after noon an English vessel of fifty cannon was sunk by a broadside from De Ruyter. The two enemies fought in this position until five o'clock, when, the English changing their position to avoid the reefs of Flanders, the squadrons of Lieutenant-Admirals Evertsen and De Vries taking advantage of the movement attacked them with such impetuosity that they succeeded in separating them and capturing three vessels.

Meanwhile Monk fought with a courage bordering on despair. At six o'clock the two armies were still fighting and it was only the coming on of night that finally separated the combatants. All parties busied themselves in repairing the damage sustained and preparing to resume the fight. At dawn the next day De Ruyter signalled his lieutenant-admirals and captains to come aboard in order to impress on them the necessity of keeping up with the same valour the fight that was about to recommence. Sunrise revealed the English fleet a league to windward. The two fleets attacked each other with equal intrepidity. De Ruyter on approaching the English drew toward the south in order to stand upon the same tack with them. The two fleets passed one before the other under heavy fire; numbers of vessels were disabled. A calm now rendered them inactive; but at ten o'clock, a fresh wind coming up, the fight continued.

At noon the Dutch were so close that De Ruyter gave the signal to board. This brought on them a terrible fusillade of the English. De Ruyter, fearing that some of his vessels were in the midst of the enemy, decided at once to succour them and penetrate the enemy's fleet with his squadron; his courage brought him through, and there he found Tromp who, with five vessels, had imprudently penetrated to the middle of the English fleet and who would have been inevitably overwhelmed had not De Ruyter come to his assistance. The five vessels were completely disabled, most of the sailors and soldiers, together with several officers, killed, and nearly all the others wounded. De Ruyter drove off the English, brought back the five vessels except one, which had been burned; the other four being useless, he had them towed back to Texel.

The Dutch fleet now gathered round their general and, stimulated by his

courage, attacked the enemy with so much impetuosity that six of their vessels were sunk and one burned. In this terrible encounter all the attacks of the enemy were directed against De Ruyter; his maintopmast was broken, and fell on the vessel with its flag and pennant. The latter he sent to Van Nes with orders to raise it with his flag and take command until De Ruyter's vessel was repaired. De Ruyter dropped back and Van Nes executed his manœuvres with such prudence and valour that the English gave up the fight. The Dutch pursued the English fleet with all possible speed; the latter used all their experience in their endeavour to reach the Thames, even burning their

THE ARCHERS' PRIZE, SHOWING SEVENTEENTH CENTURY COSTUMES
(After a painting by Bartholomew Van der Helst, 1611-1670)

poor sailing vessels in order that they might not be seized by the Dutch. The *Prince Royal*, carrying ninety-two cannon, commanded by the English vice-admiral George Ayscue, ran aground on a reef called Galloper near the Thames; the admiral used all the accustomed signals calling for aid, but in vain: the English were too terrified to stop. In an instant he was surrounded by the Dutch; recognising the impossibility of defence, he took down his colours. De Ruyter, who in the meantime had repaired his vessel as far as possible, now rejoined his fleet. Fearing that the *Prince Royal* would but prove a burden, he set fire to it and sent Ayscue to the Hague.

Hardly was this expedition achieved when the Dutch saw twenty-five English vessels advancing from the southwest. They were commanded by Prince Rupert, who had detached his squadron in order to collect several vessels at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and then go to the west to await and fight the French who, it had been rumored, were coming to join the Dutch. Not having met them he came to the rescue of the English fleet. As soon as the Dutch saw him they made an attack; he evaded them and joined the

remnant of the English forces on the evening of the 13th of June. Monk gave him an account of what had passed during the two preceding days. They decided that it would be necessary to fight the next day, and the prince, having the freshest vessels, should lead. The English fleet found itself in possession of sixty-one vessels of war; the Dutch had sixty-four, but they had passed through a conflict of two days and all the crews were fatigued. Their other vessels had returned to Holland with the captured ships to be repaired. De Ruyter, seeing that the English were ready to recommence hostilities, prepared to meet the attack. His courage would not allow him to avoid danger. He relied on his example exciting the officers and soldiers to their best efforts.

The fight commenced on the 14th at eight in the morning. The Dutch ships penetrated the English fleet in three different directions and dispersed some of their vessels. De Ruyter, drawing back, ran to the south; the English stood in for the Dutch. This manœuvre lasted till three; the confusion was terrible and the victory remained balanced during the whole day. A Dutch vice-admiral named Liefde, in command of a vessel of sixty pieces, found himself at the mercy of the vice-admiral of the squadron of Prince Rupert, who commanded a vessel of eighty pieces. De Ruyter, whom nothing escaped, seeing his danger, dispersed the enemy's vessels and drew the attack upon himself. Still the combat raged on all sides. De Ruyter, looking like a lion who had been made furious by the carnage, now made the signal to board. Simultaneously the heroes, Tromp, Meppel, Bankert, De Vries, Van Nes, Liefde, Evertsen, etc., attacked the English, pressing them so closely that disorder was created and they were forced to retreat. This was at seven in the evening, after a fight of eleven hours. The Dutch pursued them, but a heavy fog forced De Ruyter to give the signal to rally and retreat. His prudence would not allow him to risk exposing his vessels to collision or the danger of the reefs. He conducted his fleet to Wielingen.

These three encounters have been related in all languages, and all countries accord praise to De Ruyter. All eulogize his prudence, his ability, and his valour. He so disposed his force and so chose his position that the English tried in vain to penetrate his fleet or put it in disorder. His eye was everywhere; no movement of either side escaped him, and his signals to change position or board were always given at the right moment. He never missed an opportunity to pierce his enemy's fleet, double on it, or separate their vessels and sink them. If, through an excess of courage, some of his captains went too far and became the victims of the enemy's fire, he would rescue them with heroic intrepidity; he was the soul of his army and worked the way to victory. The English directed several fire-brands against him in the hope that if they destroyed their admiral, the Dutch might easily be conquered.

This victory was dearly bought by the Dutch.[1] Many of their bravest officers and captains were lost and about eight hundred soldiers and sailors. The number of wounded amounted to 1,150. The English suffered even greater loss; according to the accounts they had 6,000 men killed, among which number were Vice-Admiral Berkeley and a large number of captains. The Dutch had 3,000 prisoners in their ports. The English lost 23 vessels of war, of which 17 were burned or sunk. The other six were taken as prizes by the Dutch.[g]

[1 This engagement, whether we consider the skill displayed on both sides, the valour and obstinacy of the combatants, or the astonishing physical powers which enabled them to endure such prolonged and excessive fatigue, has never yet found a parallel in history. The English historians, following the old style, date the events of this war ten days earlier than the Dutch, who adopted the new.[c]]

THE ENGLISH WIN A VICTORY

In less than three weeks De Ruyter, with the view of taking the enemy, who were not yet ready for sea, by surprise, again set sail towards the English coast. De Witt had been inspired by one Samuel Raven, an English refugee, with the idea that if a landing were made in England, the number of malcontents was so great that the entire overthrow of the present government would be easily accomplished; and, in consequence, the purport of his orders to De Ruyter was in conformity with these views. But the admiral very soon found that the project appeared far more easy of execution at the Hague than at the mouth of the Thames. A fleet of fifty vessels stationed at Queenborough rendered it impossible for the Dutch to advance, except at imminent risk of destruction, as well from the enemy's fire-ships as the dangers of a navigation with which, as the English had removed the buoys and beacons, their pilots were unacquainted.

MICHAEL ADRIAANSZOON DE RUYTER
(1607–1676)

After cruising for more than a month about the coast, De Ruyter was met August 4th, between the North Foreland and Ostend, by the English fleet of ninety sail under the command of Albemarle, his own being eighty-eight in number. The van of the Dutch, under Evertsen, first engaged with the white squadron of the English, commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, when, in a short but brisk cannonade, Evertsen, whose father, son, and four brothers had perished in the service of their country, was killed, with Hiddes de Vries and Admiral Bankert. The death of these officers spread such confusion and dismay through the whole squadron that it fell into disorder, and began to retreat under press of sail. De Ruyter meanwhile had followed the van; but a calm (as it was alleged) preventing some of his ships from coming up, himself, with a part only of his squadron, had to sustain the vigorous attack of Albemarle. Tromp, remaining about two miles in the rear, was engaged with Sir Jeremy Smith, when, after a sharp fire, the latter retreated; but, as it was supposed, only with the view of separating Tromp still farther from the middle squadron. Though strict orders had been issued to the whole of the fleet to keep as close as possible to the Admiral's flag, Tromp continued the pursuit, leaving De Ruyter with a few vessels to contend against the whole power of the enemy, whom, however, he kept at bay with incredible prowess until night.

At the dawn of day, August 5th, he found himself with no more than seven ships remaining, which the English, in the firm expectation of capturing, surrounded, twenty-two in number, in the form of a crescent, and opened upon them a terrific fire. Albemarle, determined, if possible, to grace his triumph with the capture or death of his gallant foe, pursued him with unre-

mitting ardour. He first sent a fire-ship against his vessel, which De Ruyter avoided with admirable skill; when several English ships fired upon him together a tremendous broadside which threatened to shiver his vessel to atoms. Then, for a moment, this great man lost the equanimity which was never, before or after, seen to desert him; and in the bitterness of his anguish exclaimed, "Oh, my God! how wretched am I, that among so many thousand balls not one will bring me death."

But a proposal from his son-in-law, De Witt, that they should rush in among the enemy and sell their lives as dearly as possible, recalled him to himself. He felt how much his country yet required of him; and resuming his habitual composure, he sustained the fight with unmoved steadiness during the whole of his retreat to Walcheren, a retreat more glorious to him, as it was considered by his contemporaries, than the most brilliant victory. The loss was but trifling either on the side of the conquerors or the vanquished; many of the Dutch captains having retreated in the early part of the action. Of all those who thus misconducted themselves, one only was punished; the rest, protected by the magistrates of the towns, their friends and relatives, were not even deprived of their command. The most pernicious results felt from this defeat were in the open hostility into which it exasperated the animosity between the two great admirals, Tromp and De Ruyter, each of whom bitterly reproached the other as the cause of the calamity; in the divisions it occasioned in the fleet, nearly every individual siding with the one or the other; and the consequent loss of the services of the former to his country. The circumstance of Tromp's having, on the morning of the battle, held a long interview with the lord of Sommelsdyk, a zealous adherent of the Orange and English party, excited a suspicion in the states of Holland that the motives of his conduct lay deeper than a personal enmity towards the admiral, and they therefore prevailed with the states-general to deprive him of his commission; a proceeding, however, unjust in the highest degree towards Tromp, if, as his partisans asserted, he was carried away in the pursuit of the English by the ardour of combat; a supposition far more conformable to his character than that he should have acted from any impulse of treachery.

The states, probably, were the more liable to be impressed with suspicions of this nature, in consequence of the discovery, about this time, of a plot formed by one Du Buat, together with two magistrates of Rotterdam, Kievit and Van der Horst, the former a member of the council of state, for obtaining a peace with England, as the readiest means of procuring the elevation of the prince of Orange to the office of captain-general.[c]

THE PEACE OF BREDA

The king of France hastened forward in this crisis to the assistance of the republic; and De Witt, by a deep stroke of policy, amused the English with negotiation while a powerful fleet was fitted out. It suddenly appeared in the Thames[1] under the command of De Ruyter, and all England was thrown into consternation. The Dutch took Sheerness, and burned many ships of war; almost insulting the capital itself in their predatory incursion. Had the French power joined that of the provinces at this time, and invaded England, the most fatal results to that kingdom might have taken place. But the alarm soon subsided with the disappearance of the hostile fleet;

[1 De Ruyter sailed as far up the Thames as Gravesend, and threw London into great terror.]

and the signing of the Peace of Breda, on the 10th of July, 1667, extricated Charles from his present difficulties. The island of Polerone was restored to the Dutch, and the point of maritime superiority was, on this occasion, undoubtedly theirs.

While Holland was preparing to indulge in the luxury of national repose, the death of Philip IV of Spain and the startling ambition of Louis XIV brought war once more to their very doors, and soon even forced it across the threshold of the republic. The king of France, setting at nought his solemn renunciation at the Peace of the Pyrenees of all claims to any part of the Spanish territories in right of his wife, who was daughter of the late king, found excellent reasons (for his own satisfaction) to invade a material portion of that declining monarchy. Well prepared by the financial and military foresight of Colbert for his great design, he suddenly poured a powerful army, under Turenne, into Brabant and Flanders; quickly over-ran and took possession of these provinces; and, in the space of three weeks, added Franche-Comté to his conquests. Europe was in universal alarm at these unexpected measures; and no state felt more terror than the republic of the United Provinces. The interest of all countries seemed now to require a coalition against the power which had abandoned the house of Austria only to settle on France. The first measure to this effect was the signing of the triple league between Holland, Sweden, and England, at the Hague, on the 13th of January, 1668. But this proved to be one of the most futile confederations on record. Charles fell in with the designs of his pernicious, and on this occasion purchased, cabinet, called the Cabal; and he entered into a secret treaty with France, in the very teeth of his other engagements. Sweden was dissuaded from the league by the arguments of the French ministers; and Holland in a short time found itself involved in a double war with its late allies.

A base and piratical attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, by a large force under Sir Robert Holmes, on the 13th of March, 1672, was the first overt act of treachery on the part of the English government. The attempt completely failed, through the prudence and valour of the Dutch admirals; and Charles reaped only the double shame of perfidy and defeat. He instantly issued a declaration of war against the republic, on reasoning too palpably false to require refutation, and too frivolous to merit record to the exclusion of more important matter from our narrow limits.[b]

Notwithstanding the secrecy attending Louis XIV's negotiations, De Witt had been uneasy; always favourable toward the alliance with France, he had sought to calm the latter's irritation against Holland growing out of her belief that Holland was the instigator of the Triple Alliance. Jan De Witt had defended his country with haughty modesty: "I am not sure," he said, "whether the encounters that latterly have brought the important affairs of Europe to be transacted in Holland are to be regarded as a benefit or a misfortune. But in regard to the partiality toward Spain of which we are suspected, it should be said that never can we forget our aversion for that nation; an aversion sucked in with our mother's milk — souvenir of a hatred nourished by so much bloodshed, so many protracted struggles. For my part, no power could turn my inclinations toward Spain."

Hatred against Spain was not, however, so general in Holland as De Witt pretended; and the internal dissensions, carefully fostered by France, were gradually undermining the aristocratic and republican authority, to build up the influence of the partisans of the house of Nassau. Patriotically far-seeing and sagacious, Jan De Witt had long cherished a presentiment of

the defeat of his cause; and it was with great care that he had brought up the heir of the stadholders, William of Nassau, the natural leader of his adversaries. It was this young prince whom the policy of Louis XIV opposed to De Witt in the councils of the United Provinces, thus strengthening in advance the indomitable enemy who was to triumph over his glory and conquer him by defeats.

It was decided to send an envoy to Spain for the purpose of negotiating a defensive alliance. Spain at first regarded the overtures of Holland with a cold and doubtful eye. The dread of French invasion, however, decided them. The defensive alliance between Spain and Holland was accomplished, and all effort on the part of France had been powerless to break it.

JAN DE WITT
1625–1672)

Jan De Witt kept up his negotiations; the treaty of Charles II, with France remained a close secret, and the Dutch believed they could count on the good will of England. Charles II, profiting by the necessity of the states to serve the cause of his nephew, the prince of Orange, had demanded his appointment to the captain-generalship, held hitherto by his ancestors. The prince had already been recognised as first noble of Zealand, and he had obtained entrée to the council. Jan De Witt turned against him the votes of the state of Holland, still preponderant in the republic.

"The grand pensionary," writes De Pomponne,[h] "has nearly smothered the murmurs and the complaints raised against him. He prefers any peril to the re-establishment of the prince of Orange — his re-establishment on the recommendation of the king of England. He believed the republic would suffer a double yoke under the control of a leader who, as captain-general, would aspire to the acquisition of all the powers of his fathers, and this by aid of an ally under suspicion."

The grand pensionary was not deceived; in the spring of 1672 all Louis XIV's negotiations were concluded; his army was ready: at last he was about to crush the little state that so long had stood between him and the fulfilment of his projects.[i]

WAR WITH LOUIS XIV (1672)

Louis soon advanced with his army, and the contingents of Münster and Cologne, his allies amounting altogether to nearly 170,000 men, commanded by Condé, Turenne, Luxemburg, and others of the greatest generals of France. Never was any country less prepared than were the United Provinces to

resist this formidable aggression. Their army was as naught; their long cessation of military operations by land having totally demoralised that once invincible branch of their forces. No general existed who knew any thing of the practice of war. Their very stores of ammunition had been delivered over, in the way of traffic, to the enemy who now prepared to overwhelm them. De Witt was severely, and not quite unjustly blamed for having suffered the country to be thus taken by surprise, utterly defenceless, and apparently without resource. Envy of his uncommon merit aggravated the just complaints against his error. But, above all things, the popular affection to the young prince threatened, in some great convulsion, the overthrow of the pensionary, who was considered eminently hostile to the illustrious house of Orange.[b]

The prince of Orange possessed neither forces nor authority equal to those of his opponent. De Ruyter was hard put to it for ammunition in the struggle already entered upon against the French and English fleets. But it was not by sea or through his lieutenants that Louis proposed to conquer; he arrived in person on the banks of the Rhine, to march straight at the heart of Holland. Jan De Witt proposed to evacuate the Hague and carry the seat of government to Amsterdam; the prince of Orange abandoned Utrecht, which was immediately occupied by the French.

A deputation was sent, June 22nd, to the king's headquarters to sue for peace. The same day, Jan De Witt was stabbed in the Hague by an assassin, while the city of Amsterdam, almost resolved to surrender and ready to send her delegates to the French king, turned suddenly about and took up the rôle of resistance. All the sluice-gates were opened and the dikes broken: Amsterdam floated on the bosom of the tide.

Louis' ambition would not allow of his accepting the propositions of the deputies sent him by the states-general; he desired altogether to exterminate the Dutch: he exacted in addition the cession of south Gelderland, the island of Bommel, twenty-four million francs, the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and an annual envoy charged with thanks to the king for having for the second time brought peace to the Low Countries. This was going too far; while the deputies pondered, death at their hearts, the Dutch nation arose.

Since the beginning of the war the party of the house of Orange had not ceased to gain ground. Jan De Witt had been accused of being the author of all the country's misfortunes. The people noisily demanded the re-establishment of the stadholdership, lately abolished by the presumptuously named Perpetual Edict. Dordrecht, the home of the De Witts, had given the signal for insurrection. Cornelis De Witt, confined to his house by illness, had been prevailed upon by his family to sign the municipal act which would destroy his brother's work. The contagion spread from city to city, from province to province; on July 4th, the states-general named William of Orange stadholder, captain-general, and admiral of the union: the national instinct had fixed upon the saviour of the country and eagerly tendered him the reins of state.

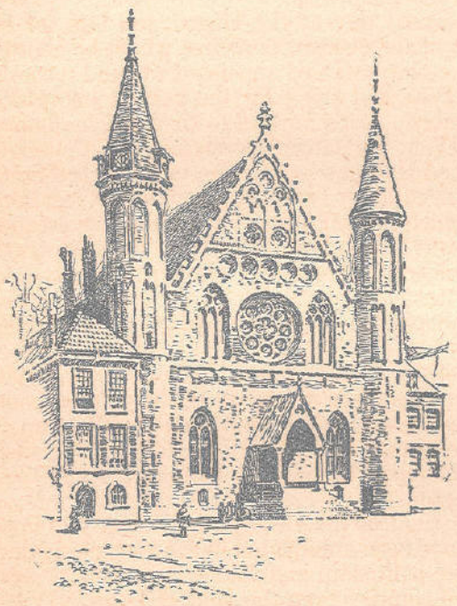
William of Orange was barely twenty-two years old when revolutionary fortune set him all at once at the head of an enemy-ridden, devastated, nearly overwhelmed country; but his mind and soul were equal to the difficult task set before him. He haughtily rejected all propositions brought in the name of the king by Pieter De Groot. All Holland followed the example of Amsterdam: the dikes were broken; the troops of the electors of Brandenburg and of Saxony advanced to the aid of the United Provinces, and the emperor

signed with these two princes a defensive alliance for the maintenance of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis, recalled to France by his interests and his pleasures, left the command of his army to Turenne and departed.

GUIZOT'S ACCOUNT OF THE FATE OF THE BROTHERS DE WITT

Like his country melancholy and defeated, Jan De Witt resigned his office as pensionary counsellor to Holland. He was immediately replaced by Gaspard Fagel, passionately devoted to the prince of Orange. Cornelis De Witt, so lately united with his brother in the public confidence, was now dragged to the Hague like a criminal, upon the accusation by a wretched barber of having conspired for the assassination of the prince of Orange. In vain did the magistrates of Dordrecht claim their right of jurisdiction over their citizen: Cornelis De Witt was put to the torture to extract a confession. "They cannot make me confess what I have never even dreamed of," he answered, while the pulleys were dislocating his joints. His judges, confounded, heard him repeat the ode of Horace:

Justum et tenacem propositi virum.



HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, NEAR THE DEATH-PLACE OF DE WITTS

At the end of three hours they carried him, broken but unconquered, back to his dungeon. The court condemned him to banishment.

His accuser Tichelaer was not yet satisfied. Soon, at his instigation, crowds gathered around the prison, cursing the judges for their clemency. "They are the real traitors," cried Tichelaer: "but let us first be avenged upon those already within our grasp." Jan had been lured to the prison by a message purporting to come from his brother. In vain his daughter implored him to ignore it.

"What do you here?" cried Cornelis, upon seeing his brother. "Did you not send for me?" "Certainly not!" "Then we are lost," said Jan De Witt calmly.

The tumult outside increased. So far a body of cavalry had succeeded in maintaining order. All at once a rumour was afloat that the peasants of the surrounding country were on their way to the Hague to pillage it: the estates ordered the count de Tilly to march against them. The brave soldier demanded a written order: "I obey," he said; "but the brothers are doomed."

Scarcely had the troops departed when the doors of the prison were forced. The ruward, torture-spent, was stretched upon his cot, his brother seated

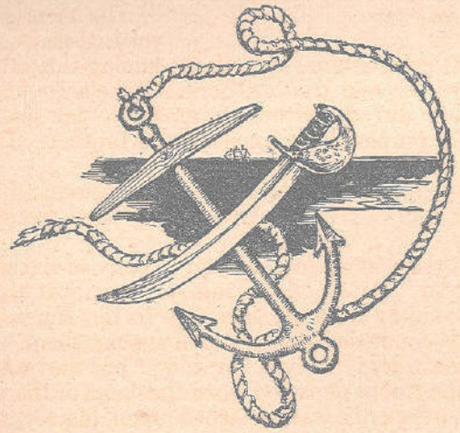
beside him reading aloud from the Bible. The crowd precipitated itself into the room crying, "Traitors, prepare to die!" Both were dragged out. They embraced. Cornelis, struck from behind, fell to the bottom of the stairs. His brother, running into the street to defend him, received a blow in the face from a pick. The ruward was already dead. The assassins flung themselves upon Jan, who, losing nothing of his calm and courage, raised his hands to heaven and opened his mouth to pray, when a last blow felled him. "The Perpetual Edict is down!" shrieked the assassins, heaping insults and maledictions upon the two corpses. It was not till nightfall, and after infinite trouble in recognising the disfigured countenances of his sons, that the unhappy Jacob De Witt was able to carry away the bodies.

William of Orange arrived the next day at the Hague, too late for his own glory and for the punishment of the obscure assassins, whom he allowed to escape. The constructors of the plot obtained appointments and rewards.

During twenty years Jan De Witt had stood for the noblest expression of the traditional policy of his country. Long faithful to the French alliance, he attempted to arrest Louis XIV in his dangerous successess. Conscious of the perils to come, he overlooked those at hand. He believed too much and for too long in the influence of negotiations and the possibility of regaining the friendship of France. That which he had hoped for his country escaped him within and without: Holland was crushed by France, and the aristocratic republic was defeated by the democratic monarchy. Between the two he was unable to divine that constitutional monarchy, freely chosen, which should gain for his country the independence, the prosperity, and the order for which he had laboured.

As fearless and far-seeing a politician as Coligny, like him twice struck by the assassin, Jan De Witt retains his place in history as the unique model of a great republican leader, honest and capable, proud and modest, up to the time when other "united provinces," struggling like Holland for their liberty, furnished him a rival to the purity of his glory in the person of their governor, General George Washington.

In its brutal ingratitude the instinct of the Dutch people clearly divined the situation: Jan De Witt would have been anhihilated in the struggle against France; William of Orange, prince, politician, and soldier, was able to save the necks of Europe and of his own country from the yoke of Louis XIV.[i]



CHAPTER XV

WILLIAM III AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE

[1672–1722 A.D.]

THE massacre of the De Witts completely destroyed the party of which they were the head. All men now united under the only leader left to the country. William showed himself well worthy of the trust, and of his heroic blood. He turned his whole force against the enemy. He sought nothing for himself but the glory of saving his country; and taking his ancestors for models, in the best points of their respective characters, he combined prudence with energy, and firmness with moderation. His spirit inspired all ranks of men. The conditions of peace demanded by the partner kings were rejected with scorn. The whole nation was moved by one concentrated principle of heroism; and it was even resolved to put the ancient notion of the first William into practice, and abandon the country to the waves, sooner than submit to the political annihilation with which it was threatened. The capability of the vessels in their harbours was calculated; and they were found sufficient to transport two hundred thousand families to the Indian settlements. We must hasten from this sublime picture of national desperation. The glorious hero who stands in its foreground was inaccessible to every overture of corruption. Buckingham, the English ambassador, offered him, on the part of England and France, the independent sovereignty of Holland, if he would abandon the other provinces to their grasp; and, urging his consent, asked him if he did not see that the republic was ruined? "There is one means," replied the prince of Orange, "which will save me from the sight of my country's ruin. I will die in the last ditch."

Action soon proved the reality of the prince's profession. He took the field, having first punished with death some of the cowardly commanders of the frontier towns. He besieged and took Naarden, an important place; and, by a masterly movement, formed a junction with Montecuculi, whom

[1672–1675 A.D.]

the emperor Leopold had at length sent to his assistance with 20,000 men. Groningen repulsed the bishop of Münster, the ally of France, with a loss of 12,000 men. The king of Spain (such are the strange fluctuations of political friendship and enmity) sent the count of Monterey, governor of the Belgian provinces, with 10,000 men to support the Dutch army. The elector of Brandenburg also lent them aid.

The whole face of affairs was changed; and Louis was obliged to abandon all his conquests with more rapidity than he had made them.

ENGLAND WITHDRAWS FROM THE WAR

Two desperate battles at sea, on the 28th of May and the 4th of June,[1] in which De Ruyter and Prince Rupert again distinguished themselves, only proved the valour of the combatants, leaving victory still doubtful.

England was with one common feeling ashamed of the odious war in which the king and his unworthy ministers had engaged the nation. Charles was forced to make peace on the conditions proposed by the Dutch. The honour of the flag was yielded to the English; a regulation of trade was agreed to; all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war; and the states-general agreed to pay the king 800,000 patacoons, or nearly £300,000.

With these encouraging results from the prince of Orange's influence and example, Holland persevered in the contest with France. He, in the first place, made head, during a winter campaign in Holland, against Marshal Luxemburg, who had succeeded Turenne in the Low Countries, the latter being obliged to march against the imperialists in Westphalia. He next advanced to oppose the great Condé, who occupied Brabant with an army of forty-five thousand men. After much manœuvring, in which the prince of Orange displayed consummate talent, he on one only occasion exposed a part of his army to a disadvantageous contest. Condé seized on the error; and of his own accord gave the battle to which his young opponent could not succeed in forcing him. The battle of Seneffe is remarkable not merely for the fury with which it was fought, or for its leaving victory undecided, but as being the last combat of one commander and the first of the other. "The prince of Orange," said the veteran Condé (who had that day exposed his person more than on any previous occasion), "has acted in everything like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier."

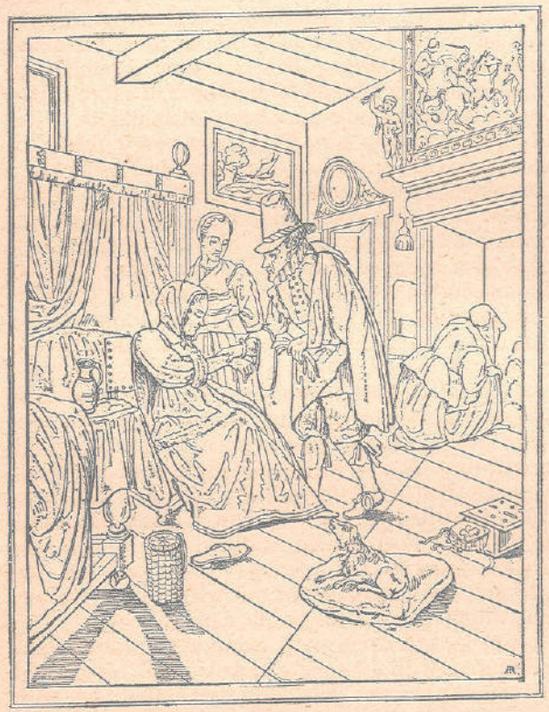
The campaign of 1675 offered no remarkable event, the prince of Orange with great prudence avoiding the risk of a battle.[b]

THE LAST BATTLE OF DE RUYTER

On sea, the power of the Dutch nation had, from the time of the appointment of the prince of Orange as admiral-general, gradually declined. Whether that the conduct of the French, during the late war, had inspired him with a contempt for the naval prowess of that nation, or from some less excusable

[1 As usual, there is a difference of ten days in the dates set for these battles, the Dutch dating them June 7th and June 14th. De Ruyter had tried in vain to block the mouth of the Thames by sinking vessels. The English finally came out with a superior force, and the first encounter was off Schoeneveldt. In the second the English retired, but the Dutch, fearing a ruse, did not pursue. In a third encounter, in the Texel, August 11th [or 21st], the English were repulsed in an effort to capture the East India fleet. The English captured the island of Tobago and took four merchantmen, but the Dutch fleet, under Evertsen, captured New York and took or sank sixty-five of the Newfoundland ships.]

motive, William sent De Ruyter to the Mediterranean with an insufficient and miserably-equipped fleet of eighteen ships, to make head against an enemy whose force consisted of above thirty sail; while the aid of the Spaniards, who had already sustained a severe defeat, was utterly inefficient. In vain did De Ruyter remonstrate against the rashness of thus wantonly exposing the flag of the states to insult; the only answer he received was an imputation that he began to grow timid in his old age; in vain, too, did his friends endeavour to persuade this noble-minded patriot to refuse peremptorily to put to sea with so inadequate a force. It was his duty, he said, to obey the commands of the states; and having taken a last farewell of his family and friends, to whom he expressed his conviction that he should never return, he embarked at Hellevoetsluis, and with the first fair wind set sail for his destination.



A Patient and Doctor—Seventeenth Century Interior
(After the painting by Jan Steen, 1626-1679)

He encountered the French fleet under the admiral Duquesne, between the islands of Stromboli and Salina, but without any decisive result. Having effected a junction with ten Spanish vessels, he came to a second engagement on the coast of Sicily, with Duquesne, who had likewise received a reinforcement of twelve men-of-war and four frigates. Almost at the commencement of the battle, De Ruyter was struck by a cannon ball, which carried off the fore part of his left foot and broke two bones of the right leg. He continued, however, to give his orders with undiminished activity, and concealed the disaster so effectually that neither friend nor enemy had the slightest suspicion of the truth. Both parties ascribed to themselves the victory; the relations on each side differing so widely that it is scarcely possible to conceive they allude to the same event. The most signal defeat, however, would have been a far less grievous calamity to the Dutch than that which they had to sustain in the loss of their great admiral, whose wounds proved fatal a few days after (April 29th, 1676).

De Ruyter is one of those characters whose faultless excellence would, were we obliged to rely solely on the evidence of the biographer and panegyrist, almost create a doubt of its reality, as if beyond the scope of human nature to attain. But in his case, the highest eulogiums are confirmed to the full by the concurring testimony of political opponents, and by the dry and impartial records of history. As a commander, valour was his least qualification: his genius, judgment, and foresight were equal to every emergency. In situations where temerity was wisdom, none could be more reckless and daring; when prudence dictated caution, none could incur more bravely the imputation of timidity.

During the troubled times of the republic, when he often received orders so equivocal or contradictory that whatever course he pursued could scarcely escape censure, he never failed to adopt such as both partisans and opponents agreed in pronouncing wisest and best. The strict discipline he maintained in the navy was softened by his perfect equanimity of temper, his strict regard to justice, his humanity and affability. The purest of republics, in the purest age of its existence, could never boast of a citizen of more incorruptible integrity, disinterestedness, or genuine simplicity of manners. The honours and titles of nobility heaped upon him by nearly every prince of Europe, the consciousness that he was the object of the respect and admiration of the whole civilised world, never in the slightest degree overcame his innate modesty. He gratefully refused the numerous invitations he received to visit foreign courts, and retained unchanged through life the frugal establishment and quiet deportment of a burgher of the middling class. He felt not the slightest shame at the obscurity of his origin,[1] but was, on the contrary, accustomed frequently to mention it in the presence of the most exalted personages, and to hold up his own example to the sailors as an incentive to honourable exertion.

The deficiency of his early education was compensated by the quickness of his apprehension, the clearness of his ideas, and the capacity and retentiveness of his memory. The latter faculty he possessed in such an extraordinary degree that he was able to recall exactly every circumstance, even the most minute, that had occurred from the time of his first going to sea, and the christian and surname of every man who had sailed with him. From conversation, he rapidly acquired the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French languages, so as to speak them with elegance and fluency. In private life, the virtues of a husband, father, friend, and citizen shone out with a lustre softer, but not less brilliant, than that which adorned his public career.

Death, which he had so often looked upon with calmness, came to him stripped of its terrors, and terminated, without a pang or a struggle, his exalted and blameless career of nearly seventy years. His body was embalmed, and, on the return of the fleet, carried to Amsterdam to be interred, amidst the tears of his countrymen.

The suspicion which had insinuated itself among the people, that this excellent and esteemed servant of the republic, a staunch and faithful adherent of the De Witt party, had been sacrificed to the jealousy of the stadholder, contributed to diminish still further the unbounded popularity he had at first enjoyed, and which the discovery of his ambitious views upon the sovereignty of the provinces, and the constant failure of his military enterprises, had already considerably undermined.[c]

This year (1676) was doubly occupied in a negotiation for peace and an active prosecution of the war. Louis, at the head of his army, took several towns in Belgium; William was unsuccessful in an attempt on Maestricht. About the beginning of winter, the plenipotentiaries of the several belligerents assembled at Nimeguen, where a congress for peace was held. The

[1] In early youth he worked in a rope-yard, at the wages of a penny a day, and was first sent to sea as a cabin-boy.

Hollanders, loaded with debts and taxes, and seeing the weakness and slowness of their allies the Spaniards and Germans, prognosticated nothing but misfortunes. Their commerce languished; while that of England, now neutral amidst all these quarrels, flourished extremely. The prince of Orange, however, ambitious of glory, urged another campaign; and it commenced accordingly.

In the middle of February, 1677, Louis carried Valenciennes by storm, and laid siege to St. Omer and Cambray. William, though full of activity, courage, and skill, was nevertheless almost always unsuccessful in the field, and never more so than in this campaign. Several towns fell almost in his sight.[b]

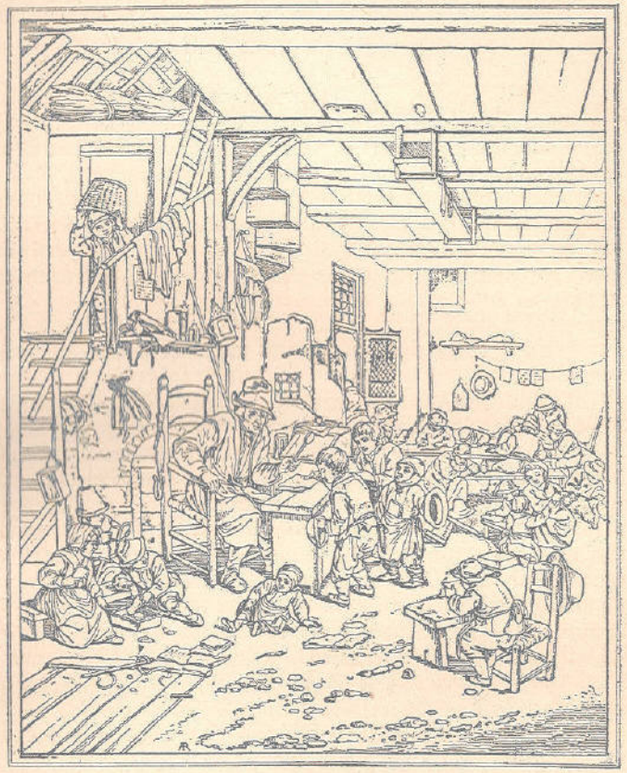
WILLIAM MARRIES THE PRINCESS MARY OF ENGLAND (1677)

William now resolved upon making one strenuous effort, either to engage the king of England as principal in the confederacy, or induce him to take a more active part as mediator. He had before discovered to the English ambassador, Sir William Temple, an inclination to form a matrimonial alliance with Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York; and, taking the opportunity of that minister's temporary return to the court of London, he now obtained, through his mediation, permission from the king to pay him a visit for the purpose of forwarding his suit to the princess. He was kindly received both by the king and the duke of York; but Charles, who was to the full as anxious to gratify France by a peace as the prince to prolong the war, desired that this matter should first be taken into consideration. But the proposal met with a direct negative from William; as he feared lest the allies, who had already taken some alarm on the subject of his visit, should accuse him of having sacrificed their interests to his own ambition for this alliance; and though captivated with the charms of the Lady Mary, he expressed, with strong symptoms of disappointment and vexation, his determination of immediately taking his departure, unless the business of the marriage were first concluded; observing that it was for the king to choose whether they were henceforth to live as the greatest friends or the greatest enemies. The solicitations of Temple and the lord-treasurer Danby at length induced Charles to yield this point, and within a few days the marriage was celebrated, to the great and universal joy of the nation.[c]

THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN AND THE AUGSBURG LEAGUE

Charles was at this moment the arbiter of the peace of Europe; and though several fluctuations took place in his policy in the course of a few months as the urgent wishes of the parliament and the large presents of Louis differently actuated him, still the wiser and more just course prevailed, and he finally decided the balance by vigorously declaring his resolution for peace; and the treaty was consequently signed at Nimeguen, on the 10th of August, 1678. The prince of Orange, from private motives of spleen or a more unjustifiable desire for fighting, took the extraordinary measure of attacking the French troops under Luxemburg, near Mons, on the very day after the signing of this treaty. He must have known it, even though it were not officially notified to him, and he certainly had to answer for all the blood so wantonly spilt in the sharp though undecisive action which ensued. Spain, abandoned to her fate, was obliged to make the best terms she could; and on the 17th of September she also concluded a treaty with France, on conditions entirely favourable to the latter power.

A few years passed over after this period, without the occurrence of any transaction sufficiently important to require a mention here. Charles of England was sufficiently occupied by disputes with parliament, and the discovery, fabrication, and punishment of plots, real or pretended. Louis XIV, by a stretch of audacious pride hitherto unknown, arrogated to himself the supreme power of regulating the rest of Europe, as if all the other princes were his vassals. He established courts, or chambers of reunion as they were called, in Metz and Brisac, which cited princes, issued decrees, and authorised spoliation, in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. Louis chose to award to himself Luxemburg, Chiny, and a considerable portion of Brabant and Flanders. He marched a considerable army into Belgium, which the Spanish governors were unable to oppose.



A Dutch School (1662)
(After the painting by Adriaan van Ostade, 1610–1685)

The prince of Orange, who laboured incessantly to excite a confederacy among the other powers of Europe against the unwarrantable aggressions of France, was unable to arouse his countrymen to actual war; and was forced, instead of gaining the glory he longed for, to consent to a truce for twenty years, which the states-general, now wholly pacific and not a little cowardly, were too happy to obtain from France. The emperor and the king of Spain gladly entered into a like treaty. The fact was that the peace of Nimeguen had disjointed the great confederacy which William had so successfully brought about; and the various powers were laid utterly prostrate at the feet of the imperious Louis, who for a while held the destinies of Europe in his hands.

Charles II died most unexpectedly in the year 1685. His successor, James II, seemed, during a reign of not four years' continuance, to rush wilfully headlong to ruin. During this period, the prince of Orange had maintained a most circumspect and unexceptionable line of conduct: steering clear of all inter-

ference with English affairs; giving offence to none of the political factions; and observing in every instance the duty and regard which he owed to his father-in-law. During Monmouth's invasion he had despatched to James' assistance six regiments of British troops which were in the Dutch service, and he offered to take the command of the king's forces against the rebels.

It was from the application of James himself that William took any part in English affairs; for he was more widely and much more congenially employed in the establishment of a fresh league against France. Louis had aroused a new feeling throughout Protestant Europe, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The refugees, whom he had driven from their native country, inspired in those in which they settled hatred of his persecution as well as alarm at his power. Holland now entered into all the views of the prince of Orange. By his immense influence he succeeded in forming the great confederacy called the League of Augsburg, to which the emperor, Spain, and almost every European power but England, became parties.

James gave the prince reason to believe that he too would join in this great project, if William would in return concur in his views of domestic tyranny; but William wisely refused. James, much disappointed, expressed his displeasure against the prince, and against the Dutch generally, by various vexatious acts.

WILLIAM BECOMES KING OF ENGLAND (1689)

William resolved to maintain a high attitude; and many applications were made to him by the most considerable persons in England for relief against James' violent measures, which there was but one method of making effectual. That method was force. But so long as the princess of Orange was certain of succeeding to the crown on her father's death, William hesitated to join in an attempt that might possibly have failed and lost her her inheritance. But the birth of a son, which, in giving James a male heir, destroyed all hope of redress for the kingdom, decided the wavering, and rendered the determined desperate. The prince chose the time for his enterprise with the sagacity, arranged its plan with the prudence, and put it into execution with the vigour, which were habitual qualities of his mind.

Louis XIV, menaced by the League of Augsburg, had resolved to strike the first blow against the allies. He invaded Germany; so that the Dutch preparations seemed in the first instance intended as measures of defence against the progress of the French. But Louis' envoy at the Hague could not be long deceived. He gave notice to his master, who in his turn warned James. But that infatuated monarch not only doubted the intelligence, but refused the French king's offers of assistance and co-operation. On the 21st of October the prince of Orange, with an army of fourteen thousand men, and a fleet of five hundred vessels of all kinds, set sail from Hellevoetsluis; and after some delays from bad weather he safely landed his army in Torbay, on the 5th of November, 1688. The desertion of James' best friends; his own consternation, flight, seizure, and second escape; and the solemn act by which he was deposed — were the rapid occurrences of a few weeks; and thus the grandest revolution that England had ever seen was happily consummated. Without entering here on legislative reasonings or party sophisms, it is enough to record the act itself; and to say, in reference to our more immediate subject, that without the assistance of Holland and her glorious chief England might have still remained enslaved, or have had to purchase liberty by oceans of blood. By the bill of settlement the crown was conveyed jointly to the prince and

JAMES II RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE
(From the painting by Edward M. Ward, in the National Gallery)

princess of Orange, the sole administration of government to remain in the prince; and the new sovereigns were proclaimed on the 23rd of February, 1689. The convention, which had arranged this important point, annexed to the settlement a declaration of rights, by which the powers of royal prerogative and the extent of popular privilege were defined and guaranteed.[b]

The satisfaction which the Dutch experienced at having given a sovereign to so great and renowned a nation, an event calculated to add strength to the cause of the reformed religion, and permanently secure to themselves the English alliance, gave place in a great degree to the not groundless apprehension that the king would be tempted to sacrifice the interests of the weaker state, where his authority was undisputed, to those of the larger and more powerful. Many, who considered the office of hereditary stadholder incompatible with that of King of England, expected that he would resign the former; but this anticipation was disappointed in the receipt of his first message to the States, informing them of his elevation to the throne, and professing that this circumstance would in no wise lessen his care and affection for them, but enable him on the contrary to exercise the office he held in the United Provinces for their greater service and advantage. But, notwithstanding these fair promises, it soon became evident how little they had to hope for either from him or the English nation, in return for the liberal and generous assistance afforded them in the late emergency.[c]

WAR WITH FRANCE

William now presented the singular instance of a monarchy and a republic being at the same time governed by the same individual. But whether as a king or a citizen, William was actuated by one powerful principle, to which every act of private administration was made subservient. Inveterate opposition to the power of Louis XIV was this all-absorbing motive.

A sentiment so mighty left William but little time for inferior points of government, and everything but that seems to have irritated and disgusted him. He was soon again on the Continent, the chief theatre of his efforts. He put himself in front of the confederacy which resulted from the congress of Utrecht in 1690. He took the command of the allied army; and till the hour of his death he never ceased his indefatigable course of hostility, whether in the camp or the cabinet, at the head of the allied armies, or as the guiding spirit of the councils which gave them force and motion.

Several campaigns were expended and bloody combats fought, almost all to the disadvantage of William, whose genius for war was never seconded by that good fortune which so often decides the fate of battles in defiance of all the calculations of talent. But no reverse had power to shake the constancy and courage of William. He always appeared as formidable after defeat as he was before action. His conquerors gained little but the honour of the day. Fleurus, Steenkerke, Neerwinden were successively the scenes of his evil fortune, and the sources of his fame. His retreats were master strokes of vigilant activity and profound combinations. Many eminent sieges took place during this war. Among other towns, Mons and Namur were taken by the French, and Huy by the allies; and the army of Marshal Villeroi bombarded Brussels during three days, in August, 1695, with such fury that the town-house, fourteen churches, and four thousand houses were reduced to ashes. The year following this event saw another undecisive campaign.[b]

William engaged Tromp to return to the navy and resume his position

as vice-admiral and appointed him in 1691 to the command of the English and Dutch navy. Both countries hoped much on seeing once more installed at the head of the naval force a man so courageous and able as Tromp.

Europe awaited, expectant of great achievements on the sea, the campaign of 1691. The French forces were commanded by the count de Tourville, who had given in numerous engagements striking proof of his ability. The arming and equipment of the fleet was carried on assiduously, when the death of Tromp occurred. A mortal malady had ended his life on the 29th of May, 1691.

The news of his death spread rapidly through Holland and carried consternation everywhere. The great need that the nation had of him made his loss felt to the full extent. Cornelis Tromp is placed justly among the naval heroes of Holland. He gave new glory to the name already made illustrious by his father. His courage was an incentive to his countrymen, who endeavoured to imitate it. It was always he who attacked the enemy. Many times did he throw himself in the middle of an English fleet, dispersing all who crossed his course; attacking always the vessel which seemed most able to resist him.[d]

During the continuance of this war, the naval transactions present no grand results. Jean Bart, a celebrated adventurer of Dunkirk, occupies the leading place in those affairs, in which he carried on a desultory but active warfare against the Dutch and English fleets, and generally with great success.

PEACE OF RYSWICK

All the nations which had taken part in so many wars were now becoming exhausted by the contest, but none so much so as France. England, though with much resolution voting new supplies, and in every way upholding William in his plans for the continuance of war, was rejoiced when Louis accepted the mediation of Charles XI, king of Sweden, and agreed to concessions which made peace feasible. Everything was finally arranged to meet the general views of the parties, and negotiations were opened at Ryswick. On the 20th of September, 1697, the articles of the treaty were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors. The treaty consisted of seventeen articles. The French king declared he would not disturb or disquiet the king of Great Britain, whose title he now for the first time acknowledged. Between France and Holland were declared a general armistice, perpetual amity, a mutual restitution of towns, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, and a treaty of commerce which was immediately put into execution. Thus, after this long, expensive, and sanguinary war, things were established just on the footing they had been by the peace of Nimeguen. The peace became general, but unfortunately for Europe it was of very short duration.

France, as if looking forward to the speedy renewal of hostilities, still kept her armies undisbanded. Let the foresight of her politicians have been what it might, this negative proof of it was justified by events. The king of Spain, a weak prince, without any direct heir for his possessions, considered himself authorised to dispose of their succession by will. The leading powers of Europe thought otherwise, and took this right upon themselves. Charles died on the 1st of November, 1700, and thus put the important question to the test. By a solemn testament he declared Philip duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, and grandson of Louis XIV, his successor to the whole of the Spanish monarchy. Louis immediately renounced his adherence to

the treaties of partition, executed at the Hague and in London in 1698 and 1700, and to which he had been a contracting party; and prepared to maintain the act by which the last of the descendants of Charles V bequeathed the possessions of Spain and the Indies to the family which had so long been the inveterate enemy and rival of his own.

The emperor Leopold, on his part, prepared to defend his claims; and thus commenced the new war between him and France, which took its name from the succession which formed the object of dispute. Hostilities were commenced in Italy, where Prince Eugene, the conqueror of the Turks, commanded for Leopold, and every day made for himself a still more brilliant reputation. Louis sent his grandson to Spain to take possession of the inheritance for which so hard a fight was yet to be maintained.

Louis prepared to act vigorously. Among other measures, he caused part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxemburg and Brabant to be suddenly made prisoners of war, because they would not own Philip V as king of Spain. The states-general were dreadfully alarmed, immediately made the required acknowledgment, and in consequence had their soldiers released. They quickly reinforced their garrisons, purchased supplies, solicited foreign aid, and prepared for the worst that might happen. They wrote to King William, professing the most inviolable attachment to England; and he met their application by warm assurances of support, and an immediate reinforcement of three regiments.

DEATH OF WILLIAM III

William followed up these measures by the formation of the celebrated treaty called the Grand Alliance, by which England, the states, and the emperor covenanted for the support of the pretensions of the latter to the Spanish monarchy. William was preparing, in spite of his declining health, to take his usual lead in the military operations now decided on, and almost all Europe was again looking forward to his guidance, when he died on the 8th of March, 1701, leaving his great plans to receive their execution from still more able adepts in the art of war.[b]

DAVIES' ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM III

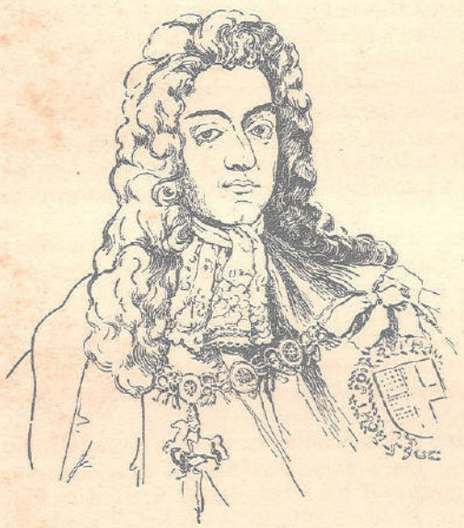
William had to sustain a life of anxiety and fatigue, under the disadvantage of a feeble constitution of body; betrayed by his slight and attenuated frame, though in no degree in his countenance, which was clear, animated, and sparkling.

In a military point of view, he presents the singular phenomenon of a commander indebted for a high reputation solely to reverses and defeats, his peculiar constitution of mind being indeed such as to insure for him both the reverses and the reputation. Deficient in inventive faculty, slow of comprehension, hesitating and unready, without a sufficient degree of confidence in his own opinions, and too proud to endure contradiction or adopt the suggestions of others, he was unable immediately to perceive the skilful combinations of the great generals opposed to him or to cope with their rapid and masterly movements; and often allowed the opportunity for action to escape, or formed his plans in ignorance of some point which, if seized, would have occasioned them to be wholly different.

In the field of battle, on the other hand, the discovery of errors previously committed caused in him neither vacillation nor apprehension. Roused

to animation, full of unwonted fire and energy, he was present everywhere, and exposed himself with indifference to the most imminent dangers. In the hour of defeat, which too surely arrived, his real greatness displayed itself; it was then that his dauntless spirit and unshaken firmness of soul enabled him to take advantage of all the resources that were yet available; to give his orders with the same composure and precision as if advancing to certain victory; and to convert the most disastrous rout into a safe and orderly retreat.

Considered as a politician, his capacity for government appeared in a very different light in his native country, where he was surrounded by able and zealous ministers, and in England, where he was left to depend more upon his own resources. In Holland he had merely to express his opinions, however crude, and a Fagel, a Beverning, a Dykeveldt, and a Heinsius — unquestionably the first statesmen and politicians in Europe — were ready to modify, to improve, and to render them suitable to the taste of the nation; in England, where he had few or none on whom he could depend for information and assistance, and where the slightest influence gained over him by one party excited the jealousy and animosity of the other, he betrays an extreme deficiency in penetration, dexterity, and temper; and we can scarcely recognise, in the peevish monarch, threatening constantly to abandon his kingdom, and with it the noble cause he had espoused, the steady patriot who delivered his country from the miseries of foreign conquest and domestic sedition. Placed by circumstances in the position of a restorer and defender of liberty, never was absolute monarch more fond of arbitrary power, or more impatient of even the most legitimate control.



William III (1650–1701)

In Holland, where, at the time of his accession to the stadholderate, the precarious condition of affairs rendered it necessary that unusual authority should be placed in his hands, we have seen him take advantage of it to introduce his dependents into every office of government without regard to their ability to fill them, and to trample under foot the ancient customs and privileges, interwoven in the welfare, almost in the very existence of his country. It may, indeed, be truly affirmed that, had he left a son, or succeeded in settling the inheritance on his relative John William Friso, the liberties of Holland were gone forever. In England, his anxiety to obtain a larger share of authority than the nation was willing to grant led him to appear ungrateful to those who had set him on the throne, and to inflict incalculable injury on his affairs by entrusting them to ministers of the tory party, whose maxims of government, as more favourable to royal prerogative, were more acceptable to him than those of the whigs; but whom he never could succeed in reconciling to his person, or engage to serve him with fidelity.

But though his self-will and arbitrary temper might have inclined him to be a despot, not even these dispositions could ever have induced him to become a tyrant. Too magnanimous at once, and too indolent, to commit acts of injustice or oppression, he would have obtained absolute power only with a view to its upright and beneficial use. His lofty and noble ambition, exempt from the slightest alloy of vanity, rapacity, or cupidity, was directed to none but the most praiseworthy ends; to the glory and happiness of the countries he governed, to the preservation of the liberties and balance of Europe, and to the abasement of the overgrown power of France.

In steadiness of purpose he was unshaken; in scrupulous honour and integrity he was unsurpassed by any prince of the world; and forms, in this respect, a striking contrast, as well to the habitual insincerity of his predecessor Charles II as to the duplicity and faithlessness of his contemporary of France; of him it might be truly affirmed, as it was erroneously observed of his father-in-law, that his word was never broken. So high was the esteem in which he was universally held on this account, that the Spanish minister, De Lyra, was accustomed to say his master trusted more to the honour and constancy of the prince of Orange than to any treaties.. A deep and fervent spirit of piety was in him united, in a remarkable manner, with sentiments of unbounded religious toleration.

Yet with many and great virtues, while he secured the esteem he failed to gain the affections of mankind. Raised to the sovereign power over two great nations, by the mere force of popular opinion, and hailed by both as their preserver and defender, he died disliked and unlamented by the one and rather respected than beloved by the other; a circumstance attributable chiefly to his cold and reserved manners and melancholy temperament, being but rarely excited to cheerfulness, and then only among a few of his most intimate friends.

But if he took no pains to acquire the love of men, he was equally little affected by their malice and enmity. The numerous attempts to assassinate him, persisted in during the whole course of his reign, never excited in him the slightest emotion of anger, revenge, or fear; firm in the belief of predestination instilled in his youth by his Calvinistic teachers, and which he carried into every, even the smallest, circumstance of his life, and fully persuaded that not all the power and arts of enemies could hasten his destiny one single moment, he was literally "not afraid of what man could do unto him." But though neither vindictive nor cruel, it may be doubted whether he hesitated to sacrifice the principles of humanity and justice when they stood in the way of the advancement of his interests or the gratification of his ambition. The murder of the De Witts and the massacre of Glencoe have cast upon his memory a stain which his panegyrists have in vain laboured to efface.

In both the instances in question, the impunity that William secured to the perpetrators of the crime, and the friendship and countenance with which he afterwards treated them, offered almost incontrovertible evidence of his guilty participation; and in the minds of posterity, unhappily, the remembrance of the defender of the civil and religious liberty of Europe is inseparably interwoven with that of the abettor of the murder of the illustrious De Witts and of the slaughter of the confiding Highlanders of Glencoe.

But, however exceptionable in some points the public character of William, in his domestic relations it shines out with a clear and undimmed lustre. His

purity of morals and general propriety of conduct contributed much to infuse a new tone and spirit into the society of England.

The consternation which prevailed in the United Provinces on the death of William was excessive, since, from the known prejudices of Queen Anne, his successor, against the whigs, nothing less was expected than that an immediate and entire change of measures in the English court and the dissolution of the Grand Alliance would leave them exposed to the whole vengeance of France. These fears were speedily relieved by the declaration of the views of the queen, who, within a week after her accession, dispatched the earl of Marlborough to assure the states of her determination to preserve all the alliances formed by the late king for the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, and the reduction of the power of France within just limits; and to regard the interests of her own kingdom and the states as inseparable. The states of Holland, on their side, passed a resolution that, notwithstanding the lamented death of the king of England, they were determined to remain firm to their allies, and prosecute the war with their whole strength and vigour; and, appearing in full number in the states-general, induced them to adopt a similar resolution. The treaty between Great Britain and the states was accordingly renewed, and the plan of the campaign projected by William III was concluded with the earl of Marlborough, who had been appointed general-in-chief of the English forces before the death of that monarch.

It was in the early part of the war that those dissensions sprang up between the duke of Marlborough and the states' deputies in the camp, which have called forth the bitterest invectives against the Dutch from the English writers, more especially his biographer, archdeacon Coxe.[c] Marlborough was, for many reasons, anxious to make the Netherlands the principal scene of hostilities; while the states hoped, by acting chiefly on the defensive, and confining themselves to hindering the advance of the French troops, and to effecting the reduction of the towns which served best to protect the United Provinces against invasion, to impel the king of France to turn the strength of his arms to Germany, Italy, and Spain, and thus relieve provinces so near their own boundaries, in some measure, from the miseries of war.[c]

THE STADHOLDERATE ABOLISHED (1704)

William was the last of that illustrious line which for a century and a half had filled Europe with admiration. He never had a child; and being himself an only one, his title as prince of Orange passed into another branch of the family. He left his cousin, Prince John William Friso of Nassau, the stadholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the states-general his executors.[b]

While the preparations for the ensuing campaign were in progress, animated debates arose in the states-general on the subject of the appointment of a commander of the troops. The states of Friesland and Groningen insisted that their young stadholder, John William Friso, should be created general of the infantry; a demand strenuously opposed by the remaining provinces. The states of Zealand, accordingly, objected that, in the present condition of affairs, it was necessary to have a general, not nominal only, such as the tender age of the prince would render him, but of mature years and experience; and that his advancement would be only the first step to the renewal of that form of government which neither themselves nor the other states would willingly see restored. A compromise was at length

effected, according to which John William Friso was appointed general of the infantry, but was not to exercise the duties nor enjoy the emoluments of the office till he had completed his twentieth year.

The states were probably rendered the more reluctant to adopt any measure which might tend to advance Prince John William Friso to the stadholdership, from the circumstance of the will, by which William III had appointed him his sole heir, being disputed by the king of Prussia, grandson by the mother's side of the stadholder Frederick Henry, who had bequeathed the inheritance to the heirs of his daughter, in default of the issue of his son. In order, therefore, to prevent the indulgence of any hopes which the Orange party might conceive from this favour shown to the prince, the states of Holland were the first to propose in the states-general that those of the individual provinces should take an oath, each deputy separately, to preserve the union of the provinces without a stadholder, and to maintain steadily all the alliances in which they were at present engaged.

On this occasion the states of Holland, instead of sending their deputies as usual, appeared in person, and in full number, in the states-general, a mode to which they constantly afterwards adhered, and which procured for them a weight and influence in the federal government superior even to that formerly enjoyed by the stadholders. The senates and councils of the towns resumed the right of nominating their own members, a change which in Holland was effected without disturbance; but in Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overyssel, where "the regulations"— the terms, that is, on which these provinces had been received back into the union after their conquest by the king of France — were of such a nature as to give the late stadholder opportunities for the exercise of exorbitant power, the struggles between the party whom he had sedulously excluded from public offices, and those whom long possession had rendered doubly anxious to retain them, were frequent and severe.

Ultimately, however, the changes in the municipal bodies were almost universally favourable to the existing government, and the constitution of the five provinces settled itself on pretty nearly the same basis as after the death of William II in 1650. The principal and most difficult duty of the stadholder, that of persuading the provinces to agree to the subsidies demanded by the council of state, was now fulfilled by the states of Holland through the medium of their pensionary, whose office thus acquired new dignity and importance, while his influence became more extensive in the states-general.[1] The deliberations which, since the death of the stadholder, had been tardy and vacillating, now gradually assumed a character of greater firmness and vigour; and never, perhaps, were the measures of the government more distinguished by wisdom, energy, and justice, than during the latter years of the war.[c]

THE TRIUMVIRATE AGAINST FRANCE

The joy in France at William's death was proportionate to the grief it created in Holland; and the arrogant confidence of Louis seemed to know no bounds. "I will punish these audacious merchants," said he, with an air of disdain, when he read the manifesto of Holland; not foreseeing that those he affected to despise so much would, ere long, command in a great

[1] The influence of the states of Holland in the states-general was obtained chiefly by a custom they had of advancing money to the poorer provinces, when unable to pay their quotas to the generality; and, in the same way, Amsterdam was accustomed to exercise a preponderance over the smaller towns in the states of Holland.

measure the destinies of his crown. Many of the northern princes were withheld, by various motives, from entering into the contest with France, and its whole brunt devolved on the original members of the grand alliance. The generals who carried it on were Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The former, at its commencement an earl, and subsequently raised to the dignity of duke, was declared generalissimo of the Dutch and English forces. He was a man of most powerful genius, both as warrior and politician. A pupil of the great Turenne, his exploits left those of his master in the shade. No commander ever possessed in a greater degree the faculty of forming vast designs, and of carrying them into effect with consummate skill; no one displayed more coolness and courage in action, saw with a keener eye the errors of the enemy, or knew better how to profit by success. He never laid siege to a town that he did not take, and never fought a battle that he did not gain.

Prince Eugene joined to the highest order of personal bravery a profound judgment for the grand movements of war, and a capacity for the most minute of the minor details on which their successful issue so often depends. United in the same cause, these two great generals pursued their course without the least misunderstanding. At the close of each of those successive campaigns, in which they reaped such a full harvest of renown, they retired together to the Hague, to arrange, in the profoundest secrecy, the plans for the next year's operations, with one other person, who formed the great point of union between them, and completed a triumvirate without a parallel in the history of political affairs. This third was Heinsius, one of those great men produced by the republic whose names are tantamount to the most detailed eulogium for talent and patriotism. Every enterprise projected by the confederates was deliberately examined, rejected, or approved by these three associates, whose strict union of purpose, disowning all petty rivalry, formed the centre of counsels and the source of circumstances finally so fatal to France.

The war began in 1702 in Italy, and Marlborough opened his first campaign in Brabant also in that year. For several succeeding years the confederates pursued a career of brilliant success, the details of which do not properly belong to this portion of our history. Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, are names that speak for themselves, and tell their own tale of glory. The utter humiliation of France was the result of events in which England was joined in the strictest union with Holland, and the impetuous valour of the successor to the title of prince of Orange was, on many occasions, particularly at Malplaquet, supported by the devotion and gallantry of the Dutch contingent in the allied armies. The naval affairs of Holland offered nothing very remarkable. The states had always a fleet ready to support the English in their enterprises; but no eminent admiral arose to rival the renown of Rooke, Byng, Benbow, and others of their allies. The first of those admirals took Gibraltar, which has ever since remained in the possession of England.[1] The great earl of Peterborough carried on the war with splendid success in Portugal and Spain, supported occasionally by the English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and that of Holland under admirals Allemonde and Wapenaer.

During the progress of the war, the haughty and long-time imperial Louis was reduced to a state of humiliation that excited a compassion so profound

[1] The queen of England at first appeared inclined to acknowledge a joint-possession with the states of this conquest, achieved by their united arms; but she afterwards changed her purpose, and the English finally assumed the sole occupation of Gibraltar, without any indemnification to the states, who, reluctant to alienate so valuable an ally by insisting on the share so justly due to them, quietly acquiesced in the usurpation.[c]

as to prevent its own open expression. In the year 1709 he solicited peace on terms of most abject submission. The states-general, under the influence of the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, rejected all his supplications, retorting unsparingly the insolent harshness with which he had formerly received similar proposals from them. In the following year Louis renewed his attempts to obtain some tolerable conditions; offering to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all the former demands of the confederates. Even these overtures were rejected; Holland and England appearing satisfied with nothing short of, what was after all impracticable, the total destruction of the great power which Louis had so long proved to be incompatible with their welfare.[b]

TROUBLE WITH ENGLAND

Yet events had long been preparing in England which were to change entirely the face of affairs on the Continent, and deprive the states, and even Great Britain herself, in some measure, of the fruits of their numerous and dearly-bought victories. The dismissal of the whig ministers in 1710, followed in 1711 by the dismissal of Marlborough, was a measure regarded with as much dismay by the allies (of whom the emperor and states ventured to petition the queen in earnest terms against it), as with secret triumph and exultation by France. Louis, indeed, had everything to hope from the new administration, composed entirely of tories, whom all the glory of their country's arms failed to reconcile to the war, and who constantly viewed both the Dutch nation itself and the alliance of the states with jealousy and aversion.

The queen of England having sent circulars to the allied sovereigns, inviting them to the congress at Utrecht, ambassadors from nearly all the courts of Europe appeared in that city early in the year 1712. The instructions given to those of England, as regarded the United Provinces, seemed rather as though directed against enemies than in favour of allies whose interests she was bound to maintain equally with her own.

The Dutch felt still more painfully the effects of the altered sentiments of England in the course of the campaign. Secret orders were sent to Marlborough's successor, the duke of Ormonde, to take no part in any siege or battle. Thus enfeebled by the desertion of the English, a detachment of the allied army sustained a severe defeat at Denain. The truce between France and England was renewed and Bolingbroke was sent to France with instructions to conclude a separate peace.

These events — more especially the seizure of Ghent by the English, which enabled them to stop the supplies to the allied camp — were attended with the effect which the ministers anticipated, of reducing the allies to submission to such terms as England and France might impose. The negotiations at Utrecht were resumed on the basis proposed by the queen in her speech to her parliament at the opening of the session. Herein she had declared that the barrier provided for the states should be the same as that of the treaty of 1709, with the exception of two or three places at most — a point which gave rise to many and animated contests.

At length the queen having obtained from France the addition of Tournay to the barrier towns, the states were fain to receive peace upon such other conditions as were offered them. They signed a new treaty with England, annulling that of 1709, and providing that the emperor Charles should be sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands, which, neither in the whole nor in part, should ever be possessed by France.

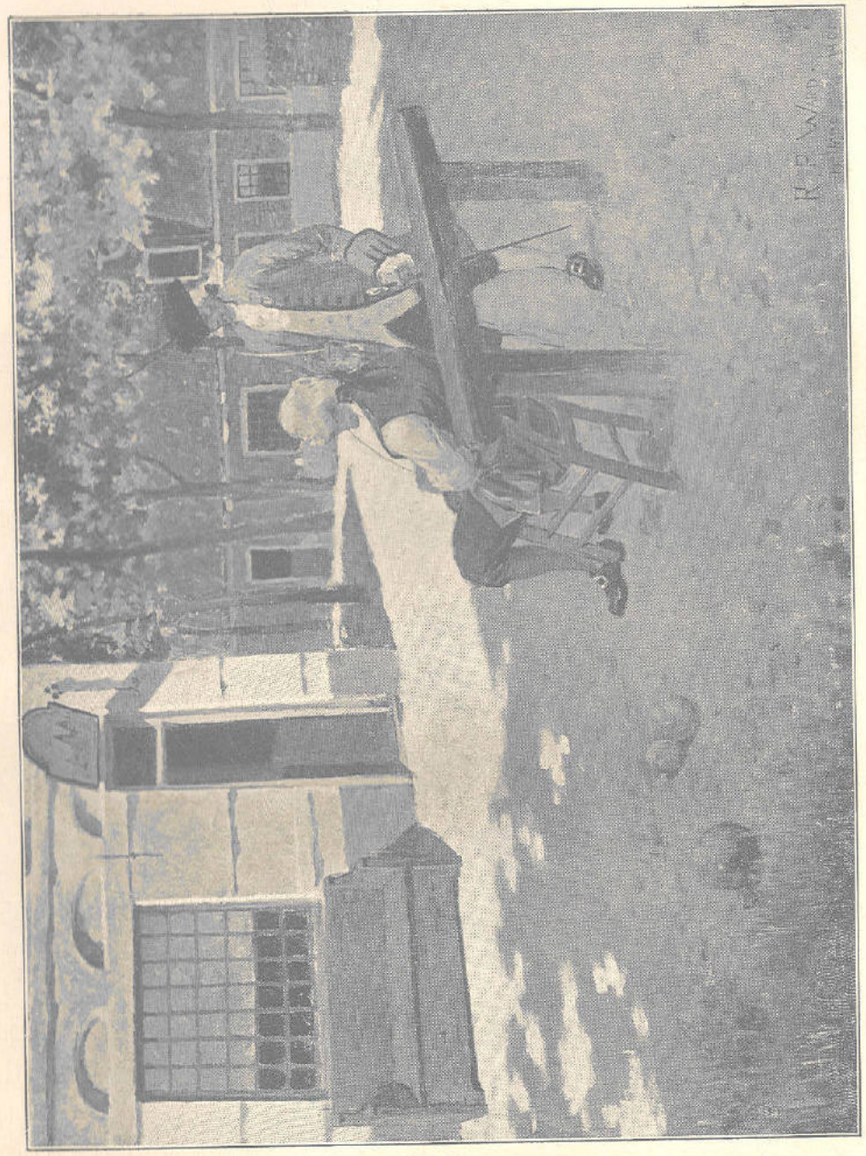
THE TREATY OF UTRECHT (1713) AND THE BARRIER TREATY (1715)

Difficulties being thus smoothed, the declaration made by the English plenipotentiaries of their determination to sign on a certain day, whether with or without the allies, hastened the decision of the latter, with the exception of the emperor. Portugal, Russia, and, last of all, the states, followed the example of England. By the treaty concluded between France and the states, it was agreed that the king of France should surrender to them the Spanish Netherlands, on behalf of the house of Austria, the elector of Bavaria being reinstated in all the territories he possessed before the war. The towns of Menin, Tournay, Namur, Ypres, with Warneton, Poperinghe, Comines and Wervicq, Furnes, Dixmude, and the fort of Knokke, were to be ceded to the states, as a barrier, to be held in such a manner as they should afterwards agree upon with the emperor. France and the states mutually bound themselves to do no act which should tend to unite the crowns of Spain and France on one head.

The publication of the peace was received by the people in the United Provinces with coldness, and even aversion; they declared that the illuminations and bonfires, with which the states ordered the event to be celebrated, ought to be called, not *feux de joie*, but *feux d'artifice;* and inveighed bitterly against the English ministry, whom the corrupt influence of France alone, according to the vulgar opinion, had prompted to conclude a war the most glorious and successful ever waged in Europe by a degrading and injurious peace.

The effects of the favourable dispositions of the court of England, and the altered sentiments of France towards the states, were soon perceptible in the negotiations with the emperor concerning the regulation of the barrier, which, since the Peace of Utrecht, had given rise to long and angry contestations. The emperor had hitherto refused their demand of the demolition of Fort Philip and the cession of Dendermonde; but, now that he found they had the support of England and France, he yielded so far as to consent that the states should keep a joint garrison with himself in that town; he abandoned his claim to Venlo and Stevenswaard, on which he had before insisted, and by the Treaty of the Barrier, November 15th, 1715, permitted the boundary on the side of Flanders to be fixed in a manner highly satisfactory to the states, who sought security rather than extent of dominion. By the possession of Namur they commanded the passage of the Sambre and Maas; Tournay ensured the navigation of the Schelde; Menin and Warneton protected the Lys; while Ypres and the fort of Knokke kept open the communication with Furnes, Nieuport, and Dunkirk. Events proved the barrier, so earnestly insisted on, to have been wholly insufficient as a means of defence to the United Provinces, and scarcely worth the labour and cost of its maintenance.

Henceforward, with the exception of a triple alliance concluded with France and England in the next year, the states during a considerable period interested themselves slightly, or not at all in the numerous treaties which the different powers of Europe, as if seized with the mania of diplomacy, were continually negotiating — often, it would seem, without any special cause or definite purpose. Neither did they take any share in the wars between Spain and France, or between Spain and Great Britain — effects of the restless ambition of the Spanish minister, Cardinal Alberoni — further than to furnish such subsidies to the new English king, George I, as were expressly stipulated by treaty.



A DUTCH INN AND BOWLING GREEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
(From the painting by Phillipps Ward)

THE DECLINE OF HOLLAND

It was in some measure in disgust at the treatment they had experienced at the hands of their more powerful allies during the negotiations at Utrecht that they thus withdrew themselves from the political affairs of Europe; and yet more from their inability to sustain longer the high position among nations which had, by common consent, been awarded them. The efforts they had made to carry on the last long and expensive war had been far above their strength. The province of Holland alone had incurred a debt of 19,000,000 guilders, and most of the others were wholly unable to furnish their quotas to the generality.

The integrity of the union, appeared threatened by the failure of the provinces in the payment of their quotas. As well for this cause as to rectify some abuses existing in the constitution, among which those of bribery and corruption stood predominant, it was determined to summon an extraordinary assembly of the states in the same manner as in the year 1651. But on this occasion an increasing supineness in the performance of their political duties, a deficiency both of ability and energy for self-government, and a decay of mutual confidence, first strikingly displayed themselves in the Dutch people.

As even the business of providing funds to meet the present exigencies remained unattended to, the states-general found themselves obliged, by the exhausted state of their treasury, to make an infringement on public credit, comparatively slight indeed, but of ominous portent in a state so scrupulously exact on that point, in raising funds by means of a tax of a hundredth penny on the bonds of the generality for three years. The states attempted no other answer to the loud and general murmurs of the bondholders than the plea of urgent and overwhelming necessity. They likewise reduced their military establishment to the number of thirty-four thousand men.

In 1720 died the celebrated pensionary of Holland, Antonius Heinsius, having served that office for terms of five years consecutively since 1689; a man to whom friend and opponent have agreed in awarding the praise of consummate wisdom, indefatigable industry, ardent patriotism, and incorruptible integrity. It was, perhaps, the loss of this able and influential minister which caused, among a portion of the people of the United Provinces, a renewed desire to behold the restoration of the stadholderate. There was, however, at this time, no prince of the family of Nassau-Orange of an age to aspire to that office, the prince John William Friso having been drowned in 1711 in crossing the ferry at Moerdijk. His son, William Charles Henry Friso, born a few weeks after his death, was hereditary stadholder of Friesland, and had, in 1718, at the age of seven, been created stadholder of Groningen, on the same terms as his ancestors had enjoyed that dignity. He had scarcely attained his eleventh year when the partisans of the house of Orange in Gelderland made strenuous efforts to procure his elevation to the stadholdership of that province, and with so great success that the states were summoned to consider the question before the other provinces were aware of the existence of any such design.

The states of Holland and Zealand quickly took the alarm, and, by earnest remonstrances and vivid representations of the evil consequences that must ensue from their surrendering any portion of their sovereignty, endeavoured to deter the states of Gelderland from their purpose. Their efforts were, however, fruitless.

In all disputes between the several quarters of the province, or between the

estates of the nobility and towns, they were, in default of a stadholder, obliged to have recourse to the interference of the states-general. Hence that body, or rather the states of Holland, whose supremacy was tacitly admitted by the rest, took occasion to assume and exercise greater influence in their affairs than they were inclined either to admit or endure. Should they appoint a stadholder all such differences must be submitted to his decision, and thus the states-general be excluded from intermeddling.

This consideration it was that induced many of the deputies to the Gelderland states to accede to a measure they might otherwise have been disposed to thwart; and they accordingly elected unanimously the young prince stadholder, captain, and admiral-general of Gelderland (1722). Yet they plainly evinced their dread lest the stadholderal power should become as dangerous as it had before been to the liberties of their country, by the narrow limits within which they confined it. Shorn as it was of its lustre, the restoration of the stadholderate in Gelderland was hailed with joy by the Orange party as the first step towards a return to a similar form of government in the remaining four provinces; yet some years elapsed, and a vast change of circumstances occurred, before they found themselves in sufficient strength to carry that measure.[c]

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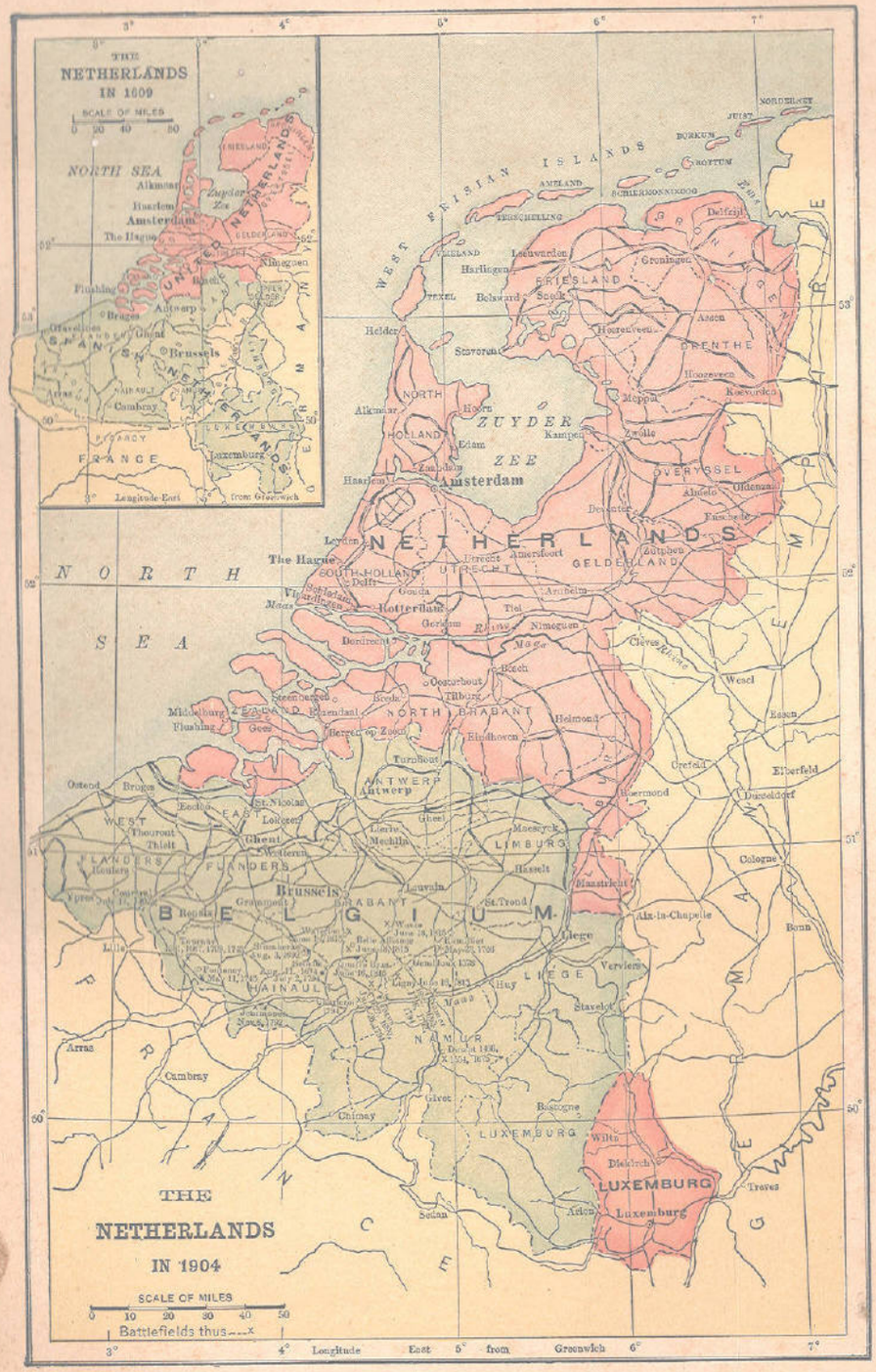

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