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longing to the noble class, they represented the yeomanry and even the villeins : it was the reactionary legislation of the reign of Henry VI. that turned the knights of the shire into an aristocratic class.

If there is any portion of the work in which Professor Stubbs has departed from his usual cautious and conservative method, it is where (p. 189) he hints that besides the three great estates, — clergy, nobles, and commons, — the lawyers and the merchants seemed likely at one time to form an estate of the realm. The facts brought up to sustain this point are interesting, but hardly warrant so strong a word as "likely," especially in view of the fact that the same three estates are found in nearly every constitution of Western Europe. "A negotiation with the merchants enabled the king to increase at will the custom on wool ; the merchants agreed to pay the maletote, but they secured the monopoly, and the difference in price came out of the pockets of the commons." (p. 401.) But the merchants in such cases were in no sense acting in a public capacity ; besides, they formed the most substantial part of the burgesses, and the boroughs would have made but a meagre show, if the merchants had gone by themselves. The case of the lawyers has more plausibility ; still, even here, we must remember that the estates met at first mainly to grant supplies, and that the nobles, the clergy, the landed interest, and the towns made a pretty nearly exhaustive classification for this purpose. As a counselling body the lawyers might very well have stood by themselves ; not, however, in the granting of supplies.

The period of the next volume is sketched in no flattering terms : "Weak as is the fourteenth century, the fifteenth is weaker still ; more futile, more bloody, more immoral ; yet out of it emerges, in spite of all, the truer and brighter day, the season of more general conscious life, higher longings, more forbearing, more sympathetic, purer, riper liberty." Nevertheless, Mr. Stubbs's labors will be welcome in this period, for it is even more obscure than the centuries which precede.

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5. — *Geschichte des deutschen Reiches vom Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zur Reformation.* Von Dr. Theodor Lindner, ausserordentl. Professor an der königlichen Universität zu Breslau. Erste Abtheilung : Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter König Wenzel. Erster Band. Braunschweig : C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. 1875. 8vo. pp. 436.

It is hard to see how any sane man should undertake a history of the compass and on the scale of this. The period embraced by it

certainly possesses a high degree of unity, well adapting it to a consecutive treatment; for a history which ends with Luther may very properly begin with Huss. But the early years of the reign of Wenceslaus do not properly come within this field by any close historical connection, and at any rate 1378 cannot fairly be called "the end of the fourteenth century." The religious movement in Prague in 1403 forms the proper commencement of such a history, to which a brief survey of the early years of the reign would form a suitable introduction. Or if it is thought desirable to approach the subject rather from the political than the religious side, the reign of Charles IV. should by all means form the starting-point. The author confesses as much in his Preface, and it is easy to see that the disproportioned space given to the tedious years here treated is due to the recent publication of Weizsäcker's "Reichsacten," which have supplied the historian with a tempting abundance of authentic materials; much as in every history of Greece the Peloponnesian War occupies a space altogether out of proportion to the intrinsic importance of its details. As a result we have a goodly volume devoted to the events of eleven years, — years as a whole singularly devoid, for Germany, of events of high interest: every one may judge for himself how many volumes will be required for the hundred and forty-one years covered by the plan.

A little grumbling at the impracticableness of the plan may perhaps be allowable; when we come to its execution, we have little but praise. The work is performed with the most scrupulous care and accuracy, and the tiresome and perplexing details of these worrisome years receive as much life and interest as perhaps they admit. Not that they are wholly devoid of interest in themselves. So far as they still possess value for us, they mainly centre around three series of events, — only one of them primarily German, but all with a very powerful influence upon German affairs. These three events are the Great Schism in the Church (1378), the death of Louis the Great of Hungary and Poland (1382), with the ensuing dynastic changes in those kingdoms, and the formation of the Swabian (1376) and Rhenish (1381) confederacies, with the wars and negotiations growing out of them.

The first of these events is narrated with great fulness and accuracy; the chapter indeed is made out of a monograph which appeared in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*. Affairs in the two eastern kingdoms occupy also a large share of space; which will not appear disproportioned when we consider that Wenceslaus was primarily king of Bohemia, and only secondarily king of Germany. This

wretched sovereign inherited little of his father's ability or steadfastness of purpose; but one quality he did inherit from him, — an eager purpose to aggrandize his family. This was the leading policy of his reign, so far as in his earlier and better years he can be said to have had one. To secure to his brother Sigismund the throne of Poland or Hungary or both, he sacrificed his own imperial rank and the unity of Christendom. For, as Dr. Lindner shows, had he carried out his purpose of being crowned by Urban VI. at Rome, the authority he could have exercised as co-ordinate head of Christendom would in all likelihood have completely crushed the Schism; and it is almost certain that if he had had the prestige of emperor, and not merely of king of the Romans, he could hardly have been deposed, in spite of his vices and maladministration.

These two groups of events, with their varied and often tragic incident, are those which give this volume its most general interest: it may be questioned, however, whether the deepest and most significant associations of the period will not be found in connection with the monotonous and seemingly trivial details relating to the South German leagues of cities. The Hanseatic League of Northern Germany fills a large space in universal history. Engaged chiefly in foreign commerce, and in intercourse with foreign nation, it acquired practically the power and prestige of an independent confederacy; but for this very reason it had less importance in the internal affairs of Germany. The cities of South Germany — Frankfort, Nuremberg, Strasburg, Ratisbon — were not inferior to Lübeck, Hamburg, and Cologne in intrinsic power and importance; but their energies found no external sphere of action. Their confederacies, therefore, hardly known to ordinary readers, were of high importance in the development of German constitutional history.

Their history is given by Professor Lindner with great perspicuity; he has analyzed very clearly the circumstances which led to their establishment, and has succeeded in unravelling the perplexed thread of their subsequent fortunes. Here, however, as elsewhere, — relying no doubt on the familiarity of his countrymen with the history of their own institutions, — he has abstained from carrying back his analysis quite so far as we certainly should desire. For his purposes Frankfort, Strasburg, and Nuremberg are independent towns, standing in the same relation to the empire as their princely and knightly rivals. This is enough, perhaps, for the purposes of diplomatic history; but the full understanding of the epoch demands a somewhat nearer acquaintance with the internal nature and organization of these little republics. Here his book is admirably supplemented by

a recent address of Professor Schmoller, Rector of the University of Strasburg, — *Strassburg zur Zeit der Zunftkämpfe,* — which contains exactly the information which the reader needs, in order to comprehend the nature of the contest described at length by Professor Lindner.

That the cities of Germany were powerfully affected by the great democratic wave which swept over Europe in the fourteenth century, is a well-known fact; their constitutions were recognized at this time, in such a manner as to give the trade-guilds — the *industrial classes,* be it understood, not the *laboring* classes, as we now understand them — a greater or less share of power. The old city patriciate, itself akin to the feudal aristocracy, had been content to administer affairs in a moderate and conservative spirit, satisfied with the inherited power and dignity. The new democracy had a loftier ambition and a more restless spirit. "The history of the fourteenth century," says Schmoller (p. 33), "is an endless tying and untying of single threads, which in the form of treaties and compacts on one side maintain peace and quiet, on the other are designed to bring to the confederating elements enhancement of power and influence. On the one side stand the cities, on the other the princes. The knightly body, half burgher, half rural, was divided, now leaning more to the cities, now to the princes, or sought by knightly confederacies to carry out a policy of their own. The most essential point was the contest between the princely and the burgher orders; it must finally be decided by the arbitrament of arms whether future political formations in Germany, developing out of the chaos of the constitution of the realm, should build upon the cities or the princes; whether the future of Germany should belong to the municipal states, as in Italy, or to the princely states." It would not be possible to describe better the substance of Dr. Lindner's book than in the opening words of this passage; and with the key here given, the tiresome and complicated events become comprehensible and interesting.

This contest for supremacy began in the period covered by the present volume, and came to a disastrous close in that of the volume next to follow. In this contest the several parties which composed the party of the cities fall into three groups, — the Rhenish cities (Frankfort, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, and Basel, with one or two others), the Swabian cities (at their head Ulm), and the rural Swiss communities. The distinction, the historian shows, was not an unessential one. The aims of the two groups of cities were quite different. The Swabian cities, except Ratisbon, were simple cities of the empire (*Reichsstädte*), which were striving to assert a position of

independence; the cities of the Rhenish confederacy were (all those above enumerated except Frankfort) *free* cities, which "took their oath to the king only as king, and not as lord of the soil and the court [*Grund und Hofherr*], paid therefore no regular tax to the empire, but owed the empire only a contribution to its common burdens." (Lindner, p. 140.) The Rhenish confederacy was, therefore, only a league formed for mutual defence under special exigencies; it was defensive, not aggressive, like that of the Swabian cities; and it was only after a strong effort that the latter succeeded in securing a union of the two leagues. The Swabian cities were equally eager for auxiliaries in the other direction, and in 1385 succeeded in bringing about an alliance with the Swiss cantons; the great victory of Sempach the next year, although not without the aid of the German cities, must have contributed powerfully to foster the warlike policy of the following years.

The relation of Wenceslaus to these controversies is noteworthy. In the beginning of his reign he adhered to his father's policy of hostility to the cities. Charles IV. is one of the sovereigns of history to whom the judgment of the present day is more favorable than that of earlier times. He did not belong to that age of violence and of mock chivalry, and never received justice from those who took their standard from that. We are accustomed to say that with Louis XI. of France and Henry VII. of England began the modern type of kings; and so it did, so far as successful and consecutive administration is concerned. But Charles IV. of Germany was a prince of the same cool, sagacious character, with the same appreciation of the benefits of peace and industry. Maximilian's jest of the "Erzvater Böhmens, Erzstiefvater des Reichs," is well known. In truth Charles saw and recognized the limits of the possible. What one man could do at that time to bring order out of the chaos of the empire, his Golden Bull accomplished; for the rest he deserves the fame of having made Bohemia, his native country, the political and intellectual centre of Europe north of the Alps. To him the great evil of the day, the great source of anarchy and disorder, must have seemed the restless democracy that held sway in the cities; the chief obstacles to his efforts at an orderly constitution. They were no less grasping and turbulent than the knightly order; at the same time, while containing the seeds of the future, they were a revolutionary element, — and Charles was after all a king and an emperor.

Wenceslaus had not probably any more sympathy with the cities than his father had had; but when he found himself deserted by the princes, and projects of deposing him set on foot, he was naturally

drawn to the side of their great enemies, the cities; just as afterwards somewhat similar causes led him to a position of partial favor towards the Hussite movement. The turning-point in his policy is formed by his successful efforts to gain for his brother Sigismund the throne of Hungary, 1386; from this time he was more and more estranged from the princes of Germany, and more inclined, therefore, to favor the leagues of cities.

Dr. Lindner's style is clear and sufficiently animated. The subject of the volume is as a whole too dry to call out the best qualities of an historian; he appears, however, to very good advantage in those parts which admit of a freer treatment. Charles of Durazzo is a name tolerably familiar to English readers through his connection with Joanna of Naples; his entire career will be found well narrated in this volume, and his stormy transactions with the savage Elizabeth of Hungary, and his death at her hands, form its most graphic episode.

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6. — *The Life of Jonathan Swift.* By John Forster. Vol. I., 1667–1711. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1876.

On the whole, it is to be regretted that Mr. Forster did not live to finish his life of Swift. For many years he had been accumulating materials for it, — rummaging libraries, purchasing rare books, collating manuscripts, talking with men connected as nearly as men of this generation can be with the persons, events, or writings with which he was to deal. His standing announcement, to whom it might concern, that he had constituted himself Swift's next friend, added the fruits of other men's industry or good fortune to his own; and his income was sufficient to enable him to profit by all that came in his way. Persevering, painstaking, with an eye and a taste for details, he probably discovered everything that remains within reach of inquiry. Had he finished the work he began, we should have before us all the evidence now accessible as to Swift's conduct and character.

By Mr. Forster's death, some of this evidence must inevitably be lost. Even if his executors find many of his papers in a condition to be used, there can never be any certainty that they have found all; even if the papers are put into good hands, — as in these book-making days is but too unlikely, — it is unreasonable to expect of any editor the intimate knowledge of the subject possessed by one who had made it his subject for half a lifetime. At the best, the rest of the story will be told in a way so different from Mr.