

curriculum of four years, the first two years being given to the study of the academic branches the candidate expects to teach, and the last two to professional studies, observation work and practice teaching. There is also a graduate department, consisting of advanced courses in the subjects of the college curriculum and leading to university degrees.

It is evident that we are entering upon a new era of normal school development, an era in which the university seems destined to do for the teacher of the normal school what the normal school has done for the teacher in the elementary grades. The Catholic teaching orders occupy a position of peculiar advantage here. The offspring of the original normal school movement inaugurated by La Salle, their very existence and character as teaching bodies are based upon the idea of the professional training of the teacher, and whatever pedagogical advantages the parochial schools possess in comparison with the public schools, are due chiefly to the fact that this fundamental idea of the normal school has reached its fullest development thus far in the religious orders. They ought to be the first, therefore, to take advantage of this new educational movement, representing, as it does, only the continued development of the normal school along the lines of its original foundation. The establishment of Catholic teachers' colleges will stimulate the growth of the teaching orders and develop more fully their vast latent pedagogical resources. It will remedy serious defects in their present training courses. It will insure, as nothing else can, the continued growth and progress of the parochial schools. It will furnish a convincing proof to the non-Catholic mind as to the value of the work that is being done in Catholic schools, and will thus be another step in the direction of that synthesis of parochial school and common school educational systems which is so greatly to be desired.

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THE PAPACY AS A NAVAL POWER.

STORIA DELLA MARINA PONTIFICIA. 9 vols. and Atlas of 100 Plates. Rome, 1886-1893. By Padre Alberto Guglielmotti, O. P.

IT MAY seem strange that a government which, like that of the Holy See, has always been regarded as feeble and unwarlike, and which, during the Middle Ages, has often found it difficult to maintain its authority over the City of Rome, should ever have been distinguished as a naval power, and that for many centuries the defense of the coasts of the Mediterranean against piracy

should have been mainly due to its fleets. It is, indeed, a well authenticated fact, though one to which historians have not, as a rule, directed sufficient attention, that the successors of St. Peter have always been the vigilant and unwearied guardians of Christianity against Mahometanism; and it is certain that, if the other sovereigns of Europe had listened to their warning voice and responded to their appeals for help, the Emperors of the East might still be reigning at Constantinople, and some of the fairest provinces of Asia and of Europe would have been preserved from the despotism of the Turk.

The history of these long forgotten campaigns has been written by a learned Dominican, Padre Alberto Guglielmotti, who was born in 1812 at Civit  Vecchia, one of the chief seaports of the Papal States, of a family which had often sent representatives to serve on board the warships of the Holy See. He entered the order of St. Dominic at the age of fifteen, and for many years he taught natural philosophy and mathematics in the public schools of the Convent of Sta. Maria sopra Minervam, while at the same time he pursued his antiquarian researches among the archives of the Vatican and of the noble families of Rome. In the voluminous and erudite work which is the result of these labors, Padre Guglielmotti shows a profound knowledge of the technical details of medi val and modern seamanship, as well as of the sciences of gunnery and fortification, with regard to the development and progress of which he has furnished much new and valuable information. He has also brought to light many hitherto unknown facts in the annals of the Papacy, and he has rescued from the dusty records, where for centuries they had lain in oblivion, the memories of many brilliant and daring deeds and the names of the heroes who performed them.

Long before the Sovereign Pontiffs had acquired sufficient wealth or independence to enable them to form a fleet of their own they had on many occasions sought to persuade the maritime States of Italy to combine for the purpose of repelling the incursions of the Saracens, who were on the point of rendering themselves masters of the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean. By the end of the eighth century not only Egypt and the north of Africa, but also Spain had been conquered by the Mahometans, and in 828 they attacked Sicily. In the following year they took Civit  Vecchia, drove out the inhabitants and laid the country waste with fire and sword up to the walls of Rome; they then sailed for the opposite coast of Italy, where they burned Ancona. In the year 846 the Saracens landed at the mouth of the Tiber and made another attempt to seize Rome. The city, which was strongly fortified, was able to resist the efforts of the invaders, but they plundered the

churches and the villas outside the walls. Being at last defeated by the inhabitants of the neighboring mountains, they fled to Gaeta, where they rallied and invested the town until the arrival of troops from the northern provinces of Italy and of the fleets of Naples and Amalfi obliged them to ask for peace and they were allowed to reëmbark, but their ships were overtaken by a violent storm, and nearly all on board perished.

In spite of this loss, another army of Saracens sailed from Africa in 849 for the port of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber. Contrary winds drove them to seek shelter for some days off the coast of Sardinia, and this delay enabled the fleets of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta to come to the assistance of the town, which was held by troops sent by Pope Leo IV. (847-855). In the naval combat which followed the Mahometans were defeated, their vessels which sought to escape were driven on shore by a storm, and the thousands of prisoners who were brought back to Rome were made to work on the walls which Leo IV. built round the Vatican and the Basilica of St. Peter to unite them to the rest of the city and protect them against future aggressions. To this enclosure, which still exists, was given the name of the Leonine City.

The disaster at Ostia did not, however, check the incursions of the Saracens, who continued to devastate Calabria and Apulia, which the Greek Emperors, who were still nominally the rulers of Southern Italy, were unable to defend. Such was the terror caused by their invasions that the cities of Naples, Amalfi, Capua and Gaeta, which were then almost independent of the Government of Byzantium, consented in 876 to purchase an ignominious peace from the infidels, to contract an alliance with them and to assist them in their piratical expeditions. The Duke of Gaeta even allowed the Mahometans to build a fortress at the mouth of the Garigliano, which they held for more than thirty years, and whence they made raids into the provinces of Rome and Benevento and as far north as the Duchy of Spoleto. They then laid waste the valleys of the Tiber and of the Aniene, and occupied strong positions in the mountains near Tivoli, where a village still bears their name. They also plundered the monastery of Monte Cassino, where they massacred the community and seized the monastery of Farfa, whence the monks had fled after having defended it for seven years. It was in vain that Pope John VIII. (872-882) implored the help of Charles the Bald, Emperor of the West, or of Basil, the Macedonian Emperor of the East, or sought to persuade the towns of Southern Italy to renounce their alliance with the Saracens and join their forces with his for the enfranchisement of their country. Being thus obliged to rely on his own resources, he built and armed several *dromones* or large galleys, each

rowed by 100 oars, and at their head, in March, 877, he attacked and defeated a Saracen fleet near Terracina, taking 18 galleys and freeing 600 captives.

This victory could not, unfortunately, be followed up and completed by the total expulsion of the Saracens, as the prolonged struggle between the various pretenders to the Imperial Crown which followed the death of Charles the Bald, and an invasion of the Hungarians, plunged all Northern and Central Italy for many years into a state of warfare and anarchy. It was not until the Pontificate of John X. (914-929) that a league for the expulsion of the Saracens could at last be formed among the many small States into which Italy was divided. At the voice of the Sovereign Pontiff troops flocked from all sides to the standard of the Church; the cities of Southern Italy abandoned their Mahometan allies and joined the league, and the Greek Emperor Constantine sent a powerful fleet to their assistance. In the spring of the year 916 the Pope led the army against the Saracens, who were defeated near Tivoli and driven back to their fortress on the Garigliano. The attack on this stronghold lasted for three months, when the garrison, seeing no prospect of being relieved, tried to cut its way through the besiegers and escape to the mountains, but perished in the attempt. Their destruction put an end to Mahometan invasions for more than a hundred years, and this respite, due to the patriotism and statesmanship of a Sovereign Pontiff, enabled the maritime cities of Italy to develop their institutions, to make commercial treaties with each other and to lay the foundations of their future prosperity.

This state of tranquillity was interrupted in 1015 when a Saracen fleet coming from Spain, under a Christian renegade named Mogeid, landed an army of 10,000 men in Sardinia, devastated the island and, crossing over to Tuscany, in the following year took the town of Luni. The Sovereign Pontiff then reigning, Benedict VIII. (1012-1024), immediately called the vassals of the Church to arms, formed an alliance with the Republics of Pisa and Genoa, and drove the pirates not only from Italy, but also from Sardinia, which was placed under the protection of Pisa.

It was also a Pope, Victor III. (1086-1087) who, when Mahometan corsairs were again laying waste the coasts of Italy, sent an expedition against their stronghold. With the help of the Pisans, the Genoese and the Neapolitans he assembled a fleet of 300 vessels and an army of 30,000 men, and although he died before he was able to carry out his project, his death did not suspend the execution of the undertaking, for in the following year under Urban II. (1088-1099), the army, which was led by an ancestor of the house of Colonna, and which bore the standard of St. Peter, landed near Tunis, took

the town of Zavilla and the fortress of Mehedía and rescued several thousand Christian slaves.

It may have been this brilliant victory over the Saracens which induced the various nations of Europe to listen more readily to the supplications of the Holy See in favor of the Eastern Christians, which had hitherto been unsuccessful. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Sylvester II. (999-1003) had addressed an appeal to the Universal Church in the name of Jerusalem,¹ asking for assistance, or at least for alms; but the first definite project of an expedition for the deliverance of the Holy Land is due to Gregory VII. (1073-1085). In 1074 that Pontiff earnestly implored the Emperor Henry IV., the Count of Savoy and the Count of Burgundy to take up arms against the Turks, who were then beginning to penetrate into Asia Minor. In his letter to the Emperor of Germany the Holy Father states that in Italy over 50,000 men were already preparing to assist the Eastern Christians; that he hoped to lead them in person as far as to the Sepulchre of Our Lord, and that during his absence he would entrust Rome and the Church to the care of the Emperor.

The long and bitter struggle with the Imperial power in which Gregory VII. soon found himself, involved as the result of his efforts to free the Church from State control by forbidding ecclesiastics to receive the investiture of their benefices from the sovereign, put an end to these preparations, and it was reserved to Urban II. (1088-1099), the successor of Victor III., to carry out the project which Gregory VII. was the first to suggest. For that purpose, the Sovereign Pontiff convoked a Council at Piacenza in March, 1095, to which the Emperor Alexis Comnenos sent ambassadors to ask for help to enable him to defend Constantinople. His request was favorably received, but it was only at the Council of Clermont, in Auvergne, in the month of November following, that an immense assembly of clergy and laity, roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the eloquence of the Holy Father, answered to his call to arms and resolved to deliver the Holy Land from the infidel.

It does not enter into the purpose of this article to relate the history of the Crusades; it is enough to recall the fact that the first Crusaders took up arms at the voice of a Pope, and that the successors of Urban II. did all in their power to assist the Christian States which were founded in the Holy Land. Thus at the beginning of the Fifth Crusade in 1218, Honorius III. (1216-1227) sent twenty ships to take part in the siege of Damietta, where the Roman troops distinguished themselves by their bravery; and in 1272

¹ *Ex persona Hierusalem devastatæ Universalis Ecclesiæ. (Gerberti Epistola 28.)*

Gregory X. (1271-1276) sent over 2,000 men to the assistance of Ptolemais; but after the death of Saint Louis at Tunis in 1270, it became impossible for the Sovereign Pontiffs to overcome the indifference which the European States manifested towards Eastern affairs. One after another the towns and fortresses of Palestine fell before the Mahometans, while the Kings of Europe, plunged in internecine warfare, remained deaf to all the appeals of the Popes, who alone seem to have been aware of the dangers which threatened all Christendom, and of the necessity of checking the progress of Islam. Ptolemais was the last great Christian stronghold which still kept the infidels at bay, and Nicolas IV. (1288-1292), unable to obtain assistance from any European State, fitted out ten galleys, hired twenty others from the Venetians and sent them with 2,500 soldiers to the relief of the besieged city. After a desperate resistance the town was taken on the 19th of May, 1291, by the Sultan of Egypt, Malek el Aschraf, but the Papal galleys succeeded in saving a large number of the inhabitants and transporting them to the island of Cyprus. Beirut, Tyre and Sidon yielded soon after without making any resistance; their inhabitants were massacred, their buildings leveled with the ground, and with their downfall ended the dominion founded by the Crusaders in the Holy Land which the Popes had done so much to assist and preserve.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the power of the Turks became still more formidable. They established the seat of their empire at Broussa, in Asia Minor, under the house of Othman in 1317, when they began to devastate the islands of the Ægean Sea, and they attacked Constantinople, which was saved by the bravery of the Genoese and Venetian merchants who were settled there. The Papal Court had at that time been transferred from Rome to Avignon, but even in their exile the Sovereign Pontiffs still watched over the Eastern Christians, and in 1333 Pope John XXII. (1316-1334), after long negotiations, succeeded in forming a league with Philip VI., King of France; the Greek Emperor Andronicus, the Republic of Venice, the Knights of Rhodes and the King of Cyprus, who altogether furnished a fleet of 38 galleys and 32 transports carrying 800 knights. The result of this alliance was a victory in 1334 over the Turks in the Sea of Marmora, where, in spite of their superior numbers, they lost 250 ships and 5,000 men; but at the death of the Pope, which took place in the same year, the league came to an end. The Venetians quarreled with the Genoese; war broke out between France and England; the Emperor Andronicus attacked the Knights of Rhodes, and the Turks, taking advantage of these dissensions, advanced the frontiers of their territories as far as Nicæa.

Ten years later another expedition was prepared in answer to the earnest entreaties of Pope Clement VI. (1342-1354), and in 1344 a fleet of 20 galleys, four of which were furnished by the Pope and the others by Venice, the Knights of Rhodes, the Kingdom of Cyprus and the island of Paros, took the strongly fortified port of Smyrna, which was thenceforth held by the Knights of Rhodes in the name of the Pope and of the Church until it was taken by the Mongols led by Tamerlane in 1402, when they conquered Asia Minor after having defeated Sultan Bajazet at the battle of Angora. This reverse to the Turkish arms and the civil war which ensued between the sons of Bajazet would probably have rendered it possible to reconquer Asia Minor for the Eastern Empire at the beginning of the fifteenth century, if only a permanent peace could have been established between the various States of Europe, which would have allowed them to combine for that purpose. It was not until nearly the close of his reign that Eugene IV. (1431-1447) was able to form an alliance with the Venetians and the Duke of Burgundy, and with their help to send an expedition to seize the Dardanelles and thus cut off the retreat of Sultan Amurath, who had invaded Hungary. This plan was unfortunately frustrated by the treachery of some Genoese merchants who, being heavily bribed, transported 70,000 Turks across the straits, a reinforcement which enabled the Sultan to win the battle of Varna on November 10, 1444, after two days' fighting, when Cardinal Cesarini, the Papal Legate, King Ladislaus and a large number of Polish and Hungarian nobles lost their lives.

The attempt made by Nicolas V. (1447-1455) to save Constantinople when Mahomet II. laid siege to it in April, 1453, was not more successful, for a fleet, to which the Pope contributed 18 galleys and 3,000 men, the King of Naples 20 galleys, the Venetians 25 galleys and the Genoese 7 transports, was still on its way when Constantinople fell on the 29th of May, and it was shortly after scattered by a storm.

The successor of Nicolas V., Calixtus III. (1455-1458), was even still more ardent in the cause of the defense of Christendom against Islam. When elected Pope he pronounced publicly in the Conclave a vow to make every effort to rescue Constantinople from the Turks, and to procure the necessary funds he sacrificed his private fortune as well as the treasure and the gold and silver plate left by his predecessor; even the clasps and the ornaments of precious metals on the richly bound volumes collected by Nicholas V. were torn off and sent to the Mint. Legates went forth from Rome to persuade the sovereigns of Europe to take part in the Crusade, and monks of various orders to excite the enthusiasm of the people; but the

Pope's efforts were in vain. In France the hundred years' war had just ended and the country was too exhausted and impoverished to undertake a distant expedition; in England the war of the Two Roses had just begun; in Germany the Emperor Frederic III. was engaged in continual struggles with his subjects, and the Venetians had made peace with the Turks, as war would have had an injurious effect on their commerce. Calixtus III. being, therefore, obliged to rely on his own resources, ordered the construction of a dockyard on the banks of the Tiber, sent for the most skillful workmen, and soon created a fleet of galleys and transports which he placed under the command of Cardinal Scarampo as his Legate and of a Portuguese officer named Velasco Farinha as vice admiral.

The treachery of Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, nearly caused the failure of the enterprise; for the King, who was at war with the Republic of Genoa, persuaded the leaders of another fleet which had been built in the Papal possessions at Avignon, to take part with his galleys in laying waste the territory of his enemies, and he was also suspected of instigating the chief of a band of mercenaries, named Giacopo Piccinino, to make a raid on the Papal States. The adventurer was repulsed and, in revenge, attempted to burn the galleys in the port of Cività Vecchia; but neither the indifference of the European powers nor the hostility of the King of Naples could turn the Sovereign Pontiff from his purpose, and, towards the end of June, 1456, Cardinal Scarampo set sail with 16 galleys and some transports carrying 1,000 sailors, 5,000 soldiers and 300 guns.

Almost simultaneously with the departure of this fleet took place the severe defeat inflicted on Mahomet II. by the Hungarians at the siege of Belgrade, a defeat which saved Europe from a Turkish invasion and which was in a great measure due to the efforts of the Papal Legate, Cardinal John Carvajal, and to the eloquence of St. John Capistrano, one of the missionaries who had been sent to preach the Crusade. They had found it impossible to prevail on the King of Hungary or the greater part of the Hungarian nobles to take up arms; they then turned to the people and raised an army of German and Hungarian peasants, which under the leadership of John Hunyady repelled the assaults of the Turks on the fortress and forced the Sultan's army to fly with the loss of its artillery and baggage.

The Papal fleet, commanded by Cardinal Scarampo, brought arms and provisions to the Knights of Rhodes and then cruised for nearly three years in the Ægean Sea, where it rescued over 100,000 Christian slaves and drove the Turks from several islands which were held by Papal garrisons as long as the expedition lasted. The Pope in the meanwhile built more galleys and sent them with troops

to the assistance of George Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, which enabled him to win a victory over the Turks. No one, in fact, did more to check the victorious progress of Mahomet II. after the fall of Constantinople than Calixtus III., whose appeals for help met with no response from the sovereigns who owed the safety of their States to his foresight and determination.

It was also with the object of uniting all Christendom against the common enemy that Pius II. (1458-1464), the successor of Calixtus II., assembled at Mantua, after much opposition and long delays, a congress of envoys from all the States of Europe. The first sitting took place in September, 1459, but after wasting some months in useless discussions, the envoys departed without having come to any decision. War broke out soon after between the pretenders to the crown of Naples, and Mahomet II., taking advantage of these dissensions, conquered Bosnia and the island of Mitylene, and attacked the Venetian possessions in the Peloponesus.

Pius II. then resolved, in spite of his age and his infirmities, to place himself at the head of a Crusade, hoping, as he said, that his example might bring together volunteers and arouse the nations whose independence was menaced by the Turks. The Pope left Rome in June, 1464; he had reckoned on obtaining assistance from the Duke of Burgundy, who had made a vow to take part in a Crusade; from the Hungarians, who were alarmed by the conquest of Bosnia; from the Venetians, who saw their Greek territories in danger; and he had endeavored to induce the other Italian States to take up arms, though indeed without obtaining any other result than vague promises to furnish a few galleys. At the last moment, however, the Duke of Burgundy broke his vow by order of his feudal superior, Louis XI., King of France; the plague appeared at Venice and stopped all preparations, and Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, was alone determined to fight. On the other hand, large numbers of the peasantry and of the working classes from various countries flocked, as in the time of the Crusades, to take ship at Ancona, but there were no leaders to maintain discipline among these crowds, and, as the Holy Father was borne in his litter towards Ancona, he met numerous bands of recruits returning to their homes, wearied and discouraged. It was only on August 12, after a delay of nearly a month, that Christoforo Moro, the Doge of Venice, arrived with 12 galleys, but Pius II. died on August 15; the Cardinals who had accompanied the Holy Father returned immediately to Rome to hold the Conclave; the Doge, who was allowed to unite to his fleet the six galleys fitted out by the Pope, brought his ships back to Venice and the project of undertaking a Crusade was abandoned.

Paul II. (1464-1471) carried on no campaign against the Turks, though he assisted Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, and George Scanderbeg with large sums of money and made ceaseless endeavors to rouse the Italian States from their lethargy, but under his successor, Sixtus IV. (1471-1484), preparations for war were again set on foot. The dockyards of Rome and of Ancona were once more full of activity, and in May, 1472, Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, as Papal Legate, set sail with 24 galleys and 6 transports carrying 4,700 soldiers. At Rhodes he was joined by 17 Neapolitan galleys and 46 from Venice, together with transports, but this large fleet, which carried over 15,000 soldiers, achieved no more important results than the destruction of the town of Adalia, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, and the plundering of Smyrna. During the following years the action of the Papal galleys was limited to guarding the coasts of Italy against pirates without attempting any more distant expedition, probably for want of allies; for, though the Sovereign Pontiff never ceased to call the attention of all Europe to the dangers with which it was menaced, his warnings met with no response; even the Venetians, in the interests of their commerce, made peace with the Sultan, who, encouraged by this indifference on the part of the Christian world, proceeded to make further conquests. In 1478 the Mahometans seized nearly all Albania; their attack on Rhodes in 1480 failed owing to the bravery of the knights, but, in the same year, they took Otranto, in the south of Italy, massacred a part of the inhabitants and carried the remainder away into captivity. They then held the town for several months, though blockaded by a large fleet and an army collected from all parts of Italy by the efforts of Sixtus IV., and the garrison capitulated only after the death of Mahomet II.

It was only with considerable difficulty and after urgent appeals that Innocent VIII. (1484-1492) and Alexander VI. (1492-1503) succeeded in convoking meetings of ambassadors from the European powers in 1490 and in 1500, with the hope of forming a league against the Turks, who still continued to advance their frontiers; but, after long deliberations, these conferences separated without coming to any practical conclusion, and no supplications or reproaches on the part of the Pope could prevail on the rulers of Christendom to lay aside their petty rivalries and combine for the defense of Europe against their common enemy. Even the Crusade which was preached by Papal Legates throughout Germany, France and England did not meet with much success. The two former countries contributed very little towards the expenses of a war in the East. Henry VII., of England, and the English clergy gave money, but the King refused to send either men or ships; Hun-

gary and Venice alone formed a league with the Pope and Spain was persuaded to assist with some galleys. The only result of the campaign which followed was the conquest of the islands of Caphalonia and Santa Maura, and the latter even was given up when the Venetians made peace with the Sultan in 1503.

But if this indifference or ill will on the part of the rulers of other States rendered it difficult for the Popes to undertake distant expeditions, they neglected no means of guarding the coasts of the Papal territory against the Barbary pirates, who in the sixteenth century were more formidable than ever, as they had become masters of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Alexandria and held the rank of admirals in the Turkish fleet. A small squadron was therefore specially formed for this purpose by Innocent VIII. It consisted of four galleys, two with fifty oars, carrying besides the crew fifty soldiers and 150 rowers, and two thirty oars, carrying thirty soldiers and thirty rowers. For the maintenance of these galleys a duty of two per cent. was levied on all merchandise imported by sea, and from a contract made under Julius II. in 1511 between the Papal Treasury and a Genoese captain who owned these ships, we learn what were the duties of this officer. He was to protect the vessels and the goods of persons going to or from Rome, and to have as perquisites the ships and the property of the pirates whom he could seize; but he was bound to give compensation for the damages caused by pirates within his jurisdiction, unless he could prove that they were so superior in numbers that he could not have attacked them, and he was forbidden to use his galleys for the purpose of trade or to accept any gifts from the merchants to whom he rendered any service.

The limits of this article will not admit of a detailed account of the various engagements in which the Papal Navy played a distinguished part during the sixteenth century; it will suffice to mention the campaign of 1532, during the reign of Clement VII., when a contingent of 12 Papal galleys formed part of the fleet sent by the Emperor Charles V. and the Knights of Malta, under the command of Andrea Doria, a Genoese admiral in the Emperor's service, which took the Turkish fortress of Koron, in the south of the Morea; and the campaign of 1535, under the Pontificate of Paul III. (1534-1548). Twelve Papal galleys took part also in this expedition, led by the Emperor in person, when Tunis, the stronghold of the celebrated pirate Barbarossa, was taken and 10,000 Christian slaves set free.

It may seem hardly credible, but it has been very clearly demonstrated by Padre Guglielmotti that the Sovereign Pontiffs had frequently to struggle not only against the open hostility of the infidels, but also against the duplicity and treachery of their allies, and

especially of the Emperor Charles V. and of his son Philip II. of Spain. Though these monarchs seem to have been perfectly willing to destroy their neighbors, the Algerine pirates who devastated the coasts of Spain, yet whenever their fleets operated in the Eastern Mediterranean, where the Republic of Venice had large possessions, they appear to have instructed their admirals to avoid inflicting a too crushing defeat on the Turkish Empire, but to leave it strength enough to be still dangerous to the Venetians, and thus render the Republic incapable of resisting the ambitious designs of the Spanish monarchy on Italy.

The first manifestation of this policy took place when in 1538 a treaty was made between Paul III., Charles V. and the Venetians, by which these powers agreed to send against the Turks a fleet of 200 galleys, 36 of which should be furnished by the Papal Government and 82 by each of its allies, besides 100 transports provided by the Emperor. The supreme command of the expedition, which carried over 50,000 soldiers, was entrusted to Andrea Doria.

The Venetian contingent and 27 Papal galleys met at Corfu in June, ready to begin the campaign, but Andrea Doria did not appear until September, and then with only half the number of galleys promised. During this delay the Venetians had bombarded the fortress of Prevesa at the entrance to the neighboring Gulf of Arta, but the most favorable months for carrying on a naval campaign had elapsed; and this method of rendering an expedition useless for all practical purposes was adopted on many other occasions by the Spanish Government. More treachery was to follow. After the Venetian attack on Prevesa, Barbarossa had brought his fleet into the Gulf of Arta, and Doria, with the splendid force at his disposal, could have easily forced it to surrender, as the Venetians requested him to do, but he refused and decided to attack the town of Patras, in the Gulf of Lepanto. The allied fleet sailed, therefore, southwards past the mouth of the Gulf of Arta without seeking to bring on an engagement, and on the morning of the following day the Turkish fleet of 94 galleys was seen advancing in pursuit. Doria again wished to avoid fighting, but the Venetians insisted and the galleys formed in line, with the sailing vessels on their flanks. As the two fleets faced each other the wind fell, and though the galleys could have rowed forward and fought, Doria refused to give the signal for the attack, under the pretext that the sailing vessels would have been left behind. Towards evening the wind rose, and still no signal was given, but as the allied fleet drifted down towards the Turks Doria suddenly made his ships spread their sails, led them along with his galleys towards the west and fled to Corfu. The remainder of the allied fleet, left without orders or guidance, reluctantly fol-

lowed the admiral, and Barbarossa, bearing down upon them, soon changed their retreat into a flight. It is a remarkable fact that, in the midst of the outcry of indignation and contempt which arose on all sides against Doria, the Emperor Charles V. should have declared that he approved of his conduct.

As a consequence of this disgraceful defeat a fresh impulse was given to piracy, and Barbarossa, together with Dragut, one of his lieutenants, wrought such devastation on the coasts of Spain and Italy that the Emperor determined to lead an expedition against their chief stronghold, Algiers. Rome contributed seven galleys to the imperial fleet, but the troops had hardly landed on October 24, 1541, when a violent tempest, which destroyed many of the vessels, together with the supplies and the artillery, obliged the Emperor to abandon his project and reëmbark.

Barbarossa died in 1546, and though Andrea Doria expelled Dragut from Mehedia, on the coast of Tunis, the corsair established himself at Tripoli, and the war which broke out in 1555 between France and Spain, as well as that between Spain and Pope Paul IV., in the course of which the troops of Philip II., under the Duke of Alva, invaded the Papal States, enabled him to continue his piratical expeditions. He burned Reggio in Calabria, plundered Salerno and laid the country waste up to the environs of Naples, carrying away thousands of the inhabitants into slavery, and then ravaged the coasts of Spain and the island of Minorca. Pius IV. (1559-1565) could contribute only three galleys to the fleet which Philip II., in March, 1560, sent to attack Tripoli, in the hope of destroying the power of Dragut. The expedition took the island of Jerbah, situated between Tunis and Tripoli, but was then surprised by a Turkish fleet and defeated with great loss. Such was the consternation caused by this disaster that Pius IV. immediately took steps to strengthen the fortifications of Rome and laid the foundations of the line of bastions, which starts from the Castle of St. Angelo, encloses the walls built by St. Leo IV. round the Vatican and St. Peter's, and joins the Tiber at the Hospital of Sto. Spirito. It was also Pius IV. who began to construct the watch towers which guard the coasts of the Papal States, and, as a further measure of defense against the Turks, he organized in 1563 a militia or national guard in which all men capable of bearing arms were enrolled. This citizen army, which amounted to 70,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, was divided into companies of 250 men, who assembled in the nearest towns on every feast day for inspection and drill. Certain privileges, such as the right to wear swords and the exemption from some taxes, were enjoyed by those who served in these troops, which were disbanded at the dawn of the French Revolution.

The Papal galleys had perished in the combat at Jerbah, so that when St. Pius V. (1566-1572) wished to assist the Republic of Venice to defend its possessions in the island of Cyprus, which were attacked by Sultan Selim II., he was obliged to purchase twelve empty galleys from the Venetians and equip and arm them at Ancona. Marcantonio Colona, Duke of Paliano, was named captain general of this fleet, and after waiting long at Otranto, he was joined by a Spanish contingent under Gian Andrea Doria, a relation of Andrea Doria. The Venetian vessels were already at Suda Bay, in the island of Crete, and when the Papal and Spanish galleys reached them the departure of the expedition was again so long delayed by the various objections raised by Doria, that while it was on its way it received the news that Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, had been stormed by the Turks after a desperate resistance; that 40,000 persons had been massacred and 15,000 carried away as slaves. The combined fleets immediately returned to Crete, where they separated, and many galleys perished in a storm while on their way home.

In the meanwhile, the Holy Father, like so many of his predecessors, had sought to persuade the sovereigns of the various States of Europe to form an alliance against the Turks, but only Venice and Spain sent ambassadors to the conference which met in Rome in July, 1570. It soon became evident that the Spanish Government had not a sincere desire to crush the power of the Sultan, for the opposition made by its envoys to every proposal caused the negotiations to last until March, 1571, when a league against the Turks was at last concluded between the Holy See, the King of Spain and the Republic of Venice, by which the allies bound themselves to maintain a fleet of 200 galleys and 100 ships, which were to be in readiness every year at the end of March. The contribution of the Papal Government was fixed at 12 galleys and one-sixth of the expenses. Each power was to name a general, the decision of any two of whom was to be final, and the rank of captain general was assigned to Don Juan of Austria. Before these articles were signed a last attempt was made by the Spanish envoys, to the great indignation of the Holy Father, to defer their execution till the following year, under the pretext that so large a fleet could not be got ready in time, and that that year the allies could only stand on the defensive. This unexpected objection caused the Venetians to despair of saving their possessions which were being devastated by the Turks, while the enormous expense of the fleet was impoverishing the Republic, and they were on the point of coming to terms with the Sultan, had not Marcantonio Colonna, whom the Pope sent to them as ambassador, prevailed on them to adhere to the agreement.

The league was at last solemnly ratified at a Consistory held in

Rome on May 23, 1571, and on June 20 the twelve galleys which the Holy See had hired from the Grand Duke of Tuscany were the first to appear at Messina, where the allies were to assemble. The Venetian fleet arrived three days later, but Don Juan of Austria did not appear with that of Spain, which was mostly composed of contingents from various Italian States, until August 23, and during this delay the Turks had without hindrance laid waste the Venetian territories on the coasts of the Adriatic almost as far as Venice. The Prince was accompanied by a council of five persons named by Philip II., who were to watch over his actions and restrain his impetuosity, and his arrival did not hasten the opening of the campaign, as the Spanish captains showed great repugnance to engage the Ottoman fleet and would have preferred to attack Tunis. Nevertheless, the opinions of Marcantonio Colonna and of Sebastiano Veniero, the admirals of the Roman and of the Venetian fleets, prevailed over these timid counsels, and on September 16 the Prince sailed at last from Messina.

Before relating the naval combat which took place at Lepanto, where the Turkish Empire met with the most serious reverse it had ever experienced at sea, it may, perhaps, be interesting to describe the galleys which at that epoch and even down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century constituted the greater portion of the military navy of the States of Southern Europe. They were long narrow vessels, about 164 feet in length and 22 in width, of very light draught and low free-board, and carried two masts with triangular sails. At the prow was placed a platform called *la rembata*, on which musketeers and armed sailors were posted during an engagement, and from beneath which projected the mouths of five guns throwing balls of 50, 24 and 12 pounds. The poop where the officers stood was raised above the rest of the galley, and a part of it was covered with an awning, which, in the admiral's galley, was of red damask with golden fringes and tassels. A gangway called *la corsia* ran the entire length of the ship; it was the post of the *comito*, who commanded the rowers, and on each side were 25 benches about 10 feet long and a little over 4 feet apart, to which they were chained, to the number, generally, of five to each bench. A cushion made of sacking stuffed with wool, over which was thrown a piece of leather, served to attenuate somewhat the violence of the shock when the slaves fell back on their benches while pulling the oar. At a distance of four feet from the side of the galley ran a beam called *il posticcio*, which was supported by projecting brackets and carried the rowlocks. The ponderous oar was from 30 to 40 feet long, and being too massive to be grasped by the hand, it was worked by means of handles attached to the upper part, which was

also weighted with lead in order to counterbalance the portion extending beyond the galley. Such was the craft which, with slight modifications, was the line of battleship of the Mediterranean States from the Middle Ages down to comparatively recent times and which was only slowly abandoned when the increased size of naval guns rendered it necessary to employ larger and more strongly built vessels.

The fleet advanced slowly round the south of Italy to a port on the coast of Epirus, but during the time which had been wasted by the unreadiness of the Spaniards, Famagousta, the last Venetian stronghold in the island of Cyprus, had fallen. The garrison, consisting chiefly of soldiers from the Papal States in the pay of Venice, had resisted bravely for several months until compelled by hunger to capitulate on favorable terms; but, on the following day, Mustafa, the Turkish general, had caused the principal officers to be put to death, and the Venetian commander, Marcantonio Bragadino, to be flayed alive.

The fleet moved forward again; the Spanish counsellors again sought to dissuade Don Juan from fighting, but the Prince remained firm in his decision, for which he was afterwards severely blamed by the Spanish Court, and as, on the morning of the 7th of October the galleys sailed out of the strait between the islands of Cephalonia and Ithaca towards the Gulf of Lepanto, the Turkish fleet was seen advancing to meet it. The two forces then in presence were the most powerful which had ever met during the long series of wars between Christendom and Islam. On the side of the allies there were 207 galleys, 6 galleasses or large three-masted galleys and 30 transports carrying 1,815 guns, 28,000 soldiers, chiefly Italian, 12,920 sailors and 43,500 rowers; while the Turks had 222 galleys, and 60 galliots or smaller galleys, carrying 750 guns; the soldiers numbered 34,000, the sailors 13,000 and the rowers 41,000. The Christian fleet formed with its three divisions, in which the galleys of the different States had been indiscriminately mingled, a line of three miles in length. The left wing, comprising 55 galleys, flying yellow flags, was commanded by Agostino Barberino, of Venice. Sixty-one galleys, carrying blue flags, formed the centre, led by the *Reale*, or Royal galley of Spain, and by those of the Spaniards of the different contingents; and the 53 galleys of the right wing, which bore green flags were led by Gian Andrea Doria, who, in order not to be surrounded, placed his division far out to sea and thus left the centre unprotected. A reserve of 30 galleys under the Marquis of Santa Cruz was stationed about a mile to the rear; some smaller galleys served as guards to the admirals, and the six unwieldy Venetian galleasses were towed to a position some distance in front of the line.

The Turkish fleet was also divided into three squadrons. The 95 galleys of the centre were commanded by the Ottoman admiral, Ali Pacha, the brother-in-law of Sultan Selim; the right wing of 53 galleys by Mahomet Schoulak, Viceroy of Egypt; the 65 galleys of the left wing by Uluch Ali Dey, of Algiers, and 10 galleys with 60 smaller vessels formed the rear-guard.

As the Turkish fleet drew near, its admiral fired a gun by way of challenge, to which Don Juan immediately replied; the standard of the league, which had been blessed by St. Pius V., a crimson banner bearing the image of the Crucifix, was hoisted at the mast of the *Reale*, and at the sight all on board the fleet knelt to receive absolution from the priests who were on each galley.

The advance of the Turkish fleet was for a while checked, and its squadrons thrown into disorder by the fire of the heavy guns of the galleasses, but these were soon left behind and the two lines met. On the left the Viceroy of Egypt sought to pass between the Venetians and the land, and succeeded in destroying eight galleys, but was repelled by the bravery of Barberino, who, though mortally wounded, still continued to command. The Venetians then rallied and attacked in their turn. Mahomet Schoulak was killed and his galley sunk; his followers, discouraged by his loss, ran their vessels ashore in attempting to escape, and Barberino survived his wound long enough to learn the defeat of the enemy.

The most desperate fighting took place in the centre of the line, where the galleys of the two commanders came into collision. They were speedily reënforced by others, and the victory remained long undecided until the Turkish admiral's galley was boarded for the third time, when Ali Pacha was killed, the Ottoman standard was lowered, and most of the remaining vessels surrendered. It was on the right of the allied fleets that their chief losses were sustained. Doria had placed his squadron so far from the position assigned to him that Padre Guglielmotti accuses him of a desire to avoid fighting; and when Uluch Ali perceived that several galleys on the right of the central division had become too much detached from it, while trying to fill up the space left vacant by Doria, he fell upon them with such impetuosity that he took twelve, among which was the chief galley of the Knights of Malta. Reënforcements, however, speedily came up, Uluch Ali was obliged to abandon, not only his prizes, but also many of his own vessels, and when he saw that his admiral was defeated, he gave the signal for retreat, and passing through the opening which should have been held by Doria's squadron he fled with forty galleys back to Constantinople. The rest of the Turkish fleet was sunk or taken, about 30,000 of their soldiers and sailors were killed, 3,000 were made prisoners and

12,000 Christian slaves released from their chains. The loss of the allies was about 15,000 killed and wounded. At a council of war held on the following day, it was decided, in spite of the advice of Marcantonio Colonna, not to follow up the victory, but to return to winter quarters, thus ending prematurely a campaign from which, however, may be dated the beginning of the decline of the Turkish Empire.

The campaign of the following year, 1572, afforded a fresh proof of the duplicity of Philip II., for, when Marcantonio Colonna, who had been confirmed in his command by Gregory XIII. (1572-1585), the successor of St. Pius V., joined the Venetian and Spanish fleets at Messina in the month of June, with thirteen Papal galleys, he found that Don Juan had received orders not to leave that port. It was only after long negotiations that Don Juan, whom, on this occasion, the King had provided with a council of twenty persons, was allowed to lend twenty-two galleys to his allies, who left at once, and in the middle of July reached Corfú, where the rest of the Venetian fleet had been in readiness since the beginning of April. Colonna and the Venetians then went in search of the Turkish fleet of 200 vessels, which, by very great efforts, the Sultan had succeeded in assembling, but Uluch Ali, who was in command, not trusting his inexperienced crews, preferred to fly before the allied admirals rather than risk an engagement. While the Papal Venetian galleys were pursuing the Turks, and seeking to force them to fight, they were recalled to Corfú by Don Juan, who had at last arrived at that port, and there took the command of the united fleets; but it was only on September 11 that, after still further delays, he went in search of the Turks. The Mahometan fleet had taken refuge in the ports of Navarino and Modon, and Colonna and the Venetians hoped to surprise the two squadrons and destroy them before they could effect a junction. But during the night of September 17 the pilot of Don Juan's galley which guided the allied fleet steered it several miles out of its course to the north of Navarino instead of to the south between that port and Modon, thus allowing the Turks to escape from their dangerous position and concentrate their fleet under the protection of the guns of Modon, and losing the opportunity of ending the war by a single blow. It was in vain that Colonna showed that it would still be possible to storm the fortress and seize the fleet; even the Venetians were discouraged and refused to carry out his plans; and after more time had been wasted in useless discussions and a feeble attempt had been made to take a small fort in Navarino Bay, the fleets separated and returned home. The most important result of the campaign was that although it had been the intention of the allies to continue the war, yet the Venetians, considering how

much they had been obstructed and betrayed by the perfidious policy of the King of Spain, preferred to make peace with the Sultan even on very onerous conditions, and the league of the three Powers was dissolved.

The league was never renewed, but, though the Papal Government was unable when abandoned to its own resources to undertake any distant expedition, it still continued to maintain a small fleet and to guard the coasts of its territory from the corsairs of Algiers and Tunis. This fleet was raised to ten galleys by Sixtus V. (1585-1590), who assigned an annual sum of 102,500 crowns for its maintenance, and named a commission of five Cardinals to watch over its discipline and management.

Clement VIII. (1592-1600) sought to form an alliance with Spain with a view to undertaking a campaign against the Turks, but Philip II. refused; he consented, however, to allow the Papal galleys to join his fleet at Messina, but, as on former occasions, though the Roman contingent appeared at the appointed place of meeting in April, that of Spain under Gian Andrea Doria did not arrive until it was too late to enter upon a campaign, and, in the meanwhile, a powerful Turkish fleet had devastated the coasts of Campania and burned the town of Reggio.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, under Paul V. (1605-1621), a change took place in the organization of the Papal navy, which thenceforth, with the exception of a few intervals, was maintained by contractors who undertook, in return for a stipulated sum (generally about 80,000 crowns), to maintain in good order three galleys and four small ships. They were also allowed in time of peace to carry merchandise, which had been previously forbidden, and were granted a quarter of the value of the prizes they might take from pirates.

Padre Guglielmotti enters into very full details with regard to the war of Crete, in which the Papal fleet, combined with those of Venice and Malta, played a distinguished part. In this succession of campaigns, which lasted from 1643 to 1669, the Dardanelles were blockaded and a Turkish convoy destroyed in 1657; the Turkish fleets were frequently beaten and driven from the sea; but it was not found possible to raise the siege of Candia, even with the help of an expedition of 8,000 men sent by Louis XIV. After a gallant defense of many years, the town capitulated, and the island of Crete was lost by the Venetians. More success attended the war for the reconquest of the Morea when Poland and Austria joined the alliance in 1684. The Turkish seaports and fortress yielded to the fleets of Rome, Venice and Malta, led by the Venetian admiral, Francesco Morosini, and in 1699 the Sultan, Mustapha II., signed a peace at Carlowitz, by

which he gave up to the Emperor, to Poland and to Venice the territories which they had acquired.

Though the Ottoman Government was at peace with the rest of Europe, the semi-independent Mahometan States of North Africa still continued to send out corsairs, and to guard against them the Papal galleys, usually commanded by Knights of the Order of Malta, sailed every spring from Cività Vecchia to cruise in the Mediterranean till October. Their duties were rendered more arduous by the treaty concluded between France and the Barbary States about 1738, which allowed the corsairs to take refuge in the ports of Provence on condition of not attacking any merchant vessel within thirty miles of the coast; and in 1749 the Grand Duke of Tuscany disarmed his few galleys and gave to the Powers free access to the harbors of his States. About the same time the pirates began to replace their galleys by sailing vessels which could carry heavier guns and remain at sea during the winter, and this innovation rendered necessary a similar change in the Papal navy. Two small frigates of thirty guns were, therefore, purchased in England in 1755 under the reign of Benedict XIV. (1740-1750) for £4,700 each, and named San Pietro and San Paolo, which were replaced in 1762 by two others of thirty-two guns, built in Cività Vecchia, and named San Clemente and San Carlo. Such was, then, the reputation of the Papal navy for efficiency and discipline, that when in 1764 Carlo Emmanuele III., King of Sardinia, wished to equip vessels for the protection of his territories, he applied to Rome for information with regard to the organization and regulations of the Papal fleet.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Barbary corsairs still continued to make their piratical expeditions, but more rarely and no longer on the same formidable scale as in the past, and further changes were therefore made in the composition of the Papal navy. In 1793 the three galleys were still maintained and they were manned by 218 officers and sailors and 183 soldiers, but the frigates had been replaced by two corvettes of twenty guns with crews of 145 men each. There were also four launches, each carrying a twenty-four-pounder and twelve smaller pieces; eight gunboats with a twelve-pounder each and six smaller guns, and a mortar vessel. The crews of these thirteen boats amounted to 256 men. Another modification took place in 1796, when the three galleys were set aside and replaced by two *mezzo galere* or half galleys rowed by forty sailors instead of by convicts, carrying one twenty-four-pounder, two twelve-pounders and eight smaller guns, and manned by two hundred sailors and fifty soldiers.

Such was the Papal navy when the troops of the French Republic after conquering Lombardy invaded the States of the Church with-

out declaration of war. By the treaty of Tolentino (19th February, 1797) the Holy See was deprived of Avignon, of the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna; and on February 10, 1798, under pretext of avenging the death of General Duphot, who was shot during a popular tumult in Rome, General Berthier occupied the Eternal City.

A few days later the Republic was proclaimed, and by order of the French Directory, Pius VI. was carried away a prisoner into Tuscany, leaving all the possessions of the Church in the hands of the French.

The invasion of Egypt took place shortly afterwards, and when Bonaparte left Toulon in the month of May with the main body of the expedition, all the merchant vessels in the port of Cività Vecchia were seized for the purpose of transporting General Desaix and five regiments of the army of Italy to Alexandria. The Papal *mezze galere*, the eight gunboats and two of the launches, along with their crews were forced to serve as escort, and the French also took with them the Arabic types belonging to the College of the Propaganda.

After the taking of Alexandria by the French; the twelve Roman boats acted as guard to the flotilla of seventy-two small vessels laden with stores and ammunition which ascended the Nile to Cairo, and, together with the troops which had marched across the desert, they inflicted a severe defeat on the Mameluke Beys at the village of Shebrahet. A few days later they again took an important share in the attack on Embabeh, a combat which is better known as the battle of the Pyramids, where they destroyed a much more numerous Turkish flotilla of corvettes and gunboats. The *mezze galere* and some other boats of the Papal navy formed also part of the expedition led by General Desaix into Upper Egypt as far as the first cataract, defeated the Mamelukes in two engagements and took what remained of their vessels. The *mezze galere* then descended the Nile to be placed as guard ships at Damietta and Ghizeh, and they probably fell into the hands of the English by the capitulations of Cairo and Alexandria. The rest of the flotilla was surprised on the Upper Nile by the Mamelukes; its chief officer blew up his boat rather than surrender, and nothing is known of the fate of the others, but none of the vessels were taken away from Cività Vecchia and only very few of the sailors ever returned.

The Papal navy was never reëstablished on the same footing as in the days when in alliance with Spain and Venice it fought against the Mahometan fleets. In 1804 Bonaparte, when First Consul, gave Pius VII. two brigantines of sixteen guns, which took some corsairs; but the conquest of Algiers by France in 1830 put an end forever to the piracy which for so many centuries had devastated

the shores of the Mediterranean and rendered necessary the existence of a protecting force.

During the reign of Pius IX, the Papal Government still maintained as coast guards in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic four small gunboats and a corvette named *l'Immacolata Concezione*, which had been built in London in 1859. When Rome fell at last into the power of the Italian Government in 1870, Pius IX. presented the corvette to the French fathers of the order of St. Dominic, who employed it as a training ship at the Naval School of St. Elmo, which they had founded at Arcachon, in the department of La Gironde, under the direction of a member of the order who had been a naval officer. At his death, some ten or fifteen years ago, the corvette was sold, and the school was closed this year. Thus has disappeared the last representative of a navy which carried the standard of the Church for a thousand years, and which, in spite of the indifference, the hostility and even the treachery of the other European Powers, ever performed its duty undauntedly in the long and, as yet, unended struggle between Christendom and Islam.

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HEGEL AND THE SCHOOLMEN.

THERE are probably many readers of the present day who pay but little heed to the contending claims of rival schools of philosophy. To some the contest may well seem to be an empty war of words, without life or reality or prospect of definite issue. And they turn their attention to historical studies, or Biblical Criticism, or scientific research; or to the practical problems of politics and sociology. It may be allowed that, for the present at least, these matters are really of deeper moment than any abstract questions of metaphysics. Yet it is surely a grave mistake to treat the claims of philosophy too lightly, or to regard the interest which it formerly excited as an idle waste of intellectual energy. For, after all, these neglected problems of metaphysics lie at the roots of all the others. And the ideas of philosophers have more to do with scientific and social progress than superficial observers are apt to imagine. The apparently idle disputes of Nominalists and Realists, in the twelfth century, issued in a deep broad stream of thought that fertilized the whole field of mediæval life, and produced abundant fruit in its religion, its art and literature, and its social