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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY

ON

SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES.

CHIEFLY DESIGNED FOR THE YOUNG.

VOL. V.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE DAWN OF THE  
REFORMATION.

A. D. 1400—A. D. 1513.



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# PREFACE

## TO THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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THIS volume is arranged on the same plan as the two preceding ones — that of selecting certain individuals, whose character or position most strongly mark the period under review, and bringing within *their times* the history of cotemporary persons and events. Thus we obtain unity as well as universality.\*

The divisions of the present volume are very simple: —

1. The Times of the *three* last Christian Emperors of Constantinople (A. D. 1400—1453).

2. The Times of *three* of the Medici family (A. D. 1453—1492).

3. The Times of the *three* Popes preceding the Reformation (A. D. 1492—1513).

That these are natural, rather than artificial, divisions, dissolving into, and connected closely with each other, will be clear to every reader, and I need not attempt to explain them here.

The concluding chapters contain a general sketch of manners, &c. in the world at large, during the period embraced in this volume, and a general view of Christian profession, as far as it extended. It is here, also, that we have the pleasure of observing the first dawn of the Reformation, and the preparation of Martin Luther for the great work to which it pleased God to call him.

\* The learner, as I have before suggested, will do well to read the History of England, France, &c., separately and consecutively, *as well as* in their natural place in Universal History; and this may be easily done by marking the respective chapters in the table of contents. In order, also, to follow from beginning to end the reign of any particular sovereign, which may be broken in upon in the general arrangement, the Index at the end of each volume will be found useful.

In arriving at the proposed resting-place, I relinquish any present attempt to proceed farther. The remainder of the way is far more attractive than that part which has been lately traversed; the encouragement to proceed is more than sufficient; but the necessary leisure and strength fail me.

It may seem a very small thing to produce five inconsiderable volumes, such as these, in the course of seven years; but it is to be remembered, that either before, or during their preparation for the press, it has been necessary to search into *at least two hundred volumes*, and many of them of larger size than my own. Moreover, it needed some pains to compare, select, condense, arrange — not to say moralise over, and weigh in the balance of the Scriptures — all these various stores. Nor do I regret such labours; the work has been worthy of very much more; and I am only sorry not to have done more justice to it. It is the fear of spoiling the very important portion that remains, that keeps me from going on; it needs better opportunities and greater vigour than my gracious God has seen fit to give me: and humbly commending to his blessing whatever has been written in accordance with his holy will, I cheerfully leave any future accomplishment of my wishes to his directing hand.

*Cirencester, October, 1849.*

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A GLANCE AT THE CAUSES OF JUDGMENT UPON THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE. — THE SAD IMPORTANCE OF THAT JUDGMENT. — STRIKING FEATURES OF THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. — THE GREEK EMPEROR, MANUEL PALEOLOGUS, VISITS THE COURTS OF CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE AND HENRY IV. OF ENGLAND. — THE SULTAN, AMURATH II., BESIEGES CONSTANTINOPLE, BUT DEPARTS; AND MANUEL CLOSES HIS REIGN IN PEACE. — HIS POLICY WITH RESPECT TO ROME. — JOHN VII., HIS SON, BECOMES EMPEROR. — LADISLAUS, KING OF POLAND, IS ELECTED KING OF HUNGARY. — THE GREEK EMPEROR AND HIS CHIEF CLERGY UNITE IN A COUNCIL WITH POPE EUGENIUS IV. AND THE LATIN CLERGY, AND A SOLEMN ACT OF UNION BETWEEN THE TWO CHURCHES IS SIGNED AT FLORENCE. — THE GREEK CHURCH AND NATION AT LARGE OPPOSE AND DISSOLVE THE UNION. — STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE TURKS AND HUNGARIANS. — THE CAREER OF LADISLAUS CLOSES AT THE FATAL BATTLE OF VARNA. — STORY OF SCANDERBEG. — HUNIADES CARRIES ON THE WAR WITH THE TURKS. — DEATH OF THE PACIFIC EMPEROR, JOHN VII. — ACCESSION OF HIS BROTHER, CONSTANTINE XII., THE LAST HEAD OF THE LOWER ROMAN EMPIRE. — DEATH OF AMURATH II.

IN the day that Constantine built the city called after his name upon the beautiful site of the ancient Byzantium,

he boldly declared it should never be stained by the guilt of that pagan idolatry which was then stiffly maintained in the old capital of the Roman world.\* But as centuries rolled on, new forms of idolatry took root in Constantinople; and, after many emperors had so vigorously struggled against image-worship as to earn the title of Iconoclasts (image-breakers), the Seventh General Council, being the second held at Nice, set forth a profession of faith in the rightness of bestowing an inferior description of worship on the images of Christ and the Virgin, of the angels and saints † (Oct. 19, 787).

Even after this, emperors were found to oppose the practice with the utmost zeal; but, after nearly another century of contest, image-worship became a standing law, by means of a council held at Constantinople ‡ (A.D. 843). Theodora, the wretched empress in whose reign the decree was thus confirmed, stands among the saints of the apostate Greek Church on this very ground. The decline of the Eastern Roman empire may be righteously traced from this period; the Mahometan powers, the great enemies of image-worship, became its deadly enemies; it came under continual and long-suffering correction as having the name of Christ upon it; and that name was at last taken from it because of incorrigible national sins. We need not forget that others equally guilty were left for future judgment after the Eastern Romans fell: but God is the judge; "he putteth down one, and setteth up another;" and we know that the fate of these sinners said, like that of those on whom the tower in Siloam fell, "except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

The taking away the Christian name from an empire which had retained it through all the strange revolutions of eleven centuries, is an event of such sad importance, that we may well place the history of the last emperors of Constantinople at the commencement of our sketch of these times. Moreover, the three reigns of Manuel Paleologus, and of his sons, John and Constantine, extending through the first half of the fifteenth century, form a convenient chronological enclosure for our other portions of Universal History; and the terminating date, the year

\* Vol. I. pp. 484, 494.

† Vol. II. pp. 338, 371.

‡ Vol. III. pp. 19, 35.

of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453), is one of marked importance in other parts of Europe.

During this half century, the three Henrys (IV. V. and VI.), successively occupy the throne of England; Charles VI. and VII. are kings in France; the eventful reign of the Emperor Sigismund transpires; and the double Popes, after a series of struggles which seem for a time to threaten the destruction of the papal power, are again reduced to one.

The fifteenth century was ushered in by a variety of memorable events. Our English king, Richard II., had been recently deposed, and probably murdered; the Emperor Wenceslaus was also just deposed; the rival Popes at Rome and Avignon were calling the nations, whose obedience was divided between them, to celebrate what can only be termed the jubilee of discord at Rome; Manuel Paleologus was fleeing westward to seek out props for his tottering throne, and had only found liberty to quit his endangered city because Tamerlane and Bajazet, the fierce conquerors of Asia, were engaging each other in the contest of which we already know the termination—a contest that called away the Turks from the walls of Constantinople.\* The head of the Greek empire, in his distress, turned only to man, as Israel of old to Egypt and Assyria; and he led his people to hope for help in the princes of Christendom, and their men and ships, instead of turning to the living God, and putting away their idols. The end of the history, and the moral of it, is the same. Apostasy always ends in judgment, however long it may be delayed through the long-suffering of God.†

\* Vol. IV. p. 453.

† The interpretation of Rev. ix. 15, &c. as the judgment on the Eastern Roman empire through the Turks, is within the reach of any reader of commentaries: in the present day, fresh light is thrown on the book of Revelation, and different thoughts are expressed. I shall therefore only venture to say, that as the promise is given, that in "the time of the end" knowledge shall be *increased*, and the wise *shall* understand, we may hope that the interpretation of Prophetic Scripture will now shortly be cleared up, and that differing opinions about it in the Church of God will come to an end. I confess myself disposed to listen to the interpreters who rank the chapter referred to among unfulfilled prophecies, not denying that there is a possibility of applying it to the Saracen and Ottoman woes.

It was in the year A. D. 1400, that Manuel Paleologus, hopeless of preserving Constantinople without foreign help, left the city under the rule of John of Selybria, his half-blind cousin, and with Marshal Boucicault, who had advised and prepared the way for this undertaking, embarked for France. Instead of proceeding the whole way by sea, he landed on the Italian shore; and after being honourably received in the different states through which he passed, was met on the borders of France by the officers appointed by Charles VI. to take charge of his person and expenses. Two thousand of the richest citizens of Paris came out to Charenton to meet the imperial visitor; the chancellor and the parliament received him at the city gates; and when at length he reached the presence-chamber of the amiable king, he received his cordial embrace amidst the surrounding princes and nobles. The emperor, during his stay in Paris, was lodged in the Louvre Palace, and entertained with many diversions; he was allowed to wear a robe of white silk, and to ride on a milkwhite courser—distinctions allowed to royalty alone at that time in France; and he had also a private chapel assigned to him for the celebration of the Greek forms of worship.

All seemed to promise well for Manuel's obtaining the help he needed: it was indisputable that France had furnished the greatest number, if not the most ardent, of the crusaders; several of her children had been raised to the thrones of Jerusalem and Constantinople; her blood and treasure had been expended freely in disputing the empire of the Mahometans in Asia, Africa, and Europe; and therefore no hope could appear better founded than that, when the only remaining Christian empire in the East was threatened with destruction by the fiercest of the Moslems, all France would arm in its behalf.

Yet it was far otherwise. Our coming history of the internal circumstances of France may, in part, explain; but here we may observe, that had God been pleased to continue to Constantinople the long-abused name of a Christian city, a few thousands more of the warriors of Europe—and these might have sufficed—would surely have come forward in the hour of peril. Manuel Paleologus probably perceived that he was gathering but little

strength at Paris, and he soon crossed the straits to Dover, if so be he might rekindle that determinate spirit of war with the Turks which had once burnt so fiercely in the lion-hearted Richard, and men of like mould. At Canterbury, the royal Greek was entertained by the bountiful monks of St. Augustine's, of whose vast feasts we have already given a specimen; and it was on Blackheath that Henry IV., with a dignified train, saluted him in person. In London, as at Paris, Manuel was lodged and entertained according to his rank; but the circumstances of Henry, who was even then trembling on a usurped throne, left him no power, even if he had the desire, to serve a foreign prince. In the bosom of his young and warlike boy (afterwards Henry V.), a spark of the old spirit of crusade seems to have fallen, though its existence was only revealed on his deathbed. The English nation was gratified by the emperor's visit; tournaments and festivities celebrated the occasion; and Henry dismissed his guest with such presents as he could afford. After quitting England, the emperor returned to his quarters at Paris, and two years elapsed before he set out, through Germany and Italy, for his dominions in the Morea. In that province he tarried till he heard the grateful news of the recall of the Turkish troops, who had so long hovered, like birds of prey, around Constantinople; their recall was to assist their sultan against Tamerlane; and then the imperial traveller returned home to claim his throne, and dismissed his vicegerent to the isle of Lesbos.

The divided state of the Ottoman empire after the death of Bajazet Ilderim—who, like the lightning which was his surname, struck the high towers and proud forests, to which the Greek power is comparable, and then disappeared—left Constantinople a little time of recovery, so that some branches of the blasted tree grew green till the hour came for its being wholly cut down. Bajazet's sons, Soliman at Adrianople, and Musa, by the sufferance of the Tartars, at Bursa, contended with each other for the mastery; and the former, in order to strengthen himself against his brother, formed an alliance with the Emperor Manuel, engaging to restore to him the European provinces seized by his father, with the exception of Thrace, and some smaller districts. But just when Soliman had

triumphed over his brother, his own excesses caused a revolution, which placed Musa on the throne of Adrianople ; and Soliman, on his way to Constantinople, as a city of refuge, was assassinated (A. D. 1410). The murderers carried the body of their deceased prince to Musa, expecting a reward, but they found to their cost he had not lost the feeling that it was a kinsman's duty to avenge such an act : Musa ordered them to be burned alive, and gave to his brother's remains the customary honours of royal burial. In the meantime, Mahomet, the youngest son of Bajazet, had been crowned by the Ottoman army in Asia ; and but a short time elapsed before he was raised to the pinnacle of power in the Turkish capital, when he caused Musa to be put to death in his presence (A. D. 1413). The fratricide Mahomet I. bore the title of sultan, which was allowed to neither of his brothers, because they had not possessed undivided sway. As if forgetful of the dreadful crime which had fixed Mahomet on the throne, Manuel, at his accession, invited him to Constantinople, where he entertained him and his guards with great honour. The intimacy became so close that the emperor soon found himself involved in the political quarrels of the Ottoman royal family ; and, at the death of the sultan, he was actually left guardian to his son Amurath II., then only eighteen years of age. The Turkish divan (council), however, more consistent, or more politic than the Greek court, refused to trust a sovereign of another faith. Manuel, in revenge, set free Mustapha, a relative of the late sultan, who had been left in his keeping lest he should dispute the succession with Amurath. This act, however, did not profit him ; the released captive, who had promised to sow strife among his countrymen, and to espouse the Greek interest, did not keep his engagements, but held one of the towns on which he had seized, in spite of the emperor's desire to obtain it. To the ambassadors sent to reproach his want of faith, he replied, that he would rather, in the day of judgment, answer for a broken oath, than for betraying a Mussulman city to infidels. Thus Manuel's unworthy artifice only increased his enemies ; and Amurath had scarcely overthrown Mustapha, when he prepared to besiege Constantinople.

In 1423, the sultan came before the imperial city with

200,000 men; and an Arabian dervish, who entered the camp with 500 disciples in his train, encouraged the assault by his prophecies of success. Cannon then, for the first time, thundered against the walls of Constantinople, but it was not powerful enough to make any fatal impression. Fanaticism, on the one side, was repelled by superstition on the other; for the besieged were taught that the Blessed Virgin, in a violet-coloured robe, was seen walking on the ramparts as the protectress of the city. Revolt in his own dominion, and designs for easier and more extensive conquests, induced Amurath to raise the siege of Constantinople, and to conclude a peace with Manuel. It was scarcely signed when the emperor was seized with mortal illness. He hurried into a monastery, adopted the name of Anthony, the author of monasticism, and divided his precious moveables among his children, his physicians, his favourite servants, and the poor; and after two days he expired (A. D. 1425). He was seventy-eight years of age, and had reigned thirty-four years. His funeral was honoured with the tears of his subjects, for he had governed with mildness. By his wife Irene, the daughter of a petty prince of Macedonia, Manuel had eight children: John and Constantine, who, in turn, succeeded to the empire; Theodore, a monk; Andronicus, Demetrius, and Thomas, who received the Morea as their inheritance; Helena, who married the Despot of Servia; and Zoe, who was given in marriage to the Grand-prince of Russia.

It is necessary here to say a word about Manuel's singular policy towards the papal court. When passing through Italy, even though it was in the year of the jubilee, he forebore to visit Rome, as it seemed dangerous to pay his court to one pope, whilst another at Avignon was preferred by the French nation: but when Martin V. was set up as the sole pope, Manuel sought his favour by letters and embassies, and even expressed his desire to marry his six sons to Italian princesses. When the Ottoman power was favourable to him, he again grew careless of the Pope, and wrote twenty dialogues in defence of the Greek Church. Afterwards, when associating his son John with him in the empire, he instructed him in the artifices he deemed political, telling him, that union with

Rome was a game only to be played in the hour of necessity; in order to increase his fleet and army by papal influence, he might even propose a general council, but that the assembling of it should be delayed till the storm had blown over. We shall presently perceive that John did not act quite so crookedly as his father in this respect.

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JOHN (VII.) Paleologus was proclaimed sole emperor at his father's death (A. D. 1425). He was not a warrior; but he possessed some political talents, and as he loved his people, he did what he could to make them happy. One interesting circumstance recorded in his history is, that, after a long and learned dispute, he convinced a Jew of the truth of Christianity. John never had any children. His first wife was a Muscovite princess, who died very young; his second wife, the daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, is said to have been dismissed at his accession to the throne, as not being beautiful enough for an empress; his third wife was the daughter of the petty emperor of Trebizond. John, having no family, regarded his brother Andronicus as his heir. This prince resided at Thessalonica, and reigned over the adjacent territory; but the Turks took the city by assault in 1429, and the massacre usual on such occasions was only prevented by a permission, issued by Amurath to his soldiers, to make slaves of their prisoners. Andronicus himself escaped to the Morea, but he died shortly after of leprosy.

The Morea, by its position, could be defended, though all the rest of Greece was in the hands of the Turks, for Manuel had caused a wall to be built across the isthmus of Corinth, where it was six miles in breadth; and fifty-three towers, with a small garrison in each, sufficed for its defence. But, though protected from the sword of the Moslems, this fair province was wasted by the quarrels of the younger princes. Demetrius and Thomas at length divided it between them, and Constantine, as heir-apparent of the empire, went to reside with his brother at Constantinople. During eleven years (1426—1437), the imperial city was undisturbed by the hostility of the Turks; and John Paleologus, according to his father's advice, kept up a friendly intercourse with Rome, and at length also

accepted the invitation of Pope Eugenius IV. to meet him in a council at Ferrara.

After a voyage of seventy-seven days, the imperial squadron, consisting of eight ships, sailed into the Gulf of Venice, where they were met by twelve stately galleys, and a great number of gondolas; the mariners, and even the vessels, shining with silk and gold. The emperor occupied a lofty throne on the poop of his state-ship; his companions were the patriarch, with the five dignitaries of St. Sophia, styled cross-bearers; monks, philosophers, and servants filled the other ships, with a band of church musicians and singers. As the Doge of Venice and the chief senators ascended the emperor's ship, the air rang with acclamations, mingled with strains of music. During fifteen days, the wealthy Venetians hospitably entertained the emperor and his suite; but probably the guests perceived, both in churches and palaces, some of the spoils of their own city, which had been preserved by its Venetian conquerors. John rode into Ferrara on a black horse, under a canopy, borne by the sons of the marquis of the territory; and a white steed, having trappings embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him in compliment to his rank. The Pope met him at the door of the apartment appointed for their first interview, embraced him cordially, and gave also a kiss of unity to the patriarch, as it had before been signified that this dignitary would not stoop to kiss his feet. At the council that followed, Paleologus wore his purple robes, and a diadem surmounted with jewels; and though some of the Italians were disposed to ridicule the flowing garments, hanging sleeves, and long beards of the Greeks, others thought the whole costume more elegant than their own. Owing to the existing divisions in the popedom, which must be explained in our chapter on Italy, none of the princes of the West, except the Duke of Burgundy, attended the Council of Ferrara; and of the clergy, only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots were present. It was therefore agreed, after the first sitting, to adjourn the proceedings for six months, in the hope that the *general* council promised to the Greeks might then be assembled; and, in the meantime, a pleasant monastery near Ferrara was assigned to the emperor for a residence, and the Pope

allowed him eleven horses, that he might amuse himself with the chase. But the Pope's hunters did not satisfy the emperor's love of speed, and he bought a strong swift horse that came from Russia, on which he pursued his sport, heedless of the complaints of the Marquis of Ferrara or the husbandmen, and forgetful apparently of his deserted empire, and the church affairs he came into Italy to settle. His attendants, however, were little pleased with their exile, especially as the allowance stipulated by the Pope was irregularly paid. The plague now appeared at Ferrara, and the Pope conducted his whole synod, including the Greeks, across the Apennines to Florence. On this occasion, according to a custom introduced by the Popes of this period, the pyx, containing the host, was borne in front of the travellers, with lighted torches. It was an ark of their own invention, which they exhibited as an imagined defence and leader. The first session of the Council of Florence was held at the end of February, 1439; and the part in which the Greeks were concerned did not terminate till August: the patriarch died before the close. During the four months, ten sessions were passed in conference and debate; speakers were appointed on each side; and all the points at issue between the Latin and Greek Churches were brought forward. Mark, archbishop of Ephesus, remained throughout firmly opposed to all union with Rome; the Archbishop of Heraclea lay ill; Demetrius, prince of the Morea, departed because he would not sanction the union; but all the rest of the Greeks agreed to it, chiefly at the persuasion of the emperor, and the Archbishops of Nice and Moscow, who, in reward for their readiness to coalesce with the Latins, were elevated by the Pope to the rank of cardinals. An act of union was drawn up for the signature of both Greeks and Latins; the following were its propositions: "1. That the body of Christ is truly consecrated in the bread, whether it be leavened or unleavened;\* 2. That the souls of true penitents, having died in the love of God, without having done fruits worthy of repentance, to

\* The Greeks had always objected to the use of unleavened bread (Greek, *azma*), probably because it was supposed to savour of the Jewish passover practice: they used to call the Latins *Azymites*, by way of reproach.

expiate their minor sins, are purified by the pains of purgatory; and that these pains are alleviated by the offerings of living believers; 3. That the primacy belongs to the holy apostolical see, and to the Roman pontiff; 4. That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, † as from one principle and substance; that he proceeds by the Son, being of the same nature and substance; and that he proceeds from the Father and the Son by one spiration and production.”

How can we sufficiently admire the truth and the beautiful simplicity of scripture statements, in contrast with the inventions of men, or the artificial expressions of theologians who have attempted to reduce faith to a level with positive science! The Pope, in order to make sure, as he thought, of the sincerity of the Greeks, sent four of his servants to watch the signature made by each; and when he wrote his own name, which came last of all, as if to seal authoritatively all that went before, he carefully examined the handwriting of the obedient Greeks: there were four copies of the document. In the great church of Florence, the union was formally completed. Bessarion of Nice and Cardinal Julian, the chief conductors of the whole matter in behalf of their respective churches, mounted the same pulpit; and after one had read the act in Greek, the other read it in Latin; then they embraced each other amidst universal applause. The emperor and the pope sat on thrones opposite each other; and when Eugenius descended to perform mass, he was assisted both by Greek and Latin priests. Eugenius was highly complimented as the healer of a schism of six hundred years' duration; and he rewarded the complacent Greeks with large promises of military and naval help, the expectation of which had, it appears, purchased their agreement to the union. But the papal treasury was so low, that it was, after much difficulty and delay, Eugenius paid

\* It was against this point the Greeks most obstinately contended: it had long been their note of defiance, that the procession was *not* from the son; it had earned them some of the heaviest of the anathemas of the Latins; and the severe struggle undergone by the Greeks at Florence, before they would change their opinion, was but a pledge how difficult it would be to alter the creed of the whole nation.

the expenses of the Greeks. The emperor and his train left Florence on August 22, 1439; but they did not set sail for Constantinople till the following spring. In touching at the Morea, they found that complaints against the union were strongly expressed there; and the resentment afterwards manifested in the capital was excessive. Mark of Ephesus worked up the minds of the people to such a pitch, that they refused to receive the sacrament from a new patriarch who favoured the union, and he died of grief in 1443. His successor, who strove to support the decisions of the Council of Florence, struggled on against the stream of popular opinion, but after nine years was obliged to seek refuge at Rome. The emperor himself, seeing that he might lose his crown or his life through the preference shown for his more orthodox brother, Demetrius, at length, with reluctance, abandoned the union, and with it all the help he had expected from Rome. The chief part of the clergy, who signed the offensive act, recovered their good name among their countrymen by the vehemence with which they deplored their own deed. The following is given as a specimen of their repentant language: "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice; we have become Azymites; we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, by the hopes and fears of a transitory life; the hand that has signed the union should be cut off; the tongue that has sung the Latin creed should be torn out," &c.

The contention between the opposing parties raged more or less fiercely till the downfall of the empire, which probably it also hastened. One thing appeared certain, that if a union, formed in so deliberate and solemn a manner by the chief persons in the state and the church, could be so ineffectual, there was no probability that the pride of the Popes could ever be gratified by seeing the Greeks at their feet.

Isidore of Moscow fared ill in his attempts to romanize the Russians. On his return to his see, with the title and style of a cardinal, wearing on his fingers the rings bestowed by the Pope, he attempted to celebrate mass with unleavened bread, and to introduce the alterations in the creed, &c.; but, notwithstanding the power and dignity

commonly connected, as we have seen, with the primacy in Russia, the promoter of these novelties was shut up in a monastery, and narrowly escaped death. Bessarion of Nice, the other Greek prelate who had been created a cardinal, found his own countrymen so opposed to him, that he was glad to take up his abode at Rome. His palace in that city became the resort of all who thirsted for Greek learning; and when he was afterwards raised to the bishopric of Barcelona, he carried into Spain the first elements of Greek literature.

Whilst religious debates were filling the minds of the Greeks of all ranks, Amurath II. was seeking to extend the Ottoman empire, and to propagate the Mahometan faith. In 1435, in pursuance of some quarrel with the Despot of Servia,\* he laid siege to Semendria, his chief city, and took it by a vigorous assault. The despot, being numbered among the Christian princes, then sought help from the nearest Christian kingdom, Hungary: his cause, in fact, was theirs also; for if Servia were conquered, the Hungarians saw their own country endangered. Albert, their king, had lately died, leaving only one child, a girl, and Elizabeth his queen, about to become a second time a mother. It appeared so dangerous to trust the kingdom to a woman and an infant sovereign, that John Corvinus, surnamed Huniades, famous among the warriors of Hungary, proposed to his countrymen to offer the throne to Ladislaus V., the son and successor of the famous king of Poland, Jagello Ladislaus, a young man of remarkable talents, and who could bring into the field one of the best and bravest armies to be found in Europe. A deputation was accordingly sent to Ladislaus, who had been ten years a king, though he was now scarcely twenty-one; his pride and ambition were gratified by the choice of a warlike people, and after appointing a regency at home, he went to Buda, where he was crowned king of Hungary. The widowed queen had, however, given birth to a son, and a strong party favoured her rights and

\* We cannot look at the map of Turkey without perceiving its strongly marked divisions into provinces; all of these were once separate governments, and fell one after another under the victorious arms of the Ottoman Turks, whose name thus became attached to the whole of the conquered territory.

those of the infant heir; but the quarrel was appeased when the king permitted the young princess to be affianced to him, promising to marry no other. It was just after Ladislaus ascended the throne of Hungary, that the Despot of Servia came to Buda, to beseech him to protect his remaining strong city, Belgrade, now the bulwark of Western Christendom. The king willingly consented; and from that moment the Poles and Hungarians may be said to have thrown themselves across the victorious path of the Turks, thus delaying the downfall of Constantinople, and, by the providence of God, preventing the extension of the Mahometan empire beyond the point which they at first strove to defend. The general Huniades threw himself into Belgrade, and held it against the Turks for six months, though they used cannon, a mode of assault entirely new to the Hungarians. Ladislaus, in the meantime, led an army drawn from his two kingdoms across the Danube, and destroyed Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria, which was now under Turkish rule. Amurath, in alarm, withdrew his forces from the walls of Belgrade, to defend his home dominions; and Huniades, being thus set at liberty for a larger field of service, was appointed waivode, *i. e.* governor, of Transylvania, and commenced an active warfare against the Turks, which only ended with his life. In one of his first military attempts, a sally by night, his troops are said to have cut off 30,000 of the enemy, with little loss on their own side. Ladislaus, too, attacked, in the mountainous country of Macedonia, a Turkish army commanded by the Pasha of Anatolia, took that governor prisoner, and defeated the host. In 1444, Amurath, by restoring Servia, and some other conquests, obtained a peace, which, by solemn oaths on both sides, was to last *ten years*. Among the many proofs of the miseries of war, is that singular species of self-restraint, which warring nations from the earliest times have been occasionally willing to impose upon themselves, under the name of a truce. That moral force, or mental power, which enables men yesterday engaged in deadly conflict, to meet to-day without an attempt to injure each other, places even the most savage warriors as far above the level of the beasts of the forest, as they are above them in the scale of responsibility.

Either through weariness or disappointment, Amurath, at the conclusion of this truce, abdicated the throne in favour of his son Mahomet II., afterwards surnamed the Great; but this prince was then very young, and circumstances soon obliged Amurath to resume the command. He is said to have spent his interval of tranquillity in Magnesia, among the dervishes, a kind of Mahometan monks, who had sprung up during the time of the Crusades; and in making prayers, in their fasts, self-inflictions, and fanaticism, equalled, if they did not outdo, the followers of St. Anthony. The fame of the exploits of Ladislaus speedily circulated throughout Europe; and as soon as it reached the ears of the reigning Pope, Eugenius IV., that unprincipled priest prepared an absolution for the conqueror, in order that he might the more easily break his compact with the Turks, and pursue the advantages he had gained. Cardinal Julian was the willing bearer of the papal bull, and in the very year that the oaths for peace were taken, Ladislaus recommenced the war. At the same time, papal indulgences were proclaimed to all who would join in a new crusade, and great assistance was expected by Ladislaus, though he resolved to seek increase of reputation by being the first to enter the field. With only 20,000 men, he crossed the Danube at Orsova, and again descended into Bulgaria, his soldiers not even sparing from the flames the villages and churches of the native Christian population that were suffered to remain upon the Ottoman territory. At Varna, on the shores of the Black Sea, Ladislaus was told that a confederate fleet of Greeks, Venetians, and Genoese, would land a strong auxiliary force; but, either through fear or mistake, the promised allies did not arrive; and as the Poles and Hungarians neared the seashore, they learned that Amurath, drawn from his solitude to meet the threatening danger, was advancing at the head of 60,000 men. Huniades advised his young king to retire before these overwhelming numbers; but Ladislaus was resolved to conquer or to die, and, contrary to the remaining counsel of his experienced general, even began the attack. Such was the fury of the desperate Hungarians, that the Turks quailed before them, and, after a bloody struggle, seemed ready to fly; but Amurath rallied his disordered troops,

and report said, by appealing to Christ to avenge the perjury of the men who had sworn by his gospel. Ladislaus astonished the enemy by his intrepidity, daring even to penetrate the ranks of the janizaries who guarded the sultan's person; and at last, it is said, he fell by his own hand, amidst a pile of the slain, being resolved that the Turks should not take him alive. Huniades retreated with only half of the army, and Amurath had lost so many of his best troops, that he declared such another victory would be his ruin. On this dreadful day, Cardinal Julian was slain, being impeded in his flight by a weight of gold that he carried about him. The battle of Varna took place, Nov. 10, 1444.

Amurath erected on the field of victory a pyramid, which was loaded with pompous inscriptions; and beside it a trophy was raised with the arms of the slain: the Turk was at least in advance of the Tartar conqueror, who made his monuments of skulls.

The tidings of the death of Ladislaus spread a gloom over Christendom, and some months elapsed before the Poles and the Hungarians relinquished all hope of his return, none of either nation having seen the dead body.

In 1445, Amurath caused his son Mahomet, then fifteen years of age, to be proclaimed sultan, and again abdicated, whether from motives of pleasure or religion does not appear certain; but so rare an instance of the renunciation of absolute power, once and again, only proves that even an eastern despot felt that it brought more trouble than pleasure: but, in four months, the disorders of the state and the prayers of his ministers called him again to the throne, and he held it during the remaining four years of his life,—one of the most stormy periods known to the Ottoman power. Although Ladislaus had perished, more formidable enemies remained: these were Huniades, and Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus; men whose dauntless spirit of opposition to the Turks seemed to infuse itself into their followers, and who, to their last breath, spent every energy in their one object. Scanderbeg was a Turkish title (equivalent to Lord Alexander), bestowed by the sultan on the young John Castriot, son of a petty prince of Epirus, of whose country he had possessed himself. The bravery of the young Epirot earned him this title, for

he distinguished himself even among the janizaries, for whose ranks he had been trained from early youth. He had been trusted to command a force on the frontiers of Servia, and, whilst in this position, conceived the idea of making himself independent of the sultan, by regaining and defending his paternal dominions. Knowing that Amurath's secretary was about to pass near his camp, he took the opportunity of obtaining from him the official seal: this he put on an order he had prepared for the Turkish governor of Epirus, commanding him, in the sultan's name, to deliver up Croya, the chief city, to his favourite Scanderbeg. Then, with the troops he had gained over to his views, the young prince rapidly marched to Croya, and was without hesitation put in possession of the citadel. The place itself was strongly fortified, and the country which it commanded so mountainous as to be easily defended by a smaller against a larger force. Scanderbeg, at the age of twenty, found his desire of independence gratified; the people of Epirus willingly received him; the Albanians became his allies, or rather his subjects; and the Venetians, for their own sakes, as their territories extended to the frontier of Epirus, assisted the principality with money and soldiers.

Amurath, with 100,000 men, failed two successive years in his attempts to regain Croya, for though it was only garrisoned by 4000 men, Scanderbeg, with 40,000 more, hovered about the neighbourhood, making the woods and mountains his shelter and defence, and springing with destructive power upon the invaders at every favourable opportunity. The existence of such a foe in Greece probably made Amurath willing to listen to the proposals of peace addressed to him by John Paleologus, when the battle of Varna occasioned Constantinople again to be threatened with hostilities by the Turks: that pacific emperor therefore closed his life in quiet, and his brother Constantine, the twelfth of his name, was at once proclaimed as his successor (A. D. 1448). Demetrius would have displaced his elder brother, under pretence that he was the firstborn of their father after he was raised to the empire; but the claim was set at nought: then Demetrius and Thomas, having sworn in their mother's presence to preserve a dutiful peace with the new emperor, received

his embrace, and departed to their own principalities in the Morea. In the same year, and only four years after the battle of Varna, Huniades was again in the centre of Bulgaria, and for three days sustained the attack of an Ottoman army four times more numerous than his own. The troops whom he commanded being slain or dispersed, he escaped into the woods of Wallachia unattended, and was there attacked by two robbers. But whilst they disputed about the gold chain they had taken from the stranger's neck, he slew one of them, and the other fled with terror. Thus the life of Huniades was saved, and after many perils he arrived in Hungary, to prepare for yet more daring deeds.

After his last repulse from Croya, Amurath retired to the neighbourhood of Adrianople, where he died at the age of forty-nine, having reigned thirty years (A. D. 1451).

## CHAPTER II.

A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER, CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE LAST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR, AND THE FIRST TURKISH SULTAN, OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHARACTER OF CONSTANTINE XII.—HIS PROPOSED MARRIAGE.—CHARACTER AND EDUCATION OF MAHOMET II.—HE PREPARES FOR THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—HIS RESTLESS AMBITION.—HISTORY OF THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.—DEATH OF THE LAST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.—PARTIAL MASSACRE AND CAPTIVITY.—DESTRUCTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.—THE CITY IS SPARED, AND MADE THE SEAT OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.—MAHOMET CONCILIATES THE GREEKS BY INSTALLING THE NEW PATRIARCH.—CONDUCT OF MAHOMET AFTER HIS VICTORY.—HUNIADES AND SCANDERBEG RESIST TO THE UTTERMOST.—THE GREEK EMPIRE IS OVERRUN BY THE TURKS.—MAHOMET'S HORRIBLE DEEDS.—OTRANTO IS TAKEN.—DEATH OF MAHOMET AT THE MOMENT WHEN ALL EUROPE SEEMED TO LIE AT HIS MERCY.—SUMMARY OF HIS EXPLOITS.—HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

It has been observed, that as the last of the Roman emperors of the West—Romulus Augustus—bore the names of the founders of the city and empire of Rome, so the last Roman emperor of the East bore the name of the founder of Constantinople: the former, however, has left nothing but his bare name on the page of history, the latter is admired for the spirit he displayed in the most adverse circumstances, and the zeal that he showed for the preservation of the Christian name. The first years of Constantine's short reign were spent in embassies to the Ottoman court, and in negotiations of marriage. Phranza, his most confidential servant, who had obtained messages of peace from the sultan, was dispatched with two ships and a large retinue, including a band of musicians, to seek a royal bride from the courts of Trebizond or Georgia.

It was an expensive and tedious errand, but the king of Georgia, it appears, was pleased with the idea of a splendid alliance for his daughter, his people were fascinated with the music of the Greeks, which was such as they had never heard before, and Phranza was honourably dismissed with a marriage-treaty, and accompanied by a Georgian ambassador. Three vermilion crosses impressed on the parchment by Constantine's own hand signified his desire for the union, and the ambassador was sent home with an assurance, that, in the following spring, the Greek ships would fetch the bride, with all suitable honour. Far other things than marriage festivities were, however, in store for the last of the Constantines: that very spring found him involved in the war with the Turks, which only terminated in the loss of his empire and his life. Mahomet II. was the son of Amurath by Maria, daughter of the Despot of Servia, and therefore nominally a Christian. Some jealousy against her that arose in Amurath's seraglio is said to have provoked the war in Servia, already described, and Maria being dismissed to her father's court, left her child to be educated as a Mussulman, and to grow up a despiser of all religions—the scourge both of Christians and Mahometans. His father procured for him the most skilful masters within reach; he learned to speak or to understand Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek; he studied astrology, geography, and history; and the perusal of the exploits and conquests of Alexander and Julius Cæsar is said to have filled his mind with the desire of emulating their fame. Mahomet was only nineteen when his father died; but at that early age he was the slave of furious passions, nor did he scruple to command the death of his two younger brothers, lest they should dispute with him the empire. On returning from his first tour through his Asiatic provinces, Mahomet began to build a fortress on the European side of the Bosphorus, only five miles from Constantinople. The emperor remonstrated by his ambassadors, as in reply to his embassy at the young sultan's accession, he had received an answer of peace; but now Mahomet observed that he had a right to do what he would on his own ground. His intentions were evidently hostile. In March, 1452, he dispatched a thousand masons to the appointed spot,

each with two assisting labourers; fixed two cubits as their daily task, and, as the work proceeded, often superintended it in person. The formidable building was of a triangular form, flanked with strong towers, and covered with solid lead, probably to resist any attacks that might be made by the engines, or the fire, of the Greeks. As a last mode of expressing his desire for the sultan's friendship, Constantine set free all Turkish prisoners taken in former wars, and with them sent a message to Mahomet to this effect: "That if it should please God to soften his heart, he should rejoice; if it were His will the city should be taken, he should submit without a murmur; he would, however, live and die in the defence of his people and his religion." Mahomet returned some hostile answer, but deferred till the following spring the meditated siege of Constantinople, in order to make larger preparations: he also sent an army into the Morea to prevent the emperor's brothers from rendering him assistance, and amused himself in building at Adrianople a palace so lofty, that it was called "the watchtower of the world." Calil Basha, vizir both in this and the preceding reign, had, during the existence of truces with the Christians, shown them so much friendship, that his countrymen satirically styled him "the foster-brother of the infidels." When, therefore, the sultan was known to be meditating another course, it was not without alarm that Calil received a summons in the middle of the night immediately to attend his master's couch. He embraced his family, as if he might never see them more, filled a vase with gold pieces to propitiate his sovereign, and hastened to his sleeping apartment with the offering. "Nay," exclaimed Mahomet, "I do not wish to resume my gifts but to multiply them; yet, in return, I ask you for something more valuable than all my possessions—Constantinople." The minister, relieved from his alarm, replied in the servile style of an eastern courtier: "Allah, who has given you so much of the Roman empire, will not deny you the remainder; and I, with all your faithful slaves, will sacrifice life and fortune to gratify the wishes of our lord." The sultan then replied, with familiar confidence: "Lala (preceptor), do you see this pillow? All the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the

other. I have risen from my bed, again have I laid down, yet sleep has not visited these weary eyes," &c.

This conversation gives us a lively idea of that feverish restlessness which is the consequence of other diseases of the corrupt mind besides ambition, but, perhaps, torments the ambitious as constantly as any. Mahomet's anxiety at this time weighed upon his mind by day as well as night. He often wandered through the streets of his capital alone, and in disguise, that he might judge, by the careless conversation of his soldiers, the probable success of his attack on Constantinople. It was fatal to any one who recognised him when thus acting as a spy. Mahomet's best hopes of a successful siege were founded on his cannon. By the help of a deserter from the Greek service, he had established a foundry at Constantinople, which produced, after three months' labour, a stupendous piece of brass ordnance, the stone bullet of which weighed 100 lbs. In order to convey it to the destined spot, 30 wagons were linked together; these were drawn by 60 oxen, and 200 men walked on each side to steady the load: 250 workmen were previously employed to prepare the road, and the journey of 250 miles was not accomplished in less than two months. Constantine, in vain, implored the Pope, and the Western princes, to send him help: the former was only bent on establishing his own supremacy over the Greek Church, and the latter were all engaged, as we shall hereafter relate, in their own affairs. Justiniani, a Genoese commander, who brought a few ships and 2000 soldiers, was the only ally of the last of the Constantines. It is true that the Pope, Nicholas V., sent Cardinal Isidore as his legate, about six months before Constantinople was shut up by the Turks; but though the emperor received him as a friend, the people at large counted him an enemy; and when he performed mass in the Latin tongue, and manner, at St. Sophia, public indignation rose to such a height, that a deputation of citizens hastened to the cell of the monk Gennadius, the oracle of the day, to beg him to give his opinion as to the union with Rome. He did not permit himself to be seen, but at his door hung a tablet inscribed with these words, "O miserable Romans! Why will ye abandon the truth? Why trust in the Italians instead of in God? In losing

your faith, you will lose the city," &c. This sentence left the Latin party the most insignificant minority. Isidore was obliged to fly; St. Sophia, as a place polluted by the Latin service, was purified with much ceremony; all who had taken the sacrament from priests concerned in the union, were adjudged severe penance, and it was declared unlawful to ask their help in any extremity. If party spirit rose to such a pitch that the orthodox Greeks, as we are told, exclaimed, they would rather see a Turkish turban than a cardinal's hat in St. Sophia, it is not surprising that the emperor, who had favoured the union, was but feebly supported by his people. On the other hand, it was triumphantly recorded at Rome, that the Pope had said, when making his last efforts to establish the union, that Constantinople occupied the place of the barren figtree, that it would yet be spared three years, and if it did not bear fruit—that is, the fruit of subjection to the papal see—it would afterwards be cut down. Constantinople still numbered 100,000 inhabitants, but some of the richest nobles withdrew before the siege, or denied the emperor the use of their treasures; and Phranza, after the strictest inquiry from house to house, could only mention to his master 4970 Romans who were able and willing to assist in the defence of the city. Constantine, and his confidential minister, kept the smallness of the number a profound secret, determined to make the best use of all means of resistance within their reach. The gates were closed, the walls manned, and the strong chain thrown across the mouth of the harbour was defended by ships of war, and merchant vessels. The natural and artificial advantages of the city must be borne in mind: two sides of the triangle, which formed its boundary lines, were washed by the sea for the extent of ten miles; that stretching along the Propontis was considered inaccessible by nature, the side on which lay the harbour, by art; the land side, measuring six miles, was protected by a double wall, and a ditch a hundred feet deep.

On the 6th of April, 1453, Mahomet commenced the siege with 258,000 men: 320 vessels were at his service by sea; but the Turks were unskilful mariners, and their naval power so feeble, that it was a proverb among them, that Allah gave them the land, and left the sea to the

infidels. Five great ships, laden with provisions and sailors, came to the aid of the city from the Morea and the Archipelago, and not only forced their way through the Turkish fleet that disputed their passage, but destroyed 12,000 of their assailants with their artillery and liquid fire. Mahomet from the shore viewed the contest, and spurring his horse almost into the waves urged the Ottoman sailors, with loud cries, to prevent the entrance of the Christian ships into the harbour; and when the pasha who commanded his fleet appeared in the sultan's dread presence after his failure, and excused himself for want of success because of a wound in his eye, Mahomet caused him to be immediately laid on the ground to receive one hundred strokes with a golden rod, and then banished him from his service. But, at this very time, Mahomet himself was failing in all his attempts by land; fourteen batteries thundered at once against the walls with little avail; and the labourers who toiled all day to fill the ditch with rubbish constantly found it had been cleared during the night by the Greeks. The attack and the defence were alike tremendous, for the ancient engines, the Greek fire, and the artillery, were together in action. The breaches made by the besiegers were so quickly filled up by the industry and skill of the besieged, Constantine and Justiniani everywhere directing these operations, that Mahomet exclaimed, after viewing one such exertion, the word of thirty-seven thousand prophets would not have made him believe it could have been done so quickly. Negotiations were then tried; and Mahomet, in his anxiety to make Constantinople his own capital, offered Constantine a rich portion for himself, and toleration for his people, if he would resign the city. The emperor replied, that he was determined to have either a throne or a grave there. The taking of the city appeared hopeless, unless it could be attacked by the harbour as well as on the land side; but the harbour was too well defended to be entered at its mouth, and the genius of Mahomet, or of his counsellors, devised another, and a most novel plan. The lighter Turkish vessels that floated in the Bosphorus were to be transported across the land, a space of ten miles, into the higher part of the harbour. In order to accomplish this, thickets had to be cut down, and the uneven ground

levelled ; and all along this road planks were laid down, greased with fat to make them smooth and slippery. By the labour of myriads this great work was finished in forty days ; and in one single night, by the aid of men and pulleys, eighty-eight ships were placed on rollers, drawn across the land, and let down into the quiet waters of the harbour. By the advice of his astrologers, Mahomet fixed the twenty-ninth of May as the day for storming the city. On the eve of that important day, the Moslems were exhorted to prayers, washings, and fastings, and dervishes visited their tents to promise paradise to such as fell in the conflict. Double pay was promised to the victors, and it was said, that deserters, had they the wings of a bird, could not escape the sultan's justice. The air then rung with the shouts of ardent and impatient besiegers, and both sea and land were illuminated by their fires. On the same evening, Constantine assembled the noblest and bravest of his subjects, and allies, at his palace, and attempted to encourage them, whilst probably he was hopeless of anything save what he deemed an honourable death. The warriors embraced each other with tears, vowed fidelity, and dispersed to their several posts. The emperor, with some of his companions, went first to St. Sophia, where they received the sacrament with prayers and tears. Constantine then paid a parting visit to his palace, which resounded with mournful cries ; he entreated the pardon of all whom he might have offended ; and, after a brief rest, mounted his horse, and rode round the posts to see that all the guards were on duty. The Turks were enjoined, on pain of death, to march to the attack in silence ; but the tread of so many thousands could not be noiseless ; and before the day broke the defenders of the city had almost filled the ditch with the bodies of the Turkish vanguard, for every dart and bullet told upon such a dense mass of assailants. For two hours the Greeks maintained the advantage, but then the sultan himself rode up to the walls, armed with an iron mace, and surrounded with ten thousand janizaries. Drums, trumpets, and atabals, drowned the cries of the wounded and dying Turks, and ministers of death were stationed in the hindermost ranks of the besiegers to kill any who should attempt to retreat from the attack. Mahomet

promised the government of his richest province to the man who first ascended the walls, and after Hassan, a gigantic janizary, had attained the summit and was killed, swarms of Turkish soldiers followed through the breach. Constantine and Justiniani had been conspicuous in the defence, but the latter, being wounded by an arrow, was about to withdraw for surgical help, when the emperor exclaimed, "Your wound is slight, the danger is pressing, your presence is necessary, whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the Genoese, "by the same road that God has opened to the Turks," and then made his escape at one of the breaches. By means of a boat, he reached the isle of Chios in safety; but only survived his flight a few days. The loss of the city was sealed by his abrupt retreat. Constantine cast off his purple, and fought at the breach, till he, with the nobles who surrounded his person, fell among the slain. In his dying agony, he is said to have exclaimed, "Cannot a Christian be found to cut off my head?"

Mahomet, at the end of fifty-three days from the commencement of the siege, found himself in possession of the desired prize; two thousand defenceless persons were massacred in the first heat of victory, but orders were then issued for sparing the lives of the citizens. A multitude had shut themselves up in St. Sophia, because a false prophet had assured them, that the Turks, though they might reach that point, would then be driven back by an angel from heaven. The doors were broken open, and all were taken captive. The victors being permitted to make slaves of all whom they would, strung their chosen captives together like cattle, and drove them through the streets; 60,000 males and females of all ages and ranks were sold and dispersed throughout the Ottoman empire.

The body of Constantine being discovered by means of the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes, it was allowed a decent burial by the sultan. On visiting the deserted palace, Mahomet was heard to quote the words of Sady, the popular poet of Persia,\* as descriptive of its air of desolation. He was not slow in transferring the seat of

\* Sady was a cotemporary of the Italian poet Petrarch, and his verses are still popular among the Persians, Turks, and Arabians.

government to Constantinople, and he was zealous to preserve and to increase the beauty of the city for his own glory. St. Sophia was robbed of the offerings of ages; its images, stripped of all valuable materials, were broken or burned—a well-merited fate: 120,000 MS. books, belonging to the adjoining library, are supposed to have been destroyed at the same time. It was for the sultan's interest to conciliate the vanquished people, as otherwise their industry and talents could not be turned to his account; but, though he declared himself their father, the blood of his noblest captives was made to flow at the first rumour of conspiracy against him. Five thousand Turkish families were brought into the city as settlers, but the fugitive Greeks were encouraged to return by the promise of life, liberty, and toleration; even the churches were divided between the Christians and the Moslems; and the sultan, after the fashion of the Greek emperors, invested the patriarch, at his election, with the insignia of his authority. The zealots of the Greek Church, concluding that the loss of the city was not owing to the divine displeasure against all its sins and idolatries, but merely because of the union with the Latins, elected the monk Gennadius, the warm opposer of that union, to be patri-

The following passage has been translated as a specimen of his more serious style. It is intended to describe Omnipotence.

“ He knows distinctly what is yet to come ;  
 His ear is fill'd with sounds as yet unform'd ;  
 Sov'reign of all, he asks no bended knee ;  
 Immortal judge, he needs no written law.  
 By him conducted through his bright career,  
 Safely the sun journeys from east to west ;  
 He sows the flinty bosoms of the hills  
 With the rich ruby and the sapphire blue ;  
 Two drops of water, in his plastic hand,  
 Take different forms, as suit his high behest :  
 This breathes a man ; that, sinking to the deep,  
 Rounds in its oozy bed an orient pearl.  
 Creation, at his bidding, rose to light ;  
 And shall, if he commands, again retire  
 Back to th' immense vacuity of space ;  
 Or, if he speaks, lo ! quicker than the word,  
 Th' obedient universe once more starts forth,  
 From deepest chaos, to the realms of being.”

arch. It must have been a singular sight when Mahomet presented him with the curiously wrought silver staff, the sign of his pastoral office, and deputed his officers to walk at the side of the patriarch-elect as he rode to the place of consecration. But, it is to be observed, the sultan required a payment of 2000 ducats on this, and all similar occasions; and the circumstances of the nine patriarchs who rapidly succeeded each other during Mahomet's reign, were sufficiently wretched. The Latin faction in the Greek Church still survived, and, from that day to this, the ecclesiastic at its head has been called the Latin patriarch, and has been chosen by the Pope.

Mahomet II. employed a Greek architect to build a new mosch on the ruins of the church of the Twelve Apostles, in imitation of St. Sophia; and the cupola form, which distinguished that ancient church, became from this time the favourite model of Mahometan architecture. Eight public schools, and the same number of hospitals, were built in connection with the mosch.

We must pass over the bounds of our present period, to trace the conqueror of Constantinople to the end of his course.

The monks who have written the history of Mahomet II. give a far worse description of him than the Turkish historians. One of the proofs which they give that his passion for conquest mastered every other, seems almost past belief. He brought back with him to Adrianople, on his first return in triumph, Irene, a Greek princess—a niece, as it appears, of the last of the Constantines. The Turkish warriors, like bloodhounds who had tasted of the prey, thirsted for fresh conquests, and murmurs arose that the sultan was too much taken up with his bride. Upon this, it is said, Mahomet led his Irene into the midst of the divan, and after suffering his counsellors to see her beauty, he exclaimed, "Judge whether your sultan is able to bridle his affections," and immediately cut off her head with his sword! In less than a year after the date assigned to this horrible event, forty strong places in Thrace and Macedonia were taken by Mahomet. In Albania he had less success, for Scanderbeg defeated him in several battles. Astonished by the blows inflicted by that prince's scimitar, the sultan sent to ask for a sight of the

weapon, supposing it to be something supernatural: when it was brought, it was found too heavy for any of the Ottomans to wield. On receiving it again, Scanderbeg remarked, he had not sent with it the arm that knew how to use it.

In 1456, Mahomet, with a fleet and army composed of 150,000 of his best troops, besieged Belgrade; but Huniades again flew to its assistance, defeated the Turkish fleet on the Danube, and obliged the sultan to raise the siege, after losing 40,000 men, and using his terrible ordnance in vain (July 22). About two months after, Huniades died; and Mahomet, on hearing the news, expressed his regret that no one remained of sufficient celebrity, on whom to revenge his repulse before Belgrade. *Jancus Lan* (*i. e.* the wicked one) was the epithet which distinguished Huniades among the Turks; and, long after his decease, it was used as a word of terror, just as the name of our own king Richard had been, in a previous age. As long as Huniades lived he possessed regal authority in Hungary; and, at his death, his son John Corvino, out of respect to his name and likeness, was chosen king. The hereditary sovereign, Ladislaus Posthumus (born after the death of his father, King Albert), was detained in Austria during his minority (Chap. VII.).

In 1458, the whole of the Morea fell into the power of the Ottomans. Prince Demetrius had previously retired into a monastery at Constantinople; but Thomas defended his dominions to the last, and then took refuge in Italy, where he received a pension from the Pope.\* Mahomet observed that he had found many a slave in Greece, but never a man save this prince. The petty empire of Trebizond, which had been held by the Comneni family ever since its first independence at the Latin conquest in 1204, fell under the power of Mahomet II. in 1461. The conqueror promised to spare the life of the reigning prince, David

\* He had two sons, Andrew and Manuel. The former sold the imperial title successively to the King of Arragon, and to Charles VIII. of France; the latter returned to Constantinople, and accepted from Mahomet a place at his court, and two wives. His son was brought up as a Turk. It appears that some of the descendants of Thomas must have settled in England, for an old tombstone in a village churchyard of Cornwall is inscribed with the name of his grandson.

Comnenus, and conveyed him and his eight children to Adrianople ; but, shortly after, the whole family were put to death, under pretence that they were holding treasonable correspondence with the Persians. Bosnia was next reduced, and its leader, after receiving a sealed promise of safety, was flayed alive by the sultan's command. Scanderbeg still remained unsubdued, though Mahomet sought his destruction by battle, and by hired assassins. In 1465, he invested Croya with 200,000 men, but the prince, as before, assailed the Turkish army from various unexpected quarters, and drove them out of Epirus. The next year, being attacked by a still larger force, Scanderbeg fell back into Dalmatia, in the states of Venice, and died under the protection of that republic in 1467. It is said that he gained twenty-two battles, and killed with his own hand two thousand Turks, without ever receiving any injury beyond a slight wound. His sepulchre was broken open by his enemies for the sake of his bones, fragments of which were worn by the janizaries enchased in their bracelets, as a kind of charm for imparting military courage. Beneath the victorious arms, or the treacherous devices, of Mahomet II., one part of Eastern Christendom after another melted into the Ottoman empire. Lesbos was gained by the treachery of the governor ; he was himself soon afterwards strangled. Caramania was seized whilst the children of the deceased prince were disputing about the succession. Chalcis, the capital of Negropont, one of the fair possessions of the Venetians, was besieged by Mahomet himself, and the governor capitulated under an oath taken by the sultan on his own head, and those of the Venetians. But, on entering the place, he ordered the bodies of the officers to be sawn asunder, saying, he had only sworn to the safety of their heads. As if Mahomet would blacken his name with every possible crime, he caused his own son Mustapha to be strangled, in a fit of jealousy, because he had gained a reputation by defeating an allied army raised by the Tartar khan of Persia, the Venetians, and the Rhodians. In 1475, an army of 150,000 men, sent by the sultan into Moldavia, was almost destroyed by the waiwode of that country ; but, the next year, Mahomet himself headed the invasion, and devastated every part that he

traversed, without resistance. In the same year, his pasha, Ahmed, conducted the Turkish fleet across the Black Sea, and took Caffa, the great mart of the Genoese in the Crimea. Over that peninsula Mahomet placed a Tartar khan of the race of the princes of Kaptshak: his posterity still reign there, and would, it is supposed, succeed to the throne of Constantinople, if the males of the Ottoman race failed. The next step in Mahomet's destructive career was to enter afresh into Albania, wasting it with fire and sword. Croya, defended by the Venetians for the young son of Scanderbeg, surrendered after a year's siege. Scutari was so strongly defended that Mahomet, after making seven assaults upon it, blockaded the place and retired; and it was ceded to him when the Venetians concluded a peace with him (A. D. 1478). From that time, Epirus was lost in Albania, which became a province of the Turkish empire. Notwithstanding the most extraordinary efforts, the naval force of the Ottomans failed in every attempt against Rhodes, so desperate was the resistance of the knights who defended it; but the Pasha Ahmed, after being repulsed again and again from this island, boldly crossed the straits that lie between Albania and Italy, and took the town of Otranto, which was regarded as the key of the country at its south-eastern extremity.

All Europe, and Italy in particular, trembled at this event: our subsequent history will describe the critical state of its home affairs at this period. But while the terrible Mahomet, being then only fifty years of age, might reasonably be expected to pursue the path of conquest that seemed open to him through the heart of Christendom, a combination of Mahometan princes called his attention to the East, and he died suddenly near Nice; it was said of colic, but not without suspicion that he had been poisoned. It appeared as if nothing but his removal from the world could have saved Europe from his grasp, for his unbounded ambition was still unsatisfied, and the Christian powers seemed quite unprepared to resist its consequences. The military exploits of Mahomet the Great have been thus summed up:—"He overturned two empires, conquered twelve kingdoms, took more than two hundred cities and towns from the Christians, and caused

the death of above 800,000 men : he lived feared by all, and died lamented by none."

Many stories are told of him, which it is needless to repeat, even if they are worthy of credit. He sent for Bellino, a famous painter of Venice, to draw his portrait. We are told that his whole face expressed the fierceness of his passions : he had a melancholy and stern expression of countenance, with piercing hollow eyes, and a nose so hooked as nearly to touch his upper lip. The painter, in reward for his various works of art, was sent home loaded with gold and honours. His visit, however, was probably painful enough, if he had a feeling mind, though we may question the story of the slave, whose head Mahomet is said to have cut off to show Bellino the action of the skin and muscles in a neck separated from the trunk. Executions were, alas ! so frequent, that the experiment, if made, might have been tried on other victims besides one selected for the purpose. Like Tamerlane, Mahomet caused justice to be enforced with such severity amongst his subjects, that thieving was almost unknown throughout his dominions.

The contests of the sons of Mahomet must be related in their proper place ; we need now only observe, in concluding the period in which the Ottoman power attained its height, that the language applied to "the rest of those men not killed by the plagues," which in Rev. ix. have been supposed to signify the inflictions of the Ottoman Turks, may fitly be used with regard to the survivors in this catastrophe of the Greek nation : "*they repented not of the works of their hands :*" image-worship and crime prevailed as before.

## CHAPTER III.

*Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.*  
A. D. 1400—1453.

ENGLAND UNDER HENRY IV. AND V.

FRANCE UNDER CHARLES VI.

SCOTLAND UNDER ROBERT III., AND THE REGENTS  
ALBANY AND MURDACH.

CONNECTION BETWEEN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND SCOTLAND AT THIS PERIOD. — HENRY IV. IS REPULSED IN SCOTLAND, AND THE DUKE OF ALBANY CRIMINALLY OBTAINS THE CHIEF POWER IN THAT KINGDOM. — DETENTION OF JAMES I. IN ENGLAND. — HIS EDUCATION. — DANGERS OF HENRY IV. — ACT FOR THE BURNING OF HERETICS. — STORY OF HOTSPUR. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH AT THE BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY. — OWEN GLENDOWER. — MILITARY SKILL OF HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES. — HIS ZEAL AGAINST HERESY. — CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE DURING THE INSANITY OF CHARLES VI. — INTERFERENCE OF HENRY IV. — HIS LAST YEARS AND DEATH. — ACCESSION OF HENRY V. — HIS CHANGE OF CHARACTER. — HIS FORM OF RELIGION. — PERSECUTION OF THE LOLLARDS. — STORY OF LORD COBHAM. — HENRY V. LAYS CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE. — THE INSULT OF THE DAUPHIN. — THE ENGLISH BESIEGE HARFLEUR. — ITS SURRENDER. — HENRY'S DARING MARCH THROUGH NORMANDY. — BATTLE OF AGINCOURT. — TRIUMPH OF HENRY V. — HE IS VISITED BY THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND. — CIVIL WAR RENEWED IN FRANCE. — HENRY GAINS GROUND CONTINUALLY TILL HIS CLAIMS ARE ACKNOWLEDGED BY CHARLES VII., AND HE MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THAT KING. — QUEEN CATHERINE'S CORONATION. — AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND DURING ALBANY'S REGENCY. — HENRY V. DIES IN FRANCE, AND CHARLES VI. SHORTLY AFTER. — SCOTLAND AFTER THE DEATH OF ALBANY.

DURING the period before us, the history of England, France, and Scotland is so naturally interwoven, that we

may easily connect the affairs of the three kingdoms. France, during this period, was almost won and almost lost by England; the most noted of the kings of Scotland was brought up in England; and the year of the taking of Constantinople, though it did not terminate the reign of Henry VI., was a decisive point in his reign, as it found him as good as dead, because of an illness which for nearly a year robbed him of all consciousness; and then began those fearful civil wars that must form the next division of our history of England.

By the deposition and death of Richard II., his cousin, Henry IV., was now seated, but not without trembling, on the throne of England. He was extremely jealous of every word or deed that affected his title to this dignity.

As to Scotland, the weakness of its king, Robert III., enabled his ambitious brother, the Earl of Fife, to usurp the chief authority; and he now obtained the superior rank and title of Duke of Albany. David, duke of Rothsay, the king's eldest son, then in the early bloom of manhood, bid fair, however, to rival his uncle in the popular regard: he was handsome, warlike, and talented, but at the same time licentious, and Albany made use of this circumstance to contrive his ruin. But, as if forgetful that he was meditating the destruction of his own nephew, the rightful heir of the Scottish crown, Albany, in one of his letters, styled Henry of Lancaster a "pre-eminent traitor." This letter fell into the hands of the King of England, and probably led to his invasion of Scotland in 1400, when the truce between the two countries had just expired. From York, where he assembled his whole military force, Henry sent an arrogant summons to Robert III., his prelates and nobles, to come and do him homage as lord paramount. The claim being of course unnoticed, Henry marched to Edinburgh, and in remembrance of the hospitable shelter afforded by the canons of Holyrood to John of Gaunt, his father, he protected them in a special manner, and spared other religious houses. The Duke of Rothsay, who defended Edinburgh Castle, wrote to Henry to propose to decide his claims, and spare the effusion of Christian blood, by a combat between two or three noble champions chosen on each side. The king tauntingly replied, it was to be hoped that the nobles were Christians as well as others,

and he wondered at the proposal to save Christian blood at the expense of theirs. Albany, on his part, sent a herald to Henry, offering to come and give him battle "to the extremity," if he would stay near Edinburgh for six days. Henry told the herald that he joyfully accepted the challenge, and gave him as a token his mantle and a chain of gold. The duke, however, had never any intention of coming against the martial king; and Henry, feeling that he was only wasting his time before an impregnable rock, and that he could effect nothing in a wasted country, raised the siege of the castle, and withdrew from Scotland. After he had retired, Albany felt at liberty to carry out his wicked designs against his nephew. Having filled the king's mind with grievous accounts of the profligate life of his son, he procured his consent to subject the young duke to a temporary confinement: the powerful chief of the Douglas family assisted in the arrest, and Albany conveyed his nephew to Falkland Castle, where he suffered him to die of starvation. The king was assured that the young prince's death was caused by disease; but his suspicion as to the truth was so strong, that he determined to send James, his only remaining son, to France, under pretence that he needed a better education than could be procured in Scotland. This prince, then in his eleventh year, was accordingly put on board a vessel bound for France, with several attendants, but in sailing by Flamborough Head, the ship was taken by an English corsair, and though a truce had been agreed upon between the two nations, King Henry had the baseness to retain the royal youth as his captive, ironically saying, "The Scots ought to have given me the education of this boy, for I am an excellent French scholar." Robert III., already sorrowing for one son, was overwhelmed with grief at the captivity of the other, and died about a year after (A. D. 1406). His loss was neither felt nor regretted, as, by reason of his weakness, the power had long been in the hands of the Duke of Albany; and the latter governed as regent till his death, exerting himself to prolong rather than to shorten the captivity of the rightful king, James I. It must be allowed, for the credit of Henry IV., that though he acted unjustly by detaining James in England, he gave him the best education that he could provide. The

young king's abilities were great, and by the aid of masters he became, for those days, an accomplished scholar. He learned to excel in all chivalrous exercises, became a poet and musician, and imbibed a great taste for architecture, painting, and horticulture. Windsor Castle was the place of his usual abode, and became a happy home to him after he first saw, from the window of his tower, Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, then his keeper. This lady afterwards became his wife.\*

Henry IV. could never be easy or happy on his usurped throne, and the perpetual dangers to which he was exposed are described in a lively manner by a poet of these times :—

“ What torment had this king !  
 Some in his shirt, put oft times venoming,  
 And some in meat and drink great poisoning ;  
 Some in his hose, by great management ;  
 Some in bed-straw, irons sharp ground well and whet,  
 Envenomed sore to slay him if he had on them set ;  
 Some made for him divers enchantments  
 To waste him out and utterly destroy ;  
 And some gave him battle ” . . . . .

In plain history, we are told that a three-pointed instrument was actually found in the king's bed, so placed that if he had thrown himself upon it he must have been severely wounded. Of the battles fought against him we are about to speak ; and the use of witchcraft for his injury was continually suspected. Although John of Gaunt had been the protector of Wickliffe, and his son, before he obtained the throne, had favoured the reformed opinions, he now promised to suppress the Lollards, in

\* Some of the poetry of James I. is esteemed equal to that of Chaucer. In his most celebrated poem, “ The King's Quair,” he gives vent to his first impressions on seeing Jane Beaufort, in many descriptive verses. The following is a specimen of the language and orthography :—

“ And therewith kest I down myn eye ageyne  
 Quhare as I saw walkyng under the toure,  
 Full secretly, new cumyn hir to pleyne  
 The fairest and the freschest young floure  
 That ever I sawe, methoght, before that houre ;  
 For which sodayne abate, anon astert,  
 The blude of all my body to my hert.”

order to purchase the support of the influential ecclesiastics; and thus, in the second year of his reign, was passed the act that ordered all heretics to be "burned, that their punishment might deter persons from opinions contrary to the Catholic faith, and the determination of the Church." It was the first act of the kind on the English statute-book, and the king who so disgraced the laws of his land, in order to establish himself and his posterity on the throne, actually sealed the fall of his own family in so doing. In the same parliament that passed this act, the following petition of the clergy obtained the royal assent: "that the king would provide for the suppression of all preaching, teaching, books, schools, and meetings, which were in opposition to the determination of the Church." All the king's officers of justice were empowered to search out dissidents of every description; and if they would not abjure their opinions, to burn them in a conspicuous place before the people. William Sautre, once a royal chaplain, was the first victim of this edict. War with Scotland was not long suspended; but, as the king was otherwise occupied, it was carried on by the Earl of Northumberland and his son, Sir Henry Percy, familiarly called Hotspur, because of his ardent courage. They were the most powerful of the English nobles, and had been the great instruments of the elevation of Henry of Lancaster to the throne. The Douglas who had assisted in the murder of the Duke of Rothsay, having more courage than Albany, opposed the English; but in every engagement he was so unsuccessful that he obtained a surname signifying Lose-man. In a battle at Homildon Hill, near Wooler, the Scots were signally defeated by Hotspur; and Douglas, having lost one eye, and received five wounds, was made prisoner, with many other Scottish chiefs. Prisoners of war were regarded, by common consent, as at the disposal of him who made them captive; but, on this occasion, Henry IV. demanded, that the Douglas, and other valuable prisoners, should either not be ransomed without his consent, or be given into his keeping: at the same time, the king sent letters to Hotspur giving him formal possession of the earldom of Douglas. This, however, could only be obtained by the sword, and the jealous and offended noble-

man resolved rather to turn his arms against the king of his choice, as he assumed over him greater authority than he expected. Other discontented lords joined Percy's standard, and the numerous army that he collected, under pretence of marching over the Scottish border, was then turned southwards, and a manifesto published against the king, which accused him as the instrument of the death of Richard II. Henry, with a strong force, met the rebels near Shrewsbury, and after in vain offering them pardon and peace, through a friendly abbot, gave them battle. Henry Percy, fighting with his usual desperate courage, penetrated the royal battalions, and his friends thinking that he had slain his opponent, were beginning to shout "Henry Percy, king," when it was found that he himself had fallen (A. D. 1403). His head, with many others, was carried to London, and fixed upon the bridge. In the battle of Shrewsbury, the king's eldest son, afterwards Henry V., then quite a youth, displayed that military courage which distinguished him through life. Although wounded in the head, he refused to retire whilst the battle was doubtful, fearing to discourage others. He next made himself conspicuous by military exploits in Ireland; and, at the age of seventeen, he succeeded in repelling a foe who had been the trouble of his father's reign almost from the commencement. This was Owen Glendower, a Welsh gentleman, who had aroused his countrymen to rebellion, and, by taking advantage of the mountainous retreats, had obliged the king himself to retire from the conflict. So remarkable was the ill-success of Henry IV. in his Welsh campaigns, that magical arts were attributed to Glendower; and it was said that even the elements fought on his side, sudden storms and bad weather driving back the royal army. The prince's successes against the Welsh rebels were so considerable, that the king and parliament sent him formal thanks for his services, with an order to continue in the command.

The Prince of Wales was not only familiar with the wars, but also with the persecutions, carried on in his father's reign. He was present at the burning of a poor man, a smith, whose only crime was, that he held the consecrated bread not to be the real body of Christ; and asserted that bread, as inanimate matter, was in its nature inferior to

the lowest animal. The prince, it appears, so far pitied the victim, that, at the stake, he tried to make him recant his opinions; but it was only by fair promises, and by causing the host to be elevated in his sight.\*

During the reign of Henry IV., there was no open war with France, but quarrels often arose, and there were some incursions into the English possessions by the French, whilst the subjects of the English crown, on their part, invaded the English territory. Soldiers from England also served in the civil wars in France. The insanity of Charles VI. was the immediate cause of the civil wars, as it made room for the rivalry of the two princely families aiming at the exercise of supreme power. Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, uncle to the king, and one of the regents during his minority, died in 1403, and was suc-

\* This incident is recorded in the following style by Occleve, the popular poet of the day; and the view he takes of it shows the prevailing feeling on the subject.

“ My lord the prince, God him save and bless,  
 Was at his deadly castigation,  
 And of his soul had great tenderness;  
 Thirsting sore for his salvation.  
 Great was his piteous lamentation,  
 When this renegade would not blynne  
 Of the stinking error he was in.”

\* \* \* \* \*

After detailing the prince's promises of personal safety, subsistence, and even reward, the poet adds:

“ Also this noble prince and worthy knight,  
 (God requite him his charitable labour,)  
 Ere any stick kindled were, or light,  
 The sacrament, *our blessed Saviour*,  
 With reverence great and high honour,  
 He let be set this wretch to convert,  
 And make our faith to sinken in his heart,  
 But all for nought.” . . .

Then, after dwelling on what he considers the justice of the heretic's doom, and yet expressing his ignorance as to the place of the departed soul, the poet ends with a desire,

“ That all, as he held, were served so;  
 For I am sure there be *many mo*” (more).

The identification of the consecrated bread with the Saviour himself could scarcely be more strongly expressed.

ceeded by his son John, surnamed Sans-peur, or the Fearless. The Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, favoured by Isabella the queen, opposed the ambitious Duke of Burgundy. The wife of the latter had brought him Flanders in her own right, and he was the more powerful on that account: the duchess, too, despised, as of lower rank, the wife of the Duke of Orleans, Valentina, daughter of the Duke of Milan. Valentina, however, was more beautiful, and of more attractive manners, than the Duchess of Burgundy; and her influence with the king was so great, that his attendants sometimes sent for her in his most violent paroxysms of madness, as she alone could quiet him. As the fury of civil war increased, it appears that the suffering king was greatly neglected: for five months, it is said, he never laid down, nor had his clothes changed; not even his linen. The queen was of the vilest character, and the Duke of Orleans was her tool. The disposition of this prince may be imagined from his sending a challenge to Henry IV. in 1402, having no better reason to assign for proposing a personal combat, than "that idleness is the bane of lords of high birth," and that he could in "no better way seek renown." The king had the good sense to refuse the challenge.

The shameful conduct of the queen and Orleans gave the Duke of Burgundy the pretext he wanted for taking the government into his own hands: he was the favourite of the people, but hated at court; and, after many outrages on both sides, Orleans was assassinated by night in the street of Paris, as he was leaving the queen's hotel (1407).

John the Fearless, the author of the murder, attended the funeral, but finding himself suspected, retired for a time into Flanders; but, counting on the favour of the populace, he soon returned to Paris, and even engaged a priest to preach publicly in his defence, detailing the crimes of Orleans, and asserting that "it is lawful to kill princes who are believed to be tyrants." Valentina tried in vain to excite the nation to avenge her husband's murder, and died of grief and rage. The contest was then carried on by her son Charles, the new duke of Orleans, who acted under the direction of his father-in-law, the Count of Armagnac: hence the party were called Armagnacs. They chose for their badge a white scarf, with

a cross, and the Burgundians wore a red scarf, with a cross of a different colour. In 1409, during an interval of reason, the king having become more amiable by his afflictions, assembled the chiefs of the contending parties around him in the cathedral of Chartres; and Burgundy, in the presence of the queen and nobles, humbly apologised for the murder of the late Duke of Orleans, and was formally reconciled to the sons of that prince. But civil war soon burst forth again, each party struggling for the possession of the king's person, in order to govern in his name. The efforts of Charles, in his sane intervals, to rid himself of both, only increased the confusion; and his reign, on account of the moral evils that marked it, was called "the tomb of manners." At one time, when Paris was in the hands of the Burgundians, 500 butchers were formed into a corps, called the royal militia, and on them devolved the horrid task of taking vengeance on the opposite party. To call a man an Armagnac, was then the signal for his destruction; and, in some cases, debtors gave the name to their creditors, and persons having private quarrels, bestowed it on those on whom they wished to be revenged. The victims on this occasion were flayed so as to leave a broad band over the shoulder, in memory of the Armagnac scarf. It was in this fearful quarrel that Henry IV. chose to interfere; and, under the persuasion that the French were stirring up insurrection against him in his own country, he allowed 800 men to enter the king's service against the Duke of Burgundy. But soon after their arrival, or, as the French chronicles say, before it, another reconciliation took place between the opposing parties; and Orleans and Burgundy exhibited their apparent amity by riding together, on the same horse, through the town of Auxerre (A. D. 1412). The reign of Henry IV. was now approaching its close. Fabian,\* in his chronicle, relates, that the king was first smitten with leprosy after he had ordered the execution of Scrope,

\* Fabian was an alderman of London who gave himself to literary pursuits in the fifteenth century, and published his *Chronicles of England and France*, which he called "The Concordance of Histories," in the reign of Henry VII. He appears to have been a devout Roman Catholic, full of superstition, and very credulous; but his work is curious and interesting.

archbishop of York, who was deemed guilty of rebellion. The same chronicler asserts, that the prelate having desired the executioner to give him five strokes, out of respect for the five wounds of Christ, the king, being at his lodging in the city, felt a stroke on his neck, insomuch that he imagined some person there present had struck him. This, and the miracles said to be wrought through the deceased, "called the king," says Fabian, "unto the more repentance." The last two years of his life, Henry IV. was much disabled from public business by his disease. His eldest son became impatient that he should resign the crown; and, when he refused to do so, left him in a fit of anger, which would probably have exploded into open rebellion, had he not received almost kingly authority, by being appointed one of the council of state. At the beginning of his reign, the king had suffered from epileptic fits, in one of which he lay as if dead for several hours. These attacks returned as he was making his prayers before St. Edward's shrine, after the Christmas feasts of 1412—1413, intending soon to depart on pilgrimage for the Holy Sepulchre. He was carried from the abbey into the Jerusalem chamber, and, on recovering from his fit, and asking where he was, he praised God that he should die, as it had been foretold him, in Jerusalem. He lingered till the 30th of March, and, during the interval, an affecting incident occurred. After one of his fits, his attendants, thinking he had ceased to breathe, covered his face with a cloth, and the prince, who was at hand, took up the crown, which was kept on a cushion by the bedside, and left the chamber. The king unexpectedly recovered, and, looking about him, perceived the crown was gone. His son, being summoned to his presence, said that he had taken it, supposing him to be dead. Henry sighed deeply, saying, "My fair son, what right have you to it? You know I had none." The prince replied, that he intended to hold it by the power of the sword, as his father had done before him; whereupon the dying monarch meekly said, "Well, all as you see best. I leave all things to God, and pray as he would have mercy upon me." Shortly after, without speaking another word, he expired.

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HENRY V. began his reign on the 21st of March, 1413, and was crowned on the 9th of April following, being Easter Sunday, and, says the chronicle, a day of exceeding rain. He was twenty-six years of age. Charles VI. had then been king of France thirty-two years. An interesting incident is related concerning Henry V., when prince, which however, as regards his filial respect, little agreed with his after-conduct. It happened that one of the prince's servants was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench for felony, Sir William Gascoigne being then presiding judge. The prince, who was present at the trial, insisted upon the release of the criminal; and when he found his words did not prevail, drew his sword, as if to intimidate the judge. Sir William, with much calmness, addressed him, saying, "Sir, remember yourself. I keep here the place of your sovereign lord and father, to whom you owe double obedience. In his name I charge you to desist, and from henceforth give good example to those who shall hereafter be your proper subjects. And now, for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prison of the King's Bench, whereto I commit you, and remain there prisoner until the pleasure of your father, the king, be further known." The prince, to the admiration of the court, and the displeasure of his evil companions, laid aside his weapon, and went to the prison as he was commanded; and when his attendants hastened to the king to complain of the indignity put on his son, Henry raised his eyes and hands to heaven, blessing God who had given him a judge fearing not to minister justice, and a son who could thus nobly submit to obey it.

From whatever cause, it is certain that a great change took place in the habits of Henry V. on coming to the throne. The poet Occleve had written for his instruction a poem on government; which, in his preface, he respectfully suggested to him might be read in an evening in his chamber; and it is not unlikely that this work might have had some influence on his moral conduct. One chronicle says, "he revolved with himself the past years of his life, with a wounded spirit, a bitter mind, and a contrite heart; and while he was grievously afflicted that that time had been disgraced by the dregs of vice, he exclaimed, 'How many days, how much of my late life do I feel to have

been covered with the black smoke of misconduct.'” Fa-bian, his greatest admirer, says, “This man, before the death of his father, applied him unto all vice and insolency, and drew unto him all rioters and wild-disposed persons; but after he was admitted to the rule of the land, anon and suddenly he became a new man, and turned all that rage and wildness into soberness and wise sadness, and the vice into constant virtue.” He dismissed his bad companions with rewards for their past kindnesses, but “charged them, upon pain of their lives, that none of them were so hardy to come within ten miles of such place as he were lodged, after a day assigned.” He was, at least, convinced, that “evil communications corrupt good manners.” Saul, after being anointed king, was “turned into another man,” and had “another heart” given him, but he did not become “a man after God’s heart” like David; and all changes short of that are not enduring, and are without any relation to eternal salvation. Reformation of outward conduct is as distinct from regeneration, as is the pulling up of some overgrown weed from planting such a plant in one’s garden as it would never of itself produce.

Henry V., if a new man, like Saul, in the eyes of his admiring subjects, never gave any evidence that he had put on “the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness.” His first work, after the Easter feast was passed, was to have the body of Richard II., who had made him a knight, removed from its obscure place of burial to Westminster, there to be interred, with great solemnity, by the side of his wife, the good Queen Anne. A tournament was given on the occasion, and, afterwards, the king made such provision as the Pope had enjoined to his father, as an atonement for Richard’s death, but which the late king had neglected. Thus Henry V. was deemed far more religious than his father. The methods prescribed for purchasing eternal blessing for the soul of the murdered king, which were adopted by Henry V., were, a provision for certain tapers to be burned at his tomb, day and night, “while the world endureth;” also the singing of certain masses; the distribution of a certain sum in pence to poor people weekly; and the building and endowment of three religious

houses, where prayer was to be made "continually" for the soul of King Richard, and for the king himself. No reformation, which should put an end to these vain ceremonies in England, was then expected. To show his earnestness in the matter, Henry, from time to time, visited the houses unexpectedly, to see that the monks and nuns were diligent in the service required of them; and when, after the commencement of his wars in France, he observed that one house, occupied by French friars, did not resound with these continual prayers, he went and rebuked the inmates sharply. They asked his pardon, and then one of them, in the name of the rest, pleaded that they could not consistently pray for him, and his good speed, seeing that he daily warred upon and spoiled their countrymen and impoverished the land, which they ought naturally to love and pray for. Their honesty so much offended the king, that he never went to the house again, but suffered it to fall into decay, and gave the land for some other use. Throughout his course, Henry V. cherished those who had been loyal to Richard II.; he also restored the Percy family to honour, and sought to put an end to all political dissensions. Disagreement on religious subjects he also strove to terminate, but his manner of attempting this showed his own ignorance, and dislike of the truth. A few months after his accession, the search for books denounced as heretical still continuing, a volume of Wickliffe's tracts was seized in Paternoster Row, where it had been sent to be illuminated; and because it belonged to one of the king's knights, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, it was brought to the palace, and read in the royal ear. But, after hearing two leaves, the king expressed his abhorrence of it, and, after a little pause, and some attempt to win from such opinions a soldier whom he esteemed for his valour, he allowed him to be proceeded against by the clergy. It was ascertained that the good knight was in the habit of dispersing Wickliffe's works, and that he maintained many itinerant preachers\* at his own cost, especially in the dioceses of

\* Wickliffe, in a celebrated tract, entitled "Why many Priests have no Benefices," had set forth all the difficulties that godly men found in accepting benefices that were commonly got by flattering of mighty men, and in taking which they would have been obliged to

London, Canterbury, Rochester, and Hereford. A ballad of these times, written in ridicule of him, may farther show us, by the testimony of his enemies, his zeal for the dissemination of scriptural truth. One verse runs thus :

“ It is unkindly for a knight,  
That should a king's castle keep,  
To babble the Bible *day and night*  
*In resting time, when he should sleep.*”

Then representing the worldly losses that must flow from such a course, it adds, in the common language of those who believe not that “ godliness with contentment is great gain :”

“ Who prays will never bake nor brew,  
Nor have wherewith to borrow or buy.”

Then, complaining that Sir John, by these efforts to teach others, was forsaking spear and mail “ to creep from knighthood into clergy,” it winds up the subject thus :

“ I trow that be no knight alive  
That would have done so open a shame ;  
For that craft to study and strive,  
It is no gentleman's game.”

Ballads against the Lollards, of which there were many in these days, were not only in the mouths of the lowest enemies of spiritual religion ; they were sung at festive entertainments, and even at royal feasts on state occasions. But in all ages the thoughts of the natural man are in equal contrariety to God, though the enmity may assume

feast their worldly patrons, to submit to their governance, &c. He then sums up the reasons for preferring itinerancy to a settled cure (we only modernise the language). “ They may best, without challenging of men, go and dwell among the people where they shall most profit, and in convenient time come and go, after stirring of *the Holy Ghost*, and not be bounded by sinful men's jurisdiction from the better doing. Also they pursuen Christ and his apostles nearer, in taking alms wilfully (of good will) of the people that they techen, than in taking dymes (tythes) and offerings by customs that sinful men ordeyen ! . . for thus the people giveth them alms more wilfully and devoutly, and they be more busy to learn, keep and teach God's law, and so it is the better for both sides.” Another reason given is, that “ they ben free to flee fro one city to another, when they ben pursued of antichrist's clerks, as biddeth Christ in the gospels.”

different forms, and even attempt to veil itself beneath the garb of profession.

Arundel, at this time archbishop of Canterbury, was styled by the papal party "the tower of the English Church." He had learnt by close inquiries that the junior students of Oxford had so studied Wickliffe's works, that the university itself was overrun with Lollards: he had therefore assembled a council, wherein he burned, before the king, nobles, clergy, and people assembled, a copy of each of the reformer's writings. He then took occasion to accuse Lord Cobham as a leader of the proscribed sect. In reply to the king's private arguments, Cobham said with respectful firmness, "You, I am always most ready to obey, because you are the appointed minister of God, and bear the sword for the punishment of evildoers; but as to the Pope, and his spiritual dominion, I owe them no obedience; for as sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident that the Pope of Rome is the great anti-christ foretold in holy writ," &c. Henry was so displeased, that from that time he refused the knight his protection; and when Sir John afterwards sent him his written confession of faith, he handed it over to the primate without reading it. Sir John refused to admit Arundel's messengers into his castle; and when he heard that he was publicly excommunicated, he offered to bring a hundred knights to bear witness to the innocence of his life and manners. This proposal being rejected, the spirit of the old soldier rose for a moment above that of the Christian, and trial by combat being still occasionally used in doubtful cases, he offered, "in the quarrel of his faith," to enter the lists with any man living, "the king and his council excepted:" this was, of course, added to the challenge out of loyalty. Being then arrested by the king's order, Lord Cobham underwent a painful examination before the ecclesiastical powers, Arundel presiding. After much time had been passed in arguments, the archbishop said that he expected him to have asked absolution; upon which Cobham, with true nobleness, replied, "I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore do not feel the want of *your* absolution:" and then, his thoughts being led to a higher tribunal, he knelt down, and lifting up his hands exclaimed, "I confess myself here unto thee, my

eternal living God, that I have been a grievous sinner; how often in my frail youth have I offended thee; how often have I been drawn into horrible sin by anger, and how many of my fellow-creatures have I injured from this cause! Good Lord! I humbly ask thy mercy: here I need absolution." After this confession, Cobham loudly warned all within his hearing against false teachers. We can only farther mention his confession of Christ. When asked if he would worship the cross, he inquired, what sort of worship he owed it, supposing the real cross could be produced. One of the prelates replied, "Such worship as St. Paul speaks of, 'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Christ.'" Cobham eagerly caught the words so wrested from the book he loved best, and exclaimed, "That is the true and very cross, far better than your cross of wood." "Sir," said the Bishop of London, "you know that Christ died upon a *material cross*." "True," said the noble knight, "and I know also, that our salvation did not come by that cross, but by him that died thereupon. St. Paul rejoiced in no other cross but in Christ's passion and death only, and in his own sufferings for the same truth." When argument failed, Arundel, as we are told, endeavoured to move the prisoner by "gentle, modest, and sweet terms," with mournful looks, conjuring him to return to the bosom of the Church. Cobham's only reply was, "My faith is fixed; do with me as you please." When his condemnation was pronounced, he again expressed his unshaken faith, exhorted the people, and prayed for his persecutors. Either through fear of the people, or from the remaining favour that the king might be supposed to have for a favourite old soldier, the intended burning of the martyr was delayed; and one dark night he escaped from his prison in the Tower, and got safely to Wales. His own estates lay there, and probably there were many interested in his safety, for he lay concealed about four years. We may imagine that it was for blessing to those among whom he was hid; and that prayer and praise, and the word of God, sanctified the castle, or the cabin, that sheltered the persecuted servant of God. In the meanwhile, he was reported of to the king not only as a heretic, but a traitor. Probably those who sought his ruin, and that of his party, thought that the

latter charge would have more weight with their sovereign than the former. Henry was told that Cobham was about to assemble 50,000 men near St. Giles's Fields, and that their object was to destroy him and his brothers, and proclaim their leader regent of the kingdom. Some such report led the king, with his friends and some chosen troops, to go one night to the above-mentioned spot to reconnoitre. It happened to be thickly wooded, and was therefore chosen by the Lollards as a place in which to meet in the dead of the night to enjoy those Christian privileges which were not permitted them in places of public observation. Their enemies had ascertained this, and therefore drew the king's attention to the spot, knowing that in his disturbed state of mind the suspicions excited might be easily confirmed. That night about eighty persons were assembled, amongst them a preacher; and unhappily, according to the custom of the times, they carried arms. The king at once supposed this might be the advanced guard of the rebel army, and ordered them to be attacked; about twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest made prisoners: some of these were afterwards burned as heretics and traitors in St. Giles's Fields. No other persons could be found, and, notwithstanding the closest search, no accomplices in this pretended conspiracy were discovered. In the same year two tradesmen were burned in Smithfield as heretics (A. D. 1414). But while the clergy were thus attempting to cut off those whom they deemed heretics, they resisted all interference with their overgrown possessions and power; and it is said that the leading men suggested to the king to resume the long-suspended claim to France, in order to divert his mind from a bill, brought into parliament by the Commons, concerning the temporalities of the church: they offered, too, to help him with large sums in attempting the conquest of France. Henry V. was of so ambitious a spirit, that he probably needed little persuasion on this head; and knowing the deplorable state of France, through the continuance of civil war, he began by making large demands upon the king. He not only asked his daughter Catherine in marriage, but laid claim to the kingdom as his lawful inheritance, and demanded both lands and money in recognition of his rights, laying it

upon *Charles's* conscience that he ought thus to avoid the bloodshed and miseries that would attend an invasion. The dauphin, then only nineteen, was more interested in the question than his afflicted father, whose mind was probably more and more weakened by fits of insanity. After several embassies had passed, and war seemed inevitable, this young prince is said to have vented his anger and contempt in a singular manner. Thus runs the ballad that records this incident:—

“ And then answered the dauphin bold,  
 To our ambassadors soon again :  
 ‘ Methinks your king, he is nought old  
 No warres for to maintain.  
 Greet well your king,’ he said, ‘ so young,  
 That is both gentle and small ;  
 A tonne of tennis-balls I shall him send,  
 For him to play withall.’ ”

Either the dauphin, himself younger than the martial prince he thus intended to insult, was more ignorant than we are of the military fame of Henry from his boyhood, or the French government wished to inspire their warriors with these contemptuous feelings, that fear might not paralyse their efforts. The King of England is said to have answered the dauphin, that he would return him some London balls, which should knock his houses about his ears. The last ambassador sent from the court of Paris, finding all negotiation fruitless, said to Henry, “ Our sovereign lord is the true king of France ; and over those things to which you say you have a right, you have no lordship—*not even to the kingdom* of England ; nor can our sovereign lord safely treat with you.” Here allusion was doubtless made to one who was a nearer heir to the crown than Henry V. This was the Earl of March, a descendant of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, the father of Henry IV. This nobleman, by reason of his childhood, was unnoticed when Henry IV. was called to the crown ; Henry V. had shown him favour to secure his friendship, and his unambitious character did not render him personally the king’s rival. But malcontents, it is supposed, excited by French gold, were ready to assert his superior claims. He was, however, no party to the plot, which was discovered just when

Henry was about to invade France, and which cost the lives of some about his person whom he had much trusted. No farther attempt was made to displace Henry V., but his son was at last deposed on grounds that had been pleaded by these conspirators against himself.

On Sunday, August 11, 1415, the English fleet of 1400 vessels set sail from Southampton, and the swans that were seen swimming around the ships were hailed as a presage of success; as if these innocent creatures were interested in the havoc committed by the lords of the creation! Nothing is more remarkable throughout Henry the Fifth's war with France, than his apparent conviction that his cause was just, and that God was so entirely on his side, that he should overcome, however disproportionate was his force. This belief made him absolutely fearless; he cared not what risks he incurred.

On arriving before Harfleur, Henry sent a summons to the garrison to surrender to him as rightful duke of Normandy, and, after receiving a refusal, he ordered his army to land upon the coast by means of their boats. The disembarkation took place just after a lovely sunrise, on August 14. Harfleur was then a place of great importance, being strongly defended by its position and fortifications. The assault and the defence were terrible, cannon having now come into use. Sickness spread through the English camp, and provisions became scarce; but the king persevered in the siege, and, at the end of thirty-eight days—days of great suffering and loss on both sides—the governor agreed to surrender the town. On this occasion the king sat on his throne under a splendid tent, with hangings and carpets of cloth of gold; his nobles stood round him in their most brilliant apparel, one of them carrying his crowned helmet on the point of a spear: then the governor of Harfleur, attended by the chief citizens, delivered up the keys on his knees. The king received them graciously, and invited them to partake of a magnificent supper. The next day the governor was dispatched to the dauphin, in company with an English herald, to propose terms of peace, or to challenge him to single combat with the King of England.

The messengers were detained, and whilst Henry in

vain awaited an answer, the sufferings of his army in a famished, sickly town grew daily worse; and no provision from home meeting their wants, 5000 men gladly withdrew to England. The disappointment only tempted the king to more daring deeds; and, contrary to the advice of his whole council, and apparently with no other motive than to exhibit in the eyes of France his own fearless courage, and his belief that the land was his by right, he resolved to march straight through Normandy from Harfleur to his own town of Calais, a distance of about a hundred miles, intending to embark from thence for England. He expected to accomplish the march in a few days, and, though proceeding through an enemy's country, carried a slender supply of food. The first part of the journey was rapidly accomplished; but then the difficulties and privations began, and the way was lengthened in seeking the safest route. After encountering many perils, Henry's army, amounting to 10,000 men, crossed the Somme, at the risk of destruction from the French troops gathering in every direction; and by the time they reached the little village of Agincourt they knew, that 100,000 of the best troops that had ever surrounded the standard of France were ready to give them battle. But Henry's unshaken hope of victory seemed to inspire his soldiers with a marvellous courage, and all agreed that they would rather die than make any terms with the French: the remembrance of the exploits of their countrymen under the Black Prince came also to their help. One of Henry's speeches on the occasion is thus recorded: "Cannot the Omnipotent enable even our humble few to beat down the pride of our defying enemies? They trust to their multitudes and individual strength, and I place my confidence as absolutely in Him by whom Judas Maccabeus so often triumphed over his foes." He is also reported to have said, that he would not have added a single man to his army if he could; there were as many as God pleased; and he declined the help of one gentleman who brought twenty soldiers, because by papal dispensation he had left a monastic life for that of the world. The night before the battle (Oct. 24), while the English were on their knees, with uplifted hands, imploring divine protection, the French were exulting in the certain expect-

tation of crushing the feeble foe, and the nobles even cast dice with each other for the king and nobles, none doubting their capture.

One historian observes, that if this battle had been deemed as sure and right a road to heaven as the ancient Northmen conceived their battles to be to Odin's valhalla, it could not have been more calmly and joyfully undertaken. The conflict was so tremendous, that streams of blood ran in the plain; but the English were on every side victorious, though many, from the remains of the sickness from which they had suffered at Harfleur, being unable to bear the weight of their armour, fought only in their jackets. An advantageous position at the outset, superior manœuvre, greater courage, and the supernatural impulse supplied by the king's enthusiasm, left the English masters of the field in the short space of three hours. By Henry's order, each of the bowmen, the great strength of his army, had fixed in the ground before him a sharp stake, with its point sloping towards the enemy. The advancing horses being gored with these stakes, stumbled one upon another, and left their riders exposed to the arrows and battle-axes of the English; and the first line of the French, which was not of greater width than their own, being almost destroyed, the greatest confusion ensued, and the bowmen shooting from behind an embankment of dead bodies, did great mischief with scarcely any injury to themselves. In the rear, the English were sheltered by a thick wood. The Duke d'Alençon, forcing his way through the mass of combatants, approached the king, and struck down the Duke of York,\* who fought at his side. The king stooped to raise his aged relative, as he received his mortal wound, and in so doing narrowly escaped destruction, for a blow from the Duke d'Alençon's battle-axe struck off a part of the crown that surmounted his helmet. Finding himself surrounded, the French duke declared his name, and surrendered himself as prisoner to the king, but, before Henry could advance to claim him as such, he was killed by the irritated soldiers. After the battle was over, the king him-

\* This was a grandson of Edward III., being a son of the Earl of Cambridge and Isabella of Castile, daughter of Peter the Cruel.

self, on some false alarm of a fresh attack from the French, ordered the prisoners to be killed, and great numbers were slaughtered before the mistake was corrected. We are assured that 10,000 French were slain in the battle, of whom all but 1600 were above the common rank; 14,000 were made prisoners. The battle of Agincourt was so dreadful to one of the spectators, that he says, "I firmly believe that there is not a heart, but if it had contemplated the dreadful destruction and bitter wounds of so many Christians, would have dissolved into tears from grief." The following day, the victors, with their prisoners, and their immense spoil, made their way to Calais, and about a month after crossed over to Dover. Tidings of the great victory preceded them, thanksgivings had been sung in various churches, and the people of England were prepared to give their king a most enthusiastic reception, and something beyond a Roman triumph. As he neared the land, some waded through the sea to carry him to the shore with great exultation. On Blackheath he was met by the mayor, and a procession of citizens, who conducted him to London; and the city was filled with pageants, while its aqueducts ran with wine. "The city of the king of righteousness" was one of the inscriptions on a tower at the entrance of the city: on another were the words which seemed to accord with Henry's feelings, "To God alone be all the glory;" for he stopped the choristers stationed in the streets to sing *his* praise, and he would not suffer his battered crown to be exhibited for his own honour.

In this year, the Emperor Sigismund, attracted by Henry's fame, and, as some suppose, desiring to make peace between him and the King of France, came into England, and during nearly two months was honourably entertained at the royal charge. The bishop's palace in Holborn was given him as a residence, and he, with the Duke of Holland, and one of his chief generals, who had joined him in England, were created knights of the Garter. On the emperor's return to the continent, Henry accompanied him as far as Calais, and, whilst he tarried there, had an interview with the Duke of Burgundy, which afterwards led to a treaty, by which that powerful prince acknowledged his claims. The civil war was renewed in France, and raged with greater fury than ever; the dau-

phin died a few months after the battle of Agincourt, but his brother Charles, who succeeded to that title, determined in like manner to resist the English claim, and continued in independent defiance of the power of Henry V. Some supposed that this young man was the son of the murdered Duke of Orleans. The dissensions in the royal family of France were frightful: the king, being informed of the abominable conduct of his wife, contrived to put her in confinement; but her party released her, and Charles was imprisoned in his turn: the popular fury rose to such a height, that 3500 Armagnacs were slaughtered within three days. To add to the miseries of France, her subjects had many battles at sea with the English, and Henry V. took town after town in Normandy, and kept gaining ground month after month. Whilst the king was thus occupied abroad, Lord Cobham was at last apprehended, and was dragged into St. Giles's Fields, there to be burned as a heretic and traitor. In reply to the questions addressed to him on these imputed offences, he quoted the apostle's words: "With me, it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man's judgment." He was hung in chains upon a gallows, under which a slow fire was kindled. His enemies said that "he prated impertinently" to the last: probably with his dying breath he sought to testify of those truths for which he suffered. Arundel, his chief persecutor, died that same year; but not till he had obtained the enactment of another statute against the Lollards, under pretence of their treasonable intentions.

The king was now occupied in besieging Rouen, with 25,000 men. The citizens sent out 1200 of the poorer and weaker sort, in order to save their provisions, but the enemy shewed them no pity, and most of them perished in the ditches; 50,000 of the besieged died of want and sickness before the town was surrendered; and for the three later months of the siege, the famished inhabitants were feeding on horses, dogs, cats, rats, and mice. The miseries endured by the people of Rouen occasioned the surrender of thirty-five towns, and castles, without resistance, and at length Pontoise, the key of Paris, fell into the hands of Henry.

About this time, the Dauphin Charles ascertained that

the Duke of Burgundy had been plotting to deprive him of the crown, by treaty with the King of England; but he entered into negotiations with him to secure the independence of the country, and a personal conference was agreed upon. At their first meeting, they swore to assist each other as friends and brothers: their second interview was on a bridge over the Yonne, and, through the suspicions entertained on both sides, a barrier was erected between them. As the duke was leaning over it to kiss the dauphin, some of that prince's adherents leaped over and stabbed him with their swords. Thus perished John the Fearless, by the hand of treacherous assassins, an agency which he had not scrupled to employ against the Duke of Orleans. Charles, however, was long a sufferer from this wicked deed.

The son and heir of the Duke of Burgundy was Philip, surnamed the Good, who had never intermeddled in the fearful quarrels of his house; but his father's murder induced him at once to espouse the cause of the King of England; and his influence was so great, that he brought about a treaty of peace between him and the King of France, which was concluded at Troyes (April 1, 1420).

Charles VI., then in a state of great mental weakness, was made to acknowledge Henry V. as regent of France during his lifetime, and king after his death; and the agreement was confirmed by giving him his daughter Catherine in marriage. Henry, on his side, was required not to call himself king of France during the life of Charles VI.; and Charles, in all his writings, was to name King Henry "his most dearest son, Henry, king of England, and inheritor of the crown of France." Every arrangement was made for the ultimate union of France and England into one kingdom, with due regard to the liberties and laws of each; and both King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy swore not to make any concord with the dauphin without Henry's consent. After the solemnisation of his marriage, Henry visited Paris; and afterwards, by the help of Burgundy, took many towns from the dauphin; then leaving his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to carry on the war in France, he departed to England with his bride. They were received with all the curious pageantry and pomp for which London was now

famous, and the queen was crowned at Westminster (Feb. 24, 1421). The coronation dinner in Westminster Hall was of a grand but singular description. The feast was all of fish, but of every variety, and dressed and adorned in many curious manners. The three *subtleties*, as they were called, introduced between the courses, were, first, a pelican sitting on her nest, with an image of Saint Catherine holding a book, and disputing with the doctors, the device being ornamented with French inscriptions complimentary to the queen; secondly, a panther, with another image of St. Catherine; thirdly, divers angels, and amidst them St. Catherine holding a scroll to this effect, "'Tis written in a book, tell it and look; this marriage being past, the war will not last." The last subtlety, which seems somewhat too subtle for us to understand, was a tiger looking in a mirror, and a man in armour, sitting on horseback, holding a tiger's whelp, and appearing as if he would with one hand throw mirrors at the great tiger. The crowd in the hall was so great, that it was needful for the Earl of Worcester to ride about during the feast on a great courser, accompanied by men with staves, to make enough room about the tables. King James I. of Scotland, who was still detained in England, was permitted to sit at the queen's left hand; the Earl of March, holding the sceptre, kneeled at her right hand. According to just title, these attendants might then have occupied the thrones of Scotland and England. The Duke of Albany, at the accession of Henry V., had procured the liberation of his son, a prisoner of the Earl of Northumberland, in exchange for a captive son of Hotspur: but the regent was too fond of power to make any cordial effort for the release of his royal nephew. It appears, too, that Henry detained him, because he understood the feelings of Albany, whose wishes it was his interest to gratify; for there was a certain mysterious personage in Albany's keeping, who, at least in the Scottish records, went by the name of Richard II., and was supported for many years at the expense of the country. Whether it were really that king has not been satisfactorily proved or denied. It is said that one who had been a personal attendant of Richard II., a yeoman of the robes, and who ought not to have mistaken another for his former master, coming out of Scotland,

spread the report that Richard was yet alive, and was executed for making so dangerous a statement. The captive *called* Richard II. in the government records of Scotland, lately discovered, is said to have been believed by many to be that king, and, at least, strongly resembled him. He bore himself, it is said, like one half wild or distracted, would seldom incline to hear mass, and exhibited little devotion. But it may well be urged that Isabella, the second wife of Richard, had been sent back to her own country, where she married a French prince; and had Richard really escaped from his prison, he might have found his way to France, where, during so grievous a war with England, he would have had supporters of his cause.

For the third and last time, Henry V. sailed for France to continue the war, leaving his wife in England. She gave birth to her first son, afterwards Henry VI., in December of the same year; and in the following spring joined her husband in France. In June 1421, they together visited Paris, where they were honourably received; and, at a dinner given them in that city, both of them appeared crowned. The French and English chronicles give different accounts of the feeling of the people towards Henry; and probably there was one party to whom the thought of English rule was desirable, by reason of previous suffering, and another to whom it was intolerable, from the natural prejudices of national feeling. Had Henry V. been suffered to survive Charles VI., in all probability England and France would have been firmly united by so powerful a monarch; but he was unexpectedly removed in the midst of his successes, and when the great point of his ambition seemed nearly gained. During a fresh campaign against the dauphin, in August 1422, Henry was seized with the dysentery which had been prevailing in his army, and sunk under the disease on the last day of the month. About an hour before his death, in answer to his inquiries, his physicians told him recovery was hopeless, and advised him to think of his soul's concerns. Then he desired his confessor to recite the seven penitential psalms, and his ruling passion for war being strong even in death, he noticed nothing till a verse concerning the walls of Jerusalem struck his ear;

he then interrupted the reader, exclaiming that he had purposed to conquer and rebuild Jerusalem, had God spared his life.

On October 22, of the same year, Charles VI. died; and thus the infant Henry VI. was proclaimed king of England, and king of France, within two months. The Duke of Albany preceded to the grave the Kings of England and Scotland. He died in his 81st year (A. D. 1419). His son Murdach, earl of Fife, succeeded him in the regency, and another of his sons, the Earl of Buchan, led some thousands of Scots to the help of the dauphin, and, with his own hand, slew the Duke of Clarence, brother to Henry V., the leader of a detachment of English, whom the Scots defeated. These events set the royal family of England against the Albany family, and prepared the way for the enthronement of James I. The Regent Murdach was of so easy and feeble a turn of mind, that even his own children were not under due subjection to him. Walter, the eldest, being denied a favourite falcon, for which he had often asked his father, one day rudely snatched away the bird as it sat on the regent's wrist, and wrung off its neck. This unfilial act, small as it might appear, led to the ruin of the whole family. The regent said to his son, with great indignation, "Since you will render me no honour or obedience, I will bring home one who well knows how to make all of us obey him." Then began those negotiations concerning King James I., which ended in his ascending the throne of his father, in the second year of Henry VI.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.  
England, Scotland, and France, continued.*

ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VI.  
FRANCE DISPUTED BETWEEN CHARLES VII. AND HENRY VI.  
SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES I.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES FOR HENRY V. — HONOURS PAID TO THE INFANT KING, HENRY VI. — JAMES I. ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SCOTLAND. — IN SPITE OF HENRY'S CLAIMS, CHARLES VII. IS PROCLAIMED KING OF FRANCE. — HIS LIMITED DOMINIONS AND POWER. — QUARRELS OF THE KING'S UNCLE AND GREAT-UNCLE IN ENGLAND. — THE REGENT BEDFORD RECONCILES THEM. — THE PARTY OF CHARLES VII. GAINS STRENGTH. — THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS. — STORY OF JOAN D'ARC, THE MAID OF ORLEANS. — WITH HER BURNING, THE DOMINION OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE VIRTUALLY TERMINATES. — CORONATION OF HENRY VI. AT PARIS. — PROVISION FOR HIS EDUCATION. — HIS CHARACTER. — CHARACTER AND ACTS OF JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND. — CHARLES VII. ENTERS PARIS IN TRIUMPH, AFTER THE ENGLISH ARE DRIVEN OUT. — UNHAPPY END OF JAMES I.

HENRY V., in his lifetime, had ordained that three masses should be sung for his soul every day of the week "while the world lasteth." The chronicler, reckoning up all his martial deeds, considers him worthy to be ranked on earth among the "nine worthies," and, after recounting all his religiousness, and especially the masses which he willed for his soul, bursts out into strains of the highest admiration, and closes all by expressing his trust that he who was on earth called king of kings, is now installed above the principalities in heaven! The honours done to the remains and memory of the departed king may be briefly described, as characteristic of the manners and feelings of the times. The body was embalmed, and placed within a car, on which reclined a figure of the deceased as large as life, formed of boiled leather, a golden crown on its head, a sceptre in the right hand, and a golden ball

in the left. Over the car was a splendid canopy, and persons dressed in white carried lighted torches on each side, the whole length of the journey. The queen and a numerous train of mourners attended. Wherever the procession rested, in passing from Rouen to Calais, priests chanted beside the corpse day or night, and masses were said in every church in the neighbourhood from morn till noon.

From Dover to Westminster Abbey the ceremony was the same; and the tomb, we are told, was long after as much visited and honoured as if it had been certain the deceased king were a saint in heaven. Charles VI., also, was buried with much parade. Over his coffin was his image, clothed and crowned in a splendid manner: but when the funeral service was ended, the royal officers broke their staves, in token that their functions had ceased, and the voice of a herald cried from the sepulchral vault, "Long life to Henry, king of France and England, our sovereign lord." The words were repeated by those outside with loud shouts. The unconscious subject of these acclamations was only ten months old, and his reign over England began when he was only eight months and a few days. His uncles, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, had been appointed protectors during his minority; and as the former now became regent of France, the latter ruled in England; but he was limited in his powers by a council of state, in which Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the king's great-uncle, was ever aiming at pre-eminence.

The first year of the reign of the infant king was disgraced by the burning of a clergyman at Smithfield as a heretic. His name was Taylor; and he confessed that he had long held and preached many of the opinions of Wickliffe. When the king was nearly two years old, he was taken one Saturday evening with his mother and nurse as far as Staines, to be carried in state to London the following day; but when the Sunday came, and he was brought out to be put in the queen's chair, he cried so violently that neither mother nor nurse could quiet him; and the queen, fearing he was ill, remained at Staines all that day. The next day the infant king was so gladsome and merry when prepared for the journey,

that some writers, says the chronicler, noted his behaviour the preceding day as "a divine monition that he would not travel upon the Sunday." Sitting in his mother's lap, he passed in great triumph through the city to Westminster, where the parliament was held in his presence; and the speaker acknowledged the favour of God in giving the realm "*so toward a prince,*" and uttered many words in commendation of the much-honoured child. The King of Scots passed the following Christmas at Hertford with his little majesty of England, and the February following married Jane Beaufort, who, like Henry V., was a grandchild of John of Gaunt. The English government were desirous that this marriage should take place previous to the release of James, hoping that it would attach him to the English interest, and keep him from assisting the French, as some of his subjects had done. In giving up to the Scottish people their king, so long unjustly detained, the regents could not ask for ransom-money, but they took care to demand £40,000 sterling *to cover the expenses* of James's support and education. When Henry VI. was three years old, he again went through London in state, with his mother; and, at the door of St. Paul's, the protector took him out of the chair, and, with the Duke of Exeter, led him up the steps to the altar, there to kneel down, and then to make his offerings: afterwards, he was borne into the churchyard, and placed on a fair courser, to ride through the streets; he was much admired as "the very image" of his father. Often at this time was he present in the parliament chamber.

It was not to be expected that the heir of a long line of French sovereigns, even though some doubts were thrown on his legitimacy, would suffer the crown to pass over to an infant foreigner, though it were his own sister's child. The dauphin, therefore, as soon as he heard of his father's death, was proclaimed king of France at Poitiers. Charles VII. was then scarcely nineteen; he was ambitious, but not courageous, and of a disposition that needed some arousing to keep him from indolence. The difficulties of his position will appear in glancing at the divided state of France at this time. In the south, the English possessed Guienne, including Gascony; on the east, their alliance with the Duke of Burgundy gave

them the military strength of Upper and Lower Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois; in the west, the Duke of Bretagne was then their ally; and the Regent Bedford held the Isle of France, a part of Maine and Anjou, nearly all Champagne, and the whole of Picardy and Normandy. By the united efforts of his enemies, all that remained to Charles rapidly decreased. In a great battle fought at Verneuil, in 1424, 11,000 of his army were slain, with almost all the Scottish allies who had previously aided him so well. Charles then shut himself up at Bourges; and had so little power beyond it, that the English, in derision, styled him "king of Bourges." At this critical moment, the threatened alienation of the Duke of Burgundy from the English interest, left the contest for the crown of France still doubtful. The circumstances must be explained. The deceased dauphin, Louis, had married Jacqueline, daughter of the Earl of Hainault, who, by her father's death, inherited Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, commonly called the Low Countries. Her second husband was the Duke of Brabant, first cousin of Philip, duke of Burgundy: with him she quarrelled, and, in displeasure, left him, and resided, for some time, in England. There the protector, Duke Humphrey, saw her; and her divorce from the Duke of Brabant being obtained from the Pope, he married her in the same year that the young king was led by him into St. Paul's. He then sailed with the duchess for her own country, where they were honourably received by her subjects; but the Duke of Burgundy took sore offence at the dishonour done to his relative, and raised such commotion against Gloucester, that he left his wife in her town of Mans, and returned home. Burgundy then contrived to get the duchess delivered up to him, and sent her as a prisoner to Ghent; but she escaped thence, through the favour of a knight, in man's clothing, and took refuge in Zealand, where she withstood the duke's power. In this quarrel, the unoffending provinces were desolated; and, at length, the opposing dukes proposed single combat. Bedford, perceiving that this dissension would ruin the English cause in France, interfered to effect a reconciliation; and his brother, who was of fickle disposition, and had cared for Jacqueline's possessions

rather than herself, was induced to give up his claims upon both, as he had fallen in love with Eleanor Cobham, a waiting lady to the duchess. Her he married, and thus his quarrel with Burgundy ended; but his conduct made him lose ground in the English government, and gave advantages to his ambitious uncle, the Bishop Beaufort. Such serious dissensions arose between them, that even bloodshed seemed likely to ensue; but the Mayor of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Infante of Portugal, then a visitor in England, laboured so hard to keep peace between the princes, that they agreed to forbear till the Regent Bedford should arrive. The bishop wrote a very hasty, but respectful letter, to his nephew, Bedford, "Haste you hither . . . if ye tarry long, we shall put this land in a jeopardy . . . such a brother as you have here, God make him a good man!" On the regent's arrival, the noble relatives brought most grievous accusations against each other; but they were sufficiently answered, and, by the prudence of Bedford, a reconciliation was effected. They took each other by the hand, in the presence of the assembled lords, who assisted in the trial, and used friendly and loving words, the bishop making submission to the duke, and forfeiting the office of chancellor. At the Whitsuntide feasts ensuing, Bedford dubbed the young king a knight; and the king did the same to Richard, duke of York, afterwards his powerful rival. When the regent and his wife quitted England, in 1427, the bishop, Beaufort, accompanied them to Calais, and there received a cardinal's hat from Pope Martin V. This was understood to be given him, to induce him to lead some thousands of English crusaders against the accredited heretics of Bohemia, who will be mentioned in our history of the empire. He actually raised forces for this purpose; but their services were turned aside, as they passed through France, at a moment when the English were losing ground, and needed their help. The quarrel between Gloucester and Burgundy suspended for four years the war with Charles VII. and his party revived and gained strength. Their most important stronghold was Orleans; and, in 1428, a council of war at Paris resolved upon the siege of that town. Both parties felt that the capture of Orleans must give the English indis-

putable mastery, as it would lay three more provinces open to them: Charles entrusted the defence to others, and was prepared to fly the country, should this town be lost. The siege of Orleans, then, was a matter of so much importance that we must give some of the particulars.

On Oct. 12, 1428, Lord Salisbury, one of the ablest of the English generals, fixed his camp on the south side of the town, cutting off its free communication with Charles; but, before the end of the year, whilst looking through a loophole, in one of his besieging towers, a stone ball, shot from the walls of Orleans, carried away his eye and half of his face; and he died of the wound, exhorting his officers not to abandon the siege. Salisbury was succeeded in command by the Lords Talbot and Suffolk, who brought an additional force, and fresh artillery. Count Dunois commanded the forces of the besieged, and both parties displayed great skill and valour. Christmas Day brought a suspension of hostilities, by mutual agreement; and, for a whole night, the clang of arms and the roar of cannons were exchanged for sounds of minstrelsy and general festivity; but it was a formal and transient attempt to catch the echo of the heavenly message, "on earth peace, and good-will towards men," for the war was resumed with fresh fury after this short interruption.

In January, Count Dunois led out his followers to intercept a convoy of provisions for the besiegers, but he was himself wounded in the encounter, and lost 500 men. This engagement was called "the battle of the herrings," because a great part of the provisions consisted of that fish, sent for the use of the English during Lent. At the end of February, Dunois offered to put Orleans into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, to be kept neutral by him, till it should be seen, whether Henry VI., or Charles VII., were to be master of France. Hostilities were suspended, whilst messengers were dispatched to the regent on the subject, and knightly courtesies passed between the opposed generals. One day, Dunois received a dish of dried fruit from the English lords, and sent back some black plush, the manufacture of Orleans, which Suffolk had desired to line his dress during the cold weather. The regent rashly rejected the proposal of

Dunois, and Burgundy, taking offence, recalled his troops, who were in the besiegers' camp. The English, however, were strong enough to continue the siege without these allies; they had erected, and still occupied, sixty forts, at fixed distances, around the city. Charles, despairing of the preservation of Orleans, and, connecting his own ruin with the fall of that place, began to think of retiring to Spain or Scotland; but his council advised him rather to make Dauphiné, or the mountains of Auvergne, his place of retreat, should the city be taken, and there await a more favourable turn in his affairs. Some historians say, that, at this crisis, Charles was only kept from relinquishing the contest by his favourite, the beautiful Agnes Sorel, who threatened to forsake him if he forsook the struggle for the throne of his fathers. It is certain that the kingdom was secured to Charles by the intervention of a still more remarkable woman.\*

The page of history does not present us with a more singular female character than Joan of Arc, commonly called the Maid of Orleans. The strange combination of madness and sound sense; of delusion and clear sightedness; of boldness and modesty; of fortitude and weakness, must surprise us, at every turn of her remarkable story; and if Satan had his power over her mind, of which there can be little doubt, she was certainly, at the same time, the divine instrument for punishing the pride of the English, and for preserving France as a separate kingdom in the earth, detached from this beloved island of ours, which might have been injured by closer contact. As for Joan herself, she seems to have acted in all good conscience, and with astonishing self-sacrifice, and her end gives some reason for the hope that she was saved, but so as by fire. Let us pass through her affecting story. Joan of Arc was the daughter of a small farmer of Domremy, a village lying between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs, in Champagne. She never learned to read or write, but she had an open ear for the events of the day, and a heart capable of being affected by them. The dispute about

\* The following account is condensed from an interesting chapter of Sharon Turner's "History of England in the Middle Ages." I have largely followed this author in my chapters on England, comparing him with half-a-dozen others.

the crown was naturally a frequent subject of conversation among the villagers, and created so much party-feeling, that the youths of Domremy, who took the part of Charles, often engaged in combat with those of Marcey, a Burgundian village in the vicinity. Joan was herself about the age of the young king, and romantic interest about him filled her mind, till, this feeling mixing itself with her religious emotions, she was led, by frequent musings, to conceive the idea that she was to be the instrument of establishing Charles on the throne, and giving liberty to her country. Joan at this time bore the fair moral character which she preserved in very different scenes; she was also dutiful to her parents, industrious in spinning or tending the cattle, kind-hearted to poor travellers and afflicted neighbours, and remarkable for her frequent and fervent devotions. Instead of joining in the usual village recreations, she would leave the dance and song for the silent church, or retire to a small neighbouring chapel, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. She only joined her young companions in one religious festivity, annually held under a famous oak connected with many curious traditions. We are told she was naturally very bashful, and so gentle, that while she tended her flock the birds would come at her call, and eat bread out of her hand. The curé thought that there was no better girl in his parish. From the age of thirteen, those legends of saints and angels which had been often repeated in the ears of this simple peasant, took such firm hold upon her ardent mind, that she fancied herself the subject of their visits and revelations; and to this delusion she clung with tenacity to the end of her life. Whether it was a species of insanity, or some supernatural influence, we cannot decide. The forms, but more often the voices, of her celestial visitants seemed as familiar to Joan of Arc, as if she had actually seen and heard them; but her descriptions of St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Michael, and the angels, seem to show that their common pictures and histories had made this deep impression on her visionary mind. Whilst meditating in her father's garden, she first imagined that God spoke to her out of heaven, and that a great brilliancy accompanied the voice; but afterwards she avowed that the voices which chiefly guided

her were those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, whom she knew, because they had told her their names.\* It was at the age of eighteen that Joan first declared she had a mission from God to raise the siege of Orleans, and to crown Charles. Ridiculed and threatened, she still persisted in the assertion, till a traditionary prophecy was brought to support her claims, namely, that France should be delivered by a virgin from the borders of Lorraine. There are conditions of the human mind, as well as of the body, which may be termed contagious, and a few being wrought upon to believe in Joan's pretensions, the impression spread till it became universal and effectual.

For a short time, Joan and her family had taken refuge at an inn in Neufchateau, their village being invaded by the Burgundian party: it was there that Joan, in assisting the mistress to serve her guests, gained experience in the management of a horse; and even at home she was wont to mount the horses she led to water, and to exercise herself with a long stick, in imitation of military movements. Having obtained an introductory letter from the feudal lord of her district, Joan, with her brother, and six other persons, set out on horseback for Chinon, where Charles then resided. For this journey she adopted male attire, possibly by way of security; and, having once committed this breach of propriety—this breach, too, of a Scripture law of which, perhaps, she was ignorant—she conceived a dislike to female apparel, which in the end proved most injurious to her. We are told that Joan had a strong frame, a beautiful form, a pleasing countenance, and a sweet voice, and that she spoke with ease and dignity; she wore her black hair falling down to her shoulders. Her strength was apparent in this first journey. Chinon was 150 leagues from Domremy, by the unfrequented ways along which, for safety, the maiden was escorted; and ere they reached that town, they had to cross the Marne, the Aube, the Seine, and the Yonne, with some smaller rivers: the journey occupied eleven days, and was accomplished by the end of February. The

\* The curious reader will find a lively description of all that was related concerning these personages, and the manner in which they were depicted in the Middle Ages, in Mrs. Jamieson's work on the subject of *Legendary Art*.

poverty of Charles at this moment was so great, that he is said to have had only four crowns in his house, and to have been in want of shoes : like a drowning man, he was ready to catch at anything likely to save him. But we are assured that Joan was not introduced into his presence till inquiries had been made into her character ; and the parliament at Poitiers, and many wise prelates, had sanctioned his making use of her services ; and that when she was ushered into the hall, where he stood among his nobles, he purposely mixed with the crowd, in order to know whether, by any inspiration, she could discern him from others. She singled him out, fell at his feet, and told him her commission. He was pleased with her address, and with her feats of horsemanship and use of the lance, which she afterwards exhibited in a neighbouring field.

Being now fairly accepted by Charles and his court, Joan dictated a letter to the English generals before Orleans, commanding them to depart thence in the name of the King of kings. She then prepared to set out for the relief of the city. A suit of armour was made for her, a special sword assigned to her, and a standard prepared according to her direction. The painting on it was the Son of Man in the clouds, holding the world in his hands, and adored by two angels ; the inscription was *Jhesus Maria*. Seven thousand men were appointed to escort the maiden to Orleans : these she obliged to confess themselves, and to forsake their immoral habits ; and she ordered the hymn *Veni Creator* to be sung as they set out. At great risk, Joan and her followers made their way between the English forts, and entered Orleans : she was there received as if she had been a celestial visitant, and, whilst her pretensions struck terror into the English, they inspired the fainting defenders of the town with new courage. In different sallies of the garrison, 6000 of the besiegers were slain ; and in one engagement, which lasted for three hours, Joan displayed the talents of a warrior. But another day, before one of the enemy's forts, she was deeply wounded in the neck by an arrow, and when carried on one side, and laid on the grass, her courage failed at the sight of the flowing blood, and, woman-like, she wept. Some of the soldiers offered to charm the

wound, but she had recovered her fortitude and religious feeling, and declared she would rather die than do anything she knew to be sin. She tore the arrow out with her own hands, and, desirous of any relief that could be given her without crime, suffered some lard and olive oil to be applied. Faint with the loss of blood, she then entreated the crowd to fall back, and confessed herself as if expecting death; soon, however, she recovered strength, and re-mounted her horse. Only five days after the maid entered Orleans, the siege was raised, and Joan, in sight of the retreating English, ordered masses to be sung amidst her assembled troops, saying, they should not pursue the enemy as it was Sunday (May 8). The Duke of Alençon, incited by Joan, now styled "The Maid of Orleans," attacked the Earl of Suffolk in Jargeau, to which place he had retreated, and took it with an inferior force. Early in June, the French, under her guidance, defeated the English in a pitched battle; and at the end of that month she induced Charles to set out for Rheims to be crowned. Many places surrendered to him by the way, and the English, who hung about his road, seemed afraid to strike a blow: the terror of the maiden's name had spread far and wide, and many of the English soldiers had deserted, either as believing her to be possessed by the devil, or as afraid to fight against God. It was in vain that the child Henry VI. had been crowned at Paris; the numbers that wished Charles to be king daily increased.

In the course of her triumphant march as the king's escort, Joan of Arc passed near her native village, and many of her old neighbours came out to see her. Some asked if she were not afraid of death in so many battles; her reply was, she feared only treason. Perhaps she perceived the jealousy already felt towards her. A person so conspicuous, whose name was in every one's mouth, and to whom was attributed the success of every action, was exposed to the envy of the generals whose fame she eclipsed. At the coronation, she stood with her banner at the king's side, and her prediction being thus accomplished to her heart's content, she knelt, and embraced her sovereign's feet with a flood of tears. After her end was attained, it was the maid's desire to retire into private

life; she was becoming suspicious, and by some suspected; but others determined to make farther use of the enthusiasm with which she had inspired the French army. Charles moved on victoriously: Soissons, Laon, and many other places submitted; and from St. Denis he threatened Paris. But the regent hastened to its defence, and the king withdrew. At this time, Charles presented the Maid of Orleans with letters of nobility, and directed her to appear in noble attire; but she was filled with impressions of approaching evil, and, instead of directing, absented herself from military councils, and became obedient to others. Being sent with a body of troops to relieve Compeigne, which was besieged by the English and Burgundians, she headed a sally of the garrison; and, when her countrymen fled, through fear or treachery, she had not time to reach the gates ere she was seized by the enemy. Had there not existed some feeling of jealousy, it would have been inexplicably strange that the king and his generals made no efforts for the recovery of a captive deemed so valuable by the English. In Paris, bonfires were lighted, and thanksgivings sung, as soon as it was heard she was taken.

In common justice, the Maid of Orleans ought to have been treated like any other prisoner of war; but superstition being mingled with revenge, she was brought to trial as a sorceress and heretic. The Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she was taken, acted as grand inquisitor; Cardinal Beaufort was among the judges. The examination lasted four months, multitudes of witnesses being called to give an account of her life and conversation, and Joan herself being subjected to the minutest inquiries. The foregoing particulars are given by an intelligent historian, as gathered from this examination; and it may be sufficient to say, that a Pope, who looked over the whole judicial process twenty-four years after, pronounced Joan to have been innocent of the things laid to her charge. Nevertheless, at the time, the unfortunate woman was threatened with torture to extort a confession of guilt; and when this failed, she was promised liberty, if she would sign a paper containing an abjuration of the magical arts imputed to her. She drew a circle, by way of signature; but the secretary, guiding her hand, made her

form a cross. According to the common treatment of a person abjuring heresy, the maiden was kept in prison for some months, and closely watched. Some pretext was wanted for her destruction. At the desire of the Duchess of Bedford, she had put on female attire; but, one day, seeing a suit of men's apparel hung against the wall, placed there, it is supposed, to try her, she dressed herself in it. Being asked why she did so? she replied, it was more suitable as she was guarded by men. The fact, however, was adduced as a proof that she was a lapsed heretic; and she was condemned to be burned. On hearing the sentence, she protested her innocence; appealed to God, and, with bitter weeping, said she would rather be beheaded seven times, than be committed to the flames. Her tears and prayers, as she was conveyed in a car to the market-place of Rouen, greatly moved the more humane spectators. "Rouen! Rouen!" she cried, "must I die here?" Some of the English, and even the cardinal himself, wept profusely; but no one attempted to save her. An address was read to her at the place of execution, defaming her character; and, amidst piteous cries, she was tied to the stake. The mitre, given to those condemned by the Inquisition, was placed on her head: on it were inscribed the words, "Heretic; Relapse; Apostate; Idolater." Her sufferings were frightfully prolonged: yet, amidst her prayers, groans, and shrieks, perceiving that a friendly friar, who held up a cross before her, was in danger of being scorched, she motioned to him to retire, but still to hold up that object to the last: the name of Jesus, pronounced in a loud voice of agony, was the last word she was heard to utter.

Several Englishmen, who witnessed her end, declared that she must have been a good woman: some, who could not bear to see her sufferings, retired: it became the current report, that her soul, having no need of purgatory, went straight to paradise. To a kind monk she had said, "Where shall I be to-day?" He answered, "Have you not good hope in the Lord?" She replied, "Yes, if God help me, I shall be in paradise." Connected with Joan of Arc's military life, it is an interesting fact, that she never killed any one with her own hand: she used to weep on seeing her countrymen killed or wounded; and,

to avoid shedding the blood of the English, she caused an arrow to be shot into their camp, having attached to it a call to them to save their lives by returning home. The maiden's patriotism and disinterestedness, her bravery, combined with many feminine feelings, her singular and brief career, and still more her shocking end, obtained for her the admiring remembrance both of the French and English; and it is a striking fact, that, from the day of her death (May 30, 1431), the dominance of the English in France virtually terminated. Shortly after, the Duke of Burgundy made his peace with Charles; and the Duke of Bedford, seeing his hopes blighted as regent of France, sank into the grave under the effects of the disappointment. We have mentioned that Henry VI. was brought into France for coronation. At eight years of age, he was crowned at Westminster, with the usual pomp; and, at the age of nine, he received the crown, with great ceremony, at Paris. The chief citizens met him at St. Denis; some on foot, in crimson silk doublets and blue hoods; others on horseback, dressed in scarlet. The lords of the parliament appeared in flowing robes of vermilion colour. Three large crimson hearts were presented to the young monarch at the city gate, as indicative of the affections of the metropolis; and, as he handled them, a pair of doves flew from one heart, some small birds from another, and the third dropped out violets and sweet flowers. In order farther to please their first English monarch, the Parisians prepared an abundance of spectacles likely to gratify a child. The Bible scenes, acted in dumb-show, in different parts of the city, were:—the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Massacre of the Babes of Bethlehem, and the Sower, sowing good seed. The pageant introduced at the coronation dinner represented the Virgin Mary, with the young king at her side, as if beneath her special protection. On Henry's return to England, new honours were prepared for him as crowned king of France. At London Bridge, a mighty giant was prepared to make a speech in defiance of the king's enemies. Three ladies then appeared as representatives of Nature, Grace, and Fortune; and, in their speeches, professed to shower their respective gifts on the youthful monarch. A representation of paradise was attempted in Cheapside, where

Enoch and Elijah made speeches in verse ; and the last, and to us the most impious pageant was at St. Paul's gate, where a throne was erected with a representation of the Trinity upon it, angels singing and playing around ; and two stanzas were addressed to the king, as if from the mouth of the Father, the substance of which was indeed speaking falsely for God.\* At the banquet which followed, a ballad was sung in praise of the Emperor Sigismund and King Henry V. for their treatment of heretics. Thus was the young king nurtured: burning, or imprisonment, on religious grounds, frequently took place during his minority.

From the age of six to sixteen, Henry VI. was kept under the tutelage of the Earl of Warwick, who was reputed to be the most complete knight of his day, and had been a favourite with Henry V. On being appointed to this office, the earl was directed to instruct his pupil above all things, in the fear and love he owed to his creator. That full authority was given him, appears from one of the articles proposed by him, on receiving the charge, and which met the assent of the parliament. "That Gloucester and the council promise, that they shall firmly and truly assist him (the earl) in chastising of the king for his defaults. . . . That it may be known to the king, that it is with Gloucester's assent, and of the council, that the king be chastised for his defaults ; and that for awe thereof, he forbear the more to do amiss, and intend the more busily to virtue and learning."

It was, perhaps, from the early subjection of his will to that of Warwick, that Henry grew up with that habit of mind which made him readily yield to persons of more decided character than himself. Under good influence, Henry might have been a useful king, as well as a good and amiable man ; but as he fell into bad hands, he became a complete cipher as a king, and was often the tool of the wicked. Yet he seems always to have been respected personally, though not officially ; and, when-

\* These verses commended him to angelic care, to save him "all manner damage ;" and declared it to be God's will to "fulfill him with joy and worldly abundance," to give him the faithful obedience of his subjects, "and also multiply and increase his line, and cause his nobles through the world to shine."

ever we obtain a glance of him in the busy and painful scenes of his reign, we find only that which interests the heart, or excites the compassion.

A man of very opposite character was James I. of Scotland; and through his history, as connected with the earlier part of the reigns of Henry VI. and Charles VII., we may now rapidly pass, in order not to interrupt the chain of events in England and France during the same period. By natural talents, and by education, James found himself as much above the level of his subjects, as he ought to have been esteemed by reason of his royal rank; but kingly power had been so long unknown in the land, that the great nobles were disposed to act as if they were the equals of their sovereign. James bent the whole power of his mind on altering this state of things; but the rash severity with which he acted brought destruction upon multitudes, and, at last, upon himself. A single incident proved his early determination to make the awe of his presence felt throughout his court. A nobleman of high rank, and nearly related to the king, in a moment of irritation, struck a youth in the king's hall. James instantly commanded that the offending hand should be laid on the council-table, and ordered the young man, who had received the blow, to hold the edge of a large knife on the nobleman's wrist, in order to sever the hand at a given signal.\* For more than an hour, the two parties remained in this position, while the queen and her ladies, with all the ecclesiastics who were present, prostrated themselves before the king, imploring mercy for the offender: the meditated punishment was only then commuted into temporary banishment from the royal presence. Scarcely a year after his accession, James determined to revenge upon the Albany family his long captivity, and the alienation of the crown lands that had taken place during the regency. Murdach himself, who had proposed the king's return, and predicted his ability to make himself obeyed, was brought to trial, with his two sons, and their maternal grand-

\* Possibly the king had heard of such a law for enforcing respect within the precincts of the English court. Fabian relates that, in the first year of Edward IV., the hand of one of his servants was struck off for having struck a man in Westminster palace.

father, the Earl of Lennox; and all these noble chiefs were executed together on the castle-hill, near Stirling; a spot from which the late regent might have cast his last glance over his own rich domains, and towards his distant castle palace. The weakness of Murdach's character, the goodly appearance of his sons, and the venerable form of Lennox, then in his eightieth year, attracted the pity of the gazing multitude; and truly did they judge, it looked not well that their king should commence his reign by putting to death some of his nearest relations. What shall we then say on hearing that James, within the two first years of his reign, issued the death-warrants of 3000 of his subjects, all of whom were judged for offences committed during his captivity!

Yet we are assured that James was severe and cruel from policy, and not from any natural fierceness of character; and that the presuming nobility, and not minor offenders, were crushed by his iron rod. It is certain that he took pains to secure an equal administration of justice, and decreed that any poor creature, who could not otherwise get his case properly stated, should have the services of a skilful advocate at the expense of the crown. In order to reduce to obedience the highland chiefs, and especially a formidable chieftain of the Hebrides, Alexander, called "the Lord of the Isles," King James entrapped them into his power by artifice. In the strong tower of Inverness, newly fortified for the occasion, he called a parliament, at which these chiefs appeared, many of them having 2000 men at their call. Having won their confidence, the king afterwards invited the chiefs singly to visit him at the castle; and about fifty coming as his guests, and unattended, were immediately placed in confinement; James, at the same moment, breaking out into applause of his own skill in an extempore verse of Latin poetry, which our historian thus translates:

" To donjon tower let this rude troop be driven;  
For death they merit, by the cross of heaven."

Three were actually put to death on the ground of past offences, and the Lord of the Isles was only released on promising to discontinue his predatory habits. But his

first work, as a free man, was to gather 10,000 men from the isles and highlands; and with these he invaded the mainland, and burnt the town of Inverness, by way of revenging his recent affront. James, with a large army, defeated the rebel lord; and, being made prisoner, he was obliged to ask the king's forgiveness at a public festival in the great church at Edinburgh. According to the prescribed mode of feudal penance, the proud chief, disrobed to his shirt, knelt before the king, presenting him with the hilt of the sword of which he himself held the point; he then confessed his offences, and asked remission of the penalty of death. His life was spared, as he had relatives of great interest at court; but he underwent a long imprisonment.

For six years after the death of the Maid of Orleans, the war went on in France feebly and slowly; but every advantage was on the side of the French; and James I., notwithstanding his English education, and English wife, which it was hoped might have been links to the English interest, would not recall the Scots who fought in the service of Charles VII. Paris being regained, Charles, after an absence of seventeen years, entered the capital (Nov. 4, 1437). Religious mysteries were acted in honour of the event; and one of the most singular was a combat between the representatives of the seven mortal sins, and the three theological, and four cardinal virtues.\* This, at least, was to be preferred to the acting of the Passion and Resurrection, which had distinguished the nuptials of Charles VI. and Isabella. That wicked queen, who had always opposed her son in the most unnatural manner, died before his triumphal entry into Paris. As a lasting remembrance of the ferocity of her disposition, a wolf was sculptured at the feet of her statue on her tombstone, instead of the usual greyhound.

The eldest son of Charles VII. was Louis (afterwards King Louis XI.), whose conduct, as he grew up, made him a rod whereby his father's filial disobedience seemed

\* Faith, hope, and charity, were placed in the former class; prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude, in the latter. The inclusive character of the charity described 1 Cor. xiii. was not perceived. We learn there, most emphatically, that charity is all these things (4—7), and even more.

to be punished. In his childhood, he was espoused to Margaret, daughter of James I. of Scotland. In resentment at this alliance, the English government made an attempt to intercept the princess on her way to France; and, though it did not succeed, as in her father's case, James took affront, and declared war against England (A. D. 1436). His first act was to besiege Roxburgh Castle, which was still defended by an English garrison, and near its extensive fortifications was gathered a host of 200,000 Scots. The king, however, was afraid of treason in so large a camp, where many chiefs, jealous of royal authority, had collected the clans devoted to their particular interests: he therefore raised the siege, and returned to Edinburgh. A plot was then actually forming against his life. One of the chiefs, whom he had imprisoned at the commencement of his reign, was Sir Robert Grahame; and this nobleman, being afterwards displeased at some of the king's proposals to his parliament, rose up in the midst of the assembly, and offered to arrest him in their name. No one daring to second his proposal, he withdrew; and, from his highland retreat, sent to James a written renunciation of his allegiance, declaring himself his mortal enemy. A proclamation, offering a reward to any one who would bring Sir Robert Grahame, dead or alive, only hastened the execution of his schemes. The king had gone to Perth to spend Christmas, making the Dominican monastery his residence. On Feb. 21, as he was about to retire to rest, 300 armed men entered the dwelling. There was not even a bar to the royal apartment; but Catherine Douglas, one of the queen's attendants, resolutely threw her slender arms across the staples, and, for a few moments, impeded the entrance of the conspirators, whilst Jane and her ladies let the king down into a vault below. From thence he might have escaped, but the day before he had caused the only outlet to be built up, because he lost his balls, by means of it, when playing at tennis. The queen herself was wounded; and the king, on being discovered, fought so hard for his life, that he only fell under repeated blows. The assassins being afterwards hunted out by the queen's directions, several of them were put to death with dread-

ful tortures. Sir Robert, in dying, said that he should be remembered as the man who had freed Scotland from a tyrant; but his name was held in abhorrence, even in a popular rhyme:

“ Sir Robert Grahame,  
That kill'd our king, God give him shame.”

With this sad tragedy, we end our present chapter; only observing that Scotland, though less guilty of religious persecution than some of the more civilised kingdoms, witnessed, during this period, the burning of two martyrs; one, under the regency of Albany, the other by the permission of James I., only two years before his own melancholy end.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.  
England, Scotland, and France continued.*

ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VI.  
FRANCE UNDER CHARLES VII.  
SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES II.

CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES VII. THE VICTORIOUS.

— HIS TROUBLES FROM HIS SON LOUIS. — RESTRAINT PLACED UPON HENRY VI. — HIS MARRIAGE WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU. — DEATH OF DUKE HUMPHREY, OF CARDINAL BEAUFORT, AND OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK. — INSURRECTION HEADED BY JACK CADE. — UNHAPPY POSITION OF HENRY VI. — HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER AND CONDUCT. — HIS TEMPORARY INSENSIBILITY THROUGH DISEASE. — TROUBLES OF SCOTLAND DURING THE MINORITY OF JAMES II. — THE POWER OF THE DOUGLAS FAMILY. — JAMES KILLS THE CHIEFTAIN, SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, WITH HIS OWN HAND.

CHARLES VII., in whose person the French monarchy was restored, was saluted with the title of Victorious; but he was more properly styled Bien-servi (*i. e.* Well-served), because his victories were obtained by the talents

of those who faithfully served him, from the times of the Maid of Orleans to the end of his reign. In 1438, a pestilence caused so great a mortality in and around Paris, that wolves roamed through the depopulated streets, and destroyed several children. In 1440, a truce was concluded with England, and Charles gave himself up to peaceful pursuits, and to the enjoyment of his gardens; but the ill-conduct of the dauphin soon disturbed his quietness. When he was only seventeen, he joined some disaffected nobles in rebellion against his father. They being defeated in battle, the king received back his son into his favour, presuming that, by reason of his youth, he was not responsible for the offence: it was, however, an indication of the wicked course he pursued through life. In this same year, the Duke of Orleans, who had been a captive ever since the battle of Agincourt, was restored to liberty on paying a large ransom to the English government. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, helped to raise the money; and, in this manner, the breach occasioned by the rivalry of these princely families was healed. Orleans had resided in comfort at the house of the English gentleman who had made him captive; and there, during these long years, amused himself with poetry and architecture: some of the labours of his pen, and the remains of his building still exist. The duke, on his return home, formed a project against the king, out of anxiety to be engaged in the government; but this trouble was remedied by the wisdom of Charles. On the renewal of war with the English, the dauphin, for some years, assisted his father, but often occasioned him grief by the violence of his temper. At the age of twenty-two, it was made known that he had engaged an assassin to destroy one of his father's favourites; and, for this offence, he was banished to Dauphiné for four months. He returned impenitent; and began to act as a master, and with such tyranny, that the king issued orders for his arrest.

The dauphin then fled to the court of the Duke of Burgundy, where he remained till his father's death, having proudly refused to return when invited to do so. Charles one day observed, that the duke did not know his son; and that he was feeding a fox, which, in the

end, would eat up his fowls. It has been said of Charles VII., that he might have been surnamed Happy, as well as Victorious, but for this son. Yet that monarch had other sorrows; some of his own making, and some made by others. His wife presented him with eleven children, besides Louis; and is said to have been of most respectable character, and a model to queens and to wives: yet he lavished his affections on his favourite, Agnes Sorel, a woman of great spirit, who stirred him up to defend and to improve his kingdom.\* A marriage was just agreed upon between one of the princesses of France, and Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland; and the bride had set out with great pomp to meet her husband, when tidings were brought of his sudden death, after only twenty-four hours' illness. Most writers agree that he died of poison. "Of which tidings," says Fabian, "when Charles was ascertained, he therewith took such pensiveness, that he died shortly after, when he had ruled a part, and the whole of the realm, reckoning from the death of his father, thirty-six years." Charles often bitterly felt the deceitful ways and speeches of his courtiers; and once indignantly exclaimed, "What is become of truth? She must be dead, and without even finding a confessor." He had reason for this feeling towards the men about him; for, as soon as he departed, Dunois exclaimed, "We have lost our master, let every one take care of himself;" and so careful were the courtiers not to offend Louis, that they dared not say they had loved the old king, though the people unaffectedly wept for him as for a friend and a father.

In the ninth year of Henry VI., the *name* of the protectorate was abolished; and, in his fourteenth year, some of his advisers prompted him to demand the right of entering on public business. The answer of the council highly complimented the young king's personal character, but intimated that his inexperience might lead him to what was "harmful" to the people. At the age of seventeen, he was still desired not to attend personally to his regal duties, as

\* In this reign, the University of Paris contained 25,000 scholars; and, in A. D. 1458, an exile from Constantinople obtained permission to teach therein the Greek language.

often as he wished to do so. The ambitious parties, who hindered him from using, and thus improving his powers, helped on the ruin of their king and country. No one, perhaps, was more to blame than the Earl of Suffolk, who was himself aiming at supreme power as minister. As steward of the king's household, he selected, as a wife for Henry, Margaret, daughter of René, duke of Anjou, who held the empty titles of King of Sicily and King of Jerusalem. This lady was niece to the Queen of France, and Charles VII. would not consent to the marriage till such sacrifices had been made by the English government, as should secure the termination of the war. Peace between France and England was indeed desirable; but this was made at too great a cost, when it led to the most desolating civil war that ever afflicted our country. The treaty of marriage with Margaret engaged Henry VI. to surrender to the duke, her father, and thus to Charles VII., whose minister he was, the provinces of Anjou and Maine, which were still in the hands of the English; and these losses soon led to the sacrifice of Normandy—a cause of immense discontent to the English nation. The circumstances were not, at first, fully understood; and Margaret was received with great kindness in England. We are told that no young princess was ever more loved in the bosom of her own family. When she and her father parted, neither of them could speak. The king himself, on taking leave of her, said, "I seem to have done nothing for you, my niece, in placing you on one of the greatest thrones of Europe, for it is scarcely worthy of possessing to you." After the princess was gone, it was observed that his eyes were swollen with weeping. Perhaps Margaret thought the more of herself from being made so much of by her own family; and, on being united to a man so childlike and yielding as Henry VI., she was tempted to usurp the authority that he seemed always to shrink from using.

On Sunday, May 30th, 1444, Queen Margaret was crowned with great state at Westminster, and the pageants exhibited in the city, on this occasion, are said to have been "to the great comfort of her, and such as came with her." A cotemporary poet and historian

celebrated her charms and talents, saying that Margaret excelled all others, as well in beauty and favour as in wit and policy, and was in courage more like a man than a woman. As we proceed, we shall observe that she had not wisdom to discern the temper of the times, nor penetration enough to understand the character of the people she wished to govern; and never royal lady brought a greater amount of evils in her train. The Duke of Gloucester, now the only surviving uncle of Henry VI., was heir presumptive to the crown, as long as the king had no child; he was, therefore, naturally an object of jealousy to the party aiming at supreme power in the state. Shortly before the king's marriage, he was wounded in the deepest manner by an absurd accusation brought against Eleanor, his duchess. She was accused of having melted, before the fire, a waxen image of the king, with certain magical rites, in order to procure Henry's death, and the exaltation of her husband. Four persons were accused as her accomplices, and a formal trial commenced. Bolingbroke, one of the accused, was a clergyman of great learning, whose astronomical knowledge was the best ground for the charge of magic, and whose inclination to the reformed opinions was the most probable cause of his persecution. He was exposed to derision in a fantastic dress, on a high seat in St. Paul's churchyard; certain waxen figures, and curious instruments, probably of a scientific nature, being placed about him as proofs of his necromancy. Though he protested his innocence to the last, he was put to death as a traitor, and his head fixed on London Bridge. The next day, Margaret Jourdemayne, another of the accused parties, who had been previously suspected as a witch, was burned in Smithfield. One of the others died before sentence was passed; the fourth, the chaplain of the duchess, was pardoned. The duchess herself, by way of penance, was obliged to walk through the streets of London, three days following, with lighted tapers in her hands, and was then imprisoned. In 1447, the Duke of Gloucester was arrested in a parliament which had been summoned to meet at Bury St. Edmond's, because his enemies dared not carry out their designs in the metropolis. Within a few days, and before any trial took

place, he was found dead in his bed; and, as he had been in good health the evening before, it was commonly supposed he had not died naturally: the body was exposed to view, and no mark of violence could be seen, but public opinion remained the same. Gloucester, notwithstanding the bad points in his character already mentioned, was commonly known as "Good Duke Humphrey;" and to this day "Duke Humphrey" is remembered in a common proverb. He was fond of literature and learned men, and tried to promote clergymen of good character. The poet Lydgate, whose patron he was, highly extolled him, affirming, in some of his verses, that "he was chosen of God to be his own knight:" and that he was such a champion of the Church, that a heretic dared not come into his sight: to this, he adds that the duke "studied to have intelligence to do plesance to our Lord Jesu." Unhappily, the poet and his patron seemed to have been alike ignorant of the things that would please the Lord.

After Gloucester's death, five of his household were sent to London to be executed as traitors. Suffolk, now created duke for his services in procuring a queen, was dispatched after them with the king's pardon; but, though he arrived at the gibbet in time, he did not choose to produce the letter till the poor men had nearly endured the agony of suffocation, and their bodies had been marked to be quartered. He then caused them to be cut down, and their lives were saved. The duke afterwards knew what it was to cry in vain for mercy; and the foregoing incident makes it highly probable that he was privy to the death of Gloucester, who had blamed him greatly for surrendering the French provinces to procure a wife for the king. Cardinal Beaufort survived the nephew with whom he had so often quarrelled for power, only six weeks; and his deathbed furnished a memorable example of the folly of human ambition. Some of his exclamations are thus recorded:—"Why should I die, having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it. Fie! will not death be hindered? and will money do nothing? . . . I see now the world faileth me; and so I am deceived. I pray you all to pray for

me." The dying cardinal confessed that he had accumulated treasures in the hope of becoming pope; and that he had even entertained the prospect of mounting the throne of England; that, when his nephew Bedford died, he felt he was a step higher up the ladder, and when Gloucester died, another step; but now he found that he also was to die. By way of preparation for that event, he had, in his will, assigned large sums of money for different purposes, and others to be used in succouring the poor, as his executors should think would "*most* contribute to his soul's salvation." By his special request, he had the requiem, or last service for the repose of a departed soul, chanted over his bed by all the neighbouring priests, as he lay dying.

The Duke of Suffolk did not long retain the power so unrighteously acquired. In 1450, he was impeached by his enemies for betraying the interests of the nation with regard to France; and his unpopularity, as suspected of Gloucester's death, continually increased. On his kneeling before the king in his private chamber, and expressing his willingness to do anything he commanded, the pacific Henry desired him to absent himself from the kingdom for five years. He therefore prepared to depart secretly to France; and, on the eve of his taking ship, wrote an admirable letter to his only son, which would be all the more interesting, if it might be regarded as an indication of a heart softened into repentance for his own sins. These are the desires he expresses for his child: "That willingly, ye do nothing for love nor dread of any earthly creature that shall displease our Lord in heaven. And whenever any frailty maketh you to fall, beseech you his mercy soon to call you to Him again with repentance." With this last advice he closed the letter: "to honour the king, next to God; and ever to obey the lady his mother; to choose right associates; and never to follow his own wit in no wise." On his way to Calais, Suffolk was intercepted by an English ship, and, being seized, was immediately put into a boat, and beheaded as a traitor; his cries for mercy, his promises of future good conduct, were all in vain. Such was the lawlessness of the English in these unhappy days, and such the indignation with which

they regarded one who was instrumental in the loss of those possessions in France which had been their glory. Jackanapes, *i. e.* Jack the Knave, was the term of derision applied to the wretched Suffolk in the popular ballads. Although Suffolk was no more, the queen, and the high ecclesiastical party in the government, remained, and were no less unpopular than he had been. In the year that Suffolk fell, a formidable insurrection took place, headed by one Jack Cade, an Irishman, who took the name of Mortimer, and pretended to have a claim to the throne through relationship to the House of York. The insurgents gained possession of London, and acted in the most outrageous manner, cutting off the hands of some obnoxious persons, and carrying them about with savage fury. At last they were overpowered by the respectable citizens, aided by some royal troops sent from the Tower. The tumultuous crowd being driven out of London began to quarrel over their booty, and soon dispersed. Jack Cade was beheaded, and his head exposed on London Bridge. Two of the king's ministers, who were bishops, had been murdered by the mob; and, though the insurrection was put down, the people did not cease to speak ill of the government, and even to contemplate a change of sovereigns. Henry, personally, was never unpopular; but, as he could not be separated from the queen and his corrupt ministers, the public eye was turned with favour upon one who had, by blood, a nearer claim to the throne. This was the Duke of York, whose father was the only surviving son of Edmond, duke of York, fifth son of Edward III.; and whose mother was the grand-daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, *third* son of Edward III.

Henry VI., as it is known, was descended from the *fourth* son of Edward III., John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; but as he, his father, and grandfather, had been confirmed kings by the law of the land, no one probably, except for Henry's connection with Margaret of Anjou, and the consequences of that marriage, would have raised a question as to his right to the crown. Had Henry alone been consulted, it is likely he would have willingly resigned a royal for a monastic life, for which his habits of mind better fitted him; but his proud and

ambitious wife was determined at all costs to reign. A Carthusian monk, who was intimate with Henry VI., gives the following interesting account of his character and manners:—"He was a man of pure simplicity of mind, without the least guile, always speaking the truth himself, and performing his promise, never knowingly injuring any one, and making integrity and justice the rule of his public conduct. He disliked the sports and business of the world; he loved to read the Scriptures and old chronicles, was very devout, and often exhorted his friends and visitors, and especially young men, to virtue and piety. When the scholars from his college at Eton came to visit his servants at Windsor Castle, the king liked to go to them, and, with a present of money, he used to address them, saying, 'Be good lads, meek and docile, and attend to your religion.' He did not wish them to be at court from his dread of their following the example of the dissolute. At church, his behaviour was peculiarly reverential, and very different to that of others; whilst the Scriptures were being read, he seemed to be in deep meditation. The king was in the habit of sending letters full of moral exhortations to many of the clergy. A bishop, who had been his confessor for ten years, declared that he heard nothing from him but venial faults; he was guilty of no actual vices. He was very liberal to the poor, and, instead of oppressing those under him, like other great men did, he lived among them as a father with his children. His kindness of feeling was so great, that on hearing one of his household had been robbed, he sent him some money, with an admonition to take more care of his property, at the same time requesting him not to prosecute the thief. Henry's dress was plain, and he refused to wear the horn-like toes to the shoes then in fashion. He frequently rebuked his lords for their violent oaths, and would use no other affirmation than 'forsooth and forsooth.' Coming one day from St. Alban's, he saw a quarter of a man impaled on a stake for treason; he was greatly shocked, and exclaimed, 'Take it away; I will not have any Christian so cruelly treated on my account.' Having heard that four gentlemen were about to suffer as traitors to him, he sent his pardon with great expedition to the place of execution. His Sundays were passed in

devotion and suitable reading. His other days were spent in public business, or in reading the Scriptures, or history, to which he was greatly attached. In all the church preferments that he gave, he was very careful to select proper persons. To his two maternal brothers, one of whom was father of Henry VII., he was very affectionate, and had them carefully educated."

It may be easily conceived that the suffering and trial to which a man of such a mind as this would be exposed when all the seeds of civil war were broadcast over the land, and the corruption of his ministers, and of the clergy at large, was becoming insufferable, would even unconsciously affect his bodily health; and accordingly we find that in the eventful year 1453, Henry was seized with a singular and dangerous illness, which completely paralysed his mind, and entirely incapacitated him from all business. At a parliament which met in the spring of that year, and continued its sessions till after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks—our present historical landmark—the king, with his usual kindly feeling, said, in reply to the grant of an uncommonly large subsidy, to be continued for his life, "We cordially thank you; and you must not doubt that we will be a gracious and kind lord to you!" These words were spoken July 2, and, the following October, the gentle Henry fell ill. Queen Margaret gave birth to her first son in the same month, but the king was beyond the reach of all human communication. This was tested in the ensuing March, when, on the occasion of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a deputation of nobles and bishops were commissioned by parliament to wait on the king, to inquire into his state, and to ascertain if he were capable of naming a new primate. They found he could eat and be moved, but neither hear, understand, nor speak. They tried, at first, the effect of a respectful address, pronounced by the Bishop of Chester, but finding him incapable of comprehending it, they retired, and took their dinner. On their return, they ascertained that no effort could avail to arouse the dormant understanding, and then returned to make the melancholy report before the parliament. In this emergency, Richard, duke of York, was named protector; but he had scarcely time to establish himself in an office which

might have smoothed his way to the throne, when Henry's recovery was announced.\* His first act was to send his almoner with thank-offerings to St. Edward's shrine; then the queen came, and presented to him her firstborn child. The king asked his name; she told him, "Edward." He then raised his hands, and thanked God for this gift, saying he had not known of the birth of the child till that moment, and, during his whole illness, had been unconscious where he was, or what was said to him. He declared himself to be in charity with all the world, and wished that all the peers were so too; but, alas! it was far otherwise; and our next period of England's history must include the civil wars which shook the meek and patient Henry from his throne, and spread desolation throughout the land.

It was in 1453, that Talbot and his son, the last of the noted warriors that had fought under Henry V., were slain in a battle with the French at Chatillon. This event put a seal upon the ruin of the English cause in France.

The history of Scotland during the years through which we have been passing was sad indeed. James I. left five daughters; but, of his two sons, one had died in infancy, and the younger, James II., was in his childhood when he succeeded to the throne. The queen, his mother, probably perceiving that the people would be jealous of her as an Englishwoman, retired from public affairs after prosecuting her husband's murderers. She afterwards married Sir James Stewart, called "the black knight of Lorn." Sir William Crichton, and Sir Alexander Livingston, statesmen who had been raised from obscurity, and brought into the late king's council, were appointed joint-regents of the kingdom; the former having the administration, and the latter the care of the young king's person, assigned to him by the parliament.

Crichton, however, had possession of Edinburgh Castle,

\* The Council of State spared no pains in directing the king's physicians to use all means that were likely, as they thought, to be restorative. The list of external appliances, and internal remedies, which they suggested, is curious enough; but the treatment, however inferior to modern art, included fomentations, embrocations, shaving of the head, blisters, scarifications, &c.; some of which were probably instrumental in effecting the cure of the king's singular malady.

and therein detained the royal infant; but the queen, favouring Livingston's title to the custody of her son, contrived, in one of her visits to the child, to enclose him in a coffer, which was suffered to be taken out of the castle, being supposed to contain a part of her wardrobe. The chief of the Douglas family was so powerful that he obtained for himself the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and it was only on perceiving that he intended to build up his own power on the ruins of theirs, that the regents made peace with each other. They were not long united. Livingston, under pretence that the king's mother favoured the Douglas faction, had the audacity to arrest her, with her second husband; and detained them for some time in custody. Crichton found opportunity to meet the king with a party of horse, when he was hunting in Stirling Park with a few attendants, and persuaded him to go with him to Edinburgh. The rivalry of the regents was ready to burst forth with fresh fury; but some prelates brought them together in a church, and persuaded them to unite against the power of the aristocracy, especially that of Douglas. At this time (1439), the fifth Earl of Douglas died, and was succeeded by his son William, a boy of fourteen. The duchy of Touraine, and other possessions in France, descended to him, as well as the earldom of Douglas, the lordships of Galloway and Annandale, and a wide extent of property and influence throughout all the southern frontier. All the chief gentry near the wide domains of Douglas followed his banner; and whilst his power was equal, his wealth was perhaps superior to that of the king. The ordinary attendance of the young earl was 1000 horse, and he is said to have held a kind of parliament, and to have dubbed knights with his own hand. His own boyish pride, and the violence of his followers, rendered him an object of great dread to the regents: they pretended, however, to court Earl William's companionship for the young king, who was about his own age, and having enticed him and his younger brother to visit James II. at Edinburgh Castle, both the noble youths found themselves placed before judges who pretended to try them for various offences, and then hastily sentenced them to death. In spite of the entreaties and prayers of the young king, the

brothers were dragged into the castle-yard, and there cruelly beheaded, together with a friend of their family (1440). The regents had hoped by this judicial murder to break the power of the Douglas family; for, by the death of the young earl and his brother, a great part of their property descended to their sister Margaret, commonly called the fair maiden of Galloway; and their uncle, who inherited the title and entailed estates, was James the Gross, so called because of his corpulence, being said to weigh four tons, and who, it was presumed, would not be active in revenge. But William, the son of this earl, was quickly married to his fair cousin Margaret, and thus the power and wealth of the Douglas family again centred in one individual, James the Gross dying about two years after. The new earl courted the young king's favour, and by his aid the regency was dissolved. Douglas was then placed in a position to manage the affairs of the state, being created lieutenant-general of the kingdom (1446). The miseries of the country, during all the turmoils occasioned by the rivalry of the powerful Scottish chiefs, can scarcely be described. Jane, the queen-mother, was scarcely suffered to die in safety in the castle of Dunbar; another castle having been stormed for affording her temporary refuge. Her husband, the black knight, having said something which reflected upon the Douglas administration, was compelled to leave Scotland.

As James II. grew older he became more jealous of Earl Douglas; and, in 1450, that chief retired to his own domains, and there acted in great contempt of the royal authority, with murderous violence taking the law into his own hands: then he judged it prudent to avoid the king's resentment by absenting himself awhile from Scotland, and undertook a magnificent pilgrimage to Rome by way of Paris. In the French capital, he was received with great honours by Charles VII., because his ancestors had helped that king when in adversity: at Rome, too, the name of Douglas, and the princely style of the noble pilgrim, obtained the respect of the papal court. During his absence, on account of the offences of his followers, some of his estates were ravaged by the king's highest law-officer, and one of his castles razed to the

ground. On returning home, the earl submitted himself to the king, and was graciously received; and, soon after, he was sent to England, to negotiate for the continuance of the truce with that country. At the court of Henry VI., Douglas and his three brothers were received with great distinction, and the state of political feeling which they must have observed possibly prepared the family for the part which they afterwards took in the civil war. On returning to Scotland, Earl William again exhibited the most lawless spirit; he attempted to waylay and murder Sir William Crichton; he hung another chief whom he had taken prisoner, in spite of the king's intercession in his behalf by letter and message; and, in 1451, committed a cruel deed, which raised the indignation of James to the highest pitch. A young lord, who had declined to acknowledge the earl's authority, was besieged in his castle, and taken prisoner by Douglas. The captive was nephew to Sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's bodyguard—a company of men now considered necessary because of the last king's murder—and that officer was sent by James with most friendly letters, entreating the earl to deliver up the youth to his uncle. Douglas would not attend to the despatches till he had, with seeming friendliness, pressed the messenger to partake of his good cheer; and whilst Sir Patrick, in all confidence, was taking some refreshment, his nephew was led out into the castle-yard and beheaded. The meal being finished, the earl opened the king's letters, and their contents being such as he had expected, he, with bitter cruelty, answered, "What the king requires shall be done as well as circumstances will admit." Then leading forth Sir Patrick, and showing him the corpse, he said, "You are come a little too late; yonder lies your sister's son, but he wants the head. You are at liberty to take the body if you will." Sir Patrick, on the eve of departure, uttered a prediction of coming vengeance; but his horse was so good that the followers of the Douglas in vain pursued him.

It was now proposed in the king's council, that the earl should be allured into their power by professions of good-will, and marks of favour, and that the king should invite him to court, assuring him of forgiveness for the past. Sir William Crichton and Sir Patrick Gray actually

proposed to accompany Douglas and his brother on pilgrimage to Canterbury, and, to prove their true intention, a safe-conduct was obtained from the English government. By such plans as these, James II. induced Earl Douglas to visit his court in Lent, 1452, at Stirling Castle. An ample safe-conduct is said to have been given him from the king, with letters from many chief persons at court, promising him security against treachery. The earl arrived at Stirling, with his five brothers and a large band of followers; and on Shrove Tuesday accepted an invitation to sup with the king. He was kindly received, and the meal passed over in mirth and festivity. About eight in the evening, they rose from table, and the king led the earl apart into the recess of a deep window, and began to expostulate with him about his violent acts. In his argument, he urged the earl to break his league with certain nobles, as being contrary to the laws of the realm. Douglas replied, he could not with honour renounce his engagement, nor would he for the words of any living man. The king, in a moment of sudden rage, exclaimed, "If you will not break the confederacy, this shall;" and, so saying, plunged his dagger into the earl's body: Sir Patrick Gray, and others in the body of the hall, then came to the king's assistance, and the powerful Douglas soon lay dead at their feet. It appears that James's act was from a furious gust of passion, and that he had not premeditated the death of Douglas by his own hand: for the sake of his own character in the country, he would not have committed such a murder deliberately. The five brothers of Douglas retired for the time, but on March 25th, they returned with their followers, dragged the violated safe-conduct at the tail of a cart-horse, proclaimed the treachery of the king and his ministers, and, having announced the fact of the murder of their relative by four hundred horns, they burnt the town of Stirling: they had not strength to besiege the king's castle, and so withdrew. Scotland was now divided into two opposing parties; the one supporting the royal authority, the other the power of the Douglas family. Alexander Gordon, first earl of Huntly, gathering the northern barons, strongly maintained the king's sovereignty; and the Earl of Crawford, who had leagued with the murdered earl, was brought to

humble submission, and even entertained the king at his mansion with all respect. It is said, James ascended the battlements of the castle, and threw down one of its flagstones into the ditch below, in order to free himself in letter from a vow, the spirit of which he had foregone, viz. that he would make the highest stone of that house the lowest.

In A. D. 1453, the point at which we must now pause, a kind of peace was patched up between the king and the Douglas family ; but it was evident it could not last long, and that the next struggle must end in the destruction of either the House of Stewart or that of Douglas.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### *Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.*

#### GERMANY, ITALY, AND THE POPES.

WENCESLAUS IS SUCCEEDED IN THE EMPIRE BY RUPERT. — HE FAILS IN HIS ATTEMPTS IN ITALY. — POPE INNOCENT VII. — GREGORY XII. AND BENEDICT XII. OBSTINATELY REFUSE TO LAY DOWN THE PAPAL TITLE. — RUPERT OPPOSES THE COUNCIL OF PISA. — A THIRD POPE. — WHEN THE POPEDOM, BY ITS DIVISIONS, IS ON THE EVE OF RUIN, RUPERT DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY SIGISMUND, AN EMPEROR FITTED TO REPAIR THE BREACH. — RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF BOHEMIA. — THE TEACHING AND LABOURS OF JOHN HUSS. — HE OBTAINS A SAFE-CONDUCT TO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE. — HIS TREATMENT. — CHARACTER OF THE COUNCIL. — IT DEPOSES THE THREE POPES, AND CONDEMNS TO THE FLAMES HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE. — THEIR GLORIOUS MARTYRDOM. — PONTIFICATE OF MARTIN V. — REVOLT OF THE BOHEMIANS. — THE CRUSADES AGAINST THEM. — DEATH OF WENCESLAUS. — FANATICISM OF THE BOHEMIAN SECTS. — SIGISMUND, BY CONCESSIONS, OBTAINS THE KINGDOM, AND DIES AT PRAGUE.

A. D. 1400.—WENCESLAUS was deprived of the dignity of emperor, shortly after the deposition of Richard II. (his brother-in-law) from the throne of England. Neither of

them were formed to reign; and Wenceslaus would have been satisfied with his smaller sphere of dominion—the kingdom of Bohemia—had not the ambition of his father made him the head of the empire.

Rupert, prince palatine of the Rhine, was raised to the imperial throne, with the consent of all the electors—Wenceslaus, now to be regarded only as king of Bohemia, of course, excepted; for, though he would not oppose, he would not be a consenting party to his own degradation. Rupert was of a bold, ambitious spirit, but his course was very short, and he effected little. Seeing that John Galeazzo, the tyrant of Milan, was rapidly establishing his supremacy over the greater part of Italy, Rupert attempted to restore the imperial power in that fair country; but the small forces that were at his command availed nothing against the well-disciplined troops of the great captains, which the riches of Galeazzo engaged in his service. At the death of the tyrant, however, which occurred, as we have related, by plague, in 1403, the emperor seemed to have a prospect of obtaining possession of the cities of Lombardy. They had been bound together under the sway of the powerful tyrant; but, in the minority of his sons, their mother, assisted by a favourite, who had been the duke's valet, assumed the government, and divisions into separate principalities ensued. These might have been easily subdued, but the Germanic diet refused to the emperor the necessary military supplies, and he was obliged to confine his active mind to the peace and prosperity, rather than to the enlargement of his states. One thing that seemed extremely necessary for the internal peace of Europe was the reduction of the two Popes to one; and Rupert, with other potentates, was anxious to effect it.

At the death of Boniface IX., in 1404, the cardinals assembled at Rome elected a gentle and moderate Italian, Innocent VII. This Pope, however, left the government in the hands of his brother, who, by a number of executions for political offences, led the citizens to revolt. Innocent retired to Viterbo, but the Romans, finding that they suffered loss by the absence of the rich pontifical court, invited him to return, which he did in 1406. He died a few months afterwards, and was succeeded by a

Venetian, named Angelo Corario, who was called Gregory XII. Before his elevation, he was made to promise that he would consent to any step, even abdication, were it possible to heal the division of the popedom. Peter de Luna, otherwise Benedict XII., still reigned as pope at Avignon; and potentates and prelates began to use both force and entreaty to induce both Popes to resign their claims, that one might be unanimously chosen in their stead. They promised to meet and discuss the question; and, as if sincere in their intentions, Benedict sailed to Spezzia, and Gregory travelled to Lucca. Farther than these points neither of them would proceed, and fifty miles of country still separated them. Each one seemed determined to retain the name and the pretensions of pope, though obliged to quit their respective seats, and to resign all real authority. De Luna retired to his own castle in Arragon, whence he sent out bulls and excommunications; Corario removed to Rimini, and then to Naples, and did the same. Their respective cardinals, offended at their obstinacy, left them, and assembled at Leghorn, where a proposal was made for a general council at Pisa, the following spring. Accordingly, in March 1409, almost all the prelates of the Romish Church came together, or sent deputies, and were met by the ambassadors of many kings and temporal lords; but Rupert's messengers only came to complain that it was not a lawful council, as it had not been convened by the *Roman* emperor. The assembly, however, continued its sittings through the greater part of the year; and, at last, resolved upon the deposition of the two Popes, and the election of the aged Archbishop of Milan, whom they called Alexander V. His place of residence was Bologna; for Rome, and the States of the Church, had fallen during this period of contention into the hands of Ladislaus, who had previously obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples by driving out Louis II., the only son of Louis I., of Anjou. These two princes had been rivals from childhood, and the Florentines had twice recalled Louis to Italy, and sustained him against Ladislaus, through fear of the unprincipled ambition of the latter, which would have led him to grasp Tuscany itself. In fact, only his early death saved Florence from ruin.

Alexander V. was a feeble person, and entirely under the governance of Balthassar Cossa, a favourite cardinal; he was so poor as to be obliged to style himself a begging pope. His pontificate was terminated by his death at the end of ten months; and Cossa, the most profligate of men, contrived to be elected in his room. He took the name of John XXIII.

There were now three Popes instead of one, for Benedict and Gregory still had some adherents who preferred them to the new pontiff. The difficulties were greater than ever; the papal kingdom divided against itself was on the eve of ruin; and, at that moment, the Emperor Rupert died (A. D. 1410).

In the midst of agitating Church questions, the choice of an emperor became a matter of more importance; for a man of character in that influential position might be able, it was supposed, to bring matters to a decisive issue. No one could have been selected more suitable as a prop to the falling fortunes of the Roman religion than the prince on whom the votes of the electors fell. It was Sigismund, brother to the deposed Wenceslaus, but of very opposite character. He was already powerful as duke of Austria; he had gained a title to the kingdom of Hungary by marrying the heiress of Louis the Great; he aspired to the throne of Poland; and, by reason of his brother's slothfulness or drunkenness, he might be expected to have the sovereignty of Bohemia.

Let us take a glance at the condition of Bohemia at this period.

The character of the Bohemian people was strongly evinced at the first introduction of the Romish ritual after their national profession of Christianity; they boldly, but rudely, resisted the putting on of those foreign chains; long were they found galling; and, as soon as a spirit of religious liberty should be re-awakened among such a people, it was to be expected it would be exhibited in a very vigorous manner.\* Thus it happened. Moravia, it may be remarked, stood in close connection with Bohemia; but, as a dependent province, it is noticed less distinctly at this point. Bohemia is interesting to us as

\* See Vol. III. pp. 131, 133.

having given us one of our most Christian queens — “good Queen Anne.” At her decease, Jerome Faulfisch, a gentleman of her train, returned to his native country, carrying with him the greatest treasures of which he could be the bearer — the valuable writings of John Wickliffe. These he had met with at the University of Oxford, and introduced into the University of Prague. The most learned of the Bohemian doctors — John Huss, and his friend, who is best known as Jerome of Prague, eagerly studied these foreign books; their minds were prepared of God to receive the truth contained in them, in the love of it, and by means of translations they sought to disseminate the same among their countrymen. There seemed to exist in the Bohemian mind, whether noble or simple, something which responded to the freeness of thought breathing through Wickliffe’s writings; and the great showed their respect for these new books in having their manuscript copies magnificently adorned. The University of Prague, which was founded by Charles IV., was originally composed of students from the four great nations of the Germanic Confederation: Bohemians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles — the first-named being allowed some advantages. Huss, it appears, being elected theological tutor, found himself in difficulties through the jealousy of the German scholars, and being then high in favour at court as confessor to Sophia, the queen, he procured from the feeble Wenceslaus a renewal of the original charter, which had often been infringed, by which the Bohemians, in every college question, had the majority of votes. But, as the native students were only about a tenth of the whole number, the Germans thought this unfair, and, taking offence, retired from the university. This circumstance caused the Elector of Saxony to establish, for their use, a university at Leipsic. Huss did not at all regret this division; and, shortly after, being elected rector of his own university, he began to teach with fervent zeal the things he had gathered either from Wickliffe, or at the fountain head of the reformer’s best learning — the Holy Scriptures, without regarding the non-conformity of his instruction to that of Rome. But Subinco, the archbishop of Prague, was papal legate, and so jealous for the interests of his craft, that he instituted

a vigilant search for the translation of Wickliffe's writings, and caused two hundred copies, richly bound, and probably taken from the Bohemian nobles, to be burned in the market-place at Prague. Many persons, however, refused to resign their books, and the burning rather served to deepen than to obliterate the impression that had been made.\*

The enthusiasm for the reformed opinions was greatly increased by the use of songs in the native tongue, consisting of satires against the priesthood, like those of Chaucer, and of some minor poets in England. By royal order it was forbidden to sing these songs, under severe penalties; and further to diminish the influence of the new doctrines, Huss and men of his mind were shut out of the public churches. Then, a rich individual furnished the reformer with a chapel, which was called Bethlehem, and he not only preached to large audiences there, but wherever there was an open door, holding conferences in private houses, and even in the fields, to point out the evils of the papal system. Portions of Scripture were, at the same time, widely dispersed; and, by these, both men and women were armed with the means of opposing the existing errors.

We cannot doubt that the leader of this great movement was a servant of God; but it is possible that he was more anxious to fill his hearers' minds with hatred of certain errors, than to teach them the truth, which, when received in the love of it, surely expels error: he was, moreover, taken out of his sphere of labour before his own views were matured, and before the excitement, which always attends a revived testimony to the truth, had subsided. Among the thousands who heard him with delight, there were very few who did not take up the

\* Had the agents of Rome then, or ever, learned the unchangeable principles of God's dealings, as seen in Old Testament history, they would never have resorted to the burning of the words that troubled them. It was just *after* Jehoiakim cut up and burned the roll containing the word of the Lord by Jeremiah, and tried to seize the scribe and the prophet, that *the Lord hid* his servants, and caused not only *all* the words of the destroyed book to be written again, but added besides unto them *many like words* (Jer. xxxvi.). The judgments, too, denounced against the burning of God's word are terrible.

idea of Church reformation in a carnal manner. Whilst Huss remained at Prague, frequent disturbances occurred; and, though his moral character stood so high that not even his enemies could assail it, he was not always guided by the apostolic direction, "the servant of the Lord must not strive." It happened that three persons, who had stood up in different churches in Prague, to revile or give the lie to preachers of error, were cast into prison. By quiet and judicious measures they might, perhaps, have been released; but when Huss went to demand their liberation by the government, at the head of 2000 men, the show of physical strength rather heightened than disarmed prejudice; and, after fair promises had been made to the doctor, the offenders, for whom he pleaded, were secretly beheaded the same night. The sufferers were styled saints and martyrs by Huss, in his subsequent addresses to the people, and the fermentation continually increased. About this time, Huss was summoned to appear before the Italian Pope, at Bologna, to answer for the introduction of novelties. Having taught that the Pope was Antichrist, and that obedience to him was a sin, he could not obey the call, but judging it prudent to leave Prague, he retired to Hussenitz, his native village, the lord of which was his friend, and employed himself in translating portions of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue,\* and in disseminating his views by his writings.

The Emperor Sigismund convened a general council to be held at Constance, and Huss, who was anxious to be present, and aware of the malice of his enemies, sent to him for a safe-conduct. This was granted to him; and, by its terms, required all the emperor's subjects to allow the doctor to pass and repass in full security. Huss arrived at Constance earlier than the emperor, and was brought before the Pope, John XXIII., for examination. His opinions were well-known; and, as he refused to retract them, the Pope caused him to be confined in the Dominican convent, that he might not spread them

\* The Slavonic translation, to which we have so often referred, had now become useless to the Bohemians, because of the changes which their language had undergone in the lapse of centuries.

abroad. In that gloomy prison, harassed by priests and monks, who pressed him to renounce his scriptural views, Huss became ill, and the Pope had sufficient humanity to send him his own physicians. His best human comforter was, however, a Bohemian nobleman, De Chlum, who, like Onesiphorus in the case of Paul, "oft refreshed him, and was not ashamed of his chain."

The emperor, on receiving complaints from Bohemia, sent envoys to Constance to complain of the imprisonment of Huss; but, when he arrived in person, and heard the charges laid against the doctor, he allowed his enemies to take their course, in spite of the loud and continued pleadings of the Bohemians. Thus he heaped up trouble for the remainder of his reign, and, we may say, also for the day of wrath; for we know that Christ will reckon sin against his disciples as wrong done to himself.

The Council of Constance, which was intended to represent the universal Church, consisted of the cardinals and prelates of the Romish communion; doctors without number; more than a hundred princes; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons; and twenty-seven knights. The great men rivalled each other in magnificence of retinue or array; tournaments and feasts were arranged by way of relief from graver matters; five hundred minstrels were in attendance, and more than that number of the most abandoned women, who, by the licence of the magistrates of Constance, took up their residence in the town to amuse the vacant hours of the men who came together with the avowed purpose of finding a remedy for the greatest spiritual evils of their times.

The council was opened by John XXIII. on Nov. 5, and Sigismund arrived on Christmas-eve. The following day, he chaunted the gospel, habited as a deacon—an imperial privilege—and the Pope performed mass; the form of godliness being carefully preserved, though the power of it was denied. All the sessions of the council commenced with the utmost solemnity: an anthem was sung; then all knelt for some time, as if in silent prayer; then a deacon called them to rise, and the president read a prayer containing a confession of sin, with supplication for the aid of the Holy Spirit. That it was considered

very meritorious to have assisted at this council, appears by the bull issued at its dissolution, promising absolution to all its members, and even to their servants, in the article of death, on condition of their observing certain fasts, &c. Little then would the assembly have tolerated the true and simple statement contained in a sermon which John Huss had prepared, in the hope of preaching before them: "the wicked man is a Christian in name only, and cannot rehearse the creed without making himself a liar."

John XXIII. had some uneasy feelings in coming to a council, the professed object of which was the reformation of life and manners among ecclesiastics, and the reduction of three Popes to one: he might well suppose that no very favourable judgment could be given on his own case. The upsetting of his carriage on the road increased his superstitious alarms; and, as he came in sight of Constance, he exclaimed to his attendants, "there is the trap to catch foxes." He did indeed find himself caught to his cost. In the first session it was proposed, that the three Popes should resign, prior to the election of a new pontiff; in the second session, March 2, 1415, John, at the instigation of the emperor, consented to read the act of cession on his own part. When he had done this, Sigismund arose and embraced his feet, thanking him in the name of the council for setting so good an example of a yielding disposition.

But John, on second thoughts, refused to notify the abdication which had won him this praise; and a bull from him could alone make it available to the public; and, lest he should be constrained to send forth this, he suddenly left Constance. Frederic, count of the Tyrol, who befriended him, gave a tournament on purpose that he might escape unnoticed; and he travelled in the disguise of a postilion to a retreat prepared for him in Switzerland. Six days after his departure, the fathers of the council resolved to set on one side the three *hidden* Popes, and to declare that the council, being assembled in the name of the Holy Spirit, was a representative of the Catholic Church, and receiving its power immediately from Christ, was above all, of whatever rank or dignity, even the papal, and might require the obe-

dience of all. John XXIII. refused a citation to appear before the council, but the Count of the Tyrol betrayed his retreat, and he was brought by force to a castle near Constance, in which Huss had been imprisoned when removed from the Dominican convent. On May 29, John was deposed on the ground of the many crimes alleged against him; he languished in prison four years, and then, consenting to throw himself at the feet of the reigning Pope, was graciously received, and elected dean of the college of cardinals. Gregory XII., the ex-Pope of Rome, sent in his resignation on July 4, at a session convened by his legate; but the haughty Spaniard, Benedict XII., could not be persuaded, though the emperor himself waited upon him at Perpignan, and tried both eloquence and authority. The primary objects of the Council of Constance were the removal of the offences caused by the claims of three Popes, and by the general immorality and avarice of the clergy, and the examination into the opinions of Huss; the interludes in their acts, treating of the way which they called heresy, are the most interesting to us.

In the seventh session, May 1415, the opinions of Wickliffe were condemned as heretical, and it was decreed that his bones should be taken out of their grave and burned.\* These decisions respecting the man from whom Huss had learned so much, prepared his mind for his own condemnation; but he resolutely rejected every proposal that he should retract his opinions, and earnestly demanded a public examination. After repeated questionings, addressed to himself, and much discussion of his writings, Huss was condemned as a heretic. Of the thirty-nine propositions, for which he was deemed guilty, the first eight treated of the predestination and final perseverance of all God's elect; and affirmed that the ungodly, whatever their dignity, whether popes or cardinals, were not members of Christ's Church. The rest struck at the very foundations of the papal power, and protested against obedience to the inventions of men found in the canons. One or two propositions, Huss

\* The sentence was executed thirteen years after, being forty-four years after the burial of the Reformer's remains.

denied, as not fairly deducible from his writings or preaching; the rest he asserted were not erroneous: and, when the emperor, as well as others, exhorted him to submit, unconditionally, to the Church, he said he was willing to give up anything that could be pointed out to him as contrary to God's word.

Passing over many interesting points in this trial, we ought to notice that Huss, in reply to the charge of having encouraged his countrymen to take up arms, answered, that he was preaching on the Christian armour (Eph. vi.), and expressly told his hearers that they were to use the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, and not a *material sword*. At the close of the third day's public examination, this noble witness for Christ was carried back to his prison greatly worn in mind and body, having been previously weakened by a long and severe imprisonment. De Chlum followed him, and embraced him—in that hour of weakness a special comfort to Huss, and for the nobleman himself a good evidence of his love to Christ. The manner in which the prisoner was enabled to pour out his thoughts to this friend is pleasingly illustrated in the following incident. One night, he dreamed that the Pope and the bishops rudely effaced some pictures which he had been making of Christ. His waking thoughts, that they were indeed endeavouring to overthrow his doctrines, distressed him much. The next night he dreamed that his pictures were restored in brighter colours and multiplied, and that the painters, who had finished them, cried out to the multitudes, who gazed at their work, "Now let the Popes and bishops come! they shall never efface them any more." Huss related his dreams with great liveliness to his noble visitor; and, when De Chlum bade him rather busy himself with his own defence than with night visions, he replied with energy, "I maintain this for certain, that the image of Christ shall never be effaced. They have wished to destroy it, but it shall be painted afresh in all hearts, by much better preachers than myself. The nation that loves Christ will rejoice at this; and I, awaking from among the dead, and rising, so to speak, from my grave, shall leap with joy."

This was not the only moment of glad anticipation

afforded to Huss. He was fond of likening himself to the goose, whose name he bore,\* and argued that if such a poor foolish bird could break through the snare, there would be men, like eagles and keen-eyed vultures, sent forth by the power of the truth, who should soar much higher than himself. In one of his last letters to his friends in Bohemia, he wrote, "they are now going to broil a *goose*, but within a hundred years they shall hear a swan sing, whom they must suffer to live."† At his last examination, seeing that no mercy was to be expected from an earthly tribunal, he lifted up his hands and appealed to the judgment-seat of Christ. He was only mocked and upbraided, and some questioned whether it was lawful to appeal to Christ. "I came voluntarily to this council," said Huss, "on the public faith of the emperor here present;" and as he spoke, he cast an earnest look upon Sigismund, who was observed to blush. Natural conscience still remained, though he had been instructed by the fathers of the council, that no faith ought to be kept with heretics.

The 15th session of the Council (July 6) was the day fixed for the final condemnation of John Huss. Mass was performed by the Archbishop of Gnesen; then the Bishop of Lodi preached a sermon, intended to justify their treatment of the alleged heretic, taking as his text, "that the body of sin might be destroyed!" It is but one out of many instances of an entire diversion of inspired language from its natural meaning and connection, in order to serve a purpose, and to make the ignorant believe that God's word favours an unlawful deed. Happily the ear and heart of the martyr were not pained by this discourse, for only at the end of it was he brought into the council; and as if there were a fear up to the last

\* Huss (pron. *Hoose*) signifies goose in the Bohemian language.

† Luther afterwards quoted this sentence as a prediction concerning himself. The close connection between the work of Wickliffe, Huss, and Luther, as the operation of the same Spirit, is vividly illustrated in a copy of the Gospels, as used in the Hussite churches, still preserved in the Prague library. Among its richly coloured illuminations, is one in which Wickliffe is represented as striking fire with a flint and steel, Huss lighting a little heap of wood, and Luther holding a blazing torch.

that the assembly might not be unanimous, a prelate then denounced excommunication, with two months' imprisonment, against any man present, whatever his dignity, who should dare to testify, by word or movement, either approval or disapproval of the act that was about to be performed. Another then arose, and denounced fifty-eight propositions, extracted from Wickliffe's writings, and adopted by Huss, to be heretical and "offensive to pious ears;" the before-mentioned thirty-nine propositions from his own works were afterwards condemned, and then followed the ceremony of his degradation from the priesthood. That which had been bestowed by man, man could recal; but God could not repent of his gifts and calling, and He never manifested himself more fully to his servant than when he was stripped and reviled by man. Having been arrayed in his priestly robes, with the sacramental chalice in his hand, Huss was again exhorted to recant, and, for the hundredth time, declared himself unconscious of heresy or crime. He was then deprived of his official garments by the Archbishop of Milan, and six assisting bishops, who cursed him as another Judas; his hair was cut in the form of a cross, to remove as much as possible the appearance of the priestly tonsure; and a high paper cap, painted with devils, and inscribed "Heresiarch," was placed on his head. The bishops then said, "We devote thy soul to the devils:" then said Huss, "I commit my spirit into thy hands, Lord Jesus Christ, for thou hast redeemed me." He also observed, that he was glad to wear this crown of shame, for the love of Him who wore the crown of thorns. The martyr was then, without doubt, the happiest person in that vast assembly, tasting the blessings that Christ promised to his persecuted servants (Matt. v. 11, 12).

The false Church thought to rid itself of the stain of blood by making the secular power the executioner of its sanguinary sentences; yet *in her* it will be found in the end: God is the God of judgment: God is not mocked.

As soon as the Church, by the acts of its bishops, declared that Huss was an outcast, Sigismund desired the elector palatine to take him before the magistrates of Constance; they, as a matter of course, being merely the tools of the higher powers, not possessing, or at least not

daring to use, a separate conscience, condemned him to be immediately burned. A pile was prepared in the market-place; the street was lined with guards; and they who led the martyr to the place of execution conducted him by the bishop's palace, that he might see his own books already half consumed in the fire to which they had been condemned. Nothing could then disturb his serenity, for God was with him; he chaunted the psalms as he walked along, and poured out his soul with such fervour, that the people of the town said, "We know not what this man has done, but he makes excellent prayers."

Even after Huss was tied to the stake, the elector palatine and the marshal of the empire again invited him to recant and save his life; but he only declared more boldly that the things he had taught and written were for the deliverance of souls from the power of Satan, and that he was ready to seal them with his blood. The faggots were then lighted, and the courageous saint was spared from protracted suffering: a favouring wind blew the smoke into his mouth, and suffocated him before he could feel the fire. The ashes were thrown into the Rhine; the happy spirit was with Christ. A man of kindred spirit survived John Huss—his friend and fellow-labourer, Jerome of Prague. Notwithstanding a warning of danger from Huss, he followed him to the council; but, after one interview, left Constance, and wrote to the emperor for a safe-conduct. Sigismund had not meant to entrap Huss, and on this occasion he made answer to Jerome that he would secure him in coming, but not in returning from the council; for if he were convicted of heresy, he must abjure or suffer the penalty. The doctor then attempted to return to Bohemia, but he was seized on the road, and brought to Constance in chains. At his first examination, when he declared his willingness to lay down his life in defence of his opinions, a bishop who was present said to him, with affected gentleness, "God delights not in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live." He was then remanded till the case of Huss should be decided. Some days after his friend's execution, he was brought forward for examination, in the hope that he would be terrified into submission. His confinement was much more rigorous than that of Huss. During several months.

he was kept in a dark dungeon, his body riveted to a tall upright beam, his head left to hang down, his arms and his feet bound; he had none to comfort or strengthen him, and his mind and spirit failed under his sufferings. Under the fatigue and terror of a third examination, he was persuaded to submit his former judgment to that of the council, and to join in their condemnation of Wickliffe and Huss. Still he was not set free; and four cardinals, who had been commissioned to try him, indignantly resigned their seats in the council because of his detention. Then it was that Jerome began bitterly to repent of his recantation; and in the depth of his loathsome prison, never visited save by members of the persecuting council, he gathered strength from God, and again enjoyed the light of his countenance. When again brought before the council, he surprised his enemies by asserting that his condemnation of Wickliffe and Huss was a sin which he deeply repented; and then, with glowing eloquence, he defended all that they had taught, save their opinions concerning transubstantiation. Poggius, a learned Florentine, who had been the Pope's secretary, and Æneas Sylvius, a zealous agent in the council, afterwards pope, expressed in writing to their friends their wonder and admiration at the behaviour of Huss and Jerome of Prague. They knew not that they spake according to the power of the Spirit given to them, and therefore compared their fortitude to that of heathen sages. At Jerome's condemnation, the Bishop of Lodi again preached, choosing as a text, "He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart," applying it to the case of the heretic. Jerome, in reply, addressed the council, and said, that after his death a sting would be left in their consciences, a worm that should never die. He went to the stake, says Æneas Sylvius, "as to a joyful festival." He continued alive in the flames a quarter of an hour, the vital parts being untouched. One of the appeals which he made to the Lord was, "Thou knowest how I have loved thy truth" (May 30, 1416). The Bishop of Lodi afterwards declared that burning was too light a punishment for such arch-heretics as Huss and his friend, who had been, he alleged, the authors of more mischief than any who had preceded them; for their doctrines had flown to England, France, Italy, Hungary, Russia, Lithu-

ania, Poland, Germany, and through all Bohemia. It is satisfactory thus to be able to ascertain, from the mouth of an enemy, the wide dispersion of the seeds of scripture truth at this period.

The scenes of martyrdom above described neither hindered the religious forms of the council, nor its conferences for the suppression of some of the grosser evils which even the worldly could judge. Avarice and immorality drew forth the interested indignation of many who were utterly careless about offences equally displeasing to God in matters of worship and doctrine. The ambassadors of Henry V., who came in great pomp to the council, purposely to represent the papal exactions and impositions under which England had groaned, wrote letters to their master, describing the great honour done to them by the personal attentions of the emperor, who noticed them more than any others, because of his respect for the martial fame of their king. Sigismund had a fine person and graceful manners; he was a patron of learned men, and had, among other attainments, a good knowledge of languages; he was also of a liberal disposition; but, on the other hand, he was the slave of the clergy and of his own vices; and in order to veil the sins of his own life, he tolerated the grossest misconduct in his second wife, the Empress Barbara. She was called the Messalina of Germany.

It was not till July, 1417, that the Council of Constance formally deposed Benedict XII., declaring him a schismatic, a heretic, and excommunicate. He obstinately retained his title till his death in 1424. He was then ninety years of age; and the circumstance of his having claimed the pontificate during thirty years, was declared by one who was famed as a saint in those days, a sufficient reason for his not being counted a lawful pope: it was a proverb, that no pope should attain the age attributed to the Apostle Peter by tradition.

Three Popes having been deposed in succession, the council that set them aside put itself in the place of a pope during four months. The cardinal Otho Colonna was then elected, and consecrated under the name of Martin V. (Nov. 21, 1417). The streets of Constance then witnessed a very different kind of procession from

that which accompanied the two martyrs to their chariot of fire. The new pontiff rode a white courser, the reins of which were held on the one side by the Emperor, on the other by the Margrave of Brandenburg; the ambassadors of foreign kings, and the fathers of the council, followed in pompous array. In fact, the same men who had assisted in giving up to the flames the most devoted servants of God of that day, now raised to the highest pinnacle of earthly greatness a servant of Satan. The duty, and even the necessity of reform was, from the moment of Martin's elevation, sounded in his ears; but, during a pontificate of fourteen years, he broke his own promises of promoting it, and eluded every proposed improvement. Sigismund, who had a great zeal for obedience to ecclesiastical laws, whilst he practically despised the law of God, reproved the Pope a few days after his elevation, because he was about to grant a dispensation for a marriage contrary to the canons: "Holy father," said he, "you are able indeed to pardon sins, but not to permit them."

Martin, as pope, took the direction of the Council of Constance during the remainder of its sittings; and in February, 1418, sent out from its midst a severe bull against the Hussites; and, at the same time, decreed, that whosoever was suspected of heresy should be made to swear, that he believed in the authority of all the general councils, and was especially in perfect agreement with that of Constance. On April 22, Martin dissolved the council. A cardinal bid the members of it depart in the peace of the Lord, to which all replied, Amen. Thus was the profession of the love and fear of God maintained, in hollow forms, from first to last. Instead of proceeding at once to Rome, Martin visited the more attractive cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, and at Florence abode nineteen months; his secretary, Aretin, was a Florentine, and Martin liked the society furnished him in a city, then, perhaps, the most polished and literary in the world. He made Florence an archbishop's see, and might have dwelt there longer, had it not been for a trifling circumstance, which he construed into an intentional insult. He heard some children one morning singing under his window, "Il Papa Martino, non val' un quatrino," *i. e.* Pope

Martin, isn't worth a farthing; and a mere childish taste for rhyming, which thus accidentally offended his sensitive ears, urged him to leave a city where he felt he had thus been set at naught. Rome, after all, was to be the fixed seat of papal power, and, for a long period, no Pope was again banished or self-exiled from its walls. The Romans, it is said, received their pontiff as some beneficent star, and there was universal rejoicing that unity was again restored to the popedom. Martin proved that he intended to be master, temporally as well as spiritually, for he wrested from the senate the royal privilege of coining, which had belonged to their body nearly three hundred years. Thus the series of papal coins begins with those bearing the image and superscription of Martin V. He continued till his death all the abuses of his predecessors, enriched his family at the expense of the countries that paid him obedience, and allowed his officers to squander for other purposes the vast sums raised under colour of war with the Turks.

The martyrdom of the Bohemian doctors, and the persecuting edicts promulgated against their followers, excited the strongest emotions of that vehement people. Wenceslaus felt the first burst of national fury: Hussinatz, feudal lord of the birthplace of Huss, placed himself at the head of those who favoured the reformer's views, and asked the king's leave to make use of some of the churches. Wenceslaus demanded a few hours for deliberation, but, as it was meanwhile rumoured that he intended to seize and hang Hussinatz, if he repeated his request, the Hussites showed symptoms of violence, which induced the king to flee to a neighbouring fortress. The history of the Bohemians from this moment assumes a dark aspect, and it is difficult to pronounce a judgment upon it. They were a people who, in the infancy of their knowledge of the errors of a false Church, were driven by her unsparing cruelties into an open revolt against the earthly powers that sustained her: according to their measure of knowledge, they were determined earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints; but they did so with carnal and not spiritual weapons, having more ability to use the former than the latter.

Between the years 1417 and 1458, the persecution of

reformed opinions, begun and sanctioned by the Council of Constance, was at its height. The Hussites who fell into their enemies' hands were burned alive, sold as slaves, or cruelly destroyed; 1600 of them were thrust alive down the shafts of a mine. As early as 1419, one who was seized by some Roman Catholic soldiers had his hands bored with a sword, and, by the cords passed through them, was fastened to a tree, and burned alive. Treatment like this, human nature is ever ready to resist: "he doth not resist you," is one of the characteristics of the man of faith, who overcomes the world and the devil, as well as his own nature, by the power of the *divine* nature. But there were few of this character among the Bohemians; they did resist, and with such vigour as astonished their adversaries, and led some to declare that either witchcraft was used by them, or the judgment of God was upon their enemies.\* Their victories were certainly most extraordinary, and there were pleasing instances in which armies sent against them dispersed without striking a blow. This might well have been the case, where even two, with the faith of Hezekiah and Isaiah, could bring down the help of God into the battle-field. Cardinal Julian declared, that twice he saw the boldest generals sent into Bohemia flee when none pursued them; and that he could not prevail upon them even to look round to see that the heretical army was not behind them.

When the churches of Prague were first refused to the clergy who followed the doctrines of Huss, some of them led out their congregations to places where they could enjoy freedom of worship: one of these became a permanent settlement, and was of great note in the history of the Bohemian war. It was a high hill, about sixty miles south of Prague, with a fine tract of table-land on its summit. This spot, from a fondness for the use of Scripture names, was called Mount Tabor; and they who resorted thither obtained the name of Taborites. This secession church probably began in the spirit, a few desiring a safe retreat and dwelling-place, where they might worship and serve God, and dwell together in unity; but it ended in

\* The eminent reformer, Melancthon, himself a most peaceful character, gave it as his opinion, that the angels of God accompanied the Bohemian armies, and struck terror into the opposing hosts.

the flesh, for multitudes thronged to the place whose hearts and purposes were anything but pure. The first Taborites threw their property into a common stock for the general good: there was not however sufficient to support the numbers who daily flocked to them. On one festival day, there were 42,000 persons of both sexes, who came together to partake of the sacrament, after the manner set forth by Huss, viz. using the cup as well as the bread. The Waldenses of Bohemia found the reformed party had so much in common with them, that they held communion with them. The first meetings in the tent pitched on Mount Tabor were probably of an interesting character. Difficulties, however, soon arose. The place had been fortified by the seceders, and they were safe from their enemies without; but no such care could shut out their own evil passions; and the mixed multitude, like that which accompanied Israel of old, soon disgraced the little company of true Christians by their lawless conduct. When supplies failed, they had recourse to robbery; and, in their descents into the neighbouring plains, they directed their depredations against the Roman Catholic nobles, the monks, and clergy. Hussinatz proposed the deposition of the king, but the thought was overruled by one of the reformed clergy; yet many of the Hussites in Prague imitated the Taborites in acts of violence, and even plundered the houses of their enemies. The Romish religion was openly insulted in public processions; and one day, a Hussite clergyman, who walked at the head of one of these, carrying a cup in his hand, as a sign of his opinions concerning the sacrament, was struck by a stone, as he passed by the hall where the magistrates met together. Thereupon, many rushed furiously into the room whence the offence proceeded, and, in a paroxysm of rage, threw down thirteen of the magistrates from the window on the uplifted pikes of the mob below. The alarm and indignation of Wenceslaus, on hearing of this horrible event, brought on a fit of apoplexy, of which he died (A. D. 1419).

As Wenceslaus left no children, his brother Sigismund was the rightful heir of his kingdom; but the emperor's conduct, with regard to Huss, had rendered him so unpopular in Bohemia, that he had no hope of obtaining his

inheritance, save by force. The late king had sent to him to quell the insurrection of the people: he entered the country with a large army, and caused several of the Hussite lords to be beheaded. But neither the valour of his forces, nor the exhortations of three archbishops, would induce the citizens of Prague to surrender the capital, and in one battle 12,000 Germans were left dead on the field. It is a singular fact, that one of the reformed clergy told the half-instructed Bohemians, that the emperor was the great red dragon foretold in the Revelation; and, as one proof, pointed to the banner of a prostrate dragon, which distinguished a new order of knights, recently instituted by him. The most renowned leader of the Bohemian armies was Ziska, a nobleman who lost one eye in childhood, and the other at the storming of a fortress, in 1420. Though blind, his skill and his courage directed and urged on his countrymen, and Sigismund, at the head of 150,000 men, was defeated by him with a very much smaller force (A. D. 1421). The cruelty on both sides became excessive. The German soldiers burnt their prisoners alive, without caring to ascertain whether they held the reformed opinions or not; Ziska and his followers proclaimed themselves as God's elect, to whom all things belonged of right, and asserted that they might lawfully seize the property, and spill the blood of God's enemies. Mount Tabor became their regular camp, which they strongly fortified; and from thence they came out for battle or spoil. At first, their weapons were chiefly flails, and agricultural implements, so that the emperor slightly designated them *threshers*; but the wounds inflicted by their flails were severe, and they soon learned, under the direction, and by the help of old soldiers, to use the common arms and arts of war. Two of the most ferocious and maddened sects that rose up during this distracting period, called themselves respectively Horebites and Adamites; the latter are said to have gone quite naked, under the profession of being restored to pristine innocence. Ziska and his followers attacked, and nearly exterminated these unhappy fanatics.

The most numerous of the Bohemian sects was denominated the Calixtenes (Greek, *calyx*, cup), *i. e.* Cup-christians, because the chief point in which they differed from

the Romish Church was the use of the cup in the sacrament. These persons, Sigismund endeavoured to pacify, and he obtained a truce, by promising that they should not be molested on this point, and that worship should be allowed in the vulgar tongue. Thus he obtained an acknowledgment of his regal title from the citizens of Prague; and it was after a hasty coronation in the citadel that he departed on that unfortunate expedition against the Turks, of which we have already made mention.

A crusade proposed against the Bohemians by the Pope stirred up the whole nation to renewed, and more vigorous efforts for religious liberty. Ziska, after carrying on the war for thirteen years, died, leaving the reformed party in possession of the whole kingdom; for though the emperor was nominally king, he was obliged to cede all regal power. The Taborites demanded, and tried to establish, a system of legislation, under which we cannot suppose they would themselves have been long content. They enacted that every breach of the moral law should have some legal punishment assigned to it; and that every thing worthy of reproof, such as idleness, drinking in a public wine-shop, wearing costly garments, neglecting religious services, &c. should be punishable by law. We can hardly believe that the men who were concerned in the acts of violence already mentioned, could have been the same who proposed this code of laws; we should rather conclude that, whilst the hosts who committed those excesses alone excited public notice, there was in their midst a righteous people, who heartily wished to restrain sin, in whatever form, and in whomsoever it showed itself. Ziska was so much lamented, that his followers at his death changed their name from Taborites to Orphans. It is said, that when the dying warrior was asked where he would be buried, he replied, they might do what they would with his flesh, but he would have them use his skin as parchment to cover their drums, as the very sound would then be sufficient to make the *Philistines* flee. If Ziska used this ferocious language at such an hour, it is plain that, to the last, he considered his cause the cause of God; and his terming the enemy *Philistines*, shows that he had, by a dispensational mistake, translated himself and his followers into the place of

Israel of old, and therefore judged it lawful to use the sword as Israel did. Many such errors have been made from time to time, even by the servants of God. The blind chief was succeeded in the command by Procopius, a valiant warrior, who equalled his fame. The military reputation of the Bohemians was then completely established throughout Europe. Some began to doubt whether it was lawful, and others whether it was of any avail to make war with them. They had defeated the emperor, or his ablest generals, with forces double their own numbers, in eight pitched battles; armies had often fled at their approach; and a cardinal, at the head of 100,000 crusading soldiers, was entirely overthrown (A. D. 1431). Sigismund was then convinced that negotiation and concession must be tried. The result of such measures will be seen in our following chapter, in connection with the decisions of the Council of Basle.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.  
Germany, Italy, and the Popes, continued.*

POPE EUGENIUS IV. — COUNCILS OF BASLE AND OF FLORENCE. — SIGISMUND ESTABLISHES HIMSELF AT PRAGUE, AND DIES. — ALBERT II. EMPEROR. — FREDERIC III. THE PACIFIC. — HIS INFLUENCE IN DISSOLVING THE COUNCIL OF BASLE. — CHARACTER AND CAREER OF EUGENIUS IV. — NICHOLAS V., A LITERARY POPE, EXTINGUISHES REPUBLICANISM AT ROME, MAKES HIMSELF TEMPORAL HEAD, AND CELEBRATES THE JUBILEE OF 1450. — CHARACTER AND ACTS OF FREDERIC III. — KINGS OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY. — FREDERIC AND HIS EMPRESS MAKE THE TOUR OF ITALY, AND ARE CROWNED AT ROME. — TYRANTS OF MILAN. — TYRANNY OF THE VENETIAN STATES. — INABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS TO ASSIST IN THE DEFENCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 1431.—MARTIN V. was succeeded in the popedom by Eugenius IV., who had been made a cardinal in the

reign of his uncle, Gregory XII. He was a man of great severity; and, in consequence of criminal processes instituted by him, more than a hundred persons, chiefly such as had been in the service of the last Pope, suffered death; and many members of the families of the preceding Popes, who had been exalted and enriched at the expense of Christendom, fled from Rome to avoid his wrath.

In the first year of Eugenius IV., a general council was convened at Basle; Cardinal Julian presided as the Pope's representative; and the emperor, as usual, was present as protector. The character assumed by the Council of Constance might have inspired any wary pope with the dread of the assembling of another general council; and Eugenius, who soon learned that the prelates were acting with too great independence to please him, attempted, by two successive bulls, to dissolve the assembly: but it was vain. It was argued, as before, that a general council was of general authority, even over Popes, and Eugenius himself was cited to appear before the fathers of Basle, and threatened with suspension, unless he submitted within sixty days. But he was determined to uphold his own claim to be sole and universal father (Papa), in the Roman world; and, instead of obeying the command to present himself at Basle, he issued bulls for the convention of a general council at Ferrara, where he resolved to preside in person, and to have his own way. It was to this council that he invited the Greek emperor; and the particulars of the assembly, and its removal to Florence, are already known (see Chap. I.). The great designs of the Council of Basle were to re-unite the Greek and Latin Churches, and to put an end to the exactions of the papal see: in the former project it was forestalled by Eugenius, and the rival Council of Ferrara; in the latter it was unsuccessful: it, however, accomplished the partial pacification of the Bohemian nation, by formally granting to the Calixtenes the point for which they contended—the use of the cup. On receiving this decision, the Calixtenes united with the Roman Catholics of Prague, and the Hussites lost possession of the capital. Procopius soon after fell in battle, with a great number of his followers, and Sigismund prepared to enter Prague. He came in great magnificence, and sought to please the citizens by

his affable manners. He promised also an amnesty for all past offences, assured the Hussite clergy of toleration, and engaged neither to rebuild nor restore the convents that had been burned, or that had fallen into ruin through neglect and disuse. At the same time he caused the university, which had long been shut, to be re-opened with all its ancient privileges. But the emperor had no sooner established his authority, than he proved untrue to his royal promises; he began to rebuild the monasteries, to deprive the Hussite ministers of their churches, and to drive them from his court. The storm of popular indignation was ready to burst on the unfaithful monarch, when the hand of God touched him. Mortification appearing in his toes, quickly extended to the vital parts, and he died a few months after he had come into possession of Prague. He was sixty-nine years of age (A. D. 1437).

As Sigismund had no son, his daughter's husband, Albert, duke of Austria, had been elected king of the Romans. This prince was immediately made emperor, and he expelled from Bohemia, Casimir, king of Poland, whom the Hussite party had invited to rule over them. During a reign of two years, Albert II. displayed talents which made his death, at the end of that brief period, a great loss to his subjects. He died at an obscure village of Hungary, during a campaign against the Turks, of an epidemic which affected both armies (A. D. 1439). The empress and queen, Elizabeth, Sigismund's daughter, gave birth to her first son, soon after her husband's decease, and this prince was always distinguished as Ladislaus the Posthumous. When Ladislaus, king of Poland, was elected king of Hungary, she fled with her princely babe into Austria, carrying with her the crown of the sainted King Stephen, as her child's right. This crown was long detained at the imperial court. Albert's cousin, Frederic, duke of Styria, was chosen by the electors to succeed him as emperor; but three months elapsed before he accepted of a dignity which did not accord with his resources and tastes. He was of an indolent character, fond of study and retirement, and he knew that the imperial title brought more expense than profit. After all this hesitation, he consented to be emperor; and his first acts, as well as many others, prove his just title to his surname, *the Pacific*.

The fathers of Basle, according to their threat, deposed Eugenius IV. for contempt of their authority; they also set up another pope—a prince who had turned hermit, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, whom they called Felix V. Their sittings continued during eight years; and, on one occasion, the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan presented themselves before the presiding emperor, laying at his feet twelve large vases full of silk robes and pieces of gold, in order to negotiate a peace. Moreover, the Gallican Church, being in concord with this council, Charles VII. presided in a council held at Bourges, in concert with it, in 1438; and thence issued the famous decree, called the Pragmatic Sanction, the first idea of which had been given by St. Louis. It gave a sanction to all the general councils, abridged the power and the gains of the Pope in France, and abolished that system of reserves, first-fruits, &c., which had carried such vast sums into the papal treasury.

Frederic, at his elevation to the empire, laboured like Sigismund, on a former occasion, to restore unity to the popedom; and, to that end, sought to dissolve the proud and powerful Council of Basle, and to bring its members into subjection to the yet prouder pontiff, Eugenius IV.

Eugenius was a man of great talents and equal obstinacy. All who contended with him seemed obliged to submit, sooner or later. When the Roman citizens, displeased at some new taxes which he had proposed, besieged him in his palace, he sailed down the Tiber in a boat, in the dress of a monk, and, amidst volleys of arrows, reached the castle of St. Angelo in safety. He remained within that strong fortress five months, and by the constant use of its batteries, which commanded the city, kept the people in terror. Eugenius himself had left the castle when they submitted, but his legate, with 6000 men, entered the city, and was hailed as a father; the papal troops again filled the capitol; and, till a late occasion, the Romans never again expelled a pope.

The Council of Florence, held in 1439, became *general*, after the act of union with the Greeks, and the departure of the emperor and his suite. The management of Eugenius, and the influence of the German emperor,

gradually drew off the adherents of the Council of Basle. Felix V. tried in vain to purchase the favour of the emperor, by offering him his beautiful daughter in marriage, with a dowry of 200,000 ducats. Frederic observed to his courtiers, in a tone of contempt, "I suppose he would purchase holiness if he could find a seller." It was not till after the death of Eugenius that Felix was persuaded to lay aside his pretensions; but he had few adherents; and the Pope procured a decree from the Council of Florence, branding, as heretics, those concerned in his deposition, but offering grace to all who would return to their obedience to him within fifty days.

This council continued its sittings during two years; and, before it was dissolved, Eugenius had the gratification of receiving deputies from the Armenian and Jacobite Churches, anxious, like the frightened Greeks, for a union with Rome, which, it was hoped, might ensure them protection from the Turks. The union was equally transient in all cases. Eugenius remained at Florence two years after the council was ended, and then returned to Rome, where he died in 1447. On his deathbed, he is said to have addressed himself thus, in tones of lamentation:—"Ah, Gabriel! better had it been for thee to have been neither a cardinal nor a pope, but to have passed all thy days as a pious monk in a cloister." Thus touchingly, at the close, did this aspiring man regret the pre-eminence which he had spent his strength in struggling to maintain.

Cardinal Sarzana succeeded Eugenius, under the name of Nicholas V. He was by birth a Tuscan, and had been a tutor in the family of the Albizzi, who directed the republic of Florence during fifty-three years—a period acknowledged, notwithstanding the prejudices of the citizens against aristocratic government, as productive of happiness and prosperity previously unknown. Sarzana's connection with this ruling family brought him into intimacy with Cosmo de' Medici, hereafter to be mentioned as the most distinguished citizen of Florence. As a daily guest in his palace—the resort of the man of learning and the artist—Sarzana acquired a taste for literature and the fine arts, which he retained on the papal throne. He was zealous for the

revival of ancient literature, the collection of manuscripts, the restoration of monuments, &c.; and the learned Greeks, who fled from the presence of the Turks, received a hearty welcome from him, and added many valuable works to the Vatican Library. Nicholas caused many of these books to be translated, especially those which contained the writings of the Greek fathers. To the subject of the revival of learning in Italy, we must presently devote more attention: we have here to mention the political acts of Nicholas V. The despotic temper of Eugenius, and the cruel tyranny of the minister who governed in his absence from Rome, had led many of the papal states to cast off the yoke. In the interval that preceded the election of Nicholas, Stephen Porcari, a Roman noble, urged his fellow-citizens, also, to claim that share in the government which they had once possessed, and not again to consent to the dominion of a pope in temporal matters. During the excitement occasioned by a bull-fight, the Romans took courage to make their demands known to the new pontiff. He promised to indulge them with the games and amusements which they desired, but not with the restoration of the republic; and he banished Porcari, as the proposer of it, to Bologna. In that city, the exile organised a conspiracy, which was designed to give freedom to Rome; and, on a certain night, he met, by agreement, a devoted band of 400 republicans, in his brother-in-law's house, at Rome. But, whilst he was haranguing them, the doors were forced open by the papal troops, who had narrowly watched the whole movement. That same night, Stephen and nine of his associates were so hastily put to death, that even a confessor and the last sacrament were denied them, notwithstanding their earnest entreaties. The next morning, instead of heading a triumphal procession to the capitol, as had been anticipated, the ten were seen hanging from the battlements of St. Angelo. Thus was the last spark of republicanism quenched, in the first month of the eventful year, 1453. Great numbers were put to death on this occasion; and even those who had taken refuge in the neighbouring states were given up to the vengeance of Nicholas. The subservience of Rome to the Pope, as its temporal head, was sealed about the

very time that Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks. That event, Nicholas watched with great interest, as we have already noticed, and it was regarded by Roman Catholics as a judgment on the imperial city, for having refused its obedience to the papal see.

Nicholas, at his elevation, was not universally acknowledged as pope; but, as he was willing to grant the required terms of reconciliation, unity, in his days, was again restored to the popedom. Felix V., in consideration of a sum of money, and the promise of the Pope's favour, gave up all claim to the papal title, and willingly retired to a delightful hermitage at Ripaille, which he had previously occupied (A. D. 1449). In the month of June, that same year, Nicholas issued letters declaring his undivided authority to all Christendom; and 1450 was proclaimed as the year of jubilee. Pilgrims from all the countries of Europe again hastened to Rome; and an eyewitness compares their numbers to swarms of bees, or flocks of migratory birds.

The last record concerning Nicholas V. gives us the idea that he was a man of sensitive feelings. It is said that the accounts which he received of the progress of the Turks, and the sufferings of Christians in the East, grieved him so much as to hasten his death. This took place in 1455.

The only remaining circumstance of importance, in connection with Nicholas V., is his coronation of the Emperor Frederic III. It was said of him, that no emperor ever reigned so long, and none less gloriously; but, if we have consented to be guided by God's word in our estimation of human glory, we shall not accord with this opinion too hastily. Frederic is spoken of as unsullied in his morals, temperate in his habits, and faithful to his word: these things formed no part of the glory of his most famous predecessors, and are therefore more worthy of notice. Even the enemies of Frederic III. could not deny that some good was effected during his reign. He made great efforts to put an end to the evil consequences produced by what was termed *the right of diffidation*, i. e. the right of sending out defiances or challenges. Not only might one of the Germanic States declare war against another, prince

challenge prince, and noble, noble ; but lords and private gentlemen did the same ; and the emperor himself might be subjected to such defiance.

The following is a specimen of a declaration of war against the reigning sovereign :—

“ Most serene and most gracious prince, Frederic, king of the Romans !—I, Henry Mayenberg, make known to your royal grace, that, from this time, I will no longer obey your grace ; but will be the enemy of your country, and of your subjects, and will do them all the harm I can.”

Whoever this Henry Mayenberg might be, or whatever his cause of offence, he would have been treated as a traitor, according to the habits of thinking in modern Europe. But there were defiances more ridiculous than the above specimen. A young nobleman defied all Frankfort, because a lady, residing in that city, had refused to dance with his uncle. Offended bakers, a cook and his scullions, and even a company of shoeblacks, used the right of diffidation.

Under Frederic III., a league was formed for the preservation of the public peace ; and it directed its efforts to the punishment of all who, during ten years, should be guilty of these acts of defiance, or otherwise disturb the tranquillity of the country. In a short time, the strong places of forty-one bandits were stormed ; and two dukes, who had used the right of diffidation, were compelled to make satisfaction.

With respect to his foreign enemies, Frederic, having no talents for war, was almost always unsuccessful. Twelve times during his reign, detached bodies of Turks penetrated into his hereditary dominions, Styria and Carinthia ; they massacred thousands, and led away as many into captivity, but the emperor never gave them battle. A chronicler of these times says, “ he was more anxious to secure his cabbages from the frost than his people from the barbarians ;” yet we read of his going from city to city, and from convent to convent, soliciting help in money or in men, and unable to obtain either. Frederic did not wholly abstain from war. His first contentions in arms were with his own brother, who tried to deprive him of a part of his inheritance. He after-

wards sought to force the Bohemians to acknowledge his young relative, Ladislaus Posthumus, as their king, nobly refusing their offer to elect himself. Ladislaus was, consequently, acknowledged; but, as he was a minor, his tutor, Count Meinhard, became the actual sovereign of the Roman Catholics, and the Hussites elected George Podiebrad, one of their own chiefs. The latter, in process of time, expelled his rival; and, in the possession of regal power, began to persecute the truest Christians of the reformed party.

Frederic would willingly have established Ladislaus Posthumus in the troublesome kingdom of Bohemia; but when, after the death of Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, at the battle of Varna, in 1444, the Hungarians desired to have the son of Albert as their king, the emperor refused to part with his ward, or to give up the famous crown of St. Stephen. But he was besieged in Neustadt by an army of 16,000 Hungarians, who would not depart till they were permitted to lead away their young king in triumph. Ladislaus, perceiving the dangers of Hungary from the threatening aspect of the Turks, confirmed Huniades in his sovereign power, and went into Bohemia. He was there acknowledged as rightful king; even Podiebrad humbled himself to him, and he was crowned in the cathedral of Prague. He remained only a year in the kingdom, but it was long enough to show that he was a bigoted papist, and to make him very unpopular. The news of the death of Huniades impelled Ladislaus to return to Hungary; and one of his first acts was to cause the eldest son of the deceased general to be beheaded, and the second, Matthias Corvino, to be imprisoned. His jealousy of these young men proved fatal to his own power in Hungary, and led to the exaltation of Matthias in his room. From this prince, the Emperor Frederic long withheld St. Stephen's crown; but, after some ineffectual attempts against him in arms, he was induced to send him the crown, on payment of 60,000 ducats.

Ladislaus fled to Prague to escape the curses of the Hungarians; but there he pursued his wicked course till it was suddenly terminated by death, it was supposed through poison; he was just going to be wedded

to a daughter of Charles VII., as we have already related, in the closing days of that monarch. Podiebrad was then restored to the throne of Bohemia; and of him, as a persecutor, we must speak in our history of Christian Profession. Hungary and Bohemia were thus rendered quite independent of the emperor; and the only use that he, like his predecessor, Sigismund, made of the nominal sovereignty of Italy, was to raise money there by disposing of titles and offices, &c. : it was said, they regarded Italy as their fair.

In the year 1451, Frederic married Leonora, a sister of the King of Portugal, and led her across the Alps to make the tour of Italy. Ambassadors from Venice came out to meet the royal pair, and invited them to their city, which they entered with great magnificence. Then they visited Ferrara, where the ambassadors of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, waited upon them, and invited them to return through his territories, offering, on his part, to give Frederic the iron crown of Lombardy. Florence and Bologna were also visited by the emperor and his bride, as invited guests. At Sienna, the Pope's ambassadors awaited them, and required from Frederic the oath of allegiance, previous to his entering the papal states. He was the last of the German emperors who went through such a ceremony. The following was the form of the oath:—

“I, Frederic, king of the Romans, promise and swear by the Holy Trinity, by the wood of the vivifying Cross, and by these relics of saints, that if, by permission of the Lord, I shall come to Rome, I will exalt the holy Roman Church, and his holiness who presides over it, to the utmost of my power; neither shall he lose life, limb, or honour, by my counsel, consent, or exhortation. Nor will I, in the city of Rome, make any law, or decree, touching those things which belong to his holiness, or to the Romans, without the consent of our most holy lord Nicholas, &c.”

Frederic travelled with so small a retinue, that he might well have attributed his escape from a popular tumult at Viterbo, to the preserving hand of God, and not to the strength of his guards. On reaching Rome, he was obliged the first night to have his tents pitched outside the walls. It was observed, at his entrance the next

day, that he but slightly saluted the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gates, and cordially embraced the officer who bore the title of senator. After satisfying the Pope, by yielding to his arrangements concerning vacant benefices, Frederic III. was crowned by him, with the ancient imperial pomp (A. D. 1452).

The political and moral condition of Italy, during the period at present under review, was wretched in the extreme. We have said enough of Rome and its dependent states. Naples, after the death of the ambitious Ladislaus, fell to his sister, Joan II., a woman of as bad a character as the former queen of that name. The Milanese had undergone strange revolutions, and was the scene of the most horrid crimes. John Maria Visconti, the son of the tyrant who died of the plague, was proclaimed sovereign, at the age of thirteen, and proved himself a monster of vice and cruelty. His power seemed to be used for nothing but evil. Passionately fond of hunting, the usual objects of the chase at length failed to satisfy him, and he caused all condemned criminals to be abandoned to his sport: his hounds were fed with human flesh to make them more ferocious in tearing their victims to pieces. When ordinary convicts were not sufficiently numerous, the duke denounced men in whose crimes he had himself participated; and thus his accomplices in wickedness were often given up to the huntsman charged to provide for the ducal chase. The young tyrant, already old in villainy, was assassinated in 1412; and, four days after, his brother, Philip Maria, was exalted in his room. This prince was so sensible of his extreme ugliness, that he shrank from the eye of his fellow-men, and even refused a visit from the Emperor Sigismund, who came to Milan to confer with him about the papal schism. But Philip, though unseen, ruled with entire despotism by a skilful employment of the talents of other men, and of his own treasures; he obtained greater power than any of his predecessors; and aimed, though unsuccessfully, at the subjection of the remaining republics, Venice and Florence. He died in 1447. One of his most distinguished generals was Francis Sforza, the son of a peasant, who, when hesitating whether he should embrace a military life, threw up a hatchet into an

oak in his native village, resolved, if it fell not, to become a soldier. This man obtained in marriage a daughter of the Duke of Milan, and with her received certain territories: these he gradually increased, after the death of Philip Maria, till he obtained nearly the whole duchy. Single-handed tyranny was zealously protested against in the States of Venice, and the republican name gloried in; but the worst form of aristocratical tyranny gradually prevailed, and the doge became a mere cipher. Francis Foscari bore the title of doge for thirty-four years; ending his splendid slavery, in 1457. He had not power to protect his own son from the jealous rage of the Council of Ten, by which the ancient assembly of the people was then represented. Jacob Foscari, being accused on no good grounds of having received money from the ambitious Duke of Milan, was put to the torture, and, through confessions wrung from him in the extremity of pain, was sent into temporary banishment. Five years after, one of his judges was assassinated, and he, being accused of some concern in the deed, was tortured, and again exiled. Some time elapsed, and the actual murderer declared that the doge's son was entirely innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but he was not even then recalled. Determined once more to revisit his native city and his family, at whatever cost, Jacob Foscari wrote a letter, desiring the Duke of Milan to intercede for him. This, as he expected, was intercepted by the vigilant agents of the Council of Ten, and he was summoned home to take his trial before them. Thus he obtained the brief pleasure for which his ardent nature had longed; he saw the stately city, he embraced his aged father, his wife, and his children, once again, and then underwent a third trial by torture, and was sent away to die. Another example of the tyrannical proceedings of the Venetian government will suffice. The jealous state, afraid lest any of her own citizens should turn their arms against her, never allowed them to act as generals or soldiers, and was entirely defended by the foreign troops, and captains of adventure, hired by her gold. These captains were made to feel the despotism of the Council of Ten; being liable to death, or lighter punishments, if not successful in their service. One Carmagnola, who had

gained many great victories for them, in the struggle with Milan, was one day surprised by a sudden attack from Francis Sforza; 1600 horsemen, his advanced guard, were taken prisoners, and these had to be ransomed by Venetian gold. At the same time, a deadly distemper among the horses hindered Carmagnola's further exertions, as his soldiers could not fight on foot. He was summoned to Venice by the senate, as if to decide upon the plan of the next campaign. Obligated to enter the city unattended, he was met with the most treacherous respect, and conducted with great pomp to the doge's palace. There, a feast was made; the unsuspecting guest was called upon to speak; his discourse was applauded; but, as evening came on, lights were not brought; he could scarcely distinguish the features of the company, when the *sbirri*, the police of Venice, suddenly entered, loaded him with chains, and dragged him to a dungeon. The next day he was put to the torture; the whole trial was kept secret; but, about twenty days after his arrest, he was led into the square of St. Mark, with his mouth gagged, and there beheaded by order of the government, in whose service he had been often wounded. The people gazed and trembled, and the rule of their aristocrats was felt to be a rule of terror.

Florence, the brightest spot in Italy, must assume a prominent place in our next period.

Soon after the return of Frederic III. to Germany, the news of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks filled Europe with alarm, if not with surprise. As we arrive at the knowledge of the precise condition of the various states, we are less astonished that no help was sent by them. If Charles VII. of France, and Henry VI. of England had, as we have seen, no power to grant it, Frederic III. had surely neither disposition nor ability. In the memorable year 1453, Frederic erected Austria into an archduchy, and conferred on its sovereigns the privilege of creating nobles, and imposing taxes, within that state. He was thus unconsciously preparing a principality for his eldest son, Maximilian, who was born about this time, and takes a busy part in the scenes that lie before us.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.*

## SPAIN.

CASTILE, UNDER HENRY III. AND HIS QUEEN, CATHERINE OF LANCASTER. — TROUBLES OF CASTILE DURING THE LONG REIGN OF THEIR SON, JOHN II. — CONTESTS BETWEEN HIS COUSIN, HENRY OF ARRAGON, AND HIS FAVOURITE, ALVARO DE LUNA. — STORIES OF THE KINGS OF GRANADA. — CIVIL WARS AND WEAKNESS OF THE KINGDOM. — FALL AND EXECUTION OF ALVARO DE LUNA. — DEATH OF JOHN II. — LITERARY MEN OF CASTILE. — REIGN OF ALPHONSO V. OF ARRAGON, SURNAMED THE MAGNANIMOUS. — HIS CONQUEST OF NAPLES. — HIS HIGH REPUTATION.

A RARE interval of peace was enjoyed by Spain during the last years of the fourteenth century. The half century which now occupies us wears a very different aspect. The first years were the most tranquil. Whilst Henry IV., son of John of Gaunt, reigned in England, his sister Catherine shared the throne of Castile with Henry III., surnamed the Invalid; and his sister Philippa sat on the throne of Portugal, as the wife of John I., to whom was attributed the preservation of that kingdom in its independence of Spain. Thus it may be said, the House of Lancaster was the most dignified in Europe. Catherine of Castile was of a noble and generous disposition, for when her first babe was born, and her royal husband came into her room, joyfully to welcome the desired son and heir, she made use of his satisfaction and good humour to obtain favour for one who, through fear of his making pretensions to the crown, had been kept in confinement. Drawing back her curtain, she presented to him a youth, who had been purposely placed there for the occasion, a natural son of Peter the Cruel. Henry received him graciously, and provided nobly for his education; he afterwards became Bishop of Valencia. A daughter of Peter the Cruel, the only remaining branch of his family, was also delivered out of prison by the queen, and placed in a

nunnery, with a handsome dowry. Henry III. died when his infant John was only twenty-two months old. Always in weak health, he found himself too ill to preside in the Cortes, which he had appointed to be held at Toledo, and desired his brother Ferdinand, a prince of great discretion, to take his place. Before the business was half over, he died, to the great grief of his subjects, for they truly loved him, and dreaded the evils of a long minority (A. D. 1407). The throne was offered to Don Ferdinand, whose conduct had previously secured the affection and reverence of the nation; but this admirable prince replied in a tone of severity, there could be no successor to the throne but his brother's son; and that he should feel it his duty to assist in protecting the young king, and in maintaining order and happiness among the people. By the will of Henry III., the Queen and Don Ferdinand had been appointed regents, but the care and education of his son were committed to certain nobles. Moved by a mother's entreaties, Ferdinand determined to leave the child with her, and satisfied the persons named by the late king with a sum of money. The reign of John II. of Castile lasted nearly fifty years; he died the year after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Ferdinand soon rose from the dignity of regent of Castile to the throne of Arragon and Sicily, left vacant by the death of Martin, his uncle, without children (A. D. 1412). In this new position, Ferdinand did not forget the interests of his royal nephew, and therefore espoused him to Maria, his eldest daughter; he farther secured the peace of the peninsula, by giving his second daughter in marriage to the Infante of Portugal. His son Alphonso became famous as his successor; John, his second son, was afterwards King of Navarre; and Henry, the younger, being unprovided with a kingdom, caused many troubles in Castile. Ferdinand's reign, though short, procured him the love and reverence of his subjects, and the surname of Just: he died in 1416.

Catherine of Lancaster, though doatingly fond of her son, took great pains to make him learn. The young king was attentive to his studies, and showed early talent for composition, both in prose and verse. His chief tutor was Paul of Carthagea, bishop of that city, which was his

birthplace, and chancellor of Castile. He had been a learned Jew, and was converted to Christianity by reading the works of St. Thomas Aquinas.\* Another person, whom Queen Catherine chose to be about the person of her son in his lighter hours, obtained an influence over his mind which her early death left unbroken. It was the celebrated Alvaro de Luna, who for thirty years was more the sovereign of Castile than John himself. This young nobleman was selected by the queen-mother, as an accomplished knight and courtier: he was a nephew of the Archbishop of Toledo, the highest ecclesiastic in Spain; and the deposed Pope, Benedict XII., was of the same family.

Catherine died in 1419, when her son was only fourteen years of age. In that year the young king held his first Cortes at Madrid, and on that occasion, it was plainly seen that his mind was formed to obey rather than to command. Alvaro de Luna governed him and the kingdom quietly, for some time, and the king's marriage with Maria of Arragon was consummated. The first serious disturbance arose out of the disappointment of Henry of Arragon, who, having in vain sought in marriage Catalina, the king's sister, resolved to obtain her by force. Making friends with a party in Castile, who were opposed to the rule of the royal favourite, the Infante of Arragon determined to get possession of the king's person, hoping, by reason of his weakness, to reign in his name. With a chosen body of troops, he arrived at the palace-gates very early one morning, and being at all times allowed to enter as the king's cousin, and brother-in-law, he boldly made his way to the royal apartments, followed by a select band of armed men. The king and his favourite were both

\* At the close of the fourteenth century, Spain was becoming famous for its national literature. History and poetry were cultivated successfully both in Castile and Arragon. One of the first poets of the age was a Jew, whose name has not come down to us, called the Holy Rabbi, who is supposed to have been a surgeon to Henry III. His most famous poem was, "The Universal Dance," in which he introduces Death as an allegorical personage, calling on all classes and ages, in turn, to join in his final dance. It was, then, a Jewish pen that cast some serious thoughts into the light stream of popular literature.

asleep; the latter lay on a mat at his master's feet; the queen and the Princess Catalina, who occupied an adjoining room, found time to escape. Alvaro, first awaking, with his usual presence of mind, calmly expressed his surprise at so unexpected and disrespectful a visit to his royal master. The king himself was violently angry, but seeing the strength to be on his cousin's side, he became calm, and professed to be satisfied with his protestations, that he only came to rescue him and his kingdom from bad advisers. The prince then prepared to carry off the royal party, and Alvaro, seeing that the people, who would have rescued them, had not sufficient strength to do so, persuaded them to disperse. Henry sent one of his officers to the convent, to which the princess whom he courted so rudely had fled, and threatened to burn it down if she were not given up. The terrified nuns threw themselves at her feet, and entreated her to save them by a voluntary surrender; and to this she consented, on receiving an oath from the prince, that he would not oblige her to marry him against her will. Henry's own brother, John, with some of the nobles and prelates of Castile, took up arms to deliver the king; but Henry, in his name, convoked the States, and was persuaded to tell all who came to see him, and also the assembled Cortes, that he approved of all that his cousin had done to deliver him from his former chains, and that he now enjoyed perfect freedom. Henry's triumph seemed complete when the Princess Catalina at last consented to be his wife; but amidst the festivities that attended his nuptials, he grew less watchful of his royal prisoner. The king, under pretence of hunting, went out early one morning with Alvaro and other friends, before Henry arose, and returned to him no more. He attempted to besiege the castle, to which they first escaped, but his brother John, and others, came against him, and he was forced to retire.

Alvaro, with the office of Constable, again obtained the rule of the kingdom, and the Infante of Arragon, who caused him frequent disturbance, was once imprisoned by him. Upon being released, he procured the temporary banishment of the favourite; but Alvaro retained such a place in the king's affections, that, after a few months, he was brought back, and resumed his former sway. In

1429, a league was formed against him between the malcontents of Castile, Henry of Arragon, and his brother John, who had just succeeded to the throne of Navarre. The two parties were ready for battle, when the Pope's legate to Arragon placed himself between them to stop the unnatural warfare. With difficulty, he persuaded them to remain inactive till the following morning; and, during the night, the Queen of Arragon, wife of Alphonso V. (the Magnanimous), and sister to the King of Castile, caused her tent to be pitched midway between the two camps, and so powerfully pleaded with her relatives on both sides, that she effected a temporary reconciliation. Some destructive inroads upon the kingdom of Arragon were afterwards made by the restless Castilians; but a truce was made in 1430, and employment was afterwards found for the martial spirits of Arragon in the Italian wars, and for those of Castile in contests with the Moors.

The fortunes of Granada during this half century were very various. Mohammed VI. succeeded his father Yusef II. in 1396, to the prejudice of an elder brother, who bore the name of their common parent. This prince and his family resided in a kind of royal captivity, in the fortress of Xalubania (now Salobrena); and Mohammed, on his deathbed, wishing to secure the throne to his son, wrote a letter to the governor, desiring him to send back the head of his brother by the bearer. This shocking command was presented to the alcalde, as he sat with the prince, on a rich carpet embroidered with gold, playing at chess. He trembled violently, for he, and all in the fortress, loved the captive. Yusef perceiving his distress, and suspecting the cause, took the king's letter and read it; then he mildly asked to be permitted to spend a few last hours with his family. The messenger replied, his orders were peremptory; there could be no delay. Then said Yusef, with perfect calmness, "Suffer me at least to finish my game." The executioner waited; and the prince, with that indifference to death, which seems one of the characteristics of the Mahometan religion, played as coolly as if the sword had not been hanging over his head; he even rallied his friend, the alcalde, for the mistakes that he made, through his agitation of mind, about the impending event. Just as the game was concluded, two horsemen

arrived at breathless speed from the capital; they came to announce the death of Mohammed, and kissed the hand of Yusef as their rightful sovereign (A. D. 1408). Snatched in this remarkable manner from the death to which he had been doomed, Yusef, a few hours after, was led into Granada in triumph, the houses adorned, and the streets strewed with flowers for his reception. He had happily learned, by his own adversities, to feel compassion for others, and he proved himself a wise and fatherly sovereign, averse to war abroad, and to cruelty at home, finding his contentment in promoting that of his people. Catherine of Lancaster entertained a high opinion of his wisdom, and kept up a constant correspondence with him as long as she lived. After her death, the truce between Castile and Granada expired; and, through Yusef's unwillingness to acknowledge himself the vassal of Castile, war was renewed; but he soon purchased peace both with Castile and Arragon, and Granada enjoyed tranquillity during the remaining ten years of his life. Yusef's court became the asylum of several Castilian and Arragonese gentlemen who had been aggrieved at home; and the king often had the pleasure of deciding quarrels, and reconciling enemies, by his wise interference. He died in 1423, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed VII. This king was surnamed the Left-handed, either from some natural defect, or, as some suppose, from the awkwardness with which he managed public affairs. The wisdom of Yusef III. did not descend to any of his successors, and after his death Granada enjoyed little peace or prosperity.

Of all his father's wise counsels, Mohammed VII. followed only that which was least pleasing to his people, namely, peace with the Christians. His subjects rebelled against him; and he fled, disguised as a fisherman, to the court of the King of Tunis, his relative, who had been greatly indebted to his father. Then, some of his partisans, who took refuge in Castile, prevailed upon John II. to aid in the restoration of the exile. This was accomplished, and a cousin, who had usurped the kingdom, was slain. Some years after, Mohammed VII. was again driven out; but it was by the power of the Castilian court, who found him ungrateful for previous help. Mo-

ammed VIII. reigned as the vassal of Castile for six months, and his death caused the recall of the fugitive king. For some years after his second restoration, the borders of his kingdom were laid waste, at each returning harvest, by the Castilian governors of the frontiers. In all their inroads, the soldiers were accompanied by a train of men who might well be termed spoilers. It was their set work to cut down all the fruit trees, the vines, corn, &c., and to destroy the gardens. In 1445, Mohammed VII. finally lost his throne, through the rivalry of a ninth prince of the same name. The usurper, however, found the kingdom disputed by a tenth Mohammed; and there was scarcely a plain in Granada which was not moistened with blood, shed in civil war.

These scenes were taking place in the most famous Mahometan kingdom of the West, through the passions of princes bearing the name of the false prophet, whilst the Great Mahomet in the East was darting upon Constantinople, with the keenness of an eagle upon its prey. In A. D. 1454, Mohammed IX. perceived that he was too weak to stand against his rival, and determined to quit Granada for the mountains; but, before he did so, he wished to take revenge on those whom he knew to be his enemies. To this intent, he invited to the Alhambra certain of the heads of the people, as if to consult with them about the safety of the city; but each one, as he entered, was seized and executed. John II. of Castile was once on the field of battle when his army defeated that of the King of Granada, and 30,000 Moors were slain. That the kingdom, weakened as it was by civil war, did not then fall into the hands of the Castilians, was attributed by some to bribes given to Alvaro de Luna by the Moorish king. That minister could not be in the place of power without making many enemies; but, according to his ability, he was faithful to his king, and rendered him some signal services, even defending him against the rebellion of his own son. By Alvaro's means, a truce for twenty-two years had been concluded between Castile and Portugal; and, when John II. lost his own wife, the minister persuaded him to marry Isabella, niece of the Queen of Portugal, though he had been more disposed to accept a daughter of Charles VII. of France. The

Portuguese queen was of too high a spirit to submit, like her husband, to the control of a minister; and Alvaro soon found that he had procured himself an enemy, and not a friend, in forwarding the alliance. Plans were now set on foot for the Constable's arrest, many charges of tyranny being laid against him; Alvaro discovered the plot; and a royal accountant, who was concerned in it, coming to his house, he killed him with his own hand, and threw the body from the window. He then proceeded to fortify his dwelling, and was only persuaded to give himself up, on receiving a written promise from the king, that, if he were brought to trial, his life and property should be spared. He was, however, faithlessly condemned to die as a traitor, and all his estates to be confiscated. From Burgos, he was conducted to Valladolid, and there awaited his death with firmness of mind, and with apparent contrition for his sins. The night before his execution, the king appeared very uneasy; his former love for his favourite, his many services, and, above all, his own written promise of security rushed into his mind, and twice he was on the point of delivering to his chamberlain a sealed packet, doubtless with the intention of saving Alvaro's life. But the jealous Isabella hastened to his side, and stopped him in his purpose of mercy. The following morning, a scaffold hung with black cloth, and on it an altar with a crucifix, was set up outside the city of Valladolid; and he, who had been for thirty years the greatest man in Castile, was seen mounted on a mule, attended by two monks, on his way to the place of execution. By the way, the public crier, as was customary on such occasions, loudly announced the alleged crimes of the condemned, and the punishment that he was about to suffer. "I deserve all this," said Alvaro, "and more, for my sins." Then, seeing one of the infante's pages, he called to him, saying, "Tell my lord, the prince, to reward his servants better than the king, my sovereign, now rewards me." He then mounted the scaffold with a firm step, knelt down for a few minutes before the crucifix, and then baring his own neck, laid down his head. The executioner plunged a knife into his throat, and then severed the head from the body. The surrounding multitude shed many tears; but it was re-

marked that the numbers whom Alvaro had enriched forsook him as the royal favour declined, and three only of his servants remained faithful to him to the last. Alvaro de Luna was put to death in the year 1453; and his king, John II., whose death might have been hastened by the event, expired in 1454.

Notwithstanding all the troubles of Castile in this unhappy reign, literature and the fine arts were encouraged; colleges were founded; schools were opened in almost every town; and many men of learning belonged to the court. Guzman, a man of high rank, wrote history and poetry, and a work in prose, called "The Chronicles of King John," which was a biography of the great men of his day. The Marquis Villena translated Virgil and Dante into the Castilian tongue, and collected a fine library; but, at his death, his books were condemned to be burned, on the ground that he dealt in magic. It is supposed that the king's confessor, who was charged to destroy them, appropriated the greater part to his own use. The Marquis of Santillana, by the king's request, drew up a collection of moral precepts, and wrote a "Treatise on Favourites," for the instruction of the infante.

In the childhood of John II., of Castile, Alphonso V., of Arragon, began to reign, and his course terminated four years after that of his royal cousin. No two princes could be more unlike both in character and career; John was the most insignificant, and Alphonso the most celebrated prince of his times. The latter was styled the Magnanimous; and the former, with as good reason, might have been termed the Pusillanimous: their fondness for learning, and for the society of learned men, was the only point of similarity between them. As we have already recorded, Alphonso V. succeeded his father, Ferdinand the Just, in 1416. Soon after his accession, a conspiracy was made known to him, in which several of the nobles were implicated. Satisfied that the evil designs formed against him were entirely frustrated, he refused to read a list of the traitors' names which was presented to him, and tore it in pieces. This act of generosity gave more stability to his government than it could have obtained by the severest measures.

The ready liberality of Alphonso also earned him much praise. One day, as his treasurer delivered to him a thousand ducats, he overheard one of his officers say, that very sum would make him a happy man. "Be happy then," said the king, and immediately handed him the whole. With all classes of his subjects, Alphonso was familiar, and he was proud of their love to him. When a courtier ventured to remonstrate with him for walking about without a guard, he replied, "A father has nothing to dread in the midst of his children." Alphonso's feeling for any of his subjects in distress was so strong, that, at the risk of his own life, he one day hastened to the assistance of a ship's crew in danger of perishing, saying, as he jumped into the boat, "I had rather partake, than behold the calamity of my people." In his father's right, Alphonso V. possessed the throne of Sicily as well as of Arragon, and Italy was the country most congenial to his tastes, as affording him more refined and literary society, and more opportunity for the enjoyment of the fine arts than his native land. Unhappily, too, he met with an Italian lady, for whose sake he deserted the excellent wife who acted as regent in his absence from Arragon. This evil conduct, and the supposition that he secretly put to death the Archbishop of Saragossa, who, from some cause, was obnoxious to him, left indelible stains on the fame of this great king. During his frequent visits to Sicily, in the early part of his reign, Alphonso V. became much concerned in the affairs of the unhappy kingdom of Naples. The reigning queen, Joan II., lost her first husband before she came to the throne; her second husband was James of Bourbon, a French prince. Her conduct to him was so offensive, that, shortly after their marriage, he placed her in confinement, and took the government into his own hands. The Neapolitans, always jealous of the French, rose for the rescue of their queen; and James was required to dismiss all his countrymen, except forty persons, his own attendants. Thus stripped, he found his position intolerable, and, after a little time, retired to France, where he joined the Franciscan Order. Louis, duke of Anjou, under the patronage of Pope Martin V., then put in a claim to the throne of Naples, and Joan applied to Al-

phonso V. to support her, promising, in return, to make him her heir. He chased away Louis, and, in the queen's name, became master of Naples; but, through fickleness or jealousy, Joan broke her compact with her protector, and adopted the very prince whom she had engaged him to expel. The necessities of Arragon, at that time, called Alphonso home; he retired from the contest; and the queen procured troops from Visconti, tyrant of Milan, for the defence of her kingdom. Again, before her death, she preferred Alphonso to Louis; but, by her last will, she passed over the King of Arragon and Sicily, and left the throne to René (or Regner), count of Anjou, brother to Louis, that prince having died before her.

This legacy, which was made in 1435, proved a legacy of war to Naples and even to Italy, the effects of which distracted the country beyond the close of the fifteenth century; so much evil may the unadvised act of one weak woman produce. René was a prisoner in the hands of Charles, duke of Burgundy, when the Queen of Naples died; but her ally, the Duke of Milan, and a strong body of Genoese, favoured the interests of the House of Anjou. Alphonso conducted a fleet to the siege of Gaeta, which was held by a Genoese garrison; and Francis Spinola, their commander, finding his resources almost exhausted, turned out of the town all the aged, the women, and the children. The generosity with which the king treated these helpless beings, gained him many admirers and partisans among the people whom he wished to rule. The Duke of Milan, and the state of Genoa, sent a combined fleet to relieve Gaeta, and a naval battle took place, which lasted eleven hours. It ended with Alphonso's surrender, as his ship was attacked by three Genoese vessels at once (Aug. 5, 1435). The booty of the victors was immense, and still greater gain was expected from the ransom of their noble prisoners. Besides the King of Arragon himself, there was his brother, John, king of Navarre, Henry, prince of Taranto, and 340 persons of high rank. Being conducted into the presence of Visconti at Milan, Alphonso reasoned with him so powerfully on the impolicy of allowing the French to possess Naples, that he determined at once to abandon the cause

of René. The duke then released the King of Arragon, without ransom, and concluded with him a treaty both offensive and defensive.

René, after his own release, struggled desperately for the kingdom bequeathed to him ; but the cardinal, whom Eugenius IV. sent to his aid, with a body of troops, was, like the Duke of Milan, won over by Alphonso, and concluded a truce with him. René himself fled to the Pope, who was then at Florence, and by him was formally invested with the kingdom of Naples ; but Alphonso's superior power made every attempt to obtain possession useless, and he finally withdrew to France. His greatest subsequent notoriety was through his being the father of Margaret, the queen who brought so many miseries upon England. As Eugenius, after René's retreat, refused to invest Alphonso with the disputed kingdom, and papal sanction was thought necessary for safe possession, the resolute king began to countenance the anti-pope, Felix V., and was on the point of paying him 200,000 gold florins to perform the ceremony of investiture, when Eugenius, through self-interest, offered the desired reconciliation. Three years after, he confirmed Alphonso in the kingdom ; and he, by way of grateful recompense, fitted out twelve galleys to be employed in the service of the Pope against the Turks. Alphonso's personal character, and his possession of three kingdoms, obtained for him great renown. When Frederic III. came to Rome to be crowned, he said, he could not quit Italy without seeing Alphonso. His courtiers observed that it was beneath his dignity as an emperor to pay the first visit. "No," answered Frederic, "not to a king, whose personal qualities set him above all the princes of the world."

Towards the close of Alphonso's life, he was at mass in a church at Naples, when the most violent shock of an earthquake ever experienced there occurred. Every body fled but himself ; and the priest was on the point of escaping from the altar, when the king laid hold of his robes, and urged him to stay and finish the service. This was but an example of the habitual firmness of mind which distinguished him through life. Circumstances that struck others with terror, only served to exhibit more strongly the fortitude with which he was endued.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Times of the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople.*

## PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL, UNDER JOHN I. AND HIS QUEEN, PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER. — THEIR FIVE SONS. — THEY TAKE CEUTA, AND PRESERVE IT AT AN IMMENSE COST. — MARITIME ENTERPRISES OF THE INFANTE HENRY. — TRAVELS OF THE INFANTE PETER. — DUARTE BECOMES KING. — HIS SCRUPLES AGAINST ATTACKING THE MOORS. — EXPEDITION TO AFRICA, AND CAPTIVITY OF THE INFANTE FERDINAND. — REGENCY OF PETER, IN THE REIGN OF ALPHONSO V. — HIS POPULARITY, AND SUBSEQUENT FALL. — AT THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, ALPHONSO V. PREPARES FOR A CRUSADE.

PORTUGAL, under John I., who, by the victory at Aljubarotta, preserved its independence, rose into importance among the kingdoms of Europe. Philippa, the queen, daughter of John of Gaunt, possessed the spirit, and shared the worldly renown of her family. She was much esteemed during her life, and her memory was so highly respected, that, according to popular opinion, the thing which she approved was the only right thing to be done. She had five sons, who were among the most distinguished men of their times; and, though she died of the plague when they were only just growing into manhood, their subsequent exploits may in great measure be attributed to her influence. On her deathbed, with the martial spirit of her race, Philippa delivered to each of her sons a sword, charging them to use it in defence of widows, orphans, and their country; and, as a weapon of offence, to employ it vigorously against the Moslems. They were strictly obedient to the last point of their dying mother's advice; and, had it been of a different nature, they might have been, from the impressible nature of youth, equally ready to follow it. The names of the five princes were Duarte (*Eng.* Edward), Peter, Henry, John, and Ferdinand. The king, intending to confer knighthood on his sons, proposed to celebrate the

occasion by a magnificent tournament; but the fiery youths, burning with the desire of distinguishing themselves in the way then most esteemed, besought their father rather to let them win their spurs in *real* battle with the Moors. The spot that tempted their enterprising spirit was the fortress of Ceuta, on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar: it was the resort of the Moorish pirates, who were wont to attack the ships that traded with Portugal, and the place where their stolen treasures were accumulated. But Ceuta was so strongly fortified, and the bravery of its defenders so well known, that the king, with difficulty, yielded to the entreaties of his sons; and then prepared so large an armament that his neighbours in Spain were frightened, till they received an assurance it should not endanger them.

In August, 1415, the Portuguese fleet set sail, accompanied by bold adventurers out of most of the nations of Europe. The princes landed before the arrival of their father, with the main body of his forces; they fought with the utmost fury till the fortress was deserted by its Moorish governor, and the town, by the greater part of its inhabitants. The standard of Portugal was then hoisted on the towers of Ceuta; the mosch was consecrated, and, after the performance of mass there, the five princes were solemnly knighted.

It was an easy thing to take a single Moorish fortress with the whole naval force of Portugal, but a very hard thing to preserve it by means of a garrison, left by the armed host of their countrymen, in the midst of an enemy's country. Some, therefore, deemed it prudent to raze the fortifications of Ceuta; but, at the end of the council held on the occasion, it was resolved that a select garrison of the boldest soldiers, with a most daring commander, should be left in the place, to preserve it "for the honour of God, and *our lady*," *i. e.* the Blessed Virgin: thus was she commonly styled, her name coupled with that of God, as if to be equally honoured; and the exaltation which God had given her lost sight of, in bringing her name into connection with the proud, the mighty, and the rich, in their boastful deeds of violence. (See Luke i. 51—53.)

Ceuta was retained at great cost. The Moors made

constant attempts to recover it; the governor, besides resisting those attempts with almost incredible courage, often sent out bands of armed men, who committed horrible destruction in the vicinity. One night they set fire to a village whilst the inhabitants were asleep, and all who attempted to escape from the flames were cut off by the sword. After feats of this description, the garrison were wont to re-enter Ceuta, "praising God and our lady;" and the narrator says, "a pleasant thing it was to see our men, like the waters which flowed on the beach, sprinkled with infidel blood!" At length, the African Moors, assisted by a fleet from Granada, invested Ceuta by sea and land, determined to retake it; but the King of Portugal sent an armament to its relief, under the command of his sons, Henry and John, and their complete success drew the attention of every warlike mind in Europe to the notable spot. This, however, was not the best fame of the Infantes of Portugal. Henry made mathematical science and navigation his continual study, and chose to reside on the highest point of Cape St. Vincent, as a suitable spot for making astronomical observations. There he founded the town of Sagres. In 1420, three vessels, which went out under his directions, arrived at the Madeiras; and these islands were annexed to the kingdom of Portugal, and colonised from thence. In a subsequent expedition, set on foot by the same enterprising prince, Portuguese mariners ventured southwards within three degrees of the line, and gave the name of C. Bojador to their last point of discovery on the African coast. In those days, it was thought rash to venture farther into regions supposed to be uninhabitable; but Prince Henry so firmly believed that a passage might be found in this direction to India, that he obtained a bull from Pope Martin V., conferring on Portugal the right of dominion over such regions as they should discover between C. Bojador and India. The infante Peter was as enterprising by land as his brother by sea. He spent four years in travelling to distant countries, and was, on this account, esteemed a living prodigy at his return; for long journeys were then considered so dangerous, that no man went to foreign lands without making his will. The prince set out in the year 1424, with twelve attendants, and first visited Constan-

tinople, where he was received with distinction by Manuel Paleologus. It was the last year of his reign. At the court of the Sultan of Babylon, the infante met with a magnificent reception; he then visited the sacred places of Palestine, and, on his return homewards, waited upon Martin V. at Rome. That Pope committed to him a bull, which permitted the Kings of Portugal to be anointed and crowned like those of France. On arriving in Germany, the Portuguese prince found the Emperor Sigismund engaged in war with Hungary and the Venetian States, and gave him aid in his campaign. The noble traveller finished his tour by visiting England, where he was received with the greatest distinction by the Council of State ruling in the minority of Henry VI., and made some exertions to reconcile the contending parties. Whilst in England he was admitted into the Order of the Garter. In 1433, the King of Portugal died, at an advanced age, leaving behind him an excellent character for justice. Duarte, his eldest son, and successor, followed in his steps, during a short reign of only five years. His efforts to improve the laws, his just administration of them, and his encouragement of trade and industry, gave him a place among good and useful kings; and, with regard to war, he seems to have had far more enlightened views than the men of his own age. His youngest brother, Ferdinand, who was but a child at the taking of Ceuta, longed earnestly, as he advanced in years, to emulate the fame which his elder brothers had acquired through that enterprise. Duarte sought to quiet his restless spirit, promised him an increase of revenue, but forbade him to leave the kingdom. The wife of Duarte was Leonora, sister to Alphonso the Magnanimous; she shared her brother's determination of character and martial spirit, but not his other great qualities; and when the infante Henry proposed a fresh expedition to Africa, with his brother Ferdinand, the queen forwarded their views, in opposition to her husband's better judgment. Duarte argued that the Moors had not lately injured his people, except in their natural efforts to recover Ceuta; and declared that, in conscience, he could no more forcibly deprive them of their possessions than he could enter a neighbour's house and spoil his goods. The scruple seemed so extraordinary, that it was thought

expedient to refer the matter to the Pope. Eugenius IV., whose character is so well known to us, then occupied the papal chair. He gave a judgment very different to that which some years later led to the fatal battle of Varna. He replied, that war was lawful, in order to recover from the Mahometans territories that had been taken from Christians, or when by any means they injured or insulted Christians; *in other cases*, he judged hostilities to be unjust, as earth, fire, and water were created for all; and to deprive any creature *without cause* of these necessary things, was a violation of natural right. The rare wisdom of the Pope and the king did not prevail. The princes of Portugal argued, that every Catholic sovereign was under obligation to advance the glory of God, and that the expedition on which they were resolved was of this character. Duarte, by the persuasion of his wife and his brothers, most reluctantly consented: it would seem as if he had anticipated the disasters that attended the expedition at every step. The most dreadful battles were fought between the Portuguese and the African Moslems; the former, according to their own account, far outdoing the latter in valorous deeds. The Bishop of Ceuta was in the thickest of the fight, promising indulgences to his own party, and hewing down the Moslems, his armour so shattered by the blows that he received, as to discover his episcopal robes beneath. He was seen at one time exhibiting the host, charging the Christians, as his dear children, to defend *the holy body*; and, whilst at one moment he turned to bless or absolve a Catholic, dying on the field of battle, at another he dealt destroying blows at the Moors.

In the end, the impetuous Ferdinand was taken prisoner, and Henry, who retired to Ceuta, nearly died there, through an illness caused by fatigue and trouble of mind. The sympathising king sent his brother John to Ceuta to console the sick prince, and to attempt the ransom of the captive. But the Moors would not give him up at any price but the restoration of Ceuta; and so dear was this possession to Portugal, and so valuable in the eyes of foreign powers, who were consulted on the matter, that Duarte was persuaded to leave his brother in captivity, and to try to obtain his liberation by means of gold.

When this was found ineffectual, the king, moved by brotherly affection, as he had not been by the entreaties of the princes, meditated an expedition to Africa, on a large scale, for the relief of the sufferer; but the plague broke out in Portugal; the population was thinned, commerce suspended, the fields left uncultivated, and the revenues consequently exhausted. The king retired from Lisbon to avoid the fury of the pestilence, but was cut off by it after a few days' illness (A. D. 1438). By his last will, he desired his queen and his brothers to procure the liberation of Ferdinand, but the benevolent command could not be carried into execution. The story of the captive infante is very affecting; and the fame which he acquired was very different to that which he had anticipated: it was the fame of a patient sufferer, and not of a mighty warrior; he was permitted to conquer himself instead of others. On being made prisoner, he was paraded to a dungeon at Tangiers, and by the way exposed to the insults of thousands of enemies, of whom some spit in his face, and others covered him with filth. In prison, his food was of the vilest sort, and his bed the bare ground. All these indignities he bore with unshaken courage. When letters arrived from Portugal, refusing the restoration of Ceuta, the prince was delivered up to the King of Fez. That tyrant threw him into a dark subterraneous dungeon, and only released him after some months, because he perceived that longer confinement would have carried the captive beyond his power to torment him. Ferdinand was then made to work in the royal stable and gardens, like the meanest slave. In these circumstances, he heard that his brother, the king, had died, and that by his last will Ceuta was to be restored. In the expectation of this, the Moorish king treated him with more mercy. Alphonso V., the son and successor of Duarte, was only six years old at his father's death; the government was therefore put into the hands of Peter, his eldest uncle, as regent. This prince sent messengers to Ceuta to receive his captive brother, and to give up the fortress in exchange; but the King of Fez insisted that the place should be yielded first. Enough was known of Moorish treachery and revenge, to make it clear, that the barbarian, if first allowed possession of Ceuta, would refuse to give up his

prisoner, and take occasion by retaining him to make larger demands. As, however, the restoration of Ceuta was in itself an act of justice, the court of Portugal, had it possessed more generosity, might have tried that measure: instead of this, the negotiation was suddenly broken off, and subsequent troubles prevented any other step being taken for the release of Ferdinand. Fresh sufferings were heaped upon him; he was put in irons, forced to harder labour, denied all apparel but a rag, and only allowed a crust of bread once in twenty-four hours. Under this treatment he languished on, and died in 1443.

The fortitude with which he endured a succession of hardships during ten years, his resignation, and the sweetness of his disposition, endeared him at last to his gaolers; and at his decease, the King of Fez observed, "So good a man deserved to know the true faith." In Portugal, Ferdinand's memory was revered as that of a saint and a martyr, and many miracles were related in connection with his name. The ability to bear such complicated and protracted sufferings, removed from every earthly friend who could encourage or console, reflects far more glory on Ferdinand's profession of the name of Christ, than the course in which he had hoped to prosper could possibly have done.

The minority of Alphonso V. was disturbed by the ambition of his mother. Leonora wished to have the power in her own hands, but the Infante Peter was much fitter to exercise it, and better liked by the people, as they were jealous of a female sovereign, especially of an Arragonese. At ten years of age the king was affianced to Isabel, daughter of his uncle Peter; and that prince became so great a favourite with the populace, that the queen was excluded from all share in the government; also a law was passed, not subsequently enforced, that no woman should be suffered to rule in Portugal. Even the young king was removed from his mother's care, as it was alleged his education under her direction would be effeminate, and unfit him for his high station. The weakness of character shown by the reigning king of Castile, John II., was well known, and his early education had been left to the queen, his mother. Peter used his power wisely and justly, and under his regency prosperity was restored to

the country. The people of Lisbon, in the heat of their gratitude, would have erected a statue in honour of the regent; but he expressly forbade it. From his knowledge of the fleeting nature of popular favour, he observed, that if such a statue were set up, it might one day be thrown down by the hands that had raised it.

The queen, finding herself thrown into the shade at Lisbon, signified her determination to leave the capital. The regent, knowing that she was harmless there, sent his brother Henry to remonstrate with her, assuring her, as long as she remained, the honours and revenues due to her station would be willingly paid her. She would not be persuaded, and removed to Crato, a strong town, whose prince was her friend. There she commenced an active opposition of the regent, and sent letters to the local authorities throughout the country, exhorting them to arm in her defence. In vain did the regent, and even her own brother, the King of Arragon, attempt to pacify her, and try to persuade her to return to Lisbon; she commenced a civil war, and Peter, after vain attempts at reconciliation, prepared to invest Crato. Then she fled into Castile; and with the support of the king, or rather of his minister, vainly attempted to regain her influence in Portugal. In the year 1445, when her son was thirteen, she requested permission to return and spend her days with her children; and this would probably have been granted, but there was no time to reply before the news of her death arrived from Toledo.

In 1446, Alphonso V. having attained the age of fourteen, the period of a king's majority in Portugal, the Infante Peter formally resigned his authority. The young monarch, however, requested him to continue the government till he was better able to bear the load; and farther showed his respect for his uncle by completing his marriage with Isabel. Bound together by double ties, the king and the Infante Peter might then have been expected to live harmoniously, but their peace was soon disturbed. Peter's exalted station excited the envy of others, and created many jealous enemies: of these, none was more active than his natural brother, whom he had just made Duke of Braganza, and who, in being raised to that dignity, learned to desire to ascend a step higher, and to

supplant his benefactor in the king's affections. Peter was a man of uprightness; the duke was of the most crooked disposition; the former ventured to admonish the king for inattention to business, and never flattered him; the latter sought by every means to please, and succeeded in drawing away the king's heart. Peter, seeing that Alphonso had no love for him, asked leave to retire to Coimbra, of which place he was duke; and this being readily granted, he procured, before his departure, an act, signed and sealed by the king's hand, approving the whole of his administration. As soon as he was gone, his enemies swarmed around the young king, and brought the most serious accusations against him; they expected to exalt themselves by the ruin of the greatest man in the kingdom; and they even dared to accuse him of having poisoned the late king and queen. On hearing of these malicious charges, the Infante Henry hastily left his rocky residence on the sea-shore, and came to court to vindicate his elder brother. Alvaro de Almado, a noble of untainted honour, appeared before the slanderous enemies of the Infante Peter, for the same purpose: he reminded the king how greatly he had served the country, and, as a proof of his high esteem as a knight, that he belonged to the honourable order of the Garter: at the same time, he challenged to mortal combat any one who dared to dispute the infante's moral character. The king would not heed these appeals; and both the noble-minded men, who had risked their lives in behalf of the innocent prince, were commanded, on pain of death, to leave the court. Queen Isabel, also, in vain spoke for her father.

An edict was published, forbidding all the king's subjects to communicate with the Duke of Coimbra, and commanding him to remain on his own estates. His arms were then demanded, and his refusal to surrender them increased the suspicion and the wrath of the king. The Duke of Braganza then led a body of troops to Coimbra, but fled before Peter and a handful of his followers; at his return, he procured a royal decree, pronouncing the infante a traitor and a rebel. Isabel, in an agony of tears, threw herself at her husband's feet, and implored, for her own sake, her father's pardon. Alphonso, who tenderly loved his queen, and really supposed the prince to be

guilty, told her to write and tell him, that if he would confess his crimes he should be forgiven. Isabel joyfully did so; her father replied that he had no crimes to confess, and that he should not have answered the letter except to please her. Alphonso, on reading this epistle, angrily tore it in pieces, and said to his unhappy wife, "Your father wishes for destruction; he shall have his wish." Up to this time, there is no proof that the Duke of Coimbra had any rebellious designs; and it would have been better for him to have left the kingdom, however unjust or ungrateful the treatment he had received, than to take up arms against his sovereign, his own brother's son. But it requires true Christian magnanimity to suffer long, and still be kind; to be defamed, and patiently endure it.

In his private chapel at Coimbra, Peter opened his mind to his noble friend Alvaro de Almado; he told him that he was tired of life, and would not, and could not live unless his justification were received by the king; but that he should part with his life at as great a cost to his enemies as possible. He intended to march to Lisbon at the head of his retainers, to justify himself before the king, and if rejected to perish sword in hand. His friend declared that he would live and die with him. They then called a confessor; he absolved them, gave them the sacrament, and over that they swore to share the same fortune. They embraced each other, and prepared to set out, as if to certain death.

Five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, composed the armed retinue of the duke, and all his vassals were ready to die rather than permit a beloved leader to be oppressed. Peter paid a parting visit to the monastery of Alcobaça, the burial-place of his ancestors, among whom a tomb had been prepared for himself. Gazing upon it, he sighed, and said, "I shall soon be laid there." Mass was performed, the monks sung *Te Deum*, with great solemnity, and the prince passed on.

Near Santarem, he met a troop of the king's cavalry, who loaded him with insults; he at first bore it patiently, and charged his followers to take no revenge; but an attack was afterwards made, and thirty were taken prisoners and put to death. Then the report spread that the

infante was coming to Lisbon to dethrone the king; and 30,000 veterans, with Alphonso at their head, marched out to meet him. This was no time for explanation. The two armies suddenly met on the banks of the Alfarrobeira; and Peter, with almost all his followers, fell, after destroying immense numbers of their assailants. The terrific carnage seemed to justify Almado's words, as he was dying, "Now, tigers, satiate yourselves!" The king desired that Peter's corpse should be left unburied; but some peasants carefully removed it, and interred it in the church of Alverca (A. D. 1449). The death of the infante caused a great outcry in all the kingdoms of Europe, where his character was well known and admired; but at Lisbon, where he had once been almost worshipped, extravagant joy was expressed; and his adherents to the fourth generation were declared infamous. The queen, however, by her many virtues, obtained increasing influence over her husband; and he was convinced, when too late, of her father's innocence. This conviction, added to the queen's entreaties, and the remonstrances of the Pope, and the Duke of Burgundy, induced him to have the remains of his father-in-law removed with great pomp to the royal burying-place, and all his family restored to honour.

The terror occasioned by the taking of Constantinople by the Turks affected even the distant kingdom of Portugal; and no sovereign was so zealous as Alphonso V. in making preparations for the new crusade proposed by Pope Nicholas V. In the midst of this design, he was surprised by the death of his wife, which occurred in the bloom of her youth, and when in apparent health. It was firmly believed that her father's enemies, fearing that her influence with the king would procure their punishment, contrived her death by poison. It took place in 1445, the year of the death of Nicholas V., which event broke up the projected crusade against the Turks, and left the prepared fleet of Portugal at liberty for a private crusade against the African Moors. The new golden coin, which Alphonso caused to be struck to pay the expenses of his armament, was called a *cruzado*, from the cross impressed on one side. We have now pursued the history of the chief kingdoms of Europe up to the same important period—the taking of Constantinople; we have marked how the

echo of that event reverberated on its most distant western shores; in our next period, we shall trace out consequences issuing from it far more important than the event itself.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Times of the Medici; or, the Revival of Learning in Italy.*  
A.D. 1453—1492.

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.— BENEFITS PROCEEDING FROM ITALY AND GERMANY.— HISTORY OF THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.— POSITION OF THE MEDICI FAMILY AT FLORENCE.— INFLUENCE OF COSMO DE' MEDICI.— HIS EXERTIONS FOR THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.— POPE CALIXTUS III. AND PIUS II. IN VAIN PROMOTE A NEW CRUSADE.— COSMO DE' MEDICI RECEIVES THE SURNAME OF FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.— FLORENCE IN THE TIME OF HIS SON PETER.— HIS GRANDSON, LORENZO, IS SURNAMED THE MAGNIFICENT.— PONTIFICATE OF PAUL II.— HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE ART OF PRINTING.— DESCRIPTION OF FLORENCE.— PONTIFICATE OF SIXTUS IV.— HIS HATRED OF THE MEDICI.— ITALIAN CONSPIRACIES.— ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF MILAN AND OF JULIAN DE' MEDICI.— FLORENTINE VENGEANCE.— WAR AGAINST LORENZO.— HE OBTAINS PEACE, AND PACIFIES ITALY.— HIS SON, JOHN DE' MEDICI.— LORENZO'S LAST YEARS.— PREACHING OF SAVONAROLA.— DEATH OF LORENZO.— CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF FREDERIC III.

“It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good,” is the world's proverb concerning human calamities, whilst Christians may say, in serious faith, “*We know that all things work together for good to them that love God.*” The falling of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks—the event with which we concluded our last period—might seem to throw only a baleful influence over the civilised countries of Europe, and the Church, “preserved

in Jesus Christ," in the midst of them: but, in the providence of God, it was far otherwise. This dismal event, and circumstances arising out of it, or combining with it, served to improve the social condition of the European States, and to lay the foundation for a new order of political arrangements, occasioning at the time great fermentation, but proving ultimately of advantage. And as to the Church—the Greeks, in whose language the precious Testament of her Lord and Saviour was left to her, with the Hebrew Scriptures in their most valuable translation—the Greeks, fleeing first into Italy, the country best prepared to study their language, and to prize their literary treasures; and then spreading into other kingdoms, helped to stir up the brutish or drowsy mind of the Western world, and to prepare it for the good seed which other sowers were sent forth to sow.

Fourteen centuries of the night of the Lord's personal absence from his Church on earth had passed away, and it now seemed as if a few hundred years of preparation for His return were to be granted; though the mass of men believed not then, and believe not now, to what point all the purposes of God, whether in the world or in the Church, are tending.

Italy, from whence, as the grand seat of the papacy—some say, of the beast—such a torrent of ills flowed over the world, was constrained in God's providence to illuminate the mind it had darkened. In that country there now arose men who, for their own glory, expended their time and wealth in the promotion of studies, and in the cultivation of intellects, which were to exercise a powerful influence for good in the time of the Reformation.

Germany, again, the seat of so much brute force, and the source of such endless political confusion and disturbance, sent forth a silent agent for God's truth in the printing press, and, after a little time, the lively and living ministers of the Gospel.

The invention of printing comes into historical notice at this point, and may well demand our thanksgivings. As early as the year 593, engraving, by means of wooden blocks, was in use in China; to this succeeded lithography, or engravings from stone; then baked earth

was used to form the characters for printing; and, lastly, an ingenious blacksmith invented moveable types between the years 1041 and 1048. But all these arts remained for centuries unknown elsewhere, and, when introduced into Europe, were original, and not imitative. Marco Polo, it is true, at the close of the thirteenth century, described the processes he had seen in China, but no hint was taken from his travels by the European inventors of printing. Previous to the more general diffusion of books, which followed the establishment of printing presses, a common amusement of all classes was card playing.\* Cards, at first, were all painted with the hand; but, when the increasing demand called for their multiplication, and at a cheaper rate, the process, now called stencilling, was invented. The roughness of such daubs led to the improved invention, which was styled figure cutting; the desired outline being drawn on hard smooth wood, the surrounding surface was cut away leaving the figure in relief, which was, at first, used merely as a stamp. The watchful servants of Christ, anxious, according to their light, in every age, to turn all that they can to their Master's use, took advantage of this new invention, and one of the fruits of it was called *Biblia Pauperum*, or the Bible of the Poor. This, however, was a misnomer, as it must have been too expensive for very general use. It consisted of forty rude woodcuts, intended to represent scenes in Scripture history, or spiritual allegories; an explanatory text, or a few words, being placed over

\* Cards are supposed to have been introduced into Europe through the Moors; but, probably, they first approached their present form in France, where they are mentioned as having been the amusement of Charles VI., during his lighter seasons of insanity. Cards are now, happily, so fallen into disuse, and are wisely judged by Christian guides so vain and hurtful an amusement, that some of my young readers may never have seen them. Those who are familiar, at least, with their appearance, may be amused to hear of their original signification. The *hearts* were to represent the ecclesiastics, we may suppose as governing the hearts of men; the *spades*, more properly pike-heads, stood for the noble and military class; the *diamonds*, which are figures of square stones or tiles, represented the artificers; *clubs*, the figure of which was originally an imitation of a leaf of clover or trefoil, stood for the peasantry. The game consisted in mixing and separating these four sets—the four classes of the community—according to certain rules.

each.\* This appeared in 1420. In works of the same kind, published later, the texts were more ample; and then followed small handbooks, containing the rudiments of grammar for children, and so forth. The impression on every page was taken from figures and letters cut in one solid block, on the inked surface of which the paper was placed, and rubbed at the back with the hand.

There was a mechanic, who, for many years, occupied himself in attempts to simplify the labours of the block cutters,—the celebrated John Gutenberg. He was born at a village near Mentz (A. D. 1397), but fled to Strasbourg in 1424, having endangered himself by engaging in one of the contests between the burghers and nobles, so common in that period. After a variety of experiments, he succeeded in forming moveable wooden types; but, finding them inconvenient from their softness, substituted those of metal: then the invention of printing was complete. But Gutenberg had so impoverished himself by his labours, that he was obliged to communicate his secret to others, to obtain means for carrying out his design. John Fust, a rich goldsmith of Mentz, to whom he applied, perceived the value of the invention, and readily applied his wealth and industry to the establishment of the first printing press. He had, however, none but sordid motives; he bound all who were employed in the work to secrecy, wishing to have it supposed his books were manuscripts, and thus to obtain for them the usual high prices. The rapid multiplication of copies, and their exact similarity, naturally excited the wonder of such as believed them to be produced by the hand; and it became the popular belief that Gutenberg and his associates were assisted by the devil in their magical art.†

\* Copies of the work still exist. The following is a description of one page:—In the middle, the Redeemer, giving the crown of life to one who has just departed in his fear and love; on the left, the crowning of the spouse, mentioned in Canticles; on the right, the angel conversing with St. John, as mentioned in the Revelation. In the upper compartment, two half-length figures, representing David and Isaiah, with these texts, Cant. v. 7, 8; Rev. xxi. 9; and some other brief inscriptions.

† The name of “printer’s devils,” assigned to the errand-boys of the press, is supposed to be a relic of this vulgar superstition.

But the work of the first printers was one in which Satan would not have lent a helping hand: it was *the Bible*. The first edition of the Latin Vulgate was finished between the years 1450 and 1455: it was the first specimen of printing with metal types.\* That the man who brought out the first printed Bible was not at all influenced by its blessed principles, is a fact that makes the production of it more signally the work of God's sovereign power. Finding his outlay heavier than he expected, and the returns long in coming, Fust made the inventor his debtor for half the expenses; and, as he had nothing to pay, the courts of Mentz, in which he was sued, adjudged the whole printing apparatus to Fust.

Thus, after labouring for twenty years, Gutenberg saw the fame and profit of his invention taken by another. But the privilege of having given the first printed Bible to the world belonged to him; and his name deserves, and has earned, grateful remembrance, in association with the most useful of human inventions. During the last three years of his life, which ended in 1468, Gutenberg obtained a place at the court of Adolphus, the archbishop of Mentz, with a sufficient pension. This prince had some farther concern in the establishment of the printer's art, but after a very singular fashion. As Count of Nassau, he contended with another prince for the see of Mentz; the dignity of primate in the Germanic empire being esteemed of vast importance in connection with its temporal sovereignty, its riches, and its electoral rank. In the course of the contest, Adolphus, at the head of his partisans, burned the houses, and even the villages, belonging to his opponents; his disorderly troops stole away wives from their husbands, and plundered or laid waste on every side: in the year 1462, they took Strasbourg by storm. Adolphus, on becoming primate, sold ecclesiastical orders and offices to the highest bidders. In the same year that Strasbourg was taken, Fust, and his partner Schoeffer, had published a second edition of the Latin Bible, with their names upon it; and, up to

\* Eighteen copies of this work still exist, four on vellum, and fourteen on paper. Two of the former, and ten of the latter, are in Britain, in different public and private libraries. The work was finely executed, and consisted of 641 leaves, in two volumes folio.

that time, the oath of secrecy to which they bound their workmen seems to have been kept. But, by means of the political confusion brought about by the ambition of the warlike Count Adolphus, the tie between master and servant was loosened, and the working printers were dispersed abroad, carrying the secret of their art wherever it found a welcome. Italy, and Rome itself, seemed the best prepared to receive it. History must explain this fact.

We are arrived at a period when individuals, without hereditary nobility or title, exercised the most extensive influence; and left a more enduring impression on the face of society than the greatest princes of their times: we allude to the Medici of Florence. Florence, as we have already observed, contained all that was most worthy of notice in Italy at this time. It was the most polished and wealthiest city of the most civilised country in the world. The Medici family had long been increasing in riches and influence, and were the first of the merchants of Florence. They possessed large and profitable estates in the most fertile districts of Tuscany; their farms were models of skilful husbandry; they had mines of alum which brought a considerable revenue; and their banking houses, established in all the chief cities of Europe, were the means of carrying on an extensive and lucrative commerce.

Cosmo was the first of his family who attained the highest place in the direction of the state. His powers of mind, his liberality, and his condescending kindness, secured to him the public favour; and the only circumstance that threatened, for a time, to blot his fair fame, and undermine his power, was the discovery of the unworthy practices of officers, who had acted under his authority, but not, as it was ascertained, with his cognisance of their wickedness. The merchant prince arrived at the height of his glory about the time of the taking of Constantinople. He was then sixty-four years of age. The poorest of his fellow-citizens shared his bounty, whilst he laid out vast sums in palaces, hospitals, and churches; in pensions to learned men and artists; and in the collection and transcription of valuable manuscripts. The works of Xenophon, Thucydides, Hero-

dotus, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and of the later Greek authors—the writings, too, of the ancient Romans—were heaped together by the indefatigable agents of Cosmo de' Medici; and the value of treasures of this description was so sensibly felt in Italy at this period, that it is said a MS. copy of Livy, sent by Cosmo to the King of Naples, was the means of healing a breach between them. Whilst the Turks, in their career of victory, were driving westward the men who carried with them all that they could save of the accumulated treasures of Greek learning—treasures that had lain almost unnoticed for ages; whilst a home and a hearty welcome were being prepared for them at Florence and at Rome; and the scribes, in multitudes, were engaged in their costly and tedious labours; the invention of printing, which was to bring all these stores into general use, was being perfected in Germany.

There was no state of Italy, and but few in Europe, with which the enterprising merchant of Florence had not something to do, either by his personal interference and influence, or his pecuniary resources. His loans were the means of carrying on the civil wars in England; and the loans which he withdrew from Venice and Naples, when those states leagued together against Florence, stopped the war. During the terror occasioned by the news of the taking of Constantinople, the Florentine chief exercised his power in effecting a treaty of union among the States of Italy, which was, accordingly, signed by the princes, in an assembly at Lodi, on April 9, 1454. The Greeks, who took refuge in the cities of Italy, filled the minds of the people with dread of the ferocious Turks, and, at the same time, imparted to them new ideas of luxury, civilisation, and literature: the lively Italians felt, perhaps, more sympathy for their interesting guests, because of the report that Mahomet did not mean to pause till he had set up his throne in Rome itself. Nicholas V., as we have already said, died of grief in 1455. His successor, Calixtus III., was an aged man, but full of courage and military ardour. He was wont to say, that only heartless people were frightened at danger, and that palms of glory could only be gathered in fields of peril. The news of the death of Huniades, so often victorious over

the Turks, made him burst into tears; and, had he lived, his zeal might have carried into execution the new crusade, for which he provoked extensive preparations. Calixtus aimed at the aggrandisement of his own family, as well as the defence of Christendom. He raised two of his nephews, who were bad men, to the rank of cardinals; and to another, who would not be a priest, he intended to give the crown of Naples, engaging the Duke of Milan to help him despoil the reigning king, Ferdinand, natural son of Alphonso the Magnanimous. But, in the midst of these schemes, he died, and with him perished the hope of a new crusade (A. D. 1458). The next pope was Pius II., already well known by the name of Æneas Sylvius—the admiring witness of the martyrdom of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. He had been secretary to Frederic III., and had received from that monarch's hands the poet laureate's crown; he had been employed as papal legate in negotiating a peace between England and Scotland, and in other important embassies; and, lastly, he had signalled himself as the secretary of the Council of Basle, which set up the authority of general councils above that of the Pope. With his circumstances he changed his opinions, and sent forth a bull, which showed that he wished the judgment of Æneas Sylvius to be forgotten in that of Pius II., and that he repented having argued that a pope should be subordinate to any. On another point, he also showed an alteration of mind. As imperial secretary, he had asserted that it was impossible to unite various nations speaking different languages, and owning various rulers, in any enterprise against the Turks; but, on the pontifical throne, he did not cease to invite all Christendom to take up arms. He even appointed Ancona as the place of rendezvous for all who were willing to join in a new crusade. Though enfeebled by illness, he repaired to that port, but the disorderly company, whom he found there, deserted the service, as soon as they obtained the money and arms for which they clamoured. Overcome probably by exertion and excitement, to which his frame was unequal, Pius II. died at Ancona (Aug. 14, 1464). On the first day of that same month, Cosmo de' Medici breathed his last. In the following year, the signoria caused to be

inscribed on his tomb, the simple, but honourable inscription, "*The Father of his Country.*"

Cosmo's eldest son had preceded him to the grave; and Peter, who survived him, was a man of little character, and so afflicted with gout, that he was obliged to be carried about in an arm-chair. It seemed, therefore, probable that Lucas Pitti, a citizen who almost equalled the Medici in wealth, would become the chief person in the state. This man, however, was of too assuming and selfish a character to suit a city that had gloried in Cosmo de' Medici. In 1463, he had begun to build a palace, still called the Pitti Palace, and which, in process of time, became the residence of the grand-dukes of Tuscany. The kingly magnificence of the mansion might have offended the citizens, but much more the contempt of law connected with its erection. Lucas Pitti forbade the officers of justice to seize on any criminal who once took a part in the labour; and, whilst he had the direction of the government, it was observed, that state favours might be purchased by making an offering of precious wood or marble for the Pitti Palace. He ruined himself by his costly building and tyrannical conduct. Peter de' Medici was nominally the chief man of the republic; but six citizens, who formed the signoria, and called themselves his agents, brought disgrace upon his name by their injustice. Moreover, by reason of his weak health, and incapacity for business, he recalled his loans made in partnership with other merchants, and laid out his money in land, thus injuring the commerce of Florence, and diminishing the friends of his house.

But the falling fame of the Medici was soon to be more than repaired. Peter died in 1469, leaving two sons, named Lorenzo and Julian, the elder scarcely twenty-one years of age, but with admirable endowments.

The generosity of Lorenzo's disposition had been remarkable from his childhood. Being one day blamed, because, in return for the present of a horse from Sicily, he had sent thither a gift of much greater value, he replied, that nothing was more glorious than to overcome others in acts of generosity. It was the development of this early trait in his character, which gained for him the distinguishing title of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Great pains

had been bestowed on his education, and this coming to the aid of his natural gifts, he became a fine scholar and poet; he excelled, also, in the tournament, and similar sports of his age; and was so courtly in his manners, that he was a welcome visitor to the princes of Italy, and to the Pope himself.

Paul II., by birth a Venetian, and destined in early life for a merchant, was the Pope who succeeded Pius II. (A. D. 1464). The years of his pontificate passed away before Lorenzo attained his highest fame; but he was received with much distinction at the papal court.

Paul was so handsome in his person that he thought at first of choosing Formosus (beautiful) as his papal name, but he was afraid of making himself ridiculous by his vanity. He was a man of profligate character, and very fond of luxury and show. He allowed the cardinals to wear mitres like his own, purple robes, hats of red damask, and scarlet housings for their horses; but he had a new tiara made for himself, which cost five thousand silver marks.

Paul began his reign by suppressing a society of the most distinguished men of learning and genius at Rome, known by the name of the College of Abbreviators. This fact has been brought to prove that he was no lover of learning; but, it appears, he alleged that this college was worse than useless, having introduced Platonic philosophy into the Christian religion. That he was not unfriendly to the diffusion of literature, appears in the encouragement that he gave to the printing press, which was first established at Rome in his pontificate. A Cardinal Cusa, who had longed to have this new art brought to that city, with Andreas, secretary of the Vatican Library, ardently promoted it. The first fount of metal types in the *Roman* character (so called ever since) was prepared at the expense of the latter. Andreas also furnished the manuscripts for the press, prepared the editions, and added the letters dedicatory. The following is an extract from his dedication of Jerome's Epistles to the Pope:—

“It was in your days, that, among other divine favours, this blessing was bestowed upon the Christian world, that every poor scholar can purchase for himself a library at a small sum; volumes which heretofore could scarce be bought for a hundred, may now be procured for twenty crowns, and free from those faults wherewith MSS.

used to abound. Surely the German nation deserves our highest esteem for the invention of the most useful of arts. It is my chief aim, in this epistle, to let posterity know that the art of printing was brought to Rome under Paul the Second. Receive, then, the first volume of St. Jerome graciously . . . and take the excellent masters of the art, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, Germans, under your protection." \*

In the third year of his pontificate, Paul II. was frequently seen in the printing-office, examining with admiration every branch of the new art. He little dreamed that he was patronising an art which, in a very short time, would be made use of to shake the papal power to its foundations.

The restoration and diffusion of the writings of the ancients naturally led to a revived interest in their other works. In the days of Paul II., Rome began to wear a new aspect. Antiquaries commenced their labours among the ruins; public places, monuments, temples, and palaces began to be restored or rebuilt; the streets were enlarged or improved; an imitation of the ancient horse-race was attempted in the place still called the Corso; and the Pope, after the fashion of the Roman emperors, caused medals to be struck, in order to place them in the foundations of the buildings that he erected.

The chief public acts of Paul II. were his labours to stir up war against the Turks, and his efforts to procure the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which limited the papal power in France. Believing that he had attained this last object, he complimented Louis XI., the worst of the French monarchs, with the title of Most Christian King. Tears used to be the resource of Paul II. when his arguments would not persuade others to do as he wished; his facility of weeping gained for him the sobriquet of "our lady of pity." He died of apoplexy (A. D. 1471). In that year, Lorenzo de' Medici received as his guest Galeazzo Sforza, who had succeeded his father

\* In the space of five years, beginning with 1467, 12,475 volumes were printed in Rome, *including a beautiful edition of the Bible*. The Italian version of the Scriptures was printed in 1471, the year that Paul II. died; the Spanish, in 1478; the Bohemian, in 1488; but only the New Testament was printed in English during this century. The first complete English Bible was that printed by William Tindal, at Antwerp, in 1526.

Francis as duke of Milan. Francis Sforza had been enabled to rise to that high station, and to maintain it, by the help of Cosmo de' Medici, and thus the two families were united in close friendship. He died just two years after Cosmo.

Galeazzo was a very different man from Lorenzo: he knew no restraint to his vices: he shared, however, in that taste for literature and the fine arts which was spreading throughout Italy; and he was pleased to take his wife to Florence, to display his own magnificence, and to enjoy the pleasures of that highly refined city. The splendour of the Medici Palace excited his astonishment; but, above all, its collection of statues, gems, paintings, and manuscripts. Florence and its dependencies contained at this time about 400,000 inhabitants; 80,000 men, counted as citizens, bore arms in the service of the republic, and thousands more were hired by its wealth in seasons of particular danger. Commerce and manufactures were now in their most flourishing state; the artizans received high wages, and their leisure was chiefly amused by games and shows provided at the expense of the Medici. On the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Milan, Florence became a scene of universal gaiety and dissipation; yet the three principal spectacles prepared for the general entertainment were among the most solemn of the religious Mysteries. They were the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Ascension of Christ, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The last was exhibited in the church called after that holy name; and the fire used on the occasion set the building in flames, and caused it to be entirely consumed. The spectators wisely construed this event as a mark of divine displeasure at the exhibition.\*

Pope Paul II. was succeeded by Sixtus IV. (A. D. 1471). He was the son of a fisherman, and, from a Franciscan monk, rose to the rank of a cardinal. His pride and am-

\* In another city of Italy, about this time, a fearful catastrophe terminated a religious mystery. A spectacle intended to represent the torments of the damned was exhibited on rafts, and the banks of the river were crowded with people. In the midst of the show, the apparatus gave way; and real shrieks of agony succeeded to those feigned by the performers, as they sank beneath the water to rise no more.

bition seemed all the greater for the lowness of his origin. Lorenzo, with six of his fellow-citizens, went to Rome to congratulate the new pontiff, at his accession, and received from him the office of treasurer to the papal see, and what he valued perhaps more highly, some antiquities to add to his collection. The Pope's professed friendship for the Medici was very transitory, for he saw in Lorenzo and his brother the persons most likely to be the rivals, not to say the superiors of his own nephews, on whose exaltation to the first places in Italy he was resolutely bent. Julian and Leonard di Rovere were his brother's children; Peter and Jerome Riario, his sister's sons. Julian and Peter were raised to the priesthood, and the rank of cardinals; but Leonard and Jerome were unwilling to be priests. The Pope, therefore, wished to make them independent princes, and, as a first step, married Leonard to a natural daughter of the King of Naples, and Jerome to a natural daughter of the Duke of Milan: for Jerome, he also purchased the title of count, with the territory of Imola and Forli. Sixtus was a man bent on sensual pleasures, and his nephews were not superior to himself. Cardinal Peter Riario, who was also created Latin patriarch of Constantinople, and archbishop of Florence, made a tour through Italy with papal, that is to say, *super-regal* splendour. At an entertainment which he gave to the Duchess of Ferrara, at Rome, he expended 20,000 ducats. His cousin, Cardinal Rovere, afterwards pope, under the name of Julius II., sacked the city of Spoleto, and put the inhabitants to the sword: he afterwards took Castello; and the military habits formed before he ascended the papal throne continued to cling to him even there.

The pontificate of Sixtus IV. exhibits a tissue of political horrors. After many and long struggles, republicanism had virtually come to an end in Italy; despotism had, in most places, succeeded it; and whilst the mass sank into slavish subjection with little regret, glad perhaps to change the evils of lawlessness for those of tyranny, there were a few bold spirits bent upon freedom, who, as a last resource, were ready to cut off by assassination any whom they deemed tyrants. Some minds, it appears, were filled with this desperate resolution, through reading the history of the successful struggles of the ancient

Greeks and Romans, now first brought under their notice in the eloquent language of the most elegant writers. This is not at all unlikely, and may teach us the importance of studying history, with the only true corrective of its injurious examples—the word of God. They who free themselves from any human tyrant, at the price of murder, become the slaves of the most cruel of all tyrants, even him who was a murderer from the beginning.

In 1470, a plot was formed against the Medici, but as the mass of the Florentines were more than content with their young chiefs, it entirely failed; and the man who contrived it was beheaded, with eighteen of his accomplices. In 1476, a conspiracy to destroy the Marquis of Ferrara was equally fruitless; and the leader of it, with twenty-five others, was executed. In the same year, the Duke of Milan was actually assassinated. Galeazzo Sforza was, if possible, more steeped in wickedness than his predecessors. There was no crime of which he was believed incapable, for it is said he had even poisoned his own mother. As false as he was ferocious, he seemed to enjoy the astonishment and despair of those whom he suddenly gave up for execution, after loading them with marks of his favour. He took pleasure in inventing new and horrible forms of capital punishment; and of these, burying alive was not the most cruel. His treatment of women was shameless. In order to support his extravagant pomp, and the succession of spectacles by which he sought to make himself popular, he had recourse to constant acts of extortion. Three young nobles, whose tutor had drawn their attention to the history of Harmodius, Timoleon, and Brutus, who, by their daggers, respectively restored liberty to Athens, Corinth, and Rome, were so inflamed with emulation of such deeds, that they determined they would kill Galeazzo. Carefully keeping their secret, they exercised themselves in the use of the dagger, and each was to strike the tyrant in the precise spot assigned to him. The time they fixed for their bloody deed was St. Stephen's day, when the duke was wont to go in state to the church dedicated to that saint; they sought to fortify themselves by attending mass and saying prayers, and especially by vows to St. Stephen. Had they been more familiar with *his* history, or preferred his character and example to that of

Brutus, they would have been praying *for* the wretched tyrant, instead of meditating his destruction with their own hands. As the duke advanced towards the altar on the set day (Dec. 26, 1476), between the ambassadors of Mantua and Ferrara, the assassins came forward, cap in hand, as if to keep off the crowd out of respect. But, in the same instant, they all struck their victim, and he fell dead amidst his guards and courtiers. The daring youths had expected that they should be able to escape, and arouse the populace; but despotism was too deeply rooted to be torn up in so sudden a manner, and two of them were killed ere they could leave the church. Olgiati, the third, ran through the streets, loudly calling, "To arms! Liberty!" but there was no response, and he then tried in vain to conceal himself. He was dragged forth, and put to the most excruciating tortures. Galeazzo was dead, but the spirit of cruelty survived in his creatures. In the interval between his torture and execution, Olgiati dictated a narrative of the conspiracy, in which he displayed his own motives and feelings, and those of his accomplices, and argued that they had done a good deed. He was then delivered to the executioners, who tore off his flesh with red-hot pincers.\* He was only twenty-two years of age. May these records of a past age fill our hearts with thankfulness for the multiplied benefits of good rulers and humane laws!

A conspiracy for the destruction of the Medici speedily followed the assassination of the Duke of Milan. It originated in private jealousy. The Pazzi were a wealthy family of Florence, and one of them had married a sister of the Medici, but they could obtain no share in the government. Francis de' Pazzi became still more discontented, when, by reason of a law passed by Lorenzo, he was not permit-

\* It must not be thought that Milan was the only place for such horrible punishments. To bury people alive, to boil them in oil, to pluck out the eyes, to pierce the cheeks with a red-hot iron, were practices which, if not sanctioned by the laws of the Germanic empire, were inflicted by those who had the administration of them. In the reign of Maximilian, Duke Ulric of Wurtemberg, an independent prince of the empire, roasted one of his council at a slow fire, and, at last, by pouring brandy over him at the spit, consumed him to ashes! Unhappy times!

ted to inherit the immense wealth of his wife's father, on which he had reckoned, but it descended in the male line, in a more distant degree. In a moment of irritation he fled to Rome, where his angry passions were fed by the Pope, who made him, instead of Lorenzo, his banker, and entered into his plans for the overthrow of the Medici. They laid their plot with the most determined villainy. The son of the Pope's nephew, a youth of eighteen, a newly created cardinal, was desired to go to Florence, and there give public entertainments. At one of these it was hoped that both the Medici might be found together, and their destruction ensured. But they did not come at the same time; and it was then imagined, that the surest moment for striking them both at once might be found during a solemn festival, when they would kneel side by side, and at the elevation of the Host, bow their heads. But the assassins who had not scrupled to engage to kill them at a common feast, durst not promise to do so at such a moment; some fear of God, which still lurked in their breasts, discovered itself at the proposal; and they probably feared immediate vengeance in such a place, and at a moment when they believed God to be specially present. Two priests, whose familiarity with the heartless mummery that formed their daily business had deprived them of the awe which others felt, undertook, for the sake of a reward, to destroy the brothers at the prescribed moment.

The day arrived; the church was filled with the known friends, and the unknown foes of the Medici; the two brothers, between whom there subsisted a strong affection, knelt beside each other; and Julian, the younger, fell senseless beneath the first assassin's fatal blow. Lorenzo, feeling a hand on his shoulder, started up, with only a slight wound in his neck; and the second assassin, on whom he drew his sword, fled. Francis de' Pazzi then attempted to strike the object of his hatred, but, being thrown back, deeply wounded himself in the thigh; then Lorenzo, not knowing who, or where, his enemies might be, fled to the sacristy, which was closely guarded by some of his friends, whilst others ran to arouse their fellow-citizens to avenge the dead, and defend the surviving brother. They were not slow to do so. The two priests

were cut to pieces. Other conspirators were stabbed, or thrown from the windows of the government-house, by the orders of the gonfalonier; and to the frames of the windows were hung Salviate, archbishop of Pisa, a chief agent in the plot, and three others. The relatives, and even the friends of the conspirators, however innocent, were torn from their houses, and about seventy perished in the first burst of popular fury.

Lorenzo had been conducted to his palace, and one young man, fearful that he had been struck with a poisoned dagger, sucked the wound. An immense multitude assembled at the gates, anxious to be informed of his safety, and would not disperse till they had seen him. Gratified by their affection, Lorenzo, in spite of his wound, presented himself to them, and to the credit of his own feelings, excited as they might well have been by the loss of his brother, and the unexpected attack upon himself, he ardently intreated them to leave to the magistrates the punishment of the guilty, lest by any mistake they should injure the innocent. This address was successful; and, at his intercession, the life of the young Cardinal Riario was spared. Lorenzo either believed, or pretended to believe, that he was, as he professed to be, ignorant of the plot.

If Lorenzo had been admired before, he became far more the object of love and reverence after these tragical events. He was, indeed, the prince of his native city, and the common mode of addressing him was, "Most magnificent lord!"

The assassination which he sanctioned at Florence is not the only murderous stain on the reputation of Sixtus IV. The Colonna family, as rivals to his nephews, were treated by him with brutal ferocity. After storming one of their castles, he caused the owner, to whom he had promised safeguard, to be beheaded. The distracted mother, mourning over the mangled remains, bitterly exclaimed, "This is the faith of the Pope! . . . This is the head of my son! Look and see how the Pope keeps his word!"

But this same Pope, because of the death of an archbishop in the revenge taken at Florence, issued letters of unsparing severity against Lorenzo, as the head of the

republic, denouncing excommunication against all who refused to give him up. He wanted, in fact, an excuse for getting into his own hands the chief, whom his agents had failed to destroy. In his letters, he styled Lorenzo, "the child of iniquity," and "the nursling of perdition!" The love felt towards him by his fellow-citizens must have been very great, inasmuch as for his sake they dared to brave the Pope's wrath. A synod of Florentine clergy addressed a letter to the Pope, in terms as severe as he had used against Lorenzo; they exposed the share which he had taken in the wicked conspiracy, and mentioned his other vices. Then the Pope laid an interdict upon Florence, and set in array against that single state the combined forces of Italy, with the exception of those of Milan. Bona of Savoy, the widow of Galeazzo Sforza, wished to send her troops to Lorenzo's aid; but the Pope engaged the Swiss to come down on the Milanese, to occupy them in their own defence. Then, for the first time, the Italians experienced the hardy valour of the free-born mountaineers, who gained a victory over them at Giornico. Shortly after, the Duchess of Milan, the natural guardian of her son John, then only twelve years of age, saw the power wrested from her hands by Lodovico Sforza, her husband's brother. This prince doubtless entertained from the first the perfidious designs which he at last carried out in the murder of the nephew, of whom he professed himself the protector. All Italy being opposed to the citizens of Florence, their armies sustaining frequent defeats, and their country being ravaged by the enemy, Lorenzo imagined they might grow tired of a war which the Pope, and the King of Naples, declared to be solely against him; he therefore formed the extraordinary resolution of going in person to the latter, to propitiate his favour. Ferdinand was esteemed a cruel and perfidious prince; but Lorenzo trusted him, as he could not have trusted the Pope, and his confidence was not disappointed. By the frankness and generosity of his own disposition, he won upon the king; and by his unbounded liberality gained golden opinions from the people. His eloquent arguments convinced Ferdinand, that it was impolitic to support a power like that of the Pope, by which he might afterwards be crushed himself; and the Neapolitan was yet more

moved, when he was informed that the French had offered their alliance to Lorenzo; for he knew that if they once entered Italy, the pretensions of the House of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples would again be brought forwards. In May, 1480, Ferdinand and Lorenzo made a treaty of peace; and the latter, on his return to Florence, was received by his fellow-citizens with expressions of joy, enthusiastic in proportion to their estimation of the perils which he had so boldly risked, and so unexpectedly escaped. It was in the July of that same year that Otranto was taken by the Turks; and their actual footing in Italy so much alarmed Sixtus IV., that he was disposed to reconciliation with the Florentines. Accordingly, twelve of the chief citizens, Lorenzo himself being prudently excused, waited on the Pope at Rome; and after he had angrily reproached the representatives of the State for its past disobedience, he lightly touched their backs with his wand—the usual ceremony on releasing a city from interdict. Peace being restored in Italy, efforts were successfully made for the recovery of Otranto. The Pope sent his fleet, which had previously been engaged against the Turks; the Kings of Arragon, Sicily, and Hungary furnished assistance; the Genoese contributed their aid; and the armament was skilfully commanded by Alphonso, duke of Calabria, son of the King of Naples. The death of the formidable Mahomet rendered the enterprise more easy. Italy was scarcely delivered from the Turks when Sixtus IV. stirred up a fresh war. With the aid of the Venetians, he tried to form a principality for his nephew Jerome, out of the duchy of Ferrara; and when the design failed, through a league formed against him by Naples, Milan, and Florence, he attempted to provide for his nephew out of the States of Venice. Then the Venetians joined the league against the Pope; and this event, producing, or combining with a fit of the gout, which fell inwards, brought him to the end of his ill-spent life, at the age of seventy-one (August, 1484).\*

In the year 1483, Lorenzo de' Medici again narrowly escaped assassination by the agents of Jerome Riario,

\* The Sistine Chapel of the Vatican Palace was built under the direction of Sixtus IV., and called after his name.

the Pope's nephew; he was spared for the good of his country; and, by his commanding influence, assembled the princes of Italy in a congress at Cremona, and induced them to agree to the maintenance of a balance of power, which he saw to be essential to the general tranquillity. The Dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Calabria were present; and Riario himself was brought into harmony with them.

The Pope who succeeded Sixtus IV. was Innocent VIII., the father of eighteen illegitimate children. He was of a mild disposition, and so friendly towards Lorenzo de' Medici, that he created his son John (afterwards famous as Pope Leo X.) cardinal, when only thirteen years of age. Lorenzo displayed great anxiety both for the literary and moral excellence of his children; and, from their earliest years, committed their education to the care of men of eminent learning. When his son John first went to Rome, he wrote him an affectionate letter, expressing his desires that he should be a *good* cardinal, and warning him against the dangers of a place, which he rightly termed, "the sink of iniquity." In this epistle, Lorenzo also instructed him how to behave in ordinary life, and especially in the rank to which he was exalted; exhorting him to frequent confession, communion, and other religious observances, as "the surest way of obtaining the favour of heaven." The early education of John de' Medici is more worthy of observation, as showing the vanity of that parental care which comes short of "the nurture and admonition of the Lord." The maxims of philosophers, the beauties of the classics, the forms of the Romish religion, the barren husks of old superstitions, were sedulously placed before the fine mind of the young cardinal; the choicest specimens of art always meeting his quick eye formed his taste; but a living Christ, and the glorious gospel of the grace of God, were hidden from him; and when he shone as a distinguished genius among his fellow-men, patronising useful studies, and rewarding intellectual exertion, he was deeply involved in the world's vainest amusements, and a deadly opponent of Scripture truth. The last years of Lorenzo the Magnificent were celebrated by the poets of the time as realising the fiction of the golden age. Marvellous plenty and peace prevailed, it was said, in Florence; atrocious crimes

were exceedingly rare; the adjoining states were obsequious, and foreign princes friendly. Lorenzo's reputation had spread so widely, that one of the conspirators against him, who had taken refuge at Constantinople, was sent to him in chains by Mahomet the Great. In his closing years, his friendship was courted and valued by the emperor, Frederic III.; by John II., king of Portugal; by Corvino, the king of Hungary; by Louis XI., of France, and even by the Sultan of Egypt. The latter sent to Lorenzo, in 1487, some valuable commodities and rare animals, amongst which was a camelopard that greatly attracted public curiosity.

The peace of Lorenzo's later years was favourable to the pursuits in which he found most delight. He entirely gave up commerce, and employed his leisure in the improvement of his estates, in the society of literary men, and in his favourite studies. At all his mansions, the learned found a home; his farms were models of good cultivation; his pleasure grounds were remarkable for picturesque beauty; and his botanical garden was the first of its kind in Europe. His palace at Florence was the constant resort of the literati; and, it appears, that the conversation sometimes turned on divine things. One evening, in a select circle of friends, Lorenzo said, "If no one can effectually exert himself to obtain eternal happiness without the special favour of God, and, if that favour be only granted towards those who are well disposed towards its reception, I wish to know whether the grace of God, or the good disposition, first commences." Any one who had read the Scriptures, with the help of the blessed author of them, might have answered him in a few words; but this question led one of the many theologians who were present to write a long Latin treatise on the subject, which, probably, darkened knowledge. In 1488, Lorenzo, being afflicted with hereditary gout, went to try some warm baths for the alleviation of his sufferings, and had the grief of losing his wife. Alarming public events followed these private sufferings. Jerome Riario was stabbed in his own palace by three captains of his guard; and, only a month after, the lord of Faenza was stabbed by his own wife, because he was intending to sell his little principality to the Venetians.

The disturbances which followed these shocking murders were with difficulty quieted by Lorenzo. He preserved Faenza to the son of its deceased lord; and the widow of his enemy Riario, who was a daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, being afterwards married into the Medici family, was the grandmother of the first grand-duke of Tuscany.

The year 1489 was distinguished by the arrival at Florence of a monk, who was to exert the most remarkable influence in that city. This was Jerome Savonarola, a Dominican, who had been appointed prior of the chief convent, that of St. Mark. The monks wondered that their new superintendent did not, like his predecessors, pay his respects to the prince of the city; but Savonarola, in answer to their complaints, exclaimed, "Who raised me to this dignity, Lorenzo or God? Let us give thanks to God, and not to a mortal man." So black is the history of the Dominicans, that it is happy to record the grace of God to a man of that order, making him the most shining public witness for Christ that had yet appeared in Italy. Florence, at this time, possessed everything that could attract and enchain the natural heart; it presented all that could gratify the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and God, in his mercy, sent into its midst one who boldly testified that fleshly lusts war against the soul, and showed the difference between the way of destruction and the way of salvation. In the autumn of 1489, Savonarola began to lecture publicly on the book of Revelation. He took his stand under a shrubbery of Damascus roses in the convent garden, and his audiences were so large that many of the monks could only find room on the surrounding wall.

"People of Florence," said Savonarola, "give yourselves to the study of the Holy Scriptures. To understand them is the first of blessings. . . . Let us publicly confess the truth. The Scriptures have been locked up; this light has been almost extinguished among men. Has it not been set aside, left in the dust?"

With wonderful talent and energy, the preacher proceeded to expose the corruptions of the existing church system, and the awful characteristics of the Romish apostasy as pointed out in the Revelation. He argued that Italy had sinned above all other lands, and that only

repentance and reformation could avert the deserved judgment of God. And not only did the prior desire a national change of religion and manners, he longed for the salvation of souls; and to that end dwelt largely on the purifying effects of faith, and the utter worthlessness of mere outward worship in the sight of a heart-searching God. One quotation gives a pleasing idea of this part of his labours :

“ If, in the presence of God, the question were put to all the righteous, ‘ Have you been saved by your own strength ? ’ they would, with one voice, exclaim, ‘ Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy Name be the glory.’ Wherefore, O God, I seek thy mercy, and I bring thee not my own righteousness: the moment thou justifiest me by thy **grace**, thy righteousness belongs to me; for grace is the righteousness of God. So long, O man, as thou believest not, thou art, because of sin, deprived of grace. O God, save me by thy righteousness, that is, by thy Son, who alone was found righteous before men ! ”

These, doubtless, were Savonarola's inmost thoughts, as directed by God's holy Spirit; but there was much of mistake and ignorance in his course, arising partly from education and circumstances, and partly from his mixing up his political with his religious convictions. But we must reserve the remainder of his career for our succeeding period, and only mention him here in connection with the close of the life of Lorenzo. Savonarola had not learned that lesson of divine wisdom, which prevents a man from asking, “ What is the cause that the former days were better than these ? ” He thought he had ascertained that they were so; and that the breaking down of the power of the Medici would restore beneficial liberty to the state, and favour the spread of true religion. It was for this reason he refused to court Lorenzo. But this noble-minded man never resented the unusual neglect; he commended the boldness of the prior as a reprover of vice, approved his labours and his preaching, and designated him the *true* monk. In 1492, three years after the arrival of Savonarola, Lorenzo was attacked with a slow fever, in addition to his usual suffering from gout, and retired from Florence to one of his country seats. On finding recovery hopeless, he desired a visit from the true monk. Up to that time he had been surrounded by the learned friends who warmly loved him, calmly conversing with them on

their favourite topics, and speaking of another world in the strain of the ancient philosophers: he did not, however, neglect the forms and ceremonies prescribed by the Romish Church. Many physicians had tried their skill in vain; and, in his dying hours, he was left to the attentions of Leoni, a doctor of Spoleto, who administered amalgamated pearls and jewels, with other expensive potions, as if he believed that medicines were useful in proportion to their costliness. When his patient died, his distress was so great that he drowned himself in a well. Two different accounts are given of Savonarola's visit to the dying prince. One biographer relates, that the monk exhorted Lorenzo, commended him to the mercy of God, and assured him that his sins would be forgiven him, if he had strong and living faith. The prince replied that he had that faith. Then Savonarola told him, that he ought to forgive his enemies, to restore any thing he had obtained unjustly, or command his sons to do so, and, finally, give back to the republic its ancient freedom. On the latter point, Lorenzo observed silence, and the prior departed suddenly, without giving him the absolution that he had desired. But a friend and eye-witness asserts, that Savonarola said nothing on the subject of the government; and that, as he was quitting the room, Lorenzo, to show he felt no resentment against him, called him back and asked his blessing. The prior then pronounced the usual benedictions, to which the dying man made the responses.

Lorenzo maintained the same firmness to the last, seeking to comfort his weeping friends. With some of these he had been a kind of idol; and Politian, the instructor of his children, a man of elegant mind, a scholar, and a poet like himself, sank under the effects of grief soon after his death. Lorenzo died April 8, 1492, at the age of forty-two. He was followed to the grave with the sincerest lamentations, but his funeral was of the plainest description, and neither name nor epitaph marked the place of his interment.

When the King of Naples heard of Lorenzo's death, he observed, "This man has lived long enough for his own glory, but too short a time for Italy." His death, indeed, was followed by some of the worst troubles of that unhappy country. One of Lorenzo's daughters married a

son of Pope Innocent VIII. That pontiff died only three months after his friend and counsellor, and was succeeded by Alexander VI., the worst of the Popes.

Of the Emperor Frederic III., who died in the following year, little remains to be said. After he had lost Bohemia and Hungary, his hereditary states in Austria were nearly wrested from him by his brother Albert, who even besieged him in the fortress of Vienna. Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, acted as mediator, but Albert was permitted to retain Lower Austria till his death (A. D. 1463). Frederic conceived such high ideas of the destiny of Austria, that he caused to be inscribed on his public buildings, on his plate, and even on his books, the vowels, *a. e. i. o. u.*, as being the initial letters of the sentence—*Austria est imperare orbi universo, i. e.* Austria is to govern the whole world. When Podiebrad died, in 1471, Frederic was again passed by; and Ladislaus, son of Casimir, king of Poland, was called to reign in Bohemia. When, also, Matthias Corvino died, without children, the crown of Hungary did not pass to Frederic, or his son, according to previous agreement, but was forcibly seized by the same Ladislaus. Maximilian, the eldest son of Frederic, was far more warlike than himself; he first created him archduke of Austria, and then procured his recognition as king of the Romans, or avowed heir of the empire.

Frederic III. died from the effects of the amputation of his leg, in the 79th year of his age, and the 54th of his reign (A. D. 1493).

## CHAPTER XI.

*Times of the Medici.*

FRANCE. A. D. 1461—1493.

ACCESSION OF LOUIS XI. — HIS CHARACTER. — OCCASION OF HIS TITLE OF MOST CHRISTIAN KING. — HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE. — BENEFITS OF HIS REIGN. — HIS ATTEMPTS TO HUMBLE THE NOBILITY. — WAR OF THE PUBLIC GOOD. — THE KING'S MORTIFICATION AT PERONNE. — THE MURDER OF HIS BROTHER, AND OTHER CRIMES ATTRIBUTED TO HIM. — STORY OF CHARLES THE RASH, DUKE OF BURGUNDY. — THE SWISS, BY THrice DEFEATING HIM, SECURE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE, AND A CHARACTER AS WARRIORS. — LOUIS ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN BY FORCE AND FRAUD THE POSSESSIONS OF HIS SLAIN RIVAL. — MAXIMILIAN MARRIES MARY OF BURGUNDY, AND MAKES WAR WITH LOUIS. — THE TREATY OF ARRAS. — AFTER SUCCEEDING IN ALL HIS SCHEMES, LOUIS IS SEIZED WITH ILLNESS. — HIS CRUELITIES AND SUPERSTITIONS. — HIS DEATH. — REGENCY OF HIS DAUGHTER ANNE DURING THE MINORITY OF HIS SON, CHARLES VIII. — STORY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS. — STATE OF BRETAGNE. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF MAXIMILIAN. — HIS BETROTHED WIFE, ANNE OF BRETAGNE, MARRIES CHARLES VIII. — PROJECTS OF THAT KING.

WE have already followed Charles VII. of France to the close of his long and chequered reign, and we now enter on the reign of his eldest son, Louis XI.

It is said that Charles passed the last seven days and nights of his life without food, because of a report that he was in danger of being poisoned. He died, without reconciliation to his son, July 1461. When Louis heard of the event, he was at Gemappe in Brabant, a province belonging to Philip, the good duke of Burgundy, who had long given him shelter. A mass for the dead was immediately ordered, at which Louis attended, clothed in

black; he then put on the purple robe, according to the custom of the kings of France on such occasions; and prepared, with the help of the duke, to claim his inheritance. Charles would have preferred that his younger son, who bore his own name, should reign after him, and the prince had a strong party in his favour, because of the dauphin's well-known character; but the laws of succession prevailed, and Louis was crowned at Rheims, in the presence of the Burgundian court. The duke, on this occasion, fell at his feet, entreating him to pardon all who had offended him. The king replied, that he would forgive all but seven: these he did not name, and thus reserved to himself the choice of his victims. The character of Louis XI. may in part be conceived by his delight in the maxim of Tiberius, "He who knows not how to feign, knows not how to reign." (*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.*) When he had a son old enough to learn, he desired that he might not be taught anything of Latin but these five words. But Louis was as cruel as he was deceitful; and his whole disposition and career stand in most striking contrast with the appellation of *Most Christian King*, which was bestowed on him by Paul II.

It was in the first year of his reign that he received this title from the Pope; because, at his request, he gave up to him the original copy of the edict, called the Pragmatic Sanction: the bishop who carried it to Rome was rewarded by a cardinal's hat. Louis hoped by this concession to purchase the Pope's aid in the establishment of the French in Naples, and his appointment of a legate in France, who should nominate to vacant benefices on the spot, and thus prevent money from being carried out of the kingdom to obtain presentation to them at Rome. Neither of these objects being attained, the king refused to publish an edict revoking the Pragmatic Sanction; and thus the Gallican Church remained in much the same state as before that document was resigned to the Pope. The personal appearance of Louis XI. is described as very repulsive, whilst he possessed none of the qualities that redeem natural defects. He had a large head, small limbs, and an unpleasing deportment. Greedy of power for its own sake, he cared nothing for the external ornaments which are its usual accompaniment, and to some

minds its greatest charm : he commonly wore a coat of coarse cloth, and an old hat surmounted with a leaden image of the Virgin, to which he often paid his devotions. There was something strikingly eccentric in the character of his mind : ambitious as he was, and deeply as he was usually involved in political plots, he could give himself to hunting and hawking, and to the personal encouragement of trade and agriculture. He inscribed his name in the companies of artisans, mixed with the burgesses, and entertained merchants at his table : at one of his farms he established a dairy, in which, it is said, he sometimes amused himself with the innocent but unkingly employment of making butter.

The reign of Louis was not without benefit to the country at large. He furthered its general prosperity by freeing foreign merchants and manufacturers, especially the Greek fugitives, from taxes, thus encouraging them to bring their wealth and industry into France. At the same time, he secured the property of his subjects by severe laws against robbery.\* The chief aim of Louis was the depression of the great nobles, whose power interfered with his own : this led him into many crimes. On his first arrival at Paris he displaced all his father's ministers, and raised to their posts men of low birth, subservient to his own will, and yet of sufficient talent to carry out his designs. One of his reasons for banishing from his court men of noble rank and appearance was, it is supposed, his consciousness of his own ugliness and awkwardness, and his fear of appearing to greater disadvantage in their company. We have marked the conduct of Louis as a son ; he was not more kindly behaved as a husband. His first wife, Margaret, daughter of James I. of Scotland,

\* An interesting circumstance concerning a robber condemned to be hung, occurred in this reign. He happened to be suffering from stone, a complaint for which no cure, up to that time, had been found. Some clever surgeons of Paris, who had thought of a remedy, entreated the king to allow them to operate on this criminal, by way of experiment ; representing to him how many persons in his states, and elsewhere, were tormented by the same dreadful malady, and unrelieved. Louis consented. The experiment was successful, the robber being entirely cured in fifteen days ; and the king was so well pleased, that he gave him a free pardon, and also a gratuity.

found the alliance, which her father had anxiously coveted for her, very unhappy: she died, at the age of twenty-six, before the elevation of Louis to the throne. On her death-bed, she expressed to her attendants, in the strongest terms, her utter weariness of life. Louis married again, before he became king, Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Savoy: she became the mother of six children, and died in the same year as her husband. He owned her to be a virtuous and loving wife, but he caused her much suffering. The Duke of Burgundy's advice to the king was, that he should "honour and cherish his lords, and specially nourish his young brother Charles, and part with him lovingly his father's possessions;" but we find that far other thoughts were in the mind of Louis, nor did he gratefully return the kindness of the prince who had protected him. A standing army had been formed in the times of Charles VII.; and the men of France were then so anxious to maintain the independence they had regained, that it was found easy to obtain a sufficient revenue for the payment of the troops by a tax levied on towns. Charles is said never to have obtained more than 1,800,000 livres; his son raised it to 4,700,000; and introduced the principle, that the sovereign had the right of levying taxes without the consent of those who were to pay them: the assembly of the states-general therefore became useless in this reign, and the parliament, which pretended to represent that national council, was mostly ruled according to the king's will. Thus freedom was gradually lost to France, whilst it was given and secured to England.

Notwithstanding all the favours that he had received in Burgundy, Louis attempted to raise the *gabelle* tax there. The duke sent his ambassador to protest. "Who is this Duke of Burgundy?" said the king, insultingly. "Is he of a different metal from the other nobles of my kingdom?" "Yes, sire," replied the faithful envoy, "he is of a very different metal; for he alone received and supported you, when you excited and fled from the anger of King Charles, your father." But sentiments of honour and gratitude were not to be awakened in a mind where they existed not; and the frequent visits of the king to the duke were so selfish in their intentions, and so injurious

to the interest of Burgundy, that Charles, the heir of the duchy, conceived against Louis a hatred which was equally dangerous to himself and the king. Without consideration of consequences, Louis bent the whole powers of his mind upon his own aggrandisement at the expense of the nobility. Not satisfied with depriving them of all the offices, commands, and pensions which were in the gift of the crown, he threw some into prison, and even sent officers to seize Charles of Burgundy. He then bore the title of Count of Charolois, and had married the king's sister, Catherine. In 1465, the princes and nobles leagued together against the king, and as they scattered proclamations, addressed to the people, complaining of the tyranny of the government, and declaring that they took up arms *solely for the public good*, the war that ensued was called "the war of the public good!" This title was, however, in the end changed for an opposite one; for it was seen that there were other selfish minds besides that of the king, and that the public good was sacrificed to private ends. Louis, perceiving the dangers that threatened him, had recourse to one of the many superstitious observances to which he commonly fled in seasons of difficulty; he went on pilgrimage to some saintly shrine. Then he invaded the territory of the weakest of the leagued princes, the Duke of Bourbon, who had married one of his sisters; and sought also to intimidate the Duke of Bretagne. At the same time, he made his own appeals to the people, and took great pains to secure the loyalty of Paris, thinking that other cities and towns would follow the example of the capital. Under the influence of a priest named La Balue, the son of a tailor, for whom the king had obtained a cardinal's hat, Paris was kept faithful; and refused to admit the lords, who, with their army, encamped on the outside of the city, and sought by every means to propitiate the favour of the people. The king had 30,000 men on his side, the nobles more; but it was said, that, by reason of the long peace, the generals knew as little how to command as the soldiers to fight. On his way back to Paris, Louis suddenly came upon the army commanded by the Count of Charolois, and met with a partial defeat near Monthleri (July 16). Nevertheless, he gained his object in entering Paris; and, as it was well supplied

with provisions, held it for three months.\* But his own brother, Charles, duke of Berri, had joined the opposing party, and the fear that he might be set up as king induced Louis to come to an accommodation with his opponents. To this end, he promised the government of Normandy to his brother, and, to the other princes, all that they demanded. The treaty was signed at Conflans : but Louis, at least, had no intention of observing it ; he only wished to dissolve the league, and then expected he could do as he pleased. In fact, the next year, he forcibly deprived his brother of Normandy, took away the privileges granted to the Duke of Bourbon, and won over the Duke of Bretagne to his interest. Then he resolved to try his influence with the Count of Charolois, who had just succeeded to the dukedom of Burgundy by the death of his father. St. Pol, a professed friend of the duke's, whom Louis had made constable of the kingdom, deceived him as to Charles's real feelings towards him ; and the king, satisfied with obtaining a safe-conduct from the new duke, galloped with a few followers to Peronne, then the residence of the Burgundian court. After thus rashly throwing himself into the power of an enemy, Louis discovered that neither flattery nor fine speeches would avail, and that his unfaithfulness to his late treaty had deprived him of all credit. He soon began to fear for his personal safety, for whilst he was in the castle of Peronne, tidings were brought to Charles, that his subjects of the town of Liege, stirred up by the king's emissaries, were in revolt. This new offence seemed to the duke unpardonable ; and feeling that he had the king entirely in his power, he was greatly tempted to keep him in confinement, and to place his brother on the throne. A messenger was even made ready to bear a letter to this effect to the Duke of Berri, and Louis was so unpopular that there would have been few to resent a change of sovereigns. Charles, however, had not resolution to take so decided a step. Comines, the historian of this period, was his companion at the

\* Paris was first lighted at this time. Every householder, by the king's order, was required to keep a candle burning, in a front window, all the night long ; and this law remained in force till the establishment of public lanterns.

time, and tried to soothe his anger; and, after three days and three nights of almost sleepless anxiety, both on one side and the other, the duke agreed to release the king, on condition that he would give his brother the government of Champagne, and go himself to Liege and assist in quelling the insurrection that he had stirred up. Even on these terms Louis was glad to be free from his melancholy confinement, which had been passed in the tower where Charles the Simple was murdered by the Count of Vermandois. In vain did the citizens of Liege offer to submit, when they beheld the duke and the king approach their walls; Charles was bent on revenge, and Louis was obliged to witness the storming of the place, and the pillage and massacre common on such occasions; but only his own baseness could have moved him to applaud, as we are told that he did, the duke's valour. Whilst at Peronne, some letters from La Balue to the duke fell into the king's hands, and proved to him the treachery of the man in whom he had most confided: on his release, as he dared not put him to death, because of his ecclesiastical rank, he shut him up in an iron cage, in the castle of Loches, all the rest of his days.\*

Louis had so high an opinion of his own wisdom and cunning, that he was more vexed to have been outwitted by the Duke of Burgundy than by any other part of the matter. He would never afterwards allude to the treaty of Peronne, or even mention the place; and he ordered his officers to wring off the necks of some talking birds in Paris, which had been taught to cry, by way of derision, "Peronne! Peronne!" The Duke of Berri was at last forced to take Guienne instead of Champagne; for the king felt it would be dangerous to give him the latter province, because of its contiguity to the duchy of Burgundy. Pretexts for renewal of war were not long wanting. Louis and Charles took different sides in the civil war then raging in England; Louis supported Henry VI. and his queen, Margaret of Anjou; Charles took the part of Edward IV., and at length married his sister Margaret. By his first wife, the duke had an only

\* This iron cage was eight feet long and eight feet wide: La Balue himself had invented it, on which account many cursed his name.

child, named Mary, who was the heiress of his vast and rich domains. The Duke of Guienne wished to marry her, and because her father would not consent, that prince urged his royal brother to declare war against Burgundy, hoping that his distress would make him willing to part with his daughter for the sake of aid. The constable St. Pol also turned against his old friend, and gained St. Quentin and Amiens for the king by treachery. But, during a truce, the king and the duke discovered that St. Pol equally deceived them both; and the former agreed to give him up to the latter, with the towns that he had gained so unjustly. Charles, however, did not even then become the king's friend, but made a league with the Dukes of Guienne and Bretagne, and with Edward of England, against him. At this critical period, the Duke of Guienne died, together with his mistress; it was said from partaking together of a poisoned peach sent them by the king, and presented by an abbot (A. D. 1471). Some doubt rests on this story; and one writer observes, it is not certain that peaches had been introduced into France at this era. The abbot was imprisoned, and on the eve of his trial was found dead; a circumstance which increased the suspicion against the king. Louis, we are told, pacified his own conscience by inventing a mid-day prayer to the Virgin: it seems to have been his custom to try to atone for particular sins by particular acts of devotion.

The rage of the Duke of Burgundy was shown in his entering Picardy with his army. His course was marked by massacre and ravages, and his cruelty acquired him the name of Charles the Terrible. In an attack on Beauvais he was repulsed; a woman, named Jeanne Hachette, being the first to give the alarm, and to aid in the defence of the town. By the king's order, an annual religious procession was instituted at Beauvais, which still subsists; and in which the women take precedence of all but the clergy, in remembrance of this instance of female valour. During a truce with the Duke of Burgundy, Louis employed himself in disputing Rousillon in arms with the King of Arragon, and in humbling the power of his nobles by every act of treachery and cruelty within his power. Charles of Burgundy, whom we may now dis-

tinguish by either of his common surnames, the Bold, or the Rash, in power almost equalled, and in wealth exceeded the king; and, as he could not rest satisfied in the position of a vassal, and yet possessed not sufficient power to make himself independent of Louis, he determined to suspend his war with that monarch, and increase his strength by alliance and conquest. His daughter Mary, now in early womanhood, had been asked in marriage for Maximilian, king of the Romans; and Charles demanded, that the emperor, as the price of his consent, would create him lieutenant-general of the empire, and crown him king of Belgic Gaul—the name that he gave to his own dominions: a place and a time of meeting were appointed; and Charles, fully confident that he should obtain his desire, prepared regalia for the occasion. But Frederic III., in a short personal conference, took offence at his haughtiness, and suddenly departed without even taking leave of him. The pacific and timid Frederic and the bold and terrible Charles were not very likely to agree together. In revenge for the indignity offered him by the emperor, Charles broke off the treaty of marriage, and invaded the Rhemish provinces. The kingdom which he intended to form for himself was to include the whole course of the Rhine from its source to its mouth; he obtained the duchy of Gueldres, and part of Alsace by purchase, and the fine province of Lorraine by conquest, and then set his heart on the subjection of the Swiss cantons.

All the efforts of Austria to obtain sovereignty over Switzerland had proved vain. The battle of Morgarten, which laid the groundwork of its independence, was fought in 1315: forty battles with the Austrians followed; and the last, which took place at Sempach, in 1386, was rendered remarkable by the self-sacrifice of Arnold Struthan, a warrior of Unterwalden. Perceiving that his countrymen could not break the serried ranks of the Austrians, and that they could only be victorious by doing so, he determined to force a passage. Crying loudly to his fellow-soldiers to provide for his family, and to honour his race, he rushed through the close line of the enemy, grasped as many of their pikes as he could, and bearing them violently to the ground in his own bosom, left an

open space for his countrymen over his dead body: the order of the astonished foe being thus broken, the Swiss gained the day. Charles, however, would not learn experience by the defeats of others; and as the Duke of Austria willingly gave up to him the merely nominal claims of his house, pleased at the thought of his turning his arms against neighbours of whom the Austrians were ever jealous, Charles supported a German governor, named Hagenbach, in his efforts to extort tribute from the Swiss by violence. "We must skin this bear of Berne," said the duke, "and clothe ourselves with the fur;" but he soon discovered that the free mountaineers would no more submit to his tyranny than to that of Austria: they were encouraged, moreover, in their resistance, by the secret intrigues of the King of France, who seemed to perceive that Switzerland was a likely trap to catch his troublesome adversary.

By means of the newly discovered art of printing, real history was now dispersed abroad; and the true stories of ancient heroes were read with almost the same avidity as the romances which they displaced. Charles the Bold, like Mahomet the Great, and many others, read history for harm, and not for profit; the deeds of the daring and the cruel were taken by them as examples for imitation, and not as warnings against similar actions. Whilst Charles saw himself at the head of an army of 40,000 men, which had been victorious in Lorraine, and recollected that he had never yet met an enemy superior to him, he thought with delight of crossing the Alps to attack men, whose fame for courage somewhat resembled that of the early Romans; and he spoke of Hannibal as the general whose renown he expected to emulate.

The Swiss republic, like that of ancient Rome, did not scorn to send ambassadors to avert the invasion; they even offered amends and submission, in return for justice; and represented the little advantage that an enemy could reap in so poor a country. "The golden bits of your bridles, the spurs of your knights," said the ambassador to the duke, "are more in value than all our land contains." But Charles was bent on acquiring fame and territory rather than wealth, and nothing could then stop his course. He marched into Switzerland through

the valley of the Arve, in February 1476; and laid siege to Granson, which had a garrison of about 500 men. They were persuaded to surrender by a treacherous countryman of their own, in the duke's service; and were immediately put to death, either by hanging or drowning. This horrible intelligence proved an effectual call to the united cantons; and each furnishing its due proportion, 20,000 men marched against the Burgundians. The duke met them on the road to Neufchatel, where the country was too hilly for his cavalry to act; and the Swiss, armed with long halberds, bore down the Burgundian knights, who in vain resisted. The huge and terrific horns blown by the peasants of Uri and Unterwalden increased the prevailing terror and confusion, and the battle ended in the complete rout of the Burgundians. They lost but few of their numbers, as the Swiss had no horse to pursue them; but they left to the victors the plunder of a camp, which almost rivalled that of Xerxes in luxury and splendour. Silken tents with cords of golden wire, velvets, tapestry, pearls, and jewels in profusion, were among the spoils. Plate was flung away as pewter. A beautiful diamond, which the duke commonly wore about his neck, was found in a box of pearls; at first rejected as a bauble, then taken up, and sold for a crown. It was afterwards purchased by the Pope for 20,000 ducats, and still adorns the papal tiara. As Duke Charles fled across the Alps on his way from Granson, his fool, the only person, perhaps, who would have dared to make a jest of his disappointment, cried to him, "Ha! my lord, are we not finely Hannibalised?" Louis, with the keenness of a jealous enemy, had gone to Lyons, purposely to watch the duke's movements: he was delighted at his discomfiture; and the more so, as it detached from Charles's interest all his allies, and enabled the king to secure to himself the possessions of René of Anjou, the last of his house, who previously was about to leave Provence and his other dominions to the duke. Louis did not fail to reward and encourage the Swiss by subsidies and fair words. Charles, instead of returning home, staid at Lausanne, to recruit his army. It was observed that, in his dejection, he suffered his beard to grow; and that he took large draughts of wine, which, by reason of

his hot temperament, he did not usually allow himself. In about three months he had sufficiently recovered his spirits, and increased his forces, to make a second attempt upon Switzerland. He encamped at Morat, within six leagues of Berne, and invested the place. The Swiss marched to its relief, and, on this occasion, having the aid of René of Lorraine, with a formidable body of cavalry, their forces amounted to 30,000 men. The duke's army was scarcely so numerous, though it included a company of Italian mercenaries, and a body of English under the command of the Duke of Somerset. The Swiss, according to custom, knelt down in line, uttered a short prayer, and then rushed on their enemies. The contest was, for a time, doubtful, but Swiss valour prevailed. Somerset and his English, with the best knights of Burgundy, fell; and Charles was among the few who escaped safely. The Swiss were resolved to prevent a third invasion, and were absolutely merciless. "Cruel as at Morat" was, for a long time, a Swiss proverb. They took no prisoners in the battle, and the flight was yet more destructive. Many who sought refuge in the lake were pursued and killed there. The slain lay unburied; and, when nothing but the bones remained, they were gathered together in a chapel, called the Ossuary of Morat, which remained as a monument of Swiss independence till destroyed by the French revolutionary army in 1798.

The fame of the Swiss as warriors was now so established, and their barren homes so safe, that they began to make war their trade; and, as mercenary soldiers, bore a conspicuous part in the subsequent wars of Europe. Charles the Rash, untaught by bitter experience, still called on his subjects for fresh subsidies and armies; but as it was plain his aim was to avenge his own disgraces, and not to defend or benefit them, aid came in slowly and unwillingly. René, count of Vaudemont, whose mother was a daughter of René of Anjou, seized the opportunity to recover Lorraine, his own inheritance. Charles, with only 6000 men, laid siege to Nancy the capital, which had been surrendered to its rightful lord, and René urged his allies, the Swiss, to assist him in its relief. The Swiss having begun to fight for gold, set so

high a price on their services, that some months elapsed before their demands were satisfied. From the October of 1476, the year of his defeat at Morat, till January 1477, Charles lay before Nancy in vain: it was one of the most rigorous winters ever known. When at last attacked by René and the Swiss, it was amidst snow and frost; he kept his ground, and his knights fought desperately; but the infantry gave way on hearing the terrific horns that had been the signal of the rout at Granson; and the auxiliaries, through the treachery of their commander, fled. The body of Charles was found some days after, stripped and half immersed in a frozen pool. The richness of his attire had, probably, tempted some one to destroy him, as he was for the third time endeavouring to escape from the battle-field. Louis soon heard of his rival's death, by means of the posts which he had shortly before established throughout his dominions.\* He could scarcely conceal his joy, and took immediate measures for securing to himself such of the late duke's dominions as he could claim by any pretence. He seized Burgundy and Artois, on the ground that they were fiefs of the crown of France which could not be held by a woman. The Prince of Orange, the chief nobleman of the duchy, favoured his claims; and the towns on the Somme, as well as Boulogne, Arras, and Tournay, surrendered to him. Mary, the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Burgundy, was residing at Ghent when her father died, and looked for counsel chiefly to her stepmother, Margaret of York, sister to Edward IV. of England.

The rich and independent citizens of Ghent, always indisposed to be governed, and especially by a foreigner, took the young duchess under their own care, and seemed resolved to rule Flanders in her name: they resolutely opposed every effort of the King of France to bring them under his dominion. But Mary secretly wrote to the king, and implied that she should prefer a union with the young dauphin, his son, to the bondage in which she was kept by her own subjects. Louis felt that if she

\* These posts originated in the king's suspicious temper, and his anxiety to learn whatever was passing in his kingdom. They were solely employed in his service. It was not until 1630, that the letters of private individuals might be conveyed by the public posts.

were betrothed to his son, then only eight years old, so long a time must elapse before the marriage could take place, that he should obtain no secure hold on the wealthy province that he coveted; he therefore hoped to create a party in his own favour, by making known to the people of Ghent Mary's secret letter. They were as angry with her as he expected them to be; and hurried two of her counsellors to torture and execution, notwithstanding her appearance at the scaffold, entreating with tears for their lives. Louis, however, had defeated his own purposes; for Mary, from that moment, conceived such a hatred of him and of France, that she did not rest till she had concluded the marriage with Maximilian, originally proposed by her father. Through the penuriousness, or the political difficulties of the emperor, Frederic III., his son was then so poor, that the archduchess was obliged to pay the expenses of his suite when he came into the Low Countries to be married to her. Maximilian was of a lively, impetuous disposition, and quite prepared to carry on war with Louis, in defence of his wife's rights. Burgundy, too, revolted under the Prince of Orange, and the Flemings defended Artois for their duchess. The English were invited to their aid, but the bribes of Louis kept them back. In 1479, Maximilian gained a decisive victory over the French at Guinegate, and Louis seemed disposed to suspend the war. Mary only survived her marriage four years; her death was caused by a fall from her horse. She left an only daughter, Margaret, three years old, an important personage in the subsequent affairs of Europe.

By a treaty, concluded at Arras, in December 1482, it was agreed between Louis and Maximilian that the infant Margaret should be betrothed to the dauphin Charles, then twelve years of age, and educated in France; and that Artois, Franche Comté, and other territories, should be her dowry. Louis, at the same time, acquired Burgundy Proper, and Picardy, as his share of the spoils of Charles; and soon after, by the death of René, inherited Provence and Anjou. All the princes and nobles of the kingdom put their seals on the treaty of Arras, swearing that they would as soon forfeit obedience to their king, as its conditions.

Louis XI. seemed now to have arrived at the summit of his ambition; never had political craft been more successful; his nobles were humbled; a vast and united kingdom was under his despotic control; his wars with earthly princes were ended. He had, however, to learn a truth most unwelcome to him. "There is no man that hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death; and *there is no discharge in that war*; neither shall wickedness deliver those that are given to it." (Eccl. viii. 8.) The year before the treaty of Arras, Louis had a stroke of apoplexy, and never recovered his health, though he lived till a second stroke carried him off two years after. He had caused an immense amount of suffering to others, and few tyrants had been more lavish of human life; but suffering in his own person and the prospect of death were so intolerable, that he sought by the most extraordinary means to avert both. Against every human enemy, or such as were suspected to be enemies, he guarded himself, during his sickness, with the utmost care. Conscious, perhaps, that he was hateful alike to the princes, nobles, clergy, parliament, and people, he trusted himself exclusively to the low-born favourites, who, as partners in his cruelties, were as odious as himself, and whose interest it was to protect his life. He made himself liked by these men by his naturally facetious humour, which he indulged in their presence, and also by his gifts and flatteries. Tristan, once a hermit, his provost, may truly be described as his right hand; whatever the king willed, this man was ready to execute. He was the judge, the gaoler, and the executioner of more than four thousand victims of the king's wrath. One of his plans for getting rid of those whom he was commissioned to destroy was, to conduct them along a passage to a trap-door, which gave way, and precipitated the condemned into a pit, where they perished of hunger. One incident has been given as showing the summary nature of the punishments inflicted by Tristan, and the terms on which he lived with the king. One day, when in public, he made a sign to the provost to seize a certain captain against whom he had a grudge; Tristan, mistaking the person indicated by the king, arrested a monk who stood near him, and the captain fled.

Louis, on finding the innocent person had been sewn up in a sack, and thrown into the Seine, only reproached Tristan for his error by exclaiming, "It was the best monk in my dominions; let half-a-dozen masses be said for him to-morrow." The dismal effects of superstition, combined with tyranny and wickedness, were never more strikingly seen than in the conduct of this wretched king. A few instances will suffice. Having heard that his favourite astrologer had predicted the death of one of his mistresses, he sent for him, intending to give him up to the executioner. He began by sarcastically saying, "When wilt thou die?" The astrologer, aware of his master's fears, and also of his credulity, made the only reply that could have saved his life,—"Three days before your majesty." Louis was so much the slave of his own fears during his last days, that, being persuaded by his physician that he could not live a week after his dismissal, he not only loaded him with gifts, to induce him to put forth all his skill, but suffered the rudest usage from him rather than lose his services. If, as we are assured, the dying king drank blood drawn from the veins of infants to restore his own fainting nature, we perceive, not only his anxiety, by any means, to live, but the ignorant cruelty of his doctor. Indeed no man ever sought more anxiously to prolong his life. He eagerly bought up relics that were said to possess healing virtues; he instituted processions, and gave alms to obtain recovery; and when he could no longer make pilgrimages, he sent for a certain hermit of Calabria, famed for his sanctity, that he might go in his stead. This man, it is said, exhorted him to look to God, and to prepare for another world.

Louis's fear of death seemed wholly unconnected with the fear of God. No man ever perjured himself more often, but he could never be induced to swear by a certain cross at St. Lo, because he had heard that any one who swore falsely by that would die within the year. Persons who knew his scruples on this point asked him to swear by the cross of St. Lo, when they wanted to be sure of his sincerity.

The last residence of the unhappy tyrant was the castle of Plessis: he had neither his family nor a court around him, and even his ministers inhabited the neighbouring town of Tours. The castle was fenced with portcullises,

and guarded by archers day and night; constant commands, but all of a cruel or arbitrary nature, were issued from the castle; and, not many days before his death, the king told Comines that he passed his time in making and ruining men, in order to be talked of, and that his subjects might know he was not dead. In order, also, to hide, as he thought, from the few who visited him, his wasted frame, and other symptoms of approaching death, he exchanged his usual mean dress for a crimson satin gown lined with fur. Around the castle were to be seen gibbets, and iron collars fastened to stakes; and to the last the king continued to inflict death and severe punishments, for fear, as he said, of losing his authority. His cruel commands concerning others were often mingled with cries to the saints for his own relief. Indeed, whatever were his terrors of death, no spiritual blessing ever seemed to come within the circle of his desires; and one day, when his almoner was reciting a prayer for the health of his soul and his body, the king abruptly interrupted, saying, "Don't ask so much at once; pray for the body first, the other will follow."

"I have known him," says Comines, "and have been his servant in the flower of his age, and in the time of his greatest prosperity; but never did I see him without uneasiness and care. . . . He used to return very weary from the chase, and almost ever in wrath with some one. I think that from his childhood he never had any respite of labour and trouble to his death." He died only a few weeks after Edward IV. of England (August 30, 1483). He had reigned twenty-two years.

During the reign of so despotic a monarch as Louis XI., it is not surprising that the papal power was on the decline in France. The king would permit no one to be master save himself. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, being sent by the Pope to Louis, had to wait two months before he was admitted into the royal presence. Then, in reply to a most learned speech, full of Latin, and perhaps Greek quotations, the king seized the cardinal by the beard, and repeated an absurd line from the Latin grammar of that day. Bessarion, it is said, died of vexation at this insult. Louis XI. was either a despiser of learning, or afraid of its effects: he would not allow his son to be

taught to read or write, lest he should too soon become his rival.

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CHARLES, the eighth king of France of that name, was only thirteen years of age when his father died. He was weak, ill-formed, and sickly, for he had been jealously denied exercise as well as education. He became stronger after he was freer, and grew exceedingly fond of such reading as was popular in his day, namely, history and romance. The last will of Louis was, that the care of the young king should devolve on his eldest sister, Anne, wife of the Lord of Beaujeu, a brother of the Duke of Bourbon. Louis, duke of Orleans, son of the duke who was so many years a captive in England, was the first prince of the blood, and heir-presumptive of the crown; he had also been compelled by the late king to marry his daughter Jane, a princess of amiable disposition but deformed in person: on both these grounds he asserted his right to some share in the government, and he was supported by the principal nobles. It was agreed that the states-general should be summoned to decide the question; and the representatives of the three orders, who had never assembled in the late reign, actually met at Tours (Jan. 1484). The Princess Anne, who was a woman of great talent and political skill, and who really seemed to desire the good of the country, rendered herself and her party popular by many wise acts; and the states unanimously confirmed her in the office given to her by her royal father. The Orleans party then questioned the fitness of the assembly to settle the question; but one of the members exclaimed, "To whom does it belong to decide, if not to the same people who first elected their kings, and in whom the sovereign authority really resides?" This restored freedom of speech and sentiment is supposed to have been the fruit of the study of the classics, revived at this period. Despotism shrank back before it, whether kingly or papal. The assembly at Tours, both clergy or laity, prayed that the Pragmatic Sanction might be upheld in all its ancient force, and that no legate might be allowed to enter the kingdom. The freedom of an English parliament was about to be realised on this occasion, when

the lady-regent, fearful of the liberty growing too wide, dissolved the assembly. Her brother, the king, was crowned at Rheims, with great pomp, in the following May; and as he had attained the age of fourteen, was declared to be in his majority. But his want of education, and of natural capacity, prolonged the regency of Anne for several years, and the Duke of Orleans tried in vain to shake her authority. He was defeated by La Tremouille, the first of the generals of France, and a plot that he formed for carrying off the king failed of success. Then he took refuge in Bretagne, where his handsome person, frank disposition, and fascinating manners, so won upon Francis, the reigning duke, that he favoured him in his attempt to win the affections of Anne, his daughter and heiress. But the nobles of the province were jealous of the Duke of Orleans, and leagued with the Lady of Beaujeu against him, so that Francis and his guest were both besieged by a French army in Nantes. The widowed Maximilian, another suitor for the hand of the heiress of Bretagne, sent a force which obliged the French to raise the siege; and the Bretons becoming suspicious of the designs of the Lady of Beaujeu, which were assuredly to conquer the duchy, returned to their allegiance to Duke Francis. Yet after this, La Tremouille defeated the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the Bretons, in a battle at St. Aubin; and the Duke and the Prince of Orange, his fellow-captain, were taken prisoners.

The Duke of Bretagne only survived this defeat a short time, and his decease made his daughter Anne a still more important person. A strong party of Bretons urged her to marry the Sieur d'Albret, a rich lord of Gascony, into whose family the crown of Navarre had passed. He had long been her suitor, but had not his old age made his addresses disagreeable to her, for she was then only fourteen, her partiality for the Duke of Orleans might have disposed her to refuse him. But the duke was in prison; the armies of France were on the point of destroying the independence of the duchy; and the young princess consented to marry Maximilian, who was thought capable of defending her. The archduke consequently sent a nobleman as his proxy, and the marriage ceremony was performed.

A new scheme for annexing Bretagne to the crown of France was now proposed to the king, namely, that he should espouse the young duchess himself. For this there was opportunity, as Maximilian did not come in person to claim his bride, being involved in troubles that had fallen upon him in connection with his first wife, Mary of Burgundy. The possession of Flanders, in her right, brought him more pain than profit; the despotic principles of government which he had learned in Austria did not suit the Flemings; and whilst he was at Bruges he became so unpopular, that the citizens seized and imprisoned him, and put to death his most faithful followers. The people of Ghent and of other places were yet more outrageous; and the archduke, trembling for his life, desired, as a favour, to be kept in the custody of the rebels of Bruges alone. The Pope sent a letter to them, desiring them to release their prince; but they would not do so, till he had signed a treaty, which secured their peculiar privileges, and the pardon of their rebellion. Maximilian, after his release, wished to get rid of these obligations, and entered the Low Countries at the head of a German army, but he could not prevail. His children, in their mother's right, were welcomed as rulers, but the province was for ever lost to him. The character and circumstances of Maximilian were known by the court of France, and thus they were emboldened to carry out their schemes with regard to Bretagne; the Duchess Anne was offended that her affianced husband neither came himself, nor sent troops to her aid; and the insufficient help of Henry VII. of England, who had also wished to marry her, made her more accessible to proposals from a new quarter. These were made by the Duke of Orleans. The first independent act of Charles VIII. was to set him at liberty, and this he did unknown to his sister, being assured that the duke could best prevail in obtaining for him the hand of the Duchess of Bretagne. The Duke of Orleans took no unworthy advantage of the trust reposed in him; he went to Rennes, where the duchess then resided, and the king soon after followed with an army, and encamped before the gates. The duke was received as an old friend, but he had much difficulty in persuading Anne of Bretagne to see the king: he was, however, at length introduced into the

city privately, and pleased her so well that she consented to marry him. The Bretons, also, were satisfied with the alliance, being promised the preservation of their own laws and privileges. The marriage took place in the last month of 1491. It was for the happiness of both parties, as they were amiable and affectionate, and soon learned to love one another. But the loss of his own betrothed, on the one hand, and, on the other, the loss of a crown to his daughter Margaret, so long betrothed to the King of France, highly offended Maximilian. He even entered into an alliance with England against France; but finding himself unable to carry on the war, he was persuaded to conclude a treaty with Charles VIII. It was about the time that he succeeded to the empire by the death of his father. By this treaty, Margaret was restored to her father, with the provinces which were to have been her dowry (A. D. 1493). The annexation of Burgundy and Bretagne, the two most important fiefs of the crown, rendered the French monarchy very powerful: Charles VIII. gloried in his greatness; he saw no necessity for defensive war; and the stories which he had read of Alexander and of Cæsar filled his mind with desire to be a conqueror. On the old and much-contested title of the House of Anjou to the throne of Naples, he founded a claim for himself; and this *whim*, as some historians have termed it, occasioned in its results so great an alteration in the face of Europe, that it has been marked as the commencing point of Modern History.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Times of the Medici.*ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. A. D. 1453—1483.<sup>1</sup>

WRETCHED CHARACTER OF THIS PERIOD. — ORIGIN OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES. — BATTLE OF ST. ALBAN'S. — THE DUKE OF YORK RESUMES HIS POWER, AND AN APPARENT RECONCILIATION IS EFFECTED BY THE KING. — RENEWAL OF THE WAR. — DEFEAT OF THE YORKISTS. — CHARACTER OF THEIR PROCLAMATIONS. — THEIR INCREASING POPULARITY. — BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON. — QUEEN MARGARET AND HER SON ESCAPE. — THE DUKE OF YORK IS PROCLAIMED HEIR-APPARENT, WITH THE CONSENT OF HENRY VI. — HE IS DEFEATED NEAR WAKEFIELD, MOCKED, AND BEHEADED. — POPULARITY OF HIS SON, EDWARD. — HIS VICTORY AT MORTIMER'S CROSS. — IN A SECOND BATTLE AT ST. ALBAN'S, HENRY IS RESTORED TO HIS WIFE AND SON. — EDWARD IV. IS PROCLAIMED IN LONDON. — HIS VICTORY AT THE DREADFUL BATTLE OF TOWTON. — THE EX-ROYAL FAMILY ARE RECEIVED INTO SCOTLAND. — DEATH OF JAMES II. AT THE SIEGE OF ROXBURGH. — HIS INFANT SON, JAMES III., PROCLAIMED KING. — ROXBURGH CASTLE IS TAKEN AND DESTROYED. — ADVENTURES OF QUEEN MARGARET. — CHARACTER OF EDWARD IV. — HIS MARRIAGE ALIENATES HIS MOST POWERFUL FRIENDS. — HIS DANGERS. — HIS EXPULSION FROM THE THRONE. — HIS RESTORATION. — DEATH OF HENRY VI. — CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV.

THIS is one of the most wretched periods of English history. Crime and confusion are its distinguishing features: it is, however, so full of event, that we cannot pass through it as quickly as we would; and, as we proceed, we may carry with us this thought, that a brighter and a better era is to succeed.

The year of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks was, as we have already noticed, marked by the birth of Prince Edward, the first-born child of Queen Margaret of Anjou, and by the illness which entirely incapacitated

his royal father, Henry VI. The Duke of Somerset, the queen's favourite, and the head of the party who sought to govern in the king's name, was very unpopular; he was forcibly taken from the queen's public chamber in January 1454, and placed in the Tower by the party who upheld the Duke of York. It was afterwards alleged that this step was taken, not for his injury, but for the security of his person, which was endangered by the prevailing feeling against him. The Duke of York, as protector, enjoyed almost kingly power during Henry's illness; but, as the king recovered, he was obliged to resign his authority; and Somerset, after enduring fourteen months' imprisonment, was, by the queen's influence, again placed at the head of public affairs, and even made to supersede the Duke of York in a dignity then highly coveted, that of Governor of Calais.

The jealousy thus aroused was the striking out of the spark which set fire to the train of combustible materials already scattered through the length and breadth of the kingdom. The nation had never been in a more military state; the long-continued wars in France had nurtured a martial spirit, and given experience and readiness to the soldiery; and a peace, which had been procured by receiving a Frenchwoman as queen, and sacrificing for her sake possessions bought with so much blood and toil, was likely to be exchanged for civil war, as soon as her government became unpopular.

According to the letter of the English law of succession, Richard, duke of York, had a better right to the throne than Henry VI., for, as we have already shown, he was descended from an older branch of the family of Edward III. But the House of Lancaster, for three generations, had possessed the throne; Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. had been declared to be rightful kings by parliament, and by the voice of the country; and to Henry VI., the Duke of York himself had more than once sworn fidelity. It was, therefore, a bold step to attempt to mount the throne in his stead. Such an idea, it is likely, never would have been entertained, had not the House of Lancaster been connected with certain tyrannical proceedings, abuses, and corruptions, against which the public mind rebelled; and had it not been judged

impossible ever to free such a mind as Henry's from the leading strings of his queen and his ministers. This, however, was first attempted.

The most unpopular persons on the king's side were the higher clergy: they had favoured the establishment of the House of Lancaster, and had been favoured by it in return; and, at this time, they possessed half the landed property in the kingdom, besides the wealth accruing to them from tithes, offerings, benefactions, &c. In the reigns of the three Henrys, clergymen were secretaries of state, keepers of the privy seal, cabinet counsellors, chancellors, presidents of the royal council, keepers of the records, &c. They were also the physicians of Henry VI. On the one side, it was argued that their superior education fitted them for these stations; on the other side, it was made matter of complaint that ecclesiastical duties were entirely neglected for the sake of secular dignities; that these elevated priests cared for little beyond the indulgence of their own pride and passions; and that it had been said, a bishop was not required to preach because he was a bishop. It was, moreover, certified, that the possessed clergy, as they were termed, dreading the progress of that freedom of opinion which might rob them of their wealth and power, were the mainsprings of all religious persecution; and that they were most overbearing in their conduct to poor priests, limiting them both as to place and subject in preaching; and that, after some zealous men had sought from the pulpit to bring to the king's ears those abuses in his government of which he was ignorant, and with which he could not otherwise become acquainted, his clerical ministers took care to overlook every sermon that was to be preached before him. These general causes of discontent, added to the personal quarrels and ambition of the House of York, led to the formation of the two opposing parties, whose struggles shook the kingdom from end to end for more than thirty years.

The Lancastrians used the red, and the Yorkists the white rose, for their distinguishing ensign; and thus these civil wars were termed the wars of the Roses. The standard of the Cross—which should have been for ever the sign of entire subjection to the will of God,

of ardent love to man, even to enemies, and of passive endurance of the worst of sufferings—that standard, we say, witnessed some of the deadliest enmity to God and man, and the infliction of some of the most extensive suffering ever seen on earth; and now the Rose—a creation of God so lovely, and so pure, as to be a meet emblem for his Christ—was made an ensign, around which raged the most furious war between fellow-countrymen, and often between members of one family.

Not satisfied with noting all the clear symptoms of the diseased state of the country which appeared at this period, Fabian relates in his Chronicle, that four wonderful fishes were caught within twelve miles of London, “one called a mors maryne; the second, a sword-fish; and the other two, whales; which, *after some expositors*, were prognostications of war and trouble to ensue soon after.”

He remarks more wisely, that the grievous impositions, laid upon both lords and commons by Somerset and other rulers, were causes of discontent; and that rancour and envy, for eighteen months, had been smoking and burning under the cover of dissimulation, before it broke out into the hot flame of open war. The chief supporters of the Duke of York were the Earl of Salisbury, who boasted that he was descended from the Plantagenets, and the Earl of Warwick, his son, the greatest martial character of the day. The queen and her party, being warned that the duke was coming to London in great power, carried the king westward, gathering such forces as they could muster. The Yorkists moved to Ware, and from thence the duke sent a letter to the king, who was shut into St. Alban's. With much profession of loyalty, he said that he had only come in arms for his own safety; he stated his grievances, and entreated the king to give up certain of his ministers, whose evil report was in everybody's lips. The letter was not delivered to the king, nor was the duke allowed to see him, though he attempted to do so. When he encamped his forces outside St. Alban's, to the number of about 3000, the lords, on the king's side, who had not more than 2000 men, made some attempts at negociation; and also issued a proclamation in the king's name, though not in his spirit: if

alleged that he would rather die than give up any who were about him; and that he would destroy, or condemn to the death of traitors, all who did not immediately depart to their homes. On May 31, 1455, the Yorkists, led on by the Earl of Warwick, assaulted the town about noon; and the barriers being burst, a desperate conflict took place in the streets, in which the rival leaders came together. An abbot, who witnessed the scene, says, he saw one with his brains dashed out, some with the arrow in their throat, others with their chest pierced. He heard shield against shield, and sword against sword. The Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland fell dead, with other nobles of their party; and the Duke of Buckingham, another obnoxious minister, was among the sorely wounded. Their fate decided the battle, though their followers were but little injured; and, in all, less than a hundred of the Lancastrians perished.

The king himself being wounded by a stray arrow, had withdrawn to the house of a tanner, where he received a respectful visit from the Duke of York, who soon after conducted him to London. There, he obtained the royal pardon for himself and his associates, and, still more, the place of trust and honour; for, when the king's health failed, he again acted as his lieutenant, and opened parliament in his name (Nov. 1455). In that parliament the duke was appointed protector; the Earl of Salisbury, chancellor; and the Earl of Warwick, governor of Calais. Had the tranquillity of the country depended upon the disposition of the king, or on that of the duke, who was personally attached to him, the restored quietness might have lasted; but the jealous queen and the lords of her party, both temporal and spiritual, disdained the rule of the Duke of York; and Margaret, by complaining that his title of protector was a reflection on the king's insufficiency to govern, and a great dishonour to him and the kingdom, again caused the duke to be cast down from his high estate. Still more, conspiracies were formed against the life of both York and Warwick. In 1458, the king made a Christian effort to reconcile the two parties; and, with the aid of the primate, procured a show of amity between them. In a grand procession to St. Paul's,

Henry walked first in his royal robes and crown; the Duke of York followed, leading the queen as a familiar friend; the nobles who had most opposed each other came after, hand in hand.\* But this *love-day*, as it was called, was only a deceitful calm before a yet more tremendous storm. An affray in the streets between Warwick's servants and the king's, in which the life of the earl was endangered, made it probable that his assassination was still intended; the queen, on her side, had heard or imagined that Warwick intended to dethrone the king, and exalt the Duke of York; and whilst one party began to express their dread of such an event, the other began to desire it. The Earl of Warwick fled to Calais, and as the malice of the Lancastrians could not reach him there, it was directed against his father, the Earl of Salisbury. Lord Audely, who was sent by the queen with an army, to bring Salisbury to London, dead or alive, met that nobleman with a host of retainers at Bloreheath in Staffordshire, and was himself slain with a great number of his followers (Sept. 23, 1459).

The earl passed on to join the Duke of York, who lay encamped with a large body of troops near Ludlow. The royal army, gathered with all speed by the queen and her council, marched northwards; they stopped only on Sundays, however bad the weather or the roads; and the king himself was sometimes obliged to lodge in the bare fields; yet thirty days elapsed before they reached Ludlow. The Yorkists had dispersed papers in which they stated the grievances they wanted removed, and expressed their belief, that the king, "from his own blessed conversation, and noble disposition, graciously applied himself to the common weal; but that certain persons, from their covetise, that they might rule, had hidden all these evils from him." They also addressed a letter to the king, professing their loyalty to him, and praying him to redress their wrongs. On the other hand, the king's proclamations offered grace to all who would desert the

\* A few weeks before this singular procession, Reginald Peacock, bishop of Chichester, who had imbibed Wickliffe's opinions, was tried at Lambeth, before the primate and other divines; and, by their sentence, his books were burned at St. Paul's Cross, and himself adjudged to perpetual imprisonment.

confederate nobles, and pardon to York and Warwick, if they would ask it within six days.

When it was known that the king himself was with the advancing army, and made such proposals, many of the duke's followers deserted him; he, in vain, tried the wicked and unworthy fraud of causing some persons to swear before his army that Henry VI. had suddenly died; and of ordering masses to be sung for him. The royalists, hearing of the imposition, persuaded the king to appear, and he did so, exhorting his army to defend him. Thus a battle was prevented. The duke, seeing that most of his followers were inclined to disperse, or to sue for pardon, hastily departed; his sons, and the nobles, his friends, fled in different directions; all gained the seacoast. The duke escaped to Ireland, which he had formerly governed with success, and was heartily welcomed; his son Edward, afterwards king, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, were joyfully received at Calais.

In vain did the queen's party cause the Yorkist noblemen to be proclaimed traitors, and give the whole command of the country to Lancastrian chiefs: it was soon evident that the absent princes and lords were the most popular. Even in the navy, the Earl of Warwick was so high in favour, that not one ship, stationed to watch his movements, attempted to intercept him, as he passed to and from Ireland to hold communication with the Duke of York. The new Duke of Somerset, aided by Lords Rivers and Scales, attempted, but in vain, to gain over Calais to the Lancastrian interest. Lord Rivers was defeated and taken prisoner in a naval engagement near Sandwich, and being brought before the Yorkist lords met with bitter reproaches. Edward of York, little foreseeing that, when on the throne, he should marry the daughter of this same nobleman, "rated him in likewise."

The Yorkist proclamations had made a powerful impression on the mind of the people; their language was always favourable to the king; but it was complained that he had false counsel, which ruined the laws and him; and that by reason of the alienation of the crown lands, through favourites, he could not pay for his meat nor

drink, and was in greater debt than ever king before. The Yorkists said, in these proclamations, "we neither rob nor steal, but the defaults amended, we will go home." The usual conclusion was,

"God be our guide,  
And then we shall speed,  
Whoever says, nay."

The white rose gradually became connected in the public mind with freedom of religious opinion, reformation of grievances, and preservation from arbitrary power; and some of the heads of the clergy, and even the Pope's legate, perceiving which way the wind set, no longer drove against it, but placed themselves so as to make a revolution in the government as favourable as possible to the ecclesiastical powers. In 1460, the Duke of York, from Ireland, landed in the north of England, whilst his son Edward and Warwick, with a strong force from Calais, landed at Sandwich: they had ascertained that the Kentish men would favour them, if they attempted nothing against the king. The Pope's legate attended them in their march through Kent; and the primate, with a cross borne in state before him, went with them to London. Success attended the movement. On July 10, a battle, which lasted only two hours, was fought between the Yorkists and Lancastrians near Northampton; the former were completely victorious. Edward, afterwards king, who had carried his father's standard in the battle, when it was over, accompanied the Earl of Warwick to the king's tent. The queen and her son, then seven years old, had fled; they escaped first to Wales, and then to Scotland: Henry, who had nothing to fear for himself, was found sitting alone, deserted, as on a former occasion, by all his party, and lamenting the general madness that was raging around him. His noble visitors bent before him, reverently consoled him, and led him back, with great respect, to London, where he was affectionately received by all classes, and honourably treated by the successful lords. About three months after, the Duke of York came with his wife to London. The question of his title to the crown then agitated his breast—a question which he had too much ambition to decide against him-

self. He went in great state to the House of Lords, placed his hand on the cushion of the throne, as if in thought; then turned to the peers, and received the applause of his friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury advanced, and asked him to go and see the king; but he haughtily replied, he knew one who ought rather to come to him. He then, for the first time, publicly stated his claim. For some days the subject was discussed; an appeal was made to Henry himself; and it was at length decided that Henry should keep the crown for life, but that the Duke of York and his heirs should succeed him. An act to this effect was passed, and obtained the royal assent. The duke and his two elder sons swore to do nothing to abridge the king's life, or lessen his dignity; and to imagine the duke's death was declared high treason. He was proclaimed through the city heir-apparent, and declared also lord protector during the king's life. This done, he went to visit the king, and also, in great pomp, entered St. Paul's, to give thanks for the peaceable settlement of their differences. Then, as if perfectly secure, he advised Henry to send for his wife and son; and departed, with 6000 followers, to keep Christmas at his castle in Yorkshire; he desired his son Edward to follow him with the rest of their forces. The Earl of Warwick was left in charge of the king, as one of the most zealous defenders of the claims of the House of York.

Queen Margaret refused to return when sent for: she had with her the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and had collected a large army in the north, in the king's name, fully determined to maintain her son's right to the throne. The Duke of York, hearing that the queen's army was approaching, thought it a stain upon his valour to keep his castle, as he was advised to do till his son's arrival, and issuing forth, met an army three times as large as his own, near Wakefield (Dec. 30, 1460). In a conflict, which only lasted half an hour, 2800 Yorkists were slain, and the duke taken prisoner. A priest who had the charge of his second son, the Duke of Rutland, was leading him in haste from the fatal field, when Lord Clifford, catching sight of his rich dress, followed, and asked who he was. The youth, not twelve years of age, speechless with alarm, fell on his knees, and held up his hands

imploringly. "Save him," said the tutor, "he is the son of a prince, and may one day do you some service." "Son of York," exclaimed Clifford, "thy father slew mine at St. Alban's, and so will I thee, and all thy kin." So saying, he thrust his sword into the youth's heart. The duke himself had been dragged aside from the combatants, and seated on an ant-hill, as a mock throne; some grass was hastily twisted to form a crown; his tormentors then paid him derisive homage, and struck off his head. Clifford, the chief author of these barbarities, caused the duke's head to be placed on a pole, and carried to the queen, who commanded it to be fixed on the gates of the city of York, with a paper crown, in derision of his claims. Clifford observed to her, "Madam, your war is done." It was, however, far otherwise; public indignation was aroused; and the hopes of the House of Lancaster ought to have been at that moment fainter than ever. Edward, the duke's eldest son, immediately succeeded to his father's title and claims, and became far more popular. He was accounted the handsomest man of his time; his courage in war was almost unparalleled, and his manners were easy and fascinating. The Welsh crowded around his standard, and, by their help, he defeated a greatly superior force at Mortimer's Cross, only two months after his father's death (Feb. 1461). Owen Tudor, the second husband of Catherine, queen of Henry V., and grandfather of the Duke of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., was taken prisoner on this occasion, being one of the commanders of the Lancastrian army. He was beheaded, with some others, at Hereford. In the same month, a second battle was fought at St. Alban's, when the queen and her forces recovered the king out of the hands of the Earl of Warwick. As he would not help to animate the army which tried to defend him against his wife and her friends, he was himself deserted; and when found on the field of battle he was without a single defender. He was taken to Lord Clifford's tent, where the queen and the prince were brought to him. He received them with joy, kissed them eagerly, and gave thanks to God. The same evening he knighted his son, with thirty other noble youths. Even this victory did the Lancastrian cause no good: the depredations of the queen's army, by whom

neither churches nor monasteries were spared, helped on her ruin. Only eight days after the battle of St. Alban's, Edward, duke of York, then scarcely nineteen, entered London, where he was received with transports of joy. Most of the gentry from the south and east of England flocked to him; the people were assembled in the fields beyond Clerkenwell; and when the chancellor had explained Edward's title, they, with loud acclamations, accepted him as king. Edward hesitated, because of his oath not to disturb Henry during his life; but he and his party seemed to have gone too far to retreat, and ambition triumphed over all other feelings. On March 4, 1461, he took his seat on the throne in the House of Lords, and the next day he was proclaimed in the city as King Edward IV. Knowing that the queen was gathering a fresh army in the north, he would not wait to be crowned; and, only eight days after his elevation, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and began his march northwards.

The queen's forces gained a victory over a body of Yorkists at Ferrybridge, but on that occasion Lord Clifford was mortally wounded. Whilst displacing his gorget, either through pain or heat, an arrow pierced his throat. His memory was so hated, as the murderer of the young Duke of Rutland, that his son was brought up as a poor shepherd to conceal him from the Yorkists.

On March 29, the two opposing armies met near Towton, eight miles from York; 60,000 men marched under the banner of the red rose, 48,660 under that of the white; being the largest armies of Englishmen that ever fought with each other. It was at four P. M., the eve of Palm Sunday, that the battle began, and as the evening shades grew deeper, neither side gave way. Throughout the night the groans of the dying were heard; sparks struck out by clashing arms glittered through the darkness; and fires or torches were lighted, that fellow-countrymen might carry on their destructive work. The dawning of the day—the Christian's day of rest—only increased the fierceness of the fight. No quarter was given, none demanded. Tenants were fighting against their lords; sons, brothers, nephews of one family, striking at each other, and at their nearest relatives.

From 30,000 to 40,000 persons perished in these two dreadful days. It was the most destructive battle that had ever been fought by Englishmen, either at home or abroad. Snow was falling almost all the time, and its whiteness rendered more conspicuous the streams of blood which lay mixed with it in furrows and puddles for two or three miles round Towton. The high-road, almost to the walls of York, was stained with blood, and strewn with corpses. The Lancastrians at last gave way, but not till the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with other eminent chiefs, had fallen. Henry and Margaret, with their son, fled to Berwick. On Easter even, the tidings of Edward's victory, contained in a letter to his mother, arrived at London; and thanksgivings were sung in all the churches. "Thus," says Fabian, "this ghostly man King Henry lost all, when he had reigned full thirty-eight years, six months, and odd days; and that noble and most bounteous princess, Queen Margaret, of whom many an untrue surmise was imagined and told, was fain to fly comfortless, and lost all that she had in England for ever." The contest was, however, far from terminated.

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EDWARD IV. was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, June 29, 1461. Both before and after his coronation, he visited several parts of the kingdom, and was everywhere received with great honour. At York, he had caused the heads of his father, and of the Earl of Salisbury, to be taken down from the gates and honourably buried. There, also, several of his own noble prisoners were beheaded. Nothing marked the furious character of this contest more distinctly than the summary execution of prisoners of note taken on either side. Men, for being faithful to their own oaths to one king or the other, were denounced as traitors by the opposite party; and if they fell alive into their hands, were usually doomed to die. Almost the whole nobility of England was attainted at one time or another in the course of these civil wars.

We have forbore to make any digression on Scottish affairs, because the truce, made in 1449, had occasioned peace with England, and no event specially connecting the two countries had occurred. Transactions, however, of

great importance to Scotland had taken place. James II., like his brother-in-law, Louis XI. of France, partly by crime, partly by open force, and partly by political contrivance, had placed the royal power above that of the aristocracy; and a series of bloody contests ended with the annihilation of the Douglas family. James's murder of Earl William with his own hand, being regarded as an uncontrollable gust of passion, under great excitement, did not render him unpopular with his subjects in general. Compared with his father he must have been accounted a merciful prince; and the number of executions in his reign were comparatively few. In the year of the battle of Towton, James II. having united the jarring factions among his own people, proposed to his chiefs to attempt the taking of the important castle of Roxburgh, which was still held by an English garrison. He knew, from the distracted state of England, no help could be sent from thence. The King of Scotland was proud of the fine army that assembled under his command beneath the walls of Roxburgh, and took great interest in watching the train of cannon prepared for the siege. As he was standing near a gun about to be discharged, the rude mass, composed of ribs of iron, bound together by hoops of the same, burst; and a fragment striking him, he was killed on the spot. He was only twenty-nine years of age. His queen arrived, with her infant son, just after the fatal accident; and the child was hastily crowned at the neighbouring abbey of Kelso, as King James III. The queen-mother urged the continuance of the siege, which had cost her husband his life, and at last the castle was taken, and levelled to the ground. Its ruins still show the vastness of the place. Henry VI. and his queen, when fleeing from the battle of Towton, entreated help from the Scottish government, and in return for it ceded the town of Berwick, in which they had taken refuge.

In the spring of 1462, Margaret sailed to France to obtain forces to support her cause; and returned with an army of adventurers, commanded by Bracy, a Breton knight. But the English showed no disposition to rise in her behalf; Edward's army was on the alert; and a tempest dispersed her ships. The queen, perceiving that her own vessel was in danger of being wrecked, escaped in a fisherman's boat with Bracy, and reached Berwick. Her

treasures perished in the deep. By the aid of a Scottish force, Margaret took the castles of Alnwick and Bamborough, the latter of which was given into the charge of the Duke of Somerset. The Earl of Warwick besieged him; he offered to surrender, if admitted to the king's grace; and this being promised, the most powerful of the Lancastrian chiefs began to fight for the Yorkist king. By his means, Alnwick was retaken. The queen escaped; but, whilst flying with her son through a forest, she was plundered of her jewels by some robbers: whilst they were quarrelling about the booty, the queen led her child farther into the wood. There they met another robber, to whom, with wonderful courage, Margaret presented her son, saying, "Take him, my friend; save the son of thy king." Her confidence was not misplaced, for the man, affected by her address, conducted them safely to the sea-coast, whence they escaped to Sluys in Flanders. Then Margaret proceeded to Lisle to ask help from Charles, duke of Burgundy. By means of the money he gave her, she reached her father, René, in Lorraine, and in one of his castles took up her residence to await some favourable turn in her affairs.

In 1464, Margaret saw herself again at the head of a Scottish army, which plundered the north of England; and the Duke of Somerset suddenly returning to her side, with some of the great ecclesiastics, who feared a reform under the new government, she again conceived hopes of success. But one division of her army was defeated at Hegely Moor, on April 25; and the main body at Hexham, on May 8. The Duke of Somerset, being taken prisoner in this battle, was beheaded; the third duke of his name who met with a violent death within a few years. The queen again retired with her son to the continent. Henry had made no figure in these busy and bloody scenes; he was in Lancashire, in disguise; but his retreat was betrayed by a monk, and he was now conducted to London. That city, in his early childhood, and so many times after, the place of pomp, and rejoicing, and revelling, on his account, now witnessed and sanctioned his disgrace. The Earl of Warwick met his former sovereign at Islington, caused his feet to be bound together under his horse, and led him through an insulting crowd to the Tower. There he remained, as if forgotten, during the next five years.

It is to be hoped that the Scriptures which he loved in his prosperity comforted him in his adversity, and that these years brought him more peace than he had enjoyed on the throne. Edward IV., who had been exalted at his expense, divided his time between war and pleasures, which were too commonly the pleasures of sin. He seemed equally at home and expert in the field of battle, or of sport; he could fight and hunt with equal ease; amidst a council of war in his tent before the battle, he displayed as much calmness, if not the same gaiety, as in the tent which he used to have spread to regale and entertain the ladies in the green wood during the intervals of the chase.

Whilst the battles of Hegely Moor and Hexham were being won by Edward's forces in the north, he had been deeply engaged in other pursuits. In the month of April, being weary of hunting in the neighbourhood of Stoney Stratford, he alighted for refreshment at the Duchess of Bedford's. Her daughter, Lady Grey (once Elizabeth Woodville), then residing as a widow at her house, took the opportunity of throwing herself at the king's feet to ask for the restoration of her late husband's estates. He had been killed at the second battle of St. Alban's, and his property confiscated. Edward, attracted by her beauty and graceful manners, immediately granted her request; and from that moment became strongly attached to her. Under pretence of hunting, he remained at the place, and on the 1st of May was privately married to the lady of his choice. "The only witnesses," says Fabian, "were her mother, the priest, two gentlewomen, and a young man to help the priest sing." The marriage was kept secret till it was necessary to disclose it, and its results led to Edward's temporary downfall from his royal dignity. The king, in his love for the Lady Elizabeth, seemed to forget that some thoughts of his marrying the widowed Queen of Scotland had been entertained; that the Earl of Warwick had been sent into Spain, to seek the hand of Isabella, sister of the King of Castile, afterwards so famous as queen; and that if it had been thought possible he should marry a subject, Warwick himself, his chief supporter on the throne, had a daughter, whom he would gladly have seen queen of England. But all these projects were overthrown when the king openly avowed his marriage, about five months

after its completion. Elizabeth made her first public appearance at Reading, and was presented to the people as queen, by the Duke of Clarence, the king's brother, and by the Earl of Warwick. In 1465, she was crowned with great pomp. Soon after, the Earl of Warwick, in spite of the king's objections, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the Duke of Clarence; and it was soon apparent that he was no longer a hearty supporter of Edward's interests; and that his indifference, and that of many others, increased in proportion as Edward loaded his queen's family with honours and riches. There was an abundance of confiscated estates with which the king could reward his favourites; and the nobles of the Lancastrian party who were in exile, and had lost their all, were in such distress, that Comines says, he saw the Duke of Exeter barefoot, begging his bread from door to door; also some of the Somerset family and others.

In the summer of 1468, an alliance was concluded between Margaret, sister to Edward IV., and Charles, duke of Burgundy. The Earl of Warwick himself, though opposed to the marriage, was the foremost person in the grand procession which attended the princess to the seaside at her embarkation. The pomp and pageantry of these nuptials were as splendid as curious; Charles's taste for magnificence is already known. On the night of the wedding, a fire broke out in the duke's castle at Sluys, from which he and his bride escaped with difficulty. The union of Margaret of York with the Duke of Burgundy was an important event, as regards the politics of that day; but its lasting interest arises out of a circumstance connected with it, then perhaps scarcely noticed. Caxton, an Englishman in Margaret's retinue, learned the art of printing whilst he remained with that princess in Flanders, and was the first to introduce that useful invention into England.

In May, 1468, a bishop who opened parliament as chancellor, drew a flattering picture of the benefits that had accrued to the nation since Edward's accession. The king, he said, had concluded a perpetual peace with Spain, commercial treaties with Germany, Denmark, and Naples, and a peace for fifty years with Scotland; he had begun a treaty with the King of Arragon, and a friendship with Bretagne; he had also married his sister to the Duke of

Burgundy. The bishop ended by saying, that Edward was invited by Burgundy and Bretagne to make war with Louis XI., "his great *rebel* and adversary." It was still generally held that the King of England had a right to be King of France, and the term rebel was seriously used: war, too, with France, was so popular, that large grants were made with this end in view. The crafty Louis, apprised of his danger, adopted the right means to prevent it, by fostering a rebellion against Edward in England, and favouring its invasion by the Lancastrian queen. In 1469, an insurrection broke out in the north; the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence were at the bottom of it; and the papers that were dispersed showed that the queen's family were objects of jealous hatred. Her father, and one of her brothers, were shortly after destroyed; and after a battle at Hegecote Field, near Banbury, the king himself was seized by Warwick at a village near Coventry. The Lancastrians chose this moment of division among their enemies, and collected their forces; and as none of the military would move, except at the king's command, Warwick made a merit of necessity, in releasing him, and then regained his favour by defeating the Lancastrians. Edward was more of a warrior than a politician, and was too confiding for his own safety. Early in 1470, he met his brother Clarence at their mother's house, and, under her eye, their fraternal concord was apparently restored. But probably Warwick and Clarence both felt they could not be trusted and valued as before, and they forsook the king the first opportunity. Even after Edward had proclaimed them traitors, he did not suspect the Archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, to be such, and accepted an invitation to a banquet at his mansion. As he was washing his hands before supper, a gentleman of the company whispered to him, that a hundred men were prepared to seize and carry him off. With entire self-command, he continued to converse with the party; then leaving the room, which he was permitted to do, as he was not known to have any suspicions, he immediately rode off to Windsor.

All the plans of Warwick having failed in England, he went with some of his party to the court of Louis XI. That deep politician laboured hard to induce them and Queen Margaret to act in concert. He assured her that

he was more indebted to Warwick than to any man alive ; entreated her to pardon his past offences against her house, and to receive his daughter Anne as a wife to Prince Edward ; he offered himself to be surety for the earl's future fidelity. It needed all the king's cleverness to prevail with a woman of Margaret's spirit ; and after she had yielded to his entreaties on all other points, it took fifteen days to persuade her to bestow a thought on the proposed alliance. Warwick, as soon as he had his eye on the throne for his own daughter, more vigorously renewed his efforts for the dethronement of Edward IV. The Duke of Burgundy sent his royal brother-in-law exact information of the earl's intentions and movements, and advised him to intercept his enemies ere they landed ; but Edward, being confident he could better defeat them on shore, continued his hunting amusements up to the moment of the invasion. When at last he summoned his forces to attend him, he heard, to his great surprise, that Lord Montague, a nobleman to whom he was much attached, was riding along the ranks, crying " God bless King Henry ;" and that Warwick, with an overwhelming army, was in full march upon him, in defence of the Lancastrian cause. Among Edward's many escapes from imminent danger, that which he effected at this moment was not the least remarkable. He and a few faithful friends hastily mounted their swift horses, and galloped off to Lynn, the nearest seaport. Finding a vessel just sailing for Holland, they embarked, without money, and without any clothes but those that they wore. At sea they were in such danger from pirates, that they stranded near Alcmaer to escape them ; there the lord of that province conducted them to the Hague, where they came under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy.

As soon as Edward IV. fled, the Earl of Warwick, deservedly entitled *the king-maker*, hastened to London, and released Henry VI. from the Tower. It appears that two attempts had been made to assassinate him. One man had struck at his neck violently, as if to cut off his head, or dash out his brains, but the patient sufferer only exclaimed, " Forsooth, forsooth, you do foully to smite so a king anointed." Shortly before his restoration, another had stabbed him on the side, and thinking he had killed him, fled. When Henry was again on the throne, and scarcely recovered

from the wound, this assassin was brought before him, and, like a true Christian, the king immediately pardoned him. Henry was probably happier as a captive than as a nominal and unwelcome sovereign, and Warwick soon felt that the mind of the nation was against him. The arrival of Margaret and her French forces, which he looked for with the utmost anxiety, was to the country at large a matter of dread. The return of Edward was also spoken of as certain.

The Duke of Burgundy was so occupied in his own ambitious schemes, or so offended with Edward for not having followed his advice, that he would take no active measures in his behalf. The duchess, however, exerted herself in behalf of her deposed brother, and won back the Duke of Clarence to the family interest. In him, the Earl of Warwick reposed full confidence, but the perfidious are ever the least likely to secure the fidelity of others. In vain, also, he put the whole country in military array; soldiers who so often changed sides, and who probably even then disguised their attachment to the House of York, could little be trusted to oppose Edward, the popular king and hero of his day, should he attempt to land.

Edward, on his part, with his young brother (afterwards Richard III.), whom he had created duke of Gloucester, determined rather to die in battle in England, than to live as exiles on a foreign shore. Moreover, the king had the strong attraction of a beloved wife, who shortly after his retreat had taken refuge in the Westminster sanctuary, where she gave birth to her firstborn son, afterwards King Edward V. With only 2000 men, Edward IV. embarked for England to regain his lost throne; and after being tossed on the sea for twelve days, through contrary weather, they landed in detached bodies on the north-eastern coast, the king himself at Ravenspur. Having assembled his forces, Edward commenced his march, and found that armed men were collecting in great numbers on all the roads; no one joined him, but no one opposed his progress. His dauntless courage was known throughout the land. On arriving at the gates of York, Edward and his followers obtained permission to enter, but it was on the understanding that he aspired only to be restored to his dignity and possessions as duke of York: thus the city

thought to be held blameless if he did not succeed in his actual aims. From York, Edward rapidly led on his followers by way of Tadcaster, Wakefield, Doncaster, and Nottingham. Some few joined him, and though he passed some of the strong castles of the Lancastrians, no sally was made by them. After resting a few days, the Yorkist army, increasing as it marched on, proceeded through Leicester to Warwick. Edward wished to confront in his own town the earl who was now acting as sovereign in England. The earl, though he had a larger force than Edward's, was so well aware of the king's bravery, that he withdrew to Coventry as a stronger place. This symptom of fear ruined his cause. Edward was received as king in Warwick, and from that time thousands ventured to flock around the standard of the white rose. The Duke of Clarence joined his brother, and tried to persuade the Earl of Warwick also to desert Queen Margaret's cause. But he was too proud, or had gone too far with respect to both parties, to change sides again. He wrote to his brother, the Archbishop of York, whom he had left in charge of London and King Henry, to urge the citizens to keep Edward out only three days, and he would come and chastise his daring attempt to regain the throne. Henry was placed on horseback to ride in state through the city, with the idea of reviving the ancient loyalty towards him; but the exhibition of him, as he was merely the puppet of others, effected nothing; and the archbishop himself, receiving an offer of forgiveness from Edward, surrendered his charge. Thus Edward, after his extraordinary march from north to south, through the centre of the kingdom, the population armed on all sides, regained the throne, only twenty-eight days after his landing, without battle or bloodshed. He went at once to Westminster Abbey to return thanks for his surprising success; then visited his queen, and for the first time embraced his infant son (April 11, 1471). The next morning, being Good Friday, Edward called a council, in which it was decided to march out to battle against the Earl of Warwick. Henry VI. was obliged to accompany the army. The earl did not expect this speedy movement, and had been hoping to surprise Edward in London during the Easter feasts, in which he was wont to indulge. On

Saturday, the two armies met at Barnet; and as Edward, commanding profound silence, arranged his forces at night-fall, Warwick did not know how they were placed, and throughout the hours of darkness wasted his artillery without touching them. The next day, Easter Sunday, in spite of a thick mist, the king arranged his army at dawn; and after a battle, which lasted three hours, obtained the victory. But out of the 9000 whom he brought into the field, 2000 perished; and on Warwick's side 7000 were slain. The earl fell at his post, fighting desperately. The king returned the same day to London, and rode straight to St. Paul's to return thanks. This was the second dreadful battle that had been fought on the Sunday during the wars of the Roses: in this case, 9000 men had passed into eternity since the rising of the sun, to secure a crown for the pleasure-loving Edward.

The very day of the battle of Barnet, Queen Margaret, who had lingered too long to save the unhappy Warwick, landed in England: her spirit did not fail even on receiving news of the earl's death. The last struggle of the Lancastrian party was now to be made, and all their physical and mental powers were engaged in action. They tried in every way to mislead the king as to their line of march, for he was never afraid of battle, and hotly sought or pursued his foes. Being with his army at Cirencester, he heard the Lancastrian forces were advancing from Bath, and he went three miles out of the town to a convenient place, to await them. They did not come; and, after a great deal of marching and counter-marching, Edward, on a very hot day, passed over the Cotswold Hills to Tewkesbury, where the Lancastrians were gathered together. The battle took place on the banks of the Severn (May 4). Prince Edward, at the age of seventeen, was slain, with about 3000 of his followers, and the rest were entirely dispersed.

King Edward, as soon as the victory was won, went to the abbey to return thanks, and gave a free pardon to all who had taken refuge there. It was his only noble act on this occasion. Queen Margaret, being taken prisoner, was sent to the Tower of London; and the Duke of Somerset, with about twenty other persons of distinction on the queen's side, who were discovered in a sanctuary after the battle, were tried and beheaded by the king's order two

days after. If these were among the persons to whom pardon was at first promised, as it appears, their execution was all the more cruel: the Dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk presided at the trial.

On May 21, Edward IV. and the Duke of Gloucester entered London: it was a day of pompous parade, and of universal congratulations to the victors. The very next day, Henry VI. arrived at the end of his earthly sorrows. The melancholy tidings that had reached his ears are supposed to have overwhelmed his weakened and sinking frame. His queen, the cause of so many woes to him and the nation, was left in confinement four years, when an article in a treaty between Louis XI. and Edward IV. restored her to liberty, and she returned to her original station as a French princess.

Edward reigned about twelve years after his restoration: as far as he was personally concerned, they were in no wise better than those that had gone before: they were not stained by civil war, but other evils disfigured them, and no great event occurred. It seemed as if the king and nation strove to forget past dangers and sorrows in mirth and festivity; feast and song, music and dancing, sports of all kinds, and the greatest attention to dress, absorbed the thoughts of Edward and his court, and gave an example of dissipation to the country. But, at the end of four years, the careless-hearted king, at the invitation of the Duke of Burgundy, and with the good-will of all England, made great preparations for the invasion of France, and passed over to Calais with more than 16,000 soldiers, attended by all the chief nobility (June, 1475). But Duke Charles, who had promised to meet the English forces as soon as they landed, did not appear; he was engaged in besieging a little town near Cologne, and too vain to give it up, till he was driven away by a German army. When at last he waited upon Edward in person, and apologised for the delay, he was little able to assist in his campaign, and both Edward and his chief lords were by that time disposed to return home. Louis XI. had employed all his craft to pacify them. His presents to Edward included some tons of excellent wine, of which he was known to be fond; his bribes to the great nobles were in the shapes of gifts, or annual pensions. One who scrupled to receive

into his hands the money offered, told the king's agent that he might, if he would, put it into his sleeve. A treaty was concluded on the 29th of August, whereby Louis agreed to pay the King of England 75,000 crowns, on condition of his withdrawing his army from France, and 50,000 crowns yearly, during their joint lives.\* It was added that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. The two monarchs then agreed to a personal interview, which took place at Pequigni, near Amiens. They met on a bridge, across which a close rail was drawn, with only space to allow an arm to pass through: on the opposite sides they conferred privately together, and after many mutual civilities parted.

Faction and domestic trouble disturbed the ease of Edward IV. on his return to England. It may be remembered that the Duke of Clarence married the eldest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and that Anne, the remaining daughter, was proposed as a wife for Prince Edward, who fell at Tewkesbury. The Duke of Gloucester afterwards earnestly desired to marry her; but Clarence, selfishly anxious to avoid a division of the vast estates of the deceased earl, which he had taken in his wife's right, concealed the lady Anne from his brother. Richard carefully sought for her, and having discovered her in the dress of a cookmaid, carried her off, and made her his wife. He was then twenty years of age (A. D. 1472). In the quarrel between his brothers, the king tried to mediate, but Clarence roughly said, "He may have my lady sister-in-law, if he will, but we will part no livelihood."

In 1474, the affair was brought before the parliament, and the inheritance of the two sisters divided; but the breach between the princes could not be healed. In 1477, differences occurred between the king and Clarence; and the latter withdrew from the royal parties, the council, and the court. About this time, the duke became a widower; and his sister Margaret, with whom he was always a favourite, wished to unite him to her step-daughter, the heiress of Burgundy. The much-coveted

\* The bank of the *Medici* guaranteed the payment. At one period they had 128 commercial houses in Europe, Asia, and Africa; and these might well be called *their* times.

alliance with Mary of Burgundy was at the same time desired by Edward's queen for her own brother; and the king opposed Clarence's wishes, through jealousy of the accession of power such a marriage would give him. The duke found himself in a most unhappy position, exposed to the enmity of his brothers and of the queen; and he increased his own danger by the zeal with which he maintained the innocence of two of his friends who were publicly executed, one for a passionate expression, the other, a respectable and learned clergyman, on the charge of magic. In January, 1478, Clarence was himself accused of treason; and the king, in person, pleaded his cause against him. He was tried for his life before the house of lords, and condemned on such a strange medley of inconsistent charges, as shows there had been previous determination to destroy him. He was put to death privately, and the manner concealed; but it was a current opinion, that having been allowed by the king the choice of his death, he preferred being drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. The consequent supposition is, that the duke, like his royal brother, was immoderately fond of liquor. The king, when too late, deplored the death of Clarence, and was wont to exclaim whenever any one sued to him for the pardon of another, "O, unfortunate brother! for whose life not one creature would make intercession." The duke left a son, who bore the title of his grandfather, Earl of Warwick: he was far more innocent, but not less unfortunate, than his father. Anthony, earl of Rivers, the queen's brother, was now proposed as a husband for Mary of Burgundy; but he was rejected with disdain; and this circumstance induced Edward IV. to refuse to Duke Charles, his brother-in-law, the aid which he so much needed in his final wars.

Edward occupied himself in his last years in projecting royal alliances for his daughters, who were yet in their infancy, none of which took place. The excesses in which he was wont to indulge began to affect his mind and body; he became melancholy, and very corpulent, losing his personal activity and beauty; but he continued so careful about his outward adorning, that, at his last Christmas festivities, he appeared in a variety of most costly dresses, and of a form never seen before. The immediate cause of

his death is said to have been a surfeit from a banquet. It took place, April 9, 1483.

Literary pursuits seemed to be rather out of Edward's line; but as he expressed interest in the "Holy Wars," Caxton translated for his pleasure "The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne." Like his cotemporary, Louis XI., Edward, according to the fashion of the times, sometimes made pilgrimages. There are records of his going with his queen to Canterbury, and elsewhere, *to pardon*, that is, to get the pardon for sin promised on some particular day by the Romish Church.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Times of the Medici.*

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. A. D. 1483—1492.

EARLY EDUCATION OF EDWARD V. — CHARACTER OF LORD RIVERS, HIS TUTOR. — HISTORY OF JAMES III. OF SCOTLAND. — HIS UNKINGLY TASTES, AND FRATERNAL QUARRELS. — HE IS DEPRIVED OF HIS LOW-BORN FAVOURITES. — STORY OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY HIS BROTHER. — INTERFERENCE OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER IN SCOTTISH AFFAIRS. — HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND AT THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER EDWARD IV., TAKES POSSESSION OF HIS NEPHEW'S PERSON, AND THEN OF HIS THRONE. — CORONATION OF RICHARD III. — HIS TOUR OF STATE. — MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND HIS BROTHER. — RICHARD'S SECOND CORONATION AT YORK. — HE ATTEMPTS TO EXPIATE HIS CRIMES. — CHARACTER OF HIS REIGN. — THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM CONSPIRES AGAINST HIM AND SUFFERS DEATH. — PRETENSIONS OF HENRY, EARL OF RICHMOND. — FAMILY TRIAL, AND MENTAL SUFFERING OF RICHARD III. — HE IS BETRAYED AND DEFEATED AT THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH, AND HENRY OF RICHMOND PROCLAIMED KING. — EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. — HIS MARRIAGE WITH ELISABETH OF YORK. — STORY OF LAMBERT SIMNEL. — HENRY'S LUCRATIVE TREATY WITH CHARLES VIII.

AN interesting circumstance in connection with the close of the reign of Edward IV. is the care that he took to guard his son and successor against the vices which were his own ruin. About six weeks before his death, and when he had no expectation of dying, he laid down rules for the daily life of Edward, prince of Wales, whose tutor was the Lord Rivers, an accomplished knight, and a man possessed perhaps of more literary taste than any one then living in England.

The prince was to rise early, and be at his school an hour before meat; he was to be reasonably served by

honourable persons in royal livery, but no man to sit at board with him, but as Earl Rivers should allow. It is also ordered, by the king's rules, "that noble stories should then be read to him, as behoveth a prince to understand; and that the communication at all times in his presence should be of virtue, &c., *and of nothing that should move him to vice.*" After meat he was to have two hours school, and then see "all convenient disports;" and after supper he was permitted to have "all such honest disports as might be conveniently devised for his recreation," and to retire to rest at nine o'clock.

Lord Rivers made great pretension to the religion fashionable in his day; he wore a haircloth next his skin, and went on pilgrimages. One of these is singularly connected with his literary pursuits. Hearing that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at the shrine of St. James, of Compostella, in 1473, he embarked for Spain. On the voyage, a gentleman lent him for his amusement a book in French, which so much pleased him, that during his hours of leisure, as Prince Edward's instructor, he translated it. It was called "The Dictes or Sayenges of Philosophers;" and was the first book that issued from the printing-press of Caxton, with the printer's name and date affixed (*Westminster*, 1477). The religious education of the young prince was provided for by his father's rules, which ordered that he was to hear "matins, mass, and even-song, every day; every holiday, divine service; and on principal feasts, sermons." The sermons, at least, were in English; and thus some of God's word may have reached his ears, relieving the weariness of long unintelligible Latin prayers, and perpetual chaunting, giving life to his soul, and fortifying him against the day of adversity. That day may be said to have begun when, in his thirteenth year, his father died, and he was proclaimed king of England as Edward V. (April 9, 1483).

Before we begin his brief and melancholy history, we must notice the state of Scottish affairs, in which the Duke of Gloucester, at the moment of his brother's death, was interfering. James III. was married in his youth to Margaret, a princess of Denmark, and in this manner the Orkney and Shetland Isles, so long the cause of quarrel, were lastingly annexed to the Scottish crown. When a son was born to them, Edward IV. wished him to be

affianced to his infant daughter Cecilia: they were, in fact, betrothed when the latter was four years old, and the former two; and a truce was concluded between the two nations, which was to last fifty-five years, in consideration of this matrimonial alliance, and a yearly sum of money to be paid by Scotland for the friendship of the more powerful country. This species of tribute it was not found convenient to continue more than three years. The habits and dispositions of James III. made him very unpopular as the head of a proud and warlike nation. He liked none of the usual occupations and amusements of kings and great men; neither the battlefield nor the tournament attracted him; and he preferred the company of men of low birth, who could assist him in pursuits accordant with his own tastes. These were of no criminal character, but they were expensive and often frivolous. He was passionately fond of architecture and music; dress, too, was as much his foible as that of Edward IV., and dancing appears to have been a favourite amusement. A builder named Cochrane, an English musician, a tailor, and a foreign dancing master, were the king's favourites and chief companions. The Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, brothers to the king, having all the admired qualities which he did not possess, became in his stead the favourites of the nation, and therefore the objects of his jealousy. On the charge of treason, they were both arrested; Albany contrived to escape, but Mar was put to death privately, it is said, by opening his veins in a bath. Thus were the contemporary kings of England and Scotland each concerned in the destruction of his own brother. As in the case of the Duke of Clarence, the confiscated estates devolved on a royal favourite, Lord Rivers, and became, as we shall soon observe, the occasion of his ruin; so, after the death of the Earl of Mar, did the king his brother give both his estates and his title to the favourite, Cochrane. His previous odiousness, as usurping that place of nearness to the king which was due to the nobles of the land, was increased by the pride and vanity which he displayed in his new dignity of Earl of Mar. He loved to appear in the most costly array, attended by a splendid retinue.

The distracted state of Scotland, through the king's unpopularity, tempted Edward IV. to renew the claims of

his predecessors; and as Albany, who had fled to his court, promised, if he were raised to the throne, to do him homage, Edward sent his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, with a considerable force, to conduct the Scottish duke to the borders. The great nobles of Scotland seemed more determined than ever to resist the claims of England. Popular as the Duke of Albany was, they would not make him king on such terms; and in their camp near Lauder, where they assembled all their retainers to oppose the English, they determined to take the law into their own hands, and make their king submit to their wishes. Whilst they were seated in council in Lauder Church, Cochrane, as earl of Mar, came to claim his place among them: he was attired in rich velvet, with a silver chain about his neck. Insulted at his entrance, he had reason to fear the worst; he was arrested, brought to speedy trial, and on various charges sentenced to be hung as a traitor. His ruling passion for show being strong even in that awful moment, he begged that the executioner might be furnished with a silken cord from his own pavillion; but this was denied; and, with a halter made of horsehair, he was hung, amidst the applause of the assembled army. The king arrived too late to save his favourite, and all his other low-born associates were destroyed, except one youth, who clung to his person, and who, by his earnest entreaty, was spared. James himself was subjected to a gentle imprisonment.

The Duke of Albany, being convinced that he could not be king, craftily united with the Duke of Gloucester in petitioning for his brother's freedom, thereby hoping to obtain from him restoration to his former dignities. The proud Scottish nobles told Albany that they could listen to his intercession as the first prince of the blood; then turning to the English duke they said, "but *you* have no right to talk to us about our national affairs." James III., on being set at liberty, showed the most extravagant affection for his brother. He rode on the same horse with him through the streets of Edinburgh, and every night shared the same bed. But the Duke of Albany's ambition soon dissolved this friendship; and his farther intrigues with the English court being discovered by the nobles, he was expelled the country. He fled again to England, and the

next year made a rash expedition to Scotland, accompanied by the last of the chiefs of the house of Douglas, who had been exiled like himself. Being defeated and taken prisoner, Douglas was obliged to enter a convent; the Duke of Albany again escaped. King James's expensive tastes were not corrected by his adversity; and, about five years after the death of Edward IV., the irritation of the Scottish nobles again burst forth. It appears that his love for church music and architecture led him into expenses which he could not meet without having recourse to acts of spoliation, and these affected one of the chiefs. A league was formed against him; and the nobles, taking possession of the king's eldest son and namesake, then sixteen years of age, pretended that they were in arms to defend him, and that his father had intended to put him to death. The king had gathered his own forces, but he had little skill or courage in war; and the knowledge that his son was in the opposing army, and under such circumstances, dispirited him, and hastened his defeat. He escaped from the battlefield, but in the house to which he fled, he was murdered by some unknown individual; and probably, like Charles of Burgundy, on account of his rich clothes. His son, James IV., succeeded him, and always remembered with remorse, that he had been made the unhappy instrument of his father's death (A. D. 1488).

Having taken this brief view of the tragic events of Scottish history, we must turn back to an equally dismal page of the history of England.

All that the Duke of Gloucester gained for his country by his expedition into Scotland was the restoration of Berwick, which has ever since belonged to England. As he was returning southwards, he heard of the death of the king, his brother, and wrote to the widowed queen consoling letters. At York, he celebrated a funeral service for the deceased, and after himself swearing allegiance to the young king, caused all the neighbouring nobility to do the same. Whether he acted at this time sincerely, and according to the first impulses of natural feeling, or whether even at that moment he began to play the part of a hypocrite to cover his ambitious schemes, it is impossible and needless to know. Before the death of Edward IV., it was apparent that two distinct parties existed in the

court and kingdom. At the head of one was the queen; and her son, by a first marriage, who bore the title of Marquis of Dorset; her brother Lord Rivers, and her nephew Lord Grey, with others of her relations who had been exalted by her influence, struggled with her to maintain a preponderance in the state. At the head of the opposite party was the Duke of Buckingham, grandson of that duke who fell at the first battle of St. Alban's, and son of the duke who fell at Northampton. He had been brought up by one of the sisters of Edward IV., with a special attachment to the House of York; and though he had married one of the queen's sisters, he was of too ambitious a character to cling to her party, in which he would have ranked lower than her aspiring relatives. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, Lords Howard and Stanley, noblemen of great influence, with all the barons who had no particular dependence on the queen, adhered to the Duke of Buckingham's party. The Duke of Gloucester, in his brother's lifetime, managed to steer clear of both parties, but to keep on good terms with them; and Edward, on his deathbed, sought to unite the two parties, beseeching them to act in concert for the preservation of tranquillity during his son's minority, and expressing to them his desire that his absent brother should be appointed regent. The king was no sooner dead than many began to court the favour of Richard; but as he perceived that the young king was under the care, and therefore under the influence, of his mother's relations, and feared that they might try to exclude him from the regency, he determined to get his nephew into his own hands. The young Edward, bearing the usual title of Prince of Wales, had been placed in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of the principality, in the hope that his presence might restore its tranquillity, which had been disturbed by some commotions. It was there that Earl Rivers was conducting the studies and amusements of his interesting pupil, when the news arrived of the king's death. A proposal was made by the queen, that her brother should levy a body of forces to escort her son to London; the opposite party objected to such a measure as a signal of renewed civil war; and the Duke of Gloucester, as arbiter, declared that an armed force was dangerous and unnecessary. The

queen, therefore, wrote to her brother desiring him only to bring a retinue suitable to the dignity of the young sovereign. Richard himself set out from York, with a numerous train of the northern gentry. At Northampton, he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham with a splendid retinue, and there they awaited the arrival of the young king, who was hourly expected to pass along that road to London. But Lord Rivers arrived without his royal pupil, and by way of excuse told the Duke of Gloucester, with much apparent respect, that he thought the place would be overthrown, and had directed the king's attendants to conduct him by way of Stony Stratford. The two dukes seemed to be content; Lord Rivers passed the evening with them on apparently the most friendly terms; but the next day, as he was entering with them into Stony Stratford, he was arrested with others who had been about the king's person, and sent to Pomfret Castle (May 1). The Duke of Gloucester attempted to comfort his royal nephew; but he wept for the loss of the friends by whom he had been tenderly educated. On May 4, the young king made his public entry into London, and his uncle, who rode before him with uncovered head, was greeted with loud acclamations. But the queen, alarmed at her brother's imprisonment, fled into the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey, attended by the Marquis of Dorset; taking with her the Duke of York, her youngest son, then in his ninth year, and the five princesses her daughters.

The feelings of Edward V. in the midst of royal grandeur may be imagined, if unrecorded. Separated from all his family, save an uncle, who was almost a stranger, deprived of his elegant and polished tutor, he might then, but for the thoughtlessness of youth, have entertained gloomy forebodings as to the future. But in the first month of his reign he was brought by his uncle to meet the parliament; the peers swore fealty to him; the speaker addressed the house in his name; and he was spoken of in terms of the highest praise. Richard was then appointed lord-protector. The Tower was named as the fittest residence for the young king, and it was proposed that his coronation should take place about Midsummer. We know not how he passed his time during his few weeks of royalty, but during the month of May, and for two weeks

in June, all public acts bore his name; and only just before the time appointed for his coronation, did he lose the title of king. Never was usurpation effected more strangely than that of Richard III. He passed from the seat of lord-protector to the throne, and lost the title of Duke of Gloucester in that of king, in a very few days after he made the first movement. Remaining documents prove the suddenness of the change, but the secret springs cannot be known. It is, however, clear that Richard coveted his nephew's title, and after he had assumed it, became the murderer, instead of the protector, of the young king. The steps recorded in history are as follows:—On June 8, the duke, in his character of lord-protector, wrote from the Tower a letter addressed to the mayor and corporation of York, in answer to their application to the king to diminish their yearly payments to the crown, assuring them of his kindness, but saying he had not then leisure to attend to the matter. The coronation was shortly expected, and it might have been supposed that the regent was full of preparation for its pomp; at any rate, his own mind seemed tranquil. But a letter to the same body, bearing date June 10, was of a very different character, and as if in two short days he had made some discovery that greatly alarmed him for his own safety. In this hasty and agitated letter, he charged the queen, and her “bloody adherents and affinity,” with intending to murder him, and the old royal nobility, and urged his friends in the north to send up as many men as they could with all speed to his defence. It appears that conspiracies had been formed against the duke, but his rapid and illegal proceedings, combined with many groundless charges against his supposed enemies, rendered it impossible to distinguish his real danger.

On June 13, many lords met at the Tower, to make arrangements for the coronation, and the protector did not arrive from Crosby Hall, then his residence, till nine o'clock. He entered the council-room courteously, saying he had played the sluggard that morning. Then, as if to show his mind was at ease, he complimented the Bishop of Ely on the fineness of the strawberries in his garden in Holborn, and begged that he might have a plate at dinner. After giving some little attention to the business that was

going on, he went away, as if he had some other engagement. About an hour afterwards he returned, with a countenance greatly changed, frowning and biting his lips: he sat down, and after a brief silence asked what punishment those persons deserved who were plotting against his life. Lord Hastings replied, "that of traitors." Richard then drew up his left sleeve, and exposing his arm, which everybody knew had been from his birth smaller than the other, exclaimed, "The traitors are the sorceress my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their witchcraft!" The members of the council, fearing the protector was seeking a quarrel with them, remained silent, till Hastings, bolder than the rest, ventured to say, "If it were so, they were worthy of severe punishment." "Dost thou serve me with *ifs*?" returned the protector; and striking the council-table with his fist, an appointed signal, a body of men in armour, whom he had stationed at the door, came in, and arrested those who had been marked out to them. Lord Hastings, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, were of the number. The latter was a nobleman of great influence. His first wife was sister to the great Earl of Warwick, and his second was the Duchess of Richmond, whose son by her first husband was afterwards King Henry VII. In the bustle Stanley was wounded. He had suspected some danger before they met, and had warned Hastings, but in vain. Hastings was ordered immediately to prepare for death, as the protector had sworn he would not dine till his head was cut off. His demand for justice, and his complaints were unavailing; the nearest priest was called; and, after a short confession, the unfortunate nobleman, being charged with a design to take the life of the protector, was beheaded on a log of timber lying on a green by the Tower chapel. Jane Shore, who had been living with him since the death of Edward IV., was sent to prison, and her valuable goods confiscated, on the charge of being an associate in the meditated treason. Not for this offence, but for her noted immorality of life, she was sentenced by the Bishop of London to do penance, and the following Sunday walked through the streets with a lighted taper in her hand. No reformation of conduct was effected

by this exposure to public shame: she lived to be very old, and to lose all the beauty that had made her the admiration of kings and nobles; she died in extreme poverty — though not, as the story went, starved to death and dying in a ditch — in the place still called after her name, Shoreditch. The two prelates arrested with Hastings were imprisoned in Welsh castles, but Stanley was released, and afterwards promoted to offices of great trust by Richard: he could not, however, forget the injury he had received, nor the wrongs done to his party, and when the opportunity arrived, he ruined the cause of Richard, in order to elevate his stepson.

Whatever Richard did, during these first few days of violence, was done with the sanction and aid of all the great men, both in church and state, then in London, those of the queen's party excepted. By the exaltation of Richard, they thought to increase their own power, to shut out the queen's family, long the objects of jealousy, and to escape the disquietude of a minority. Richard, moreover, covered his ambitious designs, by pleading the necessity of self-defence. On June 16, the Archbishop of Canterbury was employed to solicit the queen to allow the little Duke of York to become his brother's companion; and the highest of the ecclesiastics disgraced himself by falsely saying, that it was an insupportable grief and displeasure to the king that the prince should be with his mother. The queen would not consent to part with her son, till the primate had pledged his own body and soul for his safety; and then, as if her mind misgave her, she mingled her tears with those of the little prince, saying, as she kissed and blessed him, "Farewell, my own sweet son; God send you good keeping: let me kiss you once yet, ere you go; for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again." The same day, the young duke was lodged with his brother in the Tower, and thus, through their remaining days, they had the comfort of each other's company.

On Sunday, June 22, Dr. Shaw, brother of the lord mayor, was employed to preach a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, the object of which was to discredit the legitimacy of the children of Edward IV. and of the Duke of Clarence, all of whom preceded the Duke of Gloucester in their claim to the throne, and to show the fitness of the protector to

be king. It was previously arranged that the duke should make his appearance at the moment when the preacher was speaking in his praise; and it was hoped that the assembled people, excited by the doctor's eloquence, would cry out, "God save King Richard:" but this base contrivance failed; the duke did not come in time, and the repetition of the panegyric upon his arrival made the intention so evident, and the artifice so contemptible, that not a single approving voice was heard. The silence was expressive of indignation, not of consent. On the Tuesday following, the Duke of Buckingham made a similar effort to persuade the common council that the protector ought to be king. But the desired cry of "God save King Richard," though raised by some of the duke's servants, could not be obtained from the public voice. Richard and his friends still went on playing their respective parts; and in a scene, which took place on June 25, the protector was made to appear as if the honours of royalty were thrust upon him. The Duke of Buckingham, attended by the mayor, aldermen, chief commoners, several noblemen, knights, and other gentlemen, went to Richard's house, where the duke, in a prepared speech, solicited the protector to become king, whilst Richard set forth his pretended difficulties, and only appeared to yield to the eloquence of his friend. The next day, the parliament met, but not in due form; and all who were adverse to Gloucester being excluded or silenced, a bill was passed stating the grounds of his reception as king. According to an ancient canon law, a contract for marriage, even if the marriage did not take place, might, unless revoked, render a subsequent marriage to another party illegal. Now, the Bishop of Bath asserted that he had been present at a contract between Edward and the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, before he came to the throne, and consequently long before his nuptials with the Lady Elisabeth Grey. On this account, it was argued, his children by the queen were illegitimate. The children of the Duke of Clarence were passed by on grounds equally shadowy; and Richard was declared to be the true heir of the line of York. The following day, June 26, he took possession of the throne.

During the eventful week, which exalted Richard III. to

the throne, the Earl of Northumberland, one of his powerful partisans, presided at the trial of the noble prisoners in Pomfret Castle, and both Lord Rivers and Lord Grey were sentenced to death, as having conspired against the life of the protector. Rivers, who retained to the last his elegant tastes, wrote a poetical effusion on the unsteadfastness of the world, on the eve of his execution. It appears that the death of this amiable and accomplished nobleman had some painful effect upon the mind of Richard, for he paid certain priests to sing for him, *i. e.* to chaunt prayers for mercy, at the place where he was beheaded.

Richard III. was undoubtedly convinced that he had no real title to be king: he sought therefore the defence of his assumed royalty by military preparation on the one hand, and by popular acts on the other. He was now little more than thirty years of age; his face was handsome, and though short and small in stature, and the natural defect in one arm threw him on one side, there does not appear to have been anything repulsive in his appearance, except when wrought upon by his passions or fears, and meditating evil. At any rate, he could, like his brother Edward, make pleasing speeches to all classes, and bestow those courteous salutations on the people in the streets, which render a king agreeable. As soon, also, as his title was recognised, he began to reward his friends most liberally, and to offer free pardon to all that had offended him; and, by way of example, he sent for one Sir John Fogge, known to be his enemy, who was in sanctuary through fear of him, took him graciously by the hand in public, and granted him some manors. From the first, also, Richard showed that he did not intend to pass his days in indolent pleasures, as his brother had done: he made his personal appearance at the Court of King's Bench, and said, that he considered it the first duty of a king to administer the laws. Two days before his coronation, which took place July 6, Richard went in great state by water to the Tower, made several peers and knights, and released Lord Stanley, who was there imprisoned, and appointed him his lord high steward. We know not what notice the new king took of his nephews, who were confined to the same building, but it does not appear that he had then any design to destroy them. On

the contrary, he may have intended they should add dignity to his coronation; for in an official account of its expenses, the robes made for "Lord Edward, son of the late Edward IV.," are particularly described.\*

The king told Buckingham at this time, that he intended to maintain his nephews "in such an honourable state as should content the whole nation." The coronation of Richard III. was as pompous, and the royal robes as splendid, as the art and wealth of that day could make them: the Duke of Buckingham bore the king's train; the Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry VII., carried that of the queen. Five thousand men gathered from the north, and elsewhere, under pretence of defending the protector's person, swelled the pomp of his retinue on this day of royal state, and probably awed all the discontented into silence. They were then rewarded and dismissed; and the king and queen set out on a tour of state through various counties to the north. Richard, notwithstanding his inelegant form, and want of personal majesty, was passionately fond of show, and took a vain and childish delight in exhibiting himself in the kingly array which was not his proper right. At Oxford, and at Gloucester, the royal pair were received with great ceremony; but at the latter place, Buckingham, who already began to feel uneasy at being only the second person in the kingdom, having himself helped to make a fellow-subject the first, assisted no longer in the royal progress, but turned aside to his Welsh estates. No apparent breach had then taken place between him and the king, and they parted in "most loving trusty manner." In this part of his tour, Richard received a civil, but short and cold letter from Louis XI. of France, to whom he had courteously announced his accession to the throne. Steeped in crime himself, and probably not guiltless of a brother's blood, Louis was not likely to care about the moral wrong in the conduct of Richard III., but as his ambition might not be successful, he was too politic to offer him any

\* A short gown of crimson cloth of gold, lined with black velvet; a long gown of the same, lined with green damask; a short gown of purple velvet, a doublet, and a stomacher made of two yards of black satin; also a bonnet of purple velvet. Nine saddle housings of blue velvet, gilt spurs, &c., and goodly apparel for his pages.

warm congratulation. Louis died about a month after the date of this letter. Whilst at Warwick, Richard received and answered a more cordial letter from the Duchess of Burgundy, his sister; and had the honour of receiving an ambassador from the court of Spain, with a very respectful and affectionate letter from Isabella, the queen. The letter, from its date, is supposed to have been addressed to the *immediate* successor of Edward IV., but was delivered to the usurper, as if meant for him. The ambassador, in his public oration, stated that the queen's heart had been turned from England, because she was formerly refused in marriage by Edward IV., but he being dead, who showed her this unkindness, she returned to her natural preference for the English, and wished to make an alliance with them against the French.

Richard knighted the Spanish ambassador, and sent grateful letters to Ferdinand and Isabella. Whilst the king was moving in state from place to place, he seems to have remembered that the princes whom he had left behind him, might yet cause him to lose the honours of which he felt so proud. It was on his way from Oxford to Gloucester that he began to plot against the lives of his nephews, and despatched a messenger to Sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower, desiring him to put them to death. At Warwick, the king received his refusal to do this wicked deed. One of Richard's creatures, seeing him much displeased and perplexed, told him that one of his pages, then asleep on a mat outside his chamber door, would be ready to do his bidding, in order to obtain his favour. The king, calling him from his bed, made known to him his murderous purposes, and finding him ready to execute them, sent by him a letter to Brackenbury, desiring that he would give up the keys of the Tower for one night. The page was Sir James Tyrrell. Sir Robert Brackenbury had not courage to prevent the crime that he dared not himself commit; and in leaving his young charges for a night, being aware of their danger, he was accessory to their death. He accepted also large rewards from the king, and remained in his service.

Few particulars are recorded concerning Edward V. and his brother, during their confinement in the Tower. Edward is said to have exclaimed, after his uncle's coro-

nation, "Ah! would my uncle but let me have my life, though I should lose my kingdom." From that day neither of them were seen abroad, and they were soon confined to one chamber of the Tower, with a single servant of rude manners to attend them. Then they gave themselves up to lamentation; and young Edward, it is said, never cared about his dress again. Miles Forest, a noted ruffian, and Dighton, a groom to Sir James Tyrrell, were employed by him to kill the royal brothers. Entering their chamber at midnight, they found them sleeping; and having caught them up, and entangled them in the clothes, they placed the feather bed and pillows upon their mouths, and pressed them down till they were suffocated. One of the murderers confessed these facts in the next reign. Tyrrell saw the bodies buried deep in the earth, at the foot of the stairs, and then hastily departed to tell the king that his will was done. About that time, Richard had reached Nottingham; and, if he secretly shuddered at his own diabolical work, he seemed determined in public to indulge to the full in that regal pomp, for the sake of which he had inhumanly sacrificed his brother's innocent children. He sent to London for his richest dresses, minutely describing those he wished to have; and for his own gratification, and that of the citizens of York, who were particularly attached to his person, preparations were made for the same kind of display that had marked the coronation in London. In a splendid procession, Richard appeared in his kingly robes, with crown and sceptre; the queen, also crowned, followed him, leading her son, then ten years of age, by the hand: a demy-crown was allowed to him. A train of clergy and nobility attended the royal family, and the people were delighted with the spectacle. At York, the king created his son Prince of Wales, and titular Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and, taking care that he should appear in suitable style, he caused him to travel in a chariot with his tutor; and an entry in the royal accounts shows that his primer and psalter were covered with black satin, and cost a guinea. It is scarcely possible that Richard could enjoy his kingly pomp, or the sight of his own child's princely appearance, without much agony of conscience about the murdered princes. This feeling probably induced him to make provision for a

hundred singing priests at York, to chaunt for mercy upon himself; and, in secret, he personally went through what he termed, on the last day of his life, *strait penance*, hoping that he should thus effectually expiate his sins, whilst enjoying such fruits as they had brought him. But he never purchased quiet to his own conscience; his nights were restless and agitated; his countenance was strangely perturbed; the hatred which he knew he had excited in many breasts, gave him the fear of assassination, so that he wore armour under his clothes; and it was noticed he had a habit of putting his hand on his dagger, as if prepared to strike any one who might attack him. During the king's absence from London, the concealment of the young princes excited some anxiety, and the queen's friends proposed that she should carry her daughters abroad, for fear of any evil that might happen. But the report of such a project reached the king's ears, and though he dared not touch them in the sanctuary, he caused fortifications to be placed without, and set a stern guard there, who suffered none to pass in or out without permission.

Thinking to quiet the general excitement, the king, on his way back from the north, caused the tidings of the death of the princes to be spread abroad. How or when they died none could tell, except those whose interest it was to conceal the truth. In every place, crowds assembled to talk over the sad news; many wept aloud, and indignation succeeded other emotions. The queen-mother swooned away on hearing of her loss, and when she recovered, called upon her sons by the most tender names, bitterly reproaching herself for having given up the little York, and calling for vengeance upon the destroyer. The Duke of Buckingham was probably glad of so good an excuse for attempting the ruin of the man whom he had exalted; he took counsel with Morton, bishop of Ely, who had been given into his custody by the king, and in confidential communication with him said, that it had been with a *painted countenance* he had attended the usurper during those few days of his royal progress. It appears that Buckingham's first idea was to put in some claim upon the throne for himself; but an accidental meeting with the Countess of Richmond, to whom he revealed his design of dethroning Richard, changed the current of

his thoughts. She reminded him of the claims of her son Henry; the deceased earl, his father, having been looked upon as the nearest remaining male heir of the House of Lancaster, and as lineally descended from Henry IV. The legitimacy of this branch of the Lancastrian family was more than doubtful.

The Duke of Buckingham, however, resolved to support the young Earl of Richmond, and a secret proposal was made to Queen Elisabeth, that he should marry her eldest daughter. Edward IV., after getting rid of other rivals of the House of Lancaster, had desired the Duke of Bretagne to give up to him Henry of Richmond, who had taken refuge at his court; and when this was nobly refused, he sent the duke a sum of money for his safe detention in Bretagne.

Richard III. was greatly astonished to find that Buckingham had forsaken him; and keenly felt, when directed against himself, the treachery which he had no scruple in employing towards others. Like his brother, he sent to Bretagne to seek the young nobleman who was likely to be set up as his rival; but Henry, being apprised of his danger, escaped to the court of Charles VIII. of France, and prepared for a descent upon the shores of England, where his landing was to be made the signal for many simultaneous risings. Richmond sailed from France, but bad weather, both by sea and land, prevented the confederates from joining each other at the intended period, and they mostly dispersed. Richard had taken all his measures with the apparent coolness of one who had right on his side; he put the country into a complete state of military preparation; and, both by threatening proclamations and offers of reward, sought to ensure the destruction of his enemies at home.

The Duke of Buckingham was betrayed by one Banister, an old servant of his own, to whose house at Shrewsbury he had gone for the sake of concealment. When sentenced to be beheaded, the only favour that he demanded was that he might first be allowed to see the king. Richard refused him the interview, and he then avowed, that his only object in making such a request was to gain an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart.

How little did these two men imagine, when they began

their criminal career in concert, that it would end in their common ruin, and that by each other's instrumentality. Several persons suffered death for political offences about the time of Buckingham's conspiracy; and one gentleman, named Colingbourne, was chiefly condemned on the ground of his having written a rhyme in derision of the king and his council.\* After the destruction of Buckingham, Richard probably thought himself more secure than before. The people seemed tired of wars and changes; the London citizens received him on his return with great acclamations, and no previous sovereign had appeared to reign with equal splendour and authority. Useful public works were undertaken, and popular acts performed by the king; and in January, 1484, his title was confirmed by a new parliament, the crown settled on his issue, the Earl of Richmond and his mother denounced as guilty of treason, and great preparations determined upon for resisting the threatened invasion of Henry from France. A number of persons were at this time banished as favourers of Richmond's pretensions; and these going to him on the continent, and taking the oath of allegiance to him as lawful king, strengthened his hands. His success, however, appeared so hopeless, that Queen Elisabeth, allowing her ambition to triumph over past hatred and remaining fear, was persuaded to let her five daughters leave their place of retirement and appear at court. Richard took the most solemn oath, "to protect, maintain, advance, and marry them;" and he, with his queen, seemed to wish them to forget the wrongs of their family in the honours heaped upon themselves.

It was thought strange that Elisabeth could place her daughters under the care of their brothers' murderer: it was far less surprising that the princesses were pleased with the brilliancy of the court, and received in good part their uncle's kindness. Shortly after they were added to the royal household, a rapid illness terminated the life

\* It was as follows:—

“The catte, the ratte, and Lovell our dogge,  
Rulyth all Englande under a hogge.”

By which was meant that Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovell, ruled under the king, whose distinction in arms was the white boar.

of the Prince of Wales. This event caused the acutest suffering to the parents, and blighted Richard's fondest hope (May, 1484). He did not, however, suspend his vigorous exertions for the defence of his kingdom, nor cease to exhibit his talents in the government of it. An affecting relic of him still remains in an affectionate and most respectful letter written with his own hand to his mother, the Duchess of York, who had sought gratification to her devotional turn of mind, and consolation perhaps from family troubles, in becoming a Benedictine nun. At the Christmas feasts of 1484, the king afresh displayed his love of pomp, and appeared at a banquet with the royal crown: it was observed on this occasion, that the splendid robes worn by Elisabeth, the eldest of his nieces, were precisely similar to those of the queen; and hence it was afterwards argued, that her uncle bore towards her a peculiar, if not a criminal affection. In that winter, Queen Anne became very ill, and in March, 1485, she died. Richard had so entirely forfeited his moral reputation in his treatment of his nephews, that there were some who ventured to suspect he had poisoned his wife, and that he had previously meditated a divorce from her, with the intention of marrying the Princess Anne. For these ideas there was no good foundation, but a colour was given to them by a report raised soon after the queen's death, that Richard thought of marrying his niece. Elisabeth was then nineteen, and her ambition, if not her affection, seems to have disposed her to be a willing party in the scheme; but it excited such general disgust, that the king listened to the counsel given to him against it, and publicly disavowed the intention. But the idea that he had conceived it increased his unpopularity, and the loss of his queen, who had much weight in the kingdom, lessened his influence.

On August 1, 1485, the Earl of Richmond landed in Wales, with only 2000 followers; but he was speedily joined by many of the Welsh, who claimed him as a descendant of their ancient kings, through his grandfather, Owen Tudor. He depended, however, for success, chiefly on the traitors who were the professed servants of King Richard, and on the general feeling of the country. On Sunday, August 20, Richard, for the last time, displayed that gor-

geous state of which he was so fond, and for which he had perilled everything. Wearing his jewelled crown, he rode on a white horse amidst a chosen guard, at the head of his forces, in their march from Nottingham to Leicester. His army nearly doubled in number that of his adversary, but he doubted the attachment of Lord Stanley, and Sir William, his brother, who commanded 7000 men, as they stationed their forces apart, and almost equally distant from his camp and that of Richmond's — a position in which they could incline to either side, according to the turn the battle might take. Richard depended chiefly on the services of the Duke of Norfolk, who determined to stand by him faithfully, though a friendly note was cast into his tent, warning him of danger through treachery. It was as follows :

Jackey of Norfolk, be not too bold ;  
For Dickon, thy master, is bought and sold.

On the night preceding the decisive battle, in his camp near the fatal field of Bosworth, the king was disturbed by the most fearful dreams. In the morning he looked frightfully ill, and was very tremulous ; and fearful lest his agitated state should be mistaken for cowardice, he told his attendants, that he had been scared by visions of the night, and not by the thought of his mortal foes. Indeed, it was soon evident that his terrors had to do only with the invisible world. He displayed his usual military skill in the arrangement of his army ; and, instead of quailing before the enemy, he exhibited the most extraordinary courage, when once involved in the excitement of a battle for the crown which he loved so dearly.

Henry of Richmond brought only 6000 men into the field, but, soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley went over to his side with a portion of his troops. Goaded to madness by this desertion, and resolutely bent, as it appeared, on killing his rival with his own hand, Richard darted furiously towards the Earl of Richmond, slew his standard-bearer, dismounted a warrior who fought at his side, and was within reach of his object, when Sir William Stanley, leaving his neutral position, surrounded him with his troops. Richard fought desperately to the last moment, and fell with a number of his enemies. The Duke

of Norfolk had previously been killed in his service, with about a thousand more, including Ratcliffe and Brackenbury. Catesby, another of the king's partners in crime, was taken alive, and beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The loss of life on the side of Richmond was inconsiderable. He was saluted on the field of victory with acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" and Sir William Stanley, finding a crown among the spoils of the deceased king, placed it on his head.

The body of Richard III. was carelessly thrown across the back of a horse, and carried into Leicester with insulting shouts. It was interred there, in the Grey Friars' church, without any respect.

The subject of our present period of English history being the wars of the Roses, we cannot terminate it with the tragical end of Richard III. The last droppings of the storm of civil war were reserved for the earlier part of the reign of Henry VII.; and it is worthy of remark, that, by reason of these wars, the English, during the times of the Medici—the period of the revival of learning in Italy—sank into greater ignorance and barbarism than before; the development of the national mind, and the progress of literature, were effectually checked; even the printed Bible did not show its face in English, for more than half a century after it had appeared in Italian. Yet, both with regard to individuals and states, the purpose of God alone shall stand: we may not reason from appearances, for how continually is this saying true, "the first shall be last, and the last first."

When Henry VII. arrived in the metropolis, he was received with the acclamations that commonly greet a new sovereign. He was crowned with great state at Westminster, Oct. 30, 1485. He had not been in London since his boyhood, when Henry VI. one day observed, "that child will have the crown which we are fighting for."

Besides the daughters of Edward IV., there still lived a son of the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick; and though doubts had been thrown upon his legitimacy by those who supported Richard III., his claims were thought too good for him to be allowed to be at liberty, and he was consequently kept in the Tower. He was

about fifteen years of age. Henry, before his accession to the throne, was of virtuous, and even religious reputation. Fabian relates, that as soon as he landed on his native shores, he immediately knelt down, and "with meek countenance, and pure devotion, began this psalm (xliii.), 'Judge me, O God, and plead my cause,' &c. (in Latin), which, when he had finished unto the end, he kissed the ground meekly and reverently, made the sign of the cross upon him, and commanded such as were about him boldly, in the name of God and St. George, to set forward." The bishop, who opened the first parliament held in the reign of Henry VII., assured the nation that they might expect a golden age under their new Joshua, and exhorted all men to hail him as Israel did King Solomon, saying, "God save the king!" In this parliament, the inheritance of the crown was declared to be in Henry of Richmond and his heirs, and in none others.

Henry's residence in Bretagne, and friendly connection with that duchy, made him desire to marry the heiress, who was also courted by the sovereigns of Germany and France; but, on perceiving that the performance of his early engagement with Elisabeth of York was the most likely way of terminating the contentions of the two parties in England, he consented to marry that princess.

The nuptials of Henry and Elisabeth—the union, as it was poetically termed, of the white and red roses—took place January 18, 1486. Bonfires, banquets, &c., proclaimed the nation's joy. Elisabeth was beautiful and gentle, but at first there existed no cordial attachment between her and her husband. When, however, she was separated from the queen, her mother, and her own character was developed, and especially her maternal graces, the king's heart was drawn towards her. A papal bull, confirming the claims of Henry and Elisabeth, was publicly read in all the cities of the kingdom; and, soon after their return from a royal progress through the country, being on a visit at Winchester, Arthur, their first son, was born, September 20. The Countess of Richmond, who had become the wife of Lord Stanley, was permitted to give directions for the christening of her royal grandson, and it was of the most pompous description.

Whilst yet in the north, during his royal tour, Henry

heard of a rebellion against him, raised by Richard's partisans under the command of Lord Lovel. His presence of mind, and the attachment of his followers, delivered him in great personal danger: Lovel fled to the continent, and some of his confederates were executed as traitors. But the Yorkist party still exhibited great discontent; they perceived that the Lancastrians were preferred on all occasions; they observed that the queen herself had not been allowed a public coronation; the king's manners were not so courteous as those of his predecessors, the royal brothers of the House of York; Richard III. was remembered with regret, especially in the northern provinces, where he had always been popular; and, lastly, the detention of the Earl of Warwick in the Tower, where his royal cousins had been murdered, excited suspicion as to the king's intentions towards him. All these circumstances prepared the way for fresh wars and commotions. Simon, a wily priest of Oxford, prepared one Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, to personate the imprisoned Earl of Warwick: the young man was of the same age as the prince, of good address, and capable of playing the part assigned to him. It appears that Elisabeth, the queen's mother, indignant at the king's neglect, helped to instruct the impostor; but as all his supporters were aware that the pretender would not bear close inspection, they contrived that he should make his first appearance in Ireland. There he was almost universally hailed as king. The king drew the real Earl of Warwick from the Tower, and paraded him through the streets of London. But the rebels, who gathered round the impostor, did not disperse: it was believed that the king had exhibited the counterfeit earl; the Duchess of Burgundy sent forces to assist her supposed nephew; and Lord Lincoln, nephew to Richard's queen, whom the late king had appointed to be his heir, placed himself at the head of the rebel army. In a battle fought at Stoke, near Newark, this nobleman fell, with about 4000 of his followers; and the priest, with whom the dangerous plot originated, was taken, and committed to perpetual prison. Simnel himself was considered too insignificant, or too innocent, to be punished: he was made to turn the spits in the royal kitchen, and afterwards employed as the king's falconer. The queen-dowager from that time

lost her lands and revenue, and was confined to the nunnery of Bermondsey, where she lived many years in poverty and disgrace. The queen herself met with very different treatment. She was crowned with great splendour on the 25th November, 1487; and the Marquis of Dorset, who had no share in the Simnel conspiracy, was set at liberty. The king greatly enriched himself by the fines exacted from those who had given countenance to the suppressed revolt. Thus the public wounds were kept open, and it required no very great foresight to perceive, that insurrection was likely to occur whenever opportunity offered. The affairs of Bretagne, of which we have already spoken, were very interesting to the King of England; he was deeply involved in them, even sending troops to the Bretons to maintain their independence. He was almost as much vexed as Maximilian himself, when the Duchess Anne terminated her contentions with the French by marrying their king; he even made a speech in parliament, proposing war with France, and crossed the sea with a large army, as if determined to dispute the crown with Charles VIII. In his own mind, however, he was much disposed for peace, and saw that circumstances rendered it most desirable. A treaty was accordingly signed at Etaples (Nov. 3, 1492), by which Charles engaged to pay Henry nearly 400,000*l.* sterling of our present money, partly to reimburse him for the sums he had advanced in aid of Bretagne, and partly as arrears of the pension promised to Edward IV. by Louis XI. Charles also sought to secure continued peace with England, by agreeing to pay Henry and his heirs 25,000 crowns yearly. It is worthy of remark, that the usual preface of the treaties made by Henry VII. was, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung by angels; and that when He left it, he bequeathed peace as the great characteristic of all his followers. The best part of the reign of this great king, who has been styled the English Solomon, must be reserved for our next period.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Times of the Medici.*

SPAIN. A. D. 1454—1492.

HENRY IV., KING OF CASTILE. — HIS FLEBLENESS OF CHARACTER. — FAMILY CONTESTS. — HIS INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS XI. OF FRANCE. — CIVIL WAR. — CEREMONIAL DEPOSITION OF HENRY IV. — HIS WAR WITH THE MOORS. — RIVALRY OF HIS BROTHER ALPHONSO. — AT HIS DEATH, HIS SISTER ISABELLA NOBLY REFUSES TO BE MADE QUEEN. — SHE IS RECOGNISED AS HEIRESS, AND MARRIES FERDINAND OF ARRAGON. — DEATH OF HENRY IV. — CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF ALPHONSO V., KING OF PORTUGAL. — JOINT REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. — THEIR HIGH FAME. — THEIR CONCERN IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INQUISITION. — DOINGS OF THE INQUISITION AT SEVILLE. — DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM AND CITY OF GRANADA. — SOME EVENTS OF THE TEN YEARS' WAR, WHICH ENDED IN THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, AND THE EXPULSION OF ABU ABDALLA, ITS LAST KING.

IN A. D. 1454, the year after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the feeble King of Castile, John II., died, and was succeeded by his son, Henry IV., usually surnamed the Impotent. Isabella, his sister, instead of sharing the weakness of her father and brother, proved herself, when subsequently raised to the throne, one of the most powerful of sovereigns: probably the obscurity and adversity in which she passed her early days were favourable to the growth of greatness of mind, and fortified her natural character.

Henry IV. was a weak, but by no means a cruel prince. Like his father, he fell under the influence of favourites; and his queen, Juana, a Portuguese princess, helped to disturb his reign by her misconduct and her jealousy. The discontented grandees formed a powerful league against the king; and one of their objects was to compel him, as years passed away, and he had no children, to consent to the education of his brother Alphonso and his sister

Isabella, after a royal manner; and to recognise the former as his heir. Before the debates on this subject were ended, the queen gave birth to a daughter, whom she called after her own name; but the malcontents always distinguished her as La Beltraneja, because, according to common report, Beltran, count of Ledesma, and not the king, was her father. Henry, however, desired that she should be acknowledged as his heiress; but he proved the weakness of his character in owning either Alphonso or Juana, according as the party which supported either prevailed over his fears or his affections. At length it was agreed that Alphonso, on engaging to marry Juana, should be proclaimed prince of Asturias, and successor to the throne.

In 1463, a singular meeting took place between the King of Castile and the King of France. Louis XI., as a noted politician and powerful neighbouring sovereign, was invited to mediate between the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, which had long been at secret variance, or open strife. The two kings met, in their respective vessels, on the river Bidassoa; Louis, as usual, attired plainly and even meanly; Henry, in embroidered robes, wrought with gold and pearls; the sails of his vessel of silk brocade, and everything in like magnificence. Louis brought with him only a small train, who made no show; Henry was attended by his chief nobility in splendid array. Their conference lasted scarcely a quarter of an hour, and they separated with mutual disgust, each despising the appearance of the other. The King of Castile, also, was little satisfied with the judgment of the King of France concerning his quarrel with Arragon.

Notwithstanding all the concessions made by Henry IV., the league against him remained in force, and it appeared that nothing short of his dethronement would satisfy them. In vain, he summoned his opponents to lay down their arms, and give up Alphonso; for whilst he was preparing to invest one of the rebel fortresses, he heard that Valladolid had declared for the prince, and that he was about to be conducted to Avila, there to be proclaimed king of Leon and Castile (A.D. 1465). The scene that then took place in the plain of Avila, without the walls of the city, is one of the strangest in the annals of history. It was as lawless as it was unexampled. A spacious theatre was

erected, in the centre of which a throne was placed, and on it an effigy of Henry IV., with all the ensigns of royalty. A herald ascended the platform, and read to the assembled multitude the various charges against the king—his incapacity, neglect of justice, and offences against nobles and people. It was then argued that reason and justice, the laws of the realm, and the opinion of eminent lawyers, all agreed that he was unfit to reign; and that the example of other kingdoms, in various periods of history, would justify his subjects in deposing him. The address being ended, the next actors in this singular scene appeared on the stage. The Archbishop of Toledo, the most turbulent priest of his age, took off the crown from the effigy; the Marquis of Villena, who was at the head of the league, snatched away the sceptre; a third took away the sword; a fourth, the royal robe; the fifth and sixth, other kingly garments; and then all six kicked the image from the chair of state, loading it with curses, and insulting terms of reproach. The king's brother was then brought upon the stage, and the nobles, who raised him on their shoulders, loudly shouted, "Castile! Castile! for the King, Don Alphonso!" The crowd sent up great applause; drums and trumpets were sounded, and the customary homage was solemnly rendered to the newly chosen king. For two years after these events, a kind of anarchy prevailed; and, while some adhered to Henry IV., and others pursued their own schemes, in the name of Alphonso, the rest became utterly lawless. The king was more successful in foreign, than in civil war. In the year after his accession to the throne, he led an army into the plain that surrounded the Moorish capital, burning the corn in the fields, and laying waste the orchards and gardens. But one body of his troops being defeated by a band of Moors, the Castilians assaulted the town of Mena, and put every human being to the sword. A few years after, Henry took possession of Gibraltar in person; and so important did he esteem this acquisition, that he added to his other titles that of "King of Gibraltar." Henry then concluded a treaty with the reigning King of Granada, the latter consenting to pay him tribute; and, for some days, the two kings feasted together in the Vega, the plain of Granada, and exchanged gifts. During the quiet years that suc-

ceeded, the Castilian and Moorish knights often visited each other's castles; and the friendships that were formed between them gave a new character to the subsequent wars, and afforded ample materials for the popular ballads. After three years of petty warfare between Henry's party and that of his brother, a fierce battle took place near Olmedo, 1467. Both armies left the field boasting of victory, and while both were preparing for a more decisive struggle, a papal legate entered the camp of the rebels, desiring them, on pain of excommunication, to lay down their arms, and leave their quarrel to the arbitration of the Church. They replied, that the Pope had not the slightest power in temporal matters, and that, as neither faith nor discipline were in question, the legate deserved punishment for his interference. He was then hooted out of the camp. The king then had an interview with the rebel leaders, and a suspension of arms was agreed on. The death of Alphonso, by small-pox, the following year, ended the disgrace of a fraternal contest; and when the league desired to make use of Isabella, as they had done of Alphonso, she refused to sanction rebellion against the king, her brother. Against her will, she was proclaimed at Seville, and in other parts of Andalusia; but her noble opposition of the scheme caused it to fall to the ground.

Up to this time, Isabella and her mother had been living in privacy and poverty, suffering actual neglect; and in order to seal the obscurity of the princess, the Grandmaster of the order of Calatrava had been encouraged to seek her in marriage. Isabella exhibited all the fury of wounded pride in the prospect of being wedded to a subject: he died before he could reach her place of residence.

Although refusing the crown whilst her brother lived, Isabella was most willing to be proclaimed princess of Asturias, as the heiress of the kingdom. Henry, by the demand of the states, was obliged to recognise her title, and, in the year 1469, he met her with every appearance of good-will. Isabella, in her altered position, received the proposals of Edward IV., or rather of his ministers, which ended, as we have noticed, in her disappointment. Her hand was also sought for Ferdinand, son and heir of John II., king of Arragon, who had already been created king of Sicily by his indulgent father. John, in his eager-

ness to procure this alliance for his son, distributed large sums among the Castilian nobles, and won over the Archbishop of Toledo to his interest. The King of Castile, however, had an ancient enmity against the King of Arragon, and feared that Isabella, as the wife of Ferdinand, might become his rival: he therefore caused her to be detained prisoner in Madrigal, hoping to oblige her to decide in favour of one of the other princes who were seeking her in marriage: these were the Duke of Berri, brother to Louis XI., and the King of Portugal; the latter an old man. Isabella inclined to neither; and having sent information of her disagreeable position to the friends who favoured her union with Ferdinand, they came to her relief. The Archbishop of Toledo brought 300 lances, the Admiral of Castile, and the Bishop of Curia, auxiliary forces, and the princess was carried off in triumph to Valladolid.

Ferdinand was desired, in all haste, to claim her as his bride; and, leaving his father in the midst of a war with the revolted Catalans, he took his journey, with only three attendants; and, on reaching the Castilian territory, put on a disguise to escape notice. His marriage with Isabella was solemnised by the friendly archbishop, in the cathedral of Valladolid (Oct. 25, 1469). They immediately wrote letters to the king, assuring him of their fidelity to him, and begging him to excuse their hasty union. He either returned no answers, or such as were cold and evasive; and his displeasure made him resolve to use means for securing the throne to Juana. His letters to all persons in office, throughout his kingdom, commanded them to proclaim his daughter, as he now called her, as his heiress. Isabella also published her claims, as previously acknowledged by her jealous brother. Thus was the nation again divided into two parties; and, in some towns, the contest was so violent, that the streets were deluged with blood. In 1473, the king was persuaded to have an interview with his sister; he evinced pleasure in seeing her, and showed attention to her husband, who visited him at Segovia early the next year: but it soon appeared that he was seeking an opportunity to entrap and imprison the infanta and her husband, and they carefully eluded the snare. The King of Portugal, rejected by Isabella, was

disposed to take up the cause of Juana; and Henry IV., by his last will, declared her his heiress, and commanded four of his greatest barons to support her. Thus he bequeathed a continuance of war to his country. He died at the age of fifty-one, after reigning miserably twenty-one years; it was at the close of the year 1474. A Spanish historian observes, "his life is a mirror, in which princes may perceive every thing which they ought to avoid."

Alphonso V., king of Portugal, proposed to marry Juana, and, in her right, to make himself king of Castile; but she was his own sister's child, and, without a papal dispensation, could not become his wife. Alphonso had gained a high reputation, by directing to the shores of Africa the armada, which he had prepared at the Pope's suggestion for a crusade against the Turks. In 1457, by the aid of artillery, and the valour of his knights, he had taken Alcaçar Seguer, on the Moorish coast. In 1464, with a fresh armament, he had attacked Tangier; but he lost most of his knights, and escaped with difficulty to his own country. In 1471, when the terrors of the last disastrous expedition were worn off, he embarked 30,000 men in 308 transports, and took, by assault, the fortress of Arsilla, on the shores of the Atlantic. It was a place famous, since the days of the Emperor Claudius, for its commerce, wealth, and civilisation; and equally prosperous in the hands of Romans, Goths, Arabs, or Moors. The inhabitants were all massacred, and mostly with arms in their hands. The king, loudly invoking the aid of the Blessed Virgin, with his eldest son, the Infante John, were foremost in the assault, and in the terrible work of destruction. The King of Fez, terrified at this event, sued for peace; and the inhabitants of Tangier abandoned their city, which was immediately occupied by the Portuguese, and made a bishop's see. Alphonso's courtiers, on this occasion, surnamed him Africanus; and his son, then only sixteen, was knighted by him at Tangier. It might have been supposed that the extension of the Romish Church in Africa, effected by the King of Portugal, would have gained him the Pope's sanction to his projects with regard to Castile; but others frustrated his wishes; and, in 1476, he met with so signal a defeat from Isabella's supporters, that he determined to go in person, by way of

Perpignan, to seek the aid of the King of France. During his visit to Paris, he was deceived by the fair promises of Louis XI. ; but, in a subsequent visit to the Burgundian court, he was convinced of the perfidy of the French monarch, and had reason to fear that he was intending to deliver him into the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Under the first impulse of fear, Alphonso dispatched a messenger to his son John, telling him that he purposed to visit Palestine, and end his days in some monastery there, leaving him the throne. He then repaired to Normandy, intending to escape from that coast, but was pursued and arrested by the command of Louis XI. That king, however, soon changed his mind, set his royal prisoner free, and provided him with vessels to return to Portugal. John, in the meanwhile, had been proclaimed king, and was walking on the banks of the Tagus with the Duke of Braganza, and the Archbishop of Lisbon, when he heard the unexpected and unwelcome news of his father's arrival. He asked the advice of his noble companions, and had the wisdom to follow it, by immediately resigning the crown. To his credit as a son, he concealed his disappointment; and continued in subjection to his father as long as he lived. Alphonso's return caused great joy to his people; he was loved, whilst his son was feared: the difference in their dispositions and mode of government sufficiently accounts for this. On his return from France, when others had abandoned the cause of Juana, Alphonso renewed the struggle, but with such ill success, that he soon became willing to negotiate; and, for the sake of peace, renounced his assumed title of king of Castile. Juana was informed she might wait for a husband in the Infante John, the first-born child of Ferdinand and Isabella, then a year old, or enter a convent: she preferred the latter alternative, and became a nun at Coimbra. In the same year that peace was concluded between Castile and Portugal, Ferdinand became king of Arragon by the death of his father. Alphonso V. did not long survive the treaty. He died, like his father, of plague, having lived forty-nine years, forty-three of which were passed on the throne. He was a great patron of literature, and was the first king of Portugal who collected a library, and caused the history of the nation to be written by able persons. His reign was dis-

tinguished by the discovery of the Azores, and some other islands—the result of that impulse which had been given to maritime enterprise through the exertions of the Infante Henry, his uncle. We shall return to this subject.

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FERDINAND and ISABELLA, whose hot zeal for the interests of the Romish Church caused them to receive the particular designation of *Most Catholic Sovereigns*, were two of the most remarkable characters of their age, and possessed talents of a high order; but religious bigotry threw a dark cloud over the splendour of their reign; and, to a Christian mind, mars all its glory. Isabella was a strictly moral person, and extremely devout in her religious performances: she was very fond of reading, and studied the Latin tongue; but these pursuits did not withdraw her attention from domestic cares; and, we are told, she was so industrious in labours peculiarly feminine, that her husband never wore a shirt which she did not make, and of which she had not spun the materials.

Ferdinand had quitted his wife to revisit Arragon, when she heard the news of her brother's death; and when, after her proclamation as queen, he rejoined her, much dispute arose as to the part he was to take in the government of Castile. It was at length resolved, that Ferdinand and Isabella should reign conjointly, and that, in all public acts, his name should precede hers: but the administration of the revenue, and the appointment to office, were left in the queen's hands; and if she had not promised a wife's submission, even in political affairs, Ferdinand would not have remained in Castile. Although as capable of governing as any queen that ever reigned, Isabella reaped the benefits of the harmony she maintained by yielding with so much good grace to her royal husband. They worked together, and not independently of each other, in all their public acts.

It was in a battle fought near Toro, in 1476, that Ferdinand defeated the King of Portugal, as already noticed. One striking feature in this battle was the opposition of two powerful ecclesiastics. The Archbishop of Toledo appeared on the side of Alphonso V. and the Princess Juana; the Cardinal de Mendoza, with a crucifix borne before him, rode along the ranks of Ferdinand's

army, exclaiming, "Fight away, knaves! Have ye not a cardinal with you?" In that same year, John, the aged king of Arragon, came into Castile, and the king and queen went to Vittoria to meet him. On embracing his son, he expressed the most fervent thanks that he had been permitted to see that joyful day, and uttered a prayer that, if evil arose, it might fall on his head, and not on the youthful sovereigns. From that hour, John, on all occasions, left the place of honour to his son, and materially assisted him by his experience. The year before his death, he rejoiced in the birth of a grandson, who was named after him; and declared that he desired nothing more than the firm and lasting union of Castile and Arragon, under Ferdinand and his heirs.

Some brief extracts from a Spanish historian may show the esteem in which Ferdinand was held by the country which he brought under his sway. The design of the writer was doubtless to draw the picture of a perfect king, according to his own ideas of perfection. "In Ferdinand's glorious reign, all the arts of peace and war were brought into use, and all the accidents of fortune, both prosperous and adverse, were seen. This great king spent his youth in military exercises, and all that art and study could not perfect in him, was perfected by experience. His relaxation was business; his diversion, attention. He was the lord of his affections, being governed rather by political maxims, than by natural inclinations. He took his greatness from God, his glory from his own actions, and not from his ancestors. He held his government more as an office, than as an hereditary dignity. He erected the monarchy by valour and prudence; he strengthened it by religion and justice; he preserved it by love and respect; he adorned it by the arts; he enriched it by agriculture and commerce; and he made it perpetual by laws and institutions truly politic. He was as much the king of his palace, as of his kingdom; and as economical in it, as in them. He mixed liberality with parsimony, benignity with respect, modesty with gravity, and clemency with rigour. He warned many by the punishment of a few; and, by the reward of some, excited the hopes of all. He pardoned offences against his person, but not against his royal dignity. He revenged, as his own, the injuries of

his vassals, being a father to them. He was not puffed up by prosperity, nor cast down by adversity: in the former, he prepared for the latter; in the latter, he exerted himself to return to the former. He made use of time, and not time of him. He obeyed necessity, and yet made use of it for his own convenience. He made himself loved and feared. In audiences, he was easy of access. He heard, in order to know; and asked questions, in order to be informed. He did not confide in his enemies, nor suspect his friends. He did not deceive; but others were deceived by the *equivocal* style of his words and treaties, *which were contrived in such a manner*, that he could free himself from them, if it were necessary, without compromising the public credit. That which he could do for himself, he did not confide to another. He had no fixed court, but, like the sun, revolved through his kingdoms. His negotiations effected as much as his arms. That which he could overcome by art, he did not leave to the sword. Victory did not inebriate him; nor, being vanquished, was he thrown into despair. Virtues not less admirable adorned Queen Isabella."

The foregoing eloquent eulogy of a partial fellow-countryman, glorying in the worldly greatness to which Spain was raised by Ferdinand and Isabella, must be modified by the real facts of their reign. In the rigid administration of the laws, the two sovereigns were entirely of one mind; neither for money, nor favour, would they spare the guilty. It was known to them that, under the feeble kings who preceded them, the armed nobles kept the magistrates in so much fear, that they dared not punish excesses, and the injured could not complain of their wrongs. Officers were, therefore, sent into every part of the country, to survey the conduct of the ministers of justice, and controul their sentences. The severity made use of in enforcing obedience to the laws of the state, was increased tenfold when directed to the support of ecclesiastical laws. An institution, called the Holy Brotherhood, having its own laws and judges, was established expressly to visit all offences against the laws, whether committed by nobles or others: 2000 horse, and as many foot, were employed in its aid. An institution of a similar nature to that, afterwards known by the formidable name of *the Inquisition*,

was known in Sicily at the very beginning of Ferdinand's reign; and the ecclesiastics of Seville united in petitioning the king and queen, to take measures for the removal of a certain spiritual "pestilence," which prevailed especially in Andalusia at the commencement of their joint reign. The pestilence complained of was apostasy from the Romish religion, chiefly that of Jews, who, having been baptised from motives of fear or interest, found the yoke of ecclesiastical observances so burdensome to their consciences, or ancient opinions so much more powerful and binding, that they forsook, or only partially observed the former, whilst in secret they returned to the latter. In compliance with the wishes of the priests of Seville, a tribunal was established in that city, with the approval of the Pope, in 1480. The judges were three: they were enjoined to spare no pains in seeking out apostates; and if, within a given time, they did not express repentance, and submit to such penance as was enjoined, they were to be delivered up to the secular power for execution. A spot of ground, near the city, was set apart and floored with stone as a *fireplace* for condemned heretics and apostates; and four statues, called the four prophets, were erected there, to which the victims were chained for burning. In this place, 298 persons were consumed in one year; and, in process of time, the flames kindled there were made to devour, not only those who, after baptism, had turned back to Judaism and Islamism, but men and women who had been convinced of the errors of Romanism, and made a good confession of Christ.\* The abundant work found for the tribunal of Seville led to the sending forth of another papal bull, in 1483, which authorised the establishment of similar tribunals in the towns of Castile and Leon. The judges were Dominicans, and all of them were made subject to Torquemada, a friar of that order, the first man who bore the odious title of Grand Inquisitor. His manners were mild, his demeanour studiously humble, his self-inflictions almost unexampled; he always pro-

\* Between 1484 and 1520, the tribunal of the Inquisition at Seville consigned 4000 victims to the flames, and sentenced many times that number to the galleys, to a perpetual or limited imprisonment, and to lighter punishments. The tortures inflicted before its judgment-seat, and in its secret dungeons, cannot be related here.

fessed to be guided by a sense of duty; but, in the exercise of his terrible office, he knew no pity, and in cruelty might have been deemed a devil incarnate. This man had so powerful an influence over the minds of his sovereigns, that he persuaded them, the establishment of the Inquisition throughout their dominions was essential to the preservation of Christianity. The cortes of Arragon resisted, as in previous times, the introduction of a system of religious persecution; and Ferdinand's attempts to obey the will of the ecclesiastics led to a civil war. The Arragonese nobility were almost all more or less connected with the Jews, by descent, and they struggled against the setting up of the Inquisition, as being particularly directed against baptised Jews. Arbues, the delegate sent by Torquemada to preside over a tribunal at Saragossa, acted with such ferocious bigotry, that he was assassinated in the cathedral of that city, shortly after he entered on his office. This event drew down the wrath of the Catholic sovereigns; few of the great families of Arragon escaped having at least one member burned, as implicated in the murder of Arbues; and after 200 of noble rank had thus suffered, a beautiful monument was erected to the memory of the inquisitor, at the expense of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was admitted among the saints and martyrs of the Romish Church by Pope Alexander VI.

We must reserve a distinct account of the sufferings of the Jews of Spain for its proper place in our next period. That part of the reign of the Catholic sovereigns which falls within our present observation comprises the conquest of Granada, and to this important event we shall now proceed.

Not half a century after the Turkish Moslems gained by conquest that fair region which received from them the name of Turkey, and made the fairest Christian city of the Eastern world their capital, the Moorish Moslems were deprived of a region yet more lovely in the West, and of a city almost as strong and beautiful as Constantinople. Granada was considered by the Moors so delightful a country, that they fancied the paradise of their prophet must lie in that part of the heavens which hung over it. The natural productiveness of the soil was increased by art; ingenious modes of irrigation spread the verdure and

freshness of a more temperate climate under the cloudless blue of a southern sky; the highly cultivated corn-fields were the richest in Spain; the well-kept vines, olive-yards, orchards, and mulberry-trees, the most abundant in fruit; and, from the abounding flowers, such delicious perfumes were extracted, as to form a source of wealth to the industrious people. In Granada, the orange, pomegranate, fig, aloe, and myrtle flourished in perfection, and the groves which they formed were filled with nightingales.

The capital of Granada stood on two hills, which slope gently westward to the vast and fertile plain called the Vega, and eastward to the mountains of Alpuxara, which extend for seventeen leagues southward, till they reach the Mediterranean, and have their summits constantly white with snow. Between the hills on which the city was built flows the little river Daro, which is joined by the Xenil, as it runs onwards. On one hill stood the Alhambra, on the other the Albaycin, two fortress-like palaces, on which the utmost efforts of Moorish art, whether for strength or adornment, were expended, and the ruins of which at this day surprise the visitor by their extent, their beauty, and the freshness of their painting and ornament. Another splendid building, called the Generalife, the burialplace of the kings of Granada, and famous for its gardens, stood in another part of the city. A double wall, fortified with 30,000 towers, encompassed the whole; and the batteries were so numerous and powerful, that the city was considered impregnable.

It is not surprising that, when all the rest of Spain was united under the dominion of Ferdinand and Isabella, the remainder, containing such attractions as these, should tempt their ambition. That ambition, however, took the form of zeal for the Catholic Church; and the idea of religious merit being added to every other motive for the conquest, they persevered for ten years in the enterprise, and met with complete success.

The first provocation was given by Abu Hassan, the reigning king of Granada. He came to the throne during the closing troubles of the reign of Henry IV., and took advantage of the circumstances of Castile, to refuse the customary tribute demanded from him. He said, the Kings of Granada, who had submitted to that degradation,

were no more, and that, under his command, wherever there was an arm to strike a coin, there was one also to forge a sword. Thus he remained independent; and Ferdinand and Isabella, seeing themselves at first involved in war with the King of Portugal, made a truce with the Moors, which was to last till 1485. But whilst the Castilians were still at war with the Portuguese, the King of Granada, with some of his boldest knights, suddenly entered Andalusia in arms, and arrived before the fortress of Zahara, which, on account of the existing truce, was feebly garrisoned. The town was built on a rocky mountain, and the fort proverbially inaccessible; but the night was dark, the wind high, and the rain descending in torrents; the Moors silently scaled the walls, slew such as tried to defend themselves, and made the rest captives; then, leaving a strong garrison in the place, they returned home in triumph. This exploit was a subject of general congratulation in Granada; but one aged Moor, who had more discernment than his neighbours, expressed his fear, that the taking of Zahara would be amply revenged, and that the Mahometan empire in Spain would soon come to its end. Any fresh war with the Christians was the more to be dreaded, as the Moorish kingdom was already torn by civil dissensions; and Hassan, on account of his tyrannical temper, was not popular. In jealousy, he had put to death four knights of the Abencerrage family, the noblest and best beloved in Moorish Spain. They bore a high character as being peacemakers, fathers of the orphan, lovers of their fellow-citizens, and loyal to their kings; they were praised as handsome, gallant, and discreet; no one, it was said, ever sought relief from an Abencerrage in vain; they were kind even to the captive Christians. Divisions in the royal family were the crowning point of the dangers of Granada. The Sultana Zoraya, Hassan's chief wife, and mother of Abu Abdalla, the heir to the throne, mortally hated Ayxa la Horra, another wife of great beauty, who was preferred by the king, and was the mother of two princes. The Moorish chiefs were divided by taking part with one lady or the other.

The year after the seizure of Zahara, Alhama, a town of great wealth and importance, considered as the key of Granada, and only fifteen leagues from the capital, was

surprised by a determined band of Castilians. The messenger who brought the ill news was slain, through the rage of the king, as also the old man who had predicted the vengeance of the Christians. Alhama was a populous place, but neither man, woman, nor child, was spared by the Christians; and, as scarcely a family in the Moorish capital had not some friend there, mourning palls were hung from the windows in every street, and the lamentations were excessive. A mournful ballad, composed on the occasion, having, as its burden, the words, "Woe is me, Alhama!" was found to have such a melancholy and dispiriting effect on the minds of the people, even long after, that it was at last forbidden to be sung within Granada, under pain of death. The first time that Hassan went out with his army to attempt the recovery of Alhama, he retreated on hearing that Ferdinand was advancing to its relief; the second time, he was obliged to return, on account of a conspiracy formed to dethrone him. On arriving in the capital, he imprisoned his wife, Zoraya, and his son, Abu Abdalla, as the chief movers of the rebellion, and possibly meditated the death of the latter. But the sultana and her attendants, by means of their veils and tunics fastened together, contrived to lower the young prince from the window of the tower in which he had been confined by his father. The guards had been previously bribed to favour his escape, and to announce the moment of it to his friends; and, at the foot of the battlements, a body of horsemen awaited him, who at once paraded him through the streets, crying, "Long live Abu Abdalla!" Thousands joined him, and then a furious civil war commenced within the walls of Granada, the father keeping his court in one fortress, the son in the other, and their respective partisans often meeting each other in deadly contest in the streets. In the meanwhile, Ferdinand, leaving the capital to the weakening effects of its internal disturbances, perseveringly attacked one town of Granada after another. This he was wont to call, *picking out the seeds of the pomegranate* — *Granada* being the Spanish name for that fruit, and properly bestowed upon the country in which it was so abundant. Isabella was present in almost every campaign; and, whilst her intrepid firmness in the greatest dangers often contributed to the success of the Castilian

arms, her feminine feeling was displayed in her care for the sick and wounded soldiers, and in interceding for the lives of the Moors, at the taking of their fortified places. Fernando de Talavera, her confessor, aided the success of an enterprise, which he deemed holy, by unwearied exhortation; but he did not mingle in the fight, nor did he betray the ferocious spirit of some of the ecclesiastics of his day. When some episcopal preferment for him was proposed to the queen, he said to her, "Lady, I do not care to be bishop, till I can have the bishopric of Granada." That appointment was therefore reserved for him in the day of conquest.\* In all ages of their history, the

\* An anecdote is told concerning Isabella and Talavera, which is considered, by Romish writers, as highly creditable to that queen. It had been the custom for the confessors of the sovereigns of Castile to kneel with them, out of respect to their rank, when they made confession; but when Isabella, the first time after her elevation to the throne, knelt to confess, Talavera, to her surprise, kept his seat, as if she had not been queen. In answer to her subsequent inquiries, he said, "This is the tribunal of God, *whom I here represent*: I shall remain sitting; your majesty will continue to kneel." Isabella, on quitting him, observed to her attendants, "This is just the director I have long sought." We may add, that every human heart, like that of Israel of old, naturally demands something *visible* whereon to lean, and recoils from the way of faith. "Make us gods that shall go before us" is, in one form or another, the common cry, till the soul is taught of God. The practice of confession is so often referred to in these pages, that it may be interesting, once for all, to subjoin one form of it, used by the Cistercian Order. It serves to show how grievously the perfectness of Christ's work was discredited, and his precious blood undervalued, in being mentioned as only in part available, or as a kind of make-weight in the scales of salvation, supposing the sinner's penitence not to be quite complete. Sins were divided by the confessors into deadly and grave, light and venial, and certain penances were enjoined, according to their nature. After a short preface, the person confessing said, "*I confess to God I have deeply sinned*;" and, after entering into particulars, ended thus, "*Of these, and all other my sins, I confess myself guilty. I seek pardon; and beseech you, father, to pray for me.*" A form of prayer and absolution followed, to each clause of which the penitent replied, *Amen*. The concluding sentence used by the confessors ran thus: "*The merit of the passion (suffering) of our Lord Jesus Christ; the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints; the humility of this confession; the good intentions which you have, and the evils which you will patiently endure for the sake of God, profit you to the remission of your sins.* [After prescribing a special penance.] *And if this small pardon be not sufficient for your*

Moors of Spain, having first occupied the country by force, stood on the defensive; and Granada, as being their last stronghold, was prepared for long resistance, both by its natural and artificial defences. The sword and spear hung ready for use on the wall of every cottage; even the husbandman, at his labour, had his weapons close at hand; and the watch-towers, which crested the mountains, were manned by sentinels, who were quick in apprising their countrymen of coming danger. Every pass had its fortress; every town, village, and hamlet, its strong tower; and along the banks of the lovely streams, there were battlemented buildings, to which the miller and his family were wont to retire in any sudden incursion of the enemy. It is not, then, wonderful that Ferdinand and Isabella were occupied for ten years in the conquest of Granada; but for its internal distractions, it could not then have been reduced.

Abu Abdalla, commonly called Boabdil, issued from the capital, at the head of his troops, to face the foe, but was defeated, and taken prisoner; the Catholic sovereigns, however, perceiving that his pretensions, by keeping up a civil war, would assist their designs against the Moors, set him at liberty, after exacting from him an oath of allegiance to themselves, and a promise of tribute when he should become king. On his return to Granada, the contest for the throne was resumed with fresh violence; and when Abu Hassan, being incapacitated by blindness, made his brother, Abu Abdalla, king in his stead, the younger prince of that name struggled with his uncle, as he had previously done with his father, and at length drove him from the capital (A. D. 1486). Abu Abdalla the elder seized other cities, and thus continued the civil war three years longer; he then gave up all that he possessed, not to his nephew, but to the Catholic sovereigns,

*sins, the passion of Christ supply the residue."* The closing salutation interchanged between the confessor and the confessed was, "The Lord grant you eternal life." It may be well to notice, as we profess to receive none but scriptural principles, that the mode of expression in Luke xvii. 4, "I repent," refers to trespass against a brother; and that the more general language of James v. 16 implies *mutual* confession among Christians for the advantage of *mutual* prayer. The confession in Acts xix. 18, is the spontaneous action of newly converted souls, which grace, without the necessity of law, produces in all ages.

and retired into private life, to occupy some estates that they granted him.

The religious zeal of Ferdinand and Isabella had given to the war in Granada the aspect of a crusade, and therefore many foreign warriors joined their standard. Before the opening of the campaign of 1486, Cordova was the appointed gathering-place. Many French and English warriors came thither, vieing with the Castilians in their splendid array. Sometimes the knights went through the streets, in pompous cavalcade, by torchlight, displaying to the admiring citizens their polished armour, plumes of feathers, silken scarfs, and gold embroidery. As they rode along in their glory, proud of the name of soldiers of the cross, they little considered the foundations of the glory which He, who bore that cross, so righteously receives, viz. *truth, and meekness, and righteousness* (see Psalm xlv. 4); these were omitted ornaments, and of little price among earthly warriors.

Within three years of this period, Ferdinand, though always making progress, lost 20,000 men, so obstinately was the ground contested by the Moors. The strong city of Malaga stood out after all the fortified places in its vicinity were taken. The governor had laid up a great store of provisions, and hired an auxiliary force from Africa; the citizens were filled with hatred for the Christian name, and resisted most vigorously; still the Catholic sovereigns persevered in the siege, and, for several months, lay encamped before the walls. In this situation, they, on one occasion, narrowly escaped assassination. Algerbi, a fanatic Mussulman of Tunis, pretending to divine revelations, and peculiar holiness of life, declared that he was commissioned by God to raise the siege of Malaga. He did not meet with the success of the enthusiastic Joan of Arc; nor did his mode of action resemble hers. His designs were of a foul and treacherous nature. With a train of only 400 men, Algerbi arrived at the Christian outposts; and, whilst his followers engaged in a conflict, in which half of them were cut to pieces, he retired on one side to pray. Being found on his knees, he was arrested, and carried into the presence of the nearest general. In reply to the questions that were addressed to him, he said, that he had an important communication for the king and

queen, which he could deliver to none besides. Ferdinand had just dined, and was laid down to sleep; Isabella, with characteristic prudence, and with her usual respect for her husband, refused to see the stranger alone; and he was, therefore, introduced into a neighbouring tent, occupied by a Portuguese nobleman and two ladies. The richness of their dresses made Algerbi conclude, that the two sovereigns were before him; and, as his intention had been to assassinate them, in the hope of reviving the Mahometan cause in Spain, he instantly inflicted a mortal wound on the gentleman, and was on the point of destroying the chief lady, when he was disarmed and put to death. Malaga was taken shortly after this event; and, notwithstanding their long resistance, the inhabitants, at Isabella's desire, were allowed to retain their property, and to remain, or retire, as they pleased. The moschs were, as usual, consecrated to be used as churches.

On becoming sole king of Granada, Boabdil, in virtue of his oath, was required to receive a Castilian garrison into his city, and to act as the vassal and ally of the Catholic sovereigns. For a moment, he seemed disposed to submit; but perceiving that, if he did so, he might be sacrificed by the resentment of his own subjects, he prepared for the defence of his magnificent capital, and gladly received the volunteers who arrived from the neighbouring towns, or mountain villages, to offer aid.

Whilst Ferdinand was besieging Baza, in which he was greatly assisted by the valour of 300 English soldiers, two Franciscan friars, employed as envoys by the Sultan of Egypt, entered his camp. They brought letters from that prince, now regarded as the head of the Mahometan faith, threatening the destruction of the churches and convents of Palestine, unless the Catholic sovereigns would desist from their war with the Moors, and restore their conquests. The messengers, who belonged to a convent at Jerusalem, were personally interested in this question. Ferdinand absolutely refused to pause in his career of victory; and, after the taking of Baza, he successively reduced all the fortresses of the Alpuxaras, and, in the spring of 1491, prepared to invest the city of Granada. His army then consisted of 50,000 foot, and 10,000 horse.

In token of the high character which the Catholic

sovereigns assumed in their war against the Moors, they gave the name of Santa Fé (Holy Faith) to the city which they erected about two leagues from Granada. It was intended as a winter residence for the court and camp, and as a magazine for provisions, and was surrounded with strong walls and ditches.

Musa, the brother of the King of Granada, and a man of far greater courage, acted as his general: had he been sovereign, like the last emperor of Constantinople, he would have perished in the defence of his native city. The besieging army was so greatly thinned by the daring sallies of the Moors under Musa, that Ferdinand resolved to subdue their spirit by famine. He burned up the corn, rooted up the fruit trees, and left scarcely a blade of grass, or a living animal, around the city. Musa then led out his fellow-citizens, intending to storm the besiegers' camp; but they, not waiting for the attack, rushed out, and a dreadful battle took place between the camp and the city walls. The Moors fled in confusion, and with great loss. As the months of this terrible year wore away, and the besiegers, at the approach of winter, showed no inclination to retire, the spirit of the defenders of Granada began to fail; and, on November 25, Abu Abdalla, by his ambassador, asked the conditions of surrender. Ferdinand and Isabella replied, that they would allow him certain domains whereon to retire and live in splendour; and to all his subjects personal freedom, and the security of their property, with the free exercise of their religion and laws; demanding only that their oath of fidelity should be transferred to themselves, with the same taxes they had paid to their own king. The conditions appear to us wonderfully lenient; and, from subsequent events, we may well doubt the sincerity in which they were offered. They were laid before the royal council of Granada, with a proposal, that if the terms were accepted, 500 hostages should be given for their faithful performance: the city was to be surrendered in two months. Musa, who had more foresight, as well as more courage, than the other counsellors, declared that he was sure the conqueror would not keep his word. "Nay," he exclaimed, "he thirsts for our blood! he hates our faith! intolerance will light up fires to consume your bodies." The words of the last champion of Granada were after-

wards found to be true ; but, finding his representations ineffectual, and that no arguments could induce the government to prolong the struggle, he left the council-hall, took his horse and his arms, and was seen to go out at one of the gates alone. He was heard of no more. After his brother had departed, Abu Abdalla said to his officers, "It is not courage we want, but the means of resistance ; ill-fate has shed its baneful influence over the kingdom, and has unnerved us all. What resource is left us ? The storm has destroyed all." Indeed, it appears, that a longer resistance would have involved all in one common ruin. All but the lowest of the populace thought it best to submit ; and, to avoid the danger threatened by the fanaticism of that class, the king, by the advice of his sheiks, entreated the Catholic sovereigns to take possession of the city before the time agreed on.

On January 4, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella, accompanied by their children, proceeded towards Granada in royal array ; and the Moorish king, attended by fifty horsemen, rode out to meet them. When he was about to dismount, Ferdinand prevented him ; therefore he only stooped to kiss the conqueror's arm, and said, "Now, O king, we are thine. Allah grant that thou mayest use thy victory mercifully." Ferdinand answered by kind assurances ; and Abdalla immediately set out for his allotted residence in the Alpuxaras, his family and treasures being already on the road. As he went on his way, he repeatedly looked back, and tearfully gazed on the magnificent towers of the city that he had deserted. That point of the mountains, from which the last sight of Granada can be obtained, is called to this day by an Arab name, which may be rendered, "the last sigh of the Moor." The Sultana Zoraya is said to have indignantly exclaimed to her sorrowing son, "Well mayest thou weep like a woman over that which thou didst not defend like a man." Abdalla had shown a weak and wicked ambition in yielding to the early persuasions of his mother, and this had been their ruin ; but, whatever were the other characteristics of the last king of Granada, cowardice cannot be attributed to him, and only the utter hopelessness of the contest induced him to surrender his native city. Abdalla did not long remain in ease and privacy ; he sold his domains

in Spain, as his uncle had done before him, and sought distinction in Africa. He died in battle, defending the throne of his relative, the King of Fez. Two princes of his family remained in Spain, where they embraced the religion, and were loaded with the favours of the Catholic sovereigns.

About forty years elapsed between the two events of most importance to the Mahometan powers in this century—the taking of Constantinople and the loss of Granada. Never, since this period, has their dominion extended farther over Europe; on the contrary, the Turkish empire has decreased in extent, and waned in power; and it is certain, that, whatever other territories the followers of Mahomet may be permitted to hold to “the time of the end,” they will be constrained by Almighty power to surrender to the children of Israel *their own*, as soon as God’s *set time* to favour them shall come.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### *Times of the Medici.*

#### PORTUGAL UNDER JOHN II.

##### JOHN II. THE GREATEST OF THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL.

— HIS EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE MONARCHY. — STORY OF THE DUKE OF BRAGANZA. — HIS EXECUTION. — THE CONSPIRACY OF DIEGO, DUKE OF VISEO. — HIS DEATH BY THE KING’S HAND. — ALPHONSO, INFANTE OF PORTUGAL, MARRIES THE INFANTA ISABELLA OF SPAIN, AND DIES BY A FALL FROM HIS HORSE. — ISABELLA’S SECOND MARRIAGE AND DEATH. — ANECDOTES OF JOHN II. — HIS LAST HOURS. — MARITIME ENTERPRISES OF THE PORTUGUESE. — VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY. — SOME NATIVES OF CONGO ARE BROUGHT TO PORTUGAL. — MISSION TO CONGO. — CONVERSION AND BAPTISM OF THE KING. — TRANSITORINESS OF CHRISTIAN PROFESSION IN AFRICA.

DURING the busy period of the history of Spain through which we have passed, Portugal was under the rule of

John II., who, in many respects, was the greatest of its kings. We have already noticed him in connexion with his father, Alphonso V., whom he succeeded on the throne in A. D. 1481. Like his cotemporaries, Louis XI. and Ferdinand of Arragon, he was bent upon curbing the power of the great nobles, the feudal chiefs of the country: he perceived they were almost as ready to crush the royal power on the one hand, as the enslaved peasantry on the other; and he determined to be truly a monarch throughout his realms. To this end, he began by obliging all holders of fiefs, and governors of towns and fortified places, to take an oath of dependence on the royal authority alone. He then obliged all persons who had received grants from his predecessors, to show the tenure by which they were held, and if he found the title not to be good, he took them away. His next step was to subject the feudal to the royal tribunals, and thus gradually to abolish the former, reserving to himself, and his own judges, the power of life and death, which had previously been exercised by lords over their vassals. He also made the qualifications for the magistracy, learning and merit, rather than aristocratic rank.

The success of John's administration was great: he introduced industry and comfort among the people, and considerably increased the national wealth: his ends, however, were not attained without many struggles, and during these he disgraced himself by unseemly violence. One of the most formidable of the Portuguese nobles, at the accession of John II., was the Duke of Braganza, whose character is already partially known to us. He was allied by blood, or marriage, with the royal family, and with most of the nobility of Portugal; he was lord of thirty towns and villages, and possessor of immense estates. But when, as the organ of the aristocratic order, he boldly demanded of the king the revocation of his new laws, John, in a public assembly, sternly rebuked him. He told him that he had no right to judge or censure his sovereign; that the only duty and glory of subjects was submission; and that, if it were not willingly paid, it would be enforced. Then, to control the overgrown power and pride of the Braganza family, he exiled one of the brothers, deposed another from the office of chancellor, and required the

duke himself to show the tenure by which he held his great possessions. The duke employed his steward to search for the necessary papers, and this man, being rather indolent, made use of the services of a quick-sighted youth who was anxious for royal favour. He found among the duke's papers the copies of a treasonable correspondence with Ferdinand of Arragon, and these he made haste to lay before the king. Owing to this accidental discovery, the duke was arrested, brought to trial, and sentenced to death. He displayed great firmness, spent his remaining hours in devotional exercises, and in a last letter to the king commended his innocent wife and children to the royal mercy. On July 23, 1483, the day appointed for his execution, he was led to a scaffold in the great square of Evora, attended by several priests bearing crosses in honour of his rank. He made no complaint, but observed, that, however humiliating such a death, his Saviour had undergone a worse. At the moment his head was struck off, the city bell tolled; and the king, who was in his closet, awaiting the signal, exclaimed to his attendants, "The duke's soul is just departed: let us recommend it to God." They all knelt; and then, with a loud voice, and many tears, he went through the ordinary prayers for the dead. Some accused the king of hypocrisy in this act, but it was not inconsistent with the character of a formal and superstitious religion; he might also have felt touched by the actual death of a man whom he had once regarded as his friend, though he had previously desired the event. The Duke of Braganza's wicked conduct in a former reign should not be forgotten, in moralising upon his fall. His immediate relations were at this time deeply disgraced; but the throne of Portugal has now long been occupied by his descendants.

John II. soon ascertained that he had other enemies besides the Duke of Braganza, and that his execution had so much incensed the great nobles, as to lead to a conspiracy for the exaltation of Diego, duke of Viseo, to the throne. This prince was the son of the Infante Ferdinand, who died in Africa; he was ambitious and popular, and had recently married Leonora, the king's sister. Ferdinand of Arragon, also, was his friend; and a revolution, in which John was to be assassinated, and Diego placed on the throne,

might have been speedily accomplished, had not the whole plot been revealed to the king. The Bishop of Evora, one of the most active of the conspirators, had a favourite mistress, from whom he could hide nothing; and she, having learned all the particulars of the plot, and the names of those engaged in it, told all to her brother. The brother, eager to obtain the king's favour, procured an introduction to him, and declared the whole scheme. John promised him great rewards, and enjoined silence. Then he kept his eye on the movements of the several conspirators, and anxiously waited for an opportunity to arrest them all at one time. On one occasion, he met the Duke of Viseo, and another, on his palace staircase; and, though they meditated his assassination, his sudden appearance so startled them, through their consciousness of guilt, that the king said to his cousin, noticing his confusion, "What is the matter?" He replied, "Nothing, only I was going to fall." "Take care that you do not fall," calmly replied the king, and passed on, as if suspecting nothing. On another occasion, he was almost surrounded by the conspirators, when but slightly attended; but he entered into conversation with them in a manner so polite and tranquil, and kept his eye so constantly fixed upon them, that they were afraid to strike him, and, not knowing that he had any suspicions, delayed the execution of their scheme to another opportunity.

At length, the king, being in Setubal, sent for the Duke of Viseo, under pretence of confidential communication. He entered the audience-chamber with a cheerful countenance, and the king, after a few moments' conversation, asked, with studied carelessness, "Cousin, suppose you knew a man who had sworn to take away your life; what would you do?" The duke, as if the matter little concerned him, immediately replied, "I would hasten to take his." "Die then," exclaimed the king, "thou hast pronounced thine own doom;" and, drawing out his dagger, stabbed him to the heart. At the first report of this event, the inhabitants, as if horror-struck, remained in their houses; but, when the conspiracy against the king was related, they hastened to offer themselves as his guards; and, every particular being brought to light, the remaining conspirators were executed, imprisoned for life, or banished

the kingdom. John, however, was universally blamed, for having made himself the executioner of his cousin.

The family of the duke did not suffer for his crime. His brother Manuel was created constable of the kingdom, and duke of Beja, and was recognised as next heir to the throne after the king's son, the Infante Alphonso. In 1490, this prince was married to Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; an alliance which was thought very desirable on both sides, and promised to secure the peace of the peninsula. One fine evening in the following summer, the king invited his son to bathe with him in the Tagus, according to custom; but Alphonso, who had just returned from hunting, declined, pleading fatigue. Soon after, as he was standing at the window with his young wife, the king passed by; from his manner, the prince feared he was displeased, and hastened to the royal stables, with a knight who was his companion, to seek a horse to follow him. They mounted two fine spirited steeds, and rode to the banks of the river; but, seeing that the king was swimming at some distance, they forebore to join him, and Alphonso proposed to spend the vacant time in making trial of the swiftness of their horses. It was growing dark, and the knight wished to dissuade him; but the prince would be obeyed, and in the midst of the race he was thrown from his horse, and fell senseless to the ground. The king and queen, with Isabella, and half the court, hastened to the spot; and the infante was carried to a fisherman's hut. Remedies were tried in vain, and he soon died in the arms of his mourning parents and wife. The shock nearly overcame the king's mind, and for some time he refused to be comforted. But, when told that he must live for the sake of his subjects, in each of whom he still had a son, he replied, "The happiness of my subjects is, indeed, my only remaining consolation. I will labour for their good; but let them pardon me: nature is weak, and I am but a man." Isabella, before her first marriage, had derived a taste for religious ceremonies, and monastic observances, from the priests and monks who thronged the Spanish court; she would have preferred the life of a nun to that of queen of Portugal. The melancholy termination of her husband's life, probably, made a second marriage still more painful; but, for political rea-

sons, she was constrained to wed Manuel, duke of Beja, the next heir to the Portuguese throne. She died in giving birth to her first son, who did not long survive her; and, through the strong desire to establish friendly relations between Spain and Portugal, her sister, the Infanta Maria, was given in marriage to her widowed husband.

Many anecdotes that are told of John II. prove that his natural severity of character was tempered by many noble dispositions, and often relaxed into good-natured sarcasm. He could not bear detraction, and displayed his tact in his manner of checking it. When one of his courtiers was complaining of the evil habits of another, whom he wished to lower in the royal estimation, the king coolly said to him, "Is it so? then I would advise you by all means to shun such dangerous society." John II. loved to honour those who least sought for promotion, and whose merits were passed over by others. "Put not forth thyself (*margin*, Set not out thy glory) in the presence of the king," said the wisest of kings, "and stand not in the place of great men: for better it is that it be said unto thee, Come up hither, than that thou shouldest be put lower in the presence of the prince whom thine eyes have seen." This advice held good at the court of John II. of Portugal. A faithful officer who came to see him found all the lodging-places filled. "Be not uneasy," said the king, "that there is no room elsewhere; my palace shall suffice you." Another, wounded in his service, was making his way into the royal presence, when his awkward limp excited the ridicule of the foolish courtiers: John advanced to meet him, placed him at his side, and said, "Let them smile; they shall soon have reason to envy your honourable wound." To one devoted knight, who had never asked him any favour, he said, "You have hands to serve me; have you no tongue to request a recompense?" He did not let his service go unrewarded. Another officer, one day, excited the laughter of the courtiers by dropping a vessel of water, which he was handing at dinner in the palace. "Why do you laugh?" said the king: "he never dropped his lance." In his ordinary money transactions, John II. was very honourable. When a rich merchant of whom he had borrowed some money declined, on receiving it again, the customary interest, the king commanded that

double interest should be given him, and that his agents should continue to double it every time it was refused. Other facts prove that this monarch was naturally avacious.

From the time of his son's death, which occurred shortly before the close of our present period, John's health declined; but, though very infirm in body, during the three remaining years of his life, he paid his usual vigorous attention to public affairs, till within a short time of his death. His last hours were spent in devotional exercises. On an altar, erected in his apartment, a crucifix was placed, with an image of his patron St. John. There the dying king made his confessions, and asked forgiveness of all whom he had offended. A gentleman present asking him a boon, "for the sake of Christ's wounds," he replied, "Take it; I have never refused any thing to such an adjuration." In that solemn season, he refused to be called *highness*, the common mode of address; but, still retaining his strong feeling of the respect due to his dignity, he reprov'd a courtier for touching his beard, possibly not knowing it was to recover him when fainting. His last words were, "O Lord, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me." He died in the year A. D. 1495.

Rather an interesting episode, in the reign of John II., of Portugal, is furnished by the history of the maritime expeditions undertaken in his reign. Like his predecessors, he was often at war with the Moors of Fez, over whom some unprofitable victories were gained. Pacific enterprise, and important discoveries, have greater claim on our attention. The southern point of Africa was reached by Diaz, a Portuguese captain, in 1487. From the weather that he encountered, he called it the Cape of Storms, and did not double it. The king desired that it might be called the Cape of Good Hope. The coast of Guinea, and the adjacent islands, had been explored in the preceding reign, and a lucrative commerce was commenced in gold-dust and ivory; and, as the revenues of John, when he was infante, were chiefly drawn from this source, his first act as king was to send materials and labourers to erect a fortress and church at the port called Mina. After some gentle, but unavailing remonstrance

from the negro chief of the district, the king's orders were carried into execution. Fort St. George of Mina was a formidable building, and the commencement of a considerable town, which afterwards became infamous as an emporium of slaves. In order to secure his valuable possessions, the King of Portugal, who had added to his titles that of *Lord of Guinea*, applied to the Pope to confirm the grants previously made to Don Henry. His request met with attention, and the vast donation to the crown of Portugal met with respect from neighbouring princes. It is to be observed, that the papal grant of all the lands that should be discovered between Cape Bojador and India was originally accompanied with a plenary indulgence for the souls of all who might perish in the prosecution of the enterprise; it was argued to be a good work to christianise those unknown regions, and that motive was held out to religious zeal. John II. ordered that, instead of the wooden crosses, which the Portuguese discoverers were wont to set up, stone crosses, about six feet high, inscribed with the arms of Portugal, should be erected by his navigators in their progress along the shores of Africa.

The discovery of Congo, by a captain named Cam, was attended with some interesting circumstances. On the first voyage thither he brought back a few natives, who learned the Portuguese language, and were most kindly received by the king. In his second visit to Congo, Cam was honourably received; and the visible superiority of the Christians made so favourable an impression, that he was entreated to bring some teachers, and to take back with him to Portugal several natives, to be instructed in the faith. The barbarians were received with great joy at the Portuguese court, and, in process of time, baptised, having the king, queen, and some of the nobles, as sponsors. At the end of two years, the converts returned home, accompanied by several monks, mechanics, and agricultural labourers, with ambassadors from the King of Portugal. They were first received by an uncle of the King of Congo, whose government extended along the coast, and he was immediately baptised by the name of Manuel. This prince was so seriously convinced of the errors of heathenism, that he often

addressed his people on the subject, and punished the slightest disrespect for the new religion. By his example and encouragement, hundreds sought instruction; the idols were broken, or removed, and a church erected. Had a purer Christianity been introduced into Africa, Manuel might have been one of its most distinguished ornaments. Sousa, the Portuguese ambassador, with an escort of natives, and a train of his own countrymen, proceeded into the interior, to attempt the conversion of the king. Thousands came out of the royal town to meet them, and the barbarian sovereign received them in state. He was seated on a rude throne, with a chaplet of palm-tree leaves around his head, and bauble ornaments about his wrists, but wore no clothing higher than his waist. He accepted the presents brought by the strangers, examined the vessels belonging to the Romish worship, which were displayed before him, and gave permission to the missionaries to preach their doctrines freely. The building of a church, intended as the place of the king's baptism, was commenced; but, persuaded of the saving virtue which his teachers attached to that ordinance, he would not wait till the edifice was completed, as he was about to risk his life in battle. On being baptised, he received the name of John, in honour of the King of Portugal; his wife, that of Queen Leonora; his eldest son, that of Alphonso; and many of his chiefs, names corresponding with those of the nobles of the Portuguese court. Alphonso alone was true to his profession; and, when he ascended the throne, supported by his friends from Portugal, he exerted himself for the propagation of Christianity. His subjects, however, did not like to renounce their many wives, and other license which their old religion gave, and all profession of the name of Christ was gradually extinguished. The ceremonies of the Romish Church attracted the barbarian mind for a time; but, when these began to tire, there was nothing to fall back upon; and it was seen, that, in the absence of the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation, even a zealous and pacific attempt to introduce the Christian name was of no avail.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation.*

## FIRST DIVISION.

## THE PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER VI., A.D. 1492—1503.

THE HIGHLY LITERARY AND REFINED STATE OF THE VARIOUS COURTS OF ITALY, AT THE PERIOD OF THE INVASION OF CHARLES VIII.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALDINE PRESS.—ELEVATION OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.—HIS WRETCHED CHARACTER.—WICKED AMBITION OF LODOVICO SFORZA.—PRETENSIONS OF CHARLES VIII. TO THE CROWN OF NAPLES.—HIS PREPARATIONS FOR THE INVASION OF ITALY.—HIS PROGRESS THROUGH ITALY.—EXPULSION OF THE MEDICI FROM FLORENCE.—THE KING OF FRANCE AT FLORENCE AND ROME.—STORY OF THE TURKISH CAPTIVE ZIZIM.—CHARLES'S SPEEDY CONQUEST OF NAPLES.—HIS BEHAVIOUR AND OCCUPATIONS THERE.—THE LEAGUE FORMED AGAINST HIM.—HIS EXTRAORDINARY RETREAT THROUGH ITALY.—BATTLE OF FORNOVO.—RESTORATION OF THE NEAPOLITAN ROYAL FAMILY.

WE have pursued the history of the chief nations of Europe down to the period of the conquest of Granada (Jan. 1492), and the memorable events which followed in rapid chronological succession—the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (April 1492), of Pope Innocent VIII. (July 1492), and of Frederic III. (1493), with Charles the Eighth's first projects for the conquest of Naples. That ambitious scheme, which is usually considered a starting-point in Modern History, stands at the commencement of our present period; but we shall first take a glance at the state in which Italy was found when threatened by this foreign invasion. *The times of the Medici*, through which we have been passing, had introduced a new state of things: the seeds of ancient literature scattered throughout Italy were springing up a hundredfold; the palaces had become academies of learning; princes were rivals in elegant accomplishments, literary taste, and refined splendour; and the chief pride of the great and the wealthy was to be sur-

rounded by poets, scholars, and artists. Never, since the days of Augustus, had Italy seen such abundance and luxury, and such lavish outpouring of intellectual wealth. All its states, from north to south, vied with each other in the multitude, or the celebrity, of their learned men; but Naples and Florence, at this time, held the most distinguished place in literary fame. The Neapolitan branch of the royal family of Arragon—the descendants of Alphonso the Magnanimous—were munificent patrons of learning; and of the scholars, poets, and men of taste who thronged around them, many were nobles of their own court; nor were there wanting ladies of rank with high literary pretensions.

In the spring of 1492, the recent conquest of Granada, which had been celebrated by pageants and rejoicings even in London, was commemorated at Naples by the first drama that had ever been written in the Neapolitan dialect: the populace were highly delighted; and Alphonso, duke of Calabria, the king's eldest son, so celebrated as the commander who had driven the Turkish Moslems out of Italy, honoured the performance with his presence. In the first scene, the King of Granada was represented flying before the Christian army, and lamenting his defeat; in the second scene, two allegorical personages were introduced, *Faith and Joy*, exulting in the event. The whole concluded with a masquerade and dancing. Though Naples stood high in the ranks of human learning, there was nothing in the tone of the court, or of public feeling, that, like a seasoning of salt, could preserve the whole from corruption. The writers of Naples, we may say of Italy, whether they used prose or verse, Latin or Italian, and whether their style was grave or gay, wrote nothing for the glory of God. Satire carried to extreme, abuse of adversaries, flattery of princes, a revival of pagan ideas and morals with pagan learning, a heathenish tincture in religion, the expression of impure and idolatrous affections, characterised the works produced by the numerous and busy pens which gave permanence to the exercise of intellect and imagination in these days. We must recur to this subject in our history of Christian Profession.

Ariosto, who at this time was rising into eminence as

the most distinguished ornament of the court of the Marquis of Ferrara, was, without question, the most popular, and, in his line, the most wonderfully gifted of the Italian poets. But one of his most recent biographers, who has deeply studied his writings, and appreciates to the full his extraordinary poetic talent, says, with admirable faithfulness, "it had been better for many of his readers,—why should we not say, at once, for all of them?—that he had never been born." The Marquis of Mantua and his lady, Isabella of Este, daughter of the Marquis of Ferrara, gloried in a refined and literary court; but even they were outdone by the Duke of Urbino. His palace, one of the finest structures of Italy, was sumptuously furnished with silver vases, rich draperies, statues, busts, and pictures; but its chief treasure was a library, which was the envy of cotemporary princes. It contained a large selection of books in Latin, Greek, and other languages; and the owner enriched many of them with ornaments of silver and gold. The city and state of Bologna, which, under the Bentivoglio family, struggled hard to be independent of the Duke of Milan on the one side, and of the Pope on the other, was rendered a place of attraction to men of talents, through the liberality of its chiefs. Of the distinguished artists and scholars who, at this time, frequented the splendid court of Lodovico Sforza at Milan, Leonardo da Vinci was the most famous. His skill in performing on a lyre of his own invention, and singing to it extempore verses of his own composing, attracted favour and applause in the first instance; and his skill was afterwards exhibited as a geometrician, an architect, a sculptor, and painter. His most celebrated picture, entitled "*The Last Supper*," was painted for the refectory of the Dominican convent at Milan. As an engraving, it is still familiar to every one.

Venice was now rising into literary fame, and no city of Italy took so much advantage of the printing-press. The Aldine press, established in 1494 by Aldo, a scholar from the Roman States, made it particularly famous. Aldo settled at Venice, because of the facilities it afforded him in the prosecution of the labours to which he had devoted himself. His industry was extraordinary. Though, by profession, a teacher of the Greek language, he found

time, in the course of twenty years, to publish correct editions of almost all the ancient Greek and Latin authors, with a considerable number of works in the Italian tongue; he composed many of the prefaces and dedications himself, added criticisms and observations to the text, and sometimes undertook the manual labour of printing his own works. He corrected the proofs with such anxious care, that he said on one occasion, if, after all, he perceived any remaining defect, he would gladly have covered it with a piece of gold. Even the Poles and Hungarians sent their works to his press. Aldo found assistance in his classical labours from an academy which he formed at Venice, for the express purpose of collating the ancient authors: he was so careful not to let his time be wasted, that he placed a Latin inscription over the door of his study, warning his visitors, if they came on business, to despatch it quickly, and depart; but intimating that, if they came to share his labours, there would be work enough for them, and as many more as should repair thither.

At the close of the pontificate of Innocent VIII., Rome, emphatically called *the City*, was behind the other cities of Italy in the encouragement of learning; but John de' Medici (afterwards Leo X.), whilst residing there as cardinal, commenced those efforts for the promotion of art and literature, which distinguished him in such a remarkable manner on the pontifical throne.

We shall perceive that the French, in invading Italy, like a new irruption of barbarians, spread desolation or alarm from shore to shore. But, though the storm which we are about to describe ruined some of the noble patrons of literature, and broke to pieces several companies of learned men, the energies of many were awakened by it; and perhaps no period of history gave birth to greater variety of talent, or abounded so much in writers, both in prose and verse. The love of literature had spread so widely, and its roots had struck so deeply into a congenial soil, that, though the hurricane beat upon it, and destroyed many of its supports, a few years served to repair, and more than repair, the damage.

At the death of Innocent VIII., twenty cardinals assembled to elect a new pope; and Roderigo Borgia, a native of Valencia, the oldest among them, and the most dissolute

in morals, procured the votes of the majority by bribery. He was sixty-one years of age, during thirty-five of which he had held the rank of cardinal, with some of the most lucrative offices in the Roman State. He expended his treasures on this occasion, knowing that, as pope, he might soon accumulate them again. Four mules, laden with silver, were publicly driven into the palace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, brother of Lodovico of Milan, whom he considered a powerful rival; to another, he gave 5000 gold crowns, and liberal promises. Only five of the cardinals were too honourable, or too much the enemies of Borgia, to accept his bribes. Among the former was John de' Medici (afterwards Leo X.), who retired to Florence; among the latter was Julian di Rovere, afterwards Julius II. Roderigo and Julian had long been rivals; they were wont to load each other with abuse, and one of their disputes had terminated with blows. As soon, therefore, as the former had secured his election, Julian retired to Ostia, his episcopal city, and began to fortify it with his accustomed military vigour, declaring that he could not trust the traitor. The consecration of the new Pope took place August 11, 1492, with great magnificence; and he assumed the name of Alexander the Sixth. Notwithstanding his known character, some of the triumphal arches, under which he passed in the pompous procession attending his elevation, bore inscriptions hailing him as the most pious of mankind, and even as a *god*.

Ferdinand of Naples, on hearing of the exaltation of Borgia, said to his wife, *with tears* — an expression of feeling he had not been wont to evince at the death of his own children — the event would not only be destructive to the repose of Italy, but to that of Christendom.

Had the Romish system permitted the Pope to have a wife, Alexander VI. would have owned in that relationship Vanossa, a Roman lady, to whom he had been for many years attached, and who was preferred to all his other mistresses. She was the mother of his four favourite children, John, Cæsar, Lucretia, and Geoffry, and their aggrandisement was one of his chief objects on ascending the papal throne.

Next to Rome, the worst centre of mischief in Italy, was Milan. John Galeazzo Sforza, the duke, had fallen,

during his minority, under the care of his uncle Lodovico, surnamed Moro, *i. e.* the Moor, on account of his dark complexion. This avowed guardian of the prince was the true ruler. In the dedication of a book, addressed to him as a patron of learning, A. D. 1492, his honour and probity were highly commended; but he was then about to throw off the disguise, and to usurp the name, as well as the authority, of duke of Milan. John Galeazzo was of full age; he had married Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Calabria, by whom he had several young children; but, though the revenues of the state were very large, and Lodovico was liberal and magnificent in his general expenditure, they had sometimes scarcely sufficient means for obtaining necessary provisions. The young and spirited duchess probably complained to her family, and an embassy arrived from the court of Naples, urging Lodovico to resign the sovereignty. Rather than submit to this, he determined to invite Charles VIII. into Italy, and to assist him in making himself master of the kingdom of Naples; intending, in the general ruin of the Neapolitan family, who alone were likely to oppose his designs, to get rid of his nephew, and retain the ducal throne in his place. The invitation and the assistance of Lodovico Sforza were alike acceptable to the King of France; for, as we have already seen, his head was turned by a false estimate of the heroes of history, and nothing pleased him so well as the idea of emulating the fame of his ancestor Charlemagne. It mattered not to him that he was called Charles *the Little*, because of his small size; he thought not, as others did, of the weakness of his own mind and body; and, being once resolved on the undertaking, he displayed energies of which he had been deemed incapable. He began by concluding treaties of peace and friendship with Henry VII. of England, with Ferdinand and Isabella — who, by solemn oath, promised not to interfere in the affairs of Naples, and with Maximilian, the emperor elect. He then sent ambassadors to the various states of Italy, and assumed the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem, publicly stating that he meant to recover Constantinople out of the hands of the Turks, and, on that plea, demanding the cooperation of Christian princes. Venice and some minor states declared themselves neutral; the Marquis of

Ferrara encouraged the scheme ; the Duchesses of Savoy and Montferrat, acting as regents for their sons, who were minors, promised to open the passes of the Alps ; the Pope, and Peter de' Medici, seemed disposed to express their good wishes privately, but declared that, through fear of the King of Naples, they dared not openly countenance the project. On a second inquiry, when urged to take a decided part, Alexander VI. exhorted the King of France to submit his claims to Naples to pacific arbitration, and only to use his arms, in conjunction with other European sovereigns, against the common foes of Christendom ; he intimated that *his most Christian* Majesty would not endanger that character by opposing himself to the head of the Church. It happened that the Pope's youngest son Geoffry, a youth of thirteen, was just about to be espoused to a Neapolitan princess of seventeen, and this circumstance induced him to support the House of Arragon ; his child's interest was connected with theirs. The Pope's reply, and an embassy from Ferdinand of Naples, offering Charles a large annual tribute if he would renounce his pretensions, did not alter his schemes ; he would not even grant the Neapolitan envoy a public hearing. Disappointment in his negotiation, and over-exertion in preparing for the defence of his kingdom, so much affected the aged Ferdinand, that he suddenly died (Jan. A. D. 1494).

Alphonso, already famous as Duke of Calabria, was immediately invested with the kingdom of Naples, on the death of his father ; and, in May 1495, he was crowned by a cardinal sent from Rome by the Pope, and the marriage of Geoffry Borgia immediately followed. On both these occasions, the most extravagant pomp was displayed ; and these expensive shows, in connection with Alphonso's tyrannical government, served to alienate the minds of his subjects, when he most needed their support. It is said, Alphonso appealed, but in vain, to the Sultan Bajazet, begging him, as the French king avowed a design upon Constantinople, to send troops that might vanquish his army in Naples. That summer, the French began their warlike demonstrations in three different parts of Italy. D'Aubigny, a general, who had been an unsuccessful ambassador at the papal court, engaged in his

service several of the discontented Roman nobles, and many bands of Italian mercenaries, and being joined by the French, already arrived at Milan, he entered Romagna, on his way towards the territory of Naples. Louis, duke of Orleans, going before the king, took the command of a Genoese fleet, having on board 1000 Swiss mercenaries, and obtained a victory over the Neapolitan armament. On August 22, Charles himself began his march, taking his route from Vienne, and passing through Grenoble across the Alps to Turin. That city was the capital of Savoy, and he was entertained by the duchess with great magnificence, and detained, by a succession of feasts and shows, till September 6. The splendid jewels with which the duchess decorated herself, in honour of her royal guest, were borrowed by him for the necessities of the war, and immediately pledged for a large sum of money. The Duchess of Montferrat was ready to lend her jewels for the same purpose, and entertained the king with equal splendour at Casale, the capital of her states. At Asti, Lodovico Sforza, and his wife, Beatrice of Este, made grand preparations for the king's reception; they preferred entertaining him on the border, rather than in the heart of the duchy, where his army might have proved dangerous, and where he might have taken the course proposed to him by some, namely, to place the young duke on the throne which was his right, or to hold the Milanese in his name. The excesses into which Charles plunged himself at Asti, through the pleasures furnished to him by the ambitious Lodovico, threw him into a dangerous sickness, and he was not able to leave the place till October 6, by which time he had heard of the successes of D'Aubigny and the Duke of Orleans, and made preparations for their joining him in his progress. At Pavia, Charles saw the unfortunate Duke of Milan, but he lay at the point of death; and his wife, Isabella, in vain threw herself at the feet of the invader, and implored his intervention for her husband, and his pity for her family at Naples. The king's attendants insulted the prostrate duchess. A few days after, at Piacenza, Charles heard that John Galeazzo was dead; and his physician, who had been his companion in his recent visit, assured him that he was then evidently under the effects of poison, which, according to public

rumour, was administered by his treacherous uncle. Charles caused masses to be performed for the deceased, and began to entertain such fears for his own safety, that it was probable he would have returned home, had not two exiles of the Medici family, who were in his train, and had their own ends in view, urged him to continue his expedition. These guides advised him to choose the road to Naples that lay directly through the Tuscan and Roman territories. Thus he passed through the Apennines to Parma; thence to Pontremoli; and thence, traversing some poor pasture lands, descended, through olive-grounds, to the seashore. He was then in the Florentine territory; and the narrow space between the mountains and the sea was defended by a chain of fortresses, which might have detained his army, till famine, or the fevers common to that unhealthy coast, had carried them off. The fort of Fivizzano, which first opposed their progress, was stormed, and all its defenders put to the sword. Sarzana, a town strongly fortified by the directions of Lorenzo, was the place before which the French army next appeared; and, to the surprise alike of the French and Tuscans, Peter de' Medici, with a few attendants, arrived in the camp, desiring an interview with the king. Peter was neither a prudent statesman, nor a good general; he was not popular in the republic of Florence, being disposed to despotism; he had only been owned as chief out of respect to his father, and was far less remarkable for powers of mind, than for his great personal strength, and skill in tournaments. It appears that he had an inclination of heart towards the French, which he was then scarcely prepared to avow; and, without the authority of the state, he professed to treat for it with the King of France. He had secretly left Florence, and sent back a respectful letter to the council, comparing his undertaking to the disinterested act of his father Lorenzo, who, for his country's sake, braved a meeting with his avowed enemy. The circumstances were, however, as dissimilar as the dispositions of the father and son. Peter, on his way to the camp of the invaders, had been so alarmed by hearing of their barbarous mode of warfare, and by seeing some victims of their ferocity, that he yielded up at once the strong places which might

have opposed their progress, and agreed that the French king should leave a garrison in them till his return, on condition of his passing peaceably through the Tuscan territories. Sarzana, Sarzanella, and the yet more important cities, Pisa and Leghorn, were surrendered, on this occasion, by the authority of *le grand Lombard*, for thus the Medicean chief was styled by the French soldiers, as the little geographical accuracy of that day caused the name of Lombardy to be applied to all Italy. Peter de' Medici returned in haste to Florence, but only to find that he had lost all authority there. The day after his arrival he was refused admittance into the palace of the magistrates; he was regarded as a man who had treacherously opened the floodgates to let in a destructive deluge. Savonarola, with a deputation of five other citizens, went as far as Lucca to meet the King of France; he listened attentively to the oration made to him, but would not be persuaded to renounce the advantages he had gained. Peter de' Medici attempted to regain, by force, the command of his countrymen, but he was soon obliged to hide himself from their resentment. The cardinal, his brother, endeavoured to conciliate the people, and traversed the streets, uttering the cry, "Palle! Palle!" in reference to the arms of his family. But these words, for the first time, failed to produce any favourable effect; the tumult increased; the streets were so thronged that the cardinal could not proceed; and Peter was in danger of assault. In great haste he escaped, with his brother Julian; but, instead of joining the French, took the road through the Apennines to Bologna; the cardinal, finding it vain to linger, soon after departed. The plunder of the Medici Palace, and of the cardinal's residence, followed; and the *Bigi* (or Grey), the name given to the friends of their house, would have been sacrificed to the popular fury, but for the influence of Savonarola. The party of the latter were termed *Piagnoni*, *i. e.* weepers, because they were wont so bitterly to lament the condition of Church and State, and forbore to join in the vain amusements of their fellow-citizens. The irreligious condition of the people made Savonarola anxious for any change that might be a means of improvement; he interpreted the invasion of Charles VIII. as the judgment that he had been denouncing on

Italy, and imagined that the king was to be the instrument of a great reform. He declared this belief to Charles himself, and exhorted him to fulfil his mission. At the same time, he condemned the pillage and massacre practised by the French troops, and threatened judgment against the king, if he did not restrain them. On the day that the Medici quitted their native city, the French entered Pisa, a city which, for eighty-seven years, had been under the dominion of Florence, its ancient rival. The citizens, in crowds, surrounded the king, entreating him, with many lamentations over the oppression to which they had been subject, to free them from the Florentine yoke. Unmindful of his engagement to restore the city at the close of the war, he granted the request, and immediately the arms and insignia of their former masters were destroyed by the Pisans, and the Florentine commissioners forcibly expelled. This event was the origin of one of the longest and most bloody contests that disgrace the annals of Italy during this miserable period.

On his way to Florence, Charles heard of the expulsion of the Medici, and the cause of it made him think it possible he might meet with resistance. He therefore ordered D'Aubigny to join him with an additional force; nor might he have abstained from attempting the plunder of the city, had not the Florentines sent him rich presents, and delicate viands, to pacify his anger, whilst they secretly filled their houses with troops in case of an attack. On November 17, the king made a public and peaceable entry into the city, with great pomp, and took up his abode in the Medici Palace, which had been prepared for his reception. His nobility and chief officers were lodged in the princely houses of the richest inhabitants, and the illuminations of the city, every night of their stay, served for the honour of the royal guest, and contributed to the security of the people. One of the amusements prepared for the king was the representation of the Annunciation of the Virgin, in one of the churches; the scenic decoration, and mechanical ingenuity, so much delighted him, that he wished it to be exhibited a second time. During the king's sojourn at Florence, it was discovered that he designed either to restore Peter de' Medici, or to establish a magistracy under his own influence. The rumour

occasioned universal tumult, and the city was on the point of becoming one dreadful scene of bloodshed, when the French chiefs and the Florentine magistrates united together to restore tranquillity. But even when the king found that the Florentines would suffer no interference with their government, he demanded the payment of a large sum of money, as the price of his forbearance.

Capponi, one of the four citizens authorised to negotiate with him, stepped boldly forwards, seized the paper which had been read by the king's secretary, and, tearing it to pieces, exclaimed, "If these be your terms, you may sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells;" and then left the room. The king, alarmed at his boldness, desired him to be recalled; and, on condition of a certain subsidy, concluded a treaty of peace, promising, as before, to restore the fortresses at the end of the war.

On quitting the Florentine territories, the French army defiled through the pass of Valdarno, where its numbers could be estimated with tolerable correctness. Comines says, it then included 60,000 persons. On entering the states of the Church, the king possessed himself of Viterbo and other places, where his troops plundered the inhabitants. Peter de' Medici, who had been for a time at Venice, now entered the camp of Charles VIII., and was received with much favour. As Charles advanced, the Neapolitan troops commissioned to guard the papal states retreated, and at last entrenched themselves under the walls of Rome. The Pope then sent ambassadors, with overtures of peace, on the part of Alphonso and himself: they were rejected with regard to the King of Naples, but gladly accepted from the Pope, and Charles sent La Tremouille to treat with him, accompanied by the Cardinal Sforza. Rome was prepared for defence; and Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, with the Neapolitan troops under his command, was admitted within the walls; but Alexander was soon persuaded to open the gates to the French, with whom he concluded a separate treaty. On the last day of December, 1494, the duke quitted the city with his troops at one gate, whilst the king and his army entered at another.

In spite of Charles's promises to treat the Pope with all the usual reverence paid to persons in his office, he fled to the Castle of St. Angelo. This gave his enemies, especially the Cardinals Rovere and Sforza, an opportunity of suggesting to the king his deposition: the manner of his election, and the wickedness of his life, were pleaded as sufficient reasons; but the king's favourite, Brissonet, who had been promised a cardinalship by Alexander, had sufficient influence to prevent his dethronement. Twice were the French cannon pointed against the castle; but the Pope found relief by means of negociation, and a treaty was concluded between him and the king. The Pope agreed, that Charles should keep certain fortresses in the Roman States, till he had completed the object of his expedition; that his son, Cæsar Borgia, then a cardinal, should accompany him; and that Zizim, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, should be given into the king's care. This prince had been detained in safe custody by the Pope, on consideration of an annual payment of 40,000 ducats from the sultan. It has been already said, that Mahomet the Great left two sons, Bajazet and Zizim; the younger put in a claim to the throne, on the not uncommon plea, that he alone was born after his father became sultan. Unsuccessful in the contest with his brother, he fled to Rhodes, and put himself under the protection of D'Aubusson, grand-master of the knights of St. John, who so vigorously defended their island retreat, that 100,000 Turks are said to have perished in the vain attempt to expel them. No bribes would persuade the knights to give up Zizim to his brother, and, at length, he was sent to Rome for protection. Innocent VIII. received him with kindness; a chamber in the papal palace was appointed for his residence; and a guard, under pretence of honouring him, prevented his escape. The Italians called this prince *Gemma Sultano*. He was a man of interesting appearance and considerable talent, well acquainted with Italian literature, and particularly fond of geography: he wrote the history of his father's reign, and was also a poet. His devotion, as a Mussulman, is said to have been manifested at Rhodes, in reading through the Koran every week. Besides the sums of money sent by the sultan to the Pope, to detain his brother in custody, he transmitted

certain relics, and among them the head of a spear, said to be that which had pierced the side of Christ. Innocent, disregarding the doubts of the cardinals as to the authenticity of the relic, carried it himself, in solemn procession, enclosed in a vase of crystal.\* It is not surprising that Charles VIII., with the taking of Constantinople in view, should be anxious to possess so valuable a captive as Zizim; one by whose means he might excite division among the Mahometans themselves. But, whatever use he meant to make of the prince, he was disappointed by his death, which occurred shortly after he was delivered up by Alexander VI.† Some mystery hangs over the event, as it is variously asserted he died of poison administered by the Pope, by the king's neglect, and through some excess on his own part. After the conclusion of his treaty with Alexander, Charles had an interview with him in his gardens; the Pope purposely met him there, to avoid the difficulty of requiring those marks of respect, which the king might not have been inclined to pay. But, it appears, there was no scruple on Charles's part; for, at his public reception afterwards, he rendered the Pope the usual homage. Alexander still excused himself from investing him with the kingdom of Naples. After staying a month at Rome, during which he acted as master, punishing criminals by his own authority, Charles set out for Naples. Alphonso, hearing of the retreat of his troops from Rome, and the approach of the French,

\* This was not the only occasion in which the *Grand Turk*, as he was called, was concerned in the transmission of relics. The Florentine chancellor sent him a letter, requesting his interference about the left arm of John the Baptist, which had been intercepted by the citizens of Ragusa, in its way to Florence. The rage for collecting relics did not pass away with the nominally dark ages.

† Some curious documents have been brought to prove the kind of intercourse that existed between the heads of the Mahometan and of the Christian religion at this time. The Pope applies to the Grand Turk to assist him against the French, saying, that Charles intended to obtain custody of Zizim, to promote his views upon the Ottoman state. Bajazet, in reply, entreats the Pope to put his brother to death, in such a way as he may judge best, and thus translate his soul to another state, where he may enjoy greater repose; and for this service promises to pay 300,000 ducats, and to allow the Christians free access to his dominions. On another occasion, Bajazet is said to have recommended a certain person as fit for a cardinal.

alarmed, too, at the disaffection of his own subjects, resolved to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria. He accordingly drew up an instrument, resigning all his rights to his son, and secretly withdrew, with a few attendants, and his most valuable effects, to the island of Sicily, where his mother-in-law, the queen-dowager of Naples, was living on an estate given her by her brother, Ferdinand of Spain. All Italy was surprised; and the Neapolitan scholars who had flourished under the king's patronage were most indignant at his retreat. Comines says, he fled through mere weakness, and that no cruel man was ever courageous. The ex-king seemed, however, right in supposing that his son could reign better than himself. Ferdinand II. did all that it was possible for a prince of twenty-four to do, in such peculiar and dangerous circumstances. But it was too late. Place after place was surrendered, out of terror of the invaders. The march of the French was marked by cruelty, rapine, and blood; and Ferdinand, at last, assembled the chief inhabitants of Naples, released them from their oath of fidelity to himself, and desired them to make the best terms they could with the enemy. Then, like his father, he privately withdrew, taking with him his uncle Frederic, and other members of the royal family. They first set sail for the island of Ischia; and, as their native place receded from view, Ferdinand frequently repeated, "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." On February 22, three days after Ferdinand quitted Naples, Charles VIII. entered it, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. They were either sincerely glad of the revolution, or thought it wise to put on an appearance of gladness. It was remarked by Alexander VI., in reference to the ease with which the King of France had effected his object, "The French had overrun Italy with *wooden spurs*, and conquered it with *chalk*." He alluded to the custom of the officers, who, when riding only for amusement, used pointed wood for spurs; and to the practice of the foragers, who marked with chalk the houses fixed on for the habitations of the soldiery. Notwithstanding this sarcastic commendation of French bravery, it was certain that the Pope was not disposed to favour the establishment of their dominion in

Naples. Cæsar Borgia had secretly withdrawn from the invading army by the way. Neither was Charles easy with respect to his new kingdom. He obtained an interview with Frederic, the king's uncle, wishing him to persuade Ferdinand to relinquish the crown, without farther contest, promising honourably to provide for him and the whole royal family. The king went to Sicily to consult his father, whom he found in a convent at Messina, living an austere life of monkish devotion. The ex-monarch advised him to apply for help to their relative, Ferdinand of Spain, and an ambassador was immediately sent to that king. He at once saw the advantages he might derive, through interference in the matter, and dispatched Gonsalvo, his most eminent general, with a powerful armament to Sicily, to act as circumstances might require. This Spanish commander was subsequently distinguished by the title of *The Great Captain*.

Charles VIII., though frequently stopping to indulge in banqueting and licentiousness, had traversed all Italy in four months and a half; and, in fifteen days, he became master of the kingdom of Naples, a few fortresses excepted. But it was soon apparent, that the change of government was not for the happiness of the people, and that the possession of the coveted dominion did the king no good. Three months rapidly passed away, and were marked by acts of partiality to his own barons, and oppression, or neglect, of his new subjects; by feasts and tournaments, wretched pleasures, and vain superstitions. Among the latter we may observe, that persons came to be touched by his royal hand for the cure of the evil; and that, on his paying his devotions in the church of St. Januarius, and touching, with a silver wand, the vessel said to contain the blood of that martyr, the solid mass, by some priestly trick, became liquid, and even grew warm. The king, and his astonished attendants, were flatteringly assured, that this blood never dissolved, but at the prayers of the just.\* The much applauded religion of the king consisted in his attending every morning the ceremonies performed in some of the churches in Naples. The rest of the day was spent in

\* This "lying wonder," which is still continued, has been said to take place when the city that the saint loves is in danger. It is probably performed by chemical means.

adding sin to sin. On the last day of March, 1495, when Charles had not been in Naples a month, a league was concluded at Venice, among the Italian states, under pretence of protecting Christendom against the Turks, but, in fact, to oppose the French monarch on his way home. It was called *the holy league*, and included, besides the Pope, the Duke of Milan, and the states of Venice, Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain. All were agreed that a balance of power, such as had been maintained in the Italian states in the last years of Lorenzo de' Medici, was equally necessary to be preserved in Europe; and that, if the French monarchy were allowed to become too powerful, it would be dangerous to all. The Duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, refused to join the league. Charles, on hearing of this confederacy, was as anxious to return in safety to France, as he had been to leave it for the conquest of Naples; besides, the half-subdued kingdom was no safe residence, for the inhuman and grossly wicked conduct of the French soldiery, dispersed through its different parts, had excited universal abhorrence and indignation. Yet, even in these circumstances, he desired to secure the fruits of his victories; and, although he applied in vain to the Pope for investiture, he went through the ceremony of coronation at Naples. As king of France, Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, he walked in a pompous procession to the cathedral, the canopy over his head supported by some of the first nobility of Naples. He wore an imperial mantle; the crown on his head; in his right hand he held the ball of gold, the symbol of universal empire; in his left, the sceptre; and, just as his power over the kingdom was about to cease, he received the oaths of allegiance from all classes, and knighted the children who were presented to him for that honour (May 12). Leaving a division of his army under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, his chosen viceroy, Charles quitted Naples (May 20), and proceeded directly towards Rome. About 9000 young warriors accompanied him, the flower of his army. Alexander VI. with his cardinals, and all the troops that he could muster, left Rome, not daring to await the approach of the French king; and Charles, after paying his devotions at St. Peter's, quitted the city, without offering any

violence to the inhabitants, and, on June 5, arrived at Viterbo. There he tarried three days, and was shown by the priests the body of a saint, who, it was pretended, had been for some ages in a trance. In the meantime, the advanced guard of the army, having met with some resistance at Toscanella, a town belonging to the Pope, stormed and plundered it, and massacred 600 of the inhabitants. This event displeased the king, as he had been anxious to avoid offence in passing through the papal states. At Sienna, the king was received with great honour, and remained a few days there, as he had done before, indulging in the same banqueting and licentiousness. Here he met Comines, on his return from an embassy to Venice, and learned that 40,000 men were prepared to meet him, if he attacked the states of Milan. Here also he was waited upon by deputies from Florence, requiring the restoration of Pisa, which he refused to give up. Forbearing to visit Florence, the king passed on to Pisa, and, by the way, was met by Savonarola, who exhorted him to deliver up the places conditionally entrusted to him, telling him, that if he violated the oath which he had taken, he would meet with punishment. Charles paid him no attention; and, at Pisa, received the highest compliments the citizens could bestow, with renewed entreaties for his protection. He remained in the city about a week, and left a garrison of 300 men in the citadel; but they were expelled soon after his departure, on account of their shocking conduct. Pisa then struggled on for fifteen years, sometimes assisted by other powers, and sometimes standing alone against the whole power of Florence.

Savonarola told Comines, in an interview with him at Florence, "that God would conduct the king in safety, without the loss of his honour; but that, as a punishment for his neglecting the reformation of the Church, and indulging his soldiers (he might have added himself) in licentiousness, he must feel a stroke of the scourge." With this observation, the historian narrowly compares the event, and dwells, with reason, on the extraordinary escape of the king. From Pisa, Charles proceeded through Lucca to Sarzana, and from thence, hearing that the Genoese were willing to throw off the yoke of Milan, sent a

force to encourage them, and ordered his fleet to support the movement. But the Genoese remained faithful, and the fleet was defeated and captured. Pontremoli, which lay in the king's line of march, was burned, and the inhabitants massacred, through a quarrel with some German soldiers in his service. Charles's displeasure against these allies was only overcome by their devoting themselves to his service, in acting as beasts of burthen in drawing his artillery over the mountainous ridges which it was needful to pass, in order to reach Lombardy. As the plains of that fertile province opened to the king's view, he saw, in the distance, the tents of the army assembled to oppose his progress. Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, was the chief commander; but under him were several of the most celebrated generals of Italy, and Comines estimated their soldiers at 35,000. The Italian writers say, they scarcely exceeded the enemy in numbers. The French were attacked on their march from the town of Fornovo, and whilst crossing the river Taro, one of the streams of the Apennines, which falls into the Po (July 6). The greatest bloodshed was effected by them; for it is said they destroyed 3500 of their enemies; their rich booty seemed the object of the greater part of their assailants, who, it is said, slew only 200 men. Charles, on this occasion, fought like a common soldier; and, both in look, word, and action, so outdid himself, that Comines says, "He seemed to be quite a different being from that for which nature had intended him." He wore complete armour, and rode a middle-sized black horse, with only one eye, and thirty years old, but strong and vigorous. It was a favourite creature, called Savoy, being the gift of the Duke of Savoy. The royal standards, and even the king's pavilion, fell into the hands of the Italians, with the rest of the spoil; and, from that day, their fear of the French is said to have been diminished. The praises of the Marquis of Mantua resounded through Italy, and the King of France was as much lauded in his own country. Only the day after the battle of Taro, Ferdinand II., who had been making preparations, and watching opportunities, landed within a mile of Naples; and, when the Duke of Montpensier led out the French troops to oppose him, the citizens took up arms, closed their gates against the

foreigners, and only opened them to their former sovereign. He entered amidst the most joyful acclamations. By the aid of his allies, Ferdinand regained his whole kingdom, except the city of Atella (now Aversa), in which the French viceroy fortified himself, and Calabria, which was held by D'Aubigny. Charles, having secured his own retreat, paid little regard to the safety of the soldiers he had left in Italy: two-thirds of them perished, including Montpensier. The Duke of Orleans, who had taken possession of Novara, was invested in that place by the Duke of Milan, and reduced to the last extremity of famine; 2000 of his soldiers died in the town, and 300 perished on the road home, after the surrender. Charles was obliged to treat with Lodovico Sforza for the duke's safety, and then, with the wreck of his army, he returned to France, by way of Turin (October, 1495). Not one-fourth of his soldiers survived the expedition, and these were plundered and diseased. All the restraints of nature, conscience, morality, and religion had been set at nought, and a new and terrible disease appeared, as a necessary scourge from the hand of the all-wise God.

Ferdinand II. did not long survive his restoration. His father, Alphonso, died at Messina (November 19, 1495). All apprehensions from the French were relieved by their evacuating the kingdom of Naples (July 23, 1496). In that same year Ferdinand married, by papal dispensation, his father's half-sister, a beautiful princess of fourteen; and, shortly after, he died (September 5). He was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, a prince of excellent dispositions and considerable talent; but the ambition of his cotemporaries soon deprived him of the throne.

Like the barbarous Gauls of old, who inhabited the same country, the French, finding their way through the Alps, had become the terror of all Italy, and of Rome itself: heavy as was the chastisement of the first invaders, thousands of their countrymen were ready, upon a second summons, to follow in their steps. The riches and beauty of Italy were now fully laid open to the surrounding nations, and there was but little delay in obeying those attractions, even though they allured the ambitious, the covetous, and the lovers of pleasure, to their ruin.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation.*

## PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER VI.

SAVONAROLA'S INFLUENCE AT FLORENCE. — THE POPE'S JOY IN THE EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM NAPLES. — HIS GRIEF ON ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF HIS SON, THE DUKE OF GANDIA. — CÆSAR AND LUCRETIA BORGIA. — ABOMINATIONS OF THE PAPAL PALACE. — CRIMES OF CÆSAR BORGIA. — PEACEFUL LABOURS OF CHARLES VIII. — HIS SUDDEN DEATH. — AFFECTING CLOSE OF THE LIFE OF SAVONAROLA. — ACCESSION OF LOUIS XII. TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE. — HIS NOBLE ACTIONS. — HIS DIVORCE, AND MARRIAGE WITH ANNE OF BRETAGNE. — CÆSAR BORGIA BRINGS THE POPE'S DISPENSATION, AND IS RICHLY REWARDED. — TRAVELS OF THE CARDINAL DE' MEDICI. — THE FRENCH AGAIN ENTER ITALY; LOUIS XII. IS PROCLAIMED DUKE OF MILAN; CÆSAR BORGIA, THROUGH THE SUCCESS OF HIS ARMS, OBTAINS A TRIUMPH AT ROME. — FATE OF LODOVICO SFORZA. — TREATY BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, FOR THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES. — ITS TREACHEROUS AND CRIMINAL EXECUTION. — CÆSAR BORGIA CONTINUES HIS CAREER OF CRIME. — UNEXPECTED DEATH OF THE POPE, HIS FATHER. — TALENTS OF ALEXANDER VI. — THE EPI-TAPH INTENDED TO DESCRIBE HIS CHARACTER.

AMIDST all the stirring events, and multiplied evils, attending and resulting from the expedition of Charles VIII. for the conquest of Naples, the state of Florence, under the influence of Savonarola, calls forth the strongest interest. This remarkable man was, it appears, at first completely occupied with the most important of all subjects; but gradually his mind became tinctured by the political excitement which prevailed around him, and as his natural abilities necessarily made him a leader of others in whatever he took up, he became as influential in political as in religious changes. He thought to combine the

characters of Jeremiah and Demosthenes; to weep over sin, and denounce God's judgments like the one, and to stir up the popular assembly to struggle for their liberties like the other. His thoughts were so entirely divided between heavenly and earthly things, that the same hand wrote an *Exposition of the Revelation*, and a *Treatise on the Republic of Florence*; the *Triumph of the Cross*, and a *Word to the Magistrates*.\* He did not understand his calling to be a heavenly one; nor that the purpose of God in this dispensation is only to take out from among the nations a people for his name: he did not see that the preaching of the gospel, and not political manœuvres, would be his fit instrument in bringing good to his fellow-citizens. His grand idea was to establish a republic, which should be at the same time a theocracy, or at least one of Christ's kingdoms. In fact, one of the coins struck whilst Florence was under his influence bore the inscription, *Christ our King*. It was doubtless his desire to honour his Lord and Master, and, however mistaken as to the mode, He who looks upon the heart, and knows how to separate the precious from the vile, doubtless accepted all the love of his servant. Instead of confining the direction of public affairs to a few, still less to one, as under the dominion of the Medici, Savonarola caused a council of 1800 to be formed, and appeals to be made to the whole people. For a time there was a universal change of manners. Public amusements were abandoned, as well as gross vices and idleness; the intervals of business were filled up by religious services; and multitudes would listen for hours to preaching, with mute attention. Bonfires, too, were lighted to consume the books, and even the statues and pictures which Savonarola condemned as improper or heathenish; and some of the literati, carried away by the torrent of public opinion, assisted at the burning.

When Peter de' Medici, with the troops which he had raised to effect his restoration, approached so near the walls as to be seen by the inhabitants, they gathered in throngs to look at him, but none of them demonstrated any attachment to his cause. A celebrated Florentine

\* Other of Savonarola's treatises are, *On Humility*, *On Prayer*, *On the Mass*, *On the Lord's Prayer*, *a Manual for a Confessor*, *a Reply to the Pope*, *an Inveictive against the Pope*, &c.

poet was sent by the magistrates to Savonarola, to tell him of their alarm at the coming of the former chief. He calmly raised his head from the book which he was reading, and pronounced in Latin the words, "O ye of little faith, wherefore do ye doubt?" Then he added, "Go, and inform the magistrates from me, that I shall pray to God for the city, and that they need entertain no fears; for Peter de' Medici will come as far as the gates, and will return without having effected any thing." And so it proved. The ambitious chief lingered for two hours, till the small arms from the fortress obliged him to take shelter behind the wall of one of the fountains in the suburbs; and, after two hours more of consultation with his friends, he retired. Four of the principal citizens, suspected of favouring the designs of the prince, were put to death; as also the *gonfalonier*, for not having disclosed his knowledge of the attempt; and as this severity was exercised by Savonarola's party, it shook some of the foundations of his popularity.

We must leave, however, the instructive close of his history, to take a view of the shocking events transpiring at Rome.

The expulsion of the French from Naples having been chiefly effected by Gonsalvo, the great captain sent by Ferdinand of Spain, the Pope employed that general to retake for him the city of Ostia, the only remaining place in the papal states held for the French. Julian di Rovere, the bishop (afterwards Julius II.), fled at the approach of the Spanish troops; and his deputy, who surrendered at discretion, was led to Rome by Gonsalvo. The Pope's sons, the cardinals, and a great concourse of people, met the great captain; and he was received in full consistory by the Pope, who kissed him, and gave him the golden rose, which was annually consecrated by certain ceremonies, and presented only to persons who had done great service to the papal see. This occasion of rejoicing was quickly succeeded by a season of bitter mourning to Alexander VI. By the favour of the Most Catholic Ferdinand, John Borgia, the Pope's eldest son, received the title of Duke of Gandia, a seaport town of Valencia. He resided at Rome in the papal palace, and imitated his father's vices. On June 8, 1497, he passed the evening at a splen-

did entertainment given by his mother, at her residence in another part of the city; his brother Cæsar, the cardinal, being present, with many others. At supper, a person in a mask, who had during a month visited the duke almost daily at the Vatican, was seen in conversation with him, and when he mounted his mule, late in the evening, to return home, he took this person behind him. Half-way to the papal palace, the duke parted with his brother, telling him he was going to pay a visit of pleasure. That night he was assassinated, and thrown into the river. A boatman who saw the body brought to the banks, and deposited in a part of the stream into which the filth of the city was discharged, was afterwards asked why he had not given information to the prefect. He replied, that he had seen a hundred dead bodies thrown into the river at the same place, without inquiry being made respecting them, and that he had not, therefore, considered it a matter of any importance. The Pope, who thought that his son had been detained by some of his evil associates, and would return in the shades of another evening, had not instituted immediate inquiry; but, when the truth was known, he shut himself into a chamber, and wept bitterly. After many hours, his attendants persuaded him to admit them; but he passed a sleepless night, and for three days took no food.

When the Pope's second son was known as the author of many horrible crimes, the murder of his brother was added to the list; but it does not appear that there is any real ground for this suspicion, nor that his parents entertained any such idea.\* Cæsar Borgia was a man of surpassing personal beauty, and so strong, that in the bull-fight he could strike off a bull's head with a single blow; he possessed wonderful talents, and heroic courage; but there was not a power either of mind or body that he did not use in the service of the devil. The Pope's daughter, Lucretia, remarkable alike for talent and beauty, is accused of having shared the horrible depravity of her family; but it appears that, after her father's death, as the wife of the Duke of Ferrara, she lived without reproach for twenty

\* The Duke of Gandia, shortly before he was murdered, had received from the Pope the duchy of Beneventum, and it was suspected that jealousy on this account led Cæsar to the supposed crime.

years, and was even praised as an exemplary character. Her life, however, in the papal palace, if she possessed a particle of right feeling, must have been one of moral torture. Before Alexander VI. became pope, Lucretia had been betrothed to a Spanish gentleman; but this engagement was dissolved, as being considered too mean, and, in the first year of her father's pontificate, she was married to the Lord of Pesaro, a relative of the Sforza family. After four years, on account of some dissensions between them, the Pope dissolved the marriage, and, shortly after, Lucretia was united to Alphonso, duke of Bisaglia, a natural son of the King of Naples. The son born to them in the year 1499 was named, after his grandfather, Rodrigo, and became a special object of the Pope's attention. Alphonso did not long survive the birth of this child. In June, 1500, he was attacked by a band of assassins on the steps of St. Peter's, and dangerously wounded. For two months he was nursed in the papal palace, and at last, it is asserted, strangled by a fresh party of assassins in his bed. Cæsar Borgia is accused of being the author of this crime also, but not on sufficient evidence. Lucretia retired for a while from Rome, to indulge her grief; and, on her return, her father being absent, she was entrusted with the management of public affairs, empowered to open the Pope's letters, and only directed in cases of difficulty to consult with some of the cardinals in her father's confidence. Shortly after, she married Alphonso of Este, the son, and soon the successor, of the Duke of Ferrara; a happy circumstance to her, as it removed her from the papal palace into a sphere where she became only remarkable for her exemplary domestic life, and literary tastes.

The diversions, as they were called, which disgraced the Vatican, whilst Alexander VI. and his family dwelt there, were of the most shameless character, and only worthy of the worst orgies of devil-worship. The Pope's master of the ceremonies describes, without any comment of surprise or indignation, and in the same matter-of-fact style as daily occurrences, scenes of this kind. Farces and indecent songs were often brought into use at Alexander's feasts; and one night, after a supper in his palace, fifty of the most abandoned women of Rome were introduced into a public hall, lighted with numerous chandeliers, to dance

with his servants. A scramble on their hands and knees for chesnuts thrown among them was too innocent a sport to furnish sufficient entertainment to the impure and degraded court. The hundred performers threw aside all their clothes, and resumed the dance; unlimited indulgence of brutal lust succeeded, not only under the Pope's own eye, Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia being also present, but by his express encouragement: rewards were displayed for such as should outdo the rest in their disgusting excesses: silken doublets, costly stockings, and even a cardinal's cap, were among the gifts bestowed. Was not Rome's forehead that on which the apostle, in prophetic vision, saw the inscription, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH?

Under the shadow of the Pope's wing, Cæsar Borgia became, as he has been called, *the hero of crime*. "Alexander," said a cotemporary, "loves his son, but lives in great fear of him." But Cæsar had no fear of his father. He slew Peroto, a favourite of whom he was jealous, whilst he was clinging to the Pope's mantle for protection, and so near him, that some of the blood sprinkled his face. "What cannot be done in the morning, may be done in the evening," is a speech said to have been addressed by Cæsar to his father, who was seeking to protect from his violence another object of his jealousy. Every night the corpses of murdered men, said to be the victims of Cæsar's bravos, were found in the streets of Rome; if not accounted his enemies, they were men whose wealth he coveted. Poison, rather than the sword, was supposed to be the Pope's method of destruction, so that, when any sudden or unaccountable death took place at Rome, poisoning by the Pope was immediately suggested, especially if the deceased was one whose removal might gratify the avarice, ambition, or revenge, of Alexander or his son. These tales are not told by enemies of the papacy alone. Works published under the sanction of the Romish Church have imputed to Alexander VI. almost every crime that can disgrace humanity; and so far was his evil example imitated in the city, that it became a saying, even among infidels, "*If there be a hell, Rome is built above it.*"

From the private life of the Pope and his family, we

must extend our view to the affairs of the nations connected with the papal see.

Charles VIII. was discouraged by the results of his expedition into Italy; and, at his return to France, was involved in a struggle with Ferdinand of Spain for certain possessions in Languedoc. At the termination of this contest, the exhausted state of his finances led him to confine his attention to home administration; and thus he closed his short life by earning a good reputation as a governor, the people being especially pleased that, like St. Louis, he was willing to administer justice in person.

In traversing Italy, Charles had much admired its palaces, so superior in their structure to anything seen in his own country; he, therefore, took some pains in the rebuilding of his castle at Amboise in the Italian style. Being at this palace with his queen, for whom, at this time, he showed great affection, he requested her one day to go with him to see a game at tennis, which was to be played in the court-yard. In proceeding thither together, they passed under a low door, and the king, not having stooped sufficiently, gave himself a blow on the head. He did not complain; but when the game was over, and he was leading his queen back to their apartments, he was struck with apoplexy, and fell in a passage gallery. A mattress was brought, and he lay there for nine hours, surrounded by attendants, and persons going in and out as they would. He was heard to call for aid to God, the Virgin, St. Claude, and St. Blaise, and then expired (April 7, 1498).

Thus died Charles VIII., in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and only three years after his conquest of Naples. Never was a king more bitterly or universally lamented in France. Two of his servants died of grief at his funeral; and the queen was only persuaded, by the eloquence of a friendly bishop, to relinquish her apparent design of self-destruction by starvation.\* Louis, duke of Orleans, cousin of Charles VIII. in the fourth degree, being the nearest heir to the crown, was immediately proclaimed king, as Louis the Twelfth. The day of the decease of

\* Anne of Bretagne was the first of the French queens who wore black for mourning. The widows of several kings bore the name of Blanche (*i. e.* white), because of the habit of wearing white.

Charles VIII. was memorable in the annals of Florence, for one of the most singular scenes that city ever witnessed. It was the day of Savonarola's downfall in public opinion; of his shame, too, even to a Christian mind.

This remarkable man, as a Dominican, was exposed, like the rest of his order, to the jealousy of the rival order of the Franciscans. Some of his enemies reported to the Pope, both the character of his preaching, and his political conduct; and Alexander, thinking to deprive him of his greatest means of influence, commanded him to be silent. Savonarola, for a moment, thought of resigning his office of preacher to one of his friends; but his next thought was to stand firm; and on Christmas Day, 1497, notwithstanding the prohibition he had received from Rome, he mounted the pulpit, in a church filled to overflowing by an audience breathless with attention, and declared that God had showed him he ought not to submit to the Pope's tribunal. Then, gathering courage, he inveighed against the Pope as Antichrist, and exposed his horrible crimes and vices. Careless what means were used to hush so powerful an adversary, Alexander asked counsel of some of his bishops, and, by their advice, sent to offer Savonarola a cardinal's hat. Those who judged of his character by their own, thought he might thus be attracted to Rome, and become the friend of the papal court. Savonarola is said to have replied to the Pope's messenger, "No other red hat will I have than that of martyrdom, coloured with my own blood." To another person, he said, "Write to Rome, that the light is kindled in all places; . . . it will soon be perceived, and divisions spring up therefrom. . . . Rome shall not quench this fire. Nay, if it quenches it in one, then will another, and a stronger, break out."

Many works were written against Savonarola, and in his defence. Great was his blame on the one hand; great his praise on the other. Meanwhile, though many at Florence had probably received the truth from Savonarola's lips, and loved it, the multitude were only excited by his eloquence for a season, and, when the charm of novelty passed away, returned to their vices and amusements as before, and were ready to be carried, by the next wind of doctrine, against him. The excitement that prevailed at

this time in the city, on his account, extended to the children in the streets: those who espoused his cause would hoot after, and pelt the young partisans of the Franciscans, or the Pope; and the latter were equally violent. Scraps of popular rhymes, on the one side and the other, were used as the signals for commencing this petty warfare. After Savonarola had refused the Pope's bribe, the indignation against him was brought to a crisis, by the discovery of a letter, written by him to the King of France, in which he stated, that the bribery used at Alexander's election, and the wickedness of his character, ought to prevent his being regarded as pope, and that the Church was without any true visible head. It was also known that he had written to the kings of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, and England, urging them to unite in the formation of a general council for the reformation of the Church.

The accusation of heresy was now levelled at Savonarola: the Franciscans were glad to take up the cry against a preacher of the rival order that wielded the inquisitorial power; and there can be no doubt, that if the reformer's want of good judgment had not hurried on his destruction, he would not have been permitted long to live, within the reach of such a pope as Alexander VI. The Mendicant Orders charged themselves with the management of the case; and the excitement on both sides was so great, that whilst many, on Savonarola's behalf, offered to pass through the flames, in proof of his innocence, his opponents offered to justify their opinions in the same way. The Lord's convincing parable (Luke xvi. 31) had set the word of God in the place of power rather than a miracle; but Savonarola, who had so often proved the strength of the sword of the Spirit, consented, on this occasion, to leave the truth of his testimony to the decision of the fiery ordeal: thus he sealed his own downfall. The day appointed for the trial was that on which Charles VIII. died. The place was a square, in the centre of the city of Florence. Two great piles of wood were prepared, with a narrow passage between them; the champions were selected, and the fire applied to the heaps. The sight of the flames probably alarmed the Dominican monk, who was to pass through them in Savonarola's

behalf; he insisted, at least, on carrying the host in his hands. The Franciscans replied, that it was impious to expose *their god* to the flames, and in vain did Savonarola urge that only the accidental part could be burned. The Romish dogma of transubstantiation being involved in the argument, it was easy to repeat against the reformer the charge of heresy; and, probably, his opponents were glad of an excuse for relinquishing the proposed ordeal. Not so the people. But, whilst the dispute was at its height, the rain began to descend in torrents, the streets were deluged, the fire entirely quenched, and the combustible materials so thoroughly wetted, that it was pronounced needful to defer the trial. Disappointed of a spectacle which they had thronged to witness, the excitable populace of Florence vented their indignation against the parties to whom they attributed the disappointment, and assaulted the Dominican monastery. A great tumult ensued; some of the monks were killed; others only saved themselves by flight; and Savonarola, with two of his friends, was cast into prison. Their trial and condemnation, as heretics, followed soon after, and they were burned together in the very place where the pile had been raised for so different a purpose a few weeks before. Their ashes were cast into the Arno.\* Savonarola, before his martyrdom, urged his friends not to be offended at the manner of his death, but

\* The following sonnet, a translation from a cotemporary Italian poet, alludes to this event:—

Ah! fairest city, who hast seen expire  
 Three chosen martyrs in devouring fire,  
 Who, link'd together, amidst scorn and pain,  
 In dying smil'd, and prov'd "to die is gain":—  
 Florence! the prophet's holy words are shown to thee;  
 Rejoice, for thou of good shalt fruitful be;  
 And thou who art as queen of prophets crown'd,  
 Where sin abounded, grace doth more abound.  
 Thy rich and honour'd stream, whose bosom wide  
 Doth those blest ashes, as its treasure, hide,  
 Shall see the tyrant-chief at last expire,  
 And ev'ry infidel destroy'd by fire;  
 Shall see all vice and evil come to nought,  
 And hail new light from heav'nly regions brought.

The tyrant-chief, alluded to here, is Peter de' Medici, who was some years afterwards accidentally drowned, but not in the Arno. The poet's anticipations for Florence were not otherwise realised.

to continue in his doctrine. We may hope that many, by his means, entered the way of life; indeed, the fires of the Inquisition burned hotly in Italy, a sure proof that much existed there, foreign to the doctrines of death which issued from Rome. But the city that so blindly followed Savonarola as a popular preacher, and at last consented to his death, was not permitted to be an illuminating star to Italy, or the world; the work of solid reformation began elsewhere. Miracles which Savonarola did not pretend to work during his lifetime were attributed to him after his death; and his memory was as much idolised by some, as detested by others.

These affecting events at Florence, commencing on the day of the death of Charles VIII. of France, extended through the first few weeks of the reign of his successor.

The story of the attachment of Louis, when duke of Orleans, to Anne of Bretagne, and of his courting her afterwards for the young king, to whom she proved so affectionate a wife, has already been told (pp. 194—197). On ascending the throne, Louis XII. saw other reasons, besides his early love, for wishing to marry the widowed queen. As it has been said, he never loved his own wife, the Princess Jane, and had only married her in obedience to the tyrannical king, her father. She had brought him no children; but the queen had been the mother of a prince, who lived to be three years old,\* and might give another heir to the crown; besides, Louis reflected that, if he did not marry her, Bretagne, her hereditary dominion, might again be separated from the French monarchy. One of his first acts, therefore, was to dispatch an ambassador to Rome, to procure a papal bull for his divorce from his own wife; and, as he calculated rightly that Alexander VI. would not offend him by refusing it, he ventured to put her away, and to marry Anne of Bretagne, before he received the legal instrument. The widowed queen's passionate grief for her first husband was of short

\* Charles, says Comines, was not displeased when his child died, for he was a fine boy, of a bold spirit, and feared not the things which usually terrify children of that age; and he feared that, if he lived to grow up, he might endanger his authority. Thus did this weak-minded sovereign's vain ambition deaden his natural affection, and thus did he show that he inherited the jealous temper of his father.

duration, as she consented to be wedded to Louis only nine months after his decease (January, 1499).\* Shortly after, the Pope's son, Cæsar Borgia, arrived at the French court, in super-regal magnificence; it is said, that even the horses of his attendants were shod with silver. He brought the desired dispensation for the king, and a cardinal's hat for the Archbishop of Rouen. He expected, and received, a reward for his services; and it appeared that the courts of Rome and France were now to be united in the closest friendship. It was, however, but the blowing of a bubble, which, as soon as it has swelled to its full size, and caught all the colours of the rainbow, floats into the air, and bursts. The king created Cæsar duke of Valentinois, as he had already, by his own desire and papal dispensation, dropped his cardinalship and priest's orders; immediate aggrandisement, as a secular prince, was more agreeable to him than the *distant* prospect of the popedom, which was held out to him by his ecclesiastical rank. Charlotte d'Albret, daughter of the King of Navarre, was given him in marriage, through the influence of the French king, her relative; a hundred armed men were granted him as his escort; and he was promised an annual pension of 20,000 livres, and a territory in the Milanese, as soon as Louis should get possession of that duchy. Loaded with these gifts and honours, Cæsar Borgia returned to Rome, to pursue a remorseless career of crime; and, from the date of his marriage (May 12, 1499), the Pope became the warm ally of the King of France.

Louis XII. began his reign with such mild generosity, that he obtained the honourable surname of the Father of his people — a title which he never lost during all his subsequent troubles, however blameable his conduct in his foreign relations. Two noble speeches, made by him at this period, remain on record. When reminded, by some courtiers, of the injuries that he had sustained at the commencement of his predecessor's reign, he observed, "The King of France does not avenge the injuries of the

\* The Princess Jane, who, notwithstanding the character of her royal father and brother, was a virtuous princess, retired, without murmuring, to Bourges, where she founded an order of nuns; and, after some years, died with the reputation of a saint.

Duke of Orleans :” and again, when La Tremouille, who had once made him prisoner, was mentioned to him as deserving his frown, he replied, “He served his king so well against me, that I hope he will, with the same affection, serve me against the enemies of the state.” As duke of Orleans, Louis had been a conspicuous person in the Italian wars of Charles VIII. He had then seen and experienced enough of the ways of Lodovico Sforza, duke of Milan, to conceive a violent enmity against him; he now resolved to claim the duchy for himself; and his right to it was far less questionable than that of Charles to the throne of Naples. He was a descendant of that Valentina Visconti, daughter of the Duke of Milan, who became the wife of the Duke of Orleans in the reign of Charles VI., and, in the failure of male heirs of the Visconti family, the dominion was to revert to her posterity. The Sforzas were originally usurpers, and Lodovico doubly so, as the murderer of his nephew, the true heir of that line. Those in Italy, who were disposed to peace, eyed with alarm the gathering clouds that portended a new storm; the celebrated Cardinal de’ Medici (afterwards Pope Leo X.) saw that it was about to burst; and, as his residence at Rome was become irksome, if not dangerous, through the character of Alexander VI., he resolved to spend some time in travelling. His cousin, Cardinal Julian de’ Medici, and ten other friends, made up a party, which was considered small enough to avoid suspicion, and sufficiently large for mutual protection; they all dressed alike, and each took the command of the whole troop by turns. It was a singular and interesting party, for few, in these days, journeyed with purposes so innocent, *their* only ambition being to enlarge their own sphere of knowledge and observation. After traversing the states of Venice, the noble companions entered Germany, where, exciting suspicion, they were obliged to confess their rank; they were then honourably received by Maximilian. He gave them letters of introduction to his son, the Archduke Philip, who then governed the Low Countries, and who was pleased to entertain the travellers according to his own taste for pomp and pleasure. The Cardinal de’ Medici wished to cross over to England, but the voyage appeared so dangerous to his companions, that he was induced

rather to enter France. There, the travellers were arrested on suspicion, and detained, till letters from Peter de' Medici, who had then joined the French camp in Italy, assured the government that they had no political designs. Having visited every place worthy of notice, they embarked at Marseilles for the coasts of Italy. At Savona, they met Cardinal Julian di Rovere, who had fled thither to avoid the enmity of the Pope and his son. Seated round one table, the three cardinals, who were all afterwards raised to the pontificate, recounted their several adventures; and the martial Rovere, soon to be Pope Julius II., gave the noble cousins a particular account of the events that had transpired in the north of Italy, and which we must now relate.

Lodovico Sforza had found in his wife, Beatrice of Este, one who shared alike in his ambition and his crimes, and with her was always wont to take counsel. She died in 1497, and he was dissolved in grief at the event, and so much the more as it was occasioned by the birth of a stillborn son. Not content with giving the deceased magnificent funeral honours, the duke caused them to be repeated with fresh pomp on the anniversary of her death; and, in the intermediate year, was served in a chamber, hung with black, from the hands of his attendants, as he would not sit, in the loneliness of widowhood, at table. He farther showed his high opinion of his wife and of himself, by causing an elegant Latin epitaph to be placed over the infant's tomb, importing that its only bliss was to have had the noble Lodovico and Beatrice for its parents. The duke's conjugal attachment was celebrated by the poets of his court, and he took pleasure in reading the books composed for his consolation. It was in the second year of his widowhood (August, 1499), that a French army, under D'Aubigny, poured into the Milanese. It was known that the movement was favoured by the Pope, and aided by Cæsar Borgia; and Lodovico, being without foreign allies, and seeing his own troops tremble at the ferocity of the invader, hastily fled, with his children and treasures, to the court of Maximilian. The emperor had married his niece, Blanche Mary, and had invested him with the duchy, but he had not courage to support him against the superior power of the French

king. On October 6, Louis XII. entered Milan, amidst the acclamations of the people; but his behaviour, and that of his soldiers, soon made the French yoke detestable. The king sent to a monastery the son of the murdered duke, and dismissed his widow, with her remaining children, to the court of Naples; then, believing his own power to be established, he quitted Milan, which was soon to experience a fresh revolution. Lodovico, with a body of Swiss troops, re-entered his capital in February, 1500. On the 26th of that same month, Cæsar Borgia, who, by the aid of the French, had wrested Imola and Forli from their respective lords as a part of the territory which was apportioned to him, entered Rome in triumph. It was the time of a jubilee; and he received from the Pope, as the reward of his services, the golden consecrated rose, and the title of Gonfalonier of the Holy Roman Church. This was one occasion of the shameless diversions of the papal court, already mentioned with horror; and, whilst all manner of sin was recklessly allowed in that spot, *indulgences* for the sins of others, — the paper-currency of the Pope's bank, largely issued thence, to be distributed throughout Europe in exchange for silver and gold. Money bestowed in this way was said to be as efficacious as if offered at St. Peter's shrine; few doubted the benefits of the purchased indulgences, and many were glad to be spared a weary pilgrimage to Rome, and especially in the disturbed state of Italy.

Louis XII., unwilling to relinquish his conquests, sent a fresh army into the Milanese, under La Tremouille's command: this experienced general opposed 10,000 Swiss in his own service, to 8000 who were in Lodovico's pay. They met at Novara, face to face; but, unwilling to fight with each other, they began to parley, and the mercenaries on the Italian side put the duke and his Milanese soldiers into the power of their countrymen.\* The duke was sent to France, and condemned by the king to perpetual confinement in a dark and lonely chamber of the castle of Loches, the common residence of distinguished state-

\* A native of Uri, who betrayed the duke to his enemies, when his brother soldiers had promised to hide him in their own ranks, disguised as a monk or a soldier, was, at his return home, publicly executed.

prisoners. He was daily furnished with the means of subsistence, but nothing more ; and, unless he was visited by the God of all grace, in the sovereignty of his love, we may well suppose that such a situation was the most wretched in which a man of his habits and aims could have been placed. In order to make a splendid figure in the world, and to enjoy its luxuries, he had been guilty of the murder of his nephew, and accessory to all the crimes that attended the war in Italy ; and now, in solitary confinement, with that worst of companions, a bad conscience, he languished out the remaining ten years of his life, years that were teeming with the evil results of his having invited the French into his native land. It is, moreover, worthy of notice, as a useful moral to the ambitious, that the power of France, to which Lodovico Sforza had at first looked as the instrument of his exaltation, was that which finally crushed him.

After Lodovico Sforza was removed from the scene, Cæsar Borgia stood unrivalled in splendour and in crime among the princes of Italy ; he was left a little longer to fill up the measure of his iniquities.

The sun of the fifteenth century set in blood ; the opening of the sixteenth century was marked with the same sanguinary characters.

In November, 1500, Ferdinand of Spain and Louis XII. concluded a secret treaty for the division of the kingdom of Naples — an act of political injustice then unparalleled in the annals of Europe, but repeated in the modern partition of Poland. The two kings, who prided themselves on their respective titles of Most Catholic and Most Christian, found a religious, but sufficiently transparent pretext for their ambitious and covetous designs : they professed that it was their intention to engage in a fresh crusade against the Turks, and that Naples was the most convenient country for making the needful preparations. The Pope was a party in the plot, though his bull, depriving the King of Naples of his dominions, was not issued till June, 1501. Frederic had won the affections of his subjects ; and, regarding the King of Spain, his relative, as a friend and ally, he only directed his operations against the French, who, in the summer of 1501, entered his dominions from the north, and acted with

their usual ferocity.\* He even invited the great Spanish captain, Gonsalvo, who was stationed in Sicily, to come to his aid. But when he arrived, he avowed the instructions of his king, which he had previously concealed, and met the French only as friends. Frederic, seeing himself betrayed, craved, and obtained permission to retire with his family to Ischia; he also secured an amnesty for his subjects, who had denied the claims of the King of France. The two dowager-queens of Naples, widows of the preceding kings, were sent by Gonsalvo to Spain, one of them being the sister, the other the niece of Ferdinand. Frederic found himself in the barren island of Ischia, surrounded by a royal group that had witnessed strange vicissitudes. Besides his own wife and numerous children, there was his sister, the widow of Matthias Corvino, king of Hungary, and his niece, Isabella, the widow of the murdered Duke of Milan, with her little ones. Having sent to the King of France for a safe conduct, Frederic cast himself upon his generosity, and, in lieu of the kingdom of which he had been robbed, Louis gave him some estates in France, with the extinct title of duke of Anjou. An annual income of 30,000 ducats enabled him to support his family in comfort; and when, through the subsequent quarrels of the French and Spaniards over their ill-gotten spoil, he might possibly have recovered the throne of Naples, he was too contented to attempt it, and, singularly enough, consented to be referred to as a mediator between Ferdinand and Louis.

Cæsar Borgia, otherwise called the Duke of Valentinois, had received from the King of France a troop of 500 horse, to assist him in subduing the princes of Romagna, who were styled rebellious vassals of the Church. By French gold, the duke had also the means of attracting again into his service some of the most famous condottieri of Italy, who had abandoned him before his alliance with Louis. He was, however, so suspicious of these men, that when they had done the work he required, he determined to get rid of them. In the most treacherous manner he detached them from their armed followers;

\* At Capua, they massacred 7000 of the citizens, whilst the magistrates were signing the articles of capitulation.

then he surrounded them by his own creatures, under pretence of doing them honour, and caused each one to be separately assassinated. They had been guilty of great crimes, their executioner of greater; but, he observed, "it was fit the masters of all treachery should be the victims of the treachery of others:" he had soon to taste of that maxim himself.

It has been observed, that Cæsar Borgia made use of the same skill, and the same crimes, to make himself master of a few petty towns, as Alexander of Macedon, Zingis Khan, or Tamerlane, to possess themselves of a large portion of the world; but the dominions Borgia gained at such vast moral sacrifice, he endeavoured to preserve by a just and even rule: thus it appeared as if his government would be permanent, and in that expectation the Pope proposed to his consistory to bestow upon him the title of King of Romagna and Umbria. But, before this matter could be settled, both Alexander and his son fell dangerously ill. According to some accounts, a dish of poisoned sweetmeats, which they had prepared for the destruction of several cardinals, was placed before them by the mistake of a servant, and eaten to their own cost.\* Others say, that the Borgias were too skilful contrivers to have allowed such mistake. The master of the ceremonies, who was wont to keep an exact account of the Pope's every day life, says, that Alexander's illness was a fever, which came on six days before his death; that he took medicine for his relief, but in vain; that five cardinals assisted at the mass performed in his chamber; and that, in his dying moments, he was anointed with oil, according to the Romish ceremony. Other authorities have been adduced to prove that he did not die of poison. It was, however, the common opinion, and is a point of little moment; the solemn truth is that *he died*; and this, though often lightly pronounced, is a most awful fact concerning every unregenerate person, from the pope down to the peasant.†

Alexander VI. possessed endowments of no common

\* The reason assigned for their having meditated such a crime is, that the property of deceased cardinals went to the Pope.

† The following literal translation of a sarcastic Latin epitaph on:

order. He was a man of great genius, of a wonderful memory, eloquent, vigilant, and dexterous in the management of all his concerns. As a prince, he was so attentive in supplying the wants of his subjects, that his dominions were exempt from a famine that afflicted all the rest of Italy. As a man of taste, though not a student, he encouraged professors of literature, and artists. He enlarged the Vatican palace, and ornamented its apartments with the works of the most eminent painters of his time. He also fortified the Castle of St. Angelo, in the manner in which it remains to this day. But, with all his talents, he was the ready slave of Satan, and of his own passions, and may justly be styled the *most wicked* of the Popes. He ended his reign of eleven years, August 18, 1503.

Rome rejoiced at his death.

Alexander VI., written by a *cotemporary* poet, will show the common opinion of his life and character:—

Who lies here? *Alexander the Sixth.*  
 Who bewails him? *The Furies.*  
 What companion followed the funeral? *Vice.*  
 Whence came the funeral pile?  
*Out of the crosses wherewith he tortured Italy.*  
 Who began the funeral dirge? *Avarice.*  
 Who carried the bones? *Some villain.*  
 Who said, with a deep sigh, "Farewell, Son?"  
*Strife, the mother; Hate, the father.*  
 Who closed his eyes? *Envy, Adultery, Rapine.*  
 What is said to have died in his death? *Deccit.*  
 What caused his death? *Poison.*

O, ye gods!

Poison has brought life and health to the world.

Poets are often incorrect judges; the removal of Alexander, as we shall soon perceive, was not productive of any remarkable blessing. It will be generally allowed that the character of the man, whose throne, at the end of the fifteenth century, was placed above all other thrones, and who pretended to be God's representative on earth, is severely, but not unfairly, pourtrayed in the above lines; but few as yet receive the clear testimony of the Prophetic Scriptures concerning *the man of sin*, who is to be in full power *at the close of this enlightened age*; nor believe that the most humbling lesson of human iniquity and imbecility remains yet to be learned.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation.**(Pontificate of Alexander VI.)*

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

CONNECTION BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. — EARLIEST IDEAS OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, AND STEPS TOWARDS ITS DISCOVERY. — EARLY HISTORY OF COLUMBUS. — UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, HE MAKES HIS FIRST VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY. — HIS DIFFICULTIES. — HE REACHES THE BAHAMA ISLAND, AND DISCOVERS CUBA AND HISPANIOLA. — DANGERS OF HIS HOMEWARD VOYAGE. — HIS RECEPTION IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN. — HIS SECOND VOYAGE, AND DISCOVERY OF JAMAICA. — HIS THIRD VOYAGE, AND DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA. — HIS SUFFERINGS AT HISPANIOLA. — HIS RETURN TO SPAIN. — SYMPATHY OF THE QUEEN. — HIS LAST AND MOST DISASTROUS VOYAGE. — FAME OF COLUMBUS. — VASCO DE GAMA, BEING SENT OUT BY MANUEL OF PORTUGAL, REACHES INDIA BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — CABRAL DISCOVERS BRAZIL ON HIS WAY TO INDIA. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE DOMINION ON THE COASTS OF AFRICA AND ASIA. — LIKE THAT OF SPAIN IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, IT OCCASIONS EXTENSIVE MISERY. — THE POPE'S DIVISION OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED WORLD BETWEEN THE KINGS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

DURING this period, Spain and Portugal became closely connected by reason of marriage alliances between the royal families; Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, being married to the eldest son of John II. of Portugal, who died prematurely, and afterwards to Manuel, as heir-apparent: after her death, and his own elevation to the throne, Manuel married Maria, a younger daughter of the Catholic sovereigns. In the vigour of maritime enterprise, and in the bitterness of religious persecution—the chief subjects of our present chapters—the

courts of Spain and Portugal very nearly resembled each other: thus we may class them together.

At a time when Christendom was the scene of the revolutions, tumults, and crimes, which our preceding chapters of the pontificate of Alexander VI. describe; and when the human mind, from that state of torpor in which it lay during the middle ages, had awoke into dangerous activity, the rumoured discovery of *a new world* was calculated to excite the most eager interest. The common descent from one original stock, and the universality of the effects of the fall, truths already established by God's word, were to be confirmed by this discovery. That the glorious gospel, in its gracious design, embraced men of "every kindred, tongue, people, and nation," was equally sure from God's word; but a grievously long period elapsed, on account of the degraded state of Christendom, before its saving power was made known in the newly opened western world.

The discovery of America, like the art of printing in Europe, must be traced to the genius and persevering labours of an obscure individual, contending against multiplied and long-continued obstacles; but to each discovery there were preparatory steps which it is just to consider. It is well known that some of the most enterprising and *literary* Europeans of the dark ages were found among the Northmen; and their settlements in Iceland and Greenland naturally led to farther voyages in the north-western ocean. It appears that some of these northern mariners, in the tenth century, actually reached Newfoundland, which a German in their service called Vinland, from noticing a tree somewhat resembling the vine. The coast of North America was, in the eleventh century, attained by other Northmen, who commenced a war, and afterwards a trade, with the Esquimaux; and, about A. D. 1121, the bishop of Greenland made a voyage to Vinland, in order to convert to Christianity the Scandinavian colonists settled there. The subsequent disappearance of the Greenland colonies, through the accumulation of ice forming a blockade around that country, may account for the want of additional information concerning Vinland. But it is certain that, in a Venetian map of the fourteenth century, drawn by two nobles of the name of Zeni, who had gathered their information in the northern kingdoms, and in

the Feroe Islands, two lines of coast were marked out far westward; and the accompanying narrative, though spoiled by much of fiction, contained many points which serve to identify those countries with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The Zeni also related that, more to the southwest, there existed a civilised people, who largely used the precious metals, built large cities and temples, and offered up human sacrifices to their idols. These could be no other than the inhabitants of Central America, the grandeur of whose antiquities has only been fully brought to light in very recent times.\*

The island called *Estotiland* (East-out-land), in the map of the Zeni (and supposed to be the same as Newfoundland), was said to have been discovered by some fishermen from the Feroe Islands, who were driven thither by a tempest; and the only one of them who escaped out of the hands of cannibals, being spared on account of his dexterity in fishing, was permitted to visit the country of Droceo (probably the opposite shore of North America), which he affirmed to be of unbounded extent, and, in fact, a *new world*. After many years, he returned to his own country. In a map constructed at Venice, in 1436, an island called *Stokafixa* is introduced in the direction of Newfoundland, and probably on the authority of northern navigators—*stockfisch* being the name for codfish in all the northern languages. A country of great length is also introduced to the west of the Canary Isles, and called *Antilia*. Whether this was drawn merely from the author's imagination, or from some authentic account of a continent in that quarter of the globe, it is impossible now to decide: traditions of islands in the western ocean existed in very early ages; in later times, the inhabitants of the west of Ireland, and of Madeira, fancied they could be seen in clear weather; and in Spain a story was current, that a number of Christians, at the time of the Arabian conquest, had embarked from the peninsula with all their property, and found refuge in an island of the western ocean, in which they built seven cities. The Seven Cities was, therefore, one of the vulgar names of that sup-

\* See Stephens's "Central America," with its beautiful and curious illustrations.

posed country in the west; Antilia was that adopted by the learned, and perpetuated in the name of Antilles, which Columbus bestowed on some of the islands which he discovered.

We have now to enter on the history of that remarkable man. Portugal, as we have seen, was Europe's pioneer in maritime discovery, and it was naturally a place of attraction to any who had an especial taste for navigation. Christopher Columbus\* found his way there, in the reign of John II. He was a Genoese, of noble family, born about 1441, and on account of the indigence to which his parents had been reduced by the wars of Lombardy, he was trained for a naval life. At the age of thirty-two, he acted as captain of a war-ship in the service of the King of Naples, and afterwards in the same capacity for his own state. The troubles of Italy on the one hand, and the maritime fame of Portugal on the other, induced Christopher and his brother Bartholomew to seek for service in the latter country. Whilst Bartholomew engaged himself in making charts for navigators, Christopher undertook several voyages; to the North Sea, to Guinea, to England, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the western ocean.† His own acuteness of observation was aided by the experience of one of Don Henry's oldest navigators, whose daughter he had married; he took notes of every thing he saw, drew maps, constructed globes, and reflected on all the information that he could gain, either of ancient or modern date. It appears, however, that the discoveries of the Northmen, and of the Cabots, never came to his knowledge. But, as early as the year 1474, Columbus wrote to a physician of Florence, as to the possibility of discovering a passage to India by sailing westward, and of the probable existence of an undiscovered continent: he

\* His Italian name Colombo (a dove) was latinised into Columbus, and when Spain became, as it were, his adopted country, he altered it according to the Castilian tongue into Colon.

† About this time (A. D. 1477) Sebastian Cabot, the celebrated British navigator, was born at Bristol, of Venetian parents; and, before he was twenty, he made several voyages with his father. In one of these, they discovered the coast of Newfoundland, and Sebastian afterwards reached the shores of North America. Edward VI. delighted in his conversation, and showed him much favour. He lived to be eighty years of age.

was encouraged by him to seek assistance in the prosecution of a voyage of discovery. He did so, but for many years met with nothing but disappointment. His first proposals were addressed to the state of Genoa; but, in his own country, Columbus was then unknown and unhonoured, and his project was treated with contempt, as if it had been that of a madman. His next application was to the King of Portugal. John II. had penetration enough to perceive the reasonableness of the foreigner's arguments, but determined to employ his own subjects in the proposed attempt. As the navigator whom he sent could not direct his vessel, when out of sight of land, and with difficulty returned home, the king's counsellors persuaded him that Columbus was a visionary; and the latter was so disgusted by the treatment of the Portuguese court, that he resolved to leave the kingdom. He then dispatched his brother to lay his plans before Henry VII. of England, whilst he himself proceeded to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, to implore their assistance. England narrowly lost the credit of patronising the bold adventurer, and thus of obtaining the wealth which the possession of the western world brought to Spain,—wealth with such evils in its train, that it was our country's happiness to have avoided it.

Ferdinand and Isabella were at that time involved in their war with the Moors; and its long continuance engrossed their whole attention, and drained their resources. Five years did Columbus await their decision, and he was on the point of withdrawing his overtures, and turning to England, where his brother's representations had met with success, when a friendly monk gained him an introduction to the queen, in the camp of Santa Fé. Isabella seemed to be entirely convinced by the eloquent reasonings of the enthusiastic navigator: he could speak, not only of fables and traditions, but of recent facts, to establish his theory; he knew that canes of an extraordinary size, and unknown plants, had been picked up in the Atlantic, evidently the products of some fruitful and unknown clime; and, that the unseen country was inhabited, he felt certain, for a relation of his wife's had found, on the coast of Portugal, fragments of carved wood, evidently not shaped by a knife, and appearing to be the parts of a canoe of strange form; still more, the bodies of men, differing in features from

Africans or Europeans, had been washed on the shore of one of the Azore Islands. The cool and calculating Ferdinand was less easily moved than his queen: she regretted that their finances had been so diminished by war, and was ready to pawn her jewels to equip an expedition of discovery; and, as soon as Granada was entered by them in triumph, she influenced her husband to receive the proposals of Columbus. The idea of planting the Catholic religion in those regions which the Genoese adventurer hoped to discover, probably weighed much with the queen in favouring his project. On April 17, 1492, an agreement was entered into between Columbus and the Catholic sovereigns, whereby they were to furnish him with the means of making the desired discovery, and constitute him admiral of the seas, and viceroy in the lands he should discover; and he, on his part, promised to establish their sovereignty in the same. Three vessels, named respectively the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Nina, and manned with about 120 mariners, were given to Columbus for his mighty enterprise; and with these he embarked from Palos, a port of Murcia, on the 3d of August, 1492.\*

Interesting as are the details of the voyages of Columbus, they do not properly belong to the page of Universal History; nor have we space for any thing but a brief mention of the most memorable facts connected with the discovery of the western hemisphere. The time was come when, in the providence of God, a channel of communication was to be opened; and the fortitude of Columbus was therefore equal to the occasion. In spite of the obstinacy and fearfulness of his men, contrary winds, threatening storms, and hope deferred when land was thought to be near, Columbus persevered in his undertaking, and at length his courage was rewarded. Flocks of birds, floating weeds, new kinds of fish, pieces of wood, &c., had from time to time encouraged hope; and, on October 11, a reed quite green floated by; the trunk of a bamboo, a plank rudely carved, and a branch of a tree with berries on

\* It should be remembered, that this was the year of the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of Innocent VIII., and the last year of the life of the Emperor Frederic III.; the year also in which Granada had been added to the empire of the Catholic sovereigns. Alexander VI. filled the papal throne.

it, were also joyfully perceived. Each ship picked up some pledge of the approaching triumph. The flights of birds increased; the vegetable smell by which land is known at a distance was perceived; the wind became unequal; and, at sunset, they sounded, and found bottom. Columbus, who was regular in the performance of prayers on board his ship, told his crew, after the usual evening service, to return thanks to God for having preserved them in so long and dangerous a voyage. He desired them to look out carefully through the night, and promised to any one in his little fleet who should first descry land, a suit of velvet, besides the pension promised by the king. Two hours after midnight, the *Pinta* gave the signal of land, and Columbus himself had previously noticed a light on the shore. When the day broke, the delighted mariners discerned hills and valleys clad with delicious verdure, and as they approached nearer, perceived a number of men. The crew of the *Pinta* began to chaunt *Te Deum*. The words of that beautiful hymn were admirably fitted to the occasion, and from grateful and believing hearts would have been a sweet sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. The habit, however, of singing in a foreign language holy words, without intelligence, could only be adopted by such as were strangers and foreigners to God. Columbus and his fellow-officers entered a boat, and quickly landed on the newly discovered island. Their first act was to plant the royal standard, and erect a crucifix; then they knelt before the latter, and, with tears, gave thanks to God for his goodness towards them. Columbus, on rising, named the island San Salvador (Holy Saviour), and took possession of it in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella.\*

As it was supposed they had reached the shores of India, or at least some of the adjacent islands described by Marco Polo, Columbus was proclaimed admiral and viceroy of the Indies. His crew then had the good grace to beg his pardon for all the trouble they had caused him.

\* As San Salvador is one of the central islands of the Bahama group, it will be perceived, on consulting the map, that Columbus, by keeping to the north, missed in this voyage the greater part of the West India Islands, and the north coast of South America. They would have reached land much sooner, had they taken another course.

The natives viewed the strangers, and all their movements, with astonishment, but they showed no alarm; simple and inoffensive themselves, they were without fear, and at length approached the Spaniards, and received some trifling presents with pleasure. The nature of iron was unknown to them; and so little did they expect evil from the shining arms of the strangers, that many of them received slight wounds from ignorantly handling the blades of the Spanish swords.

Both the men and women of San Salvador were entirely naked, but the love of ornament was not unknown to them, and the plates of gold which they unfortunately wore in their ears attracted the attention of the Spaniards. In reply to their signs of inquiry, where this precious metal was to be found, the natives uttered the word Cuba, and pointed southwards. This direction was deemed sufficient, and Columbus, on setting sail, carried with him seven of the natives of San Salvador, to act as interpreters. Some smaller islands were discovered on the way, and then Cuba, where the natives appeared very fearful. They gave the strangers to understand that gold was more abundant in a country farther east. This led to the discovery of the island called by the natives Haiti, to which Columbus gave the name of Hispaniola.

The kind treatment of an Indian, whose canoe upset in his attempt to escape, and who would have been drowned but for the help of the Spaniards, gave the natives confidence. The cacique, or prince, became very friendly with Columbus, and gladly allowed him to erect a fort, as he wanted to be defended from the Caribs, a savage people inhabiting the islands called after their name. The Spaniards used for the building of their fort the timbers of one of their own ships which had gone to pieces: it was therefore called *La Navidad*, that is, the Ship. Thirty-eight men were left to garrison it, and Columbus, promising soon to return, set sail with his two remaining ships (January 16, 1493).

Near the Azores, violent storms parted the vessels; and Columbus, who was in the *Nina*, began to despair of reaching home. In order, therefore, that his great discovery might not remain unknown, he wrote a brief account of his voyage on two different parchments; one

of these he put into a cask, carefully closed, which he threw overboard; the other, similarly placed, was kept on deck, to await the expected wreck of the vessel. But the storm subsided; and, on February 15, they cast anchor at the Azores, where they staid to refit. Another storm afterwards drove Columbus into the Tagus, and thus obliged him to acquaint the King of Portugal with the issue of his voyage. John II. allowed him to proceed, but the incident led him subsequently to put in a claim to the newly discovered regions, as a part of the grant already made to the sovereigns of Portugal by the Pope. On March 15, Columbus reached the port of Palos, from which he had departed seven months and a half before. The bells rang; the magistrates, and the respectable inhabitants, received him on landing; and all admired the man who had accomplished what was deemed impossible. His journey to court, and his entry into Barcelona, were like a triumph. He walked in the midst of the Indians who accompanied him, dressed in their native fashion; and some of the animals and products of the new world were exhibited in his train. Ferdinand and Isabella rose from their throne to greet the successful adventurer; and when Columbus threw himself on his knees before them, they desired him to be seated, and tell his own story. Ferdinand, who had taken up the matter with much less warmth than his queen, expressed great delight, and confirmed to Columbus his promised privileges.

Columbus made his second voyage at the head of a fleet of seventeen vessels, containing 1500 persons; but, as they were mostly adventurers, whose only object was gain, it was no easy task to command them. They sailed from Cadiz, September 25, and, on November 2, descried an island, which Columbus called Dominica (Sunday), because it was discovered on that day.

In passing through the Antilles, or Windward Islands, the Spaniards had many fierce struggles with the Caribs; the women fought as desperately as the men, and, when driven from their canoes, carried on the combat in the water. At Guadaloupe, where the pineapple was first seen, cannibalism was first noticed; human limbs were seen roasting before the fires of the Caribs, or hanging up as provisions for a feast. The Spaniards took some of the

savages, and carried them to Hispaniola, where they arrived, November 22. During the absence of Columbus, his fort had been burned down, and all the Spaniards massacred; none of the natives would approach the foreigners as they did at first. On being persuaded to renewed intercourse by kindness, they described the shocking conduct of the men left on their island, and declared that their own excesses had made them an easy prey. Columbus now founded a new settlement, which he called Isabella; and, after seeking to secure the friendship of the Indians, and the order of the fresh colony, he took three small vessels, and continued his voyage of discovery. On this occasion, he discovered the beautiful island of Jamaica, whose inhabitants appeared more warlike and ingenious than those of Cuba or Haiti. The other clusters of islands which he observed, made him suppose that they had arrived at the Indian archipelago described by Marco Polo, and that Cuba was a part of the mainland of India. Overcome by the hardships he had endured, Columbus returned to Isabella, apparently a dying man. There he revived to witness fresh troubles; and hearing that unfavourable reports of his government had been carried to Spain, he resolved to go and vindicate himself before the king and queen. He was as favourably received as before, but their resources were so much drained by their interference in the wars in Italy, that two years elapsed before they furnished the admiral with another fleet.

On May 30, 1498, Columbus, with six vessels, sailed on his third voyage of discovery; and, steering southwest, approached within five degrees of the equator. The intense heat obliged them to change their course, and, on July 1, they saw land. The striking appearance of three mountain peaks, united at the base, led Columbus to name this new island, La Trinidad (the Trinity): he was bent on leaving everywhere some remembrance of his religious faith. The shores of South America surrounding the Gulf of Paria next came into sight, and the mouth of a great river, the Orinoco, was discovered. Columbus observed with astonishment the luxuriance of the country, the mildness of the air, and the fair complexions of the inhabitants, when compared with those of the regions of Africa in the same latitude: he began to imagine he had reached man's

ancient paradise, and that the great river was that which issued from the garden of Eden. From the natives he collected a quantity of pearls; and, on sailing out of the gulf westward, he gave to the next island that he discovered the name of Margarita, *i. e.* *the pearl*.

On arriving at Isabella, the admiral found complete anarchy prevailing; and his attempts to remedy it being probably wanting in prudence, for he had no talents for government, fresh complaints were preferred against him at the court of Spain. On this occasion, Bobadilla, a gentleman of the royal household, was sent out with authority to restore order.

He treated Columbus as a criminal, causing him to be arrested and loaded with irons. When brought out to be conveyed to Spain, he supposed, from the hatred expressed towards him, they were leading him to execution; but when actually embarked with those who were disposed to show him kindness, he refused to have his fetters taken off, saying, that the king and queen should see the manner in which he had been treated; he even said, that he wished the memorials of his undeserved sufferings to be hung on his tomb. As he expected, great indignation against his enemies was expressed in Spain; he and his brother were received at court with every mark of favour; his vindication was listened to with respect, and the queen showed him the warmest sympathy. In fact, Isabella, who thoroughly appreciated the talents of this remarkable man, treated him with undiminished favour as long as she lived: she was, however, shocked with a project that had entered his mind of reducing the Caribs to slavery; and, agreeing with her royal husband, that their protégé was not qualified for a viceroy, they detained him for some time, on the plea that his life was endangered by a residence in Hispaniola. Bobadilla was recalled, and Ovando, a man deemed more fit for the post, appointed in his stead. After many delays, Columbus, in 1502, set sail, with only four small ships, on his last and most disastrous voyage. On this occasion, he reached the coast of Honduras, where the natives showed a degree of civilisation not previously seen in the new world. They had utensils of copper, and wore cotton garments, curiously worked, and dyed with a variety of colours. Coasting onwards to the Gulf of Darien,

Columbus attained a point which had been marked by one of the Portuguese navigators in an eastern voyage of discovery. In this voyage, the Spaniards suffered much from contrary winds, conflicting currents, and the hostility of the natives, by whom many of them were killed. Columbus became too weak to guide, or to command; and, in returning, the effects of a violent storm unfitted the vessels for sea, and it was necessary to run them aground on the shore of Jamaica. For a whole year, the admiral and his companions lay in the wrecks, insecure from the temper of the natives, and yet dependent on them for a supply of food. Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, through jealousy of Columbus, was careless as to the preservation of his life; and only the unpopularity occasioned by his neglect of the admiral, induced him at last to send a vessel to bring him and his companions away. Finding that the West Indies afforded him no pleasant or honourable home, Columbus again returned to Spain (November 7, 1504). In that same month, Queen Isabella died; and the many political schemes in which Ferdinand was involved prevented him from paying attention to those of Columbus. Fatigue, hardship, and disappointment, had enfeebled the vigorous frame of the admiral, and, having retired from public life, he died at Valladolid (May 20, 1506). His official titles and dignities descended to Diego, his eldest son, who, by marrying the niece of the Duke of Alva, became allied to the first nobility of Spain. But Columbus, by his last will, desired him only to sign himself *the Admiral*, to keep up the remembrance of those grand maritime exploits, to which he owed his elevation. As an added proof of the religious zeal which tintured the character of Columbus, it may be mentioned that one of his projects was to lead a new crusade for the rescue of Jerusalem from the Turks.

It has been often a matter of regret, that the country which Columbus discovered was not called after his name. America received its appellation from Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine voyager of little note, who published an account of the discovery of the western hemisphere, about the close of the fifteenth century. For a time, he robbed Columbus of his fame as a discoverer, as Faust did Gutenberg; but posterity has done justice to the original talent

of the Genoese and the German, to whom we are indebted for discoveries which have exercised the most important influence on the character of modern history.

It is necessary here to observe, though it is a remark that carries us beyond our present period, that the successors of Columbus in the New World, as it was termed, brought the Christian name into association with the deadliest works of the devil. Scarcely anything in the annals of history exceeds, in bloody horror, the establishment of the Spaniards in America. In a few years they exterminated many millions of the aborigines. The mother-country, which sent forth colonists who proved a disgrace even to humanity, received a curse into her own bosom with the gold that they returned to her; the settlers themselves, and their descendants, bore upon them the withering blight of their own wickedness.

Portugal, during the career of Columbus, possessed navigators of little less distinction in the path of discovery. Manuel signalised the first year of his reign by personally countenancing Vasco de Gama, who proposed to reach India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. With his own hand, he presented him with the standard of the cross, at his departure from Lisbon, in the spring of the year 1497. The intrepid captain encountered the same difficulties and perils that beset Columbus in his first expedition of discovery, and was rewarded with the same ultimate success. At the end of five months, he doubled the Cape; and, procuring a pilot from Melinda, a Mahometan city on the eastern coast of Africa, belonging to a colony established there in the tenth century, he reached Calicut, the capital of an Indian sovereign, who bore the title of the Zamorin.

Through the jealousy of the Moslem merchants, who were afraid of rivals in their profitable traffic with India, Vasco de Gama, and his companions, narrowly escaped destruction. Feeling their need of a stronger force, they hastily left the Malabar coast, but not without carrying away some of the natives; and, having revisited Melinda, to receive an ambassador, who was to be sent to their king, they pursued their homeward voyage, and arrived safely at Lisbon (September, 1499). From that moment, the establishment of a trade with India, and the formation of an empire in the east, became the grand objects of

Portugal. Cabral, who commanded a fleet sent from thence in the first year of the sixteenth century, being forced westward by a tempest, whilst passing the Cape de Verd Isles, accidentally discovered a part of the coast of South America, to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz (the Holy Cross). Brazil was its more permanent appellation. Partly by force, and partly by treaty with the native chiefs, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing commercial stations, commonly called factories, along the whole African coast, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and along that of Asia, from Ormuz to Siam. A strong line of forts, with numerous colonies, supported by a naval force, finally established their vast maritime empire. The reign of Manuel is esteemed the most glorious in the annals of Portugal, because the desired object was accomplished during its course. It cannot, however, be said, that the Portuguese, any more than the Spaniards, scattered blessings among the nations with whom they came in contact as rulers. Even the noblest viceroy of the court of Portugal, who bore the name of the Great Albuquerque, and did, in measure, restrain the oppression and licentiousness of inferior officers, was violent and despotic in many of his acts; and his revenge, after reverses in war with the natives, was of a horrible description. Like Columbus, he was accused, by his countrymen, of taking too much upon himself, and was superseded in his command, when he had spent all his strength in extending the Portuguese empire, and was about to die.

One remarkable circumstance connects the most important maritime discoveries and foreign conquests of Spain and Portugal with the pontificate of Alexander VI. John II. of Portugal, on becoming acquainted with the first successes of Columbus, insisted that the discovered islands appertained to him. He referred the King of Spain to the original bull of Martin V., procured by Don Henry, and the subsequent bulls of Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV., confirming to the crown of Portugal all the unknown lands between Cape Bojador and India: the king, like Columbus himself, supposed that the newly found islands formed a part of India. Ferdinand was unwilling to yield to the claims of Portugal, and it was agreed to submit the matter to the reigning Pope. Alexander VI. wished not to offend either of the

powerful sovereigns who honoured him by this appeal, and, with equal ingenuity and boldness, he prepared a bull, dividing the prize between them. It decreed, that an imaginary line, extending from north to south, and measuring 100 leagues west of the Azores, should be considered as a boundary line; that the newly discovered lands, on its eastern side, should belong to Portugal, and those on the west, to Spain. As a *father*, the Pope thus presumed to portion out the world to his obedient children; and, as head of the Universal Church, he required provision to be made for bringing the newly found nations within its limits. The cruel force used to effect this end remains to be described in another period: this, however, is sufficiently stained with the fiery and sanguinary efforts of the Romish Church against those whom it could not drive into its fold. We refer to the treatment of the Moslems adopted by the Spanish government, and the treatment of the Jews in Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere. It is the subject of our next chapter.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation.**(Pontificate of Alexander VI.)*

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

DURATION OF THE MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN SPAIN. — REMARKS ON NATIONAL CHANGES OF RELIGIOUS PROFESSION. — OBSTACLES THAT A FALSE CHRISTIANITY PRESENTS TO JEWS AND MOSLEMS. — TERMINATION OF THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN. — THE FIRST EDICT AGAINST THEM. — EDICT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. — WHEN INCLINED TO SHOW MERCY, THEY ARE HARDENED BY THE GRAND INQUISITOR'S FALSE APPEAL TO THEIR FEELINGS. — SEVERE TERMS CONNECTED WITH THE BANISHMENT OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN. — THEIR SUFFERINGS IN PORTUGAL, ITALY, AND AFRICA. — SECRET JEWS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. — EFFORTS FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE MOSLEMS. — THEIR STRUGGLES AND ULTIMATE BANISHMENT. — QUEEN ISABELLA'S FAMILY SORROWS, AND DEATH.

DATING from the first descent of Tarik,\* the Mahometan empire in Spain had subsisted 782 years, when its destruction was accomplished by Ferdinand and Isabella. Let us fully allow all the evils of Mahometanism; let us also reflect on the difficulties of more enlightened sovereigns, in coming into possession of a kingdom filled with the devotees of the False Prophet; but let us ever remember, that a violent imposition of the name of Christ is a practical denial of His power; and that, if any assume the name of Christians, they come under responsibility to Christ as lord and master, and we must consider their actions in the light of his words.

The Catholic sovereigns were determined, at all costs, that their subjects should wear their profession in connection with that name; and, as they did not themselves

\* See Vol. II. p. 329.

know the difference between outward and inward Christianity, they were ready to be satisfied with submission to baptism, and the rites of the Romish religion. But religion, engrafted by education, and confirmed by reason; strengthened, too, by the ties of nationality and natural affection, connects itself with man's inner being, and cannot be thrown off at the word of command, or even at the voice of temporal interest, like a mere costume.

When, indeed, we hear in our own days, as in times of old, that whole islands have renounced their blind idolatry, and the savage practices connected with it, we rejoice, because we know that no other constraint has been laid upon them, but that of the truth preached among them; and that, if all hearts are not affected, the *reason* of all is at least convinced. But the case of Jews, or Mahometans, on whom the profession of the Romish religion may be forced by threats, or bribery, is very different. Here are persons never situated like the blind idolaters, nor to be reasoned out of a gross and visible error like them; they are the natural haters of image-worship; they are invited or compelled to embrace a religion that calls itself Christian, yet teaches them to bow down to images; and sets before them for doctrines the commandments of men, less intelligible, and less able to affect the conscience, than the holy precepts of the law of Moses, or those of Mahomet, drawn from the same source. It can be no matter of surprise, if such converts as these were tempted, for a time, to hide their own profession under this odious patchwork garment of man's devising, that some of their original religion in the end burst through the too narrow covering, or that their hate tore the new fangled robe into shreds, whenever opportunity offered. This is the story of thousands of Jews and Moslems, who, under the reign of sovereigns so zealous as Ferdinand and Isabella, put on, and then cast off, a yoke which they found intolerable. The baptised Jews, who were known by the name of *New Christians*, were eagerly watched by the spies of the Inquisition; it was easy to adduce proofs that ecclesiastical ceremonies were distasteful to them, and that, in secret, they adhered to their own faith. If, on the Jewish sabbath, a hill were ascended, which overlooked a village of New Christians, scarcely a chimney would be seen to

smoke ; they were keeping the day according to their own law. This was regarded as a sufficient proof of apostasy. From baptised Jews, the keen eye of the false church turned to the unbaptised. Against these, the clergy throughout Spain sought to influence both sovereigns and people, partly through fanatical zeal, and partly because the Jewish money-lenders held bonds or mortgages on a vast quantity of ecclesiastical property. The golden age of the Jews in the peninsula came to an end in the fifteenth century ; and one of their worst persecutions occurred in the country where, for centuries, they dwelt more safely than elsewhere, famous for learning, science, commerce, and medical skill, often holding high offices, cultivators, and even possessors of the soil. It is calculated that 250,000 Jews, during this era, submitted to baptism, in order to escape imprisonment, expulsion, or death. There were, perhaps, more who stood firm, in spite of all the terrors that stared them in the face, and even under the severest suffering. The first edict issued against the Jews of Spain was of a moderate character, and proceeded from the pen of the ex-pope Benedict XII. (Peter de Luna), during his residence in Arragon. It enforced the destruction of the Talmud, declared the Jews incapable of holding civil offices, and ordered that they should attend Christian sermons three times a-year. These laws might have been very advantageous to the Jews, in a religious point of view, provided the preaching, and its accompaniments, had been according to the divine mind.

We have already alluded to the doings of the Inquisition in Spain, and observed, that its first and most numerous victims were the New Christians, or baptised Jews, who had proved untrue to their adopted religion. In A. D. 1492, the Inquisition was established in Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, the last places in the Spanish dominions where its awful tribunals were set up. The machine of persecution then began to work with complete effect. Scarcely had Ferdinand and Isabella obtained possession of Granada, when they made a decree, that all Jews refusing to embrace Christianity, should leave the kingdom in six months ; it seemed like a warning of similar dealings with the Moslems. Abarbanel, a learned Jew of the highest character, threw himself at the

feet of the king and queen, and, in the name of his nation, offered an immense sum for the revocation of an edict which would send them into exile. The royal pair were about to yield, when Torquemada, who had just entered on the office of confessor to Isabellá, rushed into their presence, and, holding forth a crucifix, exclaimed, "Behold him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver! Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of the bargain before God!" The most catholic sovereigns, true to their title, dared not resist so awful an appeal; they accepted the terrible Dominican as their guide, and not Him who cried, even from the cross, "Father! forgive them, for they know not what they do." They confirmed their previous decree, adding, that every unbaptised Jew, found within their dominions at the expiration of six months, should suffer death. This time was professedly given them to dispose of their property, but they were not allowed to take away its value in the precious metals, and the purchasers of their immovable goods mostly waited till the last moment, to force them into ruinous bargains. A cotemporary writer says, that he saw Jews, who were thus driven to a point, part with a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen.

The known severity of the Inquisition offered little inducement to the Jews to accept the alternative of baptism; and their determination to leave the country was likely to be so fatal to the commercial prosperity of the peninsula, that many of the Christian inhabitants of the trading towns on the coast petitioned, on this ground, for their detention; but it was in vain. Ships were furnished by the Spanish government, and about 30,000 Jewish families withdrew to Italy, France, and Africa; and 83,000 were permitted, by John II., to pass into Portugal, on paying a poll-tax of one cruzado for every individual. Avarice seemed to be the worst fault of that great monarch, and his treatment of the Jews threw a dark cloud over his setting sun. The unhappy exiles, harassed and hurried, coming together in crowds from different quarters, brought the plague with them, and many perished on the roads. Their residence in Portugal was, moreover, in many respects, found inconvenient; and the king soon issued a decree, that all who did not leave his dominions in eight

months must submit to baptism or slavery. When the time had elapsed, numbers were too poor to pay their passage to other shores ; and the reports that had reached them concerning the sufferings of their exiled brethren, made them less afraid to remain than to depart. John II., it appears, felt something like pity for his unfortunate guests, for he did not enforce his own severe decree ; but his successor Manuel, in becoming the son-in-law of Ferdinand and Isabella, drank deeply into the spirit of the Spanish court, and at length named a day for all Jews to quit his kingdom, limiting them to three ports as places of embarkation. But, before the day appointed, he gave a secret order, that all Jewish children, under fourteen years of age, should be seized, baptised, and dispersed through the country, to be brought up in the Romish religion. The feelings of the parents, on this occasion, were wrought up to such a pitch, that many cast their young children into the sea and rivers, drowned them in wells, stabbed, or strangled them. The people showed a pity, to which their sovereign was a stranger ; and, in some instances, helped the Jews to conceal their offspring. By another tyrannical decree, Manuel forbade the embarkation of the exiles at two of the places named ; and the means of transport being attainable by few within the prescribed time, the rest consented to be baptised, in order to regain their children, and escape slavery. It was, however, understood that they were not to be watched too closely for twenty years.\*

\* The persecution was renewed ten years after, on a discovery being made, that many of the baptised Jews kept the passover. Again, in the king's absence from the capital, a massacre took place, under the following circumstances. A secret Jew, being provoked at the exhibition of a crucifix, whence a divine light was said to beam, pointed out to the spectators a lamp that was behind it. Then two monks began to harangue the populace against the Jewish race. The man who had exposed their gainful trick was dragged into the market-place, and put to death ; his brother, who lamented over him, was killed on the same spot. The Dominican friars, with crucifixes in their hands, came together from every quarter, and boldly promised to every one who killed a Jew, that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to 100 days. Men, women, and children, were then destroyed, without mercy ; those who fled to the churches, or even clung to the crucifixes, were dragged out and burned. The king, at his return, fined the judges who,

The sufferings of those Jews who were expelled from Spain to countries beyond the sea remain to be related. In the crowded quarter allowed to the Jews at Rome, they were received so inhospitably, that Alexander VI., displeased at the tumult, ordered even the usual residents to depart: they only purchased leave to remain by paying a large sum of money. On the coast of Genoa, the Jewish exiles were so nearly famished, that when the priests came to offer them provisions, on condition of their being baptised, they consented to the ceremony which they had forsaken their homes to avoid. The sufferings of those who went to Africa were the most intense. The plague broke out on board one ship that was conveying a great number, and the captain, attributing it to the sins of his Jewish passengers, set them ashore on a desert part of the coast, without provisions. Again, when the King of Fez saw the multitudes of uninvited guests landed in his dominions, he denied them admission into his capital, on the ground that they would occasion a famine. Thus they were compelled to abide on the seashore, and the agonies they endured from hunger are indescribable. Some began to eat roots, and even the grass; many sold their children for bread; numbers perished. The Moors cut open many of the living who fell into their hands, to search for the precious stones which they either had, or were supposed to have swallowed; the rest were stripped of their property, and even of their clothing, and insulted in the most brutal manner. Such as escaped the barbarians returned, a few at a time, to Spain, where, as professed converts, they were always welcome.

From this time, the secret Jews of Spain and Portugal became more cautious; and many are said to have escaped persecution by taking ecclesiastical orders and monastic vows. Some who were Jews in heart, under the mask of Christian profession, held the highest offices of the State and Church; and we are assured that some even took their seats on the tribunals of the Inquisition, that they might not become its victims. The sanguinary and hateful char-

in alarm at the tumult, had forsaken their posts; the two monks who incited the people were degraded, strangled, and burned. Several other ringleaders were publicly executed.

acter of the bigotry which, under the name of Christianity, drove men to such expedients as these, requires no comment.\* Constantinople, and the Turkish empire, became the last and safest retreat of the Jews who fled from Spain. The Turks regarded them with less contempt than the image-worshipping Greeks. The latter they termed *Yeshir*, i. e. slaves; the Jews they styled *Monsaphir*, i. e. visitors. Holland was another country which afforded refuge to Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and where, in process of time, they became wealthy and honourable.

The persecution of the Jews, and their banishment from Spain, preceded but a little the similar treatment of the Mahometans. In the very year that Granada submitted, the resolution was taken to convert or expel them; but the unsettled state of the newly conquered country delayed for seven years the execution of the scheme. In 1499, Ferdinand, being in Granada, called a council to deliberate upon the matter, and it was agreed to leave the work of conversion in the hands of Francis Ximenes Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, and Fernando de Talavera, already mentioned as the first archbishop of Granada. They were men of very opposite character, but equally zealous for the establishment of the Catholic religion: the former was rigid and unbending, the latter mild and conciliating; one proposed force, the other, persuasion. The gentler measures were at first adopted. The alfaquis, or doctors of the Mahometan law, were invited to religious disputations, and

\* It is an interesting fact, that the little companies of Christians who are now privately meeting in Spain, for the study of the Scriptures, use a prayer in which their particular national guilt is distinctly confessed. The following is an extract from it:—"We confess, O Lord, the great sin of our nation in our conduct towards the descendants of thine ancient people of Israel, when our fathers so cruelly maltreated them, and finally banished them all, without distinction, from the land of their birth. . . . Pardon also, O Lord, our sin, in having sanctioned and tolerated for so many years the iniquitous tribunal of the Inquisition, the instrument of unheard-of wickedness. . . . We confess, also, that our nation sinned towards the Moors, inasmuch as, having formed treaties with them, affirmed in oaths, our fathers broke these oaths, and conducted themselves cruelly towards the subdued Mahometans; and finally, in one and the same day, expelled myriads of them from the country." *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. iii. p. 142.

dismissed with presents; and, when they were persuaded, from interested motives, to forsake their religion, their example induced thousands to apply for admission into the Church. At this point, Cisneros, by his rash zeal, checked the work he intended to forward. Having bribed or persuaded the alfaquis to deliver up to him their copies of the Koran, and other books, he committed to the flames 5000 volumes, only preserving some works which treated of medicine.\* Some who protested against his violent measures were conducted to prison by his order, and this occasioned a furious assault of the Moors upon the cardinal's dwelling. Ximenes and his party resisted courageously, and the quarter of the Albaycin, in which they resided, was in great commotion for several days: the Moors even stoned one messenger of peace sent from the gentler archbishop. Fernando then determined to go in person to persuade them to lay down their arms. Accompanied by a single chaplain, with the cross borne before him, he appeared in the scene of strife, displaying his usual serenity and affection of manner. The effect was delightful. Every murmur was instantly hushed, and numbers flocked around him to kiss his garments: his exhortations to peace were obeyed, and for a time Granada remained tranquil. But the Moslems of the neighbouring towns, and especially the independent mountaineers, hearing that the Christians, in contempt of their solemn treaty, were attempting to convert their countrymen by force, renewed the war with fresh fury. Ferdinand himself marched against them, and compelled them to give up their fortified places, and their arms; then he sent priests among them, to oblige them to receive baptism. Terrified at the recent treatment of the Jews, whole towns submitted; and, without any previous instruction, hundreds were hastily sprinkled by the priests, according to the usual forms.

\* It is worthy of remembrance, that the first specimen of a polyglot Bible was prepared under the direction of this same Cardinal Francis Ximenes, at a university which he re-established, and at his expense. It was called *the Complutensian*, from Complutum, the ancient Roman name of a town of Castile, now called Alcala de Henarez, where it was edited. The Greek and Hebrew texts are considered of great value to this day; and there can be no doubt that Ximenes made abundant use of the labours of learned Jews.

The following year, the mountaineers again revolted, and massacred all the Christians on whom they could lay hands. They were again reduced, and 10,000 more submitted to baptism, whilst a greater number fled to Africa. A third and more dangerous insurrection was put down by Ferdinand in person, and thousands more departed to settle on the opposite and friendly coast. Those who remained were too weak for open resistance to the will of the catholic sovereigns, and a decree was issued for the expulsion of all who refused to embrace Christianity. Then it was that myriads quitted the peninsula in one day. The baptised Mahometans who remained were numbered at 200,000. For their use, the Archbishop of Granada caused the Gospels, Epistles, and Psalms to be translated into Arabic; but the fiery cardinal, who, in another quarter, was encouraging biblical studies at much cost, objected to these converts having the Scriptures in their own tongue.

After the death of the mild Fernando, the condition of the *new Christians* grew worse and worse; and, though the counsellors of state represented to Ferdinand and Isabella, that the Inquisition, in its results, was reducing Spain to a desert, Torquemada and Ximenes overawed their minds, and intolerance took its full course.\* A heavy blight fell upon the whole country, from the effects of which it has never yet recovered; priestcraft triumphed throughout the Spanish empire, and its prosperity had no sooner come to a height than it began to decline.

After gaining so magnificent a portion of the empire of the world, Isabella herself was crushed by domestic sorrow. Her only son, just after his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian, fell ill of fever, and died at the age of nineteen (A. D. 1497). The death of their eldest daughter, Isabella, has already been mentioned, with the marriage of her sister Maria to her widowed husband, Manuel of Portugal.

Of the important marriage of their youngest daughter Catherine, first to Arthur, prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother, Henry VIII. of England, we must speak

\* In less than forty years, one-half of the baptised Moslems fell under the scrutiny of the Inquisition. Of these, 4000 were burned, 30,000 reconciled by severe penance, and the rest escaped to Barbary.

hereafter. It was to Juana, their second daughter, that Ferdinand and Isabella looked, to give an heir to the Spanish empire. At the same time that the Infante of Spain married Margaret, she had been espoused to Philip, the brother of that princess. Philip, called the Handsome on account of the beauty of his person, at the age of sixteen, had been joyfully welcomed in the Low Countries, as duke and count of the various provinces he inherited in his mother's right. Complete harmony reigned between him and his Flemish subjects: he was a weak prince, and they wished their ruler to be a cipher. Juana loved her husband with childish fondness; but he was a profligate character, and on account of her weakness of mind treated her with the more neglect. By the invitation of Ferdinand and Isabella, Philip spent some time at the court of Castile: his sister, the widowed archduchess Margaret, was deputed to govern Flanders in his absence, which she did, at this and at other seasons, with great prudence and spirit.

The Austrian prince, who was of a gay and dissolute turn, found the stately court of Spain too dull for him; Ferdinand appeared jealous of him, and Isabella was grieved by his unkind treatment of her daughter. In A. D. 1500, Juana gave birth to her first child, afterwards the celebrated Charles V. Her husband left her to return to Flanders, when she was about a second time to become a mother; and, after the birth of her second son, Ferdinand, she followed him.

The premature death of her two elder children, and the unhappy marriages of her remaining daughters, weighed so heavily upon the mind of Queen Isabella, that she fell into a melancholy state. She retired to the town of Medina del Campo, in Leon, and, surrounded with worldly wealth, in a spot of rich fertility, she sunk under sickness of mind and body (A. D. 1504).

## CHAPTER XX.

*Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation.*ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN  
OF HENRY VII.

ESTIMATE OF HENRY VII. AT ROME. — HIS GENERAL CHARACTER. — HISTORY OF THE IMPOSTURE OF PERKIN WARBECK. — HIS ENCOURAGEMENT IN FLANDERS, FRANCE, AND IRELAND. — HIS UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS IN ENGLAND. — HIS EXECUTION. — FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES OF HENRY VII. — MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET TO JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND. — CHARACTER OF THAT MONARCH. — LAWS OF HENRY VII. — HIS FOREIGN ALLIANCES. — HOPEFULNESS OF HIS LAST DAYS.

ALTHOUGH the King of France was entitled *Most Christian*, and the King of Spain *Most Catholic*, neither of them was so much respected as the King of England. Three successive Popes (commencing with Alexander VI.), elected Henry VII., before all other reigning princes, “chief defensor” of Christendom; and all, by their respective ambassadors, sent him the sword and cap of maintenance, emblems of royal power, which, to this day, form part of the ornaments of state belonging to the sovereigns of Great Britain, and at coronations are borne before them. But the fame of Henry VII., as one of England’s best monarchs, rests on better grounds than the approval of cotemporary Popes; and a considerate historian thus sums up his character:—“Thoughtful and calm, yet energetic and active; cautious, but not cowardly; domestic and moral; anxious to substitute pecuniary penalties for the mutilation of the offender, imprisonment for death; ready to help those of his subjects whom his justice had impoverished; lending money, without interest, for the help of merchants; patronising every national improvement; in danger, prompt; in his ordinary manners, kind and interesting; finally, always attentive to religious duties, according to the fashion of his day.”

The last, and most dangerous pretender to the throne,

with whom Henry VII. had to contend, was an impostor named Perkin Warbeck. His parents were Flemings, who resided in London at the time of his birth; and Edward IV., always remarkable for his familiar condescension, was prevailed on to stand godfather to the child, who was about the age of his second son. It was that prince whom Perkin afterwards undertook to personate, skilfully making use of all his early remembrances of the manners and habits of his royal godfather, and of persons about the court. His story was, that he, Prince Richard, duke of York, had been saved by the humanity of one of his keepers, when his brother, Edward V., was destroyed in the Tower; that he had been taken abroad, and had spent many years in wandering through foreign countries. This last-named particular was true; and, it appears, that in the course of his travels he had met with many strange adventures, which he was able to relate with great liveliness, so as to make his tale interesting. How he first came to think of playing the part of a pretender to the throne of England cannot be known, but such singular changes had taken place in his days, that there was some encouragement to do so; and the Yorkist party, as we have already observed, were still numerous and discontented. Perkin made his first public appearance at the court of Margaret, the dowager-duchess of Burgundy; she encouraged, if she did not direct his schemes; and, it is more than probable, she helped him to perfect himself in his story, by supplying him with particulars about Edward IV., her royal brother, which he could not otherwise have known. Pretending to believe that he was her own brother's son, she caused him, at length, to be publicly interrogated; and his answers were so satisfactory, that many concluded he was really entitled to the English crown. His appearance and manners were much in his favour; his pathetic story interested all who heard it; his wonderful escapes, and the spirit with which he related them, seemed to confirm his pretensions; and his supposed aunt, expressing her delight, saluted him with the title of *the White Rose*, prince of England, and appointed him a guard of honour. In 1492, Charles VIII., instigated, as it is supposed, by the Duchess of Burgundy, invited the pretended Duke of York to Paris, and gave him a handsome pension, with mag-

nificent lodgings, and all the honours due to his presumed rank. His deportment and accomplishments continually increased his admirers, and among them were several discontented gentlemen from England. It was proposed that he should go to Ireland, as that country was always favourable to the House of York; and, when he had landed there, under the name of Richard Plantagenet, he wrote letters to some of the leading noblemen, inviting them to join him, and widely dispersed the romantic particulars of his story. Then he returned to Flanders; and so many passed over to him there, or espoused his cause in Ireland and England, that there seemed no means of satisfying the public mind, but by bringing to light the truth as to the murder of both the princes in the Tower. Miles Forest, the chief assassin, was dead, but it was proved that he had received a pension from Richard III., which was continued to his widow, for no other service than this crime. Sir James Tyrrel, and his servant, the other murderer, were apprehended, and committed to the place where their horrid deed was done. The circumstances already related were confessed by them, and circulated by Henry VII., but the murderers underwent no punishment, and, as the bodies could not then be found, many doubted the truth of the story.\* The king then took the most vigorous means to defeat the conspiracy against him. Maximilian, in reply to his applications, said that he would not assist the pretender, but that he could not prevent the lady Margaret from doing as she thought proper. Henry then forbade intercourse with Flanders, even in the way of trade; he guarded his coasts, and offered pardon and reward to all who would abandon the impostor. Lord Clifford, being thus persuaded to support the king, informed him that Sir William Stanley, who had first brought him the crown, and occupied the office of lord

\* The murderers declared that the bodies were interred at the foot of the staircase; but as it was also reported that King Richard had caused them to be removed by his chaplain to consecrated ground—a circumstance not inconsistent with the character of his religion—the search was not very diligent. It was in the reign of Charles II. that two skeletons, answering in size to the age of the murdered princes, were accidentally found in digging up a heap of stones at the foot of the said staircase.

chamberlain, was secretly aiding the pretended duke. Henry would not, at first, believe the accusation; but Stanley, on being arrested, and brought to trial, confessed the crime, and was executed as a traitor. The head of the English Dominicans, the Dean of St. Paul's, and other priests, were implicated in the conspiracy; and, it appears, from the part taken by the ecclesiastical order in every plot against Henry VII., that he must have made them his enemies by trying to depress their power. It was his constant aim to free the crown from the oppressive influence of both priests and nobles.

Perkin Warbeck attempted to land at Deal, but finding his adherents treated as enemies to their country, he passed into Ireland: thither the king had sent an army to oppose him, therefore he proceeded to Scotland, where he was honourably received by the young king, James IV. After permitting the pretender to wed a near relative of his own, James, who wanted to indulge his own warlike tastes, and the passions of his subjects, found a pretext for invading the north of England, in companionship with the supposed Duke of York. When the Scots began to lay the country waste, Perkin, in consistency with his assumed character, interceded in behalf of *his subjects*: the Scottish king sneeringly replied, "You are too merciful to interest yourself for a people who are tardy in owning you for their sovereign." At the end of two years, Henry VII. procured peace with Scotland; and James, refusing to deliver up the pretender, dismissed him from his kingdom (A. D. 1496). Perkin then found supporters in Ireland; and in September, 1497, he landed in Cornwall, with a body of his partisans, assuming the name of King Richard IV. Some persons joined his standard, but he attempted in vain to obtain possession either of Exeter or Taunton. Hearing that the royal army was marching against him, Perkin, attended by sixty horsemen, fled across the country, and found refuge in an abbey near Southampton. Soon after, he submitted to the king, but, not being closely watched, again fled, and reached the seacoast. He was then taken prisoner, and carried to London, where he was set in the stocks for a whole day before Westminster Hall, exposed to the derision of the populace: he was afterwards obliged to read a confession of his imposture in Cheapside. Being

then committed to the Tower, his active spirit found no rest, and he bribed the keepers to let him escape, with the Earl of Warwick, his fellow-prisoner. This unfortunate prince, who had been in confinement for fifteen years, was so stupified by his seclusion from the world, that, according to the saying of the old chroniclers, he could not tell a goose from a capon; therefore he could have no judgment in important matters, and was utterly incapable of plotting against the king. Before his escape, an Augustine friar, in Kent, had been teaching some young man to personate him, and the imposition being discovered, the pupil was hung, and his tutor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Henry VII. had become more sensitive through the repeated attempts to create a party against him; and when, at length, Perkin and the real Earl of Warwick were taken, he suffered them both to be executed.\* It is probable that Perkin had intended to attempt, through Warwick, what he could not accomplish by his own fraud; but the earl himself was innocent of any offence, and Henry's treatment of him left the deepest stain on his character (A. D. 1499). Heavy domestic trials came on the king soon after the death of the Earl of Warwick. The marriage of his son Arthur, prince of Wales, to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was celebrated with all the pomp of chivalry (November 12, 1501), the bridegroom being only fourteen years of age. He died a few months after, and the young widow was detained at the English court, because the king was unwilling to lose either the rich dowry that she brought, or his advantageous alliance with her royal parents.

Shortly after the death of his eldest son, the king lost his wife, who was about again to become a mother. It is said, that her veneration for God, and devotion to him, were admirable; her love to her sisters unbounded; her affection and respect to the poor, and to religious ministers singularly great.

Six months after the death of his queen, Henry concluded a marriage between his eldest daughter Margaret,

\* Perkin's widow was honourably supported at the English court, and was called the White Rose, in remembrance of her husband's pretensions.

then thirteen years of age, and the King of Scotland, who was about thirty. This marriage was most important in its results, being the foundation of the subsequent claims of the House of Stewart to the throne of England.

It will be interesting, at this point, to take a view of the character of James IV. Never did he relax in his attempts to expiate, by certain self-inflictions, the guilt that he thought he had contracted, in being the involuntary instrument of his father's death. He wore an iron belt round his body, which he made heavier every year: during a part of each successive Lent, he retired to some monastery, to go through certain prayers, fastings, and forms of penance. These performances stood in singular contrast with his usual gay and busy life, and perhaps emboldened him to indulge the more freely in the licentious pleasures to which he often abandoned himself. In the hours that he devoted to kingly duties, he distinguished himself by his love of justice, and his affection for his people. He was extremely fond of nautical affairs, and, being ambitious of possessing the largest vessel in the world, he caused a ship to be built, which was called the Great Michael; 300 mariners were needed to manage it, and it would accommodate, like a modern man of war, 1000 soldiers: it was, however, found too unwieldy to be of much advantage. James IV. was as active in recreation as in business. The chase, the ball, and the tournament engaged him by turns; and, for the encouragement of chivalrous practices, he instituted an order of knighthood, called after the name of St. Andrew, and having a thistle for its device: it was thus that the thistle became the national emblem of Scotland. Not satisfied with the ordinary amusements of kings, James IV. took delight in traversing the country in disguise, seeking for adventures. On such occasions he would sometimes compete with the village youths in trials of strength; and the singular situations in which he sometimes found himself, have formed the subject of many Scottish songs and traditions. James IV., like his predecessor James I., was a poet, and so fond of encouraging poetry, that he did not complain even of versifiers who exposed his foibles.\* He celebrated some of his own adventures in verse.

\* Learning, at this period, began to flourish in Scotland. The University of St. Andrew's, the oldest in the kingdom, was succeeded

In 1504, the Princess Margaret, having attained the age of fifteen, was conveyed to Scotland with great pomp; her royal bridegroom came to meet her at the abbey of Newbattle, and with such haste, that a cotemporary uses the rather unsuitable simile of the speed of a falcon darting on its prey.\* The marriage was celebrated with much magnificence; but one of its melancholy accompaniments was a tournament, in which the highland and border chiefs combated so fiercely, that many of them perished. James is supposed to have been reckless of these consequences of his wedding festivities, because, like his father-in-law in England, he wished to see the power of the feudal chiefs brought low. He did succeed at last in repressing the disorders of the highland chieftains, and in depriving the turbulent lords of the isles of their possessions, which he annexed to the crown. Henry VII. proceeded most vigorously in humbling his powerful nobles: on the plea of preventing the recurrence of the civil wars, which had so long devastated the country, he forbade the barons to appear with armed followers, wearing their particular badges. Once, when he visited Lord Oxford, and found him surrounded by a host of martial retainers, whose appearance was alarming, that nobleman explained that they were only assembled to do his majesty honour. Then the king firmly replied, "My lord, I must not suffer my laws to be broken in my presence; my attorney-general must speak to you about this." In fact, the said officer enforced the existing statutes so strictly, that the king's host was obliged to pay a fine of 15,000 marks. Henry's system of fines for the punishment of offences caused him to be charged with cruel avarice; but it appears that the fault lay rather with those who carried out his plans in a severe and illegal manner. Two rapacious lawyers, named Dudley and Empson, whose extortion was brought to light in the next reign, threw great disgrace on the name of their royal master. His primary idea seems to have been

by one at Glasgow, founded in 1453; and a third was established at Aberdeen, in 1500. Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, at this time translated Virgil's *Æneid*; and Dunbar, the Scottish Chaucer, was patronised at court.

\* It appears that the royal pair possessed no state carriage, for Margaret had to mount a pillion behind her husband.

to avoid the capital punishments, and mutilations, so frequently inflicted even for minor offences; but almost every year of his reign was marked by some executions of traitors or rebels; and, even at this time, offenders were sometimes deprived of their ears. It was, probably, through the merciful disposition of the king, that burning for heresy became so rare in this reign. One old woman was, however, burned on that charge, and two other persons, some years after, one of whom was termed "an old heretic." On three occasions, a goodly company stood at St. Paul's Cross, some of them ecclesiastics, with faggots in their hands, as a sign that they were heretics, who, on their presumed repentance, were saved from the flames, in which they would otherwise have been consumed. These exhibitions, probably, tended to weaken the faith of the oppressed Church of Christ, even as every *good confession* serves to strengthen it.

In January, 1503, Henry VII. caused his chancellor to address the parliament on the value of justice and law, without which, said he, kingdoms were but dens of robbers. The oration ended with a quotation from Augustine's writings:—"Despise dungeons, despise exile, despise death, but let all men love justice." During the last few years of Henry's life, his health was in a declining state, and his sight became impaired. In a very affectionate letter, written to his mother,\* he says, "I trust that you will not be displeased, though I write you not so often with my own hand; for, on my faith, I have been three days, ere I could make an end of this letter." The king's mother was highly celebrated for her religious character; and Henry, though filled with the common superstitions of his age, seems to have felt some real anxiety about his

\* This lady, the Duchess of Richmond, survived her royal son. It was said of her, in her funeral sermon, that she was "right studious" of books, and translated several devotional tracts from French into English. She knew Latin well enough to understand her prayer-book. She was temperate in food, avoiding banquets, &c. She rose about five, attended public and private prayers, and dined at ten. She often exhorted her household to do well, and had written rules which she read to them four times a-year. She daily fed and lodged twelve poor persons in her own house, visited them herself, ministered to them in sickness, and even attended them on their deathbeds, "that she might learn how to die."

soul. For many years, he sent money for 10,000 masses to be recited in his behalf about Lent; he caused a collect to be daily said for him in all the churches; and never heard of a virtuous man in his kingdom, but he was anxious for his prayers: on such he often settled pensions, besides his daily and annual alms to the poor. It was, probably, in his respect for the religious, that he applied to the court of Rome for the canonisation of Henry VI. The project seems to have been abandoned, on account of the Pope's extravagant charges *for making a saint*. Towards the close of his life, Henry became more anxious than ever to do what was right. In order to retain the advantages of the Spanish alliance, he had procured a dispensation from Julius II., to allow his second son Henry, now created prince of Wales, to marry his brother's widow; but feeling scruples about the connection, which were shared by the young prince, he caused his son, at the age of fourteen, to read a paper in his presence, before many witnesses, saying he would never marry Catherine of Arragon. This alliance being apparently broken off, another method was devised for uniting the royal families of Spain and England. The year before Henry's death, his second daughter Mary, then seven years of age, was solemnly contracted to the Archduke Charles (afterwards Charles V.), grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, and grandson also of the Emperor Maximilian. The nobleman sent to represent the young prince put a ring on the finger of the little princess, and gave her a kiss. The contract, however, was never performed.

Besides the foreign alliances formed by means of his children, Henry VII. concluded treaties of perpetual peace with Portugal and Denmark, and of commerce with the Low Countries, and the republic of Florence. He also made alliances with the Duke of Milan, and the King of Naples, and with the King of Hungary, so far as to assist him with money in his war against the Turks. He negotiated with the city of Riga, concerning some of its ships, which were taken by English corsairs, and made proposals of marriage to the Archduchess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, which might have been accepted but for his increasing illness. Within a few months of his death, Henry told his confessor, that he was bent on the exercise

of impartial justice, and on giving church preferment only to able, virtuous, and learned men; also, that he wished to pardon all who were in danger on account of former offences against his laws. "He often mentioned to his most confidential attendants, that if it should please God to prolong his life, they would see him a new and changed man. He humbly acknowledged the singular benefits that he had received from the divine favour, and accused himself of ingratitude in not having more assiduously promoted the honour, and preferred the will and pleasure of that sovereign, to whom compared all others are but an insignificant name." This interesting king, according to the knowledge we possess of him, seemed to increase in earnestness about his soul in his last days, and followed hard after salvation, according to that measure of light which was granted him. If he valued "St. George's leg, closed in silver," which, the chronicler says, was sent to him a few years before his death; if in his last illness, as we are told, he was anointed in every part of his body, according to the Romish forms, it is also plain that his religion went beyond superstition or ceremony. He was observed to weep and sob, during his acts of penitence, for three quarters of an hour at a time. With the deepest reverence, he advanced to receive the sacrament on his knees; and, whilst contemplating with earnest devotion the crucifix held up before him, we may hope that he was looking beyond it, even to the Saviour himself. "For twenty-seven hours, the agonies of death were upon him; and his pains, fierce and sharp, were almost unceasing. He called repeatedly, and fervently, on the Saviour for ease and succour. 'O my blessed Jesus! O my Lord! deliver me; deliver my soul from these deadly pangs, from this corruptible body. *O deliver my soul from everlasting death!*'" These were some of the last utterances of Henry VII.; and shall we not hope that he had arrived at the only safe point; and that he, with a multitude, whose course has been yet more dark and sinful, experienced the truth of that precious promise, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."

Henry VII. died in A. D. 1509, being nearly fifty-three years of age. He was honoured with the appellation of *the English Solomon*.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation.*

THE PONTIFICATE OF JULIUS II., A. D. 1503—1513.

SPEEDY DEATH OF THE VIRTUOUS POPE, PIUS' III. — ELEVATION OF JULIUS II. — END OF CÆSAR BORGIA. — WAR BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND FRENCH IN NAPLES. — DEATH OF PETER DE' MEDICI. — TERMS OF PEACE BETWEEN FERDINAND AND LOUIS XII. — CONDUCT OF THE ARCHDUKE PHILIP. — HIS DEATH RENDERS FERDINAND SOLE MASTER OF SPAIN. — FERDINAND'S INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS XII. — HIS TREATMENT OF THE GREAT CAPTAIN. — RELATIONSHIPS OF THE EUROPEAN COURTS. — ROME IN THE DAYS OF JULIUS II. — ARTS AND ARTISTS. — ST. PETER'S CHURCH. — CHARACTER OF JULIUS II. — HIS JEALOUSY OF VENICE LEADS TO THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY AGAINST THAT REPUBLIC. — POSITION OF THE SWISS. — HORRORS OF THE VENETIAN WAR. — THE POPE MAKES PEACE WITH VENICE, AND FORMS A FRESH LEAGUE TO DRIVE THE INVADERS OUT OF ITALY. — HE BESIEGES MIRANDOLA IN PERSON. — HE TAKES, AND THEN LOSES BOLOGNA. — COUNCIL OF MILAN. — THE HOLY LEAGUE. — BATTLE OF RAVENNA. — STORY OF THE CARDINAL DE' MEDICI. — STORY OF THE DUKE OF FERRARA. — THE FRENCH QUIT ITALY. — THE MEDICI RESTORED TO FLORENCE. — DEATH OF JULIUS II. — UNQUIET STATE OF EUROPE. — HENRY VIII. AND HIS QUEEN CATHERINE.

We have divided the Times of the Popes preceding the Reformation into two distinct portions, for the sake of greater historical unity; we have passed through the pontificate of the *worst*; we are about to enter on the history of the *most warlike* of the Popes; but between their reigns intervened the pontificate of one who was distinguished for his uprightness, and peaceful disposition, and formed a striking contrast both with his predecessor and successor. He was the nephew of Pius II., and, when singled out from among the cardinals to fill the papal chair, he took

the name of Pius III. He had just time to show the course he meant to pursue, by calling a council for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline; the hopes of the right-minded were excited; but, only twenty-six days after his elevation, his death was announced. Some said he was taken off by poison, but it was commonly known he was suffering from a dangerous abscess at the time of his election; and his ambitious brother-cardinals, in fixing their choice upon him, probably expected his speedy removal.

The poet who wrote Alexander's epitaph produced some Latin verses by way of elegy on the death of Pius III. They signify, that, having been raised to the pontificate merely by his distinguished virtues, it was not surprising that he died; for the throne had been polluted by the black plague which previously filled it.

The decease of Pius III. made way for the election of the well-known military cardinal, Julian di Rovere, who, in adopting the papal name of Julius II., was supposed to have had his eye on the martial fame of the first of the Cæsars. Notwithstanding the abuse that Alexander VI. had always heaped upon Julian as his rival, he allowed that he was a man of veracity; and Cæsar Borgia, relying upon his father's opinion in this particular, believed the great promises made to him by the new candidate for the popedom, and used his influence to secure his promotion. But Julius, if faithful to his word in general, was untrue to Borgia, and, instead of supporting him in the place of power which he had reached with so much difficulty, threw him into prison, in order to force him to sign orders to his governors to deliver up the different fortified places which they held in his name throughout Romagna. As the faithful officers refused to give up their charge to the Pope's creatures whilst their master was in confinement, and, as it was supposed, acted only by constraint, Julius set him free, and began to caress him. Borgia repeated the desired orders, but his mind was still understood by his lieutenants, and some of the towns were preserved for years in his name, in independence of the Pope. The impetuous Julius again threw the duke into prison, and at length handed him over to the care of Gonsalvo, the Great Captain, who held Naples as the viceroy of Ferdinand. This general, after

appearing to favour Cæsar's projects for regaining his dominions in Romagna, and even allowing him to equip a force in his ports, obeyed the secret orders of his master in suddenly arresting him, and sending him as a prisoner to Spain. One of the Colonna family, who commanded the vessel in which he sailed, was an ancient enemy of the Borgia family; but, in his delicate respect for the feelings of the fallen prince, it is said he never fixed his eyes upon him during the whole of the voyage. The prisoner was confined in the castle of Medina del Campo, about the time that Queen Isabella died in that town. The story of his escape and subsequent adventures may be introduced at this point, having no relation to the greater events on which we have shortly to enter. After two years' imprisonment, and when he was about to be brought to trial for the crimes committed against the Spaniards in Italy, he asked for a priest to visit him in prison. A monk was sent to him. The wretched prince, hardened in crime, did not scruple to murder his religious visitant; and, having disguised himself in the dress of the innocent victim, which was peculiarly favourable to concealment—the cowl being a contrivance for hiding the features—he left the castle unsuspected. His place of refuge was the court of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre. In his service, he exhibited the same talents for military enterprise, and the same crimes and vices, which had distinguished him in a more conspicuous station; and he died from a shot, as he was besieging Viana, a town fortified by one of the king's rebellious vassals (A. D. 1507).

After the expulsion of Cæsar Borgia, the quarrels of the Spaniards and French, over their ill-gotten spoil in the kingdom of Naples, came to a crisis. A trifling dispute concerning the respective rights of the two kings over a fertile and lucrative territory, which was to be shared between them, led to open division; Gonsalvo and La Tremouille were probably instructed by their royal masters; and, as neither would yield, a struggle commenced between the two foreign armies. On December 28, 1503, the French were defeated, with immense slaughter, on the banks of the river Garigliano; and Peter de' Medici, who had occupied a conspicuous post in the battle, was drowned, with several other persons of rank, the boat in which they

escaped being overloaded with artillery, which they were attempting to carry out of the enemy's reach.

After ten years of suffering from war, and its usual accompaniments, famine and pestilence, Italy, it was thought, would now see brighter days. Peter de' Medici, who was regarded as the torment of Florence, no more could trouble his native city; Lodovico Sforza and Cæsar Borgia, the noted tyrants of the north of Italy, occupied, the one a French, the other a Spanish dungeon; most of the dangerous condottieri and turbulent barons had been cut off by the violent hand of the Borgias; the French, who had long plagued the kingdom of Naples, were entirely driven out; and a treaty of peace was about to be concluded between Ferdinand and Louis. The terms of this pacification were, that Louis XII., on giving up his claims in Naples, should be indemnified for the expenses of the war; and that Ferdinand should receive in marriage Germaine de Foix, the young and beautiful niece of the King of France. Ferdinand's wish to marry again arose out of his desire to separate his own hereditary kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily from the Spanish empire. It has been said that his daughter Juana was of weak mind, and was unkindly treated by her husband, the Archduke Philip. Juana, at her mother's decease, was about to obey her wish in confirming her father as regent of Castile, till her son, the young Charles, should attain his twentieth year; and, had this been done, Ferdinand would not have opposed the proclamation of Philip and Juana as king and queen of Castile. But the archduke, on hearing that his wife was about to sign the required instrument, forbade her to do so, and placed her in close confinement. Ferdinand declared, that he should at least retain his power till the arrival of his daughter. Early in 1506, Philip and his consort embarked for Spain, but contrary winds forced them to England; and they were detained three months at the court of Henry VII., where Juana's sister, Catherine, already resided. The King of France also detained the royal pair, as they passed through his dominions, in order to hasten the favourable conclusion of his treaty with Ferdinand. The latter, having celebrated his marriage with Germaine de Foix, caused prayers to be made for the safe voyage of his daughter and son-in-law; and they

shortly after landed at Corunna, and were acknowledged as sovereigns of Castile. It was agreed that Ferdinand should retain a joint authority; but the conduct of Philip, and his own pride, made this participation of regal power a source of so much disturbance, that Ferdinand indignantly retired into Arragon, and from thence proceeded to Naples. Only five months after his arrival in Spain, Philip was suddenly attacked with illness, and died at Burgos. If he had been the most exemplary, instead of the most neglectful of husbands, Juana could not have exhibited more passionate grief. She ordered the corpse to be embalmed, and laid in magnificent apparel on a splendid couch in her chamber; she would not quit it night or day for some time; and, even when it was deposited in the sepulchre, went thither to take a farewell gaze. Ferdinand was at Naples when he was informed of the death of his son-in-law, and of the desire of many of his former subjects that he would resume the administration: the incapacity of Juana, and the childhood of her son Charles, seemed a sufficient call; but the king made no haste to return. He entertained a suspicion that his viceroy, Gonsalvo, intended to secure to himself the kingdom that he had won in his sovereign's name; and during seven months he assumed the government in person: he made many regulations that were for the political welfare of the Neapolitans. Being at length constrained to return to Castile, by the entreaties of Cardinal Ximenes, and other great men, who saw their country threatened with all the evils of anarchy, Ferdinand took with him Gonsalvo, leaving a new viceroy at Naples. Ere he left Italy, he had an interview with Louis XII., according to agreement, at Savona. The king whom Gonsalvo had served, and the king whose troops he had so often defeated, on that day vied with each other in empty marks of respect for the Great Captain: Louis even desired that he might sit at table with them. This was the last day that Gonsalvo enjoyed such honours. On his arrival in Spain, Ferdinand desired him to retire to his country residence; and never again did he employ the talents which had attracted so much attention; but at the death of the Great Captain, which occurred shortly before his own, he decreed him a pompous funeral, and met all its expenses. Gonsalvo, in moral character, was one of the

fairest specimens of a soldier in these days ; and so much did he pride himself on his high reputation, that he used to say, in reviewing his life, he had only two errors to lament: one of these he named—his breach of faith towards the King of Naples and Cæsar Borgia, in which he followed his master's bidding ; the other he would never reveal, and many fruitless guesses were made as to its nature. To us, the inquiry is of little interest ; for we believe, that the man who, at the close of a long and busy career in such scenes as we have been describing, found only two subjects of lamentation on his own account, must have been ignorant of the holiness of God, and unconcerned as to the requirements of his law.

Ferdinand, in his second administration of the affairs of all Spain, was as successful as at first : his talents for government remain unquestionable ; but his name gradually became so closely associated with political treachery, that he dared to make a boast of his deceptive art.\*

During the first five years of the pontificate of Julius II. almost every event appeared to tend towards the pacification of Europe. Marriage relationships united the courts of Spain, Portugal, England, and France. Ferdinand of Spain, by means of his daughter and niece, and still more by his political skill, seemed to have secured this general calm in Western Europe. Venice, the most powerful state of Eastern Europe, after many years of war with the Turks, had concluded a treaty with the Sultan Bajazet, about the time of the accession of Julius II.

It was the Pope's jealousy of the power of Venice that again kindled the flames of war, in which all the surrounding nations were involved : it is therefore to the history of Julius II. that we must now refer the affairs of Europe ; and Rome will again serve as the central point from which our observations may be made. Papal Rome, in moral wickedness, had long broadly displayed its title to the epithet of Babylon ; it was now to earn the same appellation by reason of its grandeur as a city.† Everything that could gratify the lust of the eye, and the desires of the

\* It is related, that when Ferdinand's secretary informed him, the King of France complained he had *twice* deceived him, he exclaimed, "He lies ! I have cheated him *upwards of ten times.*"

† I am aware that the propriety of referring Rev. xvii. and xviii. to

flesh and of the mind, was now to be met with in Rome; and whilst, in God's sight, it was truly a sepulchre full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness, it was externally whitened and beautified to the highest degree. Beneath all the ensnaring decorations, the observant eye perceived, as it were, Satan's seat. All the Popes, from the middle of the fifteenth century, had occupied themselves in enlarging and ornamenting the Vatican palace;\* and, within the first quarter of the sixteenth century, all the great works in painting, sculpture, and architecture, which form the attraction of modern Rome, were accomplished.

Far be it from us to imagine that arts, which in the Scriptures are once and again attributed to wisdom given from God (Ex. xxxi. 1—11, 1 Ki. vii. 14), and which have been largely used in making *patterns of heavenly things* (Heb. ix. 23); arts, too, which shall be again expressly taught of God, and used to his glory (Eze. xl.—xlii., Is. lx. 10, 13), can have anything sinful in themselves. But throughout the Scriptures we learn, and experience largely teaches us, there are two distinct and perfectly opposite ways in which all God's creatures, and all the endowments and dispositions that he has given to man, may be used; the one for His glory and man's blessing, which are intimately linked together; the other for the present glory and gratification of fallen man, tending to God's dishonour, and bringing a curse instead of a blessing upon the creature.† The arts in papal Rome were, for the most part, used as in pagan Rome, or Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, and as they are mainly used in all the cities of the nations to this day; not for the praise of God, but for the praise of men. The word in Nebuchadnezzar's mouth,

papal Rome is much questioned by some: it may, at least, be allowed that no parallelism so striking has hitherto been pointed out; and, as to any farther fulfilment, we yet wait.

\* It is now said to contain 4222 apartments, and to occupy a space of ground 1200 feet long, and 800 broad.

† One illustration of this principle, out of very many, I would point out to the thoughtful reader. It suggested itself to me in comparing 1 Chron. xxiii. 5, and Amos vi. 1—5; David made instruments *to praise the Lord therewith*; his use of them was spiritual, and he was blessed accordingly. But against those who *invented to themselves* instruments of music, "*like David*," a special woe was denounced; for their object was to give zest to a carnal feast.

when he fell under the judgment of God, is but a sample of that which ever proceeds out of the heart, and lies under the tongue of unregenerate man, when contemplating the results of his own arts and undertakings. (See Dan. iv. 30, 31.) Thus, all alike come under the judgment of God; and we are assured, that, in the day of the Lord, all that man in *his* day has been wont to glory in — whether cities, walls, towers, costly merchandise, ships, dainty and goodly things, or even the lesser luxuries of pleasant pictures and fashionable ornament — will be destroyed and taken away. (See Isa. ii. and iii., Rev. xvi. 19 and xviii.) Carrying with us these thoughts, we may enter on some description of the allurements put forth by Rome in the pontificate of Julius II., allurements which were multiplied under Leo X., his successor. The latter, as Cardinal de' Medici, having taken up his residence in the city, on the failure of his family to regain a place at Florence, was, in this period, giving that impulse to all around him which his father, Lorenzo, had begun so largely to communicate to Italy. The formal priestly routine was relieved to the cardinal by employing his leisure hours in study, and in the promotion of literature and the arts, in concerts at his own house, in hunting with a band of noble companions, and in convivial entertainments: these he kept up, although, from the unsuccessful ambition of his brother, and the misfortunes of his house, he was so straitened as to be obliged, sometimes, to pledge his silver vessels, in order to purchase provisions for his guests. Some of his friends expressed a fear that his liberality might reduce him to actual want; but as if then anticipating, that ere long he should be, as pope, the first person in Christendom, he was wont to reply, “that great men were the work of providence, and that nothing could be wanting to them if they were not wanting to themselves.”

The gardens of Lorenzo's palace at Florence, adorned by him with the beautiful statues of antiquity, collected in various places, or dug from under heaps of ruins, became the school in which the youth of his day, who had any taste for drawing or modelling, were wont to study. In that spot was developed the genius which Julius II. and his successor, by their own fine taste, and the wealth of which their position gave them com-

mand, brought into exercise to increase the enchantments which had begun to fill the modern Babylon. Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo, were the three most distinguished artists engaged in the service of Julius II. Bramante displayed such wonderful ingenuity in the extension and ornament of the Vatican buildings, and executed with such rapidity his architectural works in Rome and the vicinity, that a cotemporary writer observes, they appeared to be *born* rather than built. It was immediately after his elevation that Julius invited Michael Angelo to Rome; and as, like many others, he could coolly anticipate, and make the most costly preparations for honour upon the earth in the event of his death, without treasuring up anything but wrath for that which should come *after* death, he offered the most liberal rewards for the design of a sepulchral monument for himself. For several months, the artist gave himself to meditation, without tracing a single outline; but the design which he then drew so far exceeded in grandeur and beauty every ancient monument, that the Pope, on beholding it, formed the idea of rebuilding the church called by the name of St. Peter, in such a way as to render it worthy of containing his splendid tomb. Michael Angelo was, therefore, charged to use all dispatch in the execution of the monument, and Bramante was invited to produce designs for the proposed cathedral. The pattern which pleased the Pope's taste was disapproved by some of the cardinals as too much resembling a pagan temple; many persons, too, objected to the demolition of an ancient edifice, supposed to contain the relics of the apostles, and to have been the scene of unnumbered miracles; but Julius overruled all opposition; he caused the remains of the old church to be pulled down with reckless haste, and in April, 1506, he laid the foundation of the modern church of St. Peter's with his own hand. Bramante laboured in the superintendence of the work till his death, which took place eight years after; Raphael then continued it on a grander scale; Michael Angelo, who survived him, put the finishing stroke. The history of the building is of great importance, because the immense expenses which it occasioned became the pretext for that increased traffic in indulgences which led the way to the Reformation.

It was during the pontificate of Julius II. that the dogma of papal infallibility was firmly established. We shall have to show that he whom it was pretended could not err in spiritual judgment, held a course which can only be correctly described as one grave error from beginning to end. The representative of Christ, as he was blasphemously called, and who, in empty imitation, or rather mockery of that Blessed One, held down his head amidst the applauses of the multitude, and once a-year washed the feet of twelve beggars; this man, we say, reversed in all his ways the words and character of the Lord. He was a man of turbulent temper, and dissolute life; a profane swearer, and chargeable with drunkenness; cruel in war, effeminate in peace. His vanity and love of pomp were excessive. He let his beard grow long to inspire more respect; and also, on state occasions, put on a tiara of massive gold, covered with precious stones, which he had caused to be made for himself. He was more than sixty years old when he ascended the papal throne, but his aim was to extend the temporal power of the popedom over Italy, and even beyond its limits. A suitable motto for his reign would have been, "My kingdom is of this world, and therefore *my servants fight.*"

The manner in which the Pope excited his servants to fight for the extension of his own temporal power, and the skill with which he guided and changed the purposes of the warring nations to serve his own ends, must now be described. The neutrality of the Venetians in the Italian war of Charles VIII., and their advantageous conclusion of hostilities with the Turks, had given them opportunity for growth in strength, wealth, and prosperity, whilst their neighbours were falling into poverty and weakness; they had dared to encroach even on the papal states; and their commanding position, extensive possessions, and great riches, made them the envy or the dread of the most powerful nations of Europe. The King of France, who held the Milanese, felt afraid of the power of Venice in that quarter; the King of Spain imagined that Naples was endangered by the same power; and, it is probable, their mutual dread, and the possibility of combining together against Venice, were among the topics of their conference at Savona: they were at least willing, at the call

of the Pope, to join with the Emperor Maximilian, and the Dukes of Savoy, Ferrara, and Mantua, in attempting the dismemberment of the Venetian States. The important league for this purpose was made at Cambray (December 10, 1508); and the Archduchess Margaret, to whom that town belonged, met the deputies of the various powers in person, and acted as the representative of Maximilian, her father. A tolerably equal partition of the threatened territory was agreed upon by the confederates. The Kings of Hungary and England were invited to join in the attack, and share in the spoils of the devoted republic, but they declined to take any active part in the war. Henry VII. was, at that time, sinking under his last illness. So entirely was good faith, as well as humanity, banished from the breasts of the sovereigns who united in this unprovoked attack upon the Venetian States, that when the ambassador of the republic, at the court of Paris, expressed his fear, that as his country had not been invited to share in the common deliberations, something was meditated prejudicial to its interests, he was assured, both by the chief minister, and by the king himself, that nothing had occurred at Cambray which could be injurious to Venice. It was thought as lawful, if not as natural, for the allied powers to rush upon an excommunicated state, and to tear it to pieces, as for eagles or vultures to descend on the bodies of the slain. Julius II., therefore, took care to excommunicate the doge and republic of Venice, and to lay an interdict on the state; and then the various powers, like beasts of prey, began the attack. One singular feature in this war was the part taken by Switzerland; a deputation was sent to the confederate cantons from the Venetian States, asking their help, and assuring them, that the allied sovereigns, in their destruction, meditated that of the few remaining republics of Europe: the appeal came too late, and thousands of Swiss soldiers followed the banner of the French king.

A short digression, as to the position of Switzerland, may here be necessary. In the bosom of its own mountains, in the very heart of Europe, it might be compared to a military school, through which the surrounding nations learned to perfect themselves in the art of war: it was also a living armoury, from which they drew their

deadliest instruments of destruction. If indeed, in any manner, Europe might be called a body corporate, for it was only such geographically, and in the nominal profession of Christianity, Switzerland might at this time represent the depraved heart, sending forth nothing but death and moral corruption. A thirst for gold being once awakened became insatiable, and the highest bidders for the services of the Swiss soldiers were sure to obtain them: they might be called a nation of warriors; those who did not assume that profession, preferred the freedom of the shepherd's life to the occupations of husbandry or trade, and the ancient simplicity of the people was rapidly disappearing. The intervals between the campaigns which brought the Swiss soldiers their foreign pay, were spent by them in dissolute pleasures; and Baden, one grand resort of the idle in time of peace, is said to have presented indescribable scenes of depravity. To this place, and others like it, the French ambassadors resorted, when they wanted to raise a body of Swiss troops for their master's service; and they administered largely to the corrupt tastes of the licentious adventurers by a free distribution of gold.\* On April 15, 1509, about a week before the death of our Henry VII., Louis XII., with an army consisting of 5000 horse, and 20,000 foot, including 6000 mercenary Swiss, entered the Venetian territories; and, only a month after (May 14), a battle was fought between them and the defenders of the country, at Aignadello: it only lasted three hours, but 10,000 men were slain; and these, through the ferocity of the French and their allies, were chiefly on the side of Venice. The king erected a church on the field of blood, which he dedicated to "St. Mary of Victory:" one historian observes, "it would have been more proper to have dedicated it to the deities of treachery, rapine, and slaughter." Louis, who was accounted in his own country one

\* At Baden, in Aargau, the fashionable watering-place at the close of the fifteenth century, crowds of persons amused themselves together in the hot baths, played at various games, and ate from floating tables. Flowers were strewn on the water, music echoed around, and the loungers about the baths sometimes threw coins into the water, that the females might scramble for them to their amusement. The French ambassador thus expended some of his gold, when seeking help for the Venetian war.

of the best of monarchs, returned home soon after this dreadful day, but he left in command one who, at the early age of twenty-three, was to outdo in military fame, we may say, in massacre, all the captains of his day; this was Gaston de Foix, nephew to the King of France, and brother to the princess who had become the second wife of Ferdinand of Spain. Large districts in the Venetian States, and many cities, surrendered at the mere terror of the French name; yet the whole garrison of one fortified place were massacred after submission, nor was this the only instance of cold-blooded butchery. It was not likely that conquests made after this fashion could be long retained; but the Pope, whose arms had less success, soon began to grow jealous of the extension of French power in Italy. His general in the Venetian war was one of his nephews, who had been created duke of Urbino. This fierce soldier's first act was the storming of Brisinghalla, where the papal troops put to death upwards of 2000 persons.\*

The imperial army, descending from the north, took possession of Padua, and some other cities, which were surrendered by the Venetians through fear; but the brutal conduct of the German soldiers caused them to be driven out of Padua by the citizens; and though Maximilian besieged the place in person during fifteen days, with 100,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon, he was forced to retire: there were great losses on both sides. Of the three foreign armies, that at once assailed them in different quarters, the Venetians regarded the German as the most savage, and the Spanish as the most coldly ferocious; and in the French army, which was, on the whole, less hated, there were bands called *slayers*, on account of their cruelty and extortion. No enemy, however, gave the republic more lasting trouble than their near neighbour, Alphonso, duke of Ferrara. He was of a mechanical turn, and had directed his attention to the construction of cannon: by this means he not only injured the defenders of the Venetian territory, but preserved his own when the tide of battle was turned against him. The city of Venice, a

\* The Venetians at this time said, that Julius ought to be termed *carnefice*, and not *pontefice*; that is, executioner, and not pope.

second Tyre in the height of its prosperity, surrounded by waters, and strongly defended by its naval force, which was the first in Europe, seemed to be itself exempt from fear of attack; but all its continental possessions were likely to be torn away without the most vigorous exertion, and an arsenal, which was of the utmost value, was destroyed by fire in the moment of greatest need. Then the doge and the senators of Venice put forth all the power and policy that were requisite to meet the emergency. The wealth of the state was freely expended in raising fresh armies; troops of horse were brought from their provinces in Greece; the doge suffered his son to be shut up in a besieged city, to inspire its defenders with greater courage, and other Venetian nobles employed their sons after his example; but the most effectual measure that was taken for the safety of the republic, was the yielding to the Pope of all that he claimed as belonging to the states of the Church, and seeking reconciliation with him. Julius was a profound politician; he saw that his other allies were making less way than the French; and, fearing the preponderance of their power in Italy, he determined to stop the advancing wave, by granting peace to the Venetians. In February, 1510, he gave them absolution, and raised the interdict that he had imposed: still more, he actually concluded a league with them, the secret object of which was to drive the barbarians, as the invaders were termed, out of Italy. The Venetians, on their part, set at liberty the Marquis of Mantua, then prisoner of war, and prevailed on him to join in their new alliance with the Pope. The Duke of Ferrara, a vassal of the empire, and the worst foe of Venice, was the person against whom the wrath of the Pope was first directed: his dominions, lying close upon those of the papal see, were an object of desire; his encroachments were a pretext for the attack; and in excommunicating him, and *his supporters*, a side blow was aimed at Louis XII. and Maximilian. Of this, the King of France took advantage; he represented to his clergy, in council, the injustice of the Pope in seeking to deprive the duke of his dominions; and as they took the part of their popular sovereign, and five cardinals were found in opposition to Julius, Louis opened a correspondence with Maximilian, on the subject of a general council to be

assembled for the deposition of the Pope, and then prepared to resist his designs in arms. The Swiss, who had helped the French at the battle of Aignadello, had been insulted by their allies, and dismissed with little pay: when, therefore, the Pope sought to engage the confederate cantons in the alliance against France, he met with success. His agent in the matter was Schinner, bishop of Sion, the most conspicuous among the ecclesiastical politicians of the day, who, for his extraordinary services to the popedom, was made a cardinal. Of humble birth, he had early shown such an ardent love of study, that he readily sacrificed every convenience, and almost every necessary of life, in order to devote his small pittance to the purchase of the works of the ancient Romans. By his learning, eloquence, and rigid manners as a parish priest, he attracted great attention, and was created bishop in 1500. Having devoted himself to the service of the papal see, he acted as the right hand of Julius II., in his schemes for its aggrandisement. The extreme simplicity which he assumed, with the deep knowledge he possessed of all that was passing, gave rise to a vulgar opinion that a familiar demon disclosed to him what was hidden from others. This man made liberal distribution of the Pope's gold and absolutions, in his first mission to Switzerland; and on the 13th of March, 1510, a league "for the defence of the Church" was concluded between Rome and the cantons. In their new character, the Swiss soldiers became so active and famous, that they were allowed to assume, as a distinctive badge, a white cross, stitched on several parts of their clothing: a key of the same colour, the special papal emblem, was afterwards added: their standard also bore a Latin inscription, in letters of gold, signifying, "the tapers of princes, the lovers of justice, the defenders of the holy Roman Church."

One of the places attacked by the papal troops, at the beginning of a new war, was Mirandola, an independent town, governed by Francesca, widow of Prince Pico.\* Angry at the long delay before the walls of a

\* The predecessor of that prince was the famous Pico of Mirandola. At the age of eighteen, he is said to have known eighteen languages; and he once offered to discourse at Rome *on all the sciences*. Through his love of learning he renounced his principality, and went to reside

comparatively insignificant place, and anxious to attack the state of Ferrara, to which it was the key, the Pope himself joined the army before Mirandola, in the midst of one of the severest winters that had long been known in Italy. He directed, in person, the planting of the artillery, and the order of the attack; notwithstanding his age, and official sacredness, he exposed himself like a young soldier; and when a breach in the walls induced the inhabitants to capitulate, he was too impatient to wait till the gates were opened, and, passing over the frozen ditch, he mounted a scaling ladder, and entered through the broken walls, sword in hand. After all, the duke defeated the papal troops several times, with great loss; and, notwithstanding the dangers to which he was exposed, preserved his states. Julius was more successful against Bologna, which he took out of the hands of the lords of the Bentivoglio family. Whilst he rested in that city, he received the submission of Michael Angelo. That artist, conscious of his extraordinary talents, had taken such offence at the haughty and impatient temper displayed by Julius, whilst he was labouring at his tomb, that he left Rome in disgust, and devoted his time to the adorning of public buildings in Florence, his native city. Neither the Pope's messengers, nor letters, could draw him thence; but when his fellow-citizens represented to him that his obstinacy might endanger the safety of the state, he consented to seek reconciliation. This being granted, he proceeded to form a model for the Pope's statue in bronze, to be placed in a church at Bologna. The commanding attitude of the figure, and the energy expressed in the extended right arm, prompted Julius to inquire whether it was meant to represent him as dispensing his benediction or his curse. The artist prudently replied, his holiness was in the act of admonishing the citizens, and then asked if he would have

at Florence, where he became the intimate friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, and died soon after him (A. D. 1494). Some of his philosophical propositions exposed him to the censures of Innocent VIII., but he obtained absolution from Alexander VI. Savonarola, in a sermon preached shortly after his death, assured his audience, the prince was in purgatory. His learning, it appears, was more curious than useful in its character, and he indulged in many vain speculations. Lorenzo and his friends seemed most disposed to Platonism.

a book in his hand. "No," said Julius, "give me a sword; I am no scholar."\*

The beautiful colossal statue was cast, and placed in the intended position, but it did not long remain there. The French were at hand; and had not the Pope departed, he would have been himself besieged in Bologna. The city being left in charge of a cardinal legate, and the Duke of Urbino, was taken by the French, and in their fury they dragged the Pope's statue about the streets; it was then sent by the general to the Duke of Ferrara as a trophy of victory. The duke preserved the head in his museum, on account of the beauty of the workmanship, but from the rest of the statue he caused a cannon to be made, which he appropriately called *Julio*.

Knowing the Pope's displeasure at the loss of Bologna, the cardinal, whom he had left in charge, proceeded to Ravenna, to make his excuses for the misfortune. As he was riding into the city on horseback, surrounded by his guards, the Duke of Urbino advanced to meet him, and the retinue falling back in respect, he drew forth a dagger, and stabbed the cardinal so deeply, that he instantly fell dead. The duke, it was supposed, feared that the cardinal meant to throw the blame of the loss of Bologna upon himself. This shocking act brought the wrath of the Pope upon his nephew; he hastened to Rome, and commenced a process against him, which deprived him of all his dignities; but, only five months after, when the duke supplicated pardon in person, and the Roman courtiers interceded in his behalf, he was absolved, and restored to favour. Julius, at that time, felt the need of all the help he could obtain; the ill-success of his arms, and the news of the council assembled against him at Pisa, seemed almost to overwhelm him. The French army threatened, and might have taken Rome; but Louis was afraid of so

\* This was not the only time that Michael Angelo met the resentment of the impetuous Pope in a cool and dignified manner. Whilst he was employed in painting the Sistine Chapel, Julius went to look at his handiwork, and impatiently inquired when he meant to finish it. The painter looked down upon him, and said, "When I am able." "*When I am able,*" retorted Julius; "thou hast a mind, then, that I should have thee thrown from the scaffold." He was engaged for twenty months in the work, and received from the Pope 3000 crowns.

bold a step, and they retired to Milan. Julius was ill with anxiety, but was soon relieved, in an unexpected manner, from the worst of his fears. The Pisans, who, after fifteen years of the most obstinate and self-tormenting war, had just terminated their useless struggles, by submitting again to the yoke of Florence, were uneasy that their city should be made the seat of a council which might bring them into new perils from the Pope. The clergy of Pisa refused to join the council, or to open their cathedral for the use of its members; insurrection was threatened, and the council hastily determined to remove to Milan, where they would be under the immediate protection of the King of France. Julius, encouraged by their retreat, began to act with greater boldness; he laid Milan under an interdict for harbouring the council; he threatened the seven cardinals who adhered to it with the severest penalties, unless they immediately returned to their obedience; and he proposed to assemble an opposing council at the Lateran. Then he proceeded to form a more powerful confederation against France. By granting to Ferdinand the tenths of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout his dominions, he induced him to send an army under his general, Cardona, to serve in Italy; Henry VIII., who had married Ferdinand's daughter, was flattered into the alliance; and Maximilian, though he did not unite with them, caused it to be understood that he would not oppose their designs against the French king. *The Holy League*, so called from being formed in defence of the Pope, was concluded at the close of the year 1511.

Louis was not intimidated. Troops of Germans, Italians, and even of Swiss, joined his army; and Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, was thought capable of any military achievement. He bribed the leaders of the different bodies of Swiss, who were about to engage in the papal service, to retire; and for that time they turned their backs upon Italy, satisfied to have earned their gold without endangering their persons.

The cardinal legate, who accompanied the papal troops at this period, was John de' Medici; Cardona, at the head of the Spanish allies, accompanied him; and they were commissioned by the Pope to retake Bologna. They encamped before the walls, but the cardinal could not persuade

the general to make an immediate assault, and the arrival of the French troops, under Gaston de Foix, compelled them to raise the siege (January, 1512). So rapid were this young general's movements, that within fifteen days he relieved Bologna, took the city of Brescia from the Venetians, and defeated several detachments of the allies. In Brescia, the French displayed the most horrible cruelty and wickedness. For seven days, the soldiers were indulged in violence and rapine, and in that period 8000 persons were massacred; and, in the general plunder of the city, not even the monasteries were spared. Bayard, a knight, whose character of *sans peur et sans reproche* became a surname which we might render *the fearless and stainless*, was considered worthy of great admiration, because he refused to receive from the family in which he lodged a large sum of money, as the reward of his having forbidden the house to be spoiled.

Gaston de Foix was still farther quickened in his operations by a message from the king, his uncle, desiring him to finish the Italian campaign with all speed, as the King of England threatened France on one side, and Ferdinand of Spain, on the other. The fatal battle into which the contending armies were thus hurried, was fought in the neighbourhood of Ravenna (April 11, 1512). It was Easter Sunday. On the side of the French, one of the most conspicuous persons was Cardinal Sanseverino, president of the council of Milan: he was of a tall, majestic figure, and wore a complete suit of armour. The Cardinal John de' Medici, who held the place of authority over the papal troops, did not appear as a warrior; his imperfect sight, and probably his disposition, kept him from absolutely participating in the fight, but in his exhortations he was indefatigable. The contest was so violent, that the flower of both armies perished; and, at the end of the day, it was reckoned that 9000 of the allied forces, and 10,500 on the side of France, lay dead on the field. But the victory was claimed by the French, as the artillery, standards, and camp equipage of the enemy, and even the cardinal legate himself, had fallen into their hands. Not fully satisfied with the results of his day's work, Gaston de Foix, at the head of 1000 horse, resolved to pursue a company of 3000 Spanish foot, who, according to their custom, were retreating in complete

order. In so doing, he received a shot from an arquebus, and was killed in an instant. The first news that Ferdinand received of the defeat of his troops in Italy, was in a letter from the King of France to the Queen of Spain, informing her of the death of her brother in the moment of victory. Louis deeply lamented the loss of his nephew, but he did not then foresee that the fatal victory of Ravenna was but a prelude to the final expulsion of his forces from Italy.

It is said that Julius II. was repeating his daily prayers, when the news arrived of the defeat of his army; and that, throwing the book on the floor, he exclaimed, with a dreadful oath, "Well, now thou art become a Frenchman. Is it thus thou guardest thy Church?" Then, adding to his blasphemous address to the Lord the profanest levity, he turned his face in the direction of Switzerland, and said in Latin—instead of the usual appeal to Christ or the saints—"Holy Swiss! pray for us." Cardinal Schinner was then completing his negotiations for efficient aid from his countrymen, and presented to a Swiss embassy that waited upon him at Venice two rich presents from the Pope, to which he gave a mystic meaning, in order to render them more valuable. As even trivial circumstances convict the head of the apostate church of blasphemy, it is worth while to describe these gifts. They consisted of a red silk hat with rich trimming, and decorated with gold and pearl embroidery, representing the descent of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove; and a golden sword, in a sheath of gilded copper, of which the hilt was adorned in like manner with pearls. The Pope signified, that the Holy Spirit would sanctify the arms used in his defence. The ambassadors carried home these presents with great joy, and the confederate cantons were induced to declare themselves on the Pope's side: his forgiveness of their sins, and his sanctification of their swords, were alike credited; and in May, 1512, 20,000 Swiss soldiers joined the Venetian troops, and drove the French from Verona. In a kind of triumphal procession, overflowing, says one historian, "with plunder and pleasure," they marched on towards Milan. To that city the Cardinal de' Medici had been brought, and, on account of his rank and ecclesiastical dignity, was treated with great respect. This feeling

was greatly increased, after he received a letter from the Pope, empowering him to give plenary absolution to all who had fought against him, in obedience to the King of France. The plan was most successful; day by day, crowds of soldiers surrounded the cardinal, soliciting a share in the benefits it was supposed he could dispense; and even the threats of the council, which still continued its sittings, and cited the Pope as a criminal to appear before them, could not check the number of applications. The populace of Milan, tired of French rule, began to ridicule the council; and one of the cardinals, who was supposed to be aiming at the papal chair, which its members wished to declare vacant, was deridingly saluted, as he passed through the streets, "Papa, Papa!" At the approach of the confederate troops, the fathers of the council hastily sought safety by flight; the French forces retired, carrying with them the Cardinal de' Medici, by the express order of the king, and Milan was entered by the servants of the Pope. One of their first acts was to pull down a splendid monument which had been erected in honour of the conqueror at Ravenna, and to drag his corpse from the grave; for it was known that the Pope's anathema rested upon him.

During the hasty retreat of the French, the cardinal, their most valuable prisoner, contrived to make his escape, and, after suffering many hardships, rejoined his friends. His advancement to the papal throne took place only eleven months after his defeat at Ravenna. But Julius II. was at this time in his glory, presiding in the council of the Lateran, which he opened in person (May 3, 1512). The cardinals and clergy then at Rome assisted; several of the Italian princes and nobles were present; Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Henry VIII. sent their ambassadors; so did the republic of Venice, and the rest of the Italian states, Florence and Ferrara excepted. A Roman general of the Colonna family had been generously set at liberty by Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, who had also laid the Spanish commander, Cardona, under obligations. Provided with a safe-conduct from the Pope, signed by them and other great men, the duke was induced to come to Rome to make his submission to Julius. He was received with treacherous kindness, for he quickly learned, that, as soon as he

left his states, the Duke of Urbino had entered them at the head of a papal army; and, when he tried to leave Rome, he found himself deprived of liberty. Colonna and Cardona, feeling their own honour at stake, resolved to deliver the prince out of the hands of the Pope: they contrived his escape; but he was so diligently pursued by the emissaries of Julius, that he did not reach Ferrara for three months, and only then arrived in safety, after assuming the various disguises of a common soldier, a cook, a hunter, and a monk. Soon after his return home, he sent his friend, the poet Ariosto, to obtain a reconciliation with the Pope. Julius had then retired from Rome to a villa by the seaside; and, when the poet was introduced into his presence, and had told his errand, with all the grace which might be expected from a man of his elegant mind, the pontiff angrily assured him, that, if he did not instantly quit the place, he would have him thrown into the sea.

A few more incidents in the history of Italy will wind up the reign of the unhappy Julius.

Dreadful massacres of the French residents took place in Milan, and other towns of the Milanese; and even the peasantry cut off all the retreating soldiers who were separated from the main body through incaution or weakness. Quarrels then arose between the confederates; the Venetians suddenly departed from Milan in the night, and the Swiss, after loading themselves with plunder, and receiving from the Pope the title of "Defenders of the Freedom of the Christian Church," returned home. Maximilian, son of Lodovico Moro, who had resided for many years at the court of his godfather, the emperor, was invested with the duchy of Milan by the Pope, after promising the warmest friendship to the Swiss, as the restorers of his paternal inheritance. A question with Florence remained to be settled. That republic had allied itself with the King of France, and the papal army was commissioned to procure its submission to the Pope's terms of forgiveness, or to secure its punishment. Soderini, a distinguished citizen who had acted as gonfaloniere ever since the days of Savonarola, exhorted the Florentines to resist; but their courage was so shaken on hearing of the taking of Prato, a town only ten miles from Florence, and the massacre of some thousands of its defenders, that they proposed a

treaty with Cardona, who then commanded the allied forces. Soderini contrived to escape from Italy, and found refuge in the Turkish dominions: the friend sent by his brother, one of the cardinals, to warn him to flee from the Pope's wrath, was arrested on his return to Rome: having confessed, under torture, that he had assisted Soderini to escape, he was sent home to his own house, where he died a few days after from the sufferings he had undergone. His innocent blood was an added stain on the memory of Julius. The Pope, as the price of his reconciliation with the republic of Florence, required the re-instatement of the Medici family. The cardinal, and his brother Julian, who had accompanied the papal army, and, to their credit, had exerted themselves to moderate the cruel excesses of the allies, were permitted to re-enter their native city (August 31, 1512), after eighteen years of exile. Then the republic was required to join "the holy league," and to pay a large sum of money towards the expenses of the war, as they had not been sharers in it. The cardinal and his brother endeavoured to make themselves popular by preserving the form of a republican government, and by restoring the gaiety and show which were so captivating in their father's time, but had been banished in the graver days introduced by Savonarola. The cardinal, too, in adopting *a yoke* as the emblem of his authority as the head of the state, thought to render it less offensive by placing around it, in Latin, the words, "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light." There was a party that felt this motto to be an untruth, and a serious conspiracy against the lives of the brothers was just discovered, when the cardinal received a summons to Rome, on account of the death of the Pope.

Delighted at the departure of the French, Julius had caused a medal to be struck, representing him with a whip in his hand, in the act of driving the barbarians out of Italy. He remembered, however, that the kingdom of Naples was held by the Spaniards; and one day, tremulous with rage, he shook the staff on which he was wont to support his aged form, and exclaimed, "If Heaven be willing, the Neapolitans shall soon have another master." He designed also to take more ample revenge on the Duke of Ferrara. But a few days' illness terminated his life, February 21, 1513.

In his dying moments, either in delirium, or as expressing his uppermost thoughts, he was heard to cry, "Out of Italy, French! Out, Alphonso of Este!" Long before Luther relinquished his profound respect for the papal see, he argued, that the massacres sanctioned by Julius II. could not be regarded as "the kind acts of a good shepherd;" and it is probable that the deeds of the *most warlike* of the Popes helped, no less than the enormous vices of the *worst* of the Popes, to show the necessity, and to promote the success of the ensuing Reformation.

The whole of Europe may be said to have been in a state of ferment at the close of the stormy career of the warrior-pope. Of the northern kingdoms, of Russia, and of Poland, our next chapters will speak. Spain and Portugal were actively engaged in extending their respective empires abroad; and Manuel, surnamed the Fortunate, vied with his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, in the introduction of what has been termed an age of gold. France, under its popular king, Louis XII., continued to menace the surrounding nations which were bent on humbling its power. Italy lay bleeding under the wounds it had received from so many foreign swords; the confederate states which formed the empire, though improving in order under the influence of Maximilian, retained so much of their ancient barbarism, that, at a diet held in 1512, complaints were made that the people secretly blinded, carried off, imprisoned, sold, and assassinated one another. England was internally quiet, but the character of its young, impetuous monarch, Henry VIII., seemed to foreshow that it would bear a prominent place in the coming scenes of the history of Europe.

During the pontificate of Julius II., there was no prince living who bore a higher reputation, or was of fairer promise, than Henry VIII.; and it is difficult to separate his earlier from his later acts without forming an incorrect estimate of his character. As a younger son, he had been educated for the priestly order, with a design that he should fill the highest ecclesiastical office in the kingdom; and, when the death of Prince Arthur prepared the way for his succession to the throne, his literary tastes were formed, and he would not abandon them. Between the most vigorous exercises of mind and of body, the first

years of his reign were divided ; the ball, the tournament, and every sport in which he could display his extraordinary strength and agility, formed his constant recreations ; the conversation of the learned was his daily delight. Henry VIII. is described as the impersonation of kingly beauty, both in face and figure, and yet as having too much good sense to be vain of his person ; so that, when an ambassador of the Venetian republic complimented him highly on these outward advantages, he caused the following answer to be returned :—"The king can neither acknowledge nor glory in such things as you describe ; but he refers them to God, from whom every good gift comes."

We have already related the objections, and the inducements to a marriage between Henry and his brother's widow ; the latter, after his father's death, were judged to be stronger than the former ; and, only six weeks after his accession, on the authority of the bull obtained long before from the Pope, the nuptials took place. Henry, it appears, at this time had a liking for Catherine, personally as well as politically ; she was five years older than himself, yet beautiful and interesting ; she possessed literary tastes, and was deemed very religious ;\* her marriage portion amounted to 100,000 crowns, and Ferdinand, her father, was the first prince of the age. For many years, indeed beyond the close of our present period, Catherine was treated with the respect due to a queen, and with the affection proper to a wife. She shared her husband's public honours, and was present at the pageants, balls, and tournaments, which amused the English court, and in which the king always played the most conspicuous part. It was only after Henry had seen a lady whom he preferred to Catherine, that he determined to put her away, on the plea that it was not lawful for him to marry his brother's widow. The particulars of that divorce — so intimately connected with the divorce of England from the Church of Rome — belong to that important period which includes

\* It was Catherine's habit to rise in the middle of the night to repeat her prayers ; and at five in the morning she arose, and dressed for the day. Like her sister, the Queen of Portugal, she had an inclination for monastic practices, and under her royal garments she wore the coarse dress of the only Franciscan order into which females could be admitted, that of St. Clair.

the history of the Reformation. It is one on which we would gladly enter, as affording the most ample materials for Christian instruction.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS, FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARGARET, TO THE CLOSE OF THE PONTIFICATE OF JULIUS II., A. D. 1412—1513.

ERIC, KING OF NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK. — HIS QUEEN, PHILIPPA, DAUGHTER OF HENRY IV. OF ENGLAND. — HE RESIGNS HIS THREE CROWNS, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS NEPHEW, CHRISTOPHER III. — JUST ADMINISTRATION OF THAT MONARCH. — HE MAKES COPENHAGEN THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. — ERIC, THE EX-KING, BECOMES A PIRATE. — DYNASTY OF OLDENBURG. — CHRISTIERN I. — STORY OF CHARLES KNUTSON, THE ADMINISTRATOR OF SWEDEN. — FOREIGN ALLIANCES OF CHRISTIERN I. — HIS PILGRIMAGE TO ROME. — FOUNDATION OF A UNIVERSITY AT COPENHAGEN. — UNHAPPY REIGN OF JOHN. — HIS SON CHRISTIERN II. RECEIVES A WRETCHED EDUCATION, AND PROVES A TERRIBLE TYRANT. — TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND DENMARK.

NOTHING could more clearly prove the commanding talents of the Queen of the North, than the confusion that prevailed in the three kingdoms after her decease. Margaret died A. D. 1412. Her adopted son reigned till A. D. 1439. He was called Eric IX. in Denmark, Eric III. in Norway, and Eric V. in Sweden. By marriage, he was connected with the family of Lancaster, which, as we have already seen, possessed so many royal titles in England, France, Castile, and Portugal. Philippa, Eric's queen, possessed the martial spirit of her father (Henry IV.) and of her brother (Henry V.), and was beloved in the North, because she restrained the cruel temper of her husband. During many years, Eric was involved in war with the Counts of Holstein about the much disputed duchy of Sleswic; and, after the only advantage that he gained,

the recovery of the isle of Femeren, he caused such a horrible slaughter, that he thought it needful, by way of penance, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This undertaking could not reform his character, or soften his disposition. Philippa, in his absence, by her courage and exhortations, induced the garrison of Copenhagen to hold out against a powerful armament of the Hanseatic League, in the service of the Count of Holstein. Her fleet, however, was afterwards defeated at Stralsund; and Eric, on meeting her, struck her in brutal anger, holding her responsible for the latter calamity, and unmindful of her previous service. The high-spirited queen could not brook this treatment, and left the palace for a convent, where she died shortly after, greatly regretted by the people. After Philippa's death, her husband's affairs grew worse and worse. The Swedes revolted, at the instigation of Charles Knutson, marshal of the kingdom, and Engelbert, a bold and eloquent peasant. The former, being chosen administrator, caused the latter to be put to death, and acted so despotically, that Eric was invited to resume the government. He had, however, grown weary of all his crowns, and offered to resign them to his cousin, the Duke of Pomerania. The proposed substitute was rejected, but Eric persisted in his withdrawal, and, having chosen a retreat in the isle of Gothland, where he had a favourite mistress, he carried thither his treasures, and the archives of the state. Deputies from the three kingdoms waited on him, with an invitation to return to his royal duties; and when he obstinately refused to do so, the states of Denmark and Sweden formally deposed him, and raised to the throne Christopher III. He was surnamed the Bavarian, because he was the son of Eric's sister, who had married the Duke of Bavaria (A. D. 1439). The influence of Knutson prevented Christopher's full acknowledgment as king of Sweden till 1441: he was then crowned by the Archbishop of Upsal in that city, and knighted seventy of the nobles, among whom was the administrator himself.

In Norway, a hope was entertained that Eric might be reformed, and issue from his retirement a better king; but when it was known that he only sailed from his island retreat as a pirate, to ravage the coasts of Denmark and Sweden, the inhabitants of his third kingdom concurred in

his formal deposition. Christopher was then crowned in Norway by the Bishop of Opslo. His reign was short, but in many respects beneficial to his subjects. He was of a mild character, and traversed his kingdoms to administer justice in person; few, it is said, left his tribunal dissatisfied. The wrongs of the lower orders in the northern kingdoms needed much redress, for the nobles of Denmark were regarded as the most tyrannical in Europe. In this reign, 25,000 peasants made insurrection in Jutland, but they were put down with great severity by the power of the chiefs. Christopher III. made Copenhagen the seat of government, and thus it was raised into one of the most flourishing cities of the North: the king, however, was very poor, and not very honest as to the means of enriching himself, for we are informed both English and Dutch merchants complained, that he had seized the cargoes of several of their vessels in their passage through the Sound. Christopher's own indulgence in the ancient practice of the Northmen made him perhaps more indulgent towards the royal pirate, his uncle. When he was informed of the singular and mischievous course of the ex-king, whose strong fortresses and paid adherents enabled him to resist every attempt to expel him from Gothland, he coolly observed, that he must live, and if the rocks of that island did not afford subsistence, he must seek it elsewhere. Often repeated complaints induced Christopher at length to set sail for Gothland, with a considerable force, taking with him Knutson as second in command; but no contest took place; the two kings sat down to eat and drink together, and parted on friendly terms: it was supposed that Eric promised to quit the island, or to leave off piracy, but he remained in the same position at the death of Christopher III. (A. D. 1448). That king left no child, and with him ended the line of Waldemar III. For more than a century, no king of Denmark had left a son, a circumstance which led to many of the contests already related. A new dynasty now began with Christiern, a prince of the House of Oldenburg, who was chosen king, because he was remotely descended from Eric Glipping of Denmark, and Haco of Norway. He married Dorothea, the widow of his predecessor, and thus rendered his dignity more secure. Sleswic had been united to Holstein by per-

mission of the late king, and Christiern, being a nephew to the powerful Duke of Sleswic-Holstein, had no trouble from that quarter. He also succeeded in driving Eric out of Gothland, and that unhappy prince ended his troublesome life by a residence of ten years in Pomerania.

About the time that Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, Christiern I. was established in the government of the three northern kingdoms. Knutson, who was so often at the helm in Sweden, struggled hard to guide that realm alone, but the Pope (Calixtus III.) sanctioned the claims of Christiern; and Bengston, archbishop of Upsal, was determined to place him on the throne. To this end, he affixed to the gates of his cathedral a paper, describing Knutson as a tyrant over Church and State, and an abominable heretic, and absolving the Swedes from the oaths of allegiance which they had made to him. The prelate then laid down his mitre and crozier before the shrine of St. Eric, vowing never to resume them till he had put down the usurper; and, exchanging his priestly robes for armour, he placed himself at the head of the people who were disposed to revolt. The administrator was obliged to fly; the Pope praised Bengston for expelling "so great an enemy of God's church;" and Christiern received the crown from the victorious primate a few weeks after. We know not the particulars of Knutson's offences against the Romish Church, but it is certain that a spirit of freedom was springing up in Sweden; and that even at this time, though after a rough manner, the soil was being prepared to receive the seeds sown at the Reformation.

Christiern lost the support of the Pope, by attempting to share in the profits of the indulgences sold by his legate in the North, and still more by committing Bengston, whom he found unsubmitive to his will, to a prison in Copenhagen. A priest, who was the archbishop's nephew, absolved the Swedes from their new oaths of allegiance; and Knutson, who had been sheltered by the knights of Livonia, and was awaiting some turn in his favour, was restored to power. Christiern then thought it politic to make friends with Bengston; and the prelate, on being restored to liberty, brought about a fresh revolution, which replaced the king on the throne, but left the real

power in his own hands. He used his authority in such a manner as to lose it entirely, and he was forced to end his restless life in retirement, in the island of Oeland. Knutson returned to his old office of administrator; and, at his death, Sten Sture, a Swedish nobleman, succeeded to his authority. Christiern, after many wearisome contests, determined to leave the Swedes to the management of their own affairs. It was during the Wars of the Roses that these frequent, but less bloody revolutions took place in the North. In 1456, Christiern signed the first treaty between Denmark and France; and the interference of that power more than once saved him from war. It was the marriage of Christiern's daughter to James III. of Scotland that caused the settlement of the contests about the Orkney and Shetland Isles; they were peaceably ceded as the dowry of the princess (A. D. 1467). Thus was the North, during this reign, brought into some pacific relationships with Southern Europe. These were much extended by a journey which Christiern took into Italy, in 1474. He had once made a vow to visit Palestine, but on finding that he could be released from it, or derive the same advantages, by a pilgrimage to Rome, he resolved to go thither in pilgrim's attire. He was, nevertheless, attended by a grand retinue, and entertained with kingly honours by the Emperor Frederic, the Archduke Maximilian, and the Duke of Milan, and, finally, by the Pope, Sixtus IV. By his visit to Rome, he obtained a papal bull for the foundation of a university at Copenhagen, which was opened with great pomp five years afterwards. Thenceforth, Danish youths were not sent abroad for theological instruction; and an influx of students from Iceland, and North Germany, increased the wealth and refinement of the capital of Denmark. Christiern I. died in 1481, leaving two sons, John and Frederic. The reign of John lasted thirty-two years, and carries us to the end of our present period: it was a most unhappy time in the history of the North. Sten Sture, as administrator, held Sweden by means of a successful struggle with the king. The queen, being in Stockholm during her husband's absence, was forced to surrender that city, and was detained prisoner for two years. One of Sten Sture's last acts was to conduct her to the frontiers. He died, not without sus-

pcion of poison, and his relative, Swante Sture, preserved Sweden in a kind of independence of the royal authority. Towards the Swedes, John always acted as a tyrant, but strove in vain to depress their free spirit; to his more immediate subjects, the Danes, he acted with kindness. As in the church, so in the world, it is always found that they who cannot rule their own families well, are not qualified for a more extensive sphere of government: John's incapacity was seen in his manner of bringing up his son, and on a wider scale in all his kingdoms. The education of Christiern, the heir of three crowns, was so much neglected, that an humble citizen of Copenhagen was at first deemed a sufficient instructor. In that house, the prince acquired a taste for low company, which he never afterwards lost. When transferred to the care of a canon of the cathedral, his association with the lowest boys of the metropolis, with whom he daily sang in the choir, gave him the coarseness of manner which distinguished him through life. A tutor was engaged purposely to teach him Latin, but he had no kind friend to regulate his habits; and his nightly revels, and low vices, were the frequent topic of public conversation. The king, it is said, frequently chastised him, but it is certain he did not train him up in the right way. At the age of eighteen, Christiern threw aside his books in disgust; and probably, for the sake of giving him employment, or removing him from court, his father appointed him viceroy of Norway. There he formed a connection with a low Dutchwoman, who, with the aid of Sigebret, her mother, became possessed of the greatest influence over his mind. By their persuasion, he introduced from Holland the esculent roots, for the culture of which that country was then, as it now is, famous: this seems to have been the only useful thing attributed to their counsels. They did not, or could not, check him in his criminal career, and his cruelties produced a revolt in Norway. One of the chiefs who, under a safe conduct, went on board the king's vessel, when he came under pretence of effecting a reconciliation, was treacherously put to death, and this made the matter still worse. At length, the death of a bishop, who had been imprisoned by Christiern, brought an excommunication upon the prince, and an interdict upon Norway: both, however, were removed

at the intercession of the king, his father. Famine, plague, the attacks of pirates, or of lawless merchantmen of many nations, together with civil war, afflicted the northern kingdoms during the reign of John. His death occurred in 1513, and was produced by a fall from his horse. In his dying hours he called for Christiern, and exhorted him to forsake bad company, to take counsel only with the wise and aged, to forego vain ambition and violence, to prefer natives to foreigners, and to seek the love of all by a mild government. These words were utterly unheeded; and Christiern II., as might have been previously expected, proved a terrible tyrant. The treaty concluded between Henry VII. and John of Denmark allowed the English to do business in the northern seas, subject to certain duties; to possess establishments in the seaports, and to have judges of their own, in causes between their countrymen: it included, also, a permission to fish on the coast of Iceland, renewable every seven years. Friendship between the courts of England and Denmark was so well maintained, that Christiern II., when obliged to flee from his own kingdoms, found a temporary asylum with Henry VIII. That event lies beyond our present limits.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## RUSSIA, POLAND, AND PRUSSIA, TO THE CLOSE OF THE PONTIFICATE OF JULIUS II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF HEREDITARY SUCCESSION IN RUSSIA.—ILLUSTRATION OF ITS FORCE IN THE HISTORY OF VASSILY II. (THE BLIND).—THE TITLE OF CZAR.—THE GROWTH OF DESPOTISM.—IVAN III.—HIS MARRIAGE WITH SOPHIA, THE GREEK PRINCESS.—THE CHANGES WROUGHT BY HER INFLUENCE.—BREAKING OF THE TARTAR YOKE.—THE REPUBLIC OF NOVGOROD.—IT FALLS UNDER IMPERIAL POWER.—IVAN'S PERSONAL COWARDICE.—HIS SUCCESS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DESPOTISM.—HIS HIGH PRETENSIONS.—THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.—VASSILY III. (IVANOVITCH).—WALDENSES IN RUSSIA.—POLAND UNDER CASIMIR IV. AND HIS THREE SONS.—SPLENDOR AND DANGEROUS NATURE OF THE POLISH DIET.—POLISH LEARNING.—BOHEMIA.—HUNGARY.—PRUSSIA.—CHARACTER OF SIGISMUND I. OF POLAND.—HIS WAR WITH RUSSIA.—THE JEWS IN POLAND.

WE quitted the history of Russia at the close of the reign of Vassily (Basil) III. (A. D. 1425). He held the dignity of grand-prince during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and not only raised his country out of the ruin into which it had been precipitated through the Tartars on the one side, and the Lithuanians on the other, but stilled one grand source of internal disquiet by establishing the principle of hereditary succession to the throne. The strength of public opinion in favour of that principle was manifested in a remarkable manner throughout the reign of Vassily II., his son and successor. He was only two years old when his father died, and his uncle Yury (George) went to the Horde to obtain the rank of grand-prince for himself; but the boyars immediately carried the young child thither also, and pleaded in behalf of their legitimate sovereign. The appeal met with attention, for doubtless it suited Tartar policy to have a child on the throne of the subject empire; and the khan commanded

Yury, in token of submission, to lead the bridle of his nephew's horse, as he re-entered Moscow. The prince obeyed; but he could not rest all his lifetime in the position of a subject, and at length seized an opportunity of driving his young sovereign from the capital. No complaint was sent to the Horde; no tumult was heard in Moscow; no violent measures were taken to restore the prince; but Yury was entirely deserted; nobles, priests, and citizens, with one accord, followed their lawful ruler; Yury's son went with them. This peaceable mode of reproofing the usurper was as efficacious as it was singular. Yury quickly fled from his lonely grandeur; and, in a few days, Vassily was restored to the throne. There was nothing in the character of this prince to win the love or obedience of his subjects; but contentions for the throne had disturbed Russia for ages, and legitimacy was resorted to, by way of remedy. Vassily II. was once dethroned by the Tartars, and again by the son of Yury: the latter caused his eyes to be torn out, probably supposing his restoration would then be impossible; but he was again placed on the throne, and Novgorod was obliged to pay a fine for having given shelter to the retreating usurper. Vassily the Blind died at the age of thirty-nine, about a year after the deposition of our Henry VI. (A. D. 1462).

As the title of czar, which is equivalent to the German *kaiser*, emperor, is only properly applied to the sole ruler of the Russian empire, we have been merely using the title of grand-prince, to distinguish the chief of the Russian princes from the lesser; but we are now entering on the reign of one who attained undivided power, and may, therefore, be denominated *the czar*. Ivan III., commonly surnamed the Great, was the son of Vassily II., and succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-two. His first wife died before his elevation, and he took this opportunity of marrying a princess of the imperial family of Constantinople. Thomas, prince of the Morea, after boldly, yet vainly, defending his dominions against the Ottoman power, and, according to the Sultan Mahomet's opinion, acting as the only *man* in a nation of slaves, retired into Italy, and found an asylum at Rome. In dying, he left a daughter, Sophia, who inherited his unbending spirit; and this was the princess who was called to share the throne

of Russia with Ivan III. Thus, the falling of Constantinople, an event already shown to be so memorable in the annals of Europe, remotely but powerfully affected Russia. Sophia did not forget that she was niece to the last of the Christian emperors of Constantinople; and she laboured that the court and church of her fathers might be seen in revived splendour and prosperity at Moscow. Her high rank, her religious profession, and, above all, her prudence and political skill, made her very popular in the barbarous country that adopted her as empress. She carried with her all the feelings and habits of the Greek court, and introduced its slavish ceremonials, and luxurious habits, refined, in some measure, by her temporary residence at Rome. The Russian clergy declared she was sent by the Almighty to make of Moscow a second Constantinople, and to confer upon the grand-prince the rights of the Roman emperors. It was on this ground that Ivan adopted the two-headed eagle, the symbol of imperial power proper to the Cæsars. In this reign, it has been remarked, the veil that concealed Russia from the rest of Europe was rent. The capital sought some approximation in grandeur to that of the other great cities of Christendom. The palace called the Kremlin was built, with its fortresses and adjoining church; and the mines of Petchora being then discovered, a silver and copper coinage was executed in the capital, and brought into use throughout the Russian states. To supply the want of native skill, foreign architects, engineers, miners, founders, and mintners, were invited by the czar.

Ivan III. thirsted for power, but was personally a coward; and only the high-mindedness of his empress incited him to take the first step from under the Tartar yoke. It appears that the khan required from his vassal, marks of humiliation which only a barbarian could have demanded. For instance, when he sent an envoy to the Russian court, the grand-prince was expected to go out and meet him, and to spread a carpet of fur under his horse's feet; he was then to listen to the khan's letters on his knees; and finally, on presenting his representative with a cup of koumiss, the native liquor, to lick from the horse's mane the drops that fell from his lips while drinking. Sophia, with difficulty, persuaded her husband to abandon a practice which his

fears would have induced him to continue; and she would not afterwards rest till the Tartar yoke was completely broken. The next step was to banish all Tartar residents, including merchants, from the capital; for, as they had the bearing of masters, they could not be tolerated in the vicinity of the Kremlin. Open war was then declared; and, in 1468, the best of the Russian forces were assembled, with the intention of driving away the Tartar horde situated around Khazan. An old Russian annalist compares the army to the waves of the sea illumined by the sunbeams. The Tartars of the Golden Horde, who were descending on Russia, retired at the sight of warriors more numerous than themselves; and the next year Khazan fell into the hands of the Russian soldiers, and the whole province called by that name became a part of the empire. The news was carried to Ivan in the safe retreat of his own palace; and so rarely did he appear at the head of his army, that his ally, the waivode of Moldavia, a man of great activity, who with difficulty defended his frontiers against the Turks, was wont to say, the czar made conquests in his sleep. Although no warrior, Ivan was a subtle politician; there was no truth in him; he cared not by what means he gained his ends; and the priests, whose aggrandisement was linked with his own, were as unscrupulous as himself with regard to justice and good faith. By deep artifices or stern severities, the czar contrived to subject to himself the lesser principedoms; one of his brothers died in the chains that were treacherously hung about him, on his trusting himself at the court of Moscow; and when Ivan wept at the sight of his body, some of the bishops stepped in, to sear the last remains of conscience by pronouncing his full absolution. The three great republics of Novgorod, Viatka, and Pskov, were more difficult to conquer than the principalities. The power of the former was so great, that it was a national proverb, "Who shall dare to resist God and Novgorod?" The republic could arm 200,000 men in its defence; commerce had brought immense riches; and the spirit of the people was equal to their resources. The *posadnick*, or national council, was framed after an ancient model. A great bell called the citizens together; their meeting was in the market-place; and when they were summoned to give

judgment upon an individual accused of a crime against the republic, they came with a stone under each arm, in order to execute sentence upon the spot, if the guilt were proved. The subsequent acts of summary public vengeance were to plunder and pull down the house of the criminal. The artifices used by the czar to establish his sway over Novgorod proved vain, and, at length, three armies were sent, to attack its territories on different sides: fire-arms and cannon, the use of which had been recently learned through an Italian in the imperial service, were employed on this occasion. Ivan gained some concessions, but he could not establish his supremacy. His envoy was sent to the senate to express his requirements. "I will reign supreme at Novgorod," said Ivan, "as I do at Moscow; you must surrender all to me; your posadnick, and the bell that calls it together." The formidable bell was then immediately tolled; the tumultuous crowd assembled; the insulting messenger was torn limb from limb in their revengeful ferocity; and even the citizens suspected of favouring Ivan's claims were put to death. But the day of the proud city's fall was at hand, and a woman's weakness was the immediate occasion of it. Marpha, the widow of one of the senators, had become attached to a Lithuanian chief, and, on that account, sought to bring Novgorod into connection with the grand-duchy. She used the assembling-bell to call the citizens to licentious revels in her own palace, and freely distributed her immense riches, in order to dispose them to this alliance. But as soon as it was known they had sought help from foreigners of whom Russia was jealous, all the military and ecclesiastical power of the nation appeared on Ivan's side, and the immensity of the force arrayed against them induced the Novgorodians to surrender their liberties without a deciding battle. The spoils conveyed to Moscow consisted of 300 cartloads of gold and silver, and precious stones, besides furs, cloths, and other merchandise; and the republicans, in whose bosoms the love of independence was not extinguished, were carefully transplanted to other parts of the kingdom. The imprisonment of the German merchants who resided at Novgorod, and the confiscation of their goods, destroyed the confidence of foreign nations; and the commerce of the Baltic being thenceforth diverted

into other channels, the Babylon of the North fell into extreme poverty. Its inhabitants had occasion to say, "surely riches make to themselves wings, and flee away." Ivan III. became master of Novgorod in January, 1478, and the other republics fell under his authority shortly after. Nothing then remained to hinder him from casting off the Tartar yoke: he had 200,000 soldiers under his command, the spirit of the nation was undividedly set against its ancient masters, and no domestic enemies appeared. Nevertheless, Ivan, on hearing of the approach of a Tartar army, retired to Moscow for safety. The people loudly murmured at his cowardice; his army called for him, and his counsellors forced him to put himself at its head. Only the little river Luga lay between the two camps, but the czar, instead of giving the desired signal for battle, tried negotiation. The Archbishop of Moscow undertook to wind up his courage to the requisite pitch, and thus addressed him: — "Would you give up Russia to fire and sword, and the churches to plunder? Whither would you fly? Can you soar upwards like the eagle? Can you make your nest amidst the stars? The Lord will cast you down even from that asylum. No; you will not desert us. You would blush at the name of fugitive and traitor to your country." The primate pleaded in vain; and when the freezing of the river left no barrier between the hostile armies, Ivan retreated so suddenly as to throw his camp into great confusion. This step, however, turned to his credit; for, by reason of the circumstances that followed, his people began to think he must have been endowed with some supernatural wisdom, whereby he knew that the foe would be vanquished without his striking a blow. The Tartars, as they lay on the banks of the Luga, received intelligence of an attack upon the Golden Horde by one of Ivan's lieutenants, and his ally, the Khan of Crimea: they heard, also, that a band of predatory Tartars had carried off the women and treasures which these enemies had left. They returned in haste; but, on their way back, the Cossacks and other foes fell upon them, and scarcely any of Russia's late masters remained. Alliance with the Grand-duke of Lithuania, of whom we shall presently speak, closed the successes of the czar, and he began to vie with the greatest monarchs

around him. Maximilian sent to offer him the title of king, but he replied, that he would not degrade himself by accepting titles from any prince on earth, for he held his crown from the high and holy Trinity: he also dismissed the Austrian envoy for not complying with certain ceremonies of his court, and the emperor was at length compelled to treat with him as an equal. Again, when Ivan sent ambassadors to the Sultan Bajazet, he desired them not to kneel before him, but to maintain the imperial dignity of which they were the representatives. The chains which Ivan occupied himself in forging seemed irrevocably fastened around his people by the reception of his code of laws. It fixed the servitude of the peasantry, and limited the powers of the boyars; it arranged the whole military and civil system; it allowed of torture where evidence of guilt was obscure, and introduced the punishment of the knout,\* and of slavery in the mines. Even the Church, by a singular incident, was brought under the power of the prince, to which, in other times, it had been superior. It was discovered, that many of the Russian clergy, and the primate Zozimus himself, had taken up the belief and traditions of the Jews, who were scattered throughout the empire: some began to break the images to pieces. Ivan banished all the Judaical priests, and confiscated their goods; he also chose a new archbishop, whom he inaugurated with his own hands, and thus placed under his own authority.

We have described more particularly the foundations of the autocracy of modern Russia, because it is important to observe the origin and growth of a power, at the present moment so conspicuous, and which the most diligent students of unfulfilled prophecy believe will assume a remarkable prominence in the latter days.† Ivan III. not only

\* The whip, called the knout, consists of a long strap of leather, whereby the flesh can be torn off the whole length of the back in parallel stripes, the criminal being sometimes suspended in such a manner as to dislocate at the same time both shoulders. It is said, that the Russian executioners became so expert in the use of this terrible knout, as to be able, at pleasure, to take away life by one or many applications of it.

† The Scriptures which are considered to bear the most pointed reference to Russia are Eze. xxxviii. and xxxix. Some are disposed to add Dan. xi.

made Russia Proper an independent and undivided empire, but added to it 19,000 square miles of territory, with a population of 4,000,000 souls. There was some question as to the inheritance of this vast empire. Ivan's son, by his first wife, died before him; but he left a child, to whom the boyars desired to secure the crown; and some, in their zeal for this prince, brought accusations against the Czarina Sophia, which procured her temporary disgrace; but she soon regained her husband's favour, and, at his death, her son Vassily, surnamed Ivanovitch (the son of Ivan), was raised to the throne (A. D. 1505). This prince was czar at the close of our present period; and, during a reign of twenty-eight years, he acted on his father's principles, and carried out his plans.

Some Waldenses, it appears, either as residents or travelling merchants, sojourned in Russia, and this fact sends a solitary gleam over its dark history. By means of these simple Christians, some scriptural instruction might have been supplied for the life and comfort of God's hidden ones in that wilderness. The state of the Greek Church, as it was called, was miserable enough. Worldly grandeur and base superstition corroded its vitals.

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THE history of Poland, during this era, becomes in some manner connected with that of Russia, and may, therefore, be resumed at this point. Poland was left without a king by the death of Ladislaus in the battle of Varna;\* and indeed a king was a personage of but little importance in the singularly constituted government of that country. Casimir IV., brother to Ladislaus, bore the regal title for nearly fifty years (A. D. 1445—1492); and his three sons, John I., Alexander, and Sigismund I., inherited it in succession during fifty years more (A. D. 1492—1548); but, with the exception of the latter, they were of such feeble character, that they could ill oppose the growing evils of the Polish system of government. The Poles were the only people of Europe who obstinately maintained their original and independent habits; and, above all, the principle, that an assembly of all the freemen of the state, and their unity of opinion, were necessary for the

\* Chap. i. p. 16.

due management of public affairs. It is said that 60,000 Norman horsemen assembled at Winchester around William the Conqueror, to deliberate with him concerning the vanquished kingdom: the assemblies of the states in France were anciently of the same description, but both countries gradually adopted the representative system, as more convenient and useful; a system which a modern writer supposes to have been learned from the ecclesiastical institutions called General Councils. In the Polish kingdom, or rather republic, as many as 100,000 citizens on horseback frequently assembled; but the impossibility of getting anything done when numbers were so multiplied, and the difficulty of even finding subsistence for such a multitude, during the many weeks that the diet lasted, led to the introduction of the representative system in the reign of Casimir IV. (A. D. 1467). It was, however, used in such a manner as not to make for the peace of the country. The plain of Volo, to the west of Warsaw, was the meeting-place of the Polish *pospolite*, or general assembly, and no other plain in Europe could have presented so grand and singular a spectacle. An immense area was enclosed by the vast circle of snow-white tents pitched for the occasion; they stretched as far as the banks of the Vistula and the city itself. The tents of the richer nobles were in the form of castles, with their towers, drawbridges, &c.; their materials were painted or gilded stuffs, cotton, and silk. Temporary hotels were also erected to supply the wants of the camp. On these occasions, the Polish nobility vied with each other in the richness of their dress, and in the splendour of their arms. Their poniards and scymitars were set with brilliants, the battle-axes shone with silver, emeralds, and sapphires; even the bows and arrows were richly gilt, and the bucklers of costly workmanship: the horses, also, were richly decorated with many-coloured trappings. Some of the gentlemen, it is said, in furs and arms, carried their whole fortunes on their backs. The higher nobles wore robes of sable or ermine, bound with velvet or silver, their girdle studded with jewels, and chains of diamonds or gold around the neck; their bonnets were of panther-skin, surmounted by plumes of herons or eagles, with the most splendid precious stones in the front. One hand of each nobleman

was without a glove, in order to exhibit the ring on which his family arms were engraved; the mark, as in ancient Rome, of the equestrian order. The bishops wore grey or green hats, and yellow and red pantaloons, embroidered with divers colours. At the very time that all this show was made by the upper class, the common people were almost without clothing; their long beards, naked legs, and filth, showing, it is observed, like their pale visages and dejected air, all the miseries of servitude. The members of the Polish diet amused themselves in mimic war, feasting, drinking, and singing; but, when difficult questions were in agitation, the tournament often gave place to real fighting, and the quarrels which originated at these diets descended from one generation to another. It was a fixed principle in this singular constitution, that no majority should settle any proposition; if even a single citizen opposed the passing of an act, his *veto* was sufficient to prevent it from being carried.

The laws of Casimir the Great permitted a peasant to leave his master for ill usage, but the first representative diet, which was held in the reign of Casimir IV., annulled this humane decree, and enacted that the fugitive might be demanded by his lord, and that whoever harboured him should be heavily fined. By the same diet, the lords were permitted judicial authority over the peasants, who were thus reduced to the condition of slaves. Poland was divided into several districts termed palatinates; the palatines were the generals of the forces raised in their respective districts, and the highest magistrates in their own provinces. The castellans were their lieutenants, or deputies, and beneath these ranked the *starosts*, literally *elders*, and the judges. The senators, or counsellors of the king, consisted of the archbishops, bishops, palatines, castellans, and great officers of state; their number varied from 100 to 144, and they could not be displaced during life. The representative diet consisted of the senators, and the deputies returned by each of the provinces and districts of the republic, and amounted to about 400 persons. But these deputies were obliged to act according to the will of the Order that elected them; they were liable to be massacred at their return, if they had in any wise departed from their instructions; and often, to secure

their fidelity, the electors assembled in arms to watch over the proceedings of the diet, being prepared for open force if their wishes were resisted. These assemblies were well designated, "diets under the buckler." The right of veto, as it was termed, was preserved by the deputies, and as they were rarely unanimous, deplorable confusion was the result. The ordinary diet was held biennially, and lasted about six weeks; the extraordinary diet was summoned on any urgent occasion, and lasted three weeks. One manœuvre used by members who had not courage to express an open veto, was termed *drawing out the diet*. They contrived to waste the time in frivolous disputes, and in proposing resolutions which they knew would not be passed: this was called, *blowing into the nest to vex the flies*; and they continued these fruitless proceedings till the day of the dissolution of the diet arrived. The army sometimes approached the capital, during the holding of a diet, in order to keep the factions in awe, for they could receive no pay without the unanimous decree of the deputies. In the *dietines*, or provincial assemblies, in which the deputies were chosen, as in our modern elections, by a majority of votes, the most serious disputes, ending in bloodshed, often took place. The Poles, it is said, were as fond of an affray as the modern Irish. The electors were the landed proprietors, and included even the gentleman who possessed only three acres. Neither the labouring nor commercial class had any representatives: the labourers, as we have seen, were almost in the condition of slaves; and as the nobles were too proud, and the peasants too poor, to engage in trade, it was almost entirely carried on by the Jews. The rich dresses, the jewellery, and the arms, of which we have spoken, were obtained by the industry of the Polish Jews; and, in 1540, they boasted that they gave employment to near 10,000 mechanics, artisans, and manufactures; and that, whilst they had 3200 dealers, the Christians had only 600.

In the fifteenth century, a taste for reading and for the study of languages became common in Poland, so that in the reign of Sigismund I. few gentlemen were to be found who did not understand German, French, or Italian, as well as Latin. Latin, indeed, was the language of the court, and was used in intercourse with foreign nations, as

French is at the present day. Dugloss, who is considered one of the best historians of Poland, lived in the reigns of Casimir IV. and his sons, and to those princes he was tutor. He wrote in Latin, and his work, which occupied him a quarter of a century, extended from the earliest period of his country's history, to the year 1480. In completing it, he expressed the warmest gratitude for the help to which he attributed his success, and exhorted the clergy, doctors, masters, and scribes, to continue the work.\*

In connection with Poland, we may mention some of the states which were originally one with it, and which at this period were brought into closer relationship, through the near alliance of their sovereigns.† Podiebrad, the Hussite king of *Bohemia*, in dying, appointed Ladislaus, eldest son of Casimir IV., as his successor, and the choice was ratified both by the Catholics and Hussites of *Bohemia*. Ladislaus was an ambitious prince, and aspired to the throne of *Hungary*. A party in that kingdom wished to displace Matthias, son of the celebrated Huniades, because of the progress of the Turkish arms on their frontiers; and 20,000 Poles, at their invitation, conducted Casimir, second son of Casimir IV., into *Hungary*, to receive the crown. But they were driven out by the friends of Matthias, and Casimir, it appears, gained a saintly instead of a warlike reputation, for he was canonised by Paul V. On the death of Matthias, the Hungarians elected John Albert, the third son of the Polish king; but Ladislaus prevailed against

\* Dugloss died in the year that he finished his history; and, whilst looking at its close, it is affecting to consider the darkness in which the best educated were wrapped, through vain traditions. Not satisfied with referring to the favour of God in sparing his life, he mentions the additional help of the most excellent Virgin Mary; of all angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; of all the celestial powers, specially of the Archangel Michael, and St. John the apostle; of all the patron saints of Poland, not forgetting Queen Hedwig; and of a variety of favourite saints on the Roman calendar, including Mary Magdalene.

† Poland, answering to the Sarmatia of the ancients, originally comprehended *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Hungary*, and *Prussia*, besides *Lithuania*, the *Ukraine*, *Courland*, and *Livonia*. From its bosom proceeded some of the most remarkable of the barbarous nations that overspread the Roman empire.

him, through the intrigues of the widow of Matthias. John was taken prisoner by his brother, and was not set at liberty till he renounced his claims to the throne of Hungary; but the aged Casimir, displeased at the covetousness of his eldest son, would not allow him a third kingdom, and left the throne of Poland to John (A.D. 1492).

This prince had previously distinguished himself by his victories over the Tartars, but he proved feeble as a king; and Poland, in his reign, seemed to be threatened with destruction by the irruptions of the Wallachians, Turks, and Tartars. But, in one winter, 40,000 of the barbarians perished from the want of provisions, and the severity of the weather: many were found dead in the bellies of their horses, which they had ripped open in the expectation of finding warmth within. This calamity induced the wai-vode and the sultan to conclude a peace with the king. Alexander, fourth son of Casimir IV., was created grand-duke of Lithuania, and received in marriage Helen, daughter of Ivan III. But the czar, under pretext that the duke had not, according to contract, erected a chapel, and procured a Greek priest for the princess, made war upon him. About this time John I. died, and Alexander was chosen king by the Polish diet, in preference to either of his brothers, in order to unite Lithuania inseparably with the republic. The title of grand-duke was then abolished (A. D. 1501).

*Prussia*, which had been under the sway of the Teutonic knights from the time of its violent conversion to Christianity, presented a scene of great desolation in the reign of Casimir IV. The oppressed people wished for incorporation with Poland, and the Poles took up arms in their behalf. The numbers said to have fallen in this war, and the quantity of villages and hamlets burned, seem incredible. In the end, Western Prussia, including Pomerania, was restored to Poland, and Eastern Prussia was left to the knights, on condition that every future grand-master should do homage for it to the king and senate. Frederic, a relative of the Polish royal family, refused this mark of subjection to John I., just before his death; and all was weakness and confusion during the reign of the feeble Alexander. The luxury of the table was carried to an enormous height; and every body was impoverished by foolish expenses, especially in dress. It is, however, ob-

served that, amidst all this, the Poles were distinguished for their faithfulness to their promises, and their inclination for reading. Alexander was taken ill at Wilna, on his way to meet an invading host of Tartars. The news of their defeat was brought to him in the agonies of death, and he could only express his gratitude for the deliverance of his country, by his eyes, upraised hands, and quivering lips (A. D. 1506).

Casimir IV. left a goodly number of sons. We have already mentioned Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary; Casimir, the saint; John Albert, and Alexander, successively kings of Poland: two others remained, Frederic, archbishop of Gnesen, who was also a cardinal, and Sigismund, duke of Glogau. As Frederic could not be king as well as priest, Sigismund I. was raised to the throne; and Frederic, the second person in the state, placed the crown on his head. Sigismund is one of the many remarkable sovereigns of the era of the Reformation; and though, through educational prejudice, he was opposed to that movement, and even used fire and sword to arrest the rapidity of its progress in Poland, he was in other respects an excellent king. He was of such prodigious strength, that he could break in his hands the hardest metals; and, by reason of his strength, which was kept up by temperance and exercise, he attained the age of eighty-two. The only remarkable event of his reign which comes within our present compass, is a victory won by his generals over those of the czar, during the heat of the war in Italy (A. D. 1512). Polish authors relate, that 80,000 Muscovites were defeated, but Russian historians do not speak of nearly so large a number of their countrymen engaged in the contest. The victory in question was gained on the banks of the Dnieper, and was followed, as usual, by such cruel butchery of the fugitives, that the plain for four miles was strewn with dead bodies. Notwithstanding the defeat of his army on this occasion, Vassily Ivanovitch added to his empire Smolensko and a great part of Livonia—the spoils of the Polish republic.

Amidst all the wars and tumults to which Poland was subject, the Jews continued to multiply, and to increase in riches. The fertility of the soil, the abundance of minerals, the facilities for commerce, and, above all, the tolera-

tion and favour of the government, attracted and chained the wanderers to Poland. The first charter granted to them was by Boleslaus II. (A. D. 1264). It was renewed and greatly enlarged by Casimir the Great, through the influence of his Jewish queen, Esther; and, when the royal power had greatly decreased, the palatines were appointed judges and protectors of the Jews. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the kingdom was supposed to contain 200,000. It is a memorable fact, that, even in Poland, where the Jews were richer, freer, and more prosperous than in any country of the world, they were always the objects of hatred and insult; and, but for the peculiar notions of the nobler class, that, even if reduced to poverty, their hands would be, as it were, defiled by traffic, and that the sword was the only implement a gentleman ought to use, the Jews would never have risen into the position they occupied. Under all circumstances, however apparently favourable, they were still *an astonishment, and a proverb, and a by-word.* (Deut. xxviii. 37.)

## CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL SKETCH OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS DURING  
THE PERIOD EMBRACED IN THIS VOLUME.

ENGLAND EMERGING FROM BARBARISM. — ITS ECCLESIASTICAL IMPORTANCE. — EARLY DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. — THE LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH AFFECTED IT. — DESCRIPTION OF THE EMBATTLED MANSION OF THE TUDOR ERA. — CHARACTER OF THE AGE. — THE WANT OF DOMESTIC COMFORTS IN ENGLAND. — GOBGEIOUS PIECES OF FURNITURE. — THE NORTHUMBBERLAND HOUSEHOLD. — WANT OF CLEANLINESS. — DRESS AND MANNERS OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH. — EDUCATION. — AUSTERITY OF PARENTS TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN. — WAR A SOURCE OF BARBARISM. — MILITARY COSTUME AND MANŒUVRES. — CHANGES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ARMIES. — ARTILLERY. — SOLDIERS' PAY. — EFFECTS OF WAR ON HUSBANDRY AND COMMERCE. — PILGRIMAGES OF CHRISTIANS AND MAHOMETANS. — BRUGES, THE GREAT MART OF WESTERN EUROPE. — OPULENCE AND POWER OF THE TOWNS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES. — WEALTH AND LUXURY OF THE FLEMINGS. — THEIR MANUFACTURES AND ARTS. — THEIR DEPRAVED MORALS, AND LONG-CONTINUED FACTIONS. — VENICE, THE GREAT MART IN EASTERN EUROPE. — ITS POWER AND GRANDEUR. — EXTENT OF ITS DOMINION. — CHARACTER OF ITS GOVERNMENT. — THE TURKS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE RUSSIANS, IMITATE THE CUSTOMS AND BUILDINGS OF THE GREEKS. — CIVILISATION INDEPENDENT OF CHRISTIANITY. — SPLENDOUR OF THE TARTAR, PERSIAN, AND CHINESE COURTS. — INDIA, AND ITS CUSTOMS. — ABSENCE OF A MISSIONARY SPIRIT DURING THIS ERA.

AGAIN we shall attempt to throw ourselves back into the times to which these historical sketches belong, by collecting some particulars of the customs and manners of the people of this age, especially in our own country.\* Eng-

\* It might be interesting to read this chapter in connection with one of the same nature, Chap. xxxii. Vol. IV.

land, however, made far less progress in the fifteenth century than could have been desired by her more intelligent children, being involved in continuous wars, first with France, and then in those of the Roses. But in the reign of Henry VII., the barbarism of the middle ages was fast passing away; and improved laws, tranquil industry, an extending commerce, and a lively interest in learning, bade fair to render the English the great people they afterwards became. England's ecclesiastical importance had long been very great; and, in a dispute about precedence in voting at the Council of Constance, her clerical representatives pleaded, among other things, that she possessed 52,000 parish churches,\* whereas France had only 6000; and that she had never been involved in any schism. The latter was a boast her children could not, and did not wish to make, about a century later; but of this we may treat hereafter.

Domestic architecture, which usually forms one test of the condition of a country, was much improved in England at the close of our present period; but it varied greatly in the different parts of our island, on account of local circumstances. As long as roads were bad, and carriage difficult, it was natural to employ for common purposes the materials that were close at hand; but, for religious edifices, no expenses were spared; and the building of churches, and even bridges, in the middle ages, both in England and France, was undertaken by associations of architects and masons bound together by certain vows, and acting according to fixed rules.† They did not look to man for payment, but they commonly laboured either with the idea of paying a debt to God, or of rendering *him* their debtor by their good works; and the felling of timber, hauling of stones, &c., as well as the gift of materials, by

\* In this calculation, it appears that the churches of England, Ireland, Wales, with the adjacent islands, and even the French provinces, were included; and the various languages spoken in this branch of the Romish Church are enumerated. The compliments of the Popes to Henry VII., and the perfumed golden rose sent by Julius II. to Henry VIII., are among the proofs of the high value set on England at Rome.

† The fraternities of *freemasons* originated in this manner; and they were for a long time real labourers, although many of the members were of high degree, and soon became content with the honorary profession of masonry.

persons in whose neighbourhood churches and monasteries were erected, were acts frequently performed by way of penance for sin, or to lay up a treasure of meritorious works against the great day of account. In London, the houses were chiefly of wood up to the time of James I., when so much employment of that material was forbidden by statutes, because of the danger from fire, and the rapid consumption of the forests. The manner of constructing the houses with stories jutting one over the other, till opposite neighbours could shake hands across the way, arose out of the necessity of keeping the wooden foundations dry, which could scarcely otherwise be effected, notwithstanding the projecting eaves, and dragon-mouthed spouts. The deep ornamental verges, and richly figured pendants, which adorned the ancient manor-house, when built of wood, were adopted in like manner to keep the basement dry; and they were, probably, among the useful architectural inventions belonging to that which is termed the Tudor style of building.\*

It is a mistake to suppose that wooden, brick, and stone houses are severally to be traced to any particular era; situation will rather explain the materials for building. Geologists describe, for instance, a broad band of soft free-stone, which they term *oolitic*, beginning in Dorsetshire, stretching in a northeast direction across Somersetshire, and to be traced through the northwest of Wiltshire; spreading also over Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and the northern extremity of Yorkshire: and it is a matter of fact, that upon or within a short distance of this tract are to be found the finest specimens of early architecture, whether dwellings or churches; the latter, highly ornamented, because the stone is easily worked, but the softness which renders it so makes it liable to injury from weather, as may be perceived in many of the ancient buildings at Oxford. In that range of chalk hills, abounding only in flints, which runs through Dorsetshire, South Wilts, Hampshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Cambridge,

\* It will be remembered that Henry VII. was descended from Owen Tudor. The Tudor mansions, as they are styled, are to be traced in particular to his reign, and to those of Henry VIII. and Elisabeth.

branching off into Surrey and Kent, no suitable materials for building could be found; and in that district there are few handsome ancient buildings, except at Cambridge, to which the stone was laboriously brought from the oolite ridge.\* In the remaining eastern counties, where alluvial clays and gravel prevail, bricks were adopted in houses of every class; indeed, the art of brick-making, which was brought to perfection by the Romans, had probably never been lost, though it had much decayed in the middle ages. In the western, and many of the midland counties, where the soil termed new red sandstone prevails, and which was anciently covered with oak forests, timber has been always the chief material in building.

The mode of roofing depends as naturally as the walls on local materials. The slate quarries of Wales came into very early use; and rough stone tiling, or a straw thatch, sufficed for all common purposes, where a slate covering could not be readily procured. It should be said that the best of the freestone used in the old English abbeys and churches was imported from Caen in Normandy.

In the fifteenth century, the English gentleman's house stood within a little green court, surrounded by a strong high wall; and the barn was commonly placed at the entrance, for, we are informed, "they then thought not the noise of the *threshold* ill musique." Henry VII., in his vigorous efforts to put an end to feudal practices, forbade the erection of any new castles; besides, they ceased to be a necessary protection under the reign of law, and the introduction of cannon destroyed the feeling of security which had been connected with them. If the great, by way of ornament, or to resist a sudden attack, desired to surround their residences with a moat,

\* The chief educational buildings founded in this period were King's and Queen's College, by Henry VI. and Margaret his Queen, with the preparatory school of Eton; Lincoln College at Oxford, founded by Fleming, bishop of Lincoln; and All-Souls, by Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury. The latter expended £4545 on his college: the fellows were required to pray for the souls of those who were slain in the wars with France, and for all the faithful dead. The primate's friends had recommended him to build an hospital for the soldiers disabled in the French wars, who, in returning home, presented many a spectacle of misery, but he determined rather to found a college with the aforesaid provision.

and battlemented gateway, and to retain one or two strong turrets, they could only do so by express royal license. The embattled mansions erected in the age of Henry VII. and VIII., which is considered the best period of English architecture, were rather palaces than castles. A strong wall enclosed the quadrangle, which contained the two open courts belonging to a mansion of the larger class: one was for the stables, offices, and lodgings of the household; the other for the state-chambers, with the hall and chapel. *The hall*, which, from its importance, often gave the name to the whole mansion, answered to the refectory of the abbey; and in the colleges of Christchurch and Trinity may be seen, at this day, complete specimens of the great halls of the Tudor era. This chief room was large and lofty, and in shape a parallelogram; the timbers of the roof were richly carved and decorated with coats of arms, that of the king being always conspicuous, and that of the master of the house in such a fixed position, that "the top beam of the hall" was a form often used in drinking to his health. On one side of the dais, which was raised a step above the rest of the floor, at the end furthest from the entrance, was a deep embayed window, reaching nearly to the ground; but the other windows, ranged along one or both sides of the hall, were much higher, and, against the wainscoting or tapestry below them, the occupants of the side-benches might lean. Portraits, in process of time, filled up the spaces between the windows, for the art of painting family pictures began to prosper under the patronage of Henry VIII. In the centre of the hall was the *rere-dosse*, a fire-iron supporting the faggots which burned on the stone floor; the smoke passed through an aperture above, which was formed into an elevated kind of lantern, a conspicuous ornament to the exterior of the building. Either the climate was then milder, or our forefathers cared less for warmth than ourselves, as it was the rule to discontinue the hall-fire at Easter. One of the preparations for Easter-day (*God's Sondaye*, as it was called) is thus described by a religious writer, A. D. 1511, the date at which we are arrived:—

"The black wynter brondes, and all thynges that is foule with fume and smoke, shall be done awaye; and there the fire was shall be gayly arrayed with fayre floures, and strewed with green ryshes all aboute."

“Round the fire,” is an expression which only originated in the circumstance of the hearth being in the middle of the room; and round about the hall-fire took place the mummings, and other Christmas sports, in the licensed days of misrule. The screen at the entrance of the hall, over which was the minstrels’ gallery, was now elaborately carved, and against it were placed armour, weapons, antlers, &c., as memorials of family exploits, both in war and peace. A writer of King Charles’s reign, speaking of these times, says, “The lords of manours did eate in their greate gothicque halls, at the high table (which was placed on the dais, parallel with the end wall), the folk at the side-tables. The meate was served up by watchwordes. Jacks are but an invention of the other daye; the poor boys did turn the spit, and licked the dripping-pan, and grew to be huge lusty knaves.”\* The same author drily describes the feudal system, till the time of Henry VIII., as “*a nest of boxes, one within t’other*;” and says, “upon any occasion of bustling in those days, a great lord sounded his trumpet (all lords kept trumpeters, even down to King James), and summoned those that held under him; those again sounded their trumpets, and so downwards.” He rightly terms it *a slashing age*, for the armed dependents of lords who had a feud with each other often found occasion to fight, even in meeting at market. But, he observes, “no alchouse, nor yet innes, then, except upon great roads: when they had a mind to drink, they went to the friaries; and when they travelled, they had entertainment in the religious houses for three days, if occasion so long required. The meeting of the gentry was not then in tippling-houses, but in fields and forests, with their hawks or houndes, with their bugle-horns in silk baudrics (girdles),” &c. But the grandest meetings were in the halls, already described; and the crowd that feasted in Westminster Hall, when the king summoned his peers around him, may be imagined, from the regulations contained in a household-book of Edward IV.:—“A duke shall have etyng in the hall one knyghte, a chapleyn,

\* The word *jack*, as designating a machine to turn the spit, was probably chosen at the time when that useful invention was first substituted for the labour of *the poor boys*.

iii squyers, iiii yeomen;" and, in like proportion, down to a baron, who is allowed "etyng for a gentelman and a yeoman." This particular privilege of the nobles was called *having a mouth at court*.

In every great mansion, *the chapel* was an important building; and the musical services were attended daily, by way of recreation, as well as devotion. The Duke of Northumberland had eleven priests belonging to his household, besides seventeen other persons, who assisted in the chapel as musicians, chaunters, &c. Even kings did not think it beneath their dignity to play the organ, and compose church music. Henry IV. of England, and James I. and III., were especially addicted to this recreation.

The remaining apartments of a complete Tudor mansion were *the gallery*, appropriated commonly to the reception of visitors, and used for in-door exercise and amusement, its bay-windows forming agreeable nooks for private conversation; *the withdrawing room*, usually hung with tapestry, and reserved for state-occasions; and *the winter and summer parlours*, which were hung with arras, or wainscoted with oak. A writer of the 17th century observes, that in the halls and parlours there "were wrote texts of Scripture, and good sentences on the painted cloths, which does something evidence the piety of those days more than now;" but we conceive that piety may not be judged of by these external marks of respect for the Bible, any more than by the broad phylacteries of the ancient scribes and pharisees. The exterior of the quadrangular embattled mansion of the last Henries was even richer in ornament than the interior, but the drapery moulding in wainscot is said to be a species of workmanship peculiar to these buildings.

In order to form an idea of the common comforts of our countrymen at the close of this period, or rather to ascertain their want of comforts, we must refer to a writer who lived about fifty years later.

"Our fathers, yea, we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets, or rough mats, covered onlie with a sheete, vnder coverlets made of dogswain, or hopharlots [probably a material similar to sacking], and a good round log under their heads, instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers, or the good man of the house, had, within seven yeares after his marriage, purchased a

mattresse, or flocke bed, and thereto a sacke of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that, peradventure, lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers. As for servants, if they had any sheete above them it was well; for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking strawes that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides."

This is the statement of one in the middle rank of life. How did the higher classes fare? Cushions and carpets were rare luxuries, even in kings' houses, in England, till late in the sixteenth century; and the nobles possessed fewer comforts and conveniences than the artisans of our own day. Fingers were everywhere used instead of forks; and the practice of intermixing ladies and gentlemen at dinner, both in England and Scotland, is said to have originated in the convenience of having the meat cut by the gentlemen; and this was done with the knife usually worn at the girdle, before knives were regularly laid on the table.

There were, however, some splendid pieces of furniture, which were handed down in great families, and accurately described in some of the wills of this period; but these may be regarded somewhat in the light of investments of money; for banking was then little understood, and usury was deemed unlawful, or confined to the Jews. The articles referred to were carved and inlaid bedsteads, with hangings either of cloth of gold, or of embroidered damask and velvet, or of black satin worked with gold and silver roses, the possessor's initials, armorial bearings, &c.: there were also pieces of tapestry equally gorgeous, and cloth of gold, &c. for covering tables; and, in the way of plate, chargers and goblets, and cups of gold, set with jewels. But the other furniture did not correspond with these costly moveables. The tables were oaken planks, supported by trestles; and "great plank forms, that two yeomen can scant (scarcely) remove out of their places," were the only seats, besides occasional "waynscot stooles:" these were not "quilted and lyned," even for the lords and ladies to sit on, till the days of Queen Bess; and then the introduction of such luxurious novelties was thought to need some apology.\* An account-book, belonging to the

\* The houses of some of the London and Bristol merchants were

Northumberland family, in the reign of Henry VII., and published in our times by one of their noble descendants, shows the style of living in a household which was perhaps on a larger and more splendid scale than that of any other English nobleman of the same period. The duke had three country residences, but only possessed furniture enough for one; and this must have been spare in quantity, and rough in quality, as it was removed from place to place, and only filled seventeen carts and one waggon. The family consisted of 166 persons, and 57 more were reckoned upon every day as guests; and as the master was wont to use so much hospitality, the economy which appears to have been studiously considered in every department was probably necessary. The daily cost of meat, drink, and firing for each person was  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  a head. The fires were extinguished by rule, at certain seasons, though *half-fires* were allowed in the nursery, and in the lady's chamber, after they were given up in the hall. Ninety-one dozen of candles sufficed for the whole year. Mass was sung at six, to promote early rising, breakfast was laid at seven, dinner at ten, supper at four; and at nine o'clock the gates were shut, and no further egress or ingress permitted. For so large a family there were only two cooks, and two scullions; apparently there were few niceties; and the meat, both beef and mutton, being principally salted, 160 gallons of mustard were consumed yearly. The breakfast set before the duke and duchess consisted of a quart of wine, a quart of beer, some loaves of household bread, some of finer quality, a chine of beef, and sprats or herrings. On fast-days, salt-fish was substituted for beef, and fresh fish. No sheets were used; and the table-linen was so spare, that it would appear, the cloth for the knights' table was not washed for many weeks together. Only forty shillings a-year were expended in washing, and this was chiefly for the linen used in the chapel. The duke, when he travelled, carried with him his bed, and other conveniences; a sufficient proof that little accommodation was expected at the inns, though

probably better furnished than those of the nobles in general; for in the inventory of the goods of one only moderately rich, at this date, silver cups are mentioned, and the rare conveniences of a looking-glass, bason, and ewer, in the bedroom.

there were a few on the road to the capital and to some large towns. In the inventory of the goods, no mention is made of plate; but war had probably then deprived the family of all that could be readily converted into money.

In monasteries, the rule was to lay fresh rushes on the floor at the three great feasts, and to have a house-cleaning at such periods; the dormitories were swept, and covered with fresh straw still oftener. But, in many of the great halls, filth accumulated on the floor for twenty years together; green rushes, or clean straw, occasionally scattered, barely concealed the worst nuisances: to some foreigners of nicer habits, the smell was intolerable, and such inattention to cleanliness was doubtless a fruitful cause of the frequency of epidemic diseases.

After noticing the houses, we naturally pass to the appearance and manners of those that dwelt in them. Human wit seemed never weary of finding out some new mode of dress; but the pictures of French ladies in the attire of the fifteenth century, and English ladies seem to have followed their fashions as they do now, represent them with the tight sleeves and long bodices worn at present, and the gown so high at the neck, as only to leave room for a necklace of gold, &c.: the long train had been discarded for a deep border of fur or velvet; and the chief singularities had respect to the head and the feet: on the head a hood was worn, of a circular or conical form, often very high, but sometimes drooping; on the feet were richly adorned shoes, with peaks a quarter of an ell in length.\* The gentlemen were very variable and extravagant in their mode of dress. It is gravely related, that Henry V., when prince of Wales, came to visit his father in a mantle of blue satin, full of small oylet-holes, to each of which was suspended a needle by a silken thread. About the year 1461, the fashion of wearing very short jackets was introduced, and the sleeves were slashed, to show the wide white shirts within; the

\* In an English act of parliament, dated 1463, the makers of shoes or boots, with points or pikes more than two inches in length, were threatened with severe penalties; but even such statutes could not abolish a fashion that had prevailed nearly three centuries; the article was sure to be made for which there were purchasers. An excommunication, afterwards published all over England, against the *wearers* of long pointed shoes, proved more effectual in throwing them aside.

jackets were stuffed out at the shoulders, to give width to the frame, "which," says our author, "is a vanity, and perchance displeasing to God." At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the whole dress was contrived so as to make the wearer look as stout as possible, and some ridiculous appendages were added, such as a tail-shaped piece, &c. The hair was worn very long, and the fashionable cloth hat, or bonnet, towered very high. Knights, and even squires, wore golden chains, and "the very varlets\* had jackets of silk, satin, or velvet." The dress of the peasantry was of the most reasonable description, and subject to the fewest changes; and the smock-frock, still worn by our labourers, is but a continuation of the ancient tunic, once almost universal. Louis XI. is painted in a short dress of this form.

There was some improvement in the manners of the French and English at this period.† In the fourteenth century, a poet had thought it necessary to advise the French ladies not to run and jump in the streets, as they went to church, nor laugh and jest during mass; to keep their nails cut short; not to laugh or talk too loud at dinner, nor daub their fingers with their food; to wipe only their lips, and not their noses, in the tablecloth; not to stare in at people's windows, as they walked in the streets; not to bounce at once into a room, when they went to make a call, but rather to announce their approach by a few soft words, or a gentle cough: they were warned also to forbear from stealing and telling lies. Such advices were not so necessary in this age. Anne of Bretagne, who gave the tone to French society of the highest class, at the close of our present period, was a woman of singular propriety of manners, and of simple habits; and her court was remarkable for its decorum. She would sit at work in the midst of a numerous company of young ladies of quality, whom she employed in embroidery, and in other works suitable for their sex and station. Elisabeth of York was equally

\* This word anciently signified a yeoman's servant; and the word yeoman, which signified a freeholder of the common sort, is supposed to be derived from the Teutonic word for *common*.

† We class the French and English together, because, from their constant intercourse, or by means of the French possessions of the English kings, they were much on a par as to civilisation.

refined. Ladies, for the most part, had a better education than gentlemen, at least with regard to the instruction given in monasteries. In England they were taught writing, drawing, needlework, and confectionery, besides physic and surgery, which were useful female accomplishments, when the other sex were so much engaged in war, and the scene of it often around their own homes. Young gentlemen, educated in convents, learned a little barbarous Latin; but writing was not very common, if we may judge from a suggestion offered to *gentlemen* of this age, who could not make notes, that they might assist their memory by notches in a stick. Courtesy was not well understood, even in the highest ranks, for we are told that when Henry VII. arrived at the place where he was to meet the Princess Catherine, on her arrival from Spain, and found she had retired to bed, he had her called up to wait upon him.

The domestic manners of the English, and, it appears, of other nations, were, in this age, very austere. Chastisement in early life, even for the slightest faults, was carried to such excess, that children, it is said, trembled at the sight of their parents.\* Sons, arrived at manhood, are represented as standing uncovered and silent in their father's presence; and daughters, though women, "placed like statues at the cupboard," might not sit or rest themselves, otherwise than by kneeling on cushions, till their mother left the room. Such formalities in the nearest relationships were the more remarkable, as in English society, in general, there was a degree of social freedom, which permitted the freest interchange of kisses at meeting and parting. That the mode of education was not generally productive of good results, may be gathered from many facts; and Caxton remarks, "fairer, nor wiser, nor better spoken children *in their youth* are nowhere than there are in London; but, at their full ripening, there is no kernel, no good corn found, but chaff for the most part." Barbarism, as we have said, was prolonged in England by a series of fierce wars; and the idea that the use of arms was the all-important accomplishment of a gentleman was

\* Luther describes, in strong terms, the cruel severity of his parents and schoolmasters; yet he allows they thought they were doing right. It was the practice of their day.

not exploded, during this period, in our own country; in fact, war was never a more engrossing subject. The military costume is said to have reached its highest splendour at the close of the fifteenth century; and the armour of Henry VII., with a complete harness of steel for his horse, still exhibited in the Tower of London, may suffice as a specimen. The Emperor Maximilian wore armour of the most elegant form, and of elaborate workmanship; and the armorial emblazonry, which distinguished one mailed warrior from another, was now engraved, or placed in relief, on the steel itself, instead of being embroidered on the surcoat.\* In the manufacture of armour, the artisans of Milan were the most famous. The pride of chivalry long resisted the introduction of fire-arms, as reducing all classes to a level in ability to meet a foe, and leaving the event of a battle no longer in the hands of the wearers of defensive armour, men of gentle birth. But war was becoming more and more a subject of study and science; and great improvements, as they were termed, in this destructive art, took place in this period. Henry V. was the first of our kings who taught his troops to march in straight lines, and at equal distances, with a steady measured pace; and to advance, attack, halt, or fall back, at the word of command, without breaking their ranks. He also made use of military music to veil the horrors of war; for a band of ten clarions, and many other instruments, attended him in France, and played an hour, morning and evening, at his headquarters. Hand-guns were first brought into England by the 300 men, chiefly Flemings, who attended Edward IV. in his march to regain the throne; and that king was the first who, in this country, depended much on his cannon in the field of battle. The Scots, in the middle of this century, brought into use, in battle, certain vehicles carrying two cannons, which were termed *carts of war*. The Swiss also, at the

\* No one in Europe was more fond of military pomp, and of show of every description, than Maximilian; but he cherished the idea of making himself pope, and communicated this thought to his daughter the Archduchess Margaret, in a letter written just before the death of the warlike Julius. After so noted a soldier had been suffered to remain in the papal chair, it is not so wonderful that a fighting emperor aspired to it.

battle of Morat, made use of hand-cannons, which required two men to manage them, and were fired from a rest.\* The cannon used in England were known under various frightful names, such as serpentes, basilisks, scorpions, &c. The greatest changes in the construction of European armies took place by occasion of the wars in Italy, begun by Charles VIII. The different nations which were brought into hostile encounter learned from each other. Through the Swiss, the advantage of regular disciplined armies of infantry was seen. The Spaniards, under Gonsalvo, gave the example of rallying after a repulse, or of retreating, in steady order, after a defeat. The Venetians, in using the *stradiotti*, or hussars, raised in their eastern provinces, showed the advantage of employing light horse to commence the attack, or to pursue a flying enemy.† From that time the strength of an army did not consist, as before, in the number of its heavy armed cavalry, but rather in the disposition of the various bodies of horse and foot; and as greater activity became necessary, and hand-guns were brought into more general use, the heavy armour was dropped, piece by piece, till it was almost abandoned. Regular pay, also, took the place of the obligations of feudal service, and a stronger line was drawn between men of war and men of peace. Under Henry V., a duke's daily pay was equal to 7*l.* of our money, an earl's to half that sum; a baron had 2*l.*; a knight, 1*l.*; a man at arms, 10*s.*; an archer, 5*s.*‡ By reason of the loss of life during the French wars, and those of the Roses, gentlemen were wanting in England to

\* They were called *culverines*, from the Latin *colubra*, a snake or adder; and *falcon* was a name given to some of the French artillery: thus, by general consent, men seemed to allow the likeness between their warfare and that of venomous beasts, or birds of prey; and commentators on the Apocalypse subsequently took up the idea that artillery was described, Rev. ix. 17—19. Nor would I dare to say it is not.

† The *stradiotti* were probably so called from an Italian word, signifying to prepare the way, which was properly their work; and the Hungarian *hussars* owe their name to the huzzas which they were wont to raise when they rushed to the charge.

‡ These sums appear ruinously high, when we are told, in the reign of Henry VI., 5*l.* a-year was a fair living for a yeoman, being equal in value to 50*l.* of our present money.

carry on the civil business of government, and labourers to till the fields. It was then that many landed proprietors, for want of husbandmen, enclosed the land around their residences for pasture grounds, parks, or forests. Within twelve miles of Warwick, the scene of so many contests, sixty villages, some of them large and populous, with churches and monasteries, totally disappeared, having been abandoned and destroyed in these troublous times. But it is reckoned that the industry of the manufacturers of England, and the enterprising spirit of her merchants, served rapidly to restore the wealth expended in the wars of her kings. Commerce, however, was made dangerous by the warlike spirit of the age, of which even the merchantmen so largely partook, that the smaller vessels were continually plundered by the larger; and a trader could obtain letters from his sovereign, empowering him to make reprisals on the vessels even of a friendly state, to indemnify himself from losses sustained from any of its subjects. Pirates, too, again infested the Baltic, and the British seas.

It is recorded that some German and Prussian merchants, probably belonging to the Hanseatic League, complained to Henry IV. that some hundreds of their countrymen had been thrown overboard and drowned by British seamen. The reply to this terrible charge was characteristic of these unhappy and ignorant times:—“When we shall be advertised of the number, names, &c. of the said parties drowned, we will cause prayers, and divers other wholesome remedies, profitable for the souls of the deceased, and acceptable to God and men, to be ordained and provided, on condition that for the souls of our deceased countrymen there be the like remedy provided by you.” In order to prevent the interruption of commerce, treaties between rival powers, and foreign nations, were frequently made; but in the heat of war they were often forgotten; and it was only at the close of the fifteenth century, that the plan of appointing consuls in foreign ports, to watch over the interests of their countrymen, and judge between them, came into operation. Ships, loaded with cargoes of pilgrims, made some of the most profitable voyages; and although Henry VI. granted, in a single year (A. D. 1434), permits for 2433 persons to embark for Spain, to visit the

shrine of St. James of Compostella, the influx of continental pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, brought the balance of this kind of traffic in favour of England. After the age of crusades had passed away, Rome, it appears, was the favourite place of pilgrimage; and our English word, *to roam* (i. e. to wander to a distance), is supposed to have arisen out of the practice of going to that city. The much intercourse that existed between England and Italy may even now be gathered from the multitude of Italian words adopted into our language.\*

We may here observe, that the Mahometan pilgrims flocked to Mecca in greater numbers, and with more regularity, than those called Christian to Rome; repeating as many prayers, and going through an equal number of ceremonies. A gentleman of Bologna, who, about the year 1503, set out on his travels through Egypt, Syria, Arabia, &c., described, at his return, that famous pilgrimage, and ridiculed its many absurdities; in which, however, he joined, in order to secure his safety, whilst he gratified his curiosity. He passed for one of the guard of sixty mamelukes, who attended a caravan of 35,000 pilgrims, with 40,000 camels. The Italian looked upon Mecca as situated in a country cursed of God, producing neither tree, nor herb, nor fruit, nor even water fit to drink; but the great temple, with its colonnades, and its thousands of lamps, excited his wonder and admiration. He might have formed a disadvantageous comparison between the zeal of the pilgrims to Rome and those to Mecca, the former alone having all the allurements of natural and artificial beauty courting them at every step.

Pilgrims in this age, whether Christian or Mahometan, brought those accounts of foreign lands, which are now supplied by travellers and merchants; they formed constant links of communication between distant countries, and were often more adventurous than mere men of business.

\* There are ecclesiastical and theological words naturally learned through the Romish clergy; terms of war, originating in the celebrity of the Italian soldiers; terms of book-keeping, probably adopted through the Lombards, or by means of the Medici houses of business; words used in cookery, and in gambling; names of the commonest sports and pastimes; and expressions of contempt, hatred, and abhorrence, picked up, probably, by crusaders and pilgrims.

Commerce, it is true, was carried on with much spirit in certain places; but merchants, in these times of danger, and whilst navigation was yet imperfect, were glad to find some common meeting-place, so as to divide the risk and fatigue between them. Bruges was the great emporium in the west, and Venice in the east of Europe. In one day of the year 1486, 150 vessels were seen to enter the harbour of Sluys, loaded with goods from the shores of the Mediterranean and the Baltic; and the great fairs of Brabant were frequented by merchants from England, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Scotland, and Ireland. The unenclosed waste on which they were held thus assumed, for twenty days together, the appearance of a populous city; and probably a greater number of foreigners then met together, than will ever think it necessary to assemble under modern business arrangements. We have often referred to the power and opulence of the citizens of the Low Countries. As early as the eleventh century, the manufactures of Brabant and Flanders became famous. Cloth, linen, woollen stuffs, salt, corn, and jewellery, were even then important articles of traffic; and wealth and luxury had been constantly on the increase. It is related that a merchant of Bruges took upon himself the responsibility of paying the ransom of his prince after the battle of Nicopolis; and that another, who was prefect of Valenciennes, went to an annual fair held at Paris, and purchased, on his own account, every article that was for sale. The Flemish citizens lived in a more luxurious style than the kings of England and France. At a repast given by one of the counts of Flanders to the magistrates of Bruges, the seats being unfurnished with cushions, the guests folded their rich cloaks to sit upon. As they were retiring after the feast, without the garments which had been so used, a courtier reminded them of the apparent neglect. "We Flemings," replied one of them, "are not in the habit of carrying away the cushions after dinner." The reproof presents a singular mixture of pride and politeness.

Archery was a favourite sport in the meetings of the towns in Flanders; and those who practised it on festive occasions were attired in silk, and damask, and the finest linen, and carried chains of great weight and value. Female dress and ornament were, before our present

period, so remarkable in Flanders, that, when the wife of Philip the Fair visited Bruges, she exclaimed, "I thought myself the only queen here; but I see six hundred others who appear more so than I." The court of Philip, the Good, and of his son Charles the Rash, wore a splendid appearance. Velvet, satin, gold, and precious stones, seemed the ordinary materials for the dress of either sex; and the very housings of the horses sparkled with brilliants, and cost immense sums. The banquets were in a style of singular magnificence, but accompanied by pageants, which, to our view, appear exceedingly childish.

The first musicians of France were drawn from Flanders; Hubert and John Van Eyck, who flourished at Bruges early in the fifteenth century, were the founders of the Flemish school of painting, which became renowned throughout Europe; and the latter was especially famous for the introduction of oil-painting. In the Netherlands, also, were invented, during the middle ages, the art of lace-making, for which Valenciennes was so famous; weaving or working tapestry, painting on glass, polishing diamonds, &c. But, if we would inquire into the moral state of the country so fruitful in these much admired inventions, we shall find that the greatest corruption of manners, and the most terrible crimes, prevailed. In less than a year, above 1400 murders were committed in the gambling-houses, and other bad places of resort, in the city of Ghent; and, for more than two centuries, the whole population of Holland and Zealand were divided into two contending factions, whose furious quarrels were only terminated by the help of German troops, about the year 1498. One of these parties bore the title of Hoeks (fishing-hooks); the other was called Kaabeljauws (cod-fish); for they originated in a foolish dispute at a feast, as to whether the fish took the hook, or the hook the fish! The Hoeks were the townspeople, and wore red caps; their opponents were the nobles, whose partisans wore grey ones. The contests in the days of Jacqueline, princess of Hainault, and also that in which Maximilian was made prisoner, exhibited the violence of the respective factions.

If we turn from Bruges to Venice, we find even superior magnificence; but the moral atmosphere was equally corrupt, and the political one still more so. It was at the close

of the fifteenth century, that Venice reached the height of its power and grandeur. The discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese awakened the jealousy of the Venetians, but did not as yet interfere with their trade; and their long line of maritime stations, from the Po to the eastern boundary of the Mediterranean, and the mouth of the Don, continued to gather and disperse the merchandise of the entire known world. One of the ancient laws of Venice interdicted the domestic use of silk garments to all but the magistrates;\* but her manufactures supplied the rest of Christendom with this costly attire. The finest wool, imported from Spain and England, was used in her unrivalled cloth manufactures; and the flax of Lombardy was largely consumed in the making of fine linen. Even the produce of a commodity apparently so trifling as gilt leather brought in 100,000 ducats yearly. Liqueurs, confectionery, and waxen tapers—so largely used in Roman Catholic worship—were among the exports of Venice; the choicest chemical preparations needed in medicine or the arts, proceeded from her laboratories; and her glass-houses, which, like her silk-looms, were borrowed from the East, supplied the palaces of Europe with elegant vessels, mirrors, &c., and the half-naked Africans of the savage world with the favourite ornament of beads. Of the printing-presses of Venice, we have already spoken; and the trade in books was probably very lucrative. It may be mentioned that the *Italic* character, supposed to be an imitation of the handwriting of Petrarch, was invented there, and issued first from the Aldine press.

When Frederic III. and his newly married consort, Eleonora of Portugal, returned from their coronation at Rome, they visited Venice, and witnessed its magnificence during a series of festivities intended to do them honour. At a public ball, they mingled in the dance with the patricians and noble dames. Besides a golden crown set with jewels, made for the occasion, the young empress, then only fifteen, was presented by the friendly state with a

\* According to law, all classes were to appear in cloaks of the same material—Paduan cloth; but the nobles wore these cloaks open, displaying their rich dress underneath, and in the house threw them off, and appeared only in doublets of silk, and other rich material, with trimmings of lace, &c.

costly mantle, and a purple coverlet for the cradle of her expected babe, the yet unborn Maximilian: the coverlet was interwoven with pearls. Among the presents offered to Frederic was a magnificent service of the purest crystal glass, which, it appears, the needy emperor would gladly have seen exchanged for gold and silver.

Not to linger over other descriptions of Venetian wealth, we may mention some particulars given by Comines, the ambassador of Charles VIII. The noblemen who received him were clothed in silk and scarlet; the large gondola in which he was conducted to the palace was covered with crimson satin; and as he passed along the Grand Canal, he was so greatly impressed with the appearance of the city, that he concluded nothing like it could be seen elsewhere. "Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone. The ancient houses be all painted; but the rest have their front all of white marble, brought thither out of Istria, 100 miles thence." As to the interiors, he says, "In the most part of them are at the least two chambers, the seeling whereof is gilded, the mantle-trees of the chimnies verie rich, to wit, of graven marble, the bedsteds gilded, the presses painted and vermeiled with golde, and marvellous well furnished with stuffe."

A thousand years had elapsed since Venice was founded by the fugitives who fled before Attila\* and, from the year 827, when some Venetian merchants secretly transported from Alexandria to their own shores the supposed relics of St. Mark—a fraudulent undertaking that was accompanied with great danger—a picture of the evangelist himself, or of the lion usually represented at his side, was blazoned on the standards, or impressed on the coinage of the republic; and, both in war and peace, the shout of their assemblies was, "Viva San Marco."† The memory of the evangelist was insulted rather than honoured by

\* See Vol. II. p. 135.

† The meaning of the traditionary symbol of St. Mark—the lion—has been a subject of vain discussion, some arguing that it is borrowed from the prophetic visions of Daniel and Ezekiel. Suffice it to say, the Lion of Venice had a book in its paws (a sword in time of war), and was represented with wings, and sitting; to signify, as we are told, the wisdom, promptness, and considerateness of the Venetian counsellors.

these distinctions; as every thing that is contrary to the teaching of the Spirit in his gospel abounded in the State which, in *his* name, set up her banners.

For 300 years, dating from her participation in the conquest of Constantinople,\* Venice might be reckoned the richest and most powerful of the states of Europe. Up to the time of the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese at the commencement of the sixteenth century, she absorbed the commerce between Christendom and the East. Even after the loss of her share of Constantinople,† her merchants lived like princes in its suburbs, having no other rivals in their traffic than the Genoese; she was mistress of Candia, Zante, Corfu, and all the fairest islands of the Grecian seas, and retained on the adjoining continent, Friuli, and some of the fairest provinces of Northern Italy, and, on the other side of the gulf, Istria and Albania; the Dalmatic Islands, and the city of Zara, were also hers. In token of the exclusive sovereignty asserted over the Adriatic, the ruling doge, for many centuries, as an annual ceremony (instituted, it was said, originally by papal license), dropped a ring into its waters.‡ The city, enthroned, as it is said, on a hundred isles, was deemed the fit spouse, as well as the queen of the sea.

\* See Vol. IV. chap. vi.

† Vol. IV. chap. xi.

‡ In a speech of eloquent vehemence, delivered by Helian, the French ambassador, before a German diet convened by Maximilian, to obtain means to carry on the Venetian war, this custom is alluded to in no complimentary terms:—"These brides of Neptune espouse the sea by a ring; a folly unheard-of among other naval powers, whether they be Tyrians, Carthaginians, Rhodians, Athenians, Romans, Persians, or Genoese, but worthily adopted by these insatiate whales, these infamous corsairs . . . who on all sides besiege the ocean, and are far more to be dreaded than any sea-monsters, quicksands, sunken rocks, or hurricanes." The orator spared no rhetoric to stir up the frigid Germans. He told them the Venetians had encountered in the field the armies of four great confederated princes; that they had wrested from the King of Hungary 300 islands, two extensive provinces, twelve episcopal cities, and a range of ports spreading along 500 miles of coast; and that they had repeatedly triumphed over the Emperors of Constantinople, the Lords of Padua and Verona, the Dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, the Emperors of the West, the Popes, and the Kings of Naples. This harangue, of which we can give but a brief notice, showed the bitterness of national jealousy, and exhibited both the pride and power of Venice in the strongest light. The Germans and their emperor, and even the French, being counted *barbarians*, had

The valuable island of Cyprus came under the rule of the republic in a singular manner, at the close of the fifteenth century. The queen-consort happened to be the daughter of a Venetian noble, and, as she had been married under the title of "a daughter of St. Mark," she was required, in her widowhood, to resign her sceptre to the state; and, in its stead, such honours were assigned to her as had never been previously bestowed upon any of her sex at Venice. Her picture, in widow's weeds, was one of the earliest great works of the most celebrated Venetian painter, Titian, who was rising into fame at the close of our present period.

The cities of Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo, after all the struggles and revolutions that marked the war resulting from the League of Cambray, remained under the yoke of Venice; and, at the close of our present period, the strongest bulwark against the Turks; as well as the chief link between Europe and the eastern world, was this far-famed republic. On her crowded quays were seen more valuable merchandise, and a greater and more various assemblage of foreigners, than all the rest of Europe could boast; her buildings—the accumulated fruits of centuries of labour—were of a magnificent character, and her nobles could vie with, or exceed the princes of their age in the splendour of their palaces. Venice, in short, might be deemed the paradise of men who found enjoyment either in pomp and pleasure, or in the bustle of commerce. But we have already glanced at a gloomy feature in this scene of earthly delights—the tyrannical character of the government; and this attained its climax in the age before us.\* The hereditary nobles of Venice now amounted to about 1200; † their numbers made deliberation difficult, and, not satisfied with committing

been ridiculed in their language, dress, habits, and manners, in the theatres of Venice, in popular spectacles, and in satirical caricatures.

\* The reader may look back at Vol. IV. p. 347, also p. 127 of this volume.

† One who could prove himself to be a descendant of the original Great Council, which conducted the affairs of Venice in the days of the Crusades, was admitted at the age of twenty-five on the list of nobles, and had his name inscribed in a golden book. For certain offences, the name might be erased from this book.

the government into the hands of a few of their own body, called the Council of Ten, they thought farther to secure the power of the state, and the maintenance of their own privileges, by consenting to the absolute jurisdiction of three members belonging to the Council of Ten, who were rightly styled *Inquisitors of State*. The new political system was entirely after the fashion of the Inquisition,\* and was adopted about the year 1454. The names of the dread triumvirate were only known to the council out of which and by which they were chosen; their statutes and decrees lay hid in a chest, of which each kept the key by turn; all who were brought before their tribunal were arrested in the name of the president of the council, and neither prisoners nor accusers were permitted to see the persons of the three judges. Secrecy was felt necessary for the support of tyranny. The payment of the spies employed by the inquisitors cost the state 200,000 ducats yearly: no spot in Venice was safe from them. Nobles, commercial citizens, Jews, but more commonly priests, executed this odious office, the latter betraying the confidence reposed in them at confession. The honours, as well as the wealth of the state, were lavished on the spies; and often the lives of criminals were saved, on condition of their devoting themselves to this work: to taunt them was a crime, and the gentle name given to them by the government was *raccordanti*, i. e. remembrancers. These, however, were not the only sources of information. At the corner of every street were receptacles, emphatically termed *lions' mouths*, through which informations, anonymous or otherwise, were transmitted to the jealous government. Arrests were sudden and secret, often by night; the accused was not confronted with his accuser, and frequently left ignorant of the nature of the accusation against him; torture, of the most cruel nature, was used to extort confessions, and even to extract evidence from persons supposed capable of giving it. If an obnoxious individual could not be arrested without danger, means were taken to assassinate or poison him. In the bosom of families, in

\* It is remarkable that the Holy Inquisition, as it was termed, had far less power in the Venetian States than elsewhere; its funds were managed, and its proceedings controlled, by the senate. Heresy alone was judged before its tribunal; the Jews were shielded from it.

the ball-room, in the highest and lowest places of resort, and even in the public streets, the spies continually plied their work; and, of whatever rank was the individual who suddenly disappeared from society, it was dangerous to inquire his fate, and a mortal offence to lament him.\* From the government palace, to which arrested persons were carried, they were, according to the nature of their sentence, conducted over a bridge which led to the opposite prison, and left to languish in its dungeons; † or they were put into a boat, and drowned in the canal called Orfano, under cover of the night. ‡ If dismissed, it was not by any formal acquittal; and in such a case, which was very rare, the gaoler only opened the door of the prison, using language to this effect: "What are you doing here? Go about your business!"

If one of the three inquisitors betrayed the duties imposed upon him by his office, his colleagues might take counsel with the doge, and, by obtaining his consent,

\* The nature of the Venetian government has been thus emphatically described:—

"Subtle, invisible,  
And universal as the air they breathed;  
A power that never slumber'd, never pardon'd,  
All eye, all ear, nowhere, and everywhere,  
Entering the closet and the sanctuary,  
Most present when least thought of—nothing dropt  
In secret when the heart was on the lips,  
Nothing in feverish sleep, but instantly  
Observed and judged—a power, that if but glanced at  
In casual converse, be it where it might,  
The speaker lower'd at once his eyes, his voice,  
And pointed upwards, as to God in heaven!"

† There were places of confinement under the leaden roof of the ducal palace, called *the Piombi*, and others beneath the level of the canals in the hollowed walls of the palace—*the Pozzi*.

‡ A modern poet of our own writes:

"I stood in Venice, on *the Bridge of Sighs*,  
A palace and a prison on each hand;  
I saw from out the wave her structures rise  
As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand:  
A *thousand years* their cloudy wings expand  
Around me, and a dying glory smiles  
O'er the far times, when many a subject land  
Look'd to *the winged Lion's marble piles*,  
Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles!"

destroy the offender by poison. The nobles and clergy alike felt the iron hand of the triumvirate: no intercourse was permitted them with foreign ministers or priests, under pain of death; and the houses of the ambassadors who resided at Venice were ever watched with the most jealous care. It is supposed that the lower classes were reconciled to the existing tyranny, by seeing that its weight fell principally upon those above them; and that the higher orders consented to such a state of things, because any one of their number might hope some day to become a member of the Council of Ten: they seemed also to prefer the gloomy political tranquillity of Venice, the populous streets of which were never the scene of a single tumult, to the disturbances which so often shook the freer cities of Italy. But it is only of late years that the secret archives of Venice have been explored, and the real odiousness and cruelty of its political system fully brought to light. Whilst it shows that the Venetian senators were wise in their generation, it gives one an idea of what men will do, and what they will bear, to maintain worldly power and wealth, and to have a great name for their country in the earth; for this horrible form of government was persisted in down to the latest days of the republic, falsely so called.

The manners and habits of the Greeks of Constantinople, of which we have often spoken, and even the style of their dress, and the customs and formalities of the court, were imitated by the Turks, when they became masters of the imperial city: in fact, they had been learning in some manner from the Greeks during their previous conquests; and it was not surprising, that on taking possession of the city, so long the envy of the Mahometan world, the victors adopted all that they admired.\* The style of building used in the moschs, and especially the cupola form of roof, was really of Greek origin; and the artists employed at Moscow, during the latter part of the fifteenth century and onwards, so effectually imitated, in the buildings of

\* A Mahometan devotee who visited Constantinople in the thirteenth century, and described, or rather exaggerated its many wonders, and especially the famous church of S. Sophia, wound up his story by saying, "This city, which is greater than its fame, may God of his bounty and grace make the capital of Islamism." The wish was now realised.

the Kremlin, the models seen in Constantinople, that even modern travellers are astonished at the resemblance.\* The church called St. Michael, adjoining the palace of the czars, and built in remembrance of S. Sophia, was finished about fifty years after Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and in the same year that Julius II. laid the foundation-stone of St. Peter's at Rome.

Europe, as we view it from north to south, and from east to west, at the close of the fifteenth century, was rising towards, and in some parts gaining the same level of literature and civilisation, which the Roman empire had reached about the time of the Christian era; the general cultivation of the Latin tongue, and its direct use as a medium of communication between foreigners, may remind us of those days when it was not a *dead* language; and in our concluding chapter we shall perceive that all these things, in the kind providence of God, helped forwards a religious revolution, more memorable than any of the great changes that had taken place since the days of the apostles.

But we cannot close this sketch without glancing beyond the limits of Christendom; and, in doing so, we may remark, that the arts and the sciences, the luxuries and the refinements, as well as the mere conveniences of life, have sprung up freely, and have been cultivated ardently, in the disregard of revealed religion, and in the practice of the falsest religions that were ever invented; and though Christianity cannot exist without producing civilisation, the highest civilisation may flourish in the absence of Christianity. Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Athens, Rome, &c. were, in their day, witnesses to this fact; nor will it astound the contemplative mind, nor one versed in the knowledge of man as portrayed in God's word, and in every page of his history, that with an apostasy which makes man *everything*, the present advanced era of science and civilisation will surely close.†

\* "The strange and brilliant summits of so large an assemblage of churches, the contrast of bright colours with which many of them are painted, the curious architecture of the mural and other towers, and, above all, the palace of the czars, form a picture of more than ordinary pomp, which perhaps can nowhere be paralleled, except it be on the banks of the Bosphorus."—*Russian Church Architecture*.

† The important bearing of the prophecies to this effect, on our es-

Revealed religion is the parent of all that really ennobles man in God's sight, of all the spiritual joy he ever tasted, and of all the solid morality that ever adorned him; but what is commonly esteemed noble, and joyous, and moral, may be seen without it; and in much of that which is the boast of the nations of Christendom, Pagans and Mahometans have instructed and outstripped them. These principles it is most important to keep in view, lest even the Christian glory in *anything* but his Lord. (Compare 1 Cor. i. 31 and Jer. ix. 23, 24.) At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the Tartar, the Persian, and still more the Chinese court, probably also those of India, Abyssinia, and Mexico, presented spectacles of magnificence which we look for in vain, even at the close of this period, in the courts of Christendom, Rome perhaps excepted; and it may be that glittering externals, and even favourite national customs, would be less gloried in, if these facts were considered.

Clavijo, the ambassador of Henry III. of Castile to the court of Tamerlane, describes his journey thither, and all that he met with during his stay. He was dismissed from Samarcand in the year 1404, during the conqueror's last illness; and the forwardness of the Spanish mind in this period is evident in his whole story. On arriving at the military capital of North Persia, then a part of the Tartar empire, Clavijo saw one of those fearful monuments of the deeds whereby Tamerlane arrived at the pitch of grandeur we are about to describe. It consisted of four great towers, each a stone's throw in height, formed entirely of human skulls, the interstices being filled up with mud. These were the relics of 60,000 Turkomans, who had been hunted down by the khan. But the Spanish ambassador found him seated on cushions of embroidered silk, his elbows supported by pillows, and a fountain playing before him. Samarcand, the imperial city, or rather its suburbs, had been filled by 100,000 persons, brought from the conquered countries, including the most skilful artisans of every description; and the khan's troops perpetually watched the entrances, and even the banks of the Oxus, to

timate of all that is going on around us, induces me in all seriousness and humility so often to refer to them.

prevent the return of any of these unhappy workmen to their own homes. Tartar, Russian, and Chinese merchants traded to Samarcand, and the caravans that arrived there from India brought finer spices than could be procured even in the markets of Alexandria. The khan, for the convenience of his couriers, had established caravan-serais, at a day's journey from each other, along the line of road leading to his capital, and each contained 100 or 200 horses; if these proved insufficient to secure the desired speed, his messengers were empowered to seize any they might meet by the way. Tamerlane often changed his residence, during the stay of the Spanish embassy, and every new palace seemed to surpass the preceding one in grandeur. But when the khan and his nobility, to the number of 20,000, pitched their tents in a vast plain, after the original fashion of the Horde, the greatest degree of magnificence was displayed. Some of the tents were hung with silk and gold tissue, adorned with pearls, rubies, and precious stones; and in those of the emperor, the tables were of gold, and all the utensils of gold, silver, or the finest porcelain. The feasts were distinguished more for abundance than elegance, and Old England itself seems never to have rivalled Tartar hospitality. The guests were taught to consider as their own all that was served up on the tables before them; and the Spanish ambassador asserts, that if his servants had made use of the privilege of carrying away the remains, they might have gathered enough after one feast to serve for half a-year. The roasted carcasses of sheep and *horses* were carried on the backs of camels from the kitchens to those who were to carve them; the boiled meat was dragged up into the banquetting room, with some difficulty, in the immense leathern bags in which it was cooked; and these being ripped open, it was soon cut to pieces. Wine was only introduced by the order of the khan, but then it was served in great abundance; and it was considered a proof of loyalty and good breeding, to drink as freely as it was offered. Those who pretended to drink in honour of the emperor, were expected to drain off their bumpers at one draught; and the man who could drink most was greeted with the complimentary title of *bahidar*. When the principal wife and daughter-in-law of Tamerlane invited the Spaniards to a

feast, they repeatedly emptied their cups, as it was said, to do them honour.

Mirza Shah Rokh, a son of Tamerlane, in the confusion that followed his father's death, obtained the throne of Persia, and reigned at Herat, in the splendour of an oriental sovereign, adopting the superior manners, and making use of the civilisation of the conquered people for his own glory. In 1419, he despatched ambassadors to the Emperor of China, and with them he sent painters and journalists, that he might obtain an accurate idea of the state of that ancient empire. A celebrated Persian historian wrote the narrative of this expedition. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, whose accuracy was questioned till succeeding visitors confirmed his accounts, had described China in the thirteenth century;\* and Ibn Batuta, a celebrated Mahometan pilgrim, had given his report of it in the fourteenth century.† Their descriptions prepare the mind for the account given by the Persians of the populousness and civilisation of the country, the industry and ingenuity of the inhabitants, the strictness of the police, and the general good order. The ambassadors from Herat were joined by those of Khorassan and the neighbouring parts; and, as several merchants entered their train to gain an introduction, the whole company amounted to 860 persons. The chief Persian was required on oath to give the name of each one of his retinue, on reaching the frontiers of China; and he was warned, that if he did not speak the truth, he would be despised. As the travellers were crossing the desert of Kobi, and yet fourteen days distant from Socheu, the frontier town of the empire, the Chinese came forth to meet them; and, during the rest of the journey, they were daily lodged in

\* The immense populousness of China is described by Marco Polo; and he states that every housholder was required to affix a writing at his door, at least at the time of a census, specifying the names of every individual under his roof, and the number of his horses. Thus the public officers could estimate the number and resources of the people in their various districts.

† This traveller describes a paper currency as then in use in China; and mentions the practice of affixing to the city walls the pictures of any strangers who were passing through the country, in order to render their appearance familiar to the public eye, and thus make their detection more easy if they did anything amiss.

tents, or huts, erected for their accommodation, and served abundantly with provisions, set on porcelain dishes, and with a variety of strong liquors. No country in the world could, at this period, furnish such accommodation to travellers as China. At Socheu, the whole of the 860 persons were lodged in a public building over the gate of the city, and even the servants had mattresses and coverlets allowed to them. Several of the streets of this city are described as covered galleries, or halls, like modern arcades, having shops on both sides, and a handsome saloon at the entrance, adorned with pictures. In a ninety-five days' journey, from Socheu to Cambalu (Pekin), the Persian train were lodged every night in some large town; and all along the road they noticed certain edifices, answering the purposes of the posting-houses and telegraphs of modern times. The former, termed *kidifu*, were built at intervals of about seven miles, and must have been on a very extensive scale, as they furnished the travellers with 450 horses, mules, and asses, together with fifty-six chariots, or waggons. The latter, termed *kargu*, were high structures, erected within sight of each other, in which persons, relieved every ten days, were always on the watch. The intention of them was to communicate alarms to the seat of government, which could be done, by means of fires lighted in one after another, so speedily, that intelligence could be conveyed in a day and night from a distance of three months' journey. In Kancheu, the Persians noticed eleven temples, furnished in the most gorgeous manner; and in one of them was an idol, fifty feet long, lying in a sleeping posture, gilt all over, besides a multitude of smaller ones "in such natural attitudes, that they seemed to be alive." But the great wonder of this city was its *turning tower*, to which, observes the Persian, all the smiths, carpenters, and painters of the world ought to go, to learn the secrets of their respective trades. It is described as an octagon, fifteen stories high, each measuring twelve cubits, and all the chambers finely varnished, and adorned with paintings. In a vault below the edifice was an iron axis, resting on a metal plate, reaching from the bottom to the top of the tower, and so ingeniously contrived, that the whole could be easily turned round upon it.

Cambalu itself, agreeably to the earlier account of Marco

Polo, was of surpassing splendour; the imperial palace was on the most magnificent scale; and of the 300,000 persons dwelling around it, about 2000 are said to have been musicians, employed in chaunting hymns for the emperor's prosperity.\* Great ceremony was observed at the court; the emperor sat on a throne of massy gold, which he ascended by nine steps of silver; and on each side of the throne young and beautiful females stood, with pen and ink, ready to write down his words; the grave mandarins stood around in silent state, with tablets in their hands; and, at the same time that the Persian ambassadors were introduced, about 700 criminals were brought in, some with chains round their necks, but most of them with their head and hands enclosed in a board, as many as six being fastened together in one frame. After the prisoners were dismissed, a Chinese officer brought the strangers to the foot of the throne, and told his master whence they came, adding that they brought him presents, and had come to knock their heads in the dust before him. Then the ambassadors bowed to the ground, after the Persian fashion, and presented the letters of Shah Rokh, wrapped in yellow satin. The ceremonies being ended, they were dismissed to their lodging, and provided for with great hospitality. The daily allowance, for six persons, consisted of a sheep, a goose, and two fowls, besides a great quantity of vegetables and fruit. *Tea* also was among the luxuries with which they were regaled. At some entertainments given by the emperor, the ambassador witnessed the skill of the Chinese jugglers,

\* According to Marco Polo's description, the palace, which had no upper story, was a mile in length, surrounded by a marble wall, two paces wide, resembling a terrace. The apartments were very lofty; the inside walls covered with carvings and paintings, the roof splendidly ornamented within, and painted without, the windows of some transparent substance, as clear as crystal. At the angles of the first wall surrounding the palace were great buildings that served as magazines. Between that wall and the second was a park full of trees, and stocked with game. Within the second wall and the third the soldiers were exercised; and the outside walls of the great square enclosure measured eight miles, and were surrounded by a deep ditch. A great gate stood in each side; and the inner square had three gates to the north, and three to the south, the most magnificent of which was reserved only for the emperor.

dancers, and musicians. Two of the latter played together the same air, each having one hand on his own flute, and the other on that of his companion. After all, the ambassadors were glad to escape with their lives, for it happened that the emperor, when on a hunting excursion, had a severe fall from a horse sent to him by the Shah, which was too spirited for him to manage, and his displeasure would have proved fatal to the Persian officers, had not his own servants interceded for their safe dismissal.

The only account of India that has come down to us from the fifteenth century was procured in a singular manner. Nicolo Conti, a Venetian, who had been in that country, applied to Eugenius IV. for an absolution from the sin of having denied the Christian religion for his own security among the heathen. That ingenious pontiff replied, that he would absolve him, but, by way of penance, required the traveller to give a faithful narrative of his wanderings to his secretary, the learned Poggio, who took it all down in Latin. India was then divided amongst a number of independent princes, and Ava is described as one of its finest cities, inhabited by a gay and dissolute people. The sovereign of Pegu, in his barbaric grandeur, maintained 10,000 elephants. The king of Bisnagur had 12,000 wives; and of these, 2000, who were favourites, were considered worthy of the honour of burning themselves on his funeral pile. The customs of idolatrous India were, in other respects, similar to what they are in our own day; and Conti mentions the devotees who threw themselves under the wheels of the idol's car.

Christendom, perhaps, was never more devoid of a missionary spirit than in this unhappy period. The ignorant attempts of the Portuguese to convert the natives of Africa, and the cruel zeal of the Spanish priests, are but as blots on the page of missionary record; and 300 years were yet to elapse before the Church put forth any power that could bear with happy effect on those vast regions to which we have been referring. But, blessed be God, the gospel, in our times, is being preached in all quarters of the globe; and, as the witness of divine love, is brought before China as well as India, proving everywhere, the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.

## CHAPTER XXV.

CHRISTIAN PROFESSION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,  
AND THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

PROPHETIC PICTURES OF THE APOSTASY. — THE TITLES AND GLORIES OF THE CHURCH AND OF JERUSALEM. — THEIR USURPATION BY THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. — GRAND FEATURES OF THE ROMISH RELIGION. — INDIVIDUAL EXCEPTIONS TO THE ERRORS AND VICES OF THE MASS. — A LINE OF ENGLISH WITNESSES AGAINST THE CORRUPT PRACTICES AND DOCTRINES OF THE ROMISH CHURCH. — THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER THE ARCHBISHOPS ARUNDEL AND CHICHELY. — ABJURATIONS IN THE DIOCESE OF SALISBURY. — MARTYRDOM OF LAURENCE GHEST. — MARTYRS IN 1521 AND 1511. — CHARACTER GIVEN BY A PAPIST TO THE FOLLOWERS OF WICLIFFE. — IMAGE-WORSHIP IN ENGLAND. — THE AMBASSADOR OF HENRY VIII. AT ROME HELPS TO SECURE THE POPE'S FORGIVENESS FOR VENICE. — HUMILIATION OF THE VENETIAN AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE POPE. — JULIUS II., OUT OF STATE POLICY, IN SPITE OF PRECEDENTS URGED BY HIS MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES, FOREGOES THE FLOGGING OF THESE DEPUTIES. — THE POPE'S FRIENDSHIP FOR HENRY VIII. SEEMS TO BODE NO GOOD TO ENGLAND. — GOD'S POWER OVER THE HEARTS OF KINGS.

"*I wondered with great wonder,*" is the simple record of the beloved disciple's feelings when he first beheld a significant *image* of those things which the history of the apostasy from Christ's religion brings actually before us ;\* and the Christian who dwells on the realities, of which the last pro-

\* I venture again to make use of Rev. xvii. and xviii. as at least containing a complete portraiture of the Roman Catholic apostasy, whatever wider interpretation they may, and doubtless will, bear. In my present inquiry into the meaning of these chapters, I am especially instructed and comforted by the fact, that notwithstanding the extreme badness of what is described, a *heavenly people* are in the midst of it (see xviii. 4; another voice *from heaven*, saying, Come out of her *my* people); and they are not called out, till the sins of that with which they are associated have reached up to heaven (ver. 5).

phet of the Church presented the symbols, will surely re-echo the expressive language, "*I wondered with great wonder*" (lit. Greek). For though the Holy Spirit, in the prophecies of the New Testament, and especially in the closing one, fully informs the attentive believer of what may be expected along the whole course of human history, this does not dispossess him of wonder: he stops at every turn to compare the existing condition of men with those prophetic pictures, and ever and again, as he marks the fidelity and comprehensiveness of the outline, the striking expression conveyed by every stroke, the intensity and yet the truth of all the lights and shades, with the fulness and simplicity of the colouring, he passes even from the apostles, who were, like the brushes of the artist, mere instruments in the painting, and exclaims, "*This is the finger of God.*" Wonder then is admissible, as long as it is the wonder of a worshipper of God; and may this ever be to us its limit; for the same apostle who tells us of his holy wonder, describes also the wonder of the worshippers of a man (see Rev. xiii. 3); and ours is a day in which there is special need to guard against any undue surprise, or admiration, at the things which man may be permitted to effect.

Let us briefly refer to the chief features of the false Church, which have been staring us in the face during another century of the world's history, in order to mark their likeness to the seductive woman and the seductive city, the same evil thing\* under different aspects, described in the Revelation of St. John.

One of the highest titles of the Church is assuredly that of the Bride, the Lamb's Wife. (See Revelation xxi. 9, compared with xix. 7, 8; Ephesians v. 23—32; John iii. 29; Romans vii. 4; 2 Cor. xi. 2.) No human language could convey a stronger idea of that close and inseparable union which grace alone could purpose or bring to pass. In like manner, we may say, the highest future glories of Jerusalem and her children are expressed under the figure of such a relationship. (See Hosea ii. 16—20; Isa. lxii. 5, and probably the Song of Solomon.) And if *the Bride* and *the Wife* be the most glorious and endear-

\* See Rev. xvii. 18. Compare also xvii. 5 and xviii. 2, 21; xvii. 2 and xviii. 9; xvii. 16 and xviii. 18; xvii. 4 and xviii. 12.

ing titles that can ever be bestowed on saved sinners, with respect to their *individual* relationship to the Lord their Saviour, the title or symbol of *the City* seems to be the most important, with regard to the *corporate* relationships of the Church, or of Jerusalem in her future earthly glory; and with regard also to the bearings of either on the wide circle which they are respectively to influence. (See, with regard to the Church, Rev. xxi. 10, &c.; Heb. xii. 22; Eph. ii. 19—22; and with regard to the Israel of God, Is. lx. 14; Eze. xlviii. 35; Ps. xlviii.; Mi. iv. 2; Zec. xiv. 8, 16, 17.)

Now it is plain that Rome and her dependent system — the Church falsely so called — had assumed the title of the Spouse of Christ, and was also called Holy Mother; she had usurped also the place promised to Jerusalem in the earth, and had arrogated to herself all the glories and dignities that could be culled from one end of the Bible to the other. It was pretended that the Pope held the place of Christ himself, so that he was entitled to be addressed as the head or husband of the Church: and the appellation of Holy Father was also given to him: the *only* streams of life were said to be those dispensed by him, or according to his appointment; and to go up to Rome was held to be as high a duty and gain, as to go up to Jerusalem once was, and yet again will be. The fitting and expressive symbols for a system that took such a position as this, through the mere activity of human corruption, and the power of Satan's agency, were *the woman* and *the city*, as described in Revelation xvii. and xviii.; the woman bearing the worst instead of the best name that woman can ever bear, and not the *holy* mother, but the mother of abominations; the city, not Jerusalem the *holy*, but Babylon the Great; not to be the habitation of God, but to become the habitation of devils.

If we would know how the people of God could be at any time in connection with this evil system, we must consider that one of its prominent characteristics is *mystery* (Revelation xvii. 5); and it is most plain that the saints, who, in each succeeding age, we have seen attached to it, either did not understand, or would not participate in its fatal errors and positive wickedness. If we would know how people in general were taken and held fast in these deadly snares, the description of the allurements

at the entrance, of the drunkenness\* within, and of the severities which barred all escape, may sufficiently answer; but it may serve to destroy any lingering high opinion of our fallen nature, when we see that purple and scarlet, and gold and precious stones, &c., could render men insensible to the deepest spiritual and moral degradation; and that any abominations could be gulped down, so long as they were presented in a golden cup: we mean, as we believe the symbols referred to mean, that the glittering externals of the apostate Church drew the regard of the multitude, and united them with it, in spite of all its corruptions in doctrine and practice; moreover, gain was almost universally substituted for godliness, and bodily service for spiritual worship. One who writes with more irony than it becomes a plain Christian to use, points to the latter fact in the following terms:—"If God was to be praised, it was not to be done with the heart, but with the very best organs and choristers that could be got together for love or money; the robe of righteousness might not be put on, but if lace, brocade, embroidery, &c., could be of any service, there they were at heaven's command; the prayers which were said might not be of a very sweet smelling savour, but then there was the choicest incense of Arabia to make up for it. The light within was not so bright as might be wished, but candles were abundant. The soul was not literally humbled with fasting, but the body undertook to dine upon ten or a dozen sorts of choice fish, with soups, vegetables, and fruits, dressed after the most cunning fashion, and what (*thought they*) could be required more!"

The carnal delights proffered by this evil system were conspicuous; but the most striking of the features that met the eye of the last prophet of the Church,† when carried away in the spirit to that moral wilderness which we have been traversing in history, was "the woman drunken with

\* The effect of literal drunkenness sufficiently explains the spiritual meaning of the term. (See Isa. xxviii. 1, 7, where erring and stumbling in judgment are attributed to this cause.)

† The apostle John is called the *last prophet of the Church* in the sense of his being the last who foretold us the things that should come to pass; and because he holds out *to the Church* no expectation of any prophecy between that which he delivered and the Lord's coming.

*the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;*" with which agrees the relation concerning the city, "in her was found *the blood of prophets and of saints,*" only here it is added, "*and of all that were slain upon the earth.*" (Rev. xvii. 6; xviii. 24.) The bloodguiltiness of the apostate Church cannot be denied, and surely it was as fruitful a parent of general wars, as of particular persecutions. Therein lay the mainsprings of the crusades of every description; therein might be found the sources of the chief wars of Christendom, up to the moment when Julius II. took the sword into his own hand. There was ecclesiastical instigation, ecclesiastical absolution from solemn treaties, and ecclesiastical sanction to secular ambition, or indulgence of its own; and there were even ecclesiastics themselves in the heat of almost every battle; and the *great city*, that is, the united municipal government of the false Church, whilst it said before the whole world, by word and deed, I SIT A QUEEN, was absolutely responsible for the universal slaughter.\* In the very name of *Roman Catholic* we have a constant remembrance of the apocalyptic vision; for the seven-hilled city, glorifying herself, and overflowing with all that is dainty and goodly, may well describe Rome; and the "peoples, multitudes, nations, and tongues" reigned over, support her claim to be called Catholic; but the true Church of Christ, be it remembered, is not a gathering of nations, but a gathering *out* of all nations (Acts xv. 14; Rev. v. 9); and that which claims present glory and universality cannot be regarded as the Bride, the Lamb's Wife.

The popedom was, in fact, a perpetual slander on the kingdom of Christ, which it professed to represent; it bore

\* This is not the place to enter farther into the solemn chapters referred to, but it may be useful to notice that the devil and all his powers are first seen supporting this queen of the world (Rev. xvii. 3); and in a later stage of her history the kings of the earth are no longer reigned over by her, and no more maintain her glory, but they hate her, and make her desolate, and burn her with fire (ver. 16). That event, however, does not issue, as some are anticipating, in the kingdoms of this world becoming the kingdoms of Christ, but rather in their coming under the absolute power of the Beast, *i. e.* the Antichrist (ver. 17). That enemy runs out his course, after the destruction of the woman, and is only destroyed by the coming of the Lord. (2 Thess. ii. 8, with Rev. xix. 11—20.)

false witness against the character and the ways of the blessed God in every one of its acts. We have seen that, instead of calling no man father upon earth, in God's place, as Christ had commanded, the multitudes who held the Christian profession were content to style the vilest of mankind "Most Holy Father;" the cardinals, or chief priests, the prince-archbishops of Germany, the abbots, and the dignified clergy of other countries, who bore so many unscriptural and high-sounding titles, were, for the most part, worthy only of such a father as they owned at Rome; the minor priests and monks, lower servants of the same system, too faithfully copied the manners of their superiors; and when even its lowest slaves, pretending not to the purple and scarlet, and dazzling decorations of the hierarchy, put on a mean appearance, gloried in garments filled with vermin, and walked abroad with lowly looks, their actual character was so notorious, as to be made the theme of poets and prose-writers, who had not themselves any nice sense of morality.\* In fact, the acme of ecclesiastical wickedness seems to have been reached in the period immediately preceding the Protestant Reformation; the experiment was tried how *much* vice would be tolerated under the name of the holy religion of Christ; and when she who sat as a queen saw some of her fairest dominions wrested from her rule, she assumed more decent manners, and veiled some of her grosser abominations, in order to preserve her sovereignty, or to delay the destruction to which she is doomed. Among the articles of traffic

\* It has been remarked, that every discreditably adventure related by the novelists of this day, always had reference to priests, friars, or nuns. Ariosto and Berni, the chief poets of Italy at the opening of the sixteenth century, directed some keen shafts in this direction; and the latter, after describing the saintly appearance, and pretended devotion, of some of the licentious priests around him, bursts out against their hypocrisy in language which has been thus translated:—

—These are the sinful generation, these  
Of whom God's fiercest hatred is the lot;  
All errors else his eye with pity sees,  
Beholding them, his anger waxeth hot.  
Wretches! ye glow without, within ye freeze!  
Ye whited tombs! while bones beneath ye rot.  
Away with trimming thus the outward part;  
Inward direct your looks, and cleanse the heart.

enumerated in the market of "that great city Babylon," there were *souls of men*. (Rev. xviii. 13.) This is most important as bearing on the religion of which Rome was the centre. It served to foster crime, rather than prevent it; it dared to separate sin and suffering; it presented a new gospel which is not a gospel, proposing a way of salvation which did not draw the sinner to the Saviour, and part him from his sins, as does the gospel of the grace of God; it corrupted revealed truth, and quenched even the light of conscience. Divine forgiveness was represented as a commodity for sale in Rome's market; to be bought during the soul's sojourn in the body by certain gifts, prayers, or self-inflictions; and if the purchase had not been completed before a dying hour, to be finished after death, by the fulfilment of the will of the deceased, or by the charity of his friends, which issued in payments into the ever-yawning treasury of priest or monk. And if, on a deathbed, the stings of conscience caused some faint forebodings of the worm that never dies, or a fearful looking for of judgment presupposed the righteous sentence of God, the smooth-tongued priest, or sanctimonious monk, on their own terms, spoke peace.

The truth of these general observations might be proved by numberless and undeniable facts; but it is not common justice, and still less is it honourable, to our ideas of God's illimitable grace, and the sovereignty of his love, to attribute to every individual in any system the errors and the vices which characterise the mass; we are ever happy to trace within as well as without that wide circle of which we speak, the true members of Christ's Church, his witnesses in an unbelieving world, who are the light as well as the salt.

The state of our own country, as being naturally most interesting to us, we will review during our present period, with a special eye to the working of the Spirit of God against the false doctrines and corrupt practices connected with the prevailing ecclesiastical system. There was scarcely one of the errors of Rome that was not openly attacked in England during the fifteenth century; many lost riches, honours, liberty, and even life, in coming out of that spiritual Babylon; many were out of it in spirit, who had not the martyrs' boldness; and many whom it firmly encompassed exposed its horrible abominations, its sandy

foundations, its fragile fortifications, its crumbling walls, and the emptiness of its glory. In fact, the system was so assaulted and shattered from time to time, both by its friends and foes, that it could not have stood, had not Satan, by fresh and yet more skilful agencies, strengthened his favourite trap for the souls of men, and had not God left it, like the literal cities of Canaan, to fill up the measure of its sins. (Compare Gen. xv. 16 and Rev. xviii. 5.)

In 1494, a learned English doctor, known as *Paulus Anglicus*, wrote a book called *Aureum Speculum* (the golden looking-glass): the following is a specimen of the preface: — “I will detect the most grievous errors about the provisions of benefices, and the grants of indulgences. . . . I will declare all the Roman court to be in error, and labouring under a state of damnation.” In 1408, another learned doctor, named Ullerstone, at the instigation of the Bishop of Salisbury, wrote a book demanding the correction of the moral grievances supported by Rome. Rather later, a priest, named Lyndwood, one of the English deputies at the Council of Basle, preached against the pomp and arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, against the practice of appeals to them, and yet more against their demand that kings should acknowledge them as their only superiors on earth. When Eugenius IV. sent the famous consecrated rose to Henry VI., in order that by his influence the clergy might be disposed to pay the Roman tax on one-tenth of all their benefices, *pleasantly*, the chancellor, who was also archbishop of Canterbury, made an eloquent speech to the Pope’s ambassador, commenting on the beauties and virtues of the holy rose, but forbidding, in the king’s name, the collection of any money, till messengers should be sent to Rome to confer with the Pope about the matter. Thus, the same class of men, who, in their own narrower sphere, acted out the *spiritual* despotism of Rome, and defended her doctrines, wished to place a barrier against her temporal power, and were alive to some part of the evil of the system. But, from such advocates of outward reforms, which, if effected, would not have hindered the ruin of souls, we turn with pleasure to those who struggled for something higher. On February 19, 1401, Sir William Sawtre, rector of St. Oswyth, London, was brought before a convocation of the clergy in St.

Paul's, and underwent a three hours' examination concerning what *they* called heresy. The chief points were his refusal to worship the cross, and his denial of transubstantiation. He was also charged with having said, that a priest was more bound to preach the word of God than to recite particular services at certain hours. He at first hesitated, but at last made a good confession. He said that he could show *some honour* to a cross, on account of Him who died on it, and that he believed the *real presence* of Christ in the sacrament; but when he was required to bow down to the cross, and to profess that after consecration the substance of the bread and wine no longer remained, but was converted into the very same body in substance and nature as was born of the Virgin Mary, hung on the cross, lay in the grave, and now dwelt in heaven, he honestly replied, that *whatever were the consequences*, he could neither understand nor believe that doctrine. On this account, he was degraded from priest's orders; and, as a heretic, delivered up to the mayor and sheriffs of London by Arundel, the archbishop, with the hypocritical request that they would *use him kindly*; for it was by the influence of that primate that the law for the burning of persons condemned for heresy had been placed on the statute-book, and the magistrates could do nothing less than execute the law. Sawtre, consequently, was burned in Smithfield; and it has been said that this cruel public execution of a clergyman of respectable character struck so much terror into the minds of the weaker disbelievers of Romish errors, that they had not, for some time, the courage to confess their opinions. But, on the other hand, it appears, the persecutors themselves were frightened at the disgust expressed at their act, and, for a little time, carried on their designs in a more secret way. Many were cast into loathsome prisons, where they perished; and amongst these was William Thorpe, an eminent and learned preacher of Wickliffe's school, who, in 1407, underwent a very long examination before Arundel and three others, and remained steadfast, in spite of all their arguments. The primate, on that occasion, said, with many profane oaths, that he would pursue Thorpe and all his sect so narrowly, that he would not leave *one slip* in the land. This wretched man, who was called "the Tower of

the English Church," did not consider that the counsel of the Lord alone shall stand. Blessed be God! he was pleased to plant witnesses all over England, and they could not be rooted out.

In a convocation of the clergy held at St. Paul's (January, 1409), at the very time when there were two popes anathematising each other, and shortly before both were declared heretics by the Council of Pisa, it was declared the worst of crimes, to dispute any of the doctrines, or disobey any of the decrees promulgated by the Pope, who, it was said, carried the keys of eternal life and eternal death, was the vicegerent of the true God on earth, and the one to whom God had committed the government of heaven. Of the next English martyrs, John Badby, at whose burning Henry V., when prince of Wales, was present, and Lord Cobham, who was given up by him, when king, we have already spoken.\* It may here be added, that Badby was sent to Arundel by the Bishop of Worcester; and the primate, in earnestly pressing him to believe as the Church believed, said, if he would do so, he would pledge his soul for him in the day of judgment. But the poor man, unlearned as he was, knew, that the word of Christ, and not of man, would judge him in that day, and he declared himself willing to endure any torment for the truth's sake. As long as Arundel lived, the Lollards, as they were termed, were hunted out with the greatest diligence, cruelly harassed and persecuted, and sentenced to severe flagellations, perpetual imprisonment, and a variety of other punishments. Chichely, the next primate, who held that office during twenty-nine years, was only less active in committing heretics to the flames, because, as he said, he had observed those scenes of horror excited compassion for the sufferers, and indignation against the Church. The persecution that he conducted in the diocese of Kent, induced whole families to leave their abodes; and afterwards he had recourse to fire. In 1420, Claydon, a London furrier, who had suffered five years' imprisonment, was publicly burned as a heretic. He could not read, and the foundation of the charge against him was, that he had heard another

\* Chap. iv. pp. 39, 45.

read, and had himself much admired a certain English book, found in his house, called "*The Lanterne of Light.*" How much such a lantern was to be dreaded by those who loved darkness, and would not come to the light, lest their deeds should be reprov'd, may be supposed, from the following summary of its contents:— "It maintained that the Pope was antichrist, and had attached to the law of Christ decrees of no authority, force, or value; that the hierarchy was the seat of the beast; that their pretending to give licenses to preach was one of his true characters, and that every priest and believer might preach without them; that ecclesiastical things should not be sumptuously adorned, nor should the ministers of Christ be otherwise than his humble imitators, adoring him in simple mansions, and not in the sumptuous edifices of those days; that priests should study the Scriptures and preach them; that the people should not obey bishops, unless they watched over their souls in holy conversation; and *many like things.*" Claydon particularly valued the book, because there was a sermon in it which he once heard preached, and he alleged that he found there many things good and profitable for the soul.

In the first year of the infant king, Henry VI. (1422), William Tailleux (or Taylor), a clergyman who was arrested on the charge of heresy, confessed that for fourteen years he had held the doctrines which he then preached, viz. that prayer to a creature is idolatry, and that it ought to be directed only to God; that opinions condemned at councils may yet be true; that the Lord's ministers should not have worldly dominion; that offerings to the cross, &c., are idolatry. This noble witness was burned, and soon after, three other priests who were like-minded. Other rectors of parishes, and priests, were at this time teaching in their churches and schools, "that confession to priests was not necessary; that it was wrong to adore the cross; that, if priests could convert the wafer into the deity, they could make anything a God; that the Pope's indulgences were of no benefit; that pilgrims would be better at home; that legends and lives of saints, and their miracles, were untrue; that it was not lawful to attack the Bohemian reformers; that no writings were holy but the Bible; and that the Pope was antichrist." It appears that portions of

Scripture in manuscript were widely, though secretly, handed about; a fact that may account for the long delay to print the whole Bible in English. In 1424, William White, a holy man who preached and wrote evangelically in Norfolk, was burned as a heretic. His widow walked in his steps, and, though persecuted, was a help to many. Opinions deemed heretical were brought under severe judgment in the diocese of Salisbury; the dogma of transubstantiation had not only been denied, but ridiculed; one said, that while the priests could buy thirty such gods (as the wafer) for a penny, they would not sell one under two-pence;\* another simply reasoned (and many took up the argument), that if a mouse, perchance, lighted on two wafers, one consecrated, the other unconsecrated, he would as readily eat the former as the latter, which he could not do, if it were the real body of Christ; others asserted that money spent in pilgrimages might be better employed at home, and that, as for the guidance of the priests, it was only such as one blind man could give to another; and that, like the Scribes and Pharisees, they did not profit the people, but deceived them. Six poor men abjured such opinions as these, in the prescribed terms,† in order to escape the flames; but one, who was considered a worse offender than the rest, was enjoined to do public penance, of which the following is but a part. Bare-headed, bare-legged, and barefooted, in his shirt, cloak, and linen drawers, he was to appear with a faggot on his shoulder, and a firebrand in his hand, at Windsor, Reading, Salisbury, and six other towns—probably where persons suspected of heresy dwelt—and, both on the Sunday and market-day, to read his abjuration before the concourse of

\* Badby had said, "If every consecrated host be the Lord's body, then there are 20,000 gods in England."

† The words ran thus: "Forasmuch as it is so that the laws of the church of Christ, and holy canons of saints, be grounded in mercy, and God wol not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live, and also the Church closeth not her lap to him that wol return; we therefore, and every one of us, willing to be partiners of this foresaid mercy, forsake and renounce all these articles," &c. A proviso followed condemning themselves, in case of any future relapse. Thus did Rome, in the name of the Church, provide, as it appeared, with grace and delicacy, for the abjuration of error; but after all it was truth that was to be renounced.

people: every day of his life, he was to repeat the Pater-noster and Ave Maria five times, and the Creed once, before the crucifix, kneeling. But, after all, Salisbury was the scene of the burning of Laurence Ghest, who lay two years in prison as a heretic. His wife and seven children were brought to him, when at the stake, to move him to recant; but he besought the former "not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running towards the mark of his salvation." One of the bishop's servants threw a firebrand in his face, at which a brother of the sufferer was so much excited, that he was only hindered by the bystanders from killing the man on the spot. Had the martyr abjured at the stake, he would have been branded on the cheek, and obliged to wear a faggot on his coat as long as he lived. These were Rome's tender mercies.

The sufferings of the Lollards were greater under the established governments of Henry VII. and VIII. than during the civil wars; but even in the confused reign of Edward IV. (in 1473), a man named Gooze rejoicingly committed his soul to Christ, in the flames kindled for his mortal part, at Tower Hill. The fires were burning furiously at the close of our present period; and ecclesiastical barbarity became more conspicuous as the general barbarism was softened. In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., children were compelled to accuse their parents, parents their children, and the nearest and dearest friends and relatives were constrained to inform against each other. And their offences may be summed up under two heads: reading the Scriptures, and denying popish superstitions. Neither age nor sex were spared; and, in one instance, a daughter was dragged to the pile where her own father was to be burned, and forced to set fire to it.\*

\* This carries us a little beyond our present limits. It was for the year 1521, that Fox collected from the registers of the diocese of Lincoln a shocking catalogue of accusers and victims, which proves the truth of the above statement. The same author has presented a list of the names of those who abjured in that terrible year, and suffered various severe punishments and penances; but he often shows, that persons who had abjured were burned for having relapsed. Langland, the confessor of Henry VIII., was at this time bishop of Lincoln, and responsible for the persecution.

But we must close our present record with a memorial of John Brown, of Ashford in Kent, who suffered in 1511, on Whitsun-even—a time of great merry-making, as we already know. This good man was accused as a heretic by a priest with whom he had conversed on board a Gravesend barge—a *soul-priest*, as he called himself; that is, one employed to sing mass for the deliverance of the souls of the dead from purgatory, and who saw his craft to be in danger through the pointed remarks of his fellow passenger. Brown was suddenly arrested in the midst of his family, and carried to Canterbury, where he was confined for forty days. Warham, then archbishop, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, directed the torture to which he was subjected. His bare feet were placed on burning hot coals, and kept there till they were burnt to the bones. But God was with him, and he did not deny his faith. He said to his sorrowing wife, who came to see him, “The bishops, good Elisabeth, have burnt my feet till I cannot set them on the ground; they have done so to make me deny my Lord; but I thank God, they will never be able to do that; for, if I should deny him in this world, he would deny me hereafter. Therefore, I pray thee, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children in the fear of God. Thy husband is to be consumed at the stake to-morrow.” To the last, he retained the calmness of faith, and in the flames was heard to utter fervent prayers, and to repeat, with uplifted hands, “Into thine hands I commend my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth!” Who that knows the grace of God in truth will not decide *where* the church of Christ in England was, before the Reformation, and exclude from it the bishops and priests, “drunk with the blood of saints,” whatever were their assumptions? The following description of some of the English saints of this century is from the pen of a popish writer, and was given *to assist in the detection of heresy*:—

“The disciples of Wickliffe are men of a serious, modest deportment; avoiding all ostentation in dress, mixing little with the busy world, and complaining of the debauchery of mankind. They maintain themselves wholly by their own labour, and utterly despise wealth, being fully content with bare necessaries. They follow no traffic, because it is attended with so much lying, swearing, and cheating. They are chaste

and temperate; are never seen in taverns, or amused by the trifling gaieties of life. You find them always employed, either learning or teaching. They are concise and devout in their prayers; blaming an unanimated prolixity. They never swear; speak little; and, in their public preaching, they lay the chief stress on charity. They never mind canonical hours, because they say, that a paternoster or two, repeated with devotion, is better than tedious hours spent without devotion. *They explain the Scriptures in a different way from the holy doctors and Church of Rome.*"

At the close, it will seem that the writer began to trace the heavenliness of character and conduct which he had observed, to its true source. The Scriptures, with Rome's interpretation, did not lead to such a walk; but, received in simple faith, in the power of the Holy Ghost, they could do no less. The Wickliffites, or Lollards, as they were termed, being greatly thinned by a series of violent persecutions before the Reformation, lost that distinctive title afterwards. The truths for which they had been contending might then be held in peace, and fresh light, in the way of doctrine, beamed upon them.

It is a remarkable fact, that the art of image-making and decorating never flourished, in England, so much as in the fifteenth century. The contempt which the Lollards had thrown on the ancient objects of veneration—which in many cases were as mean, and old, and ugly, and smoky, as some of the idols of the savage world shown to us at this day—induced the priests to seek better-shaped and better-featured images, to dress them in a costly manner, and to deck them with ornaments; and thus, according to their expectation, they were made attractive to the ignorant: at the Reformation, nothing perhaps was relinquished more unwillingly by the people than the images in the churches. The English hierarchy, in this century, seemed fully determined to reject the commandment of God on this as well as on other points, that they might keep their own tradition; for at a convocation of the clergy of York, holden in 1466, the decalogue was altered, to get rid of the prohibition against making images and bowing down to them. The first commandment was said to forbid "all enchantments, superstitious characters, and such figments;" the second was entirely omitted; and the last was divided into two parts, to keep up the number ten.

Christopher Bambridge, archbishop of York, was the

English ambassador at Rome at the close of our present period. We have alluded to a friendly and complimentary embassy from Venice to the court of Henry VIII.; and that king allowed his gold, and his powerful name, to be freely used at Rome, to bring about a reconciliation between the Pope and the republic. Bambridge entreated the Pope not to war against Venice; "a state which, if it did not exist, ought," said he, "to be created by the common consent of mankind for the welfare and glory of the universe." Julius II. was not displeased at the advice, and, in the same year that he pardoned Venice, he sent the golden consecrated rose to the King of England, as a token of his friendship, and, it may be added, as a bribe to make the young monarch more completely his friend and servant.

It was probably the presence of the English ambassador that saved from more open humiliation the six nobles deputed by the Council of Venice to receive the Pope's forgiveness for having borne arms against him. Julius, too, might think it good policy not to exasperate so haughty a state. Nevertheless, the deputation, instead of entering Rome with the usual splendour of Venetian ambassadors, were required to come in, by night, in penitential robes; to visit each of the seven chief churches as penitents, and to ask absolution on their knees at the feet of the Pope, whose throne was ostentatiously raised for the purpose before the brazen portals of the Vatican. The master of the papal ceremonies, less prudent than the Pope, would fain have delivered to him and to each of the cardinals a rod apiece, and have seen them inflict on the uncovered shoulders of the deputies the customary strokes, before the words of pardon were pronounced: he even ventured to remind the warrior-pope, how his predecessor, Innocent VIII., had flogged with unsparing severity, not only with his own hands, but by those also of numerous assistants, the gonfalonier and one of the ancients of Bologna, who had hung a priest, and a Franciscan friar, in the streets of their city; that they had been stripped to undergo this discipline, and that it was continued during the recital of three out of the seven penitential psalms: the example of Alexander VI., who had inflicted similar punishment on other offenders, was also quoted by way of precedent. To war against, and endanger the safety or glory of such an

one as the pope was assumed to be, was certainly, in those that gave heed to his assumptions, the greatest of crimes ; but the wily Julius was not to be tempted by these reasonings, and, policy triumphing over pride and passion, he entirely dispensed with the stripes.

It might have been thought to bode no good to England, that her king, at the close of our present period, stood higher in the good graces of the Pope than any other sovereign in Europe ; but there were doubtless a goodly number of English saints, whose faith towered above all depressing circumstances, whose eyes were fixed singly on God, and who did not fail in crying day and night to him, though he did bear long with their adversaries. Under any suffering from the powers that be, there are quiet resting-places for the believer ; for the powers that be are ordained of God, and to resist is to his obedient children impossible: a door of hope is also opened by God's word:—“ The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water ; he turneth it whithersoever he will.” (Prov. xxi. 1.) This truth may be thought to belong only to the history of a godly king ; but we cannot fail to see a striking illustration of it in the history of Henry VIII., and of many others who could not come into that class. “ Kings, and all that are in authority,” are mentioned by the apostle as among the first persons to be considered in prayer, &c. ; and one of the desired ends is immediately stated, “ that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.” We know also that the hearts of many rulers, utterly ignorant of the true God, have been so disposed that their Christian subjects have enjoyed these blessings.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

CHRISTIAN PROFESSION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,  
AND THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

VINCENT FERRER, A CHRISTIAN OF VALENCIA, SPREADS SOME SAVOUR OF CHRIST IN SPAIN, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND. — EARLY DAYS OF VALER, THE APOSTLE OF THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN. — RHEDON, THE FRENCH EVANGELICAL PREACHER. — JOHN DE WESALIA OF GERMANY. — WESSELUS OF HOLLAND. — THE BOHEMIAN CHRISTIANS. — ORIGIN OF THE UNITED BRETHREN. — THEIR PERSECUTIONS. — STORY OF ROKYZAN, ARCHBISHOP OF PRAGUE. — UNION OF THE PERSECUTED WALDENSES OF AUSTRIA WITH THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN. — THE BRETHREN'S MISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF CHRISTENDOM. — THEIR GODLY CHURCH DISCIPLINE. — THE WALDENSES OF FRANCE AND ITALY. — THEIR STEADFASTNESS. — THEIR PERSECUTIONS. — THEIR HOLY WALK. — THEIR ACCUSERS AND THEIR PROTECTORS. — THIS CLOUD OF WITNESSES FOR THE TRUTH DISREGARDED OR OPPRESSED BY ROME. — THE REFORMATIONS IN ISRAEL HAD THEIR SOURCE IN RESTORED KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORD OF GOD. — THE REFORMATION IN CHRISTENDOM TO BE TRACED TO THE SAME CAUSES. — THE INSTRUMENTS WORTHY OF NOTE. — THE ABUSE OF LEARNING, AND ITS HIGHEST USE. — ERASMUS, AND HIS LABOURS IN THE EDITION OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT. — REUCHLIN, AND HIS LABOURS IN THE CULTIVATION OF HEBREW LEARNING. — HIS CONTROVERSY WITH THE MONKS. — CAUSES OF THE ODIUM THAT FELL ON THE MONASTIC ORDERS. — THE GOOD AND EVIL ABROAD IN THE WORLD BOTH FORETOKENED THE COMING REFORMATION. — SUMMARY OF BOTH. — REVIEW OF THE MONASTIC SYSTEM. — PREPARATION OF MARTIN LUTHER FOR THE WORK OF THE REFORMATION. — CONCLUSION.

We have given a few notices of those who contended for different portions of the truth of God in England — men who loved not their lives unto the death: let us now con-

template the light in other places. Even in Spain, of which our general history speaks so ill, there was a shining light in the fifteenth century, and one, too, in the midst of gross darkness. Vincent Ferrer, a native of Valencia, and a Dominican friar, was in the service of the haughty Pope, Benedict III. (Peter de Luna), who, though deposed by the Council of Constance, would never resign his title. Vincent refused to be a bishop or a cardinal, but earnestly desired the appointment of apostolic missionary, in which office he could publicly preach from place to place. Benedict granted him this favour, and, at the age of forty-two, he began to preach to the Jews, Mahometans, and others, in every town from Avignon towards Valencia. It is said that his word was powerful. He laboured afterwards in Italy and France, and, at the desire of Henry IV., came to England. He preached publicly in the chief towns of this country, in Scotland, and in Ireland; and, during the last two years of his life, laboured in the same manner in Normandy and Bretagne, by the desire of Henry V. He died at the age of sixty-two. Ferrer seems to have had deep views of the worthlessness of the flesh. Speaking of himself he said, "I am corruption throughout. I feel this to be so more and more." And then added, "Whosoever is proud shall stand without. Christ manifests his truth to the lowly, and hides himself from the proud." It is right to remark, that this good man, after trying, in vain, to induce Benedict to give up the papal title, left his service altogether. The following is a quotation from a book on *Spiritual Life*, written by Ferrer: —

"Do you desire to study to advantage? Consult God more than books, and ask him humbly to make you understand what you read. *Study drains the mind and heart. Go from time to time to be refreshed at the feet of Christ under the cross. Some moments of repose there give fresh vigour and new light.* Interrupt your study by short, but fervent ejaculations."

The bigoted priests of Spain were, for the most part, unfavourable to learning. There was a great destruction of literary works in that country, some time before the invention of printing; and the multiplication of books through that art was regarded with a very jealous eye. Immense quantities of Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts perished, through the hatred felt towards the Jews and

Moslems: the charge of magic was often laid against them. But a search into the Scriptures in the original tongues being begun under the patronage of such a bigot as Cardinal Ximenes—for God is wonderful in working—it was warmly pursued by some of the clergy, and produced the same effects as it did elsewhere—doubt as to the vain observances and doctrines received by tradition, and a strong desire to know and do the truth. Seville, the very centre of the Inquisition, was the centre whence proceeded the evangelical doctrines, which threw a light over Spain during the first half of the sixteenth century. We can do no more here than allude to the fact; for, at the close of our present period, Rodrigo de Valer, who has been called the Apostle of the Reformation in Spain, was absorbed in all the dissipation and gaiety that distinguished Seville,\* shone only as a young man of wealth and fashion, and showed no love except for horses, dress, and women. But he had a little knowledge of Latin, and therefore the Latin Bible, the only version allowed in Spain, however unlikely one of his tastes was to turn to it, would be intelligible to him. How this book came in his way, or by what means he was drawn to its perusal, we cannot tell; but one thing is certain, he was suddenly missed from the gay circle he was wont to enliven; yet it was not known he had lost either his fortune or his health; and he had not taken priest's orders, which was not an infrequent change for the dissolute, if they grew weary of their mode of life, or had some trouble of conscience. A far graver change had come over Valer's mind; all day long he was shut up in his room with the Latin Bible; and several months elapsed before he quitted the retirement in which he pursued that engrossing study. But *spiritual life* cannot be inactive; and when the student of Scripture again sought for society, he courted that of the clergy, not, it appears, to learn, but to teach what he had learned of God. One who became intimate with him was John Gil, commonly known as Dr. Egidius, preacher in the cathedral of Seville, the tone of whose sermons was entirely changed through this friendship. The foundations

\* Valer was a native of Lebrixa, an ancient town, about thirty miles from Seville, but preferred spending his time in the capital of the province, which was then at the height of its splendour.

of a living Church were then laid in the heart of Spain ; and its increase, with the fiery persecutions through which it passed, tended to the glory of God in the period before us.

France, in the fifteenth century, was not without men who protested against error, or contended for the faith once delivered to the saints. Not to speak of the former, chiefly learned men of the university, who attacked the papal power, or denied the Pope's assumptions, we may mention Rhédon, a Carmelite friar.\* He went to Rome, with the idea of obtaining spiritual profit, and was greatly shocked at the real condition of the papal city ; he felt, that in looking for the house of God he had come to a den of thieves. His spirit was stirred within him, like that of Paul at Athens, and he began to preach publicly with great ardour. Four years after his arrival, he was prosecuted as a heretic, degraded, and burned. It was in 1436, under the pontificate of Eugenius IV.

Several others who, like him, were partially enlightened, and faithful to the light they possessed, were put to death in Germany, not long after the burning of John Huss.

\* An order of monks was thus called, because the original monastery, whose rule they followed, was built on Mount Carmel. They were mendicants, and less corrupt than the Franciscans. In England, in this century, they were both more moral and more rigorous than any other religious order, and made a singular figure through their open controversy with the clergy on the subject of their great possessions. Parker, a young Carmelite, preached at St. Paul's one Sunday, in 1464, that the spiritual part of the Church ought to have no property, as Christ himself lived like one of the poor. The next Sunday, an ecclesiastic preached in the same place a contradictory sermon. Holden, another Carmelite, next used the pulpit, and was followed by a learned doctor who opposed his doctrine. Then Mylverton, head of the English Carmelites, gave notice that he would preach on the subject, and an immense concourse assembled. He declared that Christ made himself dependent on human bounty, and assumed no right or title to anything. The audience became so excited by his eloquence, that the primate feared an insurrection against the possessed clergy, and procured a papal censure against Mylverton. The latter went to Rome to complain ; but Paul II., then Pope, hearing from the archbishop the state of the case, imprisoned him in the castle of St. Angelo. On sending him back to England, he wrote, that his " beloved son, after a confinement of two years, had returned to his saner senses, and a true understanding." By this he meant that the controversy would not be renewed. The Carmelites, in fact, were terrified into silence.

John de Wesalia, an aged doctor of divinity, was brought before a council of priests, assembled by the Archbishop of Mentz, in 1479, and, notwithstanding his infirm state of body, and ill health, he was subjected to a strict examination of his opinions, which lasted five successive days. Two points which he maintained were, that nothing was to be believed not found in the Scriptures, and that the elect of God are saved only by the grace of God, so that whoever God willed to save, it was not in the power of the priesthood to condemn. He was accused of holding many other opinions equally subversive of the Romish system; for instance, that the Pope, bishops, and priests, contribute nothing to salvation; that those who undertake pilgrimages to Rome are fools; that he feared the doctors expounded Holy Scriptures falsely. Another saying laid to his charge was, "I despise the Pope and his councils. I love Christ; and may his word dwell in us abundantly!" Some of the things of which he was accused, he disavowed; others he endeavoured to explain. He had also the boldness to remark, they would have proved Christ himself a heretic, had he been brought before their tribunal. This poor old man suffered himself to be forced into a public recantation of his alleged heresies, and was condemned to perpetual penance in a monastery of Augustine friars, where he died soon after. A cotemporary of his, bearing a somewhat similar name, was at this time using his pen in the cause of truth. This was John Wesselus, a native of Groningen, in Holland. He was born in 1419, and commenced his studies at Zwoll, then an imperial and Hanseatic town of much importance; he became so famous for his learning, that he was surnamed *Lux Mundi*, i. e. the light of the world. Happily his light was not only that of human science, but also of the divine life that burned within him; and his fame, as a literary character, probably caused him to be sheltered from the persecutions that cut off so many in this unhappy age. Wesselus died in 1489; but the writings he left behind him so entirely corresponded with the preaching of Luther thirty years after, that the Reformer, on meeting with some of them, was astonished and delighted, and wrote a preface for a printed edition of them, in which he pointed out that agreement, and added to his strong recommenda-

tion words to this effect: — “Those who are displeased with my asperity, will meet with nothing of that sort in Wesselus to offend them.”\* Wesselus became professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris, and even there boldly exposed many of the evil doctrines and gross corruptions of the apostate Church. He was heard to say, “*All satisfaction for sin made by men is blasphemy against Christ.*” It is a credit to the Bishop of Utrecht that he loved and protected such a man as Wesselus; it is yet more remarkable that Sixtus IV., as soon as he was made pope (1471), sent for this learned Dutchman, and offered to grant any request he would make. The good man replied by requesting, that he who was regarded as the supreme shepherd of the Church on earth might so act, as that when the Great Shepherd should appear, he might hear the words, “Well done, good and faithful servant,” &c.

The Pope, whose character is already well known to us, replied, “That must be *my* care; but do *you* ask something for yourself.” “Give me, then,” said Wesselus, “out of the Vatican library, a Greek and a Hebrew Bible.” Sixtus immediately promised him the books, but reproached him for his folly in not asking for a bishopric, or some other preferment. Wesselus declared he did not want anything of that sort. Probably, had he preached in any conspicuous station the truths which he wrote so clearly, he would have been soon attacked as a heretic. In his last illness, this eminent Christian was harassed by the enemy of souls, and tempted even to doubt the truth of revealed religion. But the friend to whom he owed his uneasiness of mind, and who exhorted him to direct all his thoughts to Christ, the only Saviour, had the happiness of seeing the passing cloud removed. As he returned to the sick man’s room, after a short absence,

\* The subjects on which Wesselus wrote were — *Prayer*, 11 chapters; *The Incarnation*, 20 chapters; *The Bitter Pains of Christ*, 80 chapters; *On the kind of Providence of God*; *On the Nature of Ecclesiastical Power, and the Degrees of that Obligation which Men are under to obey the Rulers of the Church*; *On Purgatory*; *On Indulgences*; *On Repentance and the Keys of the Church*; *On the true Communion of Saints*, &c. These various themes gave him an opportunity of undermining error, and teaching truth. Even small extracts from them serve to prove how deeply he had drunk into the Scriptures, and that he was, as Luther said, *taught of God.*

Wesselus cried out to him with joy, "God be praised! all these vain doubtings are fled; and now, all I know is Jesus Christ, and him crucified." He then expired.

Among the Augustine monks of Cologne dwelt, about this time, the well known Thomas à Kempis. He wrote many devotional works; but the book to which his name owes its celebrity is entitled, "The Imitation of Christ," which it cannot be doubted was the work of an experimental Christian. This famous treatise has by some been attributed to another pen; but, on all hands, it is allowed to have been written by a monk of the fifteenth century.

From these individual instances of spiritual life in the dead mass of Roman Catholicism, we turn to the collective testimony offered by the Bohemian Christians and the Waldenses. The existence of the Church of the living God in Bohemia was distinctly marked at the close of those cruel wars related in our general history; men who had contended merely about externals were reconciled to the Romish system, when fashioned a little more according to their taste; but men who contended for the faith could not compromise their opinions. Rokyzan, one of the Bohemian preachers, whose understanding had grasped far more than his heart embraced, in the early days of the Hussites, disseminated evangelical truth to the profit of his hearers; but, in order to obtain the coveted dignity of archbishop of Prague, he altered his style, and submitted to Roman Catholic errors. He had long been called a Calixtine, and the Council of Basle had allowed to Bohemia the use of the cup; but the Pope would not confirm his election to the see of Prague till he had promised to give up that point. Rokyzan, with the archiepiscopal pall, obtained an uneasy conscience; and, finding that he could not please both parties, he advised his Hussite hearers to attend other ministry, or to edify one another in private, and even gave them some good books for the purpose. He also gained a settlement for them in the lordship of Lititz, on the borders of Silesia and Moravia; and thither a good number retired in the memorable year 1453. It was in this separate position that the Bohemian Christians truly prospered. In 1457, they held a conference, in which it was determined to follow, as far as possible, all

the primitive doctrines and usages of the Church of Christ, and, amongst these, non-resistance of violence. This gospel principle distinguished them widely from the Taborites, and it was surely adopted in the power of the Spirit, seeing they held it fast in the day of trial. As they owned no human rules and traditions as the foundations of their Church, but simply the law of Christ, they at first called each other "Brethren and Sisters of the law of Christ;" but finding this title might render them liable to be mistaken for some monastic order, they dropped every name save that of brethren and sisters. After many Christians, in different parts of Bohemia and Moravia, were gathered together on the same principles, and desired to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, the title of "*United Brethren*" was unanimously adopted. The increase of such congregations excited the jealousy both of the Roman Catholics and Calixtenes; and the king, George Podiebrad, who was of the latter profession, and at his accession, in 1458, protected the Brethren, consented to their persecution. On this occasion, some who had formerly received benefit from Rokyzan's preaching wrote to him a faithful letter, reminding him that he had departed from the Christian doctrine, and not they, and laying it on his conscience that he had done so for the sake of worldly honours, having himself confessed that their opinions were true. The following extract from this epistle is very interesting:—

"Having now no refuge but in God, we implored him to make known to us the mystery of his will. As a gracious Father he hath looked upon our afflictions, and heard our prayers. Trusting in our God, we have assembled ourselves in the unity of the faith by which we have been justified through Jesus Christ, and of which we were made partakers in conformity to the image of his death, that we might be the heirs of eternal life. Do not imagine that we have separated ourselves from you on account of certain rites and ceremonies instituted by men, but on account of evil and corrupt doctrine. For if we could, in connection with you, have preserved the true faith in Jesus Christ our Lord, we never should have made this separation."

The unhappy archbishop either did not, or could not, hold out his hand to check the persecution of these godly separatists; but Gregory, his nephew, who was united with the Brethren, and had often urged Rokyzan to pro-

mote a reformation, was generously warned by the governor of Prague of approaching danger, and withdrew from the capital. Some of the more enthusiastic Brethren, forgetful that their Lord had bid his disciples, if persecuted in one city to flee to another, were scandalised at the apparent fearfulness of Gregory; they said that the rack was their breakfast, and the flames their dinner. But many who had boasted beforehand, failed when the hour of trial arrived, and recanted to save their lives: of these, however, some lamented their weakness, and repented. Gregory, on the other hand, being afterwards seized, endured the rack with patience, till, through the intensity of the torture, he fell into a swoon, which was mistaken for death. Rokyzan, on hearing the news, hastened to the prison; and as he hung over the apparently lifeless form of his nephew, his feelings were so affected, that he exclaimed, "My dear Gregory, I would to God I were as thou art." Gregory recovered, and lived to an advanced age to serve and feed the flock of God. Rokyzan, being again addressed by the Brethren, because of his apparent sensibility on this occasion, showed the same disinclination as ever to suffer reproach with the people of God; and the farewell letter which they wrote to him contained the solemn words, "Thou art of the world, and wilt perish with the world." He died in a state of despair, a beacon to the professing Christian to avoid the rock on which he made shipwreck. (1 Tim. i. 19.)

The sufferings of the Brethren were at this time very great. In the depth of winter they were driven out of the various cities and villages in which they dwelt, and compelled to leave all their effects behind them. The sick were thrown into the open fields, where many perished of cold and hunger. Various sorts of torture were inflicted on others; numbers were barbarously murdered, and many died in the prisons. The remnant hid themselves in the mountains and woods, or dwelt in the waste places. In 1467, they formed a fresh church, and, setting at nought the virtue of papal or episcopal ordination, appointed their own ministers, or, as it appears, owned those whom God had fitted for his service. In 1471, Podiebrad died, and they had some relief from persecution. Rokyzan's miserable death occurred about the same time.

In 1480, the Brethren received a large accession to their church in the Waldensian refugees from Austria. Their last bishop in that province had been burned alive; and they were so narrowly followed by the servants of Rome, that for some time they were obliged to conceal themselves in thickets and clefts of the rocks. They made no fires, except by night, lest the smoke should lead to their detection; and during the winter, when snow lay on the ground, they walked one after another, as they left their hiding-places, the last dragging a bush after him to erase the marks of footsteps. In the midst of their sufferings and privations, they had not that keenest of all torments, a bad conscience; nor that greatest of privations, want of spiritual joy. Around their fires they read the Scriptures, enjoyed the communion of saints, and worshipped God. In such heavenly exercises they often passed whole nights. It is not surprising that such a people should have readily united with the Brethren of Bohemia and Moravia; they were previously one in spirit and doctrine; and community in tribulation fastened those holy bonds. In fact, the United Brethren were so anxious not to stand apart from any who were truly on the Lord's side, that four of their number set out on a journey of inquiry into the state of Christendom, in 1474; and a similar mission was undertaken in 1489. The first deputies travelled through Poland, and as far as Constantinople, in company; and then, one passed into Greece and Italy, another into Russia, and the adjoining countries; the third, with a Jew for his interpreter, went through Palestine and Egypt; the fourth visited Thrace. All brought back reports of an awful and wide-spread apostasy. The second deputation visited France and Italy; and they happened to be in the latter country, when Savonarola and his companions were committed to the flames. It was understood that one of the charges laid against them, as a proof of heresy, was their preaching of free justification through faith in Christ. At Rome, the Brethren saw things that they abhorred; but in the course of their tour they came into happy communication with some fervent believers, faithful in the midst of tribulation; and among the Waldenses they were treated *as brethren*.

In the year 1500, the United Brethren had 200 congre-

gations; and many of the Bohemian nobles, who were among them, erected houses of prayer on their own estates. In their confession of faith, and manner of public worship, the Waldenses and the Brethren almost exactly resembled each other, for they both looked to the New Testament for their model. The discipline in the churches of the Brethren was of a holy and gracious character; and all, whether of high or low degree, were subject to it. For lesser faults they privately admonished one another; but if an offender were inattentive to his brother's rebuke, the pastor was also called to admonish him; and if these failed, the matter was referred to the assembled elders. If their united reprehension brought the individual to confess his fault, he was dismissed with words of admonition, exhortation, and comfort. Grievous offenders were openly rebuked before the whole church; but only the most scandalous conduct, or manifest impenitence, brought entire exclusion from the Lord's table, and meetings for worship. The excommunicated might then attend on the public preaching at the door of the church, and if the brethren saw any penitent sincerely returning to a Christian course, they received him again with the greatest joy and love. They seemed to apprehend the Scriptural principle, that the Church on earth is to be a nursing-place for the weak, and an hospital for the sick; and that, like her Lord, she ought to hate putting away; but, on the other hand, that her enclosure being, like the walls of the glorious Jerusalem, *salvation*, could not properly embrace the unsaved; and that her gates also, being, like those of Zion, *praise*, might not rightly retain any who put their Lord to open shame.

At the end of our present period, the heat of the persecution against the United Brethren was past; and the hand of God had so often been stretched out against their persecutors in a remarkable way, that it became a proverb, even among the ungodly, "If any one is tired of life, let him quarrel with *the Picards* (this was their term of reproach), and he will not live another year."

The Waldenses of the valleys on either side of the Alps still retained the simplicity of their forefathers; and so did those who had settled in Calabria; they were willing to suffer anything rather than conform to the Roman Catholic

religion. Catelin Gerard, a Waldensian Christian, when brought out to be burned, according to the sentence of the Inquisition, earnestly desired the executioners to bring him two stones. Not knowing his purpose, they were with difficulty persuaded to do so. The martyr having taken one in each hand, held them up, and exclaimed, "When I have eaten these stones, then you shall see an end of the religion for which you put me to death." But the deluded servants of the popedom, not perceiving the *source* of the light that confounded them, were always hoping to put it out; and the light held forth by the Waldenses, from its vicinity to the papal seat, was perhaps the one which they were most bent on extinguishing. Louis XI. so clearly perceived that the inquisitors instituted processes against his Waldensian subjects for the sake of plunder, that he issued letters which pointed to the fact, and severely censured the guilty parties: thus, even that tyrant was used by the hand of God to protect these innocent Christians for a season. But only five years after his death (1488), Innocent VIII. charged his legate, Albert de Capitaneis, to extirpate the inhabitants of the valleys as venomous adders; and this man found a willing coadjutor in one of the lieutenants of the young king, Charles VIII.: 1800 armed men marched under their banners. The Waldenses possessed no other armour than wooden targets, and no arms but the arrows, or stones, which they shot from wooden bows; yet, with these feeble weapons, they put themselves on their defence, as from the attacks of beasts of prey.\* But even then their language was, "I will not *trust* in my bow;" and whilst the men posted themselves at the entrance of their secluded valleys, their wives and children, on their knees, implored the inter-

\* Three thousand persons of the valley of Loyre in Dauphiné, retreated on one occasion before their foes, and hid, as they were wont, in caves. Four hundred children, carried in their cradles, or in the arms of their mothers, were of the number. The emissaries of the Pope, we might rather say of the devil, lighted wood fires at the entrance of the caves, and all within them were suffocated. Again, in the course of thirteen years, 150 persons out of one valley, and 80 from another, were burned alive by the sentence of the Inquisition at Grenoble. Old men and women, with their adult children, sometimes whole families, suffered at the same time. These things drove the remaining Waldenses to take up arms.

position of God. An arrow pierced one of the enemy's officers, whilst giving orders to aim at these praying people; and another, as he mocked them, was killed, and thrown down a precipice, which was ever after called by his name. The legate was forced to retire, but he had taken several prisoners; and these he violently tortured, to extort from them a confession of the crimes of which they were falsely accused, that of worshipping their *barbes* (*i. e.* elders), in particular. But no suffering could elicit any such acknowledgment.

All the Waldenses knew French well enough to understand their version of the Bible in that language, and to sing psalms in it; and, it is said, there was scarcely a child among them that could not give an account of the faith of the community. Their malicious enemies, among other inventions, declared, that the Waldensian children were born with black throats, four sets of teeth, and covered with hair. Philip, duke of Savoy, who wished to protect the Waldenses of Piedmont, knowing them to be excellent subjects,\* sent for some of their babes, to examine them, in order more strongly to deny the fables afloat, or to put to shame the inventors of them; and it may be added, that one of the best results of the long enmity between Louis XII. of France and the Pope was, that it induced him also to protect his Waldensian subjects from their Romish persecutors.

The cloud of witnesses to which we have now referred, disregarded or oppressed by the servants of the Pope, made no visible inroads upon his wide-spread dominion: it remains for us, then, to point out those who were to do so. Those memorable reformations which took place in Israel, in the days of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. and xxxv.), and in the days of Ezra (Neh. viii. and ix.), were immediately connected with the *restored* knowledge and *attentive reading* of the written word of God. Both were brought about through the energy of the Spirit of God, when the Church of that day was in a very low and apostate condi-

\* It is said, the Waldensian women were preferred, above all others, as nurses and servants, in Piedmont; and the heads of Waldensian families considered civil obedience so strictly a gospel duty, that when, by reason of the wars, the taxes were not collected, they set aside the proper sums every year, and paid them afterwards.

tion. (See 2 Chron. xxxiii. and Neh. ix. 33—37; Ezra x. 18; Neh. xiii. 23, 24.) By reason of the Babylonish captivity, or union with the heathen, the greater part of Israel, in the days of Nehemiah, did not understand the language in which the Scriptures were written; and their hearts were not truly affected till certain of the priests and Levites, who read in the book, "*gave the sense, and caused them to understand the meaning.*" Now this is exactly what was needed to bring about any real improvement in the state of Christendom, in the days of which we are speaking; and the same Lord, *THE GREAT GOD*, whom Ezra *blessed* when he opened the book of the law in the sight of all the people (Neh. viii. 5, 6), raised up fit agencies for this purpose. Twenty-seven persons are expressly recorded by name, as helping to communicate God's truth to Israel in those days of profound ignorance; and it is a pleasant task to mention the names of some whom he used to make known his word to the Church, in the evil days to which our present chapter refers. The revival of ancient literature, and the cultivation of the dead languages (Latin and Greek), though unquestionably a means of ultimate blessing, and one of the instruments of the Reformation, seemed at first a kind of plaything; or rather, like a knife in the hands of a child that has not learned its legitimate uses, it did harm rather than good. Lorenzo de' Medici, and the band of scholars who caught the reflection of his brilliant mind, became so absorbed in the high imaginings of Plato, as to fashion their religious ideas according to his philosophy, instead of that of the Scriptures; and when John de' Medici gave the tone to the society of the learned in Rome, no one seemed to be of much account who had not some singular, and, as we should say, unsound opinions regarding the Christian faith. Even those who held to the creeds retained in the Romish Church, in their insane admiration of the classics, sought to explain the mysteries of the kingdom by the works of Cicero and Virgil, or to speak of scriptural doctrines in their language. An example of the excess to which *classical* preaching was carried, is given by one of the greatest scholars of the age (Erasmus), in his account of a sermon preached before Julius II. and his court. It commenced by designating that warlike pontiff as Jove, who vibrates in his omnipo-

tent hand the lightning, and regulates the concerns of the universe with his nod. The preacher compared the death of Christ to the self-sacrifice of the Decii, and of Curtius, for the sake of their country; and illustrated his innocence and his sufferings by the stories of Socrates and Phocion, of Epaminondas, Aristides, and Scipio, &c. Yet more, the writers and preachers of this day chose to speak of *the Father* as Jove; of *the Son*, as Esculapius, or Apollo, or Minerva springing from the brain of Jupiter; of *the Holy Spirit* as the breath of the celestial zephyr; and of the Virgin as Diana! One of the most famous of the Latin poets of this period wrote a series of hymns addressed to the pagan deities, with every expression of veneration; and almost every writer on sacred subjects thought fit to invoke the assistance of those imaginary gods, and to mix them up with the most solemn scenes of the life and death of Christ.\*

Erasmus, who keenly observed the *abuse* of learning, was one of the first to direct it into its proper channel; and he declared that its highest *use* would be the opening of the Scriptures, and the restoration of a simple and pure Christianity. From 1500 to 1518, when Luther rose into notice, Erasmus was the most distinguished person in Christendom, at least as regarded the literary world.† Born at Rotterdam, in an obscure rank, and left an orphan at an early age, in great poverty, he showed so much inclination for study, that he spent all his time in learning; and his money, when he could get any, was devoted to the purchase of Greek authors. He was persuaded to enter a convent, but not to take monastic vows, and he soon quit- ted that mode of life in disgust, and went to pursue his studies at the University of Paris. In 1507, he arrived at Queen's College, Cambridge, and in 1509 became a teacher of Greek at Oxford. In the royal family of England

\* Two of our own poets (Milton and Pope), at the opening of the poems to which they owe their best fame (*Paradise Lost* and the *Messiah*), seem to have overcome some little temptation to adopt the style here alluded to, which had been so long in use, and turning from the contemplation of all other aid, ask for that of the Holy Spirit.

† His Dutch name was Gerhard, but this he changed for its Latin equivalent Desiderius, and the Greek Erasmus. Many of the learned men of these times adopted Latin or Greek names, through admiration of those languages.

he was a great favourite; and Henry VIII., when yet a child, wrote him a letter, in Latin, with his own hand and from his own resources—a proof at once of the prince's love of learning and of Erasmus, and so much valued by the latter, that he carried it about with him in a golden box. After his accession to the throne, Henry VIII. courted the society of the learned Dutchman; nor was his the only crowned head that bowed to the highest genius of the day. The emperors, the princes of Germany, and the Popes, paid him equal honour, and were numbered among his correspondents, not to say his flatterers; poets, philosophers, painters, and sculptors, indeed all the varied talent of the day, in turn did him homage; and even common people were so anxious to honour him, that triumphal arches were erected on occasion of his visiting some of the cities of Germany. Epistles addressed simply to "the prince of letters," "the sun of learning," and so forth, were sure to come safely into the hands of Erasmus: for a long time he had no rival. These things are only worthy of record as showing, that from no mean or illiterate hand issued the great work of which we are about to speak. All the mental powers, and all the laborious studies of Erasmus, went to the preparation of a critical edition of the Greek Testament, which was published in 1516, at Basle, accompanied by a Latin translation, in which he corrected the errors of the Vulgate, and by notes defending those corrections. Up to that time the Vulgate was *the received text*; and had any one but Erasmus dared to question its fidelity, or to furnish to the learned world the Greek original, it might have been a vain instead of a useful labour. So intent was Erasmus on his learned labours, and so much did he prefer a poverty that allowed him freedom, that he refused the invitations of popes and princes, and devoted himself to study and composition, gaining a livelihood for some time by the correction of proofs for Frobenius of Basle. That learned printer became famous for the fine editions of the works of Augustine, Jerome, and Erasmus, which issued from his press.\* After Eras-

\* One of Erasmus's books may here be mentioned as serving *externally* in the work of the Reformation, but having nothing to do with its spiritual power. It was a satire bearing a Greek title, signifying *Praise of Folly*, which exposed in the most witty manner the corrup-

mus had accomplished the great work for which he seems to have been gifted of God, he was of no farther use to the Church; he vacillated between truth and error, alternately failing the supporters of either; and the sun of his fame rapidly set, or was eclipsed in the fervid and brilliant career of Luther. A man, second in fame as a linguist to Erasmus only, was to do for the text of the Old Testament what he had done for the New; to pull down the authority of the Vulgate translation by a correct edition of the original Hebrew. The name and history of this servant of the Church is worthy of record. John Reuchlin, son of an humble citizen of Pforzheim, attracted the notice of the Margrave of Baden, through the sweetness of his voice as he sang in the choir of the church; and his manners and disposition being found as pleasing as his musical tones, the prince resolved to send him with his own son to be educated at the University of Paris (A.D. 1473). Happily, the celebrated Wesselus was then teaching Hebrew at that great school; and Reuchlin gained from him, not only the first rudiments of that language, but the elements of gospel truth. The professor of Greek was a learned native of Sparta, and Reuchlin took great advantage of his instruction. Latin, too, he learned to speak with purity. His abilities were to be quickly tested. When scarcely twenty, he began to teach philosophy, Greek, and Latin, at Basle, and was soon after called to the University of Tubingen, then recently founded by Eberhard, duke of Wurtemberg. The Pope sent ambassadors to that prince, and his chancellor, as his office required, began to answer their elegant Latin address; but his language and pronunciation were so barbarous that the Italians burst out laughing, and declared they could not understand him. Young Reuchlin was remembered in this moment of perplexity, and, being called into court, said all that was proper in such polished and expressive language, that the Roman orators were struck with astonishment. Shortly after, the duke took

tions and superstitions upheld by the priests and monks. The matter of it is said to have been composed during a journey which Erasmus took from Italy to England, as he was wont to write down, when he arrived at an inn for the night, the thoughts that had occupied him during the day. Seven editions of this work were sold in a few months. The *Colloquies* of Erasmus have had more lasting fame.

the young scholar with him into Italy, and employed him to address the Pope, in his name, in full consistory. His speech was greatly admired, and the Pope observed, "This man deserves to be ranked with the best orators of France and Italy." This was as early as 1487. After spending some years in improving himself and his countrymen, Reuchlin was employed on another errand to Rome, in 1498, and spent his spare time, in taking lessons in Hebrew of a learned Jew, and his money in the purchase of Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. On this occasion, also, he attended a lecture given by Argyropylos, one of the most learned of the Greek refugees. Reuchlin, at the end, went to speak to him on the subject of his lecture; and the Greek, astonished at the interest shown by one whom he regarded as a barbarous German, asked him, as a test of his knowledge, to read and explain a passage of Thucydides that lay before him. Reuchlin complied with such wonderful ability, that Argyropylos, who had been mourning over the decay of learning in his own country, through the oppressions of the Turks, embraced the stranger warmly, exclaiming, "Greece, an outcast, is truly gone to hide herself beyond the Alps!" On his return to Germany, Reuchlin settled at Wittemberg, where Frederic, deservedly surnamed the Wise, elector of Saxony, had founded, in the year 1500, a university, which was at the same time a kind of monastery. It was the cradle of the Reformers; and there Reuchlin, who was truly a nursing-father, prepared for publication the first Hebrew and German grammar and lexicon, and instructed in Hebrew one who was to be helpful in the translation of the Scriptures into his native tongue. This was the famous Melanchthon, the friend of Luther, and, next to him, the most notable among the German reformers. He was one of Reuchlin's relatives; his father was an artisan, famous as a manufacturer of arms; and his original name was Schwarzerd, *i. e.* black earth. Reuchlin, who had always a taste for harmonious sounds, and especially admired those of the Greek tongue, translated his young cousin's name into that language, and thenceforth he was only known as Philip Melanchthon. His lovely disposition, his talents, and his diligence, alike delighted Reuchlin: he adopted him as a son, and spared no pains that he thought were likely to

make him useful to his church and country. Just at the close of our present period, Reuchlin was involved in a contest which proved his intense love of learning, and of Hebrew lore in particular. There was at Cologne a certain Jew named Pfefferkorn, who had been converted to the Romish faith; and, on becoming intimate with Hochstraten, the inquisitor of that place, seemed determined to show his zeal against Judaism; he therefore tried to obtain from the emperor an edict for the burning of all Hebrew books, except the Bible. Maximilian referred the matter to Reuchlin, as the best Hebraist in his dominions; and the professor gave advice that only certain writings, which he named, containing blasphemies against Christ, and arguments against the Roman Catholic religion, should be destroyed. He judged that the Talmud, and the commentaries upon it, might be usefully spared, to show the Jews how far they had wandered, and to shame them of their errors; and that their annals, philosophical treatises, and works on medicine, might serve some good purpose. At the same time he told the emperor, that the best way to convert the Jews would be to establish two professors at each of the universities, to teach the clergy to read the Hebrew Bible, out of which they might confute Jewish fables. Offended at the moderation of Reuchlin, Pfefferkorn and Hochstraten attacked him in a work entitled *The Mirror*, in which, by torturing his writings, they tried to convict him of heresy and Judaism, and even threatened him with the Inquisition. Within a week, Reuchlin published his answer, called *The Spectacles*, or a "Defence against the Slanderers of Cologne;" and, whilst proving himself clear of heresy, proved them, and the monks in general, who were the great adversaries of learning, guilty of ignorance (A. D. 1513). Thus commenced the famous contest between the *Reuchlinists*, as the friends of learning in Germany were then called, and the Dominican monks, which terminated in the entire defeat of the latter.\* In

\* The Dominicans were further brought into great disrepute in this era, through a case of most iniquitous fraud, which occurred in Switzerland, and for which four of the order were burned (A. D. 1509). A monastery at Berne was the scene of the spiritual wickedness enacted by them, with a view to obtain popularity, and to win back the influence which they had lost through the increasing power of the Franciscans.

the course of this controversy, in which many took part, a book appeared, entitled "*Letters of Obscure Men*" (A. D. 1516). It professed to be the private correspondence of certain monks of different convents, and made mention of Hochstraten, Pfefferkorn, and other heads of the anti-Reuchlin party, in an incidental manner, exposing, as if unintentionally, the ignorance, vulgarity, superstition, pride, and licentiousness of the whole order; in fact, making it appear, as some one has observed, that if all the vices had been lost, they might have been found under the cowl of the

The first act of the monks was to deceive a poor credulous and half-crazy tailor, named Jetzer, who had been received as a lay-brother, into a belief of the apparition of saints to him by night. The appearances and voices, which were artfully contrived by the friars, wrought upon the simple man to such a degree, that he was persuaded to go through certain penitential exercises, which brought him a high reputation as a saint, and attracted crowds of visitors to the convent. Having succeeded thus far, they determined to impress upon their victim the five marks said to have been miraculously given to St. Francis, in conformity with the wounds of Christ, thinking thus to eclipse the rival order in their greatest glory. But, though Jetzer was not unwilling to believe the Blessed Virgin stood beside his bed, he cried loudly when the friar who personated her, congratulating him on the grace vouchsafed to him, drove a sharp nail through one of his hands. The following night, the monks administered a sleeping draught to their victim, and the remaining marks were made by means of corrosives. When he awoke, they took advantage of his amazement to persuade him that a miracle had been wrought upon him; they then placed before him pictures of the sufferings of Christ, that he might imitate them in looks and gestures; and when he could do this, exhibited him before the crowds who came to see the wonder. Sometimes, the wretched Jetzer, through the potions given to him, fell down in the course of his performances, as if in the agonies of death. But at last he found out the tricks that had been practised upon him; he recognised the voices of the monks who pretended to speak to him, as the Virgin and St. Catherine; and notwithstanding all their efforts to make him a party in the concealment of their frauds, he would make no promise. In the fear of his exposing them, they tried to put him to death by poison; but he escaped out of their hands, and reported the whole matter to the magistrates. The trial that ensued was the means of bringing to light the most odious particulars as to the state of the convent; but the public reasons given for the execution of the criminals were, that they had denied the Godhead, coloured the sacramental wafers, painted false tears upon an image of the Virgin, and mocked the sufferings of the Saviour by the five prints of wounds made on the person of Jetzer.

monks. The book was anonymous, and written in such a clever manner, that the Dominicans and Franciscans in England bought it, as if really the work of monastics, and written in defence of the religious orders; but the real bent of it was soon perceived, and it cast more odium on the monkish profession than had ever before been its lot. The "Letters" were reproduced again and again in every form, and some even ventured to attribute them to the pen of Erasmus, or to other illustrious scholars of the age. They are, however, supposed to have been written by Ulric de Hutten, a German knight, who had been present at the siege of Padua, and in Italy obtained a fuller view of the prevailing evils than Germany could furnish: he was, perhaps, assisted by some of his university companions. It would be unfair not to mention this book, as it aimed a greater blow against the fortifications of Popery, than anything else of the same period; but works of this nature gave, alas! a carnal character to the Reformation, never helping one soul heavenwards, though they drove many out of Romanism: moreover, many superior and delicate minds were frightened by this coarse and unholy mode of warfare, and, rather than appear in unison with a party that condescended to use it, lived and died under the yoke of the Roman Catholic Church.

We have alluded to everything that foretold an approaching reformation of religion; all the good and all the evil that were abroad in the world were so many heralds of it. The Waldenses, from many a blood-stained, fire-scorched valley, sent through the darkness the rays they had caught from heaven; the United Brethren, amidst fiery trial, had begun their shining course; the Lollards of England were true and faithful; Savonarola, and others, shone in the very depths of Italy's darkness, or shamed the glare of its false light; France, Spain, Holland, &c. had their witnesses for Christ; Erasmus and Reuchlin, the most learned of Roman Catholics, were labouring to produce the Bible in its original tongues; and, finally, the printing-press stood ready to disseminate every spark of light that was struck out anywhere. On the other hand, the blood of God's saints cried to him out of the midst of *the great city*; and so did the blood of sinners perishing unwarned, or deceived by blind guides.

Satan had used his power and authority, as far as he might, to shut out the gospel; and the proud waves of ungodliness and blasphemy had rolled up to their bounds. God's word of arrest was about to be pronounced.

And here we catch a glimpse of his mighty power. As *the sands* were a sufficient bound for the sea; as He hung the earth upon *nothing*; still more, as Christ *crucified* is the power of God to salvation, the *meanest* agency could bring about at this moment God's purposes of grace. There was no need to look for some mighty angel to come down from heaven, to work a change in the aspect of Christendom; God could as easily effect it by one of the obscurest of his creatures: he was pleased to do so.

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WE have often spoken of the monastic orders, their uses and abuses, but now that we are about to tell the often repeated story of the mendicant monk "who shook the world," some general observations will not be deemed out of place. They are, in fact, a farewell tribute to monachism, whether for praise or blame, as in our own country, and many others, it could not, as a system, live out the sixteenth century. The best and most universal rule adopted by the regular monks, that of St. Benedict, has been described in a former part of this work;\* the Mendicants, when living in communities, took up a similar practice, but spent part of the time, which others devoted to labour, in begging alms, bread, &c. The original idea of monastic life was seclusion from the world's vanities, the crucifixion of the flesh, and entire dedication to God; the avowed aim was the perfecting of holiness. But the carnal mind is the same everywhere, and at all times; it is enmity against God; and, like the horse that has no understanding, often becomes more restive, through the injudicious methods taken to restrain it. Thus, in process of time, *the religious orders*, as they were termed, were the corrupting leaven, and not the preserving salt, of human society; and the woes which Christ denounced against the scribes and pharisees might, through the similarity of their pretensions and their vices, have borne strict application to the monks. Incessantly making long prayers,

\* Vol. III. p. 74, &c. and 226. See also pp. 316—319, and 440, 441.

reciting or chaunting psalms, copying and ornamenting the Scriptures, the parallel may be drawn without difficulty; a pretence of great devotion was often the covering of avarice, and rigid outward observances co-existed with the loosest disregard of God's laws.\*

In the fulness of a heart wherein the blessed Spirit wrought mightily, the psalmist exclaimed, "Seven times a-day will I praise thee;" and again, "At midnight will I rise and give thanks unto thee;" but the necessity of spiritual power for such exercises was quite overlooked when Benedict appointed, and his followers adopted, the formal periods of prayer-saying and psalm-singing, to which we have often alluded, under the title of the canonical hours.† Nor could the bare repetition of certain words, at certain hours, even the psalms, be more acceptable to Him, who seeks for worship in spirit and in truth, than the *equally frequent* prayers of the disciples of Mahomet, or the still more numerous "vain repetitions" of the heathens. An ingenious writer has well compared a monk

\* The similarity might even be extended to the religious pretences connected with the clothing of the ancient pharisees (*separatists*), and the modern monks (*solitary ones*). The abbot, as well as the bishop, wore garments for which a holy significancy was claimed; the monk's dress was expressive of similar sanctity. The former, in imitation of Christ, had a *seamless coat*, to characterise his *spotless holiness*; the *crozier* that he carried was the shepherd's crook, and emblematic of *pastoral care*; *the gloves*, sometimes worn, and sometimes laid aside, were to signify *good works*, sometimes exhibited for edification, sometimes concealed, in modesty; *the ring* was to betoken their *espousals* to the church, or the mysteries with which they were entrusted; *the sandals*, which kept the feet off the ground, and yet did not cover them, were to typify the gospel of peace, not resting on earthly benefits, and not to be concealed. Garments were, indeed, vain teachers of these holy lessons. The monk's *frock*, or cowl, was to represent *the protection of God*; *the scapulary*, which hung before and behind, *armour against the devil*; the priestly tonsure, the crown of thorns; the two parts of the hood, the wide sleeves, and divided skirts of the tunic, were to stand for the six wings of the cherubim.

† These hours, and their names, to which devout Romanists still adhere, we may mention here, as there is a slight mistake at page 75, Vol. III. *Lauds*, i. e. praises, at midnight; *vigils*, either at the same time, or two hours after; *matins*, or prime, at 6 A. M.; *tierce*, or thirds, at 9 P. M.; *sexts*, or sixths, at 12 at noon; *nones*, or the ninth hour of the day, 3 P. M.; *vespers*, after dinner, about 4½ P. M., *complines*, 7 P. M.

devoid of spiritual life to "a barrel-organ set to psalm tunes;" but doubtless there were, in many a convent, lips that had been touched, as it were, by a live coal from God's altar, forgiven sinners who could sing praises with understanding. And whilst there are now some earnest Christians who live in that atmosphere, which the apostle calls "praying always," and whose praises gush out, shaming the limits of canonical hours, the Church at large is rather to be addressed, "O that there were such an heart in thee," and can only put her mouth in the dust.

The monastic rule of *silence* was formed, apparently, with the same idea of emulating the result of high spirituality as that concerning prayer, "I said, I will take heed unto my ways that I sin not with my tongue." To prevent the use of the tongue, except at the prescribed times, signs were invented, somewhat resembling those used by the dumb, but even over-much use of these was forbidden. To check too great freedom of conversation in the seasons and places where it was allowed, the use of a foreign language was appointed. The English monks, for instance, were to speak French or Latin. But it appears, that all the rules and severe penances devised for the purpose did not tame the tongues of the monastics; and though the use of speech was especially forbidden after complines, to prevent the danger of nightly conversation, the monks, like school-boys, were wont to gather round each others' beds to gossip, and tell stories; and often, after the dormitory doors were shut, amused themselves in leaping and dancing. In short, foolish talking and jesting abounded in the majority of convents.\* The practice of partially or

\* There is a curious passage in Ariosto's most famous poem, which describes the angel Michael as having a commission to search for *Silence*, which was needed as a companion to the French soldiers, that they might not be detected on their march to Rome. He descends to a monastery, as the natural dwelling-place of silence, but fails to find it; and notices, at the same time, the departure of all the Christian graces from monastic haunts, and the vices that fill their place.

"No more does Silence this abode delight in,  
Nor tarry here at all, except in writing.  
Nor Pity, no, nor Peace, can he descry;  
Nor Love, nor Rest, nor Meekness,—all are fled;  
Time was, they dwelt here, but 'tis long gone by;  
Pride, Hate, Sloth, Lust, Rage, Avarice, in their stead,  
Have made it their resort."—*Orlando Furioso*.

altogether abstaining from flesh is said to have been insisted on by some monastic rules, under the strange idea, that the curse upon the ground affected the animals that originally sprung out of it (Gen. i. 24), but did not extend to the fish of the sea, nor defile the vegetable world. *Fasting* was adopted on the more general principle of mortifying the flesh; but being used in a carnal manner, it either issued in the punishing of the body, and the satisfying of the flesh — the result of all self-infliction of a similar kind (Col. ii. 23) — or was followed in an evasive fashion, and omitted when practicable. Thus, many chose to be bled, or feigned sickness, because animal food was allowed to them under such circumstances; some, after their fish-dinner in the refectory, had meat elsewhere; and cookery was carefully studied, in order to make the prescribed fare as savoury as possible. The monasteries of England, in the fifteenth century, were famous for their cooks; and one monk was almost idolised by his convent for having invented a fish-sauce of almond cream, the preparation of which cost 40*l.* a-year.\* As it was foreseen by the authors of monastic rules, that their laws were likely to be broken, a chapter, or meeting of the convent, was appointed to be held every morning, to notice all transgressions. An inclination of the head, or a slight prostration, was considered a sufficient acknowledgment for accidental mistakes, or omissions, at the moment of committing them; but graver offences were to be judged by the chapter, the abbot or prior presiding. Room in the first place was allowed for voluntary confessions; and for faults thus acknowledged, only a slight penance was imposed. Then began the accusations against less candid transgressors. The *rules* strongly forbade mutual recrimination, or complaint against accusers; but poor human nature was not equal to this forbearance, and the quarrels and heart-burnings were endless, when any attempt was

\* To the fifteenth century may be traced the origin of what were termed the glutton-masses of England. Probably it was to make their religion more popular, that the priests instituted feasts to be held in the churches five times a-year, in honour of the Virgin. Ample stores of meats and drinks of every description were brought by the people, one parish vying with another in profusion; and, mass being said, the sacred building assumed the aspect of a tavern, and became a scene of gluttony, riot, and drunkenness.

made to keep up this kind of discipline, so that in many convents it became almost a dead letter, or fell into the hands of the superior.\* When the president of the chapter gave sentence, the offender was expected to bow his head in token of submission; and when discipline with the rod was prescribed, it was commonly inflicted on the spot.† The most usual sentences for minor offences were extraordinary fasting, prostration, silence, &c. Under the sentence called the *lesser* excommunication, the offender dined three hours after the rest, and lay prostrate at the door of the church, as the convent went by, asking their prayers instead of going with them, each monk being expected to reply, "The Lord have mercy upon thee." The *greater* excommunication was expulsion from the convent; and sometimes a grave offender was sent to a strange convent for penitence. A fugitive, on returning, or being brought back, was subjected to severe discipline, and had to do "all the offices that were most foul."

No class felt the effects of the invention of printing more sensibly than the inhabitants of monasteries; it deprived hundreds of their most innocent and useful occupation, the copying and illuminating of MSS.; and whilst to some it furnished a far higher advantage in the facility of obtaining the materials of study, a far greater number fell into a state of idleness, which led to a great increase of moral corruption. Thus the degradation of the majority was sealed by the very circumstance that exalted the condition of a few. From among the reading and thinking monks, who, but for the printing-press, might have been copyists all their days, or students on a very small scale, there sprang some of the most distinguished scholars of Europe, and some of the illuminators of Christendom.

\* Imprisonment for a year in chains, in a dungeon to which food was let down by a cord, might be decreed by the superior for certain crimes; and punishments of the most cruel and arbitrary nature could be resorted to, even against the innocent, if the heads of such establishments were disposed to tyrannise.

† The accuser might not inflict it. The brethren present were to hang down their heads, in sympathy with the sufferer; and a crucifix was placed near the judgment-seat, to remind the monks, it was said, during disciplines, that their sufferings were nothing in comparison with those of Christ. Sometimes, for grave offences, the same discipline was inflicted several times, on certain days.

Of this class was Martin Luther. It is unnatural to refer even to the *dawn* of the Reformation without mentioning *him*; but he scarcely came into public notice within the limits of our present period. The weapon which God had formed and furnished for his own use was, if we might be allowed the expression, still within the scabbard; but we may even now look at the manner in which it was wrought, and admire the hand that made it.

Born of poor but virtuous parents, at Eisleben, an obscure village of Saxony, on November 10, 1483, Martin Luther, in the following summer, was carried by his parents to the neighbouring town of Mansfeldt. His father, John Luther, had heard of the mines of that place, and hoped, as an artisan, to support his family better than he could do by agricultural labour. He was not disappointed. He struggled on through great poverty till his industry and excellent conduct brought him into comparatively easy circumstances; and the superior tone of his mind, with his fondness for reading, led him to court, and made it easy for him to secure, the best society of the place. He was chosen a member of the town-council; and both the ecclesiastics and schoolmasters, who were his neighbours, accepted frequent invitations to his table. In the good providence of God, neither Luther nor Melancthon were left to follow their father's callings: the former was not made to prepare the iron, nor the latter to fashion it into weapons of carnal warfare: both were to labour in the mines of Scripture, and to wield the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. John Luther's fondest ambition was to make his eldest son a scholar; and, at a very early age, the child Martin was carried daily to school. Principles of high integrity and morality were instilled into his young mind; but he was treated with no tenderness; it was not according to the manners of the age, and could only be introduced through views of God different from those which then existed: his mother beat him severely for the most trivial faults, thinking it right to do so; his schoolmaster was yet more unsparing; and Christ was spoken of to him in such repulsive terms as an angry judge, that on hearing his name he turned pale with terror. Accustomed to hardships from his earliest years,

the young Martin, at the age of fourteen, was cast wholly on his natural energies for support. His father saw that he had gained all the knowledge that could be acquired at the Mansfeldt school, and therefore sent him to that of the Franciscans, at Magdeburg, where he had to employ the intervals of study in begging his daily bread "for the love of God," and alms, for the expenses of his education. He trembled in the presence of his masters; and when, with his young companions, he went at Christmas through the neighbouring villages, singing carols, all were so timid, by reason of the treatment to which they were accustomed, that they ran away from a kind peasant, who came out with some food for them, alarmed at the harsh tone of voice in which he cried, "Where are you, boys?" Only his repeated calls brought them back to partake of his charity. Martin had such difficulty to live, that his parents, at the end of a year, desired him to remove to Eisenach, where there was a similar school, hoping, that as his mother had relations at that place, he would fare better. But his kindred were either neglectful of him, or too poor to help him, and his spirit seemed well nigh broken by the repulses he met with, as he begged from door to door. God was watching over him for good, directing every trial; and, as soon as he had learned enough of harshness, privation, and poverty, to subdue, and not sour his spirit, he was unexpectedly relieved from their pressure, and led into circumstances which brought out new tastes, and better feelings. Notwithstanding his fine voice, and natural talent for music, Luther's song before three successive houses had gone unrewarded; and he was returning to his lodging full of painful fears, that, for want of bread, he must leave his studies, and perhaps go to work in the mines, when he resolved to pause before the house of Conrad Cotta, a respectable citizen, and try to sing once more. Before he could begin, Ursula, the wife of Cotta, who was a pious woman, came to the door, invited him to come in, and relieved his wants. She had noticed him before, and had been struck with the sweetness of his voice, and his apparent devotion at church. The good woman's kindness went beyond that day of distress: she introduced him to her husband; and, with his full concurrence, took him into their house as an

adopted son, a few days afterwards. Luther then pursued his studies with fresh vigour; freedom from temporal cares, and the pleasant relaxation of domestic society, increased the power of his mind; and, out of gratitude to his protectress, he learned, in his hours of recreation, to play on the flute, and to sing to the lute, to give her pleasure.\* Thus was nurtured in him a love of music, which was often afterwards a solace to him in trouble and temptation, and which enabled him to compose tunes for many beautiful hymns. At this period of his ignorance, many of his hymns were addressed to the Virgin and the Saints. The time spent at Magdeburg passed rapidly away. Trebonius, the superior of the convent of the Barefooted Carmelites, was the head of the school,† and did credit to the more respectable character which was borne, we have said, by his order. He had good sense enough to treat all his pupils with respect, looking forwards, he said, to a day when they might become distinguished persons: Luther, however, was his special favourite, on account of the remarkable talents which he then displayed.

Biography, in general, would seem out of place in so brief a sketch of Universal History as ours, but every step in Luther's life is of importance, as affecting in its consequences succeeding generations.‡

In A. D. 1501, John Luther determined to place his pro-

\* It is supposed to have been in remembrance of the character of Ursula Cotta, that Luther affixed to his translation of Proverbs xxxi., by way of marginal annotation, an old German distich he first heard in her house, and which may thus be translated:—

“There's nothing sweeter beneath the sun  
Than a woman's love when it can be won.”

“When it can be shared in the fear of God,” he afterwards wrote.

† These schools were called by the Germans *Currende Schulen*, Commencing in the middle ages, they continue to this day in Saxony.

‡ Michelet, one of Luther's Roman Catholic biographers, says on this subject, “It is not inexact to say, that Luther was the restorer of liberty to the ages which followed his era. . . . The very lines I here trace, to whom do I owe it that I am able to send them forth, if not to the liberator of modern thought?” In this sketch of Luther's early life, I have used Michelet with Hazlitt's additions, 1846; *Histoire de la Vie, des Ecrits et des Doctrines de M. Luther*, par Audin, a later Roman Catholic biographer; D'Aubigné's “Reformation;” and Dr. Milner's.

missing son at the University of Erfurth, in Thuringia, a seat of learning towards which the youth had cast a longing eye, as being then the most celebrated of Germany; and he felt grateful for a father's love, and hard labours, to which he was indebted for this means of improvement. Martin was then eighteen years of age. He studied ardently; and, in becoming acquainted with the poets, historians, and orators of ancient Rome, found a pleasant relief from the drier labours of logic. Two of his masters afterwards became his disciples, and others were warm opponents of his doctrines; one, even at this time, had light and courage enough to declare that John Huss was a martyr. The libraries of the German universities, at this era, were in part composed of those goodly manuscripts which we have elsewhere described — laborious works, esteemed worthy of being ornamented with miniature paintings, and illuminations in gold and silver; printed books were also introduced. It was in the library of Erfurth that Luther passed his pleasantest hours. Happily, the great price demanded for those beautiful Latin Bibles, which were the first produce of the printing-press, had not prevented the addition of one or more of them to this library. They were shown to visitors with difficulty, but the young student might open one of them; and as he was one day searching for "some new thing," as ardent and busy minds are wont to do, the hand of God directed him to this precious volume.\* He opened it, not at the com-

\* It was the Latin translation which bears the name of the Vulgate; and it is already known that the Old Testament was only a version of the Septuagint, for which Reuchlin was about to substitute the original Hebrew; and that the New contained errors which Erasmus was labouring to correct by means of the original Greek. But in the goodness of God, the sense of the inspired writers had been sufficiently preserved by the Septuagint, and by Jerome, to convey both life and aliment to the soul of every believing reader. Had it not been in the power of the corrupt priests of the Romish Church thus to obtain a knowledge of God's mind, they would not have incurred such heavy responsibility and guilt. The Vulgate in the form now in use in the Romish Church, the edition of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., approaches nearer the original both in the Old and New Testament, but retains, amongst other errors charged upon the ancient translation, the rendering of *Do penance*, for "Repent ye" (Matt. iii. 2), and elsewhere. But it bears no appearance anywhere of the way of salvation being wilfully obscured; and it may be mentioned as a proof that it does not

mencement, but at the dedication of the young Samuel to the Lord, and the Song of Hannah. It was a portion exactly fitted to arrest his attention. Was he searching for sublime thoughts in sublime language, attractive poetry with impressive philosophy? He met with all in the words of inspiration; and Cicero, Virgil, Livy, &c., whom he had been perusing with such delight, seemed contemptible in the comparison. The following is a specimen of Luther's manner of translating this memorable passage of Scripture many years after, by which it appears he mingled the words of his more ancient acquaintance, the Latin text, with the Hebrew, which he knew less perfectly, yet in no wise departing from the spirit of the original:—

“There is none holy as the Lord; there is none besides thee; and there is no rock like our God. Lay aside your great glory and self-confidence; let not the old things come out of your mouth, for the Lord is a God that marketh it, and alloweth not such imaginations to prosper. . . . The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; he bringeth down to hell, and bringeth up from thence. The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich; he bringeth low and raiseth up. He lifteth up the thirsty out of the dust, and raiseth up the poor out of the mire, that he may set him among princes, and suffer him to inherit the throne of glory.” . . .

These words were new to Luther. He had never before seen the whole Bible; and when he saw how many books there were, besides those from which the portions contained in his Missal were taken, and turned over one page after another with increasing delight, he said in his heart, he desired no greater treasure than such a Bible. But, attractive as the word of God became to him, and often as he returned to the library to read it, he was not then made wise unto salvation. Again he became absorbed in worldly studies, and pursued them with such success, that he was made master of arts, or doctor in philosophy, at the age of twenty (A. D. 1503). The ceremony was pompous; and a procession with torches, followed by a feast, distinguished the occasion. The excessive labour

catch at opportunities to insinuate salvation by works, that in Rev. xxii. 14, the Greek text preferred is not that *received* in our English Bible, but a rarer, and, it may be, a truer one. “Blessed are they *who wash their garments in the blood of the Lamb.*”

which prepared him for these honours seemed to threaten his life; and, soon after, other warnings from God deepened the impressions made in that illness. One of his favourite college friends was cut off by the hand of violence; assassination was not an infrequent thing in these lawless days, and Luther was led to ask what would become of his soul if such an event happened to him? That solemn question was still unanswered, when a dreadful thunderstorm overtook him, on his way back to Erfurth, after a visit to his parents (A. D. 1505). Ignorant of a free access to God by the faith of Christ, he called upon St. Anne, and made a vow, that if his life were spared, he would spend it in a convent. The convent was, in his days, the customary refuge of all who took a religious turn, and there he hoped to obtain a holiness which might fit him to meet God. The storm passed, and the young doctor arrived safely at the university; not to resume the lectures on philosophy, which he had begun publicly to deliver, not to pursue the study of the law, whereby his father expected him to rise into some high official station of the empire, but to resign these brilliant prospects for the obscurity of the cloister. There was at Erfurth a convent of hermits of the Augustine order, one of the many classes of mendicants; and Luther resolved to cast in his lot with theirs, in the hope of winning heaven by such practices as in those times were thought to deserve it. At the end of a fortnight, during which this thought had filled his breast, he invited his friends to sup with him; music and lively conversation, as usual, beguiled the hours, but, ere they left his chamber, he told them it was a farewell entertainment; he was about to become a monk. In vain they tried to oppose a determination which the dread of displeasing and disappointing his father had not been able to shake. That same night he repaired, in the darkness, to the gate of the convent, and cried, "Open to me, in the name of God." "What do you want?" said the friar, who was porter. "To consecrate myself to God." "Be it so;" answered he, and immediately admitted him. It was a triumph to the monks to obtain such a convert. The next day (August 18), Luther sent back to the university his gown and ring, the insignia of the dignity which he had received two

years before ; and he then wrote to his father to acquaint him with the step he had taken. The miner, in his reply, expressed great indignation, and marked his contempt for his son's new profession by changing the German *ihr* (you), with which he had addressed him as master of arts, for the old familiar *du* (thou).

Luther's lingering love for the studies which he seemed to desert was expressed in his bringing with him to the convent no other property than two books, Virgil and Plautus.\* But, in his noviciate, he was not permitted the indulgence of reading. *Mortification* was the most definite object of his new associates, and they were glad of the opportunity of giving the high-minded student the bitter lesson. His first office was to cleanse the foulest places ; and he was then employed to sweep out the dormitories, to wind up the clock, to open and shut the doors ; and when, at the end of a month, it was thought he might leave the convent, without danger of being drawn away by his friends, he was sent, with a bag across his shoulder, to beg in the streets of Erfurth. If he returned to his books, he was soon aroused by the cry, *cum sacco per civitatem* (with your bag through the town), and was told that he would not benefit the convent by study, but rather by obtaining bread, corn, eggs, fish, meat, and money. The university was ashamed to see one of its late honourable members in such a position, and, at their intercession, Luther was released by the prior from this species of humiliation. But a burden remained that weighed heavier on his spirit than any of the outward things, in which he vainly sought relief ; it was the sin of his nature, which was now revealed to him in the use of the means whereby he expected to become holy. God was still worshipped by him as an unknown

\* Plautus died about 184 B. C. He wrote twenty-five comedies, of which nineteen are extant. Like our Shakspeare, he remained a favourite, after his diction and language became in part obsolete ; and for 500 years his plays were acted in the Roman theatres. But even the more pure minded and refined of his own countrymen complained of his low wit, execrable puns, and disgusting obscenities. It is possible that Luther's mind, like many more, obtained in these early Latin studies a tinge of grossness which it never recovered, and which often injured the delicate tints of the new nature.

God; and as mechanical devotion was most difficult to such a mind as his, sometimes, for two or three weeks together, he forgot the *canonical hours*. Then, if his brethren failed to accuse him, he accused himself, and, by way of penance, began to make up all the religious exercises which he had omitted, careless either of food or sleep.\* Soon he was entitled to call himself one of the truest monks that ever entered the cloister; there was no pretence at watching, fasting, and acts of penitence, on his part; and, as he more than once asserted, had any one ever entered heaven, by means of strict monastic observances, he might have done so. His only recreations were to sing a hymn, to join in a chaunt with some young chorister, or to walk at daybreak into the country, and preach the word of God to the shepherds. On these occasions, worn out, perhaps, by previous vigils, he sometimes fell asleep under a tree, whilst listening to their simple minstrelsy. A Bible was chained to a certain spot in the convent, and thither Luther often resorted, though its contents seemed as yet inexplicable: he also read the works of Augustine,† and began to learn Greek and Hebrew. In the latter study he was assisted by Reuchlin's lexicon, which had just then appeared.

Whilst Luther was exercising his mind on the Scriptures, God brought their power to bear upon his soul. They acted upon him, according to the description of Jeremiah, as a fire, and as a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces; and, according to that of St. Paul, as being sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. And whilst the plague of his heart was being thus opened to him by the Holy Ghost, to the intent that he might take, and prize, and for ever praise, and recommend God's remedy, the devil sent his fiery darts to rankle in the open

\* With regard to the hours, Luther once said, "If I had done nothing but relieve men from this tyranny, they owe me a large debt of gratitude."

† Luther was exceedingly impressed with Augustine's powerful statements concerning human corruption, as extending to the *will*; and was doubtless influenced by his writings. He had himself taken the name of Augustine with his monastic vow.

sore, as if to persuade him there was no remedy. Dear reader, "the terrors of the Lord," and the "fiery darts of the devil," are *realities*; they are denied indeed now by the scoffer, who shall be under them throughout eternity; they are doubted by the nominal Christian, and it is a perilous doubt; but they are experienced with more or less intensity now by every one who is to escape them for ever. Luther, like others who have been much used of God, was to know their full force; and the dark and evil system in which he was enveloped augmented all his sufferings. When he found nothing in his own heart or life answering to the standard of holiness which he saw in God's word, he began almost to despair of salvation, and consequently to endure inexpressible distresses.

There was no need of a rule to impose silence on the afflicted young monk; he could not answer God (Job xl. 4, 5), before whom he found himself guilty (Rom. iii. 19); he could not answer his own accusing thoughts (Rom. ii. 15); he could not answer the lies of Satan. He shunned the dull and trifling discourse of the monks; and they, astonished at his singular and unsocial manners, began to think he was under the power of the devil. Perhaps Luther knew these suspicions; for one day, during the performance of mass in the chapel, he broke the silence which was commanded at such seasons, and cried out, "*Non sum ego; Non sum ego;*" "It is not I! It is not I!" The priest, it is said, was at that moment reading in the gospel for the day, "Jesus was casting out a devil, and it was dumb;" and probably Luther feared that the mental torment which occasioned his silence might be attributed to the possession of the devil. His internal conflicts, and the self-inflictions by which he hoped to obtain freedom from them, sometimes left him motionless from exhaustion, as if dead. Instead of taking repose, he would kneel at the head of his bed from even-song to the rising of the sun; and one morning, as he failed to appear at the wonted hour, a friendly monk burst open his cell, and was alarmed to find him with his face upon the ground, scarcely breathing. Aware of the fondness of this young brother for music, he used it to arouse him from this trance, and thus revived him after other means had failed. But he was only restored to faint again beneath the same

burden, one that the harmony of the gospel could alone throw into oblivion. This was now brought to him by an unexpected instrument, and at a moment when his own jarring thoughts, and the discordant tones of ignorant men and spiritual adversaries, made it all the more gladdening. Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustines, a friend of the Elector Frederic, and one who had been entrusted to *buy relics* for his collegiate church at Wittemberg, being on his usual round to visit the monks under his superintendence, came to Erfurth. He was one of those whom the thick darkness of the surrounding religious atmosphere had not hindered from *feeling after*, and *finding* the God of all grace, who secretly drew him to himself. He marked the attenuated frame, and haggard countenance of the interesting young monk who had been added to the society at Erfurth, and, divining the cause of his wretched appearance, sought to win his confidence by affection. He knew but little of Luther's bitter experiences, and was obliged to reply to many of his searching questions, "I do not understand;" but when the mourner confessed to him his sins, with unfeigned lamentations, he could speak to him as one who had tasted that the Lord is gracious, and could show him how vainly he was torturing himself by the dissection of his own heart. Some of his confessions the old man treated as childish, and even stopped them with a smile; but he met his real complaints by saying, "God is not against thee, but thou art averse from God. Remember that Christ came hither for the pardon of sins. Cast thyself into the arms of the Redeemer. Trust in him, in the righteousness of his life, in the expiatory sacrifice of his death." When Luther told him of the many promises he had made and broken, Staupitz replied, "Oh, my child, I have vowed to the holy God more than a thousand times, that I would live a holy life, and never have I kept my vows. I now make no more vows, for I know well I shall not keep them. If God will not be merciful to me for Christ's sake, I cannot stand before him, I must perish." In reply to Luther's pressing demands on the subject of repentance, which he had so far deemed to consist in a series of performances that were called *acts of penitence*, his new friend thus instructed him:—"There is no true repentance but that which

begins in the love of God. That which some fancy to be the end of repentance, is only its beginning. If thou wouldst be really converted, follow not these mortifications and penances. *Love him who has first loved you.*" It was then that a ray of light, a ray of God's love, broke in upon Luther's soul. Conversation and correspondence with Staupitz helped him, as also a Bible which was the good man's gift, and which he could have as a companion in his cell. But his protracted sufferings of mind and body threw him into a severe illness; and, in the second year of his abode in the convent, he had to spend some time in the infirmary. In the prospect of death his former terrors returned; and as "I know not" was the common answer to any anxious question addressed to those around him, he could tell his griefs to none. But one day he was visited by an old monk, who knew the way of peace; and, won by his kindness, the sufferer opened his heart. This humble messenger of God, in reply to his doubts, repeated the well-known words of the creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." Luther, like thousands of nominal Christians, had been familiar with this form from childhood, but it never had given him the comfort it conveyed to one whose faith simply stood in the power of God. He repeated the words, as if to fathom their consoling significancy. "Ah," said the old man, "you must not believe only that David's, or Peter's sins are forgiven. The devils believe that. Hear what St. Bernard says, 'Believe that, through Jesus, thy sins shall be forgiven *thee*.' This is the witness that the Holy Spirit puts into the heart of man. *Thy* sins are forgiven *thee*." On being questioned further concerning this peace-communicating faith, the monk replied, "To believe is to love; and whosoever loves shall be saved." Luther received as the word of God, and not of men, the simple truths he had heard from Staupitz, and the aged monk. The Bible seemed to him a new book, through the personal application of the gospel, and realising the truth that the just shall live by faith, he utterly renounced the idea of meriting salvation. Spiritual health hastened his recovery from bodily sickness, and, at the ensuing Christmas services, he sang the praises of his Redeemer with his whole heart.

This is the simple story of Luther's conversion; and a similar story of grace, we humbly believe, will be told to the glory of God in eternity, concerning many a precious soul that has never been instructed as to the errors of a false church, or taken a church-standing on the earth, according to the mind of God; but how many blessings, beyond actual salvation, are lost to such, may be known here, as well as hereafter. Up to the close of our present period, Luther was, to use his own strong expression, "in the swaddling-clothes of popery;" and with regard to its evils, "God had not opened his eyes." We may, however, trace some of the steps which led to his freedom; and that he might pant after it, struggle for it, enjoy it, and set others free, he had yet to become more thoroughly acquainted with the house of bondage.

Two of John Luther's sons had died of plague, and whilst he was mourning for them, it was said, "The monk of Erfurth is also dead." His friends took this opportunity of drawing out his affections towards Martin. "Should it be a false report," said they, "at least sanctify your present affliction, by consenting that your eldest son should be a monk." "Well," said the weeping miner, "be it so; and may God prosper him!" In this softened state, a letter from Martin reached him, praying him to name a day when he could be present at his ordination. He complied, and by appointment arrived at Erfurth, Sunday, May 2, 1507, bringing with him twenty florins as a present to his son. It might have appeared he was fully reconciled; but, when the monk ventured to ask him how he could object to his vocation, and whether his robe was not a becoming one, he stood up, and said to the company, "Is it not written in the commandments, 'Honour thy father and mother?'" and when they had replied that it was so, he glanced expressively at his disobedient son—a look which was long after remembered; then, with the careless cheerfulness of the German peasant, he suddenly changed the conversation, saying, "Heaven grant that this may not be a snare of the devil! Come, let us drink—may Martin love us a little better!" Though a time of feasting to his friends, it was a serious occasion to the new-made priest. The bishop who put the cup into his hand, in ordaining him, said, according to the prescribed

form, "Receive the power of offering sacrifice for the living and the dead;" he bore it calmly at the moment, but when he was afterwards conscious it was a blasphemous pretension to the work of Christ, he observed, "That the earth did not swallow us both up was an instance of the patience and longsuffering of the Lord!" As he ascended the altar steps, to exercise, for the first time, the imagined power of converting, through the utterance of a few words, the unleavened cake into the real body and blood of Christ, he trembled greatly; and in the midst of the singing of the mass, he was seized with such fear that he would have quitted the church without completing the ceremony, had he not been detained. One of the thickest clouds that hung over Luther's powerful mind to the last was that in which education, and tradition, and practice, involved him, regarding the Lord's Supper. He cast off, gradually, the worst superstitions of Rome, but never returned to the scriptural simplicity of that blessed institution. With his early and strongly riveted awe, it was scarcely possible that he should do so. Not long after his ordination, he was at the festival called Corpus Christi, at Eisleben. In the procession, he walked behind Staupitz, who was carrying the host: suddenly, he was so overwhelmed with the idea that Christ himself was borne before him, that he staggered, and thought he should have dropped down dead. When the host had been replaced in the sacristy, and he was alone with Staupitz, he told him all he had felt. His friend wisely replied, "Thy thoughts are not according to Christ: Christ does not terrify, he always consoles." This assurance calmed his mind.

In obedience to Staupitz, as the vicar-general of his order, Luther removed, in the year 1508, to the convent of the Augustines at Wittemberg. It was thought practicable for him again to be a doctor of philosophy, although he was a monk, and Staupitz mentioned him to the Elector Frederic as a fit person to adorn his rising university. The prince's letter required him to make haste, and he had scarcely time to bid farewell to his friends. His eyes filled with tears as he left Erfurth; it was the place of his spiritual birth.\*

\* Luther's knapsack on this occasion is said to have contained only a coarse woollen robe, a little linen, a Greek and a Latin Bible, and a

A new life opened upon Luther at Wittemberg, and he found his first employment there very uncongenial. Philosophy was to be the subject of his lessons, in its two divisions—physics, or all that concerns *material* beings, and the system of this visible world; and ethics, or *moral* philosophy; the art which pretends to teach what are the human actions which can lead to true happiness, and the means whereby they are to be performed. Aristotle was to be his guide, a pagan philosopher, who, as Luther expressed it, wished to build upon man, instead of building upon God. It was impossible that a man like Luther, who, after so many severe struggles, had been taught the only true secret of happiness, and who had learned at such a cost the innate depravity which prevents men from doing that which is good, could have felt the professorship of Aristotelian philosophy anything but a burden. But he was to go through this, as he went through the cloister, to procure emancipation for other minds as well as his own. In fact, as doctor of philosophy, it was soon apparent he was on an entirely new track. The youths of Wittemberg came in crowds to his lectures, and he taught them the hollowness of a system that seeks for the explanation of moral phenomena in man, without ever going to the divine word to see the source of all. He ventured to designate the men who were regarded as the stars of the schools, “echoes of the past, uttering merely human sounds.”

In order to be more free to teach the truths he loved, Luther zealously applied himself to the study of Greek and Hebrew, and a few months after his arrival at Wittemberg he obtained the degree of bachelor of divinity, which entitled him, according to the rules of the university, to lecture on theology. He was determined to communicate no meaner knowledge than that which he derived from the Bible, and every day, at one o'clock, he discoursed on that holy book. He began with the Psalms, and then passed to the Epistle to the Romans. Often had he meditated for hours over this portion of the New Testament, and one day in his cell at Erfurth he was arrested by a text which was to be his powerful help, and his aid in helping others, all the

few monkish books. The only other books he possessed were a Concordance, Aristotle's Treatises, and a few volumes of Latin poetry.

rest of his life. It glittered before his eyes with a brightness beyond that of the purest gold: **THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY FAITH.** It was his understanding of that text that made his explanation of the Old and New Testaments at Wittenberg, even from the commencement, one which his Roman Catholic biographer has justly styled *luminous*.\* This delightful occupation was for a time suspended, by reason of a visit which Luther made to Rome in 1510, on the business of his order. Some disputes had arisen, and Staupitz judged him to be a proper person to settle them; besides, Luther wished to see Rome, and God had a purpose in permitting him to do so. Our previous history teaches us what was the state of Rome, but up to this time Luther was ignorant concerning it: he anticipated nothing but pleasure and profit from the pilgrimage, and looked to the city, and the Pope who reigned there, with the most reverential respect. Intelligence did not circulate in that age as it does in our own; and the hermits and students at the northern extremity of Germany were the last men who were likely to obtain correct information concerning the events recorded in our general history. The League of Cambray and its results, and still less the siege of Mirandola by the Pope in person—the events which occurred just previously to Luther's visit to Rome, were quite out of the sphere of his knowledge. His mind, therefore, was filled with illusions which personal observation was best fitted to dissipate.

The state of the convents at which Luther and his companion were entertained by the way filled him with astonishment, not only in their palace-like appearance, but in the luxurious habits and dissolute manners of their inhabitants. They suffered much in mind and body by the way; the climate, the food, and even the water appeared

\* *Audin.* After saying that Luther was the first Christian orator who drew his texts and images from the inspired books, and that he, in Protestantism, created the science of *exegesis*, i. e. of explanation, he adds, "This daily exercise in speaking prepared him for those great struggles which he was about to sustain against the papacy. The University of Wittenberg grew every day greater in public opinion; it owed its glory to the lessons of the Augustine monk. Erfurth was jealous, and regretted having lost Luther. There was reason for this. Never had there been heard in any Saxon pulpit an exegesis on the Old and New Testaments so luminous as that of the professor."

to these simple Germans unwholesome ; but Luther pressed ardently forwards to Rome, as to a place of rest and refreshment. The six ducats which his purse contained were carefully reserved, to procure a guide to show him the wonders of "the holy city."

We will translate Audin's lively description of "Luther in Rome," premising that whatever was his ignorance of the external world, there was in him no natural inaptness to discern the beautiful ; but, when a Christian man experimentally knows what it is to be *dead, and buried, and risen with Christ* (Col. iii. 1—3 ; ii. 12),—and how few do know this ! even Luther did not in all its power—he cannot be expected to be in love with *things on the earth*. Another prefatory observation is, that keenness in detecting what is dishonourable to Christ, or inconsistent with the profession of his name, is not necessarily a symptom of having morose and unworthy views of Christ's holy religion.

"In order to understand that sleep of the senses in which Luther remained plunged in setting foot in Rome, it is necessary to remember that he was a child of the north, loving privation and fasting—one who had vowed attachment to the cross of a bleeding Christ. His Christianity was austere and rigid. . . .

"See him on his arrival. . . . His heart beats violently. On his knees, with his hands raised to heaven, he bows his head, and salutes the city with all sorts of affectionate and respectful names. 'Holy Rome! thrice sanctified by the blood of thy martyrs!' He had scarcely passed the Gate of the People when his dreams were dissipated. . . . He knew those old Romans whose soil he was touching ; their mythology, their gods, perhaps their heroes, for friars and laymen studied these in their schools ; but Modern Rome, the Rome of the Popes, was a closed book to him. . . . Picture to yourselves this poor brother Martin, who has travelled 400 leagues on foot, eating by the way his black bread, transported at once into the midst of a city filled with *wonders, voluptuousness, music, paganism*—he who had only hitherto heard the sound of the little fountain of his own convent ! . . . How astonished he must have been ! He had imagined an austere religion, her brow circled with griefs, resting on the bare earth, quenching her thirst with the dew of heaven, clothed like the apostles, making her way along stony paths, and the gospel under her arm. And he saw cardinals in litters, on horseback, or in carriages, glittering with precious stones, covered from the sun by a canopy of peacocks' feathers, and their passage marked by clouds of dust, which often prevented him from seeing the train, and kneeling down to ask their blessing. His dreamy imagination carried him back to those days of Christianity, when the chief of the apostles, a pilgrim like himself, had only a staff to lean upon. This poor scholar, brought up so rudely, as often in his childhood to

have had no pillow but a cold stone, passes before palaces built wholly of marble, columns of alabaster, gigantic obelisks of granite, gushing fountains, cool villas, ornamented with gardens and flowers, cascades and grottoes. At home, he knelt to pray on a stone floor; before a wooden altar, which had no other ornament than some roses placed there by some pious hand on the Sunday morning; in a church blackened by age; the priest in a wretched woollen robe; but here, if he wants to pray, he enters a church which seems to him a true world, where diamonds sparkle on the altar, gold on the soffits, marble in the columns, mosaic-work in the chapels. Is he thirsty? instead of a spring of water flowing through wooden pipes, as at Wittemberg, here are fountains of white marble, 'as big as a German house.' Is he tired? he finds by the wayside, not a modest wooden bench, but a seat of antique alabaster, recently disinterred. Is he seeking for a holy image? he only perceives pagan phantasies, Olympic divinities,—Apollo, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, upon which a thousand sculptors are at work. Here are the gods of Demosthenes, of Praxiteles; the feasts and pomps of Delos; the bustle of the forum, follies entirely worldly; *but that foolishness of the cross preached by the Apostle Paul, he finds no remembrance, no representation of it.* He thinks he is in a dream, he grows indignant; and, because Rome is not made according to his fancy, he is fully prepared to condemn it. . . . . Of the wonders which Rome displayed in the days of Julius II., he saw nothing; no ray from the crown of Raphael, or of Michael Angelo, dazzled his sight; he remained cold and dumb before all the treasures of painting and sculpture collected in the churches; his ear was shut to the strains of Dante which the people were repeating as he passed by. . . . . All that struck him most, after the libertinism of certain priests, the triumphal pomp of the pontiff, and the uncovered shoulders of the Roman ladies, was the extent of the city—about a German mile in length—and the money and time that the minster of St. Peter's must have cost. . . .

"He had entered Rome as a pilgrim; he goes out of it like Coriolanus, exclaiming with Bembo,\*

*'Vivere qui sanctè vultis, discedite Roma;  
Omnia hic esse licent; non licet esse probrum.'*

'Depart from Rome, ye who would live holily; all things are allowable here, except virtuous conduct.'"

To the Christian mind, Rome is here sufficiently condemned out of the mouth of her own children; and Luther, too, is proved to have walked her streets as a man of faith; dead, and risen again with Christ.

But Luther had deeper experience at Rome than is here described. Fresh from the Bible, and from that measure

\* Bembo was a cardinal, and became secretary to Leo X. at his accession. He wrote elegant poetry, both Latin and Italian.

of reverence which distinguished his more serious countrymen, he was disgusted at the levity and profanity of the Italian monks and priests, their loose morals and luxurious self-indulgence. They ridiculed his attention to the observances which they themselves neglected, and turned into jest the ceremonies whose solemnity had almost crushed his spirit. "Go, it's all over," said a priest to him, when he was assisting at the mass, even before he had read through the gospel. Another day, he found they had read seven masses, whilst he was reading one; and one of the priests cried out, "Quick, quick—send our Lady her Son back speedily," alluding to the imagined change of the bread into the body born of the Virgin Mary. One day, also, being at table with some of the higher clergy, Luther was shocked to hear them laughing together, and boasting they were wont to use, instead of the words which declared the transubstantiation, "*Panis es et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis*: Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou wilt remain." "Then," said they, "we elevate the pyx, and the people worship." What Alexander VI. had been, and what Julius II. then was, Luther heard from eye and ear-witnesses; and, though he only remained a fortnight at Rome, the access which his commission gave him to the different ranks of priests showed him what they also were. During his short stay, he saw the splendid procession which signalled the election of a new cardinal, and he afterwards declared that it was all the religion he could find at Rome. Yet such was the power of educational superstition, that he one day attempted to ascend on his knees Pilate's staircase—so called because it was said to have been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome; a certain indulgence being promised by the Pope in reward for such a performance. But, in the middle of his work, that valued text, "*The just shall live by faith*," seemed to sound in his ears as if an angel from God spoke to him; and he started up as if horrorstruck, so much ashamed of his folly as to flee with all haste from the spot.

Soon after Luther's return to Wittemberg, the dignity of doctor of divinity—valuable as leading him to occupy himself solely in teaching the Holy Scriptures—was forced upon him by Staupitz, at the Elector's desire; and

on October 17, 1512, after he had *sworn* "to defend the truth of the gospel with all his strength," he received the insignia of office from Professor Carlstadt,\* in the presence of a numerous assembly. On that day, Luther, as a well-appointed vessel, prepared beforehand for a long and difficult voyage, was fully launched into the ocean; his pilot was the Spirit of God, the Scriptures his chart, and his heart, as the needle to the pole, was attracted to Christ. Commotions then might occur within, winds and storms beat violently from without, but progress was certain. Another sphere of usefulness had opened for Luther, in his being chosen preacher of the city by the senate of Wittenberg. The bishop approved the choice; but Luther, alarmed at the responsibility, went to pour all his fears into the friendly bosom of Staupitz. As the doctor pressed the service upon him, he exclaimed, "You wish, then, for my life. I shall not carry on the work three months." "Well," replied the good man, "to live or die for the Lord, what a noble sacrifice!" Luther submitted; and, in performing the pulpit duties required of him, preached alternately in the cloisters of his convent, the chapel of the castle, and in the collegiate church. "He did wrong," says M. Audin, "in mistrusting his powers, for his success was great. His voice was fine, sonorous, electrifying; his gesticulations were easy and noble. *He had said to Staupitz that he would not imitate his predecessors, and he kept his word.*"

But if there was a bold originality in Luther's mind, which marked his whole subsequent career, charming many by its novelty, and overpowering others by its force, it is to be remembered that he gathered the things which appeared to be new from God's ancient word, and the strength with which he uttered them from God himself. Foolish men, backed by Satan, had been labouring for ages to stop up the divine watercourses; and as many

\* Andrew Bodenstein, of Carlstadt, was usually distinguished by the latter name. He was also called A. B. C., from the initial letters of his name, to which Melancthon first directed attention. When he became doctor of theology he had not read the Scriptures; but at this time he looked on Luther as an inferior, and the unhappy jealousy that he felt when he could no longer do so, occasioned the division of the German Reformers.

obstacles were raised against the gospel, as if its property had been to destroy, rather than to bless, mankind. But, in spite of the accumulated rubbish of ages, the water of life still ran on, and some drops ever reached the truly thirsty, though often befouled by human footsteps. (Ezek. xxxiv. 19.) God, however, would make these streams to flow more freely; and out of the mountain of his love there burst forth a torrent, which rushed through the old channels, and carried away in its impetuosity the blocks and the barriers which well nigh filled them up. Such a torrent was Luther. He laboured that the word of God might have *free course*, and be glorified, and we have cause to bless God for his labours.

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To speak of the Reformation, in connection with that eventful and brilliant era of human existence in which it had its commencement, and to trace its various workings and results in all the countries which it affected, would be a most important and interesting continuation of the present attempt to treat of Universal History on Scriptural Principles. But, in order to render such a work really useful, the advantages of the Reformation must not be exaggerated on the one hand, nor its real value depreciated on the other, and a middle path between these two well-beaten roads is manifestly a difficult one. A just appreciation of the character and career of Luther himself would be helpful in setting out on such an enterprise; it would be necessary to follow him without partiality, and without prejudice; to view him as gifted of God for *one* great work, rather than as "thoroughly furnished for *every* good work;" to acknowledge with thankfulness the glorious truths that he drew out of the Bible, but not to suppose that he fathomed all its depths; to rejoice in the religious revolution that he was permitted to effect, and yet not to entertain the idea that he discovered all God's mind respecting the World and the Church.

It is important for Christians in these days to remember,  
 THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE IS A SPECIAL PROMISE  
 FOR THE TIME OF THE END.

Dan. xii. 4, 10.

# APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY ON SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES.

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MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

IN expressing to me your interest in the "Universal History," you add a very reasonable request, that I should name the chief sources from which it is derived; and this I promised to do, for the sake of all such inquirers, at the close of the last volume. I think it best to include the additional works used in the preparation of A NEW FIRST VOLUME, because it is probable you will wish to possess that also, as forming an *enlarged* Ancient History, and corresponding, in matter and manner, with the later volumes. It will be published (D. V.) in the summer of next year.

For the Ancient History, then, I have turned to the chief ancient historians; and have drawn some information, also, from the orators, poets, philosophers, and even satirists of Greece and Rome. These will be enumerated in the course of the work, and a list of them here would be dry and pedantic. I will, however, tell you, that all to which I refer are accessible by means of good English translations, with explanatory and critical notes.

The modern, and, I may say, recent writers, who have thrown light on the works of the ancients, and corrected or confirmed their words, I have also studied:—Mr. Layard's *Nineveh*, Chevalier Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History," with other works on the Antiquities of Egypt; Mr. Dennis, and Mrs. Hamilton Gray on *Etruria*, &c.; M. Niebuhr and Dr. Arnold on the earlier History of Rome; Sismondi's *Roman Empire*; and Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" Bishop Thirlwall's *History of Greece*; the works on Ancient History by M. Rollin, Dr. Goldsmith, Dean Pri-

deaux, and Bishop Mant; and those folios called "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," which might more properly be distinguished as the Benedictine Cyclopædia of History.

In order to be sure that the plan and object of my work were alike new, I have looked at the voluminous "Universal History," by anonymous authors; Tytler's "Elements of Universal History" (Family Library); the more recent elementary Universal History in three Parts, by H. White, B.A.; Dr. Barth's General History on Christian Principles; and the History of England, on Christian Principles, by a Clergyman.

In that which relates to the History of Christian Profession, I have consulted both Roman Catholic writers, and Protestants of different views. I may mention M. Dupin (Ecclesiastical History, and History of Ecclesiastical Writers), M. Audin, M. Michelet, and Erasmus, among the former; and among the latter, Fox, Dr. Gregory, Dr. Barth, Dr. Mosheim, Mr. Maitland (Essays on the Dark Ages), Mr. Elliott, Dr. Milner, Dr. Henry, M. Blumhardt ("Histoire Générale de l'Etablissement du Christianisme," translated by M. Bost, 4 vols.; a very valuable work, and too little known); and M. D'Aubigné (History of the Reformation).

For the history of the Anglo-Saxons, I have taken the works of Sharon Turner and Sir F. Palgrave. For England, in general, I have referred to Sharon Turner, Henry, Hume, Macintosh, Fabyan's Chronicles, Rapin, Echard, Miss Strickland's Queens, and the recent history of Mr. Macaulay, which, however, lies chiefly beyond my present limits.

For the other portions of my work, I may refer to several volumes of Dr. Lardner's Cyclopædia of History, viz. Bell's Russia (3 vols.), Rowe's France (3 vols.), Dunham's Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (3 vols.), Dunham's Europe during the Middle Ages (4 vols.), Dunham's Germanic Empire (3 vols.), Dunham's Poland (1 vol.), Dunham's Spain and Portugal (5 vols.), Grattan's Netherlands (1 vol.), History of Rome (2 vols.), Switzerland (1 vol.), Literary and Scientific Men of Italy (vol. i.), Moore's Ireland (4 vols.), Sir W. Scott's Scotland (2 vols.), Sismondi's Italian Republics (1 vol.), Maritime and Inland Discovery (3 vols.). From the Family Library, Green's Life of Mahomet, Irving's Columbus, Milman's History of the Jews (3 vols.), Sketches from Venetian History (2 vols.), Life of Alexander the Great.

I add in alphabetical order some books which it is difficult to clas-

sify:—Alison's Europe (Sketch of Ancient Poland), History of Chivalry and the Crusades, Carrière's France, Mrs. Markham's ditto, Life of Chaucer, and Sketch of the Fourteenth Century, by Godwin (3 vols.); Chaucer's Poems, Callcott's History of Spain, Central America, Dawn of the Reformation (Nelson's Library), Fosbrooke's British Monachism, Glimpses of the Dark Ages, Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, Introduction to the Literature of the Middle Ages, Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Le Bas' Life of Wicliffe, Last Words of the Martyrs, Mottley's History of Russia, Ockley's History of the Saracens, Quin's Historical Atlas, Quarterly Review (Papers on History, and on miscellaneous subjects, scattered through forty volumes), Ranke's History of the Popes, Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo X., Dr. Robinson's and Dr. Robertson's Works, Russell's History of Modern Europe, Sale's Translation of the Koran, with notes; Upham's History of the Ottoman Empire, Voltaire's Universal History, Yriarte's Historia de España. I would mention Blair's Chronology, Lightfoot's Historical Charts, and Major Bell's Illustrated Charts, as useful works of reference; also Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, and Rees' Cyclopædia.

In my entire list, there are many works which I would not have read, except with the purpose I had in view; and as I feel more than ever that turning to the word of God, and communion with Him, can alone keep even the Christian's mind and memory free from defilement in a *general* course of reading, I would urge upon you, my dear friend, and on all who are parents and teachers, the necessity of carefulness in the selection of books for the young. It is good for them to be in the company of those that fear God, and *not to glean in every field*. (See Ruth ii. 22.)

Yours very sincerely,

M. B.

ERRATA, VOL. V.

For *is* read *are*, p. 3, last line but one.

For *Basil III.* read *Basil I.*, p. 383.

For *Loyre*, read *Loyse*, p. 458, first line of note.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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Two Editions (4500 copies) of Vol. I. having been exhausted before the publication of Vol. V., it has been thought desirable to replace the first volume (containing Parts I. and II.) by an enlarged and much improved Ancient History, to be published in Two Parts, each of them about the size of the present volume. The design and principles of the work having brought it into request among others besides the young, for whom it was originally intended, the general reader has been contemplated in the later volumes; it therefore seems necessary to bring out the Ancient portion of the History in correspondence with the more recent volumes. This will be done with as little delay as possible.



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