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OF EXCOMMUNICATION.—CHARLES V., HIS HISTORY.
—CITES LUTHER TO APPEAR AT WORMS.

THE sixteenth century was unquestionably the period of great men, and great events. We stay not to decide whether the men made the events, or the events made the men; possibly they exerted a reciprocal influence, and so rendered the age one of the most remarkable in the history of the world. The discovery of America by Columbus, and the spirit of maritime enterprise which this discovery so evidently strengthened, the invention of

printing, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the scattering of learned men among the nations of Europe, and the consequent revival of learning, appear to have been powerfully instrumental in arousing the human mind from the lethargy into which it had fallen during what have been so aptly termed the "dark ages;" while at the same time God, who in his wise and gracious providence, directs alike the course of individuals and the destiny of a world, raised up men fitted to perform important parts in the stirring struggles about to occur. Luther the Reformer, Leo X. of Rome, Charles V. of Spain, Francis I. king of France, Henry VIII. of England, and others who might be mentioned, were manifestly men of no ordinary character; and with the influence these men had on the times in which they lived we have now to do.

The leading feature of the period was a struggle to ascertain the essentials of religious truth, and to secure liberty for professing that truth when discovered; and this struggle so materially affected the politics of nations, the productions of literature, and the social habits of mankind for many following generations, that we may fairly take it as our guide in classifying those transactions which we have to narrate.

Luther, as being the central, as well as one of the most prominent, figures in the busy epoch, seems to claim our first notice. In the last volume his early life and earnest enquiries after the Divine will up to the year 1512 were related: at that time he was created doctor of divinity, and, with the consent of the bishop, chosen by the senate of Wittenberg city preacher. Engaged constantly and conscientiously in proclaiming the gospel so far as he had been able to apprehend it, he continued his work uninterruptedly till the year 1517, when circumstances occurred which rendered him more conspicuous, and produced results which no human sagacity could possibly have foreseen. These circumstances were in connexion with the sale, by the emissaries of the Romish see, of what were termed "indulgences." These indulgences, by which the purchaser was to obtain exemption from works of "satisfaction," such as fasting, castigation, pilgrimages and other penances enjoined by the church of Rome in order to shorten or avoid the pretended torments of purgatory,

were not novelties, but had been granted occasionally by several popes in previous ages, and the money obtained by their sale professedly devoted to benevolent purposes ; but they were, as we have said, only occasional expedients, while the money payments were according to such a scale as enabled the more wealthy classes exclusively to enjoy them. But now it was resolved to offer them at a greatly reduced rate, that all classes might be able to obtain them. It does not appear that originally there was any pretence of a pecuniary redemption from sin, but simply a transmutation of the outward penance imposed upon penitents, into a pecuniary fine ; but even in this modified form the arrangement was clearly opposed to the great scripture doctrine of the entire and complete satisfaction offered by our Lord Jesus Christ.

Indulgences, however, did not stop here, but ultimately became an avowed source of income for the papal court, while they were looked upon by the mass of the people as rendering sincere repentance altogether needless, or of minor importance, money being the great procuring cause of pardon.

When Leo X., son of Lorenzo de Medici, ascended the papal chair in the year 1513, he continued the luxurious and expensive habits of his family, by which his treasury was soon brought to a low state ; to replenish which, and enable him as it was pretended to adorn his pontificate, it was soon felt to be necessary to discover some new sources of income, especially as the revenues had been diminished by changes recently made by the kings of France and England in reference to the payments made by their respective kingdoms. The necessity was increased yet further by the heavy expenditure required in carrying on the erection of the stupendous cathedral of St. Peter, at Rome.* To meet these various and heavy expenses, it was suggested that the price of indulgences should be

* This magnificent temple was commenced by pope Nicholas VI. about the middle of the fifteenth century, was carried on by succeeding popes, and completed A. D. 1629. The front is four hundred feet broad, rising to a height of one hundred and eighty feet ; and the dome ascending from the centre of the church to a height of three hundred and twenty-four. It is six hundred feet long in the interior, and its breadth four hundred and forty-two. Its exterior length is six hundred and sixty-nine feet, and its entire height four hundred and thirty-two ; and from its vast extent and magnificence is the most remarkable church in the world.

lowered, a fixed scale determined, and agents employed to push the trade.

This was especially to be done in Germany, that the people might obtain them as a compensation for the supposed advantage of observing the year of jubilee in Rome; in which, from their geographical position, they were unable to participate.

Amongst the missionaries employed in this iniquitous traffic, one of the most zealous and successful was John Tetzel, Dominican agent to the spiritual elector Albrecht of Mayence, who had stipulated, as other dignitaries also had done, with Leo for a share in the profits.

Tetzel, who appears to have displayed a zeal worthy of a better cause, came to Jüterbock in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, where the greatest immorality was produced by the easy terms on which men could obtain licence for transgression. Several persons who previously seemed to have been brought to repentance by the preaching of Luther, were found relapsing into gross sin; his attention was therefore naturally called to the affair, and learning the scandalous manner in which the traffic was carried on, he immediately attacked the system in letters to several bishops, and in a sermon which he afterwards published, in which he boldly assailed the Romish doctrine of satisfaction as contrary to sacred scripture, and yet further by affixing to the church of the Castle of Wittemberg ninety-five theses or propositions against Tetzel's enterprise; inviting any person to dispute with him about the points at issue.

To these Tetzel replied, asserting the power of the pope, and of the clergy as deputed by him, actually to forgive sin, and not merely to make known the terms of forgiveness: attributing to the pope a power superior to councils and all individuals, however well their opinions might be sustained by the Holy Scriptures; and claiming absolute infallibility for the pope in all matters of faith and ecclesiastical obedience. To these monstrous assertions Luther rejoined in a further series of propositions which he termed "Resolutions," or explanations of his previous "Theses."

The matter of chief interest in these resolutions is the evident advance he was making in his views of Christian

truth, especially in reference to the great doctrine of justification by faith in the righteousness of the Saviour alone. The excitement caused by these controversies was so great and extended, that at last it reached Rome, and was brought under the notice of Leo himself.

This celebrated man is usually regarded as one of the most illustrious of the long list of pontiffs. Created a cardinal when he was only thirteen years of age, by Innocent VIII. in consequence of the favour which that pope bore to his illustrious father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, he spent a considerable portion of his early life amidst the works of antiquity and art with which the papal city abounded, and was urged by his father to the frequent and regular observance of all the rites of the Romish church. He appears to have been a man of highly cultivated taste, and to have admired and patronized literature and learned men, as well as the fine arts. He evidently indulged in expensive habits, and was clearly more desirous of promoting the splendour of his court than of advancing the interests of religion. As a politician he was like all the potentates of his day, only anxious to extend his power and influence, and equal to many of them in the skill with which he sought to obtain his object: to the spiritual character of the gospel of truth he appears to have been utterly indifferent, and to have had no idea of piety beyond the observance of the rites and ceremonies of the Romish church: in short he was the emperor Augustus revived, only wearing the papal tiara instead of the imperial diadem.

Having received a letter from Luther, he could not treat with entire indifference the religious disputes which were raging so fiercely in Germany: especially as the emperor Maximilian had solicited his interference. Finding therefore, that Luther was under the protection of Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, he wrote to that prince desiring him to deliver the heretical monk to the cardinal legate Thomas Cajetan, "who," the letter states, "is already instructed how he shall act with regard to the said monk." In accordance with these instructions, Cajetan summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome; but the intrepid reformer, being both unwilling and unable to undertake so long and perilous a journey, refused to

comply, and the citation therefore subsequently called him to Augsburg, where he appeared to undergo an examination by the haughty cardinal.

Luther, who appears all through the early part of his public life to have been sincerely desirous of arriving at the truth, wished to reason with the cardinal on the points in dispute and to settle them by the decisions of sacred scripture, but in vain; armed with full authority to crush his victim, the cardinal only and constantly demanded an entire recantation of what he esteemed his wicked heresies. The reformer, who had hitherto been protected by the kindness of the senate of Augsburg, finding himself in extreme peril, secretly left the place and returned to Wittemberg. Incensed to the utmost by this failure, Cajetan wrote to the elector urging him either to send Luther to Rome, or expel him from his dominions.

Frederic seems to have hesitated for a time what course to pursue, indeed, so much so that Luther seriously thought of escaping to France; but at length the elector, guided doubtless by the influence of that gracious God who "turneth the hearts of kings whithersoever he will," absolutely refused to expel him, and continued his protection as before.

As nothing satisfactory had resulted from the mission of Cajetan, another agent was employed: this was Charles von Miltitz, papal nuncio and privy councillor, who arrived in Saxony in 1518, armed with extensive authority, and commissioned to present to the elector a golden rose consecrated by the pope, and anointed with the holy chrism, besides being richly perfumed. This gift, which the pope was annually accustomed to present to some leading prince, was doubtless intended to be a bribe to the hesitating elector, with a view to more decisive measures against Luther; and great hopes were entertained of the success of this scheme, since three years before Frederic was very anxious to obtain this pledge of papal favour; hopes, however, which we shall see were doomed to be disappointed.

Miltitz soon saw the necessity of adopting a directly opposite course to that pursued by the haughty Cajetan, and therefore on meeting with Luther at Altenburgh,

assumed a friendly and conciliatory demeanour, and endeavoured by fair words and seeming candour to allure the reformer into that recantation which the proud cardinal had failed to obtain: but the flattery and deception of the one proved as ineffectual as the lofty arrogance of the other, and the only important result was, that Luther was induced to write a respectful letter to the pope. But more important results ensued from the public disputations which were conducted soon after at Leipsic between Dr. Eckius, the author of "Obelisk," the champion of the papacy, and Luther and Carlstadt as advocates for the reformation. The notice which these celebrated discussions secured was not restricted to the students of the universities of Leipsic and Wittemberg, but spread amongst the people of Germany to a very considerable extent: for though not quite satisfied with the discussions, Luther appears to have awakened by his reasonings and appeals to scripture a spirit of enquiry which could not be disregarded.

Eckius, irritated by his defeat, proceeded to Rome that he might obtain a bull of excommunication against his opponent, and so silence by ecclesiastical thunders the man whose fervent and scriptural statements he was unable to refute. Thus do bigotry and ignorance tend to bitterness and strife, and all uncharitableness.

In the meantime Luther wrote letters to several bishops respecting the matters in dispute, from whom, however, he obtained but little encouragement. But a letter which he addressed to Charles V. the young king of Spain and newly elected emperor, he hoped would secure some good results; not having yet learned the Scripture lesson, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help." The important relation of Charles to the progress of the reformation, that great event of the age, demands that we should now make a more specific reference to this celebrated man.

Ferdinand, who reigned jointly with his queen Isabella over Arragon and Castile, and the other Spanish provinces, dying in 1516, his grandson Charles, then sixteen years of age, succeeded to the throne which he was afterwards to render so famous. He had hitherto resided in the Netherlands, which he governed as heir to the house

of Burgundy, where, although he gave no indication of that mental power he subsequently displayed, he was even then remarkable for a gravity and sedateness far beyond his years. After he had occupied the Spanish throne three years, the death of his paternal grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, left the imperial dignity vacant, and the electors of the Germanic body looked around for a suitable successor. The power of the Turks under the sultan Selim I., rendered it necessary that they should choose one who might be able to resist their encroachments, and so secure the safety of Europe and the interests of Christianity.

Two competitors for the imperial sceptre soon appeared; the one, Francis I. king of France; the other, Charles king of Spain; but plausible as the claims of each appeared, the electors resolved to offer the coveted honour to Frederic, the elector of Saxony: that politic prince however declining the perilous distinction, they selected Charles, whose extensive dominions in Austria, the Netherlands, Spain and Italy, besides the vast and wealthy regions of America, seemed to render him the most eligible for the position. Thus at the early age of nineteen years, as Charles V. emperor of Germany, he assumed the imperial power which was to become so famous in the history of the world and the church.

While the determination of the Germanic body was yet uncertain, Luther and his adherents were zealously pursuing their mission of unveiling the falsehoods of the papacy, undeterred by the bull of excommunication which Leo issued against the Reformer, by which his books were condemned to be burnt and Luther himself delivered over to Satan as a wicked heretic, unless he should recant his errors within sixty days. Indeed, so completely was the mind of Luther freed from the dread of ecclesiastical anathemas, that he publicly burnt the papal bull, together with several volumes of the canon law, in the presence of the professors and students of the university of Wittemberg, while an immense concourse of spectators looked approvingly on the daring act. The excitement caused by these events was not confined to Germany, but extending itself on every side reached Switzerland, where the abominable traffic in indulgences raised the indignation

of Ulric Zuinglius, a man of varied learning, sagacity, and indomitable spirit.

Charles therefore soon found that something more than bulls of excommunication and polemical discussions were needed, to arrest the progress of a movement which threatened to overturn the church, in reverence for which he had been trained, and the divine authority of which he never appears to have doubted; so soon therefore as convenient after his coronation he summoned a diet at Worms, that he and the powers of the empire might, among other matters, devise some means for stopping the progress of "those new and dangerous opinions which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors." Before this diet he cited Luther to appear, and answer for what seemed to the emperor his contumacious behaviour. Thus strangely can even the most sagacious minds overlook the obvious designs of God in the wondrous arrangements of his providence, when, forgetting the wisdom that comes from above, they trust only to their own.

Fearful about the issue of the affair, and suspecting that Luther might meet with the fate of Huss and Jerome of Prague, when they attended the council of Constance, the elector Frederic was at first unwilling that Luther should venture within the reach of imperial power, especially as it was known that several ecclesiastics avowedly inimical to reformation were to be present; but a safe-conduct having been obtained from the emperor, Luther resolved to obey the citation, and, in reply to his friends who pointed out the perils to which he would expose himself, uttered the memorable words, "Thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though there should be as many devils as there are tiles on the houses assembled against me."

In accordance with this determination Luther commenced his journey, in April 1521, accompanied by four friends, one of whom, Schurff, a lawyer, was intended to act as his advocate, escorted also by the imperial herald who had brought the "safe-conduct." In this perilous journey we must leave him for the present, his progress to the city and his behaviour before the diet being so illustrative of the state of public feeling in those stirring

times, and of the real character of the principles by which this intrepid servant of Christ was influenced, as to require a separate chapter for its due consideration. We may however observe that the determination he formed to undertake this journey appears to be a genuine instance of the moral sublime. A despised and persecuted monk, only just emerging from the darkness and the trammels of popery, ventures to confront all that was mighty in power, venerable for antiquity, and exalted in rank, and armed only with the sword of the Spirit to withstand imperial authority, sophistical schoolmen, and bigoted ecclesiastics; yet sustained by the influence of divine grace, and conscious integrity of purpose, he cries, "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." (Acts xx. 24.) All honour to the man, and honour to all who, moved by a heartfelt sense of moral responsibility, and relying upon the aid promised from above, say by the whole tenor of their lives, "We ought to obey God rather than men."

CHAPTER II.

The Reformation.—A. D. 1521—1535.

GERMANY.

STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING IN GERMANY AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.—CONDITION OF OTHER NATIONS IN REFERENCE TO RELIGION.—EVENTS WHICH PROMOTED THE REFORMATION.—LUTHER'S RECEPTION AT WORMS.—APPEARS BEFORE THE DIET.—PERILS AND ESCAPE.—CAPTURE AND CONCEALMENT IN THE WARTBURG.—HIS EMPLOYMENT THERE, AND ITS BEARING ON THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—WARS OF CHARLES WITH FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

It was impossible that the zealous efforts which Luther was making for the diffusion of truth, should fail of pro-

ducing considerable effect in Germany; that being the place where the reform movement had begun, where he was most known, and where therefore his writings were most extensively read. But in addition to these things the Teutonic mind seemed to be most powerfully influenced by the various stirring events which had recently transpired in the nations around, and hence had awakened to a desire for political liberty sooner and more intensely than others.

The numerous divisions of the empire into states, electorates, duchies, etc., ecclesiastical and civil, had doubtless tended to preserve the ancient spirit of independence from utter extinction, as well as to prepare the people to seize any favourable conjuncture for its restoration. Certain it is that, simultaneously with the period when Luther was struggling to emancipate the truth of God from the bondage in which it had so long been held, an earnest desire had arisen among the German states to obtain a greater amount of political liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. The time appeared to be suitable, and many concurring circumstances encouraged the attempt.

The elevation of Charles to the imperial throne produced, as a matter of course, considerable curiosity as to what would be the policy of the new emperor; whether he would become the pliant instrument of the papal power, or whether he would sympathize with the principles of progress, which were at work in literature and politics, as well as in religion. This feeling was intensified by the increasing usurpations of the church of Rome, which was aiming at a supremacy in civil matters, as complete as it had secured in spiritual affairs. Italy, into which the wealth of the nations was flowing from so many sources, was little likely to complain; while Spain was too thoroughly catholic, too much elated with her recent victories over the Moors, and too proud of the vast possessions she had acquired by her discovery of the New World, to be disposed to be querulous. France was anxious only for territorial aggrandizement, and England was engrossed in her own affairs too much to interfere as yet in the coming struggle.

But Germany could not be insensible to the growing

arrogance of the Romish see, and beheld with indignation “the annats, or firstfruits, which the emperor granted freely for the good of Christendom, now demanded as a debt—the Roman courtiers every day inventing new ordinances, in order to absorb, sell, and farm out, ecclesiastical benefices—a multitude of transgressions winked at—rich offenders tolerated, while those who have no means of ransom are punished without pity—the popes incessantly bestowing expectancies and reversions on the inmates of their palace, to the detriment of those to whom the benefices belong—the commendams of abbeys and convents of Rome conferred on cardinals, bishops, and prelates, who appropriate their revenues, so that there is not one monk in convents which ought to have twenty or thirty—stations multiplied without end, and indulgence-shops established in all the streets and squares of our cities—shops of St. Anthony—shops of the Holy Spirit, of St. Hubert, of St. Cornelius, of St. Vincent, and many others beside—societies purchasing from Rome the right of holding such markets, then purchasing from their bishop the right of exhibiting their wares; and in order to procure all this money, draining and emptying the pockets of the poor—the indulgence, which ought to be granted solely for the salvation of souls, and which ought to be merited only by fastings and prayers, sold at a regular price—the officials of the bishop oppressing those in humble life with penances for blasphemy, adultery, debauchery, the violation of this or that feast day, while at the same time not even censuring ecclesiastics who are guilty of the same crimes—penances imposed on the penitent, and artfully arranged, so that he soon falls anew into the same fault, and pays so much more money—such are some of the crying abuses of Rome; all sense of shame has been cast off, and one thing only is pursued, Money! money!”

So said an enemy of Luther (duke George of Saxony); and others, and among them ecclesiastical princes, cried out, “We have a pontiff who spends his life in hunting and pleasure—the benefices of Germany are given at Rome to huntsmen, domestics, grooms, stable-boys, body servants, and other people of that class, ignorant, unpolished people, without capacity, and entire strangers to Germany.”

These feelings became the more powerful from the all but certain prospect of a war between Charles and Francis, the disappointed king of France, of which Italy would be the theatre, and which would render an alliance between Charles and the pope essentially necessary.

It was amid these scenes of discord the diet was summoned to meet at Worms, to discuss questions of unspeakable importance to the future destiny of Europe and the world. Happy would the papal party have been could they have prevented the prominence which the presence of Luther would necessarily give to the religious disputes. Every effort was therefore made by Alexander, the pope's nuncio, to prevent the great reformer from being cited. At last, however, the summons and safe-conduct were sent, and Luther, disregarding the fears and advice of his friends, prepared to obey the imperial mandate. We can only stay to remark, in reference to the incidents of his journey, that though unattended by anything like pomp, and accompanied only by four friends, besides the imperial herald who brought the safe-conduct, his career might be regarded as a continuous triumph. Every where crowds gathered to see him, and thronged the churches where he preached; peasants and princes, ecclesiastical as well as civil dignitaries, nobles and soldiers, sought to look upon the wondrous monk, who had not only aroused the wrath of the pope, but had been felt of sufficient importance to be cited to the presence of the emperor himself.

When he arrived at the city the excitement became intense. Noblemen of high rank went out to meet him, and more than two thousand followed him to his lodgings. "I drove," says Luther, "into Worms in my cowl, seated in a little carriage, and all the people came out into the streets desiring to see the monk, Dr. Martin; and so I drove to duke Frederic's lodging, and the duke himself was frightened at my coming to Worms."* Till late at night, counts, barons, knights, and others, visited him, and sought to become better acquainted with his doctrines. The following day he was conducted to the diet by Ulrich de Pappenheim, marshal of the empire, attracting as he

* Pfizer's life of Luther.

went such crowds of spectators, that it was necessary to lead him through houses and gardens, to escape the multitudes which thronged around.

When in the council chamber many spake to him encouragingly, and one member, who probably loved the Saviour in sincerity and truth, reminded him of his Master's words, "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour, what ye shall speak." And never surely were the promises of God's presence of greater importance to any one, than to Luther at that time. Called to bear more than usual responsibility, he needed to realize the truth of the divine assurance, "My grace is sufficient for thee."

Educated and trained amid the retirements of a cloister, and engaged for the greater portion of his past life in the quiet pursuits of literature and religion, he suddenly found himself in circumstances where every thing was calculated to confound his simple mind, unaccustomed to the world. There in the antique hall might be seen the dukes, electors, and knights of the Germanic body—bishops and archbishops—cardinals in their scarlet robes—papal nuncios whose magnificent attire only made the evil passions which were convulsing their features the more conspicuous—ambassadors from the mightiest kingdoms of the earth—deputies from the free towns, and other officials, in all two hundred and four persons; while presiding over the diet, sat the youthful Charles, the imperial ruler of a dominion on which "the sun never set," calm, thoughtful, penetrating intuitively into the minds and intentions of others, but keeping his own impenetrable to all—displaying a dignity which appeared to be innate, and which made the beholder forget his almost boyish age—claiming and receiving homage of those who had borne life's roughest struggles, whether in the council or in the field.

Such was the diet, attracting the attention of Europe, by whom the most solemn and momentous of all questions was to be discussed; while upwards of five thousand of spectators, wrought up to a pitch of almost frenzied intensity to learn the issue of the coming debate, filled the hall, the windows, and even the passages, rendering

admission almost impossible. Advancing with difficulty through the throng, Luther approached the throne, and stood silent and self-possessed in the midst of that magnificent assembly, the sole advocate of truth—the only defender of spiritual religion in the presence of all that was mighty in power, venerable for antiquity, and enshrined in the sanctity of reputed piety! Now the interests of a world—the freedom of the human mind—the progress of true liberty, and the glory of God, appeared to tremble in the balance, and to depend on the christian firmness of a solitary and unprotected monk. Charles surveyed him with a look of keen scrutiny—papal emissaries hardly restrained the bitter enmity which rankled in their hearts—princes and nobles strove with humbler men to look on the man who was already giving Rome cause to fear that the beginning of her end was come. “Martin Luther,” cried John Eckius, the president of Treves, after a moment of intense stillness, “Martin Luther, you are called upon to answer these two questions; first, do you admit that these books,” pointing to a number of volumes lying on the table, “were written by you? secondly, do you mean to retract these books, and their contents?” By the advice of his advocate, Schurff, the titles were read, when Luther fully admitted that they were written by him; but in replying to the second question, he solicited time for reflection. Some writers have represented Luther as manifesting something like vacillation in this request; but it seems a much more probable explanation of his conduct that he felt, in such an assembly as the one in which he stood, it would better subserve the cause of truth that he should give a deliberate reply, than one which might appear like mere impulse. Be this as it may, his request was granted; the following day was appointed to receive his final answer, and he returned to his lodgings amid the plaudits of circling crowds.

The next day, after waiting about till four o'clock in the afternoon, he was called into the hall, and the question was again proposed.—In reply, Luther entered fully into the contents of his books, but being pressed for a distinct avowal of recantation, he replied, “Since your imperial majesty, and their lordships, require a plain answer, I will give one which shall have neither horns, nor teeth;

and that is, that unless I am convinced and overpowered by the testimony of Scripture, or by open, plain, and clear grounds and reasons—for I will not pin my faith to either popes or councils alone, it being manifest as day, that they have often erred, and contradicted themselves—so that in the sentiments and dogmas I have taught, I shall be convicted, and set fast in my own conscience, and by the word of God,—I can, and will retract nothing, because it is neither safe nor wise to do anything contrary to conscience. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, so may God help me. Amen!" Astounded by a display of principle so entirely new to them, the assembly was held for a time in breathless astonishment; at last the chancellor exclaimed, "Since you do not retract, the emperor and the states of the empire will consider what course they must adopt towards an obstinate heretic. The diet will meet to-morrow morning to hear the emperor's decision."

Thus by simple consistency, sustained by dependence on divine grace, did Luther defeat all the machinations of his foes, who had hoped to frighten him into some compromise of principle by which they might have triumphed at the discomfiture of truth; and thus too was a power and importance given to the reform movement which has lasted even to the present day, and which will continue till the authority of conscience, enlightened by God's Spirit, and God's word, is universally felt, and implicitly followed. Returning to his lodgings under the escort of two imperial officers, he found his friends in the greatest alarm for his future safety: while they rejoiced that by God's grace he had been able to witness a good confession before many witnesses, "they trembled for the results; but Luther himself was calm, trusting in the Lord."

Frederic, the elector of Saxony, delighted with what he had seen, sent for the chaplain, Spalatin, and said to him with deep emotion, "Oh! how well father Luther spoke before the emperor, and all the states of the empire! my only fear was that he would be too bold." Nor were these feelings of admiration confined to his avowed friends: many who still adhered to Rome, and many filling high stations in life, sympathized with his holy boldness, and began to think that scriptural piety, which could produce such results, must be something far different from a religion

of mere ceremony and form. Those who were employed by the papal court, especially the nuncio Alexander, could not but perceive that the day's proceedings had produced an impression decidedly adverse to their wishes, and began immediately to devise some means by which they might effectually neutralize the effect of Luther's success, if not accomplish his destruction.

Various visits were paid to the reformer to persuade him to recant, but all in vain; still insisting upon the authority of sacred scripture as the only appeal in matters of faith, friends and foes alike found him immovable. Efforts were then made to induce Charles to revoke the safe conduct he had granted, and consent to his being sacrificed as Huss and Jerome of Prague had been a century before by the Council of Constance, as related in our last volume; but to this Charles refused to consent. In after life he is said to have regretted the decision, but at this time it is probable he was less hardened by intercourse with the world, and the native ingenuousness of youth was more free to act: hence he replied to those who advocated such extreme measures, "Were fidelity and good faith banished from the whole world, they ought to find an asylum in the hearts of princes."

After a few days, in which various plans were tried to silence or destroy him and each in turn found ineffectual, Luther received an official message from the emperor commanding him to return to his home within twenty-one days; but prohibiting him from preaching or writing while on the way. This decision was understood by all to be the precursor to what indeed immediately followed, his being placed under the ban of the empire, expressed in what is termed the edict of Worms, which forbade any "to receive the said Martin Luther to bed, or board, or to serve him with meat, drink, or any other service," etc. In obedience to the mandate, Luther left Worms the following morning with his friends; twenty gentlemen accompanied him on horseback, while immense crowds followed him out of the city. The same imperial herald who had brought him met him at Oppenheim, and thus the little band proceeded on their way.

Such was Luther's visit to Worms, an event which it is impossible to look upon as of slight importance: by it

greater publicity was given to the reformation which Luther sought to effect, than could have been secured by any other event, and the minds of men were directed more strongly than ever to investigate the questions at issue.

It is plain that had Luther failed in the trying hour the interests of truth would, judging after the manner of men, have been seriously endangered, and its progress retarded possibly for generations; but the God who strengthened Elijah to withstand the priests of Baal on mount Carmel, and who "stood by" Paul when called to appear before Cæsar, gave a wisdom and power to the monk of Wittemberg which nothing could overcome, which utterly foiled his foes, and made men to see that the kingdom of God was not meat and drink, or fasts and festivals, or mitred power, or imposing ceremonial, but "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

After parting with the kind friends who escorted him from the city, Luther proceeded to Freiburg, where the imperial herald left him; visiting several places on his way, and preaching wherever an opportunity offered. He reached the villages of Altenstein and Waltershausen in company with Amsdorf and his brother Jacob, when they were met by a company of horsemen wearing masks, who, leaving Amsdorf to pursue his journey, and so completely alarming Jacob that he fled with the greatest precipitation, took Luther from his carriage, threw a cloak over him and placed him on a horse, which had evidently been brought for the purpose. Maintaining the most profound silence they entered a dense forest, leading their prisoner's horse with the greatest care: after traversing the forest in different directions, as though their object was to prevent the possibility of being tracked, they came, about midnight, to the foot of a mountain; climbing this they reached an old fortress called the Castle of the Wartburg, and into this place of security, which was in the neighbourhood of Eisenach, they led their weary prisoner, treating him throughout the whole transaction with the greatest kindness and consideration.

A strange vicissitude this must have appeared to Luther, who had so recently occupied such a prominent position in the assembly at Worms: but he soon learned that it was an expedient kindly planned by his faithful

friend Frederic, who had resolved in this way to shield him from the malice by which there was cause to fear he would be followed.

There is reason to believe, that Luther had received a hint of the design to conceal him in safety till the storm occasioned by his conduct before the diet had in some degree abated; but he does not appear to have had the least idea of the precise means which were to be used, or the time when the plot would be developed: and hence, but for the care with which he was treated, must have been in uncertainty for some time as to whether he was in the hands of his friends or his foes. That no suspicion might be excited as to his real character, he was required to let his beard and hair grow, to bear the arms of knightly rank, and assume the title of Squire George. And now like a chained eagle, the intrepid reformer seemed condemned to a listless idleness, which must have been unspeakably galling to his active spirit. But those who have determined to serve God, will never be at a loss for means of doing so. Thus it was with Luther during the ten months he was concealed in the Wartburg; he preached repeatedly before the inmates of the fortress, composed several of his controversial and other works, besides carrying on a voluminous correspondence. He made also several excursions into the surrounding neighbourhood, and is said to have spent some days in Wittemberg that he might allay the disorders which had arisen, and which threatened to impede the progress of the cause of truth. But his great work while at the Wartburg, and that which did more than any thing else to forward the work of the reformation, was his translation of the sacred scriptures. Though not indeed completed during his residence in that place, it was commenced, and the New Testament rendered into the German language before he returned again to the busy scenes of his active life.

Hitherto, Luther had spoken and denounced the existing abuses and accumulated corruptions of the church of Rome, but now God himself was to speak. The divine word was no longer to be confined in an unknown tongue, as Luther had found in the monastery of Erfurth that light which had by the divine blessing led him

eventually into the way of peace: so he resolved to employ the hours of his constrained leisure by providing for the thousands of his enquiring countrymen the means of spiritual illumination, by giving them the sacred treasure in their own expressive vernacular. Great and successful had been his bearing when confronting the mighty enemies of truth and righteousness in the Diet at Worms; effective had many of his controversial writings proved themselves; attractive and convincing his public preaching which had drawn multitudes to listen to the truth; but mightier far the means which he was now led to use in rendering the divine testimonies of truth themselves accessible to those who had hitherto been "perishing for lack of knowledge."

Thus do we see another illustration of the truth of the divine statement, God's ways "are not as our ways; nor his thoughts as ours." Judging from a merely human stand-point, we should have been disposed to view the conduct of the elector, however kindly intended for the friend whom he meant to serve, as most disastrous for the interests of truth. We should have said, "The active efforts of Luther are now more needful than ever, a crisis has been promoted by the events connected with the proceedings of the Diet which must be encouraged, and it will not do for you to force the leader of this mighty movement into a constrained retirement unless you wish the cause of truth to suffer and its enemies to rejoice." But the history of nations, as well as the testimonies of divine truth, show us how liable we are to err in judging of divine proceedings. What appeared at first sight most adverse to the end, "fell out for the furtherance of the gospel," and the captivity at the Wartburg has been the source of true liberty to many immortal souls. The confinement, free and kindly designed as it was, evidently proved irksome to Luther; and many absurd tales, and strange misconceptions of his writings are current, but are all easily explained by the evident incongruity of forced quietude upon one whose prevailing and predominant feeling was a desire to spend and be spent in the service of his Master. Idleness is always pain to an active spirit, but when that spirit is animated by the constraining power of the love of Christ, the

tumult and the storm, yea, the cross and the stake, are more welcome than the deadness of inactivity amid the wants and the woes of a dying world. Luther improved his leisure, and thus showed that the zeal which inspired him was something more than constitutional activity, or an excitement which depended upon the notice and approbation of surrounding crowds; that it was in fact that which animated the apostle of the Gentiles when he said, "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

So soon as Luther had left Worms, his adversaries had busied themselves to obtain the decree from which we have given a short extract. Now that Luther was gone the papal party appeared to triumph. They had not indeed obtained their wish in having him publicly burnt as an obstinate heretic. But he was gone! The inconvenient discussion of spiritual matters by laics which his presence had produced, and which his continuance in the city might have prolonged, was closed, and Rome might breathe again; in addition to this many of the more distinguished potentates left the city, and the nuncio Alexander appeared to have every thing his own way. He drew up the edict and submitted it to the emperor. Charles, desirous doubtless of maintaining friendly relations with the pope, approved it, presented it to the Diet, or at least such portion of the Diet as was remaining, obtained the necessary sanction, and then in the cathedral at Worms, amidst all the pomp of high mass, while incense was breathing on every side, and the pealing organ reverberating through the lofty arches, while Alexander kneeling before him presented duplicate drafts of the decree, affixed his imperial signature. The instrument was then distributed by means of the press throughout Christendom, and the enemies of truth said, "Aha! aha! so would we have it." And what then? What did it avail? Who but is ready to exclaim, "the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, but he that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision." While all this pomp and show were inflating the hearts of men with deceptive expectations, the prisoner of the Lord in his solitary

chamber in the Wartburg fortress is setting free that word which is sharper than any two-edged sword, and which shall "have free course, and be glorified," when the decrees of princes, the proclamations of despots, and the fearful anathemas of priests, are mingled in one common oblivion, to rise again no more for ever. Thus it was seen in the case before us; the decree is despised, but the word of our God endureth for ever.

As might be expected, the disappearance of Luther excited considerable consternation amongst all. His friends felt sure that it had been the result of treachery, and could not disguise their fears that he had been put to death; for a time his foes rejoiced, thinking they were now finally rid of the troublesome monk, and promising to themselves a long exemption from any similar interference.

The complete silence respecting the place of his concealment, strengthened the curiosity as to his fate. This silence was so necessary to his safety, that friends as well as enemies were kept for some time perfectly ignorant of the place to which he had been carried: even Frederic himself was for a time unacquainted with his abode. When at length, it was found he was living, all were eager to ascertain his hiding-place. Leo is said to have felt so strongly, that he consulted conjurors in the vain hope of discovering his retreat; but so well had all the parts of the plan been arranged, that efforts and conjectures were alike ineffectual, and he remained in safety, until circumstances rendered it essential that he should again appear, and take an active part in the busy struggle.

We cannot enter into all the details connected with the early history of the Reformation: but we must not omit to observe, that it seemed at times to be in greater peril from its professed friends, than from its avowed foes. Such was the case during the latter part of Luther's residence at the Wartburg. Some persons of an ardent temperament fancied themselves to be in immediate communication with the Deity; and arrogating to themselves the title of prophets or apostles, denounced the reformations Luther was striving to effect as not being sufficiently radical and thorough. It was not surprising that in a state of great religious excitement, such as then prevailed,

instances of this kind should occur; indeed it would have been strange had it been otherwise. Had these men been contented with a mere avowal of their opinion, but little might have been dreaded; but adding republican notions to their spiritual fanaticism, they soon broke out into open tumult at the little German town Zwickau, assaulted a priest when carrying the host, and produced so much confusion, that civil authorities interfered, and cast several of them into prison.

Irritated by treatment which they had themselves provoked, three of their leaders, Storck, Thomas, and Stubner, hastened to Wittemberg to make their complaints; here they seem to have had some influence with the amiable Melancthon, and to a great extent to have infected Carlstadt, the early friend of Luther, with their enthusiasm. In company with Carlstadt, they soon adopted violent measures; learning was denounced, direct inspiration from God was pretended and preferred to the statements of Scripture, churches were entered, images carried off and burnt, and the supposed tardiness of the leading reformers solemnly denounced.

In this state of confusion, every heart longed for Luther to return: he alone, it was felt, could allay the storm. Melancthon was too mild, the elector was too cautious; and citizens, university professors, nay the fanatics themselves, longed for his return. To leave the Wartburg was to expose himself to certain peril, but self-seeking formed no part of his character; the cause for which he had already exposed his life was in danger: and hence he resolved, in dependence on divine grace, to show himself openly; and on the 3rd of March, 1522, leaving his quiet retreat, he hastened to stem, if possible, that torrent of enthusiasm which threatened such fearful consequences to the church of God. His residence at the Wartburg having afforded him more time for reflection than he previously enjoyed, seems to have been the period when he acquired more extensive and accurate acquaintance with the contents of God's word; resulting in his renouncing some Romish prejudices which still clung to him. Monachism, for instance, with its vows of celibacy and seclusion, was seen to be destitute of divine warrant, and therefore renounced, as well as other notions which

might have impeded his success. Undoubtedly, he left the castle better fitted for the work he had to do, better prepared to steer between superstition on the one side, and democratic frenzy on the other. So is it when God calls his people to occupy positions of more than ordinary peril, or discharge duties of more than usual difficulty; he trains them by his providence, and endues them with his Spirit. Moses must dwell in Midian before he confronts Pharaoh; and Luther must learn in the Wartburg prison what to do in the active struggles of life.

We must now leave Luther to pursue the great work to which he was called, and notice the events of general history which transpired in this busy age.

Immediately after the promulgation of the edict against the reformer, war commenced between the emperor and Francis, king of France. The cause of this was the claim of both to the duchy of Milan, which had been lost by Louis XII., after he had obtained it by conquest. For a time Francis was successful; but, about the year 1525, Charles again brought it under his own power. Charles, on his part, laid claim to Artois as part of the Netherlands; while he had to defend Navarre, which his grandfather Ferdinand had taken from France. In addition to which, Francis asserted his right to the two Sicilies. Here were sufficient causes for contention; and as the dispute was between the two principal monarchs of the time, their wars kept Europe in a state of ferment for several years. Various successes crowned the arms of the contending princes; mostly, however, on the side of Charles. The quarrel was the more complicated by intrigues which each employed to secure the co-operation of England, even then of sufficient importance to afford material aid to either side. These intrigues were mainly employed with Wolsey, the chief minister of Henry VIII.; who, having a strong ambition to ascend the papal throne, listened to the offers, and encouraged the designs of each monarch, just so far as they promised to promote his own: but we shall have to notice the career of this extraordinary man more in detail in the next chapter. At the commencement of these struggles, Leo X. died; and was, by the influence of the emperor, succeeded by Adrian VI., a cardinal who

had formerly been tutor to Charles, thus disappointing the expectations of Wolsey. The new pope, however, died in a few months. Just about this time, Francis offending the constable Bourbon, the best general of his kingdom, the latter immediately entered the service of Charles, and became generalissimo of the imperial armies. Several battles followed; but, in 1525, the French were defeated at Pavia and the unhappy Francis taken prisoner by the offended Bourbon. The treaty of Madrid followed; by which Francis regained his liberty, on ceding to Charles the duchy of Burgundy, and the disputed Flanders and Artois. Indeed, for a time Charles seemed to be irresistible. In 1527, when the pope and Henry VIII. had formed a league with Francis against his rapidly extending power, his general, Bourbon, defeated the papal army, sacked Rome, committing the most fearful atrocities, and took the pope, Clement VII. who had succeeded Adrian, prisoner, and confined him in the castle of St. Angelo. This act, which filled Europe with horror, may show us that devout as Charles might appear to be, when occasion required he kept his religion in subordination to his ambition. Still it was necessary to save appearances; and therefore, while the ransom which was to release the pontiff was being arranged, he put himself and court into mourning, and directed that prayers should be offered on behalf of his prisoner in every church in Spain.

In 1529, during an interval of peace, he visited Italy; and received the imperial diadem from the very pope he had so recently held as his prisoner. Notwithstanding these successes, Charles found it difficult to preserve the empire in tranquillity; and was never able to fuse it into a compact and lasting body. Spain, Flanders, and Germany had each their distinct national interests: while in Germany especially, the growing power of the reformation seemed to threaten a serious schism. The constant struggles with the continental nations, kept him in perpetual uneasiness, while the Turks were yet powerful enough under Solyman the Magnificent, to besiege Vienna. In 1532, he embarked for Africa, and again checked the Turkish power, by replacing Muley Hassan on the throne of Tunis, from which he had been driven by the power of Solyman. These splendid victories, combined with the

fame for vast political wisdom, which was universally awarded him, exalted his reputation to the highest point of human greatness: but how utterly vain and unsatisfactory it ultimately proved, we shall see before closing the history of this extraordinary man.

CHAPTER III.

The King and the Cardinal.—A. D. 1509—1523.

ENGLAND.

ENGLAND AT THIS PERIOD.—HENRY VIII.—ENGLAND UNITES WITH OTHER POWERS AGAINST VENICE.—WAR WITH FRANCE—PARLIAMENT CALLED—FIRST INCOME TAX.—BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD.—CARDINAL WOLSEY, HIS RAPID ELEVATION.—BATTLE OF SPURS.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.—MARRIAGE OF MARY TUDOR AND LOUIS XII.—DEATH OF LOUIS.—ONWARD COURSE OF WOLSEY.—INFLUENCED BY CHARLES.—FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.—TREATY OF HENRY AND CHARLES AGAINST FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.—HIS EXECUTION.—UNFAVOURABLE PROSPECTS FOR THE REFORMATION.—HENRY WRITES AGAINST THE DOCTRINES OF LUTHER.—WAR RENEWED WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.—WOLSEY DECEIVED BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES.

No monarch has attracted a greater amount of attention in English history, than Henry VIII. The various, and to some extent contradictory, features of his character, would of themselves be sufficient to account for this; but, when in addition to these, we remember the extraordinary circumstance of his social life, and their bearing upon the ultimate religious profession of this kingdom, it is evidently of the utmost importance that his acts and motives should be rightly understood; and therefore the interest his reign has always excited, is as reasonable in itself as it has been intense in its degree. Unfortunately the

strong feeling of partizanship which the state of things produced in his day, has prevented us from finding in those who have undertaken to record this portion of our annals, that impartiality which is necessary to enable us to form a decided judgment respecting him, and requires us therefore to enter upon the investigation with the greatest circumspection.

For many years the succession to the English throne had been a matter of fierce contention, and the long civil conflicts known by the term "the wars of the roses," and which were in fact the struggles of opposing factions amongst the nobility, had afflicted the nation in all its interests,—ignorance the most profound appears to have spread through the land—commerce was reduced to the lowest state—piety had scarcely an existence except amongst the successors of the Lollards, who were compelled to conceal a faith which it would have been death to avow; while civil government was little more than the temporary supremacy of some political faction. In this condition of things a strong hand was necessary to rule, and a clear head to guide, the conflicting elements; both these were found in Henry VII., but the bitterness of the civil wars was too recent in his days to be easily forgotten, and the state of society yet too much unsettled to secure all the advantages desired and expected from regular government—it was more likely that these benefits would be obtained by the accession of a successor with an undisputed title. Hence when, by the death of his elder brother Arthur, Henry became heir apparent to the throne, he was regarded with especial interest, and his accession, in 1509, on the demise of his father, was hailed with delight.

At this period there was every thing in Henry's appearance and character calculated to encourage the hopes of the nation. Uniting in his person the claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster; young, handsome, skilful in all the manly exercises of the times, learned, frank, and generous, he soon became the idol of the nation, and had not the dispute about his marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon, to whom he was united soon after his accession, arisen, his name might probably have been handed down to posterity as one of England's most

famous and most popular monarchs : but it was his lot to be placed in circumstances where mere natural endowments were too feeble to produce and secure real greatness. For some time after he ascended the throne, there was a constant succession of tilts, tournaments, and amusements, conducted on a most expensive plan. These pleasures, though they amused the people, and secured popularity for the young king, interfered most materially with the more serious work of government, and rapidly reduced the treasures accumulated by Henry VII. The immediate result of this negligence was the clamour raised against Dudley and Empson, two lawyers of apparently rapacious character, who had been employed by the late king as his instruments in what were considered extortionate exactions. These men were charged with having illegally exceeded their commission, and having been tried, were, notwithstanding a most specious and plausible defence, condemned and executed ; the verdict having been confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament.

Occupied with her own internal disputes, England since her expulsion from France, had been but little mixed up with continental politics, and might have maintained an advantageous neutrality. Italy was still the seat of war, as it had been for many past years, and as, by the conflicts of Charles and Francis, it continued to be for several years afterwards ; but with these struggles England had nothing in common, and might have remained an independent spectator, but for the martial spirit of Henry, and the ambitious projects, which we shall soon have to record, pursued by one who obtained a more than ordinary influence in the royal councils.

The first interference of England was induced by the military pope, Julius II., who having formed a league at Cambray, in 1508, between himself, the emperor Maximilian, Louis XII. of France, and Ferdinand of Spain, for the purpose of reducing the commonwealth of Venice, persuaded Henry to join them in the enterprise. The league, though disastrous to the Venetians, produced no very serious effect on England, further than that it was the first step in a line of policy always expensive, and frequently injurious to the welfare of this country. Having succeeded thus far, we find Julius soon after

sending a sacred rose, perfumed and anointed with the holy chrism, to Henry, and soliciting him to join in an effort to expel all foreigners from Italy, or in other words so entirely to destroy French influence in the Italian peninsula, that it might be brought under the control of Rome. To secure the success of his intrigues, he employed, in addition, those means which the papal court knew so well how to use; he created Henry's ambassador, Bambridge archbishop of York, a cardinal; by these arts he imposed upon the youthful ardour of the young king, and thus eventually brought England into the serious position of a war with France—thus one departure from the path of righteousness, whether with states or individuals, inevitably brings as its consequence, sorrow and perplexity. Consenting to the arrangement of attacking France, in 1512, Henry dispatched his forces; but completely circumvented by the treachery of his father-in-law, Ferdinand, king of Spain, the troops after remaining for some time inactive, broke out into revolt, and came home again without having effected any thing which, according to the notions of the world, added any glory to their arms.

The year 1512 witnessed a serious discomfiture to the national pride in a naval engagement between the French and the English fleets, in which a vessel under the command of Primauguet, the French admiral, grappling with the ship of the English admiral, both blew up and were destroyed, while the rest of the French fleet escaped again into Brest and other harbours, uninjured by the strife. These foreign efforts plainly brought no advantage to the English, but such was the popularity of the king, that they do not appear to have lowered him in any perceptible degree in the esteem of his subjects. A parliament was soon called, and a poll or income-tax levied, which while it was insufficient for the sustenance of any extensive armaments, was yet quite adequate for the exigencies of the state, clearly showing that, whatever was the subsequent estimation formed of his character, in the year 1513 Henry possessed the confidence of his people. .

A more serious disturbance to the peace was now threatened from Scotland, whose king, James IV., had married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. Some dis-

putes had arisen between the two countries, in consequence of those border forays which unhappily caused such frequent bloodshed for many generations; but the matter might perhaps have been easily settled, but for Henry's declaration of war against France. The Scotch having long been in alliance with the French, and vainly supposing this alliance was essential to their national independence, thought themselves bound to interfere in the quarrel, while James, from chivalrous sentiments of obligation, arising from his having been the chosen knight of Anne, queen of France, was personally eager to join in the conflict which resulted in the fatal battle of Flodden field, in the year 1513, in which James was killed with the flower of his nobility.

Such were some of the incidents which marked the early years of the reign of Henry VIII., but we must now introduce to notice one of the most remarkable men of that period, Thomas Wolsey, whose career was so intimately connected with English and European history. Wolsey was born at Ipswich, in the year 1471, of honest, humble parents: tradition says his father was a butcher, but the statement is without sufficient evidence to be received as an unquestionable fact. That his parents were persons of some amount of worldly wealth, may be learned from the will of his father, made when Thomas was in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and preserved in the registry of Norwich. He seems to have been designed for the service of the church from early age, and to have been trained at Magdalen college, Oxford, where his proficiency in his studies was so marked and precocious, that when he was but fifteen he was spoken of as the "Boy Bachelor." He soon obtained a fellowship, and was elected bursar of the college, facts which indicate the mental superiority he was even then seen to possess. In 1499, he spent his Christmas vacation with the sons of the marquis of Dorset, who had been his companions at college; and in October of the following year, having received priest's orders, he was appointed by lord Dorset to the living of Lymington, in Somersetshire. Here it is said he so far forgot the claims of morality, that he was put into the stocks for intoxication, by Sir Amias Poulet, one of the local magistrates. This disgrace, whether

deserved or not, seems to have led very soon to his leaving Lymington; and shortly afterwards we find him filling the responsible office of treasurer of Calais; whence he removed to the English court, being appointed chaplain to Henry VII.

The diligence and capacity for business Wolsey now displayed, soon attracted the attention of the king, who wishing to send an ambassador to the emperor Maximilian, in the Netherlands, entrusted the commission to him; and so great was the despatch of the energetic messenger, that he executed his commission and returned before his royal master imagined that he had started. This diligence, together with the skill he exhibited in the affair, so recommended him to the sagacious Henry, that he bestowed upon him the valuable deanery of Lincoln. This was in 1508, and Henry VIII. succeeding to the throne in the year following, Wolsey seems to have resolved to ingratiate himself with the new king as completely as he had done with his father: this he soon had opportunities for doing.

Among the members of the new council chosen by the king, were the earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy-seal. These two men strove to gain the king's confidence with greater zeal than their colleagues, and with much rivalry between themselves. Surrey, who was very much of the courtier, by encouraging the dissipation and expense so congenial to the tastes of Henry, soon obtained an advantage over the cautious and careful prelate. Desirous of recovering his influence, Fox conceived the idea of introducing to the king some one who by plausible address, winning manners, and principles which would not stand in the way of the follies of royalty, might regain for the bishop the ground he had lost. With this design in his mind, he fixed upon Wolsey as a most suitable instrument. Wolsey as willingly entered into the scheme, and so thoroughly captivated the affections of Henry, that very soon not only Surrey but Fox himself was supplanted, and the new favourite became supreme in the royal confidence. Although twenty years older than the king, he became a willing partaker in his gaities, never allowing his profession as a clergyman to be felt as a restraint.

When however pleasure did not interfere, business was introduced; and the mind of Henry so gradually brought under the sway of his crafty companion, that Wolsey very speedily became virtually the ruler of the state. Wealth, honours, offices, civil and ecclesiastical, now flowed in upon him so rapidly, that in the year 1514, we find him archbishop of York, and thirsting for a cardinal's hat, which, with the office of lord chancellor, he received the following year.

An elevation so rapid, and maintained for fifteen years with more than regal splendour, shows Wolsey to have been no common man: it is true that he commenced his career by consenting with all the suppleness of a courtier, to pander to the youthful follies of the king; but he was much besides a courtier. With a mind of unusual power, cultivated with sedulous care, he could sympathize with the literary inclinations of Henry, and assist him in those theological studies for which he always had a strong inclination—while in matters of state he was a more profound counsellor than the court could supply. An all-absorbing ambition, however, appears to have been the governing principle of Wolsey's life—an ambition, which looking to the papal throne as its final resting-place, gave the law to all his policy, whether in the internal government of England, or in his negotiations with foreign states; but an ambition, which doomed as it was to disappointment, compelled him to confess with the magnificent Solomon, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity, and vexation of spirit." Sad it is to contemplate powers so mighty prostituted to purposes so mean, to see a mind so capacious filled only with those things that "perish in the using," and a heart which might have been susceptible of the loftiest emotions, so absorbed with what in the eye of the God of truth, is nothing but worldly selfishness. "Verily every man at his best state is altogether vanity." (Ps. xxxix. 5.)

Such was the man who was now to take a share in domestic and foreign politics even greater than that of his master himself. The war with France continued, and, after the battle of Guinegate, or as it is more usually termed, from the unaccountable panic and flight of the French cavalry, "the battle of spurs," Henry

besieged Tournay, a very important city belonging to France, lying within the frontiers of Flanders, which after a few days surrendered to the English. A new bishop had lately been elected to the see, but not having been installed, Henry bestowed the office with its rich revenues on his favourite Wolsey, after which he returned to England. The contending powers now seemed weary of a war which yielded no national benefit to any of them, while to some it was positively and only injurious. The pope had no wish to reduce France to extremities; Ferdinand, declining in life, was only anxious to secure the possession of Navarre, which he had conquered, and therefore listened to some hints of matrimonial alliance between France and Spain, suggested by Louis, and fully agreed to by the emperor, who hoped by this means to aggrandize the power of Austria. Henry had gratified his military ardour by the success he had achieved; while the decisive victory of Flodden field, followed up by the display of natural but ill-requited generosity to his sister Margaret, the queen regent, relieved him from all anxiety as to an attack from Scotland, and was therefore ready to consider any overtures for peace. This willingness soon became passionate determination, when he learned the treachery of his allies, and disposed him to listen to the duke of Longueville, who having been made prisoner at "the battle of spurs," had remained on parole in England. This nobleman, perceiving Henry's disposition for peace, suggested that as the decease of Anne of Brittany, queen of France, had lately occurred, there was a good opportunity to form a lasting alliance between the two nations, by the union of Henry's sister, Mary Tudor, with Louis. The project seeming to be favourably received by the king, Longueville was authorised by his master, Louis, who was most desirous of putting an end to hostilities, to conduct the negotiations. These were so successful, that articles of peace were soon settled, and Mary Tudor, said to be the most beautiful and accomplished woman of her time, was sent, at the early age of sixteen years, to France, under the care of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and married, October 9th, 1514, to Louis XII., then in his fifty-third year. This alliance, however, was but of short duration,

for in less than three months Louis, to whom his country gave the honourable title of "father of his people," died, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis I.,—while a few months after, Mary was secretly united to Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

These events might have endangered the amity of the two kingdoms; but Francis, interposing his good offices with Henry on behalf of his sister, and being supported by Wolsey, who had no cause to be jealous of Suffolk, the king soon re-admitted them to his favour, and no breach occurred between the two princes.

Some cause for dreading a fresh outbreak of hostilities appeared in the year 1515, from the ardent temper of the young king Francis, and from his well known desire to restore French influence in Italy, and to obtain the restitution of Tournay. Henry on his part, besides being unwilling to give up Tournay, felt displeased with Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, where he superseded the influence of Margaret Tudor, the king's sister, who, by her marriage with Angus, the head of the powerful house of Douglas, had forfeited the regency of that kingdom. These causes of fear were, however, averted by the skilful diplomacy of Bonnivet, admiral of France, who being dispatched to London by Francis, managed so to ingratiate himself with the all-powerful Wolsey, and through him so to influence the mind of Henry, that eventually Tournay was, on certain payments being made to cover the expense of fortifications erected by the English, ceded to France, and Wolsey received a pension as an equivalent for yielding up its bishopric. Further temptations were offered to the avarice and vanity of the cardinal to obtain the cession of Calais; but Wolsey finding that he was likely to meet with the determined opposition of the members of the royal council, as well as of the nation generally, thought it better to postpone the scheme till some more fitting opportunity.

In the year 1518, cardinal Campeggio, the pope's legate, being recalled from England, Wolsey was by the request of the king appointed in his stead, with the right of visiting the monasteries, examining the clergy, and indeed with all but absolute authority in ecclesiastical matters; as was the case already in civil affairs. His pomp and

extravagance now became extreme; abbots and bishops served him, and the first nobility attended him with water and towels. Never had sacerdotal pomp been carried to such an excess, or expense so regal been indulged by a subject. Had Henry been a less demonstrative and determined character, he would have been completely lost in the obtrusive prominence of his minister. As it was, it is not too much to say that Wolsey was the real sovereign: so completely had Henry yielded to his influence.

Francis, the king of France, who well understood the character of Henry, and who knew also that it was very much his interest to prevent his allying himself with Charles of Spain, solicited a meeting for friendly counsel at Calais. Wolsey, looking upon the scheme as a favourable means of parading his power and wealth, heartily urged the project; and receiving Henry's commands to make the necessary arrangements, cheerfully obeyed. The nobility of both kingdoms entered into the design; and spared no expense that they might surpass each other in splendour. While the affair was still in preparation, the emperor Charles arrived at Dover, when on a voyage to Flanders: induced probably by an idea that the proposed meeting at Calais between the two monarchs might be prejudicial to his interests; and that by previously securing the favour of Wolsey, he might neutralize the plan, though he could not hinder it. Henry and his queen hastened to Dover to welcome their imperial relative. Wolsey, of course, followed, and was soon the principal object of attention with the politic Charles. By flattery, promises, and more substantial means, he endeavoured to transfer Wolsey's influence with his master, from the French king to himself. But the most effectual means that he employed was working on the cardinal's insatiable ambition, and holding out to him the hope of the papacy at the death of Leo X.: an argument like this was irresistible with Wolsey, and he appears to have given himself up for the time to the intrigues of Charles.

1520.—Every necessary preliminary having been arranged, Henry embarked for Calais with his queen and his court on the day when Charles left, May 30; and arrived at Guisnes, not far from the French frontiers.

Francis was staying a few miles off, at Ardres. In a field between the two towns the monarchs met and saluted each other in the most cordial manner: adjourning to a tent, they proceeded to the nominal business of the interview; which was to amend some articles in their treaty of alliance. This was done with all the courtesy which two monarchs, young, ardent, generous and highly cultivated, might be expected to display. But pleasure and show were the real business. Tilts and tournaments, and the usual sports of the age prevailed, and were shared in by all, from the kings themselves down to the humblest esquire. The nobility of both nations, with their families, emulated each other in splendour and ostentation to such an extent, that the place acquired the name of "the field of the cloth of gold." The ladies were umpires in the various games, distributed the prizes, and closed the contest when they pleased; whether it were the knightly tournament, or the wrestling of the more plebeian competitors. A large banqueting tent of canvass and wood had been prepared in London: this was erected in the field; and there Henry received Francis and his nobles, to meet himself and his attendants in a truly royal feast. As an illustration that Henry recognized his position between the rivals, Charles and Francis, he had the figure of an English archer painted in a conspicuous place on the building, inscribed "*Cui adhæreo præest,*" "*He whom I favour, prevails.*" At the close of these festivities Henry returned the emperor's visit, and persuaded Charles and Margaret of Savoy to accompany him to Calais; a proposal with which the emperor readily complied, as it afforded him a favourable opportunity for strengthening his influence with Henry, and making Wolsey more completely subservient to his designs. At this interview, Charles gave the cardinal the revenues of the bishoprics of Badajoz and Placentia, in Castile; and reiterated his assurances of securing his succession to the papacy.

1521.—The conflicting interests, combined with the mutual ambition of Charles and Francis, soon involved them in war; but, at the same time professing the most earnest desires for peace, they laid their disputes before Henry as the umpire of their differences: and Wolsey and

the pope's nuncio were commissioned to repair to Calais to hear their mutual claims and offers. Charles, conscious of his power over Wolsey, was so extravagant in his claims, that Francis rejected them with disdain: and the conference having broken up, the cardinal, before he returned to England, visited the emperor at Bruges, where he was treated with as much form and respect as if it had been the king of England instead of his servant. Here he formed an alliance in the name of his king, with the emperor and the pope against France, by which it was agreed that England should invade France in the following year: and that the princess Mary, Henry's daughter, should be affianced to Charles. So short-lived was the friendship of "the cloth of gold," and so ready was Wolsey to sacrifice his country and his honour to promote his own selfish designs. For to Wolsey, mainly and really, we must ascribe the adoption of this treaty.

We now return to England. Wolsey gave a sad illustration of his paramount authority in the state, and of his readiness to employ it for the gratification of his selfish feeling, whether of ambition or revenge, in his treatment of the duke of Buckingham. This nobleman, who, as a descendant from Edward III., through the line of the duke of Gloucester, was of royal blood, had offended the cardinal, especially during the preparations for the meeting of the two kings at Guisnes: and he was now called to pay the penalty of his imprudence.

The cause of his misfortune is ascribed to his boldness in condemning the ruinous expense into which the expedition to Calais had brought many of the nobility; and his opposition to the arbitrary rule of the cardinal. "There goes a tale," says bishop Godwin, "that the duke once holding the basin to the king, the cardinal, when the king had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water: the duke, disdainingly to debase himself to the service of a priest, shed the water in his shoes. The cardinal, therewith incensed, threatened him that he would sit upon his skirts." Buckingham appears to have been imprudent, and to have listened with great credulity to the prophecies of one Hopkins, a Carthusian monk, who held out hopes to Buckingham, that either he or his son Stafford should succeed to the throne; and mindful of his descent from

the Plantagenets, the duke might have cherished and even expressed the hope, especially as the sickly Mary was the only living issue of the king. This fact was employed, with other imprudences, by the artful Wolsey, to excite the anger of Henry against him. Whatever was the real cause, Buckingham, wealthy, generous, beloved by the people, and holding the high office of constable of England, was arrested for high treason, brought to trial, found guilty by a jury consisting of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons: and soon after executed. "There is no reason," says Hume, "to think the sentence unjust; but, as Buckingham's crimes seemed to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people who loved him expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal." With Buckingham terminated the ancient and honourable office of constable of England.

While Charles, Francis and Wolsey, were plotting, and Henry, guided by the artful cardinal, was rapidly attaining an amount of power in England almost absolute; an influence was at work, which was to cast confusion on all their plans, and acquire a power among the nations which nothing should overcome: we refer to the reformation of religion from the corruptions and despotism of Rome. Hitherto, as we have seen, it was mainly confined to Germany; but soon it was to extend to other nations, and to England among the number.

If the commencement of the reformation was seemingly unpropitious on the continent, in England every thing appeared to preclude even the possibility of its promulgation. It is true, that scattered among the humbler classes there were many, nay, very many, who still held the doctrines of Wickliffe, and who were thus prepared to approve the tenets of the continental divines; but "they lived unknown, till persecution dragged them into light, and chased them up to heaven." The mass of the nation, if not so deeply steeped in Romanism as the inhabitants of Spain or Italy, were yet thoroughly obedient to the Romish see. More intent upon plans of earthly advancement than concerned about theological questions, they were content to leave their religion to the instructions of the priest, rather than to examine it with

anything like speculative curiosity. Improvement and reform in the practical working of the monastic establishments, was indeed seen to be necessary: but then Wolsey, notwithstanding all his priestly arrogance, felt this need as well as themselves, and armed as he was with sufficient authority to effect it, and moreover, having given several intimations of his intention to accomplish it, they believed that though delayed it would be finally done. Hence, there was no popular feeling of desire to expedite any alteration in the existing state of things. But the change was to come, the light was to permeate the darkness; but it was to be brought about by means, which as no human sagacity could foresee them, no human prudence could prevent their ultimate success. Nay, the first circumstance which brought England into connexion with the great reformation, appeared to be only adverse and unfavourable.

Henry, as we have seen in a previous volume, had been destined by his father for the church, and educated accordingly, it being of course expected that his elder brother Arthur would succeed to the throne; but the death of that prince at an early age, though it entirely changed the future destiny of Henry, did not eradicate that fondness for theological enquiry which his early studies seemed to have created. Hence, throughout his changeful and busy life, we find him frequently returning to the examination of questions which seemed to be the most unlikely to captivate such a man. When, therefore, the proceedings of Luther began to command general attention, Henry resolved to throw himself into the fray in the character of a polemic. This he was the more resolved upon from the contempt with which Luther had treated his favourite author Thomas Aquinas: vainly expecting that royal logic would silence the heretical monk, he wrote a work in Latin against the doctrines of Luther; and having published it to the world, sent a copy to the pope. Leo received the present with many expressions of approval, and honoured its author with the title, still adopted by his successors, of "Defender of the faith." Henry in conjunction with Wolsey had previously displayed his zeal for the preservation of the integrity of Romanism in the realm, "by issuing orders to the bishops to seize all

heretical books, and books containing Martin Luther's errors; and to give notice in all the churches, at time of high mass, that any person having such books, and failing to deliver them up within fifteen days, would incur the pain of excommunication; and also to affix on the doors of their cathedrals and parish churches in their several dioceses, a list of Luther's heresies; that people might have an opportunity of reading, and avoiding them."* Besides this, Henry had written to Louis of Bavaria, saying of Luther's movement, that "this was a fire kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil;" and urging Louis to exterminate Luther, and burn both him and his books. But the reformer was not daunted by this new and royal antagonist, and very soon replied to him in his usual style; and showed that in his advocacy of truth he was no respecter of persons. The lofty rank of Luther's opponent served to draw greater attention to the controversy; and the reply of the reformer, with the gratuitous publication of his alleged errors on the doors of the cathedrals and churches, only served to awaken the slumbering interest of the people of England, and prepare them for the wider adoption, and the more fearless profession of the doctrines of salvation; and thus, as in many other cases, the efforts of adversaries only promoted the great work.

1522.—Henry was soon called from polemical disputes to political troubles; in accordance with the treaty arranged by Wolsey in the previous year, he declared war against France; but upon pretences so hollow, as to show that they were but a thin covering to secret intrigue: these were the refusal of France to submit to his arbitration at the conference at Calais, and the previous complaint of sending the duke of Albany to Scotland. This of course was accompanied by a war with Scotland. In France, the war proceeded on the part of Henry very slowly; and not all the efforts of his general, the gallant Surrey, could secure any footing within the frontier. In Scotland, the all but universal dislike of Albany, prevented his succeeding in making a descent upon England. Indeed a considerable portion of the nobles began to see more clearly than formerly, that their true policy was to unite with England and not with France; a doctrine Henry had

* Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. p. 845.

always taught them, and which in our day is universally felt to be correct: but the French party, desirous of maintaining their influence, that it might be employed adversely to England in the event of any war, employed every effort to keep their hold. This divided state of feeling so completely paralyzed the plans of Albany, that he returned to Edinburgh, disbanded his forces; and soon leaving Scotland in disgust, went to France, from whence he never returned.

But war, whether successful or otherwise, is a costly experiment, and so Henry found it to be; the vast treasure amassed by his father had been squandered in the gaieties and dissipation of the early years of his reign, and no financial arrangements existing such as are adopted in these times, the pressure of diminished means began to be felt. Wolsey too appears to have been in some perplexity as to what line of policy would best suit his designs,—Leo had died, December 1st, 1521, in the flower of life, and Wolsey was expecting the fulfilment of the oft-repeated promise of the emperor, when to his mortification a Fleming (Adrian VI.), who had been tutor to Charles, was raised to the papal chair. Charles had indeed come to England, and soothed the disappointed ambition of the cardinal by reminding him of the age and infirmities of Adrian, and assuring him that imperative circumstances alone had compelled him to violate his word; but that at the next election, which could not possibly be far distant, the merits of Wolsey should be respected. The cardinal affected to cover his resentment, but the conjuncture of things was too perplexed to enable him to pursue a decided course of action; Charles had betrayed him, and might again, and yet it would not do to make him his foe: hence the war with France proceeded, but it wanted energy. But the monetary pressure could not be disregarded, and therefore, after seven years' silence, it was resolved that the national council should be called; and accordingly the parliament of 1523 was summoned.

CHAPTER IV.

The Royal Divorce.—A. D. 1523—1529.

ENGLAND.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS GRANTS A SUBSIDY FOR THE FRENCH WAR. — WOLSEY AGAIN DISAPPOINTED OF THE PAPAL DIGNITY.—EXCITES THE KING'S DISPLEASURE.—CATHERINE OF ARRAGON.—THE DIVORCE QUESTION.—ANNE BOLEYN.—WOLSEY'S POWER BEGINS TO DECLINE.—PARLIAMENT RE-ASSEMBLED.—IMPEACHMENT OF WOLSEY.—IS ARRESTED.—HIS DEATH.—USEFUL MEASURES ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT.—CRANMER.—HIS CONNECTION WITH THE DIVORCE.

THE parliament of England, now occupying so important a position in the national government, acquired its power by many struggles, and by slow degrees. The nobles, who constitute the upper house, were in the early ages of the kingdom, too much accustomed to settle their differences by an appeal to the sword, to employ the more peaceful method of calm and rational debate. The commons make but little appearance in the national council till 1258, when Henry III., under the influence of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, confirmed the great charter of Runnymede, and the rough outlines of our present house of commons were drawn.

By the provisions of the great charter, the knights were to meet in their several counties, and draw up an account of supposed grievances; but by the arrangement of 1258, the knights from each county, and one or two burgesses from each borough town, were to meet with the barons and clergy at the sessions of parliament, which were to be held every year, in the months of February, June, and October. By successive steps this incipient design became a more complete and organized institution; but considerable vagueness was allowed to remain as to

the mode of its operation, resulting partly from the factious circumstances in which it originated, and the frequent civil convulsions of the nation. The great principle, however, that taxation could only be imposed by parliament, seems to have been recognized at a very early period; but the frequency and duration of the national assemblies do not appear to have been points so definitely understood. Arbitrary and despotic rulers of course wished to be as free and unrestrained as possible, and hence we find frequent intervals of long continuance in which no parliament was held.

It was far from being in accordance with the character and temper of either Henry or his imperious minister, that they should allow their measures to be canvassed more than was unavoidable; and as the treasures of Henry VII. had enabled them to meet the national expenses to a great extent, it was not until the necessity was imperative, that the new parliament was summoned in 1523. At their meeting, the commons did not prove so subservient as was desired: having chosen Sir Thomas More speaker, they proceeded to business, but were soon interrupted by a visit from the cardinal, accompanied by several nobles and prelates. In a long speech he defended the war with France, and then demanded in the name of the king that they should instantly levy a property tax amounting to £800,000, payable in four years—this it has been calculated would be at the rate of 20 per cent. Astounded by this breach of privilege, the members maintained a determined silence, and notwithstanding the reproofs and taunts of the cardinal, answered him not a word. At length Sir Thomas More informed him, that it was contrary to the ancient usages of the house to debate in the presence of others. Wolsey then retired, and the question was adjourned; but the following day he came as before, with his hat, maces, pillars, crucifix, and the great seal, and made another attempt to awe the members into compliance, but as unsuccessfully as before. After sixteen days' debate, however, the house agreed to a vote of just half the sum demanded, evidently showing that they were not reduced to that condition of sycophancy which has sometimes been supposed. With the convocation, though he ultimately succeeded in ob-

taining the amount demanded, which was fifty per cent. payable at once, he was obliged to content himself with the decision that the payment should be spread over five years: so refractory were the clerical fraternity, and so ready to resist an imposition, though enforced by a man who, as nuncio and chancellor, united in himself almost absolute authority in matters civil and ecclesiastical. The tax levied upon the people could only be collected with great difficulty; in many places insurrections resulted, and the whole affair brought great unpopularity upon Wolsey, who was held responsible for the proceedings.

Money having been thus obtained, the garrisons on the borders of Scotland were reinforced, and another expedition undertaken against France, but with little success; the time had been unduly, and as appears from a letter of the cardinal preserved among the state papers, intentionally delayed: thus giving us another illustration of the interested policy which governed all the actions of this haughty churchman. Francis suffered a far greater misfortune in this campaign by the defection of his powerful subject, Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, than from any success hitherto achieved by his foes. Bourbon being piqued by personal injuries, inflicted through the influence of Louisa of Savoy, whose advances he had rejected, went over to the service of the emperor, and was gladly welcomed by him and his allies.

While these wars were agitating Europe, Wolsey was called to bear a fresh disappointment, in the elevation of Clement VII., one of the Medici family, to the pontificate in the place of Adrian, who died after a very short possession of the office. The cardinal, who could not any longer be deceived as to the insincerity of the emperor, began to look towards the resumption of peace with France; but stifling his resentment for a time, he joined in the congratulations offered to the new pope, by whom his commission as legate was renewed, and extended to his whole life. The cardinal was still further soothed by having his authority enlarged, and being invested with power to reform and suppress certain religious houses in England. He was thus virtually made the pope of this country, as a consideration for the loss of the popedom

of Rome, and placed in a position which, had his life been prolonged many years, might, but for the occurrence of subsequent events, have brought all the liberties of Englishmen into serious peril. It must however be admitted that the first use he made of his newly acquired power was unexceptionable, while with the proceeds of the suppressed monasteries, he founded and endowed two colleges, one at Oxford, and one in his native town, Ipswich. The design of their institution may not be so much in accordance with our views; they were to be places in which, it was declared, learned divines might be trained to combat the fast-spreading heresies of "the monster Luther."

Though but feebly co-operating in the wars between Charles and Francis, when the news of the great victory at Pavia, in which Francis was taken prisoner, reached England, Henry directed a day of thanksgiving to be held, and Wolsey offered mass in the cathedral of St. Paul in the presence of the king, his court, and the foreign ambassadors—the idea of reconciliation with France, which but a few months before had been entertained both by the monarch and the minister, was given up, in hope of sharing the spoils of the unfortunate captive. The money which had been promised to the emperor, but purposely delayed, was now attempted to be raised, and Tonstal, bishop of London, with Wyngfield, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, sent to the emperor, to propose that Charles and Henry should invade France from different parts without delay, meet at Paris, and divide the kingdom between them: a scheme as wild as it was unrighteous. While these negotiations were pending, efforts were made to obtain the funds promised. Wolsey, and the rest of the ministers acting under his control, required four shillings in the pound from the clergy, and three and fourpence from the laity; an attempt, which not having the sanction of parliament, was an evident stretch of the royal prerogative. Commissioners were appointed for each county, and no means left untried to secure money, which might be employed either in aiding the emperor, or in fighting against him. These arbitrary proceedings produced not only murmurs but insurrections, and the aspect of things was so threatening, that the

commissioners were recalled, and a proclamation issued, stating that what the king wanted was "by way of benevolence," and nothing more, and these were ultimately remitted. Whether the king or the cardinal was originally responsible for these wild proceedings, is uncertain; but "the people," says Hall, "took all this for a mock, and said, God save the king, for the cardinal he is known well enough."

The partition plan suggested by Henry was never attempted; Charles was as much in want of money as the king, and before the ambassadors arrived, it had been determined that France should not be invaded. As nothing was to be gained by this plot, and the power of Charles was becoming so great as seriously to endanger the balance of power, Henry next concluded an alliance with Louisa of Savoy, regent of France, engaging to obtain the release of her son; while she on her part, acknowledged a debt to Henry, of one million eight hundred thousand crowns, which was to be paid in half-yearly payments; and when discharged, Henry was to receive a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns for life, while under pretence of arrears due from the bishopric of Tournay, Wolsey was presented with a hundred thousand crowns for his valuable co-operation: a pretty conclusive evidence as to whose was the governing mind, and what was the real purpose of the fearful expenditure of blood and treasure which the war had caused.

At this period the power of the cardinal appeared to have reached its zenith; his authority over the religious houses was exercised in a most arrogant manner, and their guilt, real or supposed, compounded for by fines, which went to increase his already enormous wealth: he had built a palace at Hampton court, and another at York place, now Whitehall; but reports of his extortions having reached the ears of the king, who though unwilling to believe anything to his disparagement, could not be altogether an indifferent spectator of his unbounded magnificence, he began to look upon him with some degree of displeasure. Wolsey, fearing to what this might lead, not only plied the king with those arts which he knew so well how to employ, but made him a present of Hampton Court; telling him, that from its commencement he had

designed so to appropriate it : by these means the quarrel was made up, and the influence of Wolsey maintained for some time longer.

The restless ambition of Charles had in the year 1527, induced the pope to form a league with Francis, the Swiss, the Vendéans, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan against him ; to this league, the object of which was to free Francis from the severe terms imposed upon him in captivity, Henry was invited to become a party, with a stipulation that he should receive a principality of the value of thirty thousand ducats yearly, if Naples should be conquered ; while Wolsey, who was never forgotten, was to have ten thousand ducats yearly. These expectations were however soon destroyed by the news being brought to London that the duke of Bourbon had sacked Rome, taken the pope prisoner, and that he was a captive in the castle of St. Angelo. This event of course led to fresh complications with foreign politics ; but these soon became to a great degree forgotten in a question which arose as to the legality of the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon.

This princess was left a widow (*see* Vol. V. p. 349) by the death of prince Arthur during the reign of Henry VII., who, that he might preserve the advantages of the Spanish alliance, had obtained a dispensation from Julius II. to allow Henry, his second son, to marry her. The marriage had been delayed from some scruples of conscience arising in the mind of the king, in addition to the very youthful age of his son Henry ; but at his death he enjoined that the union should be completed, and as we have seen, soon after his accession, Henry VIII. made her his wife. For seventeen years no question appears to have arisen as to the validity of the union ; till in the year 1527 it was mooted, and soon became the source of most important consequences, not only to the parties more immediately interested, but to the nation at large.

The origin of the doubts which seized on the mind of the king has been variously stated, and so much of party spirit brought to the examination of the question, that it is difficult if not impossible to arrive at a firm and decided conclusion. By some the whole affair is represented as resulting from the fickleness of Henry's character, and the

passion he had formed for Anne Boleyn, and no amount of condemnation is thought to be too severe for his conduct; while others describe him as acting sincerely, and exclusively from religious scruples; but there is yet a third party who believe him to have been influenced only by motives of political expediency, such as are supposed to have weighed with Napoleon the Great in the repudiation of the empress Josephine. Perhaps we should seek for the solution of his conduct, as unhappily we have often to explain our own, as well as that of others, by recognizing the operation of various and mixed motives. The first doubt in reference to the marriage appears unquestionably to have been suggested by the bishop of Tarbes, when engaged in negotiating a proposed marriage between Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., and the duke of Orleans. This prelate is said to have asked suddenly in the course of the discussions, whether the legitimacy was beyond all doubt from civil and canonical law.

Soon after the accession, Warham the primate and other members of the council had objected to the marriage being completed; and when during one of the alliances Henry formed with Spain it had been proposed to unite Mary to Charles, the states of Castile had objected to the arrangement, on the ground of her illegitimacy as well as from other considerations; but no serious doubt seems to have entered into the mind of Henry, until the question was asked by the bishop of Tarbes. By some it is believed that the question had been suggested to the bishop by Wolsey, out of resentment to the emperor, Catherine's nephew; but this cannot be proved. The doubt from some cause seems to have seized upon the mind of the king with abiding power, and his letters state that religious scruples, then felt for the first time, compelled him to entertain it. He professed to have examined the question with great anxiety, seeking the guidance of his favourite author, Thomas Aquinas, whose reasonings (viewed in connection with what appeared to him indications of divine displeasure in the death of all his children, immediately after their birth, excepting the princess Mary,) led him to the conclusion that the union was unlawful, and lying under the curse of God. He

then made application to the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him to consult the whole of the episcopal body, and was informed in reply, that all the bishops, with the exception of Fisher of Rochester, concurred in regarding the marriage as void. Wolsey appears to have pursued the same sinister policy that had mostly guided him; desiring on the one hand to resent the treachery of Charles, by recommending the king to obtain a divorce, yet on the other hand hesitating to advise a course which would, at least by implication, cast an imputation on the infallibility of the papacy from which the dispensation had been obtained. That the passion for Anne Boleyn was not the originating cause of the agitation, is evident from the fact that Wolsey had formed the idea of a union between Henry and the sister of Francis, which he certainly would not have done if an affection for Anne had then existed, and which it must have been difficult to conceal from such an astute observer as the cardinal.

On the whole we are disposed to believe that various motives influenced Henry; that, feeling as he evidently did, a perfect confidence in the reasonings of Thomas Aquinas, he came to the conclusion that his union with Catherine was in itself wrong and contrary to scripture. This was strengthened not only by feelings of dislike which had arisen between the queen and himself, but also by anxiety about the future succession to the throne, which was plainly a subject of serious consideration with him in the later years of his reign; and the whole was subsequently, and we will allow very soon, confirmed by the affection he had formed for Anne.

Among the many defects of Henry's character, hypocrisy certainly had no place, and therefore we are disposed to give credence to his own statements as to his convictions, especially as all the subsequent events of his career appear to justify this confidence. Whether he was right in his original judgment, it is not our province to determine; but certainly it does not seem to be quite just to visit with unqualified condemnation the uncertain reasonings of those who lived amid such a twilight of scriptural knowledge, or to suppose that nothing but sensual influences could be brought to bear upon the question.

Having arrived at the conclusion that he ought to seek a divorce from Catherine, Henry sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome, to solicit Clement to pronounce it, and grant a dispensation for a second marriage. In the meantime Wolsey had visited France, where he was received with all the form and state usually accorded to monarchs, and where he so successfully employed his time, that he concluded four separate treaties; by which it was stipulated that the alliance between France and England should be perpetual, that Henry's daughter should be married to Francis, or to his son the duke of Orleans; that certain subsidies should be granted to Francis by England, to aid him in carrying on war in Italy for the liberation of the pope; and that Wolsey should exercise the power of legate over France, as he did in England, while the pope was in captivity—at least such is the only reasonable interpretation of the last particular. After the treaties were signed, of which Henry fully approved, Wolsey told Louisa, the queen mother, that in less than a year a princess of her blood would be queen of England, and wife of his master, instead of Catherine. These facts show that the idea of Anne succeeding to the perilous honour, had not presented itself when the cardinal left for the continent. A very short time however served to add this complication to the already vexed question. On his return, Wolsey was informed of the design by Henry himself. Astounded by the intelligence, he fell on his knees and earnestly besought the king to renounce his purpose; but fearing from the passionate temper of his master, that prolonged opposition might endanger his own interests, he with courtier-like compliance fell in with the design, and promised to do all in his power to promote it.

Anne Boleyn, who was so soon to be called into such unenviable prominence, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had married a sister of the duke of Norfolk. In very early life she was one of the suite who accompanied Mary Tudor, when she left England to be married to Louis XII., and remained in the French court when Mary married her second husband, Brandon, duke of Suffolk. It is uncertain in what year she returned to England, but she appears to have been appointed one of the maids of

honour to queen Catherine, a short time before the question of the divorce arose. Her beauty, accomplishments, and lively disposition, excited general admiration, and secured her many suitors; amongst whom the most favoured was lord Percy, the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, who made her an offer of marriage; but whether it was refused at once, or set aside by the more splendid prospect of filling a throne, does not appear: one important fact in the then existing state of things, was that she had been brought up in belief of the reformed doctrines, which were so rapidly spreading, not only on the continent, but quietly diffusing themselves even in England. That this fact, if known (and it is hardly possible it could have been unknown), should not have formed an insuperable objection with the king, proud of his title of "Defender of the faith," is one of the many strange circumstances in this complicated affair, and which with the rest compels us to believe that above the passions, conflicting schemes, and selfish desires of mortals, there was One who was working out secretly, yet surely, though by means which men could neither understand nor perceive, His purposes of mercy to this favoured land.

The pope gave a favourable hearing to Henry's secretary, and at first seemed prepared to comply with the request; but fearing the displeasure of the emperor, whose prisoner he then was, he suggested a course which was evidently influenced by his natural timidity, and his unfortunate position. This advice Henry and his ministers thought it best to decline, and to request a more decided line of policy. But this Clement was afraid to adopt, especially as Charles, learning what was being attempted, had thoroughly worked upon his fears. Thus commenced a course of evasion with the pope, menace with the emperor, and increasingly importunate solicitation from Henry, which seemed likely to be interminable. Wolsey, who was intimately associated with every movement—in the application, unquestionably felt that his vast powers, and numerous resources, were inadequate to the exigencies of his position. The queen was prejudiced against him for the part he had taken in the earlier stages of the cause; between him and Anne

there was sure to be a dislike, and this dislike neither affected to conceal. His pride and extortion had made him enemies, both numerous and determined; and the king at last opening his eyes to his real character, could not but perceive that the double-dealing policy which the cardinal had always employed was now used to his detriment. Wolsey saw, or thought he saw, matters rapidly tending to his ruin, but yet knew not how to avert the catastrophe. Such is the insufficiency of mere worldly wisdom, when perplexities arise: like the shifting sand when the storm threatens, it is certain destruction to those who have no other refuge.

In this perplexing investigation the question of righteousness appears to have obtained very little real attention. It was a game of finesse, where each player was anxious to checkmate his opponent, and every manœuvre that profound ingenuity and practised chicanery could suggest was tried; for which few were more fitted, if indeed any could be said to be so, than cardinal Wolsey. But the wisdom of the wise failed; the diviner, if not mad, became confounded, and the lofty ambition of a life-long labour tottered to its fall.

The immediate occasion of Wolsey's incurring the royal displeasure, appears to have been his arrogant behaviour to Suffolk, at one of the meetings respecting the divorce. The dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, with others of the highest nobility, represented that the cardinal was never sincere in the affair, except as a means of strengthening the French alliance; and that with this object in view, he had received several bribes from Francis. Henry, whose impetuous temper could ill brook the delay, listened to these statements with a willing ear, and so encouraged the enemies of the minister to persevere.

Soon after the king set out on a progress accompanied by Anne. Wolsey followed, and was received with the affection and familiarity with which his master had always treated him; but on the following day he was ordered back to London, and never met the king again. The storm was now clearly about to burst, and Wolsey, so long paramount in the realm, at once yielded to what he foresaw was his inevitable destiny. Charged by Hales, the attorney general, with exercising the functions of

pope's legate in England, and with having thus violated the law of the land, he pleaded guilty, threw himself on the royal mercy, and transferred his immense wealth to the crown. This however did not satisfy his foes ; for Norfolk and Suffolk waited upon him at York-place, and told him that the king designed to reside there himself, and demanded from him the great seal. With the former demand Wolsey submissively intimated his readiness to comply ; but refused to part with the seal, unless he saw and received a royal commission for so doing. This was easily obtained, and the next day he resigned the insignia of office ; and having given an inventory of all his possessions, left his palace, and entering a barge, followed by the hootings of a vast multitude who expected that he was going to be sent to the Tower, he went up the river to Putney, that he might retire to his estate at Esher.

Some remaining affection was yet working in the heart of Henry for his old favourite, and he sent Sir John Norris after him with a ring which he had taken off his finger, accompanying the gift with a kind message. Elated by this circumstance, Wolsey, who was riding from Putney to Esher, threw himself off his mule, and kneeling in the mire, pulled off his cap, and gave thanks to God for the cheering words ; assuring the messenger that they were worth half a kingdom : and with many other expressions of servile adulation, resumed his journey. So utterly had the loss of royal favour prostrated the man who but a short time before was regarded as all-powerful by pope, emperor, and mighty kings. Happy had it been for Wolsey could he have said with the Psalmist, "I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right, and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me."

In his retirement at Esher he brooded over his misfortunes with continual sighs and tears ; he even wrote abject letters to the king, beseeching him in the most humiliating terms to receive him again to his favour. But to all these supplications Henry remained insensible, till he heard that his grief had thrown him into a low fever which threatened his life ; he then appeared to feel somewhat of his old kindness, and sent the royal physicians to attend him, and also some presents as proofs

of his friendship; taking him also under his protection when the suits, commenced in the court of King's Bench, were determined against him.

1529.—At this period the perplexed state of affairs compelled the king to summon a parliament; and at its opening, the lords prepared a bill of impeachment against Wolsey, containing forty-four articles. This passed the upper house with very slight opposition, although many of the articles served rather to establish the determined enmity of his foes, than to demonstrate the guilt of the accused. Being signed by fourteen peers, and the law officers of the crown, it was sent down to the commons, where it was most vigorously opposed by Thomas Cromwell, who had been in the confidential employment of the cardinal, and afterwards occupied so important a position in the service of the king. To ensure the success of their schemes, his enemies laid an indictment against him, to the effect that he had violated a statute of Richard II., called the statute of provisors; and that he had unlawfully obtained bulls from Rome, in virtue of which he had exercised excessive power and authority. Wolsey pleaded ignorance, and the king's licence; nevertheless it was determined that sentence should be passed upon him, and "that he was out of the king's protection, his lands and goods forfeited, and that his person might be committed to custody." But all these efforts failed to alienate Wolsey utterly from the royal favour; the king not only pardoned him, but made him presents worth £6000, and moreover restored to him the see of York. Compelled to remove further from the court, he proceeded to Cawood castle, in Yorkshire, and having repaired the palace and made it fit for his residence, he prepared for the ceremony of his installation; designing that it should be conducted with the magnificence to which he had been so long accustomed. The day was fixed, every thing was arranged, when on the Friday preceding the Monday on which the event was to take place, he was, while sitting at dinner, arrested on a charge of high treason. The earl of Northumberland, to whom the commission had been entrusted, was much affected in the execution of his errand; but Wolsey, astounded and utterly crushed by this new calamity, gave way to the most undignified

weakness, and mingled his tears with his bitter lamentations. He had now nothing to do but commence his sad journey to London; but so completely had the severe reverse of his fortunes affected him, that on reaching Sheffield park, he was confined to his bed for a fortnight with dysentery. Partially recovering, he reached Leicester abbey, weak, way-worn, and utterly prostrated in spirit. Meeting the monks at the gate, he exclaimed to the abbot, "Father, I am come to lay my bones among you," and so the event proved. Carried up to his bed, he suffered from extreme exhaustion; and in three days passed away into the presence of that God who judges rightly.

Thus terminated the career of one of the most extraordinary men this country ever produced. Born in a condition of obscurity, he brought himself into notice by the exercise of the vast mental capacity which he unquestionably possessed: the greatness he attained was "achieved, not thrust upon him." He made his importance to be felt by the master minds which were then conducting the world's affairs; Charles, Francis, and Henry, were not the men to yield to the influence of one who was only a gilded puppet: they saw that he had regal powers, and they readily accorded him a chief place in their councils. His error was lawless ambition; it was not that he sought to excel others, but that he was so devoted to the end, as to be indifferent to the means. That Wolsey might be exalted, that Wolsey might be paramount in England, that Wolsey might wear the papal tiara, were the exclusive purposes of his life. His policy was extensive, comprehensive, sagacious, and sometimes in advance of his age; but it always aimed at self-exaltation. Hence his vacillating measures with Charles and Francis, hence his assiduous management of the impetuous Henry—his pompous displays—his multifarious offices—his incessant toil—his versatility of character; and verily he had his reward. But after all what was it worth? his glory faded, his wealth passed away, his reputation was exchanged for the execrations of all, except the few who, brought into daily intercourse with him, learned to appreciate and to love the better features of his nature; and the lofty fabric of worldly power which

he had so sedulously erected, ended in the humble grave at Leicester abbey, to which on the 29th of November, 1529, he was committed without any ceremony, in the sixtieth year of his age. Well might he exclaim, as he is reported to have done, to Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had him under his care, "Ah! master Kingston, this I will say,—had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for my pains and diligence, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." How unlike this to the language of the apostle Paul, when in the prospect of martyrdom he cried, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." (2 Timothy iv. 6–8.)

Other hands had now to guide the vessel of state amid the stormy waves of politics which then raged. Henry received the news of Wolsey's death at first with some indication of feeling; but absorbed in the question of his projected divorce from Catherine, he soon forgot his long-cherished favourite. At the time the great seal was taken from the cardinal, a new cabinet had been formed, of which churchmen, hitherto almost exclusively employed in offices of state, were not permitted to form a part. In this council the leading persons were the duke of Norfolk, uncle to Anne Boleyn; Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law; and the father of Anne, viscount Rochford, soon afterwards created earl of Wiltshire: the chancellorship being given to Sir Thomas More, a man eminent for his learning and honesty, but strongly attached to the doctrines and discipline of Rome.

The parliament of 1530 deserves notice for the various wise and useful laws which they introduced and carried, for the firm stand they made for their constitutional rights, and for the measures they adopted to restrain the extending encroachments of the church: they granted such supplies to the crown as the exigencies of the times

required, and gave the king a discharge for all the debts he had contracted during his reign. These facts show that Henry was still held in repute by the people; while there does not appear any ground for the charge of slavish subserviency, often brought against the national assemblies of this reign, at least so far as this parliament is concerned.

The question of the divorce made but little progress; the timidity of the pope preventing him from giving a decision either way, while the ingenuity of his legates, and other ecclesiastical officers, supplied him with plausible reasons for protracting the discussion. Catherine once appeared in court, but refused to plead, and afterwards refused to obey any citation; but constantly appealed to Rome, to which city the cause was soon after removed. Charles, who was now at leisure—a general peace having been arranged—was watching the proceedings with all the interest of a relative, and all the haughty spirit of imperial pride; while Henry, increasingly impatient, was yet utterly at a loss to find a suitable expedient by which to extricate himself from his perplexities. A suggestion was however soon offered which appeared likely to bring the matter to a more speedy issue. This suggestion was, that the question of the validity of the marriage should be referred to the different universities, to be discussed and determined by the authority of the word of God, without any further reference to the pope. It was argued that if these learned bodies agreed as to the validity of the marriage, the king could not have any more scruples on the matter; but if they determined that the union was contrary to the word of God, the pope could not hesitate any longer, but would feel himself compelled to pronounce the divorce; and thus the agitation, which threatened such serious consequences, would cease.

Apart from the bearing which this advice had upon the question in hand, we cannot but observe the strong tendency it had to exalt the sacred scriptures to their appropriate place as the only rule of faith and practice; a principle, which if sanctioned by the practical acknowledgment of the learned bodies of Europe in this affair, was likely to be admitted, as it deserved and demanded

to be, to its position of universal authority. Thus was the wisdom of the great God overruling the passions and plans of men for the accomplishment of his own purposes, and making even the evils of the human heart instrumental in working out his praise.

The suggestion, so soon after adopted, emanated from one then little known—Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge, eminent while at the university for the extent of his learning, and the amiable spirit of his life; but at the time of our history filling the humble position of tutor in the family of a gentleman named Cressy. Dr. Gardiner, the secretary to the king, and Dr. Fox, being on a visit to this person, the conversation as a matter of course turned upon the all-absorbing question of the king's marriage; when Cranmer, who was present, delivered his opinion, and recommended the course we have described. Struck with the suggestion, Gardiner reported it to the king; by whom Cranmer was summoned to court, and commanded to prepare in writing a detailed view of his opinions as to the plan most expedient to be pursued. Being appointed soon after chaplain to the king, he commenced that career which was to have so intimate a relation to the future progress of the reformation in England.

CHAPTER V.

The Fearful Struggle.—A.D. 1515—1643.

FRANCE.

FRANCIS I. — EVENTS OF HIS REIGN. — HENRY II. — PERSECUTION OF THE REFORMATION AT HOME. — BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN. — CALAIS RECOVERED TO FRANCE. — THE HOUSE OF GUISE. — THE CONSPIRACY AT AMBOISE. — FRANCIS II. — MARRIAGE WITH MARY OF SCOTLAND. — CHARLES IX. — CATHERINE DE MEDICI. — STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS. — THE KING OF NAVARRE. — MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY. — INDIGNATION OF THE PROTESTANT STATES. — DEATH OF CHARLES. — HENRY III. — THE "EDICT OF PACIFICATION." — THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE. — BANISHMENT OF THE GUISES FROM COURT. — HENRY'S FLIGHT. — ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF GUISE. — ASSASSINATION OF HENRY. — HENRY IV. — VICTORIES OF ARQUES AND IVRY. — REVIEW OF HIS REIGN. — HIS ASSASSINATION. — LOUIS XIII. — CONFLICTS OF THE HUGUENOTS. — GOVERNMENT OF RICHELIEU. — HIS DEATH. — LOUIS XIV.

THE principal events of the reign of Francis I. are so mingled with the histories of Charles V. of Germany, and Henry VIII. of England, that it would be superfluous to repeat them here. From 1515, when he ascended the throne, to 1547, when he died, he was engaged in an almost incessant struggle with his neighbours, especially with Charles. Frank, brave, chivalrous, he appears to have been well fitted to sustain his position in that busy age: as ambitious as his great rival, the emperor, he offered an effectual check to those schemes of universal empire which Charles evidently strove to realize. Their mutual struggles in Italy were injurious to them both, and the result of false policy. The independence of the Italian peninsula might have been an effective barrier

to the house of Austria; but the attempt to subjugate it was, and could be, only productive of bloodshed and desolation to the fair provinces; while the combatants exhausted each other in useless strife. Though as firmly attached to the Romish church as Charles, and perhaps more sincerely so, Francis assisted the protestants against their imperial master; but that was in his case, as in case of some of his successors, simply the expedient of political wisdom, and not the result of preference, which is proved by the fact that these heretics, as they were universally esteemed, were fiercely persecuted by him in his own country.

Looking back to the stirring events of that age, we may see plainly that the occupation of these rival monarchs with their ambitious projects afforded time and opportunity for the principles of truth to grow, until they acquired a strength, which not all the storms of persecution could possibly destroy: just as in the early ages of Christianity, while the mighty of the earth were indulging in their dreams of worldly ambition, the seed grew men knew not how, until its deep hold and wide-spread branches, defied all the powers of earth and hell to uproot it.

In his domestic life, Francis appears to have been by no means happy: his eldest son was supposed to have been poisoned by his cup-bearer, Montecuculi, but the fact is uncertain. His own character in social life was not such as to secure domestic peace and order; and he introduced into his court those habits of profligacy and licentiousness, which in subsequent reigns were so fully developed. His conduct in relation to the treaty which he made with the emperor when a captive at Madrid, cannot be justified on any principle of morality. To plead that he made the promise and confirmed it by an oath under the pressure of trial, with a mental reservation, if allowed, would sap the foundations of all truth, and encourage any scheme of deception that appeared expedient. In the case of Francis, without justifying the severity of Charles, it is evident that he was as little bound by his own favourite asseveration, "*Foi de gentil-homme,*" as he was by the requirements of the word of God. One of the characteristics of a good man is, "he

swearth to his own hurt, and changeth not." (Ps. xv. 4.) Many of the wars which followed, and which desolated so many fair regions, were the direct result of a perjury which one who claimed to be influenced by the honour of a gentleman deliberately perpetrated; and for the commission of which the pope, the professed representative of the Lord on earth, offered him a dispensation.

1547.—Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, was a weak prince, having none of the shining qualities which distinguished his father. As in the case of the previous reign, the contests between the ancient catholic powers, and those who favoured the struggling efforts for a reform in the doctrines and discipline of the church, still agitated the nations of Europe. Henry, like his father, and most probably from the same motives of political expediency, persecuted the reformation at home, and encouraged it abroad. Having made peace with England, who restored Boulogne to him in 1550, on condition of the payment of 400,000 crowns by France, he consented to assist Maurice, elector of Saxony, and Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, then contending with Charles for the civil and religious liberties of Germany, and gained some battles, until the treaty of Passau brought relief to the exhausted combatants.

After the abdication of Charles war again broke out between France, and Philip, his son and successor: when the battle of St. Quentin in Flanders, so completely shook the kingdom, that for a time it was feared that it was utterly ruined, and universal alarm seized the people. But Philip neglecting to follow up his advantage, public confidence was in some degree restored; and yet more so when in the following year, Calais, which for two hundred years had been in the power of England, was recovered to France, to which it naturally belongs. This important conquest, so valuable to Henry, and so mortifying to Mary of England, was effected by the duke of Guise, whose family was rapidly attaining a position and influence which lasted for a considerable time, and connected its members with most of the stirring events of the following years. Claude, the founder of this illustrious house, was the fifth son of René II., duke of Lorraine. After contending with his elder brother for the

succession to the ducal authority he came to France in 1513; where marrying Antoinette de Bourbon, he thus became allied to the royal family of the kingdom; and his grand-daughter, the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, having married the dauphin, afterwards Francis II., the weight of the house of Guise soon became immense, and sufficient to affect national affairs to a very considerable extent. Francis, the most eminent of the family, who was born in 1519, and succeeded to the title on the death of his father Claude, in 1550, had with his brother Charles, the cardinal of Lorraine, the principal direction of the government in the reigns of Henry II., and Francis II. It was by their influence the disputes of Scotland with England were fomented, and their niece the youthful Mary brought to France, betrothed to Francis, and subsequently married.

So great had become the power of this house, that a conspiracy was afterwards formed at Amboise* to limit their authority, but failed of success; and they continued an influence, which was increased by the weakness of those who usually held the reins of government, during many years. It was Francis, the second duke, who succeeded, as we have just seen, in wresting the last possession of England on the French soil from their hands.

In 1559, Henry married his sister Margaret to the duke of Savoy, and gave his young and lovely daughter, Isabel, to the gloomy Philip II., king of Spain, who had lost his second wife, Mary, queen of England, in the previous year. To celebrate these marriages with all due honour, great rejoicings were held, and fêtes and pageants were the prevailing occupation of the Parisians. Amongst these the favourite pastime of a tournament was of course not to be omitted, and knights and noblemen assembled from all parts to try their skill in this mimic contest. High-born dames looked down upon the martial array, and encouraged the combatants with their smiles and the usual prizes of success; all was hilarity and pleasure, when an accidental blow from a broken spear of the

* Amboise, in the department of Indre-et-Loire, remarkable as the place where the protestants first received the name of "Huguenots," as a term of reproach. The derivation of the word is uncertain. Dr. Johnson derives it from *signots*, signifying confederation.

count of Montgomery wounded the king in his right eye, from the effects of which he sickened and died shortly after.

Protestantism made considerable progress in France during this reign, and many leading noblemen and others adopted it; amongst whom were the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligny, and his brother Andelot.

It was at the death of Henry II., the conspiracy of Amboise was planned by the prince of Condé. The object of this plot was the destruction of the house of Guise, whose cruelty and intolerance were regarded by the protestants as the main cause of their sufferings. Its detection was followed by the massacre of such of the leaders as could be secured, and the barbarous punishment of all the inferior members; but those against whom it was directed became more dominant than ever.

Francis II., the brother of Henry, was a prince of weak and sickly frame, whose reign ended within a year. The only important event was his marriage with Mary of Scotland, who was thus early called to drink the cup of sorrow, by the loss of the only husband to whom she seems to have been really attached, and who had a real affection for her. Charles IX., who succeeded his brother in 1560, was but ten years of age when he came to the throne; the regency was therefore entrusted to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, a woman who had all the vices of her family, associated with their intellectual power; ambitious, cruel, and indifferent as to the means by which she accomplished her designs, she covered all with a dissimulation so complete as utterly to deceive those with whom she came in contact, and this rendered her a fitting instrument for those deeds of horror in which she took so conspicuous a part.

The fierce contentions of the catholics and protestants, both so powerful, increased by the laws against heresy lately revived by Francis at the instigation of the duke of Guise, kept the court and the kingdom in constant agitation; which the imprisonment of the king of Navarre and his brother the prince of Condé, was not calculated to allay. The sudden death of Francis had interrupted but not settled these disputes, and therefore they neces-

sarily engaged the attention of Catherine. Equally jealous of the Guises and the Condés, and probably perfectly indifferent to the religion of either; while seeking only the establishment of her own power, she resolved to adopt a temporising policy, and play the leaders of the two parties against each other, and thus if possible keep all under her control; thus, like too many of the wise of this world, substituting uncertain expediency for the dictates of righteousness and truth.

In pursuance of this plan, she caused an ecclesiastical assembly to be held at Poissy, which gave toleration to the protestants. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were set at liberty, the former appointed lieutenant of the kingdom, and the latter recalled to the court; thus the Guises, though still possessed of great power, found a counterpoise to their influence. So far the arrangement seemed to promise well; but the intemperate zeal of the duke soon disturbed it, and threw the nation into a flame. Some of his servants having assaulted a number of protestants at Vassey, a tumult ensued, and sixty protestants were slain. Both parties now proceeded to decide their quarrels by the sword. Coligny headed the protestants, who were joined by 1000 Germans of the same faith; while the catholics, ranging themselves beneath the guidance of the duke, were assisted by an army sent by Philip of Spain, ever ready to engage in defence of Rome. Fourteen armies were levied in different parts of the kingdom, and the conflict raged with the greatest violence. The king of Navarre, who with Montmorency had joined the Guises, was slain at the siege of Rouen; while Condé, his brother, having joined the protestants, sought the help of queen Elizabeth. Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lyons, Tours, and other principal cities, being in the hands of the Huguenots, the duke determined to attempt their reduction. He therefore himself conducted the siege of Orleans; and while so engaged, was assassinated by a protestant named Poltrot. His loss was the most severe that could have befallen the catholic cause, from the extent of his military skill, and the influence he had upon his followers. A disposition to come to terms was therefore soon displayed; but not before many severe engagements, with varying success to each party. The

nation was exhausted, its prosperity impeded, and lives in vast numbers were sacrificed. Hence it was resolved to offer to make some arrangement with the protestants, and a peace was agreed on; but as the event proved, it was but a treacherous expedient adopted by the catholics, to lull their opponents into a false security, until those measures were matured which might more effectually repress the awakening of the human mind, and bring the country completely under the power of superstition and bigotry.

In 1568, at an interview between Catherine and the king her son, with his sister the young queen of Spain, and her attendant the notorious duke of Alva, negotiations were entered upon for the general destruction of the Huguenots, concealed by the festivities with which the meeting was celebrated; and the subsequent tragedy was said to have been then arranged. Whether this was really the case is uncertain: if the plan was formed, perfect secrecy was necessary for its success, and therefore Catherine and her worthless son still continued to pursue their seeming neutrality; and Alva, the willing instrument of the cruel Philip, represented himself as the head of the French catholics. But no subterfuge could completely conceal the danger which threatened, and the protestants betook themselves to arms. Several battles ensued, followed by a peace which was as deceitful as the former, and as quickly broken by a scheme formed by the queen-mother for seizing the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligny; which was frustrated only by the flight of both to Rochelle. In the battle of Jarnac which followed, the catholics triumphed under the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Condé was taken and murdered. The young princes of the house of Navarre now assumed the command, under the guidance of the admiral, and were met by the young duke of Guise, who inherited the military skill and religious bigotry of his father. Thus was the conflict handed down from one generation to another, and no hope of accommodation dawned upon the afflicted land of France.

But the plots of Charles, Catherine, and Philip, were now ripe; and to bring the victims within the toils which had been prepared, Charles, who was as perfidious and

bigoted as his mother, pretended an earnest desire for the establishment of a lasting peace, and proposed a marriage between the young king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., and his sister, Margaret of Valois; this was to take place in August, 1572, and sanguine hopes were indulged of its happy results. At the appointed time, Coligny, his son-in-law Teligni, and all the leaders of the protestants, were invited to Paris. Rejoicings and festivities were indulged in to an unusual extent; the whole city was given up to gaiety and pleasure, all classes seemed to hope that the age of bloodshed was closed, and that a marriage so happily celebrated was the harbinger of a peaceful and prosperous future for a country so long the scene of internecine war. It is true that the dowager queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court, and the aged Coligny dangerously wounded by an assassin; but Charles by his dissimulation, and Catherine with her treacherous smiles, contrived to give some plausible explanation of these untoward occurrences, and the protestants were lulled into fatal security; when on the evening of the feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, the solemn toll of the bell gave the preconcerted signal, and a band of assassins, headed not only by the catholic nobility, but by Charles himself, rushed upon the unsuspecting Huguenots, and aided by the Parisians, commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of all who were, or who were suspected to be, friendly to the reformed faith. Age, sex, social position, moral worth, were all disregarded in this carnival of blood. Shrieks, groans, imprecations, cries for mercy, resounded on every side; the streets of Paris flowed with human blood, and where resistance was attempted the savage ferocity of the assailants knew no bounds. Scarcely a dwelling but was the scene of death or deadly strife; those who were aroused from their repose by the din of surrounding violence, were suddenly cut down by the furious bigots; and when compelled to stop for the want of living victims, the hellish fury that was awakened strove to satiate itself by the barbarous indignities which were perpetrated on the dying and the dead, and licentious brutality reigned supreme. In that awful night Coligny, his son-in-law, and five hundred of the protestant nobility and gentry, besides nearly

ten thousand persons of inferior condition, were sacrificed to the Moloch of bigotry, and that in the name of religion. Who can refrain from saying with the dying Jacob, "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel." (Genesis xlix. 7.) Not satisfied with this wholesale slaughter at Paris, orders were sent to all the principal cities to pursue the same course, and in all the great towns of the kingdom the work of blood was renewed with undiminished fury, the carnage went on without pity and without remorse, until, according to the best computation, more than sixty thousand persons perished in this fearful tragedy. The newly-married king of Navarre and his brother the prince, were by the duke of Guise proposed to be slain, but spared on condition of renouncing the protestant faith.

These iniquitous proceedings, so far from crushing the Huguenots, only aroused them to more determined resistance. We may form some idea of the wide extent of the protestant party in France at this time, when we learn that notwithstanding the multitudes slain, and the vast numbers who residing on the frontiers of the kingdom were able to escape into England, Germany, or Switzerland, or who shut themselves up in the towns in the interior, they were yet able to bring an army of eighteen thousand men into the field, and held possession of more than a hundred cities, towns, castles, or fortresses. The news of the massacre was soon carried to the different courts of Europe. The pope, Gregory XIII., ordered public rejoicings and thanksgivings for the occurrence; while Philip of Spain fell into an ecstasy of joy at the event. The protestant states were aroused to the utmost indignation; Elizabeth put her court into mourning, and when the French ambassador sought an audience to offer the hypocritical explanation with which he had been supplied, he was received with profound silence. These facts, which almost indicated an intention to invade France by a union of European powers, might have shown Charles that his conduct was as unwise as it was base, especially when he found himself unable to subdue the Huguenots who were in arms. Checked in several places, his armies under the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., besieged Rochelle for eight months, and after losing 24,000 men were con-

pelled to retire, and an advantageous peace was made with the citizens. But nothing seemed to have any influence on the hard and cruel heart of this bigoted young king. Condemned by all but those as base as himself, foiled in his schemes of violence and blood, suffering under a loathsome and mortal disease, he continued to crave after more extreme measures; until in the year 1574, he expired in the greatest agonies, in his twenty-fifth year, leaving a name branded with perfidy and cruelty.

Henry III., who had already given an unfavourable illustration of his administrative capability as king of Poland, succeeded his brother; and following the counsels of Catherine, the queen-mother, in her favourite policy of "divide and rule," still continued the vain endeavour of pitting one party against the other. But this plausible plan required a firmer hand and keener eye than Henry possessed, to secure its success. Instead of advancing the influence of the crown it diminished its legitimate authority, and thus increased the evil it was intended to repress.

Soon after he ascended the throne, he issued what was termed "the edict of pacification," offering the most attractive terms to the Huguenots; with whom his own brother, now duke of Anjou, was associated as leader, with the king of Navarre. Excited to indignation by these appearances of moderation, the duke of Guise and others of his party, formed the celebrated "catholic league," at the head of which Henry placed himself, fancying that he had sufficient skill and power to curb these violent spirits; but as formerly, persecutions and wars were the only results; the one party looking to the protestant Elizabeth of England, and the other to the monkish Philip of Spain. Peace was indeed arranged after a short period, but it was as treacherous as ever; the duke of Guise obliged the weak monarch to violate his royal promise almost as soon as it was given, till Henry, and Catherine also, wearied with the insolence and arrogance of the faction, banished all the Guises from the court. The duke without hesitation revolted, attacked the royal troops in Paris, and compelled Henry to flee. Hastening to Blois, he summoned the states-general; but the duke, who knew that they were mostly in

his interest, conducted himself in such an arrogant manner, that the king lost all patience, and resolved to get rid of his troublesome subject. Being however too pusillanimous to punish him in a constitutional form, he resorted to the dreadful expedient of assassination; and having obtained the services of nine Gascons, selected from his body-guard, they with their leader, Lagnac, being concealed in the royal closet, attacked the unhappy nobleman with their daggers, just as he was entering the king's apartment. Thus perished on the 23rd of December, 1588, Henry of Guise, a man of considerable talent, but of unbounded ambition. With the most determined hatred to protestantism, he unquestionably associated a design to dethrone the weak and unprincipled Henry III., and seize the throne himself. In both his plans he was encouraged and aided by the universal troubler, Philip of Spain; who from his cabinet in the Escorial, sent forth his plots, which kept the world in a constant state of agitation and strife. The day following the assassination of the duke, his brother, the cardinal, was arrested, and murdered in the prison. A son of the duke was cast into prison and detained there till 1591; when he escaped, and became with his uncle and cousin, of whom we shall have to speak shortly, the heads of the league against Henry IV.

The duke of Mayenne, who was absent when his brothers were assassinated, immediately declared war, and Henry, reduced to the utmost extremity, solicited and obtained the help of the king of Navarre, and the two monarchs besieged the rebellious nobleman in Paris, of which he had gained possession; when the king of France in his turn became the victim of an assassin, and closed his troubled reign under the knife of Clement, a Dominican monk, in 1589. Again the catholic world rejoiced, and Sixtus V. spoke of the deed in terms little short of blasphemy. Unfitted for his position by his mental incapacity, Henry complicated that position still more by the policy he attempted to follow. Wearied with the attempt to control the opposing parties, and naturally fond of pleasure, he next endeavoured to seduce his people into a constant whirl of dissipation, that thus he might deaden their interest in the more serious questions of

religion, and civil government; but he only succeeded in yet more enervating himself. He drank of the intoxicating cup of sensual enjoyment, until low disreputable favourites obtained a complete influence over him, and made him quite incapable of contending with the bold, bad men, who strove to wrest the sceptre from his feeble hand.

1589.—With Henry III. ended the line of Valois, which had held the throne of France for upwards of 260 years. Before he died Henry named the king of Navarre as his successor, telling him that he wished he might enjoy a more peaceable reign than he had; the young monarch therefore ascended the throne with the title of Henry IV. Only about half the kingdom admitted his claims at first, "the league" having proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon king as Charles X. It was clearly seen that the sword must still be appealed to, and the prospect of settled peace was yet far distant. The royal troops having retired on the death of the king, Henry IV. was obliged to raise the siege of Paris and march into Normandy, whither he was followed by the duke of Mayenne as commander of the troops of the league. Aided by troops and money sent him by Elizabeth, Henry turned upon his assailants, and gained the victories of Arques and Ivry. Making a fresh attack upon Paris, the prince of Parma was directed by Philip of Spain to leave the Netherlands and hasten to the relief of the city; thus the two most distinguished captains of the age were brought into opposition to each other. The prince compelled Henry to raise the siege; but refusing to risk a battle, he effected his retreat with a success which brought him as much renown as would have accrued from a victory. But we cannot record all the vicissitudes of this protracted struggle, which continued till all parties were wearied, and sighed for peace. Fearing that there was no prospect of final success so long as he continued to profess himself a protestant, Henry renounced that faith in 1593; and the states-general having met, his claims were calmly discussed. Philip, who all through the dispute had fomented the passions of both parties, in the hope of obtaining the crown for his daughter Isabel, niece of the late king, made a further attempt, but was

foiled by the determination of the states to uphold the Salic law, which excluded the succession of females; and Paris, Rouen, and other principal towns, received Henry as king: the pope granted him absolution for his previous heresies, and the dukes of Mayenne and Guise submitted, and became his firm friends. Every thing seemed to promise universal harmony, but it was not until 1598 that the whole of France yielded to his sceptre; when by the peace of Vervins, the baneful interference of Spain with French affairs was terminated, and, with the exception of a short campaign against the duke of Savoy, the remainder of this reign was unbroken peace.

Henry, by the splendour of his victories, had acquired to himself the title of "the great," and his various wise and efficient measures to restore the prosperity of his harassed and exhausted country, most certainly justified the propriety of the appellation. He reformed the administration of justice—restored order in the financial departments, which had become nearly bankrupt—restrained the factious spirit of the nobles—became the ally of England—fearlessly supported the independence of the United Provinces—defended the protestant states of Germany against the oppressive encroachments of the emperor, Rudolph II.,—and above all, published in 1598 the justly celebrated "edict of Nantes," by which perfect liberty was granted to the protestants for the profession of their faith.

In all these movements he was encouraged and aided by his minister Sully, who, apparently influenced by the personal experience of the reformed faith which he professed, was undoubtedly as faithful and efficient a servant as any prince was privileged to possess.

The conversion of Henry to the Romish church, while it excited much distrust with both the contending parties at the time, has produced considerable discussion since. Was he sincere, it has been asked, either in his protestantism or his catholicism? We are disposed to fear that unhappily in each case it was the adoption of a creed, rather than the surrender of the heart. Engaged in the camp from early youth, the religion of the Bible was, we are afraid, a matter with which he had but little personal concern; the one form or the other seems to have been a

creed and nothing more ; and when such is the case, however severe the judgment may seem, we never can attach to it the principle of genuine stability, and must look upon its moral worth as no better than the "sounding brass or the tinkling cymbal." To the close of his life his preferences were evidently with his former associates, whom he treated with a liberality which, had his profession remained unchanged, he would have exhibited quite as freely to the friends of Rome.

This reign, the first for a long series of years that had restored peace and prosperity to France, was terminated, amid the grief and indignation of all parties, by the dagger of the assassin Ravailac, in 1610, when he was meditating a scheme for humbling the house of Austria, which had produced the same strife among the nations of Europe, that the family of Guise had among the states of France.

1610.—Louis XIII., son of Henry, succeeded : the government was nominally conducted by his mother during his minority, but in reality by the unworthy favourites to whom she yielded. Fresh schemes of oppression were devised against the Huguenots, and new wars the result : the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise heading this afflicted people, their enemies were unable to prevail, and the edict of Nantes was confirmed in 1622.

During the greater portion of this reign the power was in the hands of the cardinal Richelieu, who aimed at reducing the power of the French nobility, and to some extent succeeded. The Huguenots were irritated into fresh resistance, and seizing Rochelle, refused to submit, until by the decisive measures of the cardinal, they could hold out no longer. Eager to humble the power of Austria, France afforded aid to Gustavus Adolphus in the thirty years' war, and thus helped forward the protestant cause, not from preference, but from political expediency.

The government of Richelieu was harsh and severe in the extreme : the queen mother was banished, her son, the duke of Orleans, obliged to beg his life at the hands of the haughty churchman, and Merillas and Montmorency, marshals of France, sacrificed to his despotism. Kingly power was but a name—every thing was left in the hands of the cardinal, who ruled, or it might be said, reigned, until December, 1642, when, just as he was

triumphing over Austria, he died, and Louis XIII. dying in the May of the year following, his son, Louis XIV., succeeded, whose busy age introduces us to an entirely new company of actors in the great drama of life.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reformation established.—A. D. 1535—1648.

GERMANY.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND. — ZWINGLE. — ATTEMPTS OF THE EMPEROR AT A UNIVERSAL MONARCHY. — THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. — EDICT OF WORMS. — THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG. — TREATY OF NUREMBERG. — DEATH OF LUTHER. — “THE INTERIM.” — MAURICE, MARQUIS OF MISNIA. — DECLINE OF THE POWER OF CHARLES. — RESIGNS THE CROWN. — HIS DEATH. — THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. — CREED OF POPE PIUS. — RISE OF THE JESUITS. — FERDINAND I. — MAXIMILIAN II. — RODOLPH II. — MAURICE. — FERDINAND II. — GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. — FERDINAND III. — TREATY OF WESTPHALIA. — WALLENSTEIN. — TURENNE, MARSHAL OF FRANCE. — DEATH OF FERDINAND. — ACCESSION OF LEOPOLD I.

THE reformation, although making rapid progress among the northern states of Germany, was not limited to that part of Europe. The Swiss, whom we have already described (Vol. VI. p. 361), were favoured with the enjoyment of clearer light than had hitherto visited their quiet valleys, about the same time that Luther began his great work. Indeed, somewhat earlier, anxious enquiry after a purer faith arose in Glaris, Basel, Zurich, Berne, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, St. Gall, and the Grisons. Among the devoted band who laboured in the Helvetian republics we find Farel, Œcolampadius, Zwingle, Calvin, and others. Zwingle, whose name is so intimately connected with the efforts for reform in the cantons, was pastor first of Glaris, and subsequently

of Zurich; his rejection of the errors of the papal system, and his experience of the power of truth, was produced and sustained solely by the instrumentality of the New Testament, which he diligently perused with earnest prayer for divine illumination. For several years he laboured earnestly and faithfully in Zurich and in the neighbourhood; though not agreeing in all points with Luther, the matters of difference were not such as to hinder the efficacy of his preaching, indeed he was evidently in advance of Luther in some points. That his work was truly in accordance with scripture was proved by the abundant success with which it was followed, and the numbers who yielded themselves to the influence of spiritual religion in the several cantons. It is much to be regretted that Zwingli did not keep himself to his proper vocation; but forgetting the apostolic maxim that the weapons of the gospel are "not carnal, but mighty through God," in 1531 he headed a confederacy of the protestant cantons against those which adhered to the ancient faith; the results of which were the defeat of the reformers, the death of Zwingli, and the restoration of popery where previously it had declined. Calvin, Farel, and others, pursuing a different course, succeeded in establishing the reformed doctrine at Geneva, and materially helped to preserve it in several of the cantons.

In resuming the history of the reformation in Germany, a brief recapitulation is necessary.

1522.—Luther, when he returned from the Wartburg, found that several evils had sprung up during his absence, which required serious and determined opposition; among these the extravagances of the anabaptists were prominent. These turbulent demonstrations perilled the reformation both in Germany and Switzerland, and at last led to the horrors of the peasant war, which raged in 1524 and 1525, in which many lives were lost.

Luther continued by his writings and preaching to diffuse the light of a purer Christianity around him, while his own mind became more thoroughly emancipated from the prejudices of his early training, till the month of February, 1546, when this devoted and honoured servant of God was called to his rest. Ardent and impetuous in his disposition, Luther sometimes caused sorrow to his

friends, and grief to himself, by intemperate language : but the sincerity of his purpose and the genuineness of his piety were beyond suspicion. The importance of his work in connection with the progress of spiritual religion cannot be over-estimated ; it is felt by thousands in the present day,—he laboured, and we have entered into his labours. Single-handed, like the youthful David, he had assailed the Goliath of superstition, and succeeded ; and at his death, as the fruits of his faithful devotedness, many were ready to carry on the great enterprise ; but the reformation was now to assume a different phase to any previous one. Hitherto it had been advocated, sustained, and advanced, by the Christian endurance and activity of its friends ; but now it was to be the source of political strife and military struggle, and in this we believe is to be found the reason of its stopping in its onward career. Truth may diffuse itself like the light, or work like leaven, but it cannot be extended by the sword ; nevertheless Christianity has often been the means of preventing the spread of despotism, and preserving liberty to nations, even where its real character has been mistaken and its benefits overlooked. This was unquestionably the case in the struggles for the reformed faith ; but for which, we conceive nothing would have preserved Europe from falling into a condition of slavish subserviency to the despotism of Charles V.

This remarkable man seems to have aimed at extending his already vast dominions until he should have established a universal monarchy, and brought all the nations of Europe under his despotic rule. This he was well able to attempt in the existing condition of things ; Germany divided into a number of small states, with the exception of Austria, which was already beneath his sway, had no principle of cohesion sufficiently strong to unite them in any confederation to resist his encroachments. The papacy, which had once been supreme in the world, was but a tool in the hand of this crafty monarch, who used it to promote his own designs ; England and France were therefore the only powers that could make any successful resistance. The former however became too much occupied with the divorce question, and the ecclesiastical changes to which it led, to be regarded with much alarm.

France indeed had shown a disposition to dispute the emperor's claims in Italy; and the frequent wars which ensued with various success, but mainly to the advantage of Charles, had distracted the European nations; but at the same time, by diverting the attention of the emperor, had afforded opportunity for the spread of the reformation, and the gradual union of the reformers in the defence of their faith. The threatening attitude of the Turks also gave Charles cause for such constant vigilance, that he was prevented from giving that undivided attention which was required to stop the progress of what he, and many of the rulers of the world, esteemed a "new heresy." This "new heresy," however, proved the salvation of the empire from the imperial despotism which must otherwise have been its fate. The people made common cause with their princes, and the princes common cause with each other, in resisting the imperial encroachments; and the profession of the reformed faith proved the bond, without which every opposition must have failed. Thus, as in many other instances which have been recorded, were the passions and plans of ambitious men overruled, by Him "who sitteth on the circle of the earth," for the fulfilment of his own wise and gracious designs.

In the meantime the reformation had extended not only among the northern states of Germany, but to Bohemia, Sweden, Poland, Hungary, England, and France, while it was adopted by Albert of Brandenburg, the last grand master of the knights hospitallers, and the founder of the present kingdom of Prussia; but as Germany continued to be the scene of its earliest and mightiest struggles, we must briefly record the events that occurred in that empire.

1529.—In this year, by the efforts of the popish party, the edict of Worms was confirmed at a diet held at Spire, and all innovations in religion were forbidden. Against this decree the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of fourteen cities, entered their solemn and deliberate protest, and hence originated the term protestant, now so generally employed to designate the difference between the reformed and the catholic churches.

1530.—Thinking it desirable that some formal declaration of the views held by the reformers should be ex-

hibited, the form of faith usually termed the confession of Augsburg* was prepared by Luther, Melancthon, and others, and presented to the emperor at the diet held at Augsburg during this year. Various efforts were made to bring about a mutual arrangement, but the points in dispute were so many and so serious, that this was found to be impossible; and the affair ended by the decree of Worms being again confirmed, and coercive measures against the protestants being resolved on. Matters now assumed a threatening aspect, and to avert the danger the protestant princes met at Smalcald, in Franconia, and entered into a league for their mutual defence; the emperor, assailed by the Turks, and fearing that the kings of France and England might be induced to join the league, saw that it was necessary to adopt a temporizing policy, and therefore signed a treaty at Nuremberg, in 1532, and promised liberty of conscience until a general council could be called, the protestants on their part agreeing to help him against the Turks. Engaged in continual contests with the French, the Venetians, the Milanese, the popes, and the Turks, the emperor had no leisure to interfere with the rights of conscience, and the protestants not only enjoyed peace, but exacted several concessions from the haughty Charles.

1546.—Luther, who all through his active career had deprecated any attempt to spread the truth by the power of the sword, was now called to his rest, leaving nothing to his wife and family but the inheritance of his honoured name. Charles having renewed his treaty with the Turks, and closed the war with France by the peace of Crespi, thought the time was favourable for extending his authority in Germany, and bringing the princes into subjection. A pretence was soon found for resorting to arms. The council of Trent having been called, but constituted in such a manner as to prevent free and fair discussion, the protestants resolutely refused to attend it, and both sides prepared for an appeal to the sword. The immediate results of this struggle were unfavourable to the protestant cause; the elector of Saxony was taken prisoner,

* The confession of faith was signed by John, elector of Saxony, George, margrave of Brandenburg, Ernest, duke of Luneburgh, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, and the two imperial cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

and compelled to resign his dignities, which were conferred on Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, a protestant prince who had not joined the league; the landgrave of Hesse was also captured, and the confederacy then fell to pieces. Possibly Charles might now have made himself absolute in the empire, but fresh troubles breaking out he was again compelled to pause, till the death of his rival, Francis I., king of France, and the success of his efforts in suppressing a conspiracy at Genoa, which threatened serious results, left him again at liberty.

1548.—The council of Trent having been removed to Bologna, from the apprehension caused by a fever which appeared at the former place, and Charles being unable to get it back to Trent, drew up a form of faith and discipline called "the interim," which was to steer between protestantism and popery, but which inclined most decidedly to the latter. This he had presented to the diet at Augsburg, but it obtained favour with neither party; while it indicated an intention on the part of Charles to assume a power in ecclesiastical matters as great as that he was seeking in civil affairs. The feeling of distrust produced by this step was strengthened by his refusal to set the landgrave of Hesse at liberty, and publicly destroying the deed which his son-in-law Maurice, and the elector of Brandenburg, had executed on his behalf as securities, and yet more by his intrigues to get his son appointed king of the Romans, and thus to set aside the choice which the electors had made of his brother Ferdinand.

1552.—The princes were now convinced that it was imperatively necessary to restrain the ambitious designs of their emperor, and no one felt this more strongly than Maurice, the marquis of Misnia. Equalling Charles himself in dissimulation, he concealed his plans until he was appointed general of the imperial army: after some little time had been allowed to elapse, during which he secured the adherence of the other protestant princes, and arranged a treaty with Henry II. of France, he publicly avowed his design to secure the interests of the protestant faith, uphold the constitution of Germany, and deliver his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse, from prison. Henry II. strengthened him by a manifesto in which he states that

he was the "Protector of German liberty, and the captive princes."

So rapid were the movements of Maurice that he nearly captured the emperor, and so marked his success, that Charles was at last obliged to submit, and by signing the treaty of Passau restore peace to the empire, and concede entire freedom to the protestant faith.

1553.—Charles was now called to experience the mutability which belongs to all earthly schemes. Defeated in Lorraine, his influence in Tuscany destroyed, and Naples harassed by the Turkish fleet, he seemed to be rapidly falling from the lofty elevation he had so long maintained, while all was rendered yet more painful by the undutiful conduct of his son Philip. But at last peace was once more restored; a diet assembled at Augsburg, and arrangements usually called the "recess of Augsburg" established religious freedom in Germany, and for some years at least apparent cordiality between the conflicting religious parties was secured; when Charles startled the world by an act which is still to a great extent inexplicable save on the principle of disappointed ambition: suddenly checking himself in the career of worldly power, he gathered his nobles around him on the 25th of October, 1555, in the city of Brussels, and resigned the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, and the remainder of his vast dominions in Europe and America to his son, Philip II., whom he had already, on his marriage with Mary of England, invested with Naples and Sicily; then retiring from the scenes of his busy life he entered the monastery of St. Just, near the town of Placentia, in Spain, in February, 1556; where about eighteen months after, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, he died, leaving a name which cannot be forgotten, but which can never be remembered with pleasure.*

Few men have occupied so prominent a position in

* During the eighteen months Charles spent in the monastery of St. Just, he amused himself with gardening and various mechanical employments, which he alternated with the observances of a severe ascetic devotion. He was much distressed in mind by the undutiful conduct of his son Philip, to whom he had given up such vast dominions; but who displayed the most negligent indifference in the payment of the small allowance Charles had reserved for his support.

The details of his conduct in his retirement, and the extraordinary step he took of celebrating his obsequies before his death, will be found in Stirling's "Cloister Life of the emperor Charles V."

relation to the history of the world, and few have managed to fill that position with so little advantage either to themselves or their fellow men. Inheriting and elected to possessions greater than Roman monarch ever governed, with powers of mind of a superior order, and an adaptation for business which was never at fault, he was yet, from the selfishness of his aims, his dissimulation, and his want of moral virtues, viewed with constant distrust. He does not appear to have had a heart for friendship, and hence never to have made a friend. His deep-laid schemes of policy (which often led to his opposing truth itself), his numerous victories, all terminated in the sad wail of the Hebrew king, "Vanity of vanities ; all is vanity, and vexation of spirit."

Two memorable events which occurred during the reign of Charles deserve especial notice, from the relation they bore to the great struggle for religious freedom which was then agitating the world. The one was the appointment of the council of Trent—the other the rise of the society of Jesus, or as they are usually called, the Jesuits.

For many years the necessity for calling a general council had been urged alike by the friends and the opponents of the reformation ; even the leading reformers at the commencement of their career, had hoped that the interests of religion might be promoted by such an expedient ; and although they had renounced such expectations as a mere dream, as the light of scripture truth shone more powerfully upon their minds, there were yet many who still thought some important benefits might be secured. The sovereigns and states of Europe were anxious for such an assembly, being resolved to exert all their influence to obtain a thorough removal of the many gross abuses in ecclesiastical affairs which were in fact too obvious to be overlooked. The bishops were not unwilling on their part that some alterations might be effected, in the hope that they might recover the power, which the continually advancing encroachments of the monastic orders had so seriously curtailed. The popes were the objecting parties ; to keep things as they were was the prevailing policy of the Vatican : but the seething corruptions which every where existed, and the growing strength of public opinion, compelled even them to give

way; and at length, after many evasions, it was agreed that a general council of the church should be held.

The place fixed on for the meeting was Trent, a city of the Tyrol, on the confines of Germany and Italy, and by the authority of the pope, Paul III. The council was convened, not to secure a reformation of abuses, but to "obtain subsidies against the Turks, restore the Lutherans to the faith, suppress heresies, and punish the refractory." To such a purpose it was clear the protestants could not be parties; they accordingly resolved, without exception, to leave matters to take their course.

On the 13th December, 1545, this celebrated assembly met with much pomp and great appearance of solemnity. Three legates had been appointed to preside in the name of the pope; of these cardinal De Monte was to act as president. The first few weeks were spent in ceremonials and preliminary arrangements, and in January 1546, they entered more directly upon the business of the session; and the sittings of the council continued, with various interruptions, till 1564, a period of eighteen years. Intrigue, eloquence, and knowledge, were extensively displayed, and various decrees adopted, which, with certain modifications, have been received as canon law by the catholic states of Europe; but reform was as far off as ever.

"The council of Trent," says Mosheim, "was assembled, as it was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of its discipline, and reform the lives of its ministers. But in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions."

Pope Pius IV. issued a brief summary of the doctrinal decisions of the council, which is called "Pope Pius' Creed," and has ever since been regarded as an authoritative summary of the catholic faith.*

* After a statement of those doctrines which are held by all sections of professing Christians, it proceeds as follows:—

"I profess, also, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one; namely, baptism, confirmation,

The other event to which we alluded, was the rise of the Jesuits. This society owed its origin to Ignatius Loyola, the son of a nobleman, born at Guipuzcoa, in 1491. In his youth he was employed as a page in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards engaged in military pursuits till the thirtieth year of his age, when, while assisting to defend Pampeluna from the French, he was severely wounded in both legs; these wounds, and the painful operations he was compelled to undergo, made him a cripple for life. During his early years he had increased the naturally ardent and romantic tendency of his mind, by reading with avidity the romances of Spanish chivalry, founded on the conflicts of his nation with the Moors; and now in his long confinement he

eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony, and that they confer grace; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrifice.

"I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the catholic church, received and approved in the solemn administration of all the above-said sacraments.

"I receive and embrace all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

"I profess likewise, that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrifice of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the catholic church calls transubstantiation.

"I confess also, that under either kind alone, whole and entire Christ and a true sacrament is received.

"I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

"Likewise that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invocated; that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

"I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the mother of God, ever virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.

"I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

"I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolical Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

"I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared, by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize, all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected and anathematized, by the church.

"This true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N. promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life; and to procure, as far as lies in my power, that the same shall be held, taught, and preached, by all who are under me, or are entrusted to my care, by virtue of my office. So help me God, and these holy Gospels of God."

encouraged this romantic spirit to a degree of morbid intensity by studying works of mystical devotion, and the legends of the saints, until he resolved to emulate in his own life the wondrous virtues ascribed to a Dominic or a Francis. Retiring to a Benedictine monastery at Mount Serrat, he passed the night of the 24th of March, 1522, in the church of the "Holy Virgin" at that place, hung up his knightly arms, and in darkness and solitude vowed constant obedience to God and his church. Travelling barefoot to Rome and Jerusalem, he visited the spots rendered sacred by the Saviour's history. Feeling his need of education, he came eventually to Paris, where sharing his room with Le Fevre and Francis Xavier, he was strengthened by the intercourse to pursue his designs. Three other kindred spirits joining them, the six met on the 15th of August, 1534, in one of the subterranean chapels of Montmartre, and after receiving the sacrament from Le Fevre, who was a priest, they all took the vows of poverty, chastity, the care of Christians, and the conversion of infidels. Such was the humble commencement of an order which afterwards exerted so mighty an influence in the world, in upholding the power of Rome.

After some deliberation with the cardinals, Paul III. approved the plan, and granted a bull in 1540, authorizing the formation of the body under the name of "The society of Jesus." They were to be governed through a regular gradation of officers, by a head or president called "the General Superior," who was to be subject to the pope alone. They wore no monastic habit, but dressed in black, like the secular clergy; not being confined to cloisters, they were able to mix themselves up with all classes, and were soon found occupying courts, confessionals, pulpits, schools, in fact every position by which they might extend the power of the pope, implicit obedience to whom was the fundamental principle of the fraternity. Loyola dying in 1556, was succeeded as general superior by James Lainez, by whom the rules called "the constitutions of the society of Jesus," were chiefly drawn up. That by their influence the enfeebled power of popery obtained fresh life, is an unquestionable fact; indeed so remarkable was the revival that some see in it the predicted healing of the deadly wound inflicted on the beast,

in the visions of the Apocalypse. (Rev. xiii. 3.) Spreading themselves over the world, they were soon found in England, plotting against the protestant queen Elizabeth : they travelled as far as Japan, China, Abyssinia, and America ; no place was too distant, no enterprise too difficult, and we may add, no means too nefarious, where there appeared the slightest possibility of extending the power of their church. Their power at last became so mighty, and at the same time so mischievous, that it was necessary to suppress them.* It would, however, be unjust to withhold from some members of this community the praise of learning and even benevolence.

1558.—We now return to the events of the empire, where Ferdinand I. succeeded to his brother, Charles V. Of a peaceable disposition, he devoted himself to the duties of his station, and sought to promote the welfare of his subjects ; aiming especially at a settlement of the religious differences which had prevailed. By displaying a spirit of toleration to the protestants, who had become predominant in his Austrian dominions, he excited the wrath of the pope, Paul IV., who refused to perform the ceremony of his coronation. This haughty pontiff asserted that it belonged to him to alter and regulate the kingdoms, and declared in the presence of many persons, that he would not admit kings to be his companions, that they were but his subjects, and that he would tread them under his feet ; stamping on the ground with the impotent rage of fourscore years, to confirm this arrogant assumption. To such a man the peaceful spirit of Ferdinand was sure to be displeasing : but, leaving the pope to his pride, the emperor continued to labour for the good of the empire ; and after receiving in addition the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which reverted to him by the death of his brother-in-law, Louis, he ended his reign in 1564.

Under the rule of his son, Maximilian II., with the exception of a war with the Turks, the empire continued to enjoy peace. Though still adhering to the catholic faith, he permitted the Bible to be translated for the use of the Slavonians in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria.

* The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759 ; France, 1764 ; Spain, and Spanish America, 1767 ; the Two Sicilies, 1768 ; and in 1773, suppressed by the pope, Ganganelli. In 1801 they were restored by Pius VII., and in 1860 courteously dismissed from Sicily.

Protecting alike protestants and Jesuits, the latter repaid his kindness by poisoning him at Ratisbon, in 1576.

An equally pacific emperor succeeded in the person of his son Rodolph II.; but he, unlike his father, disregarded the claims of his subjects, while he devoted himself to amusements. The Jesuits, encouraged by his inactivity, attacked the protestants, who sought aid from the French king, Henry IV. The archduke Maurice, brother of Rodolph, usurped the crown of Hungary, and seized upon Austria and Bohemia, under pretence of helping the protestants, and in the midst of these events Rodolph died, and in 1615 was succeeded by Maurice, whose short reign of four years was only remarkable for the commencement of "the thirty years' war," which so fearfully ravaged the countries of Europe.

The immediate cause of this dreadful struggle was the determination exhibited by Maurice to crush the protestants, whom in the former reign he pretended to favour. The Bohemians and Hungarians took up arms; the last were soon subdued, but the Bohemians, having united themselves with the protestants of Silesia, Upper Austria, and other places, could not be so easily overcome.

1619.—This year, Ferdinand II., cousin to Maurice, succeeded to the imperial crown, and commenced a reign which has few parallels for cruelty and bloodshed. Under the cloak of religious zeal he spread ruin and devastation throughout his vast dominions by the means of his willing agents, while he indulged his unwarlike temper in the secure distance. Having been placed on the throne of Bohemia by Maurice, the Bohemians deposed him, declaring the dignity to be elective, and chose in his stead Frederick V., the elector palatine, son-in-law of James I. of England, while the Hungarians chose Bethelam Gabor, a prince of Transylvania, for their king. The emperor immediately attacked them, and the elector palatine, who had vainly hoped for help from his father-in-law, was driven not only from Bohemia, but also from his own dominions. The Hungarians were defeated, and Ferdinand seemed more powerful than ever: but these events were but the prelude to a general war, in which Spain, the archduke Albert, and the elector of Saxony, adhered to the emperor, and were opposed by the protestant

princes, the king of Denmark, and above all France. The influence of France was exerted, not from any preference for protestantism, of course, but because, as already stated, the sagacious Richelieu saw in this strife a prospect of humbling the power of Austria.

The battles which ensued were attended with varying success, but were more generally favourable to the imperialists; till Gustavus Adolphus, the great king of Sweden, came to the relief of the protestant cause, when the advantage was most decidedly on the other side, until the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, when, although Wallenstein the celebrated imperial general was beaten, Gustavus was slain. Still so determined was Sweden to crush the power of the emperor and secure the interests of religious freedom, that Oxenstierna, the regent of that country, pursued the war with the same spirit; while France, having made an alliance with Holland, not only sent an army into Germany, but attacked Spain. Still there appeared no prospect of closing the fierce conflict, when, in 1637, the emperor, who instigated by the Jesuits had originated this war, died, after having sacrificed, it is computed, about ten millions of lives to his cruel fanaticism.

1637.—Ferdinand III., who now assumed the imperial diadem, was a weak and insignificant prince, but his generals still continued to sustain the war; until Torstenson, who had succeeded to the command of the Swedish armies, threatening to march on Vienna, the timid Ferdinand and his empress fled, and at last in the year 1648 signed the famous treaty of Westphalia; and thus this famous contest, which had agitated Europe from the confines of Poland to the mouth of the Scheldt, and from the Po to the Baltic, for thirty years, was brought to a close.

Millions of lives had been sacrificed, fair countries had been devastated, and all but depopulated, commerce, industry, and religion, had been retarded in their advance, and the fiercest passions of the human heart had been displayed, under the miserable pretence of advancing the glory of God, and upholding his cause. So is it when hypocrisy takes the place of piety, and human forms are substituted for the power of that kingdom which is "righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost."

By the treaty of Westphalia certain territorial arrangements were made for the satisfaction of all parties. Towns and cities were ceded to France and Sweden, to indemnify them from loss, and the German princes and electors obtained the possessions of which they had been deprived; but the most important results were the confirmation of the pacification of Passau, and the independence of Switzerland, which was then declared for the first time, after repeated efforts to obtain it. The government of the empire was arranged and settled upon more definite principles, and the freedom of religious profession in Germany asserted and secured. Such were the immediate and direct results of this famous treaty, but indirect consequences of much importance resulted which deserve a passing notice. The art of negotiation, as it may be justly termed, was here brought to a greater degree of perfection than it had ever previously obtained; instead of following the old plan of mutual attempts to overreach and deceive, the aim in the congresses which preceded this treaty appears to have been to arrive at an honest and equitable determination, in which they evidently succeeded.

Another result which ensued from these discussions was a perception of the importance of what has since been called the balance of power, by which the weak amongst the nations might be effectually protected, and the powerful restrained from those aggressive schemes of ambition which are too frequently indulged.

The value of such arrangements cannot be over-estimated; and if always attempted and secured by negotiations such as were conducted at Osnaburg and Munster, prior to the peace of Westphalia, would meet with the approval of all those who take the scriptures of truth as their guide in morals as well as in doctrine; but too frequently, alas! the balance of power has been sought by the horrors of war, and the fierceness of mortal strife.

During this war, names which have obtained a place in history continually occur, as Wallenstein, the unfortunate yet eminent servant of a despotic master. Having been unjustly suspected, he retired from the service of Ferdinand II.; but being again, in the extremity of the emperor, summoned to his aid, he obeyed, and was rewarded with assassination by royal command for his fidelity.

Turenne, marshal of France, found in these wars a school where he was trained for the work he was afterwards called to perform. By his skill he saved his army from utter destruction in Swabia, and materially helped the final discomfiture of the schemes of Austria. But it was especially by the aid of the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus, Oxenstierna, and Torstenson, that German liberty and religious freedom triumphed at last. But for their help the German princes must have been crushed before their mighty antagonist, and were notwithstanding all their bravery failing in the struggle, until twelve years after the commencement of the war, Gustavus came to their relief.

The motive of Richelieu, and after him of Mazarin, in connecting France with the quarrel was purely political, and aimed at acquiring an influence in the affairs of Germany, which the many struggles of Francis I. with Charles never succeeded in producing; thus do various motives urge men to follow out their own designs, while they are unconsciously developing His purposes who is "wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working."

1657.—After signing the treaty, Ferdinand relapsed into his native insignificance, and died; and was succeeded by his son, Leopold I., a worthless prince, whose history must be deferred for the present.

CHAPTER VII.

The Royal Marriages.—A. D. 1532—1553.

ENGLAND.

DECISIONS OF THE UNIVERSITIES ON THE DIVORCE QUESTION.—RUPTURE WITH THE POPE.—EXECUTIONS OF FISHER AND MORE.—DEATH OF QUEEN CATHERINE.—CHARGES AGAINST ANNE BOLEYN.—HER EXECUTION.—JANE SEYMOUR.—BIRTH OF EDWARD VI., AND DEATH OF JANE.—THOMAS CROMWELL.—HIS ARREST AND EXECUTION.—ANNE OF CLEVES.—DIVORCE OF ANNE.—CATHERINE HOWARD.—HER EXECUTION.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS.—EXECUTIONS OF THE EARL OF SURREY AND THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.—CATHERINE PARR.—THE KING'S DEATH.—REVIEW OF HIS CHARACTER AND PROCEEDINGS.—EDWARD VI.—THE DUKE OF SOMERSET PROTECTOR.—CAMPAIGN IN SCOTLAND.—EXECUTION OF LORD SEYMOUR.—SOMERSET SUPPLANTED BY WARWICK.—EXECUTION OF SOMERSET.—DEATH OF EDWARD.—EVENTS IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND DURING THE TWO REIGNS.

1532.—THE appeal to the universities of Europe, promised to issue in a final decision of the question of the validity of the king's marriage with Catherine, as those learned bodies at Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Bologna, pronounced it contrary to the word of God, and therefore invalid: Oxford and Cambridge were much divided in opinion, and considerable and even stormy discussions ensued; but eventually each of them passed resolutions that the marriage was illegal. Acting on these opinions, the king, notwithstanding the continued vacillation of the pope, encouraged by the intrigues of the emperor, on the 14th November privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously raised to the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke.

Before this Henry had, at an interview with Francis, confirmed the alliance between France and England, and endeavoured, though in vain, to induce the French king to join him in a rupture with Rome, which now seemed to him to be inevitable. As the marriage with Anne soon gave reason to expect a successor to the throne, the joy of all classes became excessive, and general satisfaction with the proceedings appeared to be secured; and in April the marriage was publicly avowed. Catherine, who during the progress of the discussion had been treated by the king with invariable respect, had retired to Ampthill in Bedfordshire, but still insisted on her appeal to the pope, whose citation Henry determinately refused to obey; it was therefore resolved that Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, should open a commission at Dunstable, in the neighbourhood of Catherine's abode, finally to determine the long-agitated question. She still refusing to acknowledge any authority but the one she had chosen, neither appearing in person nor by proxy, was voted contumacious. The court proceeded, and after receiving the evidence offered, and reading the opinions of the universities, together with the judgment of the convocations of York and Canterbury, pronounced the union of Henry with his brother's widow unlawful, and therefore invalid.

It appears strange that a proceeding which from its very nature ought to have preceded the marriage with Anne, should have been thus delayed; and can be accounted for only by the impetuosity of the king's temper. A subsequent sentence, evidently intended to correct this informality, ratified the union with Anne; and the birth of a princess, afterwards the famous queen Elizabeth, on the 7th September, reconciled the minds of the people to what might otherwise have produced serious results.

The separation of England from the spiritual dominion of Rome, was now rapidly and plainly advancing to completion. Anne had been openly crowned queen; the parliament of 1533 had proceeded vigorously in their schemes for destroying the all-pervading influence of the papacy in the legislative control of the nation; and a modification in the policy of the pope, which at first threatened to impede the secession of England, served on the contrary only to expedite the event.

Clement having laid claim to some Italian states, agreed to submit to the arbitration of the emperor, who, to his extreme consternation, decided against him. Out of resentment to Charles, therefore, he began to take measures for strengthening his alliance with Francis, who solicited the hand of Catherine of Medici, niece to the pope, for the duke of Orleans; and at the interview sought, as a friend to both parties, to heal the differences between Clement and Henry. Some arrangements were suggested and approved, and a messenger dispatched to England to gain the consent of Henry, which it was fully expected would be, and which was, secured; but the messenger having been detained a day longer than the time appointed, the pope and his cardinals, irritated by a report which reached them of a slight having been offered to papal dignity in a farce performed before Henry and his court, hastily assembled, declared the marriage of Henry and Catherine valid, and excommunicated the king if he refused to submit to their decision. Two days after, when the messenger returned, Clement found that his rage had exceeded his prudence, and that by his precipitancy he had destroyed the possibility of reconciliation. Thus do we see that events which we think unimportant, are often employed to influence the destinies of nations, "turning wise men backward, and making their knowledge foolishness."

In 1534 the parliament again assembled; and besides confirming the dissolution of the king's marriage with Catherine, and his union with Anne, upon the issue of which marriage the crown was to descend, and conferring upon Henry the title of supreme head of the church of England on earth, passed a variety of laws, for many of which they deserve the gratitude of posterity.

The king now appeared to have reached the summit of power: would that we could record that he used that power wisely and well; but instead of so doing we find the caprice and impetuosity of his temper, which the influence of the crafty Wolsey had probably restrained, breaking forth with uncontrollable fierceness. Doubtless, although the parliament seconded him in most of his plans, and convocation subsequently fell in with his designs, there were many both in and out of the kingdom,

who were unwilling to bow before a state of things so opposed not only to their early prejudices but to their most cherished principles also; and the opposition of foes, and the adulation of friends, might conjointly have tended to strengthen and excite his imperious spirit; but with the utmost allowance that can be made, the heart sickens to peruse the later events of a reign in which mental powers so great were governed by passions so utterly without the restraints of moral principle.

The first disturbance which occurred after the king had succeeded in his plans, arose from a cause apparently of the most insignificant kind. Elizabeth Barton, usually called the "maid of Kent," a serving-girl at an inn at Aldington, in Kent, afflicted with epilepsy and hysteria, fancied herself to be inspired and in immediate communication with heaven; her pretensions, readily admitted by the multitude, attracted the attention of influential persons; in consequence of which we find her recognised by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Warham, the primate, and others, by whose persuasions she became a nun at Canterbury. The delusion of which perhaps in the first instance she was the unconscious victim, was soon employed for purposes of political intrigue, for which the unsettled state of things afforded ample opportunity. Professing to have revelations in reference to the divorce, and the marriage of Anne Boleyn, treasonable declarations were uttered which were sedulously employed by Fisher and others, till something like a plot was concocted; with which the cardinal Reginald Pole, then on the continent, Catherine, Fisher, and even Sir Thomas More, appear to have been implicated, besides others. Brought before the star chamber with her immediate accomplices, six priests, they unhesitatingly confessed their guilt; and a bill of attainder having been passed by parliament, they were all executed, while the scandalous life of Elizabeth and the monks, was unveiled to the public. Fisher and More were indicted for misprision of treason. More's name was afterwards withdrawn, but Fisher being found guilty by the lords, was compelled to compound with the crown for his offence. Soon after they were both required to take the oath of allegiance, recently determined by parliament, and on their refusal were both committed

to the Tower; and after a professed trial, were beheaded in the following year.

These executions led men to look with alarm as to what might ultimately be the condition of the nation, especially the death of Sir Thomas More, who besides having been an early friend of the king, was eminent for his vast and varied learning, and looked upon with affection by all classes, who regarded him as an honest man, though excessively devoted to the church of Rome. Fisher, though often exhibiting throughout the events of the period a somewhat impracticable disposition, was yet revered for his learning and ability. On the continent these transactions were regarded with deep interest. Rome pronounced More and Fisher martyrs for the holy church. Francis spoke of the affair in most severe terms, and told the English ambassador that his master ought to banish such offenders, and not put them to death; while Charles declared that he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions, than such a counsellor as Sir Thomas More.

But passion was now predominant, and worldly policy was too feeble to resist it. Terror was produced amongst the spectators, and for a time at least all seemed prepared to yield to the claims of royal supremacy. Incensed by the execution of Fisher, Paul III., who had succeeded to the papal throne a few months before, by the decease of Clement, excommunicated Henry; but papal thunders no longer affrighted the impetuous king. More alive to the danger which might arise from the resentment of Charles, he endeavoured to strengthen his alliance with Francis, who met his advances with frank cordiality.

In 1536 the death of queen Catherine, at Kimbolton, afforded to the friends of Rome a delusive hope that the rupture might be healed; and Charles, overlooking the injuries his aunt had received, made advances to Henry for a reconciliation, but met with a repulse. Engaged in the suppression of the lesser monasteries, the king seemed to have little inclination to meddle with foreign politics; especially as he and the convocation were arranging what doctrines the people were to believe, and what they were to deny.

A most alarming event occurred at this time in the

jealousy which the king entertained against the unfortunate queen, Anne, whom he suspected of infidelity. Like most of the events of this reign, the extreme statements of opposing partisans make it very difficult to arrive at the truth; but on a survey of the whole affair, viewed in connection with the results of modern investigation, we fear there is too much reason to believe that the charge was just: at least so it was determined by a jury consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three other peers, presided over by her uncle, the duke of Norfolk; and on the 9th May, she was brought to the scaffold, and beheaded, within three years of the time when, with all the pomp and magnificence of the age, she had been crowned queen.

Whether Henry was sincerely convinced of her guilt it is impossible to decide; but it speaks but little for his sensibility, that he married Jane Seymour the day following. The infant princess, Elizabeth, was now, like the princess Mary, declared illegitimate, and the succession fixed for the issue of Jane, if there should be any.

Hitherto, Henry's reign had been remarkably free from popular outbreaks, but now he was called to have his share. Discontents and serious insurrections, fomented to a considerable extent by the expelled monks, as well as by his own arbitrary proceedings, broke out in the northern and eastern counties, comprising such numbers that the court felt some apprehension; but by the skilful conduct of the duke of Norfolk, it was in a short time suppressed, and it should be recorded to the credit of the king, that he displayed the greatest forbearance with all, except the most prominent ringleaders.

1537.—The birth of a prince, afterwards Edward VI., so earnestly longed for by both king and people, produced so much national joy, that these interruptions were soon forgotten; and but for the death of the amiable Jane, two days after, would have been the source of unmingled satisfaction.

The suppression of the larger monasteries soon followed; and altogether, it is stated, 655 monasteries, 2374 chauntries and chapels, 90 colleges, and 110 hospitals, were broken up, and the greater portion of their revenues, amounting, it is calculated, to nearly eight millions of

money, present value, were appropriated to the service of the crown.

The officer by whom this wholesale destruction of church property was superintended, was Sir Thomas, now baron, Cromwell. This man, who had risen from very low origin, had been employed in a confidential capacity by Wolsey, whom he defended with great zeal in the house of commons. Entering afterwards into the service of the king, who soon discerned his capacity, he rose by rapid steps to influence and honour, till he was appointed vicar-general in matters relating to religion, with authority second only to that of Henry himself. Being a Lutheran, he, in connection with Cranmer, sedulously promoted the reformation in England; and when engaged in the work of visiting and suppressing the religious houses, he entered upon it with an energy which was certain to make him enemies. In the royal council, Gardiner, of Winchester, Tonstal, of London, with other prelates and noblemen, formed a faction, and resolutely determined to arrest the onward course of events as much as possible, in the hope of ultimate re-union with Rome. Cromwell therefore, as one of the more prominent actors on the other side, was the object of their continued attacks, but without much success, till the king's impetuous proceedings appeared in some degree to have slackened. Fearing a change in the royal will, Cromwell thought the death of Jane Seymour a favourable opportunity to strengthen the reform movement, by recommending Henry to marry Anne of Cleves.

Listening to the advice of his favourite, the king authorized the necessary negotiations, and Anne arrived in England; but the extreme homeliness of her person, and her utter ignorance of any language but Dutch, so offended the king, that he not only formed an aversion to her, but gave way to great displeasure against Cromwell, by whom mainly the match had been arranged.

Cromwell's enemies saw that this was their favourable opportunity; and they therefore so inundated the king with complaints of extortion, injustice, and oppression, that at length Henry gave the duke of Norfolk, his most determined foe, a commission to arrest him, and he was accordingly sent to the Tower. A bill, charging him with heresy and treason, was passed by parliament; and

though kept in custody for six weeks, as if some mercy were designed, he was at last sacrificed to the enmity of his foes, and the caprice of his master. As might be expected, the obnoxious queen was soon divorced, apparently with her own consent; and Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk, whose extreme and unquestionable profligacy soon brought her to the scaffold, with several of her accomplices in sin; among whom was the lady Rochford, who had been so prominent in obtaining the condemnation of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

Ecclesiastical affairs continued to engross the attention of the king and his ministers, and fierce persecutions were carried on against all who refused to regulate their religious opinions by the uncertain standard of royal orthodoxy. Though professedly separated from Rome, Romish doctrines were insisted on by Henry and the popish portion of his council. Hence protestant and papist were alike liable, and often suffered in the same fires. Certain reforms were indeed introduced into the public performance of divine worship; and the interludes and farces which were common in the churches, the tendency of which was to throw contempt on the ancient faith, but which were destroying all religious reverence amongst the people, were forbidden; but vital godliness, if really existing, was more generally found quietly permeating the humble strata of society. Cranmer, and those that acted with him, sought with steady perseverance to promote a better state of things, for which the archbishop was made the especial mark of the hatred of Norfolk, Gardiner, and the romanizing party, and would most probably have been their victim, but for the resolute protection of Henry. Indeed, without attempting to exculpate the king, we are compelled to believe that many of his proceedings were induced by the efforts of the fierce and opposing parties with which he had to deal, acting upon his naturally impetuous temper.

Amongst those of more prominent rank who suffered from causes partly political and partly religious, were the countess of Salisbury, and the earl of Surrey. The former was accused of holding a treasonable correspondence with her son, the cardinal Pole; and the last of the Planta-

genets was beheaded with unusually painful circumstances, from her refusal to place her head on the block. Surrey was suspected of being under the influence of the same restless individual, and he too fell a victim to the rage of the king.

Parliament and the convocation became increasingly subservient to the will of their imperious master, and the former by determining, in 1539, that royal proclamations should have the force of law, seem to have become but indifferent guardians of the nation's freedom.

Foreign affairs were conducted with the same want of settled policy which had been so often displayed. In 1542, a war with Scotland, which ended with the victory at Solway, leaving James V. amongst the slain—while Mary queen of Scots, an infant of a few days old, succeeded—tended very materially to increase the influence of England in that country. An alliance with Charles, and resentment against Francis for some injuries, real or supposed, led to a declaration of war; and Henry, in 1545, leaving queen Catherine Parr, his sixth wife, regent of the kingdom, personally conducted the campaign, which led to nothing decisive, and peace was again established. But at length this busy and eventful reign was to end. In 1547, soon after the execution of Surrey, and while the duke of Norfolk was lying under sentence, the king's health, which had been rapidly declining, became so manifestly worse, that his attendants determined to give him an intimation of his approaching end. On hearing the statement, he desired them to send for Cranmer, who, on his arrival, requested the now speechless king to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ; when he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired.

Thus ended the earthly career of Henry VIII. after a reign of more than thirty-seven years, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. A prince of unquestionable capacity, and untiring energy, but so completely under the influence of violent passions, and an arbitrary will, that notwithstanding the benefits he conferred on the nation—and they were many—he stands conspicuous among the successive sovereigns of this realm, as one of the most tyrannical of its rulers. Born at a time and thrown amid circumstances

which required the utmost coolness of judgment, combined with undeviating firmness, he complicated his position considerably by yielding to impulsive passion, which was aroused by the factious opposition of some, and strengthened by the adulation of others.

He does not seem to have had justice done him in reference to two principles of policy which he appears never to have forgotten, and which serve to explain some of the contradictions of his course. The one was his desire to leave the succession to the throne so indisputable, that the country might be preserved from those convulsions, which during the wars of the roses had produced such disastrous results; the other was his aim to carry out the object of his father, in the eventual union of England and Scotland into one nation.

The former, though it does not excuse, may explain his proceedings in reference to his marriages. The latter, the benefit of which both parts of our island now feel, he sought to accomplish by means which do not on the whole seem to merit severe reprehension. His will, which was made a month before his decease, has been cited as an instance of his caprice, but we think unjustly. Having had the disposal of the crown awarded to him by parliament, whether wisely or not, he only exercised a power which was intrusted to him; and in its arrangement we see the same policy working. Leaving the immediate succession of course to Edward, it was then to descend to the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, who were to marry only with the consent of the council, under pain of forfeiting their right of succession, and after them to the daughter of his sister Mary, the widow of Louis XII., afterwards married, as we have seen, to Brandon, duke of Suffolk; of course, in each of these stages, providing for the failure of direct heirs. The Scottish line was passed over, but he seems to have planned and hoped that a marriage might be effected between Edward and Mary, queen of Scots, and thus a union of the two nations be effected without bringing England under the power of France, which any other arrangement would have done.

In civil matters many excellent laws were passed during this reign. The navy of England was considerably

improved and enlarged. Wales was incorporated with this country, and Ireland, previously only a lordship, erected into a kingdom. Many valuable institutions were founded, and social improvements in the condition of the people promoted. The chapter of his history relating to his wives is sad and repulsive : his motives in the divorce cause, to say the least, questionable,—his treatment of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, even supposing them guilty, sanguinary and cruel,—and his conduct to Anne of Cleves, unjustly capricious. Indeed, the only pleasing parts of the review are his early married life with Catherine of Arragon, and his closing days with Catherine Parr, whom he effectually sheltered from the machinations of her enemies.

As respects his connection with the great movement of his age he undoubtedly did much, by so extensively overturning the lofty fabric of papal power, that it could never be again erected in this country in the completeness it once possessed. But in the spiritual perception of truth, we fear he was sadly defective ; while the means by which he sought to extend and sustain his notions of truth, deserve a condemnation as severe as that in after years pronounced on the persecutions of the bigoted queen Mary : thousands, it has been calculated, were executed for causes civil and religious, between his accession and his death. One great boon he conferred on the interests of truth, indeed the greatest he could bestow, in causing an English translation of the Scriptures to be prepared, and made accessible for popular use ; for though chained to the reading-desks of churches, and its readers fettered with some restrictions, it was yet the most advanced step that had been taken in this land to promote the spread of godliness and true religion. The word of God was to some extent set free ; and where this is the case, we may fairly hope for the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

Another fact connected with Henry's career, was the encouragement he was ever ready to give to learning and learned men ; besides promoting the foundation of colleges and schools, he cheerfully patronized those who distinguished themselves by their attainments, whether natives or foreigners. It was during his reign Erasmus, the friend of Sir Thomas More, and so useful, by his sarcastic

wit, in exposing the follies and corruptions of Rome, was appointed Margaret professor of divinity, and lecturer on Greek in the university of Cambridge. This fondness for literary pursuits was doubtless the result of his early training when preparing for the church. Take him as a whole, his character was a compound of contradictions, with many features that ensured him the reverence of his people, but with others so hateful, that his name is execrated as a despot and a tyrant. But to the Christian student of history he will appear as one whose wayward course was most remarkably overruled by Infinite Wisdom to work out purposes of mercy to this long-benighted land.

1547.—Edward VI. being but in his ninth year when he ascended the throne, his father had appointed sixteen persons to act as regents of the kingdom during his minority; by these the duke of Somerset, the brother of his mother, Jane Seymour, was elected president, with the title of protector. Unwilling to commence a new reign with blood, Norfolk was respited, but remained in confinement until the accession of Mary. Somerset, after adopting some measures to consolidate his power, avowed himself a friend to the reformation, and with the assistance of the cautious and pious Cranmer, strove to give it a more defined form than it had received during the previous reign. In this he was opposed by the Romish party amongst the prelates and nobles, and especially by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; but, being invested with the chief authority, Somerset appointed a visitation of all the dioceses for the purpose of correcting abuses: to remedy the factious character of the preaching of those days, twelve homilies were prepared which the clergy were required to read to the people, and any other kind of preaching was prohibited without special license.

Bonner, bishop of London, strengthened by Gardiner, attempted to resist; but finding opposition useless, gave way. Gardiner, by his determined conduct, drew upon himself the displeasure of the protector, and was sent to the Fleet prison; while Tonsal, bishop of Durham, displaying the same spirit, was deprived of his seat in the council. Undeterred by this opposition, still further innovations were effected: certain public religious proces-

sions were ordered to be discontinued, images to be removed from the churches, a new communion service directed to be prepared; and ultimately a liturgy and catechism, compiled by Cranmer and Ridley, and published in English by the authority of parliament. The book of Psalms was rendered into verse by Sternhold and Hopkins; and clergymen were allowed to marry.

In accordance with the wish of the late king, expressed in his will, Somerset attempted to arrange a marriage between Edward and Mary, queen of Scots; but not being able to effect his design of thus uniting the two crowns, from the determined aversion of the Scots, fostered by French intrigue, he declared war against Scotland, and marched northward with his army, when the battle of Pinkey ensued, and the Scots were totally routed. Being compelled to return to England, in consequence of some plots which were being formed against him by admiral lord Seymour, his own brother, who had married Catherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII., he could not improve his victory; but contenting himself with making some arrangements on the borders, he withdrew from Scotland, and soon after Mary was sent to France, and before long married to the dauphin.

The Scottish campaign was interrupted by an event which, in its results, proved more serious than was at first expected. Lord Seymour, the protector's brother, was a man of restless ambition, and having had his pride flattered by his marriage with Catherine Parr, soon after the king's death, appears to have formed the design of supplanting the authority of Somerset, and conducted himself in a manner that produced considerable enmity between them; this was insidiously increased by the arts of Dudley, earl of Warwick, who hoped, by the strife of the brothers, to secure his own advancement to the protectorate. Such was his influence with Seymour, that the rash nobleman lost all prudence, and having been deprived of Catherine, who died in child-birth, he pertinaciously sought the hand of the princess Elizabeth, now in her sixteenth year. This, with many other matters laid to his charge, induced the king and the council to consent to a bill of attainder being presented to parliament; where having passed the lords, it was sent to the commons, and with the opposition

of ten or twelve only, in a house of four hundred, it was carried, and a warrant issued for the admiral's execution, which took place on the 20th March, on Tower hill. It is recorded that Somerset was most unwilling to carry matters to this extremity, but was compelled by the impracticable temper of his brother. Whether it were so is uncertain; but a general feeling against the protector was produced, and a suspicion of cruelty, which much lowered his popularity.

1549.—The condition of the kingdom now became very unsettled, for in addition to the war with Scotland, the king of France was endeavouring to recover Boulogne, which had been taken by Henry VIII.; while the perplexities of the government were still further increased by several insurrections of an alarming character in different parts of the kingdom, and which were repressed with great difficulty. Somerset therefore proposed to the council that peace should be made with France by restoring Boulogne, and that they should cease their efforts in Scotland, since the projected marriage of the young queen with the dauphin of France had insuperably hindered the object which was sought. But he soon found that he had enemies in the council who were as powerful as they were implacable. A conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Dudley, earl of Warwick, and including many of the leading nobility and persons of note in London and throughout the country: indeed it was so extensive, that Somerset felt himself compelled to resign the protectorship, only stipulating for mild treatment: this was agreed to, and he was simply committed to the Tower. His case having been brought before parliament, he humbly confessed the charges brought against him; and being fined, and some of his possessions forfeited, he was not only pardoned, but received again into the council; and Warwick, thinking that he was sufficiently humbled, consented soon afterwards to a marriage between his son, lord Dudley, and lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

Warwick, soon after created duke of Northumberland, had now attained the height of his ambition, and forgetting his opposition to these measures when proposed by his rival, made peace with Scotland, and agreed to surrender

Boulogne to the French for a pecuniary consideration. Though suspected of having a preference for the ancient faith, he soon found that the strong attachment of Edward to the principles of the reformation, rendered it most conducive to his influence that he should affect a similar zeal; and as he was a man utterly destitute of principle, he engaged in the work of correcting abuses with the utmost ardour: and Gardiner and other prelates were deprived, because of their refusal to submit to the new measures. But the most difficult case to deal with was that of the princess Mary, who insisted upon continuing the observance of the Romish services; sundry efforts were made to persuade her to conform, and sometimes carried to such an appearance of coercion, that the emperor Charles threatened war unless she were left in the unmolested exercise of her faith; in consequence of this it was determined to wink at practices which, in her case, could not be prevented, and she was not again disturbed.

1552.—Warwick, or as he was now called, the duke of Northumberland, intoxicated with power, yet found like Haman, that the presence of an obnoxious rival embittered all his enjoyment; and therefore, pretending that Somerset was plotting against the state, had him arrested on the charge of high treason; and the formality of trial, such as was then deemed sufficient, being observed, the unhappy nobleman, who was too abject to be dangerous, and yet too restless to be quiet, was brought to the scaffold, where, at his death, he exhibited more firmness than he had ever displayed in his life.

Parliament, still under the influence of Cranmer, worked at the great plan of reforming religion, and freeing its outward forms from the accumulated corruptions of the Romish church, and passed several stringent laws. But Northumberland, finding that it was not sufficiently tractable for all his purposes, persuaded the king not only to dissolve it, but to write letters to the counties recommending certain persons for election; and by this means obtained a parliament to his mind. Perceiving the failing condition of the young king's health, he persuaded him to recognize the illegitimacy of his sisters, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and bequeath the crown to lady Jane Grey, daughter of the marchioness of Dorset, and grand-

daughter of Mary Tudor and the duke of Suffolk ; having after much difficulty succeeded, he persuaded the marquis of Dorset, now created duke of Suffolk, to give his daughter Jane in marriage to his own son, lord Guilford Dudley. All his plans being arranged, he waited for the king's death, which he saw could not be far distant, and which occurred July 5th, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. Thus early was England deprived, by rapid consumption, of a prince whose sweetness of disposition, unquestionable piety, and remarkable precocity of genius, had endeared him to his subjects, by whom a long and prosperous reign had been anticipated. Edward's reign was not disfigured by many acts of persecution for conscience' sake ; some few however occurred, to which the king could with great difficulty be brought to consent, telling Cranmer, with tears in his eyes, that if wrong were done, the guilt must rest with him.

The events occurring in Scotland during the reigns of Henry and Edward have been so intermingled with their history, that a short summary will be sufficient. James IV. being slain in the battle of Flodden field, the regency of the kingdom was entrusted to Margaret, Henry's sister, during the minority of her son, James V. ; but in consequence of her marriage with the earl of Angus, she forfeited her position, and Albany was sent over from France, who ruled the kingdom under French influence, till the people would no longer submit ; and at the age of thirteen James nominally undertook the government ; but watched by Angus and the rest of his counsellors, he escaped to Stirling, and became really king. Being desirous of subduing the factious temper and diminishing the power of his barons, he courted the support of ecclesiastics, and archbishop Beaton was made prime minister ; a man of considerable ability, but it is to be feared very little principle. Alarmed by the entrance and progress of the doctrines of the reformation into Scotland, the pope created Beaton a cardinal, and his power became immense. James being forsaken by his nobles at the battle of Solway, in 1542, died of a broken heart in a few days, leaving Mary but a day or two old.

Beaton then produced a will which he professed had

been executed by James V., appointing him sole regent; but this being proved to be a forgery, James, earl of Arran, was chosen to that office. The indefatigable cardinal however succeeded in regaining his power, and ruled the kingdom with the greatest despotism, till May 1546, when he was assassinated in his own house.

Haughty to all, he was especially so to the reformers, many of whom he had either burnt or drowned. His cruelty to the celebrated George Wishart, an eminent reformer, so aroused the indignation of the people, that his death, by the hand of Norman Leslie, was regarded as a designed retribution for his crime. But notwithstanding the determined opposition of Beaton, and the weakness of the regency under Arran, the doctrines of the reformation gradually prepared the country for the events which a few years were to produce.

In Ireland the factions produced by the different native tribes or clans, kept the country in continual ferment, which was altered, but not allayed, by an insurrection against the English rule, headed by lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a youth of twenty-one years of age, brave and generous, but excessively rash. This young man being deceived by a report that his father, the earl of Kildare, who succeeded the earl of Surrey as lord deputy, had been put to death in London, resolved to revenge his supposed death, and gathering numbers of the Irish to join him, and persuading his five uncles to participate in the enterprise, defied the authority of the king of England, and murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, while the native minstrels inflamed with savage ardour the undisciplined multitude he had collected. But this insurrection having been repressed by the forces of Henry, and the country fearfully devastated, lord Thomas surrendered, and his five uncles having been treacherously seized, they were all sent to England; where after a long imprisonment in the Tower, they were beheaded in 1537, the earl of Kildare having died of a broken heart when he heard of the rising.

Several subsequent rebellions, often incited by the Scots and the French, were suppressed, and several executions took place; when in 1541, Henry raised the distracted country into a kingdom, and giving several of

the heads of the Irish clans patents of peerage, and securing to them the future possession of their lands, peace was again established, and for a time the land had rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

Despotism and Decay.—A. D. 1523—1675.

THE ITALIAN STATES.

SAVOY.—ITS CONNEXION WITH GENEVA.—THE PEACE OF THE PYRENEES.—SWITZERLAND.—DISTURBED BY THE DISPUTES OF SPAIN AND FRANCE.—MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS OF THE VALTELINE.—ATTACKED BY AUSTRIA.—MERCENARY CONDUCT OF THE MILITARY SWISS.—INSURRECTIONS IN BERNE AND OTHER PLACES.—WAR BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CANTONS.—ROME.—DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER.—CLEMENT VII.—TAKEN PRISONER.—PAUL IV.—LOYOLA.—ROME BESIEGED BY THE SPANISH.—PIUS IV.—PIUS V.—GREGORY XIII.—SIXTUS V.—HIS INTRIGUES TO OBTAIN THE PAPAL CHAIR.—HIS RESOLUTE CONDUCT AFTERWARDS.—PAUL V.—CLEMENT IX.—INNOCENT XI.—THE ITALIAN STATES.—VENICE.—HER DECLINE.—THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.—CONSPIRACY IN 1618.—EXHAUSTED BY CONFLICTS WITH THE TURKS.—GENOA.—REVOLUTION UNDER ANDREW DORIA.—CONSPIRACIES IN 1547 AND 1628.—BOMBARDED BY LOUIS XIV.—LUCCA.—ATTEMPTS AT REVOLUTION.—SIENA.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS.—FLORENCE.—FALL OF THE REPUBLIC.—ALESSANDRO DE MEDICI.—COSMO.—THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—NAPLES.—SICILY.—SARDINIA.—THE INQUISITION.

SAVOY, until 1860, part of the increasing kingdom of Sardinia, was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an insignificant duchy, important only from its geographical relation to the contentions of its warlike neigh-

hours. The last reference made to it in this history, (Vol. V., p. 459) recorded the noble efforts of duke Philip to protect the persecuted Waldenses against the fury and misrepresentations of their foes. Unhappily it did not persevere in this line of policy, but was too frequently found aiding the efforts of cruel bigotry to destroy those "of whom the world was not worthy."

The only event which seems to require even a passing notice in the history of this duchy, was its connection with the celebrated town of Geneva, where, during the closing period of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, the episcopal sovereignty of the town was exercised by princes of the house of Savoy. An unsuccessful attempt was made to throw off the yoke: encouraged by his victory, duke Charles conducted himself towards the Genevans in such a manner as to provoke a fresh outbreak, which led to a series of wars, ending in the entire abolition of the power of Savoy over them, in 1536, and a perpetual league between the towns of Berne and Geneva, which was rendered still more complete by the progress of the reformed faith under John Calvin. Savoy made no further effort to regain its authority till 1602, when, under the reigning duke, Charles Emmanuel I., an attack was made upon the town, which was most courageously repelled by the burghers. Harassed by the wars of France and Spain, Savoy had sufficient occupation for nearly eighty years; and it was not until the peace of the Pyrenees, in 1659, she could attend to her own internal improvement. From that period, under the rule of Charles Emmanuel II., who reigned till 1675, she sought and secured that national improvement which hitherto had been to her people the object of desire rather than of hope.

SWITZERLAND.

We have already referred to Zurich in connection with the progress of the reformation, by the labours of Zwingle; but some notice appears to be due to others of the brave mountaineers, before we pass southward to the sunny land of Italy. Like Savoy, the inhabitants of Switzerland were continually disturbed by the disputes between Spain and France, especially after the battle of Pavia, in 1525;

when Charles V., having obtained Milan and all Lombardy, sought to gain possession of the Grison territory of the Valteline, that thus a closer connection with Austria might be preserved through the Tyrol. The interests of France were of course directly opposed to this, and hence the frequent struggles to which these regions were exposed. The differences of religious belief, occasioned by the spread of protestantism amongst the communes, afforded opportunities which the crafty politicians were ever ready to improve for their own purposes. Thus, in the year 1620, in consequence of some popular commotions, incited by the secret agents of the rival powers, some of the inhabitants having been banished, leagued themselves with Milan, Austria, and Spain, to massacre the protestants of the Valteline, and separate that district from the Grisons. Accordingly on Sunday, the 19th July, 1620, the conspirators surprised the unfortunate people, and many hundreds of protestants were slain, after being most barbarously treated. "Some were thrown out of windows, shot, strangled, or burned; many were flayed alive; others had their eyes put out; others again were beaten to death with sticks, torn to pieces, beheaded, or mutilated in various ways. Neither beauty nor youth, age, desert, or dignity, not even the ties of friendship or of family affection, could mitigate the rage of these savage zealots. One fellow is said to have made it matter of boast that he had murdered eighteen persons in one day. The head of an evangelical preacher was brought into his own church, stuck on the pulpit, and mocked, it is said, in the same words as the crucified Jesus. At Teglio, the protestants having shut themselves up in the church, the murderers climbed up to the windows and fired on the wretches within; at length the doors were forced, and those who had fallen were to be envied in comparison with those who came alive into the hands of their enemies."

These atrocities were followed by hostile attacks by the archduke of Austria, by whom they had been encouraged, and the Grisons were compelled to submit for a time; but in 1623, France having made a league with Savoy, Venice, and the popes, the Austrians were driven out. Thus the prey first of one invader and then ano-

ther, these unhappy people were afflicted, until peace between France and the emperor being settled at Cherasco, in 1639, they were once more left free, while "the thirty years' war" engrossing the attention of the leading powers of Europe, preserved them from foreign attack, until the peace of Westphalia secured their independence. It is to be regretted that the Swiss, no longer employed in defending their own lands, acquired such a love for war, that they were now accustomed generally to enlist as mercenary troops in foreign service, and their country came to be regarded as a depôt from which soldiers could be readily obtained to fight in any cause for the sake of mere gain.

Although the Helvetic confederacy appeared at this time harmonious and well compacted, circumstances soon showed that there was a want of real unity not only amongst the various cantons, but also between the people and their magistrates. Thus in this, and the two following years, a serious insurrection broke out in Berne, Lucerne, Soleure, and Basle, usually called "the peasant war," caused by some political grievances of which the rural classes had, or believed themselves to have, reason to complain; this insurrection was with great difficulty suppressed, and not until there had been considerable bloodshed. Sad as was this disturbance, a more fearful interruption of amity occurred, by a religious war which broke out between the catholic and the protestant cantons, and which continued to agitate and injure both parties during the remainder of the century. Unwilling have men ever been to recognise the fact that the religion of Jesus was intended to subdue the fierce passions of the human heart, and "promote peace on earth, and good will amongst men." We shall have to refer to these events more in detail in a future chapter.

ROME.

No one can have followed the course of European history without observing how intimate and how mighty has been the influence which the city of the seven hills has exerted upon the destinies of various countries. For a long succession of ages this influence was so supreme and unchallenged, that many persons have regarded the

fact as fulfilling the apocalyptic prophecy (Rev. xvii. 3), "These (the kings) have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast." Whether this be correct or not, it is evident that the fierce struggles which had been carried on between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in early ages had for a very long time resulted in the subjugation of the former, and the establishment of the almost universal supremacy of the bishops of Rome. But the period of which we are now treating was the commencement of an altered state of things; the various political convulsions which had occurred, the revival of learning, the seething corruption of the monastic orders, which seemed to indicate that "their iniquity was full," and especially the outbreak and rapid progress of the reformation, indicated that the papal power had passed its zenith and began its decline. Still its decadence was gradual, and, as though the faith and energy of the friends of spiritual truth were to be tested and strengthened by yet further exercise, many men arose to fill the papal throne who seemed able to arrest the downward tendency, and retard indefinitely the utter extinction of that system which had held so long the human mind in bondage; and some of these were unquestionably successful in the attempt.

From Leo X., in 1513, to Alexander VIII., in 1689, twenty-five pontiffs occupied the papal throne in succession, averaging about seven years of authority to each; men of varying capacities, and exercising very different degrees of influence, on the interests of the Romish see. To record the details of each pontificate would demand a much larger space than can be awarded in a work like the present; and we can therefore only select such from the list as may seem to justify the choice from their personal qualities, or their connection with the events of general history in relation to Rome, and leave the enquirer to examine those works which make the detailed events of the wondrous system of Roman catholicism the more specific subject of investigation.*

* The most elaborate work on this subject is "Ranke's History of the Popes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," translated from the German by Sarah Austin, London, 1840.

POPES.

1523.—Clement VII., nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence, succeeded Leo X. During his pontificate, Italy was the scene of frequent vicissitudes and calamity, the pope occasionally allying himself with Francis I. to prevent the power of the emperor Charles V. beoming absolute in the peninsula; but his plans not only failed, but incited the imperial ambition to greater intensity, until under the duke de Bourbon Rome was sacked, and the pope taken prisoner, and confined in the castle of St. Angelo.

We have already narrated the temporizing policy Clement adopted in reference to Henry VIII.'s application for a divorce from Catherine of Arragon, and the important changes it produced in England. He seems to have deserved the character for avarice, harshness, and deception which is usually ascribed to him; he had all the defects but none of the redeeming qualities of Leo X., his cousin. He died in 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III., whose administration does not require any specific notice.

1555.—Paul IV., who was raised to the papal throne in this year, was chiefly remarkable for consenting to the formation of the order of the Jesuits, who exerted so powerful an influence upon the various kingdoms of the world. Observing that the prevailing policy of his predecessors towards the reformation was that of indifference, and that they contented themselves with issuing "bulls," which produced no favourable results, he felt that a more aggressive course of action was required, and therefore encouraged the wily scheme of Loyola to uphold the tottering power of the papacy. Intensely devoted to the promotion of catholicism, he attempted some reforms in the church, banished luxury from his court; and because Ferdinand I., emperor of Germany, displayed a spirit of moderation towards the protestants, he refused to recognise his election, at the same time opposing Philip II. in his claim to the sovereignty of Naples. The latter determination brought down upon him the indignation of the Spanish monarch, who sent an army under the duke of Alva, who besieged the imperial city, and compelled Paul to seek the

aid of the despised German protestants, until he made an alliance with the French and the Turks for his defence. He died in 1559, and was succeeded by Pius IV.

1559.—Pius IV. laboured hard for the resuscitation of the power of the Roman see, and for the improvement of the city. He was of a frank and generous disposition, which, but for the overpowering influence of bigotry, might have secured him the esteem of his contemporaries and the praises of posterity; but bent on the suppression of what he considered heresy in various parts of Italy, he was especially anxious to exterminate the unoffending Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont and Calabria; he reassembled the council of Trent, whose sittings had been interrupted, where by the instrumentality of Laines, the general-superior of the Jesuits, he sought to elevate the papal authority, and prevent innovations upon the ordinary discipline and worship.

Pius V. succeeded in 1565. The sad feature in this pope's history was the zeal with which he fostered and encouraged the fearful power of the inquisition, the most hateful expedient popery ever invented to bring men into bondage to their priests. Accounts of this institution have been given in previous parts of this history (Vol. V., pp. 256, 333, 339). The authority of this tribunal was now rigidly enforced all over Italy, and the light of eternity alone can disclose the deeds of darkness and cruelty committed by its agents.

The depravity of the monks and nuns at this time had increased to such an alarming extent, that some of the orders were obliged to be suppressed, to check the scandal which their vices were producing.

Pius also republished the well known bull, "In cœna Domini," by which all princes, magistrates or others, who in any way encouraged what was then called heresy, were solemnly excommunicated.

1572.—Gregory XIII., a friend to education, and himself distinguished for his literary attainments, made those necessary alterations in the Julian calendar, which have been since adopted by all the nations of Europe, with the exception of Russia and Greece. His name is disgraced by the fervent joy he displayed, and the public thanksgivings which he commanded on receiving information of

the awful massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's eve, in Paris. He clearly encouraged the plots which the Jesuits and others formed to assassinate Elizabeth, queen of England, and it was believed was personally implicated in them.

1585.—Sixtus V. was one of the most extraordinary men that ever ascended the papal throne. Born in circumstances of the lowest poverty and obscurity, he attracted the notice of the ecclesiastics at a very early period of his youth, by the insatiable desire for knowledge which he displayed, and by the facility with which he acquired it in spite of the unfavourable circumstances of his position. Received into the church, he rapidly gained promotion, until he was raised to the dignity and title of cardinal Montalto. He now seems to have formed his plans for reaching the pontifical throne with the utmost craft, and to have pursued them with undeviating steadiness. Perceiving from the state of parties, that the next pope would be chosen, as often had been the case before, simply to fill the place until the intrigues of opposing factions should be more matured, and that the most infirm and retiring of the college of cardinals would be the one selected, he pretended to be suffering from extreme debility and disease, never appeared but leaning heavily on his staff; while the seeming ailment he endured, or pretended to endure, marked him out as one hastening to the tomb. Retiring from the world, he professed to be completely weaned from all earthly aims and ambition, and to be only earnest by severe mortifications and attention to religious observances, to prepare for the solemn change which awaited him. To such perfection was this dissimulation carried, that at the death of Gregory the cardinals all concurred in fixing upon the aged, the decrepid, the pious cardinal Montalto as the most fitting puppet to fill the vacant chair, until they should have time to complete their respective schemes. He was therefore chosen, and the fact announced to him, when casting away his staff, forgetting his cough, he sang the "Te Deum" with a vigour which astounded those who had regarded him as a dying man; while Sixtus mocked their disappointment by telling them that the divine promise of strength being apportioned to man's need was being fulfilled in himself. They soon

found that his vigour was no sudden impulse, for never was the sovereignty of the Romish throne exerted with more steady firmness than by this man. Occupied for some time with the brigands who infested the Campagna, he adopted measures so stringent and peremptory, that soon they were completely extirpated by the halter or the sword. Although he formally excommunicated our queen Elizabeth, he seems to have appreciated the energy of her character much more highly than he did the crafty and insidious temper of Philip II. of Spain, whose so called invincible armada he blessed prior to its departure to invade our country. He published a new edition of the Septuagint, and improved the Vulgate version. During his pontificate, the long closed catacombs of Rome, where the early Christians hid themselves from persecution, and where they at last found their graves, were opened and explored, and thus an amount of antiquarian knowledge of the early history of our faith supplied which is as interesting as it is unimpeachable. He did much at the same time to embellish Rome; erected the Vatican library and other buildings; and closed a reign of unusual vigour in 1589. His three successors all died within the year 1590.

1605.—Paul V. was of a haughty and overbearing temper, and evidently desirous of restoring the papal authority to the supremacy it formerly possessed. Two ecclesiastics having been tried at Venice for some most flagitious crimes, Paul engaged in a fierce controversy with the senate, asserting that they had no authority to try clerical persons, that the right to do so belonged to bishops only; and finding that his assumptions were disregarded, he laid the republic under an interdict. The Venetian senate, as resolute as himself, refused permission for the interdict to be published; but allowed monks and any others who might be dissatisfied to quit the city. Irritated by these proceedings, Paul threatened war, which, but for the interference of Henry IV. of France, would have occurred. This imperious pontiff, in a similar spirit, claimed the sole right to judge of religious books, because the French parliament had burnt a treatise entitled “*Defensio Fidei*,” in which the writer, a Jesuit, asserted among other things of a questionable kind, “the lawfulness of mur-

dering kings, magistrates, and others who might impede and injure the faith." Louis XIII., however much disposed to allow the claims of Rome, would not concede this exclusive right, this entire surrender of private judgment, and considerable discussion ensued before the matter could be compromised.

1667.—Clement IX. was a prince of a very different spirit, and anxiously sought to appease the quarrels and disputes of his age. Especially was he concerned to settle the differences between the Jesuits and the Jansenists;* or what we might term the evangelical portion of the church of Rome. In this he to some extent succeeded, at least for a time.

1676.—Innocent XI. though rigid and severe, was strenuous in his endeavours to stem the torrents of corruption and luxury which were continually rising in his court and church; and unquestionably he deserves the credit of good intention, though, like too many of his predecessors, he failed to see that it is only by the diffusion of the simple truth of God's gospel, the spirits of evil can be exorcised and the reign of true holiness secured.—We must now leave his successors to a future chapter, and sketch the leading facts connected with the history of the Italian states.

VENICE.

This republic, although possessed of a smaller territory and population than others, was the most independent among the states of Italy. At the close of the fifteenth century she had reached the zenith of her prosperity. An account of her greatness and of her wickedness is given in a previous part of this history (Vol. V., pp. 415—422). We have now to record her decline: this may be dated from the league of Cambray in 1508, composed of the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain; by which

* This sect was founded by Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres, about 1652. Jansen was a prelate of worth and piety, but his "*Augustinus*," a book in which he maintained the Augustine doctrine of free grace, and recommended it as the true orthodox belief, kindled a fierce controversy on its publication in 1640, and was condemned by a bull of Urban VIII.

Blaise Pascal was one of the most eminent adherents of this sect; he was born 1623. His "*Provincial Letters*" expose the defective morality of the Jesuits with much wit and learning. His "*Pensées*" is a singularly interesting devotional work.

she was compelled to give up her possessions in the kingdom of Naples, besides suffering distresses which took the greater part of the century to repair. The walls had to be rebuilt, the population to be recovered, and agriculture and commerce to be restored; indeed, but for the disunion which broke out amongst the allies after the battle of Agnadel, the city and the republic must have been destroyed. Added to these perplexities she was constantly menaced by the Turks, by whom she was deprived of the island of Cyprus. She was however able to join in a crusade against them in 1571, and shared in the great victory of Lepanto.* In 1618, she was exposed to an alarming conspiracy by three Spanish noblemen, who hired assassins to murder the doge, senators, and noblemen of Venice. Jaffier, one of the bravos, revealed the plot to the council of ten, who promptly but secretly tracked out the whole plan, and seizing the greater number of the conspirators executed them, either by the halter or by drowning them in the grand canal; and thus Venice was preserved from imminent destruction.

From this time Venice continued great and flourishing, until she became thoroughly exhausted by her long conflict with the Turks, which lasted from 1641 until 1669. In this war she lost Candia after a siege of twenty years, and her prosperity visibly declined. But the main cause of the prostration of Venice, was the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese. Hitherto the produce of the East had, as in the times of the Phœnicians, reached the shores of the Levant, from whence it had been carried by Venetian ships to the various countries of Europe; and hence the astonishing rise and wealth of "the queen of the Adriatic." But now commerce was diverted into another channel, and the more direct communication with India and other oriental lands, damaged the trading interests of the republic, and brought her down to that state of prostration from which she has never recovered. The history of Venice affords matter for sad

* This great naval engagement between the combined fleets of Spain, Venice, and Pius V., and the whole maritime force of the Turks, occurred October 7th, 1571. Don John of Austria commanded the Christian fleet, which consisted of 206 galleys, and 30,000 men; while the Turks had 250 galleys, of which, after a dreadful conflict, they saved but 100, losing 30,000 men in killed and prisoners; and thus was prostrated for a long time the naval power of Turkey.

yet instructive reflection, as illustrating the fact of Divine retribution toward those nations who use the advantages granted them by providence, not for the glory of Him who gives them, but for purposes of selfish enjoyment, and for the oppression of those who are placed under their sway. May Britain ponder and improve the lesson inculcated by these events!

GENOA.

This state, which was for a long period the rival of Venice, had alternately fallen under the power of Milan and France until the year 1529, when the celebrated Andrea Doria effected a revolution and enabled the inhabitants to throw off the yoke of foreign rule. But though he established the independence of his country, instituting an oligarchy of nobles under the superintendance of biennial doges, he restricted these honours to a few families, whose names were inserted in what was called "the golden book;" new families however being allowed with certain qualifications to be added at certain times.

This aristocratic constitution lasted until 1547, when a conspiracy was formed by Luigi de Fieschi, who having assembled his bravos, the constant attendants of Genoese noblemen, and secured the approval of France, strove to overthrow the influence of the Spaniards and the Dorias. In the attack which followed, a son of Andrea was killed, the father fled, and every thing promised success; when it was discovered that Fieschi in passing along the galleys had accidentally fallen into the water, and, weighed down by his armour, was drowned. The conspirators deprived of their leader became bewildered, and instead of imposing terms, were compelled to supplicate mercy; but this was refused them, and those who were secured were immediately executed. Spain, ever ambitious and encroaching, tried to suppress the republic, but was twice defeated. Another conspiracy was formed in 1628 by Julius Cæsar Vachero, a wealthy merchant, who persuaded the noblemen whose names were not in "the golden book" to join their bravos with his. This was agreed to, and they promised to collect their assassins from Liguria, and attack the government; but the plot having been dis-

covered the evening before it was to be developed, Vachero and several others concerned in the affair were put to death.

In 1684, Genoa was bombarded by the ambitious Louis XIV. of France, and would inevitably have been ruined but for the submission of the doge and four senators, who went to Paris and succeeded in appeasing the wrath of the angry monarch. The state of society must have been fearfully disorganized, when assassins—or, as they were called, *bravos*—attended the steps of every nobleman or merchant who had wealth enough to hire their services, and settled every dispute by the use of the dagger, without reference to the justice of the quarrel.

LUCCA.

This small state was a republic in the middle ages, but now forms a part of Tuscany. During its independence it was often at war with Florence and Pisa. Its government, after several changes, fell into the hands of a narrow aristocracy, similar to that of several other Italian states.

In 1546, one of the citizens named Burlamacchi having been made gonfaloniere—that is a president of one of the communes—formed a scheme for restoring popular government to Lucca and all the Tuscan cities. His plan was to commence at Pisa, by leading his militia to that place and effect a revolution, which might afterwards spread until every republic in the neighbourhood was made free; but the plot, though carefully arranged, was discovered by the duke of Florence, and Burlamacchi was seized and sent to the imperial authorities at Milan, where this chief magistrate of an independent state was first subjected to severe tortures, and then beheaded.

Another gonfaloniere in 1556, Martino Bernardini, secured the passing of a decree, called after himself “the martinian law,” by which, as in Genoa, only certain families were eligible for the chief offices in the state. These privileged families amounted, in 1600, to one hundred and sixty, but gradually diminished until not half of that number could claim the right. Under this oligarchical form of government Lucca continued in quiet

obscurity for two centuries, when it was submerged by the wide-spreading waves of the French revolution.

SIENA

was for many years a republic, under the protection of the emperor Charles V., who doubtless exercised the real authority, but was not able to prevent the recurrence of civil dissensions. To check these, he at length sent a Spanish garrison, whose presence he hoped might overawe the town. For a time this plan succeeded; but in 1552 the citizens, weary of the control, rose in arms and drove the Spaniards away. Finding however that they were too weak to stand alone, they applied to Henry II. of France, who agreed to send them a small garrison, which kept them in safety for a short time. But this proved to be but a calm before a storm; for Cosmo, duke of Florence, joining the imperial troops, a renewed effort was made to bring them under Spanish sway. Several of the towns and villages were destroyed, and their sites reduced to a complete wilderness. Exhausted by famine, the city of Siena agreed to capitulate in 1556, and was given by the Spaniards to the duke of Florence, who made the city and district a part of Tuscany, in which relation it has remained ever since.

FLORENCE.

Hearing of the sack of Rome, and the captivity of the pope, Clement VII., their fellow-countryman, in 1527, the Florentines thought it a favourable opportunity for regaining their independence; they therefore presented themselves to cardinal de Cortona, and commanded him, and two illegitimate Medici, to leave the city of Florence immediately. They then constituted a government for the state, consisting of a grand council, presided over by a gonfalonière, who was to be elected annually; while equally mindful of the need of military precautions, they erected fortifications, under the guidance of the renowned Michael Angelo, and raised soldiers for their defence.

Pope Clement, from whose heart papal dignity seems to have expelled all patriotic feeling, sent an army against his native country; but the citizens, under the guidance of Francesco Ferrucci, resisted nobly, until, attacked by

the imperial troops, they lost in the battle of Gavenana 2000 men, besides many wounded or taken prisoners; added to these afflictions they had to bewail the death of Ferrucci, who, after gallantly heading his troops, was taken prisoner, pierced with several mortal wounds. This devoted man was conducted immediately to the presence of his personal enemy, Fabrizio Maramalde, who, unmoved by the condition of his prisoner, and listening only to the fierce hatred of his own heart, stabbed him repeatedly, while Ferrucci calmly exclaimed, "Thou wouldest kill a dead man." Thus perished one whose whole aim was to give liberty to his country, and thus perished a republic which, under Cosmo, and Lorenzo the magnificent, had attained to such a height of splendour; whose commerce, manufactures, and wealth, at one time excited the envy and admiration of the world. Their woollens, silks, and jewelry, employed and rewarded her industry at home; while her bankers and merchants, scattered through all the leading towns and capitals of other countries, opened channels for her trade abroad. No where did learning and the fine arts find more munificent patrons than in Florence in the days of her freedom; happy would it have been for her if she had sanctified, and thus perpetuated, her advantages by acknowledging the universal Ruler in their use.

1530.—At the fall of the republic Charles appointed as duke Alessandro de Medici. This reign was but short, Alessandro being murdered by a faction headed by one of his cousins, and Cosmo, mentioned in connection with other states, was raised to the ducal throne; having added, as we have recorded, Siena, and other places, to his dominions. Cosmo obtained from Pius V., in 1569, the title of grand duke of Tuscany, which has continued down to the present time.* Cosmo reigned till his death, in the year 1574, and was succeeded by his various descendants until the year 1723; when the dynasty of the Medici ended with the debauchee, Gian Gastone.

* In 1860 the reigning grand duke abdicated, in consequence of the revolutionary spirit then prevalent; and Tuscany became part of the dominions of the king of Sardinia by the suffrages of the people.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

Central Italy possesses no history apart from the popes, the lives of some of whom we have sketched. Obedient to the Romish see, the states never thought of elevating their condition by resistance; the popes often expending vast sums in the embellishment of the city of Rome, neglected every effort which might have diffused useful knowledge amongst the four millions of persons who were subject to their sway. The light of the reformation was carefully excluded, and implicit submission to the church constituted the only popular notion of religion. To look for national progress in such a state of affairs would be perfectly nugatory. Light was spreading amongst the nations, but the ecclesiastical states remained in Egyptian darkness. Other countries were awakening to energy and promising to renew their youth; but these states, as though bound down by an inevitable necessity, seemed to lose all buoyancy, and give cause to fear they were for ever fallen. If, as we doubt not, some few felt within their hearts the stirrings of a life divine, they were compelled to conceal their convictions from the notice of rulers whose only means of instruction were the rack, the dungeon, and the stake.

NAPLES.

The continental part of what, until very recently,* was called "the kingdom of the two Sicilies," was up to the beginning of the sixteenth century under the rule of the kings of Arragon, when it fell to Charles V., emperor of Germany, as heir to Ferdinand and Isabella; the monarchs of Arragon and Castile governing from that time till 1700, by viceroys of the Spanish crown, it has no distinct history of its own. It figures chiefly in the wars between Charles V. and Francis I., whose constant contentions saturated this, as well as other parts of Italy, with blood; sometimes occupied by the one power, and sometimes by the other, it eventually came under the control of a branch of the Bourbons.

* Naples and Sicily, conquered by Garibaldi, became in the year 1860, by the suffrages of the people, part of the dominions of Victor Emmanuel II., king of Sardinia.

SICILY.

This fair island was once an independent kingdom, till 1416, when Ferdinand, king of Arragon, appointed a viceroy to rule its affairs. Eventually it formed a part of the extensive dominions of the emperor Charles V.; and the viceregal government continued, with few interruptions, for nearly three centuries, while its natural aspirations and development were alike repressed.

SARDINIA.

After many revolutions this island was subdued by the king of Arragon, under whose authority it remained till it became an appendage to the Spanish monarchy by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Ferdinand established the inquisition here in 1492, and ordered all the Jews who would not submit to be baptized, to be expelled, and they have never since been tolerated in the island. From that period, until it became part of the dominions of the house of Savoy and gave its name to that kingdom, it was ruled by viceroys sent from Spain every three years.

Continental Sardinia, comprising Piedmont and other possessions of the house of Savoy, was from the year 1504, under the rule of Charles III., harassed continually by the wars conducted or encouraged by pope Julius II., Louis XII. and Francis I., of France, and Charles V., who made this unfortunate country the scene of their ambitious struggles; and Nice, Vercelli, Aosta, and Cuneo, were in 1553 the only places of the duchy which remained unconquered. But by the peace of Cambresis it was agreed that the hereditary dominions should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, the reigning duke, probably as a reward for his great services in the battle of St. Quentin, which he won from the French for Philip II., king of Spain. Emanuel fixed his residence at Turin, which made it the seat of government, and endeavoured to remedy the evils which during the long alienation of his country had everywhere ensued.

Charles Emmanuel I., who reigned from 1580 to 1630, extended the duchy to the Alps, which he made the boundary between Piedmont and France. Exposed to the mutual contentions of Austria and France, it yet

preserved its independence; and in 1713, it exchanged Sicily, of which it had gained possession, for the island of Sardinia, and was erected into a kingdom, under Victor Amadeus II.

CHAPTER IX.

The Rival Queens.—A. D. 1553—1603.

ENGLAND.

**LADY JANE GREY.—ACCESSION OF MARY.—PERSECUTIONS.
—CRANMER AND OTHERS IMPRISONED.—THE CATHOLIC RELIGION RESTORED.—IMPRISONMENT OF ELIZABETH.
—EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY.—MARRIAGE OF MARY AND PHILIP OF SPAIN.—THE FIRES OF PERSECUTION CONTINUALLY BURNING.—CRANMER AND OTHERS SACRIFICED.—WAR WITH FRANCE AND LOSS OF CALAIS.—DEATH OF THE QUEEN.—ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH.—RESTORATION OF THE PROTESTANT FAITH.
—THE THRONE CLAIMED BY MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS.—THE PURITANS AND THE INDEPENDENTS.—THE QUEEN'S INFLUENCE ON THE REFORMATION ABROAD.—MARY IMPRISONED, TRIED, AND EXECUTED.—PHILIP'S HATRED TOWARDS ELIZABETH.—THE SPANISH ARMADA.—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF ESSEX.—DEATH OF ELIZABETH.—SCOTLAND AND IRELAND AT THIS PERIOD.**

WE now approach one of the darkest scenes of English history, one which is always looked back to with horror, and will be so as long as the minds of men can distinguish between the rights of individual conscience, and the cruel despotism of unrelenting bigotry, or human hearts be susceptible of pity for the sufferings of innocence. That the season of trial was necessary, and ultimately resulting in benefits to the cause of truth, we have not the slightest doubt; but the exercise of that divine wisdom which makes even the most unlikely means effectual in accomplishing the most beneficent ends, however fully

admitted, presents no extenuation for the guilt of those who listen only to the promptings of their depraved natures in the misery they cause to others.

Following up his intrigues, Northumberland attempted to conceal the death of the young king until he should get the princesses Mary and Elizabeth within his power. But Mary, hearing of her brother's death while on her journey to Greenwich, immediately hastened to Framlingham, in the county of Suffolk, and gathering her adherents around her, sent to the council, requiring them to proclaim her accession to the throne, and commanding the several noblemen to whom she wrote to defend her in her lawful attempt to secure the crown. Northumberland, aided by Suffolk, and his son, lord Guilford Dudley, had by their entreaties extorted an unwilling consent from the amiable and unfortunate lady Jane Grey, that they should proclaim her queen by virtue of the will which they had inveigled the dying Edward to sign; but finding that there was not even the most remote prospect of success for the ambitious plot, Northumberland renounced the attempt at the very moment he was leading his forces to oppose the troops of Mary; and being arrested, was soon after executed, unpitied by any whether of the higher or the humbler class. Lord Guilford Dudley and his beloved wife lady Jane, were committed to the Tower, it being so universally felt that they were the victims of the treacherous arts of their parents, that Mary thought it was most politic to delay her vengeance till a more fitting season; and thus, after having been treated as a queen for ten days contrary to her own wishes and tears, she returned to that privacy which was so much more congenial to her heart, even though enjoyed under restraint.

Mary had obtained the support of the people by declaring that she had no intention to interfere with the laws respecting religion passed in the reign of Edward, or to interrupt the profession of the reformed faith which had spread so extensively in the country; but the hollowness of these promises was soon made apparent. The Romanizing prelates Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, together with the duke of Norfolk, and Courtenay, soon after created earl of Devonshire, were set at liberty, and several protestant prelates, amongst whom was Cranmer,

charged with high treason, were cast into prison, and in this year the Catholic religion was restored. The foreign protestants, besides several of the English, fled the country, to the great detriment of the learning and commerce of the realm. Amongst the foreigners who left our shores, driven away by the fierceness of persecution, was Peter Martyr, of Oxford, who, by the interference of Gardiner, was allowed to depart; but the body of his wife was afterwards dug up, and buried in a dung-heap. So regardless of all decency was the spirit which was now rising into the ascendant, that not only was this foul outrage perpetrated, but the bones of other foreign reformers were taken from their resting-places and publicly burnt.

Parliament and convocation, with the most slavish subserviency, fell in with the plans of the court; but the former assembly hoped to be able to impose some salutary restraints when the question of the queen's marriage, which now began to be mooted, should be brought before them for their approval of the necessary stipulations.

Three persons were thought of as suitable husbands for the queen: Courtenay, earl of Devon, cardinal Pole, and Philip, son of Charles V. Courtenay, who was one of the handsomest and most accomplished men of his day, appears to have been the favourite of Mary; but being suspected of reform tendencies, and of a preference for the princess Elizabeth, and quite disinclined to accept the royal honour, the idea was given up, and the only result was more rigorous measures towards Elizabeth. Cardinal Pole was thought too old, and it was therefore finally resolved that arrangements should be made with the emperor's son. It soon however became evident that the plan was decidedly unpopular: the catholics fearing that it would lead to England becoming a mere dependency of Spain, where Philip's cruelty and despotism were well known, and the reformers foreseeing that it would end in the complete re-establishment of popery.

The council was induced, by the influence of Gardiner, to consent; but the parliament determined to make one effort for liberty, appointed a committee to remonstrate in a decided manner against the match, and were immediately dissolved for their freedom. But the most alarming opposition was exhibited by the insurrections which broke

out, headed, in Kent by Sir Thomas Wyatt, in Devonshire by Sir Peter Carew, and in the midland counties by the duke of Suffolk; but these threatening outbreaks being frustrated by the want of prudent concert were soon suppressed. Sir Peter Carew fled to France, but Wyatt, Suffolk, and some others were executed. Elizabeth was committed to the Tower, and the innocent lady Jane Grey and her husband beheaded to gratify the rage of the queen.

On the 19th of July, 1554, Philip came, and the nuptials were soon celebrated, but the arrival of the royal bridegroom, who was soon appointed king of Naples and Sicily by the emperor, gave no satisfaction to any one; his pride, formality, and ill concealed contempt for the English, disgusted the people, while his coldness, if not aversion, painfully disappointed Mary, who found all her fondness disregarded. All these circumstances tended to make her unamiable temper still more morose and miserable; ambition, she soon saw, was the only emotion that reigned in her husband's mind: she therefore sought to induce the new parliament, which had been convened under the joint influence of royal letters and Spanish gold, to give her the power of disposing of the crown in the event of her dying without issue. But this they refused to do, and a number of the members disgusted with the designs which were making to render England a province of Spain, resolved to secede from the national assembly: for this they were indicted in the king's bench after parliament was dissolved, and several of them fined.

Persecution and extortion were now the only measures of the government; and venerable prelates, humble christians, apprentices, and even females, were continually dragged to the stake. The fires of bigotry and persecution burned perpetually. Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, was the first who was called to suffer for the faith of Christ. Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and multitudes besides, feeling that "they ought to obey God rather than men," were sacrificed to the cruel vengeance of a bigoted queen and her willing instruments, Gardiner and Bonner. The cardinal Pole, who had come over as pope's legate, and was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Cranmer, strove to arrest these sanguinary proceedings,

but in vain. It seemed as though the winnowing time of the church had come, and that God was gathering his faithful ones to himself, and designed to leave only those on the land who "loved vanity and sought after leasing;" but following years showed that, like the persecution after the death of Stephen (Acts viii.), these fierce trials had in reality tended to purify men's views of truth, and extend its profession.

Efforts were made to introduce the inquisition in the country, and tortures, confiscations, imprisonments were of constant occurrence; and hundreds suffered either by cruel deaths, excruciating tortures, or pecuniary loss, during these three years of terror.

In consequence of the intrigues of Philip and the influence of the queen, the nation was induced to take part in the war then being carried on between Spain and France, and which is remarkable for the celebrated battle of St. Quentin, which gave Spain so great a preponderance over her rival; but to England this embroilment with continental politics brought only expense and discontent at home, and abroad the loss of Calais. This place, which had been in the possession of the English for more than two hundred years, having been taken by Edward III. after a siege of eleven months, was recovered in the short space of eight days by the duke of Guise. This event, equally mortifying to the queen and the people, gave occasion to Philip to obtain a little popularity by negotiating, though in vain, for its restoration; but this was soon closed by the death of the queen, November 17, 1558, after a reign of little more than five years. Thus in mercy to this afflicted country ended the short but dreadful career of Mary; unwept by any party, either catholic or protestant; leaving a name which has been held in abhorrence by all succeeding generations for the frightful persecutions, intolerable extortions, and anti-national policy with which it is associated.

In 1558, without question or opposition, the princess Elizabeth, so long subjected to annoyances and fears from her sister—with her title to the succession so frequently denied, or affirmed—ascended the throne in the twenty-fifth year of her age. Welcomed by her people with general acclamations, she soon showed herself worthy of

their confidence, and well fitted for the important position she was called to fill. With many obvious defects of character as a woman, by the excellent qualities she displayed as a sovereign, she gained to herself a celebrity equal if not superior to the fame of any of her predecessors. Her conduct in relation to the reformation of religion, the great question of the age, was such as to preclude any hope of the restoration of popery, though it fell short of that complete removal of abuses which many desired to see effected.

After the necessary notifications of her accession had been sent to foreign courts, Elizabeth proceeded cautiously yet firmly to re-establish the protestant forms of worship, and suppress the monasteries, which had been lately recommenced: the mass was forbidden, and the liturgy of Edward was restored. These decided measures soon excited the opposition of the Romish party, and the prelates unanimously refused to participate in the ceremonies of the coronation, till the bishop of Carlisle was induced to perform the office of putting the crown upon her head. Though it was most to be expected that Elizabeth, having been educated in the principles of the reformation, would favour and encourage that form of faith; yet the very decided course she afterwards pursued may, in some measure, be attributed to the opposition she had to contend with, not only at the beginning of her reign, but throughout its course. Paul IV., the reigning pope, on receiving the news of her accession, told the ambassador "that it was an act of temerity and presumption for his mistress to assume the crown of England, which, being a fief of the holy see, was at his disposal; moreover, that her illegitimacy was an effectual bar to her succession, but that if she submitted to his authority he would deal mildly with her." Language like this was little suited to the temper of a Tudor monarch, and only produced more determined resistance to papal usurpation. Henry II. of France, who had succeeded his father, Francis I., with the design of promoting the influence of the French in England by the means of Scotland—the prevailing policy of that day—still affected to consider Elizabeth as illegitimate, and therefore unable to succeed; and directed Mary queen of Scots, married to his son Francis, to assume the arms of

England as a claimant to the throne, and thus sowed the seeds of that sad and unfortunate rivalry between the two queens, which led to such disastrous results in after years.

Philip II. of Spain, unwilling to lose England, and caring little whether he obtained it through Mary or Elizabeth, made her an offer of marriage, and promised to obtain a dispensation from the pope to allow the union; but Elizabeth, after respectful delay, courteously refused, and thus inflicted a wound on his Spanish pride which was never forgiven. Amidst these perplexities, a safe and successful course was difficult; but supplementing her own prudence by calling to her council men of the greatest sagacity she could obtain, such as Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the celebrated chancellor of that name, Sir William Cecil, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others of known protestant principles, to counteract the eleven counsellors of her sister whom she retained, she devised and followed out a policy which exalted England to a position in relation to other nations which it had never before attained.

Aware that her people required repose after the fierce persecutions at home, and the expensive war which the connexion with Spain had produced in the previous reign, she made peace with France and Scotland; and though unable to recover Calais, she stipulated for such conditions as served to save the national honour.

The main points to which Elizabeth and her counsellors had to direct their attention through the course of her rule, were the settlement of the religious profession of the people; the intrigues of Scotland and France to obtain the recognition of Mary's superior claims to the crown; and the hatred of Philip, produced alike by his wounded pride, and his settled bigotry.

In carrying out the arrangement of the religious disputes of her time, Elizabeth displayed very much of the arbitrary spirit of her father; and if blood was not so frequently or so wantonly shed, she is yet far from being free from the charge of persecution. The high commission court, which in the time of the Stuarts was employed for such despotic purposes, was established in the first year of her reign, and was designed to assist in carrying on the reformation by

discovering and punishing heresy, being intended at its institution to have reference to ecclesiastics only, but by the vagueness of the law it was soon extended far beyond its original limits. By a clause of this act, the queen was empowered "to name and authorize by letters patent, as often as she shall think meet, for such time as she shall please, such person or persons, being natural-born subjects, as she shall think fit, to execute all jurisdiction concerning spiritual matters within the realm, and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any ecclesiastical authority might be lawfully ordered or corrected." Such was the act; and in the commissions subsequently granted by virtue of this authority, the commissioners were directed "to make inquiry by juries and witnesses, and all other means and ways which they could devise." It would be difficult to distinguish between a court possessing such ample powers as these, and the oppressive tyranny of the popish inquisition.

The oppressive character of this court soon became apparent; to deny the queen's supremacy, to neglect attending church, or to transgress in any way the act of uniformity, exposed the alleged transgressors to fines, imprisonment for life, or shorter periods, and sometimes to death itself.

There were three classes of persons especially obnoxious to the influence of these severe enactments. Upon the catholics they were immediately brought to bear; and thirteen of the bishops, besides one hundred and sixty of the inferior clergy, were deprived soon after the accession of the queen, as well as very many more during the course of her reign. But there was another class rising into influence, against whom her displeasure was soon manifested: these were those who wished the reformation to be more complete; agreeing with the principle of a state establishment, but desiring that in doctrines, ceremonies, and vestments, there might be a further remove from what they considered the corruptions of the church of Rome. These puritans, as they were called, had appeared more or less from the dawn of the reformation; but were much strengthened by the foreign divines, Peter Martyr, Bucer,

John à Lasco, and others who came to England at the time of Edward's accession. Repressed with all other protestants during the reign of Mary, they revived in hope and increased in numbers when Elizabeth assumed the crown, and soon made their influence felt in parliament.

In 1566 they endeavoured, but in vain, to carry seven bills through the house of commons. In 1571, one Strickland, a member of the house, having attempted to bring in a bill to amend the liturgy, the queen had him summoned before the council, and prohibited him from again appearing in the house: a prohibition however she felt compelled to withdraw in consequence of the excitement it produced; and in a subsequent parliament four members were committed to the Tower, and kept there some time, for presenting a bill for establishing "a new directory of public worship." Amongst the clergy, many of the most eminent ministers were deprived of their benefices for various acts of nonconformity, and cast out upon the world. "They travelled up and down the countries," says bishop Jewel, "from church to church, preaching where they could get leave, as if they were apostles; and so they were with regard to their poverty, for silver and gold they had none." Many of these persecuted witnesses for the truth resolved to separate themselves entirely from the establishment, which they did in 1566, and used the Geneva service book instead of the English liturgy, in their private assemblies.

But there was another class who went yet further in their separation from the church established by law, and who contended for the entire freedom of religion from the restraints of government; asserting that a church consisted of regenerated persons banded together for mutual edification and the worship of God, and that it was complete in itself, and ought not to allow the interference of the civil magistrates, but regulate all its affairs by the word of God alone. These independents—as they were called, from claiming independency of state pay and foreign control—appear to have multiplied rapidly during the reign of Elizabeth, notwithstanding the severe measures which were employed to extirpate them. Three eminent learned and pious ministers of this persuasion, Barrowe,

Greenwood, and Penry, were hanged; but finding this method of stopping the progress of 'heresy' useless, the high commission court changed its course, and imprisonment, and—when the gaols were full—banishment was resorted to, but with no better success. Many of the exiles retired to the Dutch states waiting for better times, and increased by continual arrivals from their native land.

But while Elizabeth thus assumed and exercised a power little, if in any degree, less than that of the bishop of Rome, in her home government, abroad she was regarded as the great champion of the protestant faith; and such she unquestionably proved herself to be, either from personal preference, or from sagacious policy, or what is more likely, from the mingled influence of both these principles. The reform doctrines had made such great progress in Scotland, that there appeared some prospect of catholicism becoming extinct under the government of Mary of Guise, the queen regent, and a civil war ensued in consequence. The leaders of the reformers, or as they called themselves, "the lords of the congregation," finding themselves pressed, applied to Elizabeth for help; and an army and a fleet were despatched, by whom the united powers of France and the catholic portion of the Scots were defeated, and such stipulations adopted as raised the credit of the English government in the opinion of all the courts of Europe, whether friendly or otherwise.

In France also the protection of the queen was sought by the Huguenots, when engaged in the fierce civil convulsions which agitated that kingdom while contending with the house of Guise, and Catherine of Medici the queen-mother, during the minority of Charles IX.; while in the Netherlands she afforded substantial assistance to the persecuted inhabitants, who were suffering from the cruel barbarities of Philip and his agents. In 1567 she opened all her ports to the Flemish refugees, who repaid her kindness by introducing those arts and manufactures which effectually promoted the prosperity of this country, and, through the Spanish ambassador, earnestly solicited mercy for the afflicted states. Not content with this, she advanced them a loan of £100,000, only requiring that the states should not conclude any treaty without her knowledge and consent. In 1585 she further sought to aid

them, by sending an army of 6000 troops under the command of the earl of Leicester ; but the arrogant and incapable conduct of this man ultimately caused a coolness between the states and the queen, and finally destroyed the English influence in the Netherlands. When it is remembered that by thus helping the Flemings she was placing herself in direct opposition to Spain, then the mightiest monarchy in existence, the boldness of the policy which sought to protect the oppressed protestants, and at the same time to curb the growing power of Philip, will be as apparent as its wisdom.

With Scotland the political complications were of necessity increased by the intimate union of that country with France. The early death of Francis II., husband of Mary queen of Scots, might have held out some hope of the restoration of friendly feelings with England, but for the influence which the house of Guise still maintained over the mind of Mary, and the jealousy which Elizabeth cherished towards her for claiming the right of succession to the English throne. The unhappy disputes between these two monarchs, showed most clearly that the purpose of Henry VIII. to unite both countries under one sceptre, was the only wise and safe course that could be adopted.

Harassed by the factions which existed amongst her nobility, and which were both religious and political, Mary seems to have been utterly unable to guide the conflicting elements ; depending upon France until her own subjects rose in rebellion against her. She unhappily increased the difficulties of her position by her own guilty conduct, in reference to her second husband, Darnley, and the paramours she encouraged. Escaping at last to England, she sought the hospitality and protection of Elizabeth, of whose favour she entertained some hope from the attempts she had lately made on her behalf with her refractory people ; and thus in 1568 became a resident in a country she was never again to leave.

On her arrival she was lodged in the castle of Carlisle, where she was visited by messengers from Elizabeth, expressing the sympathy their mistress felt with her misfortunes ; but at the same time informing her that she could not be admitted to the royal presence, until she had

cleared herself from the charge of being accessory to the murder of her husband, the unfortunate Darnley.

With bitter tears, Mary declared that she would willingly justify her character from the charge, and would submit the arbitration of her cause to her majesty. Conferences were therefore opened to investigate the affair; but when they had reached the point of evidence being offered to prove Mary's complicity with the crime, she resolutely refused to put in a reply, and consequently the investigation was brought to an abrupt termination. Requiring to be allowed to depart to France, she was not only refused, but removed from castle to castle under the pretext of protecting her as a guest from the violence of her enemies amongst the Scots; but in reality as a prisoner whom it was difficult to retain, and still more dangerous to leave free.

As Elizabeth appears to have feared from the commencement of the affair, Mary's presence produced considerable perplexity. Conspiracies were from time to time detected, in which Mary, some of the most eminent of the catholic nobility, Alva, Philip's general in the Netherlands, and others were involved. Pope Pius V., it is said at the instigation of Mary, issued his bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and insurrections broke out in several places. These attempts to subvert the government led to the execution of many of the conspirators; but affected the Scottish queen only by inducing a more rigid watchfulness of her person and proceedings, until the discovery of Babington's conspiracy in 1586. This desperate design, which contemplated the delivery of the queen of Scots and the assassination of Elizabeth, was embraced by a large number of the leaders of the catholics; the pope, Philip of Spain, and the duke of Guise encouraged the plan by resolving to invade England, on the understanding that in the event of James VI. of Scotland refusing to adopt the Romish faith, Mary should transfer her claim to the English crown to Spain. By the vigilance of Elizabeth and her ministers, and especially by the penetration of Walsingham, the plot was detected before it was ripe for execution, and the principal agents seized, tried, and put to death; but the great difficulty was how to deal with Mary. At last, however, it was resolved to try her

on the charge of high treason; a commission was accordingly appointed, and after much opposition from Mary, who pleaded that her position as a sovereign princess exempted her from the authority of the laws of a country where she was an involuntary captive, prevailed on her to submit to the trial. After a lengthened investigation she was adjudged guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced. Various efforts were made by her son, James VI. of Scotland, and other courts to avert the execution; but on February 1587, Elizabeth, who felt, or affected to feel, strong objections to put the sentence in force, signed the warrant for her death, and committed it to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent to see it fulfilled.

And now the once beautiful and envied Mary Stuart was about to close a life which both crime and misfortune concurred to render remarkable. Receiving at Fotheringay Castle the information of the solemn fate which awaited her, she displayed much firmness, though evidently surprised at the decision; and on February 7th, attended by a few faithful servants, she passed into the solemn hall of death, where the necessary arrangements had been made for the affecting tragedy. More disturbed by the lamentations of her attendants than by the prospect of her own sufferings, she enjoined silence with that kindness of manner for which she was always distinguished. Professing her belief in the catholic faith, and pressing a crucifix to her bosom, after a few solemn prayers, she quietly laid her head on the block, and after two strokes from the executioner she closed her eventful career. Thus in the forty-fifth year of her age, terminated the sorrows and the sins of one whose beauty, accomplishments, royal elevation, and chequered course attracted the notice of all her contemporaries, and cease not to interest the student of history after the lapse of nearly three centuries. The strict legality of the act seems to be more than questionable; its policy will be variously estimated according to the standpoint from which it is contemplated, but by most it will be looked upon as a dark spot on the fame of Elizabeth and the splendour of her reign. Affecting much sorrow for what had been done under the authority of her own signature, she attempted to soothe the indignation of James, and having succeeded she had but little cause for

disquietude from the northern kingdom during the remainder of her life, excepting such as was caused by her own jealousy of one who she knew must inherit her crown.

Besides the disquietude caused by the affairs of Scotland, the reign of Elizabeth was frequently disturbed by the restless ambition, and determined bigotry of her brother-in-law, Philip II. of Spain. This monarch, who, it will be recollected, had made her an offer of his hand on her accession, never forgave the offence to his pride which her refusal had inflicted. But in addition to this, he being regarded as the principal political head of the catholics, was placed in direct antagonism with Elizabeth, the acknowledged protectress of the persecuted protestants; while the active and avowed support she had given to his disaffected subjects in the Netherlands, strengthened and confirmed his hatred in the latter part of his life.

Though affecting cordiality for some years after the queen had ascended the English throne, it was well understood that his enmity was only restrained by motives of policy. But the death of Francis II. of France, the husband of Mary Stuart, removing (as he imagined) all probability of the union of England and France, his animosity to Elizabeth began to assume a more positive character; while on the part of some of the subjects of the queen, it must be admitted, that various acts of piracy had afforded him a colourable pretext for his hostility. In 1580, he sent a body of Spaniards and Italians into Ireland to encourage the catholic population to rebel against the government; and in the following year he founded the university of Douay, for the express purpose of training catholic priests, who returned to England to preserve the ancient faith from the encroachments of protestantism.

But the most determined, and the most alarming of all his acts of hostility, occurred in 1588. Pope Sixtus V. had published a bull calling Elizabeth a pretender to the crown, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance; but spiritual thunders having lost their influence, it was determined to try more effectual measures, especially as there was now peace between Spain and the Turks, and France was too busily engaged to interfere; hence the

vast preparations which were made by Philip's directions in Naples, Sicily, Spain, and Portugal, to fit out this so-called invincible armada.

Ships of great size, and in vast numbers, were built; sailors and soldiers were assembled from every quarter; stores and provisions were collected to an incredible amount; costly luxuries, and instruments of torture were provided, at an expense beyond calculation: the instruments of torture for the English, in thought already vanquished, and the luxuries to grace the triumphs the Spaniards expected infallibly to enjoy. Sixtus V. gave the armament the advantage of his blessing, and the ablest of the generals, admirals, and nobility of Philip's dominions, the more valuable co-operation of their valour and skill. At last all was completed, and on the 19th of July, 1588, it arrived in the Channel, its captains expecting an easy victory; but providentially the spirit of the English, under the direction of their dauntless queen, and her sagacious ministers, was equal to the occasion. A principle of universal patriotism prevailed; suitable arrangements were made with the land forces after the queen had reviewed them at Tilbury, and her fleet, strengthened by the private vessels of the nobility and merchants, came out of every port, sailing under the command of lord Howard of Effingham, when they saw the armada advancing in the form of a crescent, stretching to the extent of seven miles from one extremity to another. Various skirmishes occurred in this English Salamis, which soon made it apparent that the enterprise must fail. Mortified at this unlooked for repulse, the duke of Medina resolved to return homewards; but determined to sail round the north of the island, when a fierce storm arose and dashed their unwieldy vessels on the western isles of Scotland, or the coast of Ireland, until more than one half of this arrogant armament was either dashed to pieces by the violence of the storm, or destroyed by the intrepidity of the English. Thus ended, by the Divine favour, an enterprise which, had it succeeded, must have handed England over to the cruel bigotry of Philip, and its inhabitants to all the darkness and slavery of popery. Elizabeth justly recognised the true source of this great deliverance; when being told of the result, she exclaimed, "He blew with His winds, and they were

scattered," and surrounded by a grateful people, she repaired to St. Paul's cathedral and presented their national gratitude to that God who had rescued them from such imminent peril, and by means so evidently His own.

This defeat, though it prevented Philip from forming any very extensive scheme of opposition against Elizabeth, did not hinder him from exhibiting the malice which rankled in his heart, whenever opportunity offered. Scotland and Ireland were the scenes where, by his intrigues, he sought to shake the stability of the English throne; while occasional plots for the assassination of Elizabeth, which were traced to him as their author, show how implacable was the hatred by which he was influenced.

Indeed so constant were the intrigues of Spain, both by Philip and his son, throughout this reign, that a national antipathy to the inhabitants of the peninsula seems to have been produced in this country, and to have maintained its influence for a long period.

One subject of considerable importance to the nation was frequently agitated during the reign of Elizabeth, but without success, namely, the marriage of the queen. At a very early period she was requested by her parliament to choose a suitable partner, but she avowed her firm intention to live a single life. Hopes were however entertained that time might modify this resolve, especially as several advantageous offers were made to her by foreign princes, besides the favourable emotions she evidently felt towards some of her own subjects. Still she resolutely refused; feelings of strong affection were nevertheless indulged to some of her leading nobility, as for instance towards Dudley, earl of Leicester, and the impetuous earl of Essex. It was indeed the bitter remorse with which she was haunted for having consented to the execution of the latter nobleman for treason, that clouded her last days, and completely subdued her hitherto indomitable spirit. Almost immediately after his death her health declined: passing her time in incessant weeping, and refusing to take her food she lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, resisting the earnest entreaties of her attendants to allow them to convey her to her bed. Having given instructions to her council that James of Scotland should be her successor, and expressing her confidence

in God, she sank into a lethargy, and in a few hours passed away from a royal crown (March 24th, 1603) to the solemn realities of that eternal world where "every one must give an account of himself to God."

Thus died the celebrated Elizabeth, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign; a princess whose vigorous and sagacious mind, aided by the able men whom she always selected to form her council, developed and pursued a policy which raised England to eminence amongst the nations of Europe, and promoted to an unusual degree the social and commercial prosperity of her own kingdom. Effectually subverting all hope of the restoration of the catholic faith in England, she yet displayed no small amount of despotism in reference to matters of religion, and liberty of conscience could not be said to exist under her rule. Governing her people more in the spirit of an absolute, than of a constitutional, monarch, she yet possessed their confidence to such an extent as made the plots of her foes, foreign and domestic, utterly powerless, and achieved a fame in English history which is still looked back to with pride, and causes her reign to be regarded as one of the brightest pages of our annals.

Several important events also, which can only be glanced at here, tended to make her name illustrious: the crushing of the rebellions in Ireland under Desmond and O'Neil, the planting of the colony of Virginia in America, the successful voyage of Sir Francis Drake round the world, and the establishment of commercial relations with Russia, thus introducing this vast empire to more general notice. But we must briefly survey the affairs of Scotland during this period.

The great question of the age, the reformation of religion, was the source of much agitation in the northern kingdom, and added to the evils generally attendant on a regency, produced the most fearful convulsions. Mary, when deprived of her husband, Francis II., returned to her own dominions, and was received with great joy by her subjects, and for a time appeared disposed to treat the protestants with confidence, under the guidance of her natural brother, the earl of Murray; but still practising the forms of her own faith, she excited the hos-

tility of the more strenuous adherents of the reformation ; this was increased by the unhappy events connected with the murder of Darnley, and her subsequent marriage with the earl of Bothwell, an unprincipled man. The people fearing that the design of this profligate nobleman was to get possession of the young prince James, rose in rebellion ; and Mary, defeated at Carberry hill, fell into the hands of her enemies, was confined in Lochlevin castle, and compelled to abdicate her crown in favour of her young son, James VI. Escaping from her confinement, she made another attempt to regain her authority, but defeated at Langside, she fled to England, and committed herself to the treacherous hospitality of Elizabeth, with what sad results we have seen already. Murray was again appointed regent, during the minority of James ; but being assassinated in 1570, the kingdom soon fell into a state of anarchy. Mary's party for a time obtained some amount of authority ; but by the influence of Elizabeth, Lennox, the king's grandfather, was chosen regent, and thus again the friends of the reformed faith prevailed. The truce between the factions however was but temporary ; Lennox was put to death in 1572, and was followed in the regency by the earl of Marr, and afterwards by the earl of Morton. Anarchy still prevailed to a great extent, produced by the fierceness of opposing factions, the minority of James, and the intrigues of the courts of England, France and Spain. The only memorable event was the establishment of presbyterianism as the religion of the land, resulting from the increasing numbers of protestants.

Scotland at this period painfully illustrated Solomon's words, " Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child." (Ecclesiastes x. 16.) Faction, intrigue, and revolution, successively occurred, till James, with advancing years, established his authority, and by succeeding to the throne of England, identified the interests of the two kingdoms.

Ireland, neither subdued by English power, nor benefited by English civilization, was a continual source of anxiety to the government during the reign of Elizabeth : the hostile clans, despising the small body of troops by which it was attempted to overawe them, were continually

harassing each other by intestine feuds, or if united by the intrigues of France or Spain, it was that they might if possible expel the English from the country. No efforts had been made to educate or to christianise them, and the religion they professed, being a compound of catholicism, ignorance, and pagan superstition, not only rendered them fierce and intractable in character, but inspired them with a deadlier hatred to protestant England. The efforts hitherto made to subjugate them had been desultory, ill planned, or left to private adventurers, till the rebellious spirit acquired such a determined form under Desmond and O'Neil, that it became imperatively necessary that more strenuous efforts should be tried; accordingly in the year 1599, Elizabeth sent over her favourite, Essex, with an army of 22,000 men, investing him with the title of lord-lieutenant. This army, larger than she had ever raised before, it was hoped would succeed in reducing to subjection the whole island; but the miserable mismanagement of Essex produced another and most complete failure, and doubtless tended, with his subsequent course of folly and treason, to bring him to his untimely end on the scaffold.

1601.—Elizabeth now resolved to send over lord Mountjoy, who instead of listening to the treacherous advice which had deceived his predecessor, led his army immediately into the field; and supported efficiently by Sir Henry Docwray, Sir George Carew, and others, he succeeded, notwithstanding a body of Spaniards came to the help of the Irish, in quelling this formidable rebellion, and gave a reasonable prospect of the ultimate and complete subjection of the island to the power and authority of the English.

CHAPTER X.

Outrage and Spoliation.—A. D. 1500—1603.

SMALLER STATES AND DEPENDENCIES.

FONDNESS FOR MARITIME DISCOVERIES.—ALGIERS, ITS PIRATIONAL CHARACTER.—TUNIS AND TRIPOLI.—MOROCCO.—THE SALLEE ROVERS.—CORSIKA.—DISCOVERIES OF PORTUGAL.—BRAZIL.—COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF SPAIN.—MEXICO.—SEARCH AFTER WEALTH.—VELASQUEZ.—CUBA AND HISPANIOLA.—CORTES.—HIS CRUEL PROCEEDINGS.—PERU.—ALMAGRO AND PIZARRO.—TREATMENT OF THE INCA ATAHUALPA.—ANNEXATION OF A PART OF CHILI.—POSSESSIONS OF THE DUTCH.—AMBOYNA.—BATAVIA.—CURAÇOA.—ST. EUSTATIUS.—SURINAM.—NEW YORK.—PENNSYLVANIA.—DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH.—THE CANADAS.—THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.—ROBINSON AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS.—JAMAICA.—NOVA SCOTIA.

ONE of the most remarkable features of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the prevailing fondness for maritime discoveries, produced by the extraordinary success of Columbus and Vasco de Gama; it continued to influence most of the leading nations of Europe, notwithstanding the fierce wars in which they were so frequently engaged. In some instances these enterprises were induced by an ambitious desire for territorial extension, in others for the purpose of gain, either by spoiling the countries of their wealth, or the more legitimate aims of commerce; while in some cases the object was to find a quiet and secure asylum from the rage of religious persecution. Discoveries were sooner or later followed by colonization, which of course was beneficial or otherwise according to the ends sought to be obtained, and the character of those who were entrusted with the great responsibility of carrying out the design. If in some cases the peaceful arts were introduced amongst those who never

knew their value or experienced the power of genuine religion, in too many instances the sword of the warrior, and the deadly struggles of sanguinary conflict, were the means by which different sections of the human family have first become acquainted. Besides those countries, which by the means we have mentioned were first opened up to intercourse with the civilized world, there have always been a number of small states which from their weakness have with difficulty maintained a separate existence, or have been compelled to become dependent on more powerful kingdoms. Thus Algiers, situate on the northern coast of Africa, and comprising the country known to the ancients by the name of Numidia, having been conquered by Ferdinand of Spain in 1509, being desirous of throwing off the yoke, but too weak to contend alone with a power so mighty, called in the help of a famous Turkish corsair, named "Baba Horush," afterwards corrupted by the European sailors into "Barbarossa." This man not only enabled the Moors to expel the Spaniards, but deposed their chief, and assumed the sovereign power for himself. Being killed in battle, after a reign marked by barbarous cruelty, he was succeeded by his brother, who, sensible of the need of foreign protection, put himself and his country under allegiance to Selim I., the Ottoman sultan, and thus became so secure that even Charles V. with all his vast resources was unable to recover possession.

The piratical character which this state had now obtained was kept up by such a series of cruelties in the Mediterranean that it became the terror of all Christian sailors, until it brought down upon itself a severe chastisement from Blake, the admiral of Oliver Cromwell, by whom the Algerines were taught to respect the English flag. The French, under Louis XIV., also visited them with punishment, besides several other nations, but nothing would cure them of their love of piracy.*

TUNIS, another of the Barbary states, differs but little in its history from the neighbouring country Algeria.

* In 1816 the British fleet under lord Exmouth bombarded the town of Algiers, when the dey signed a treaty by which he agreed to liberate all Christian slaves, and cease in future from the practice of piracy; but violating his engagement, his country was finally conquered and annexed to France in 1830.

Together with Tripoli it formed part of the ancient kingdom of Carthage. For a series of years it was governed by African kings, until the time of Soliman the magnificent, when it was taken by Barbarossa II., who was expelled by Charles V. After a short time the Turks recovered their influence under Selim II., but Charles again attacked it, and after a great slaughter of the inhabitants, set 10,000 Christian slaves at liberty.

In 1574 the Turks made it a dependency to the empire, and it was governed by a succession of deys, or as they are sometimes called, beys; out of twenty-three of whom only five were allowed to die a natural death, all the rest being strangled or assassinated in some other manner. Its piratical habits brought upon it, as in the case of Algiers, the wrath of admiral Blake, who severely punished its inhabitants in 1655. For a long time Tunis continued, notwithstanding the repeated attacks of European powers, to infest the sea with its murderous corsairs, but later years have witnessed a decided improvement.

MOROCCO.—This ancient kingdom, occupying the north-west corner of Africa, was settled as an independent state so early as the ninth century. Comprising Fez and the country formerly known as Mauritania, it soon became a place of some importance, by the cultivation of the useful arts, and has long been celebrated for its leather and for Turkey carpets.

Its capital, Morocco, was famous for its encouragement of oriental learning. In 1116 a dynasty was founded by a leader of a sect of Mahomedans, named Abdallah, which lasted rather more than a century, and was closed by the death of the reigning sovereign, who had engaged in a war with Spain. About this time some of the provinces revolted, but being subdued by the descendants of Mahomet, the empire of Morocco was founded; which, notwithstanding its occasional struggles with the Spaniards and Portuguese, continues to the present time.

It acquired a terrible celebrity for the cruelties committed by its pirates, known by the name of "Sallee rovers." Many of its inhabitants are descendants of the Moors who were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. Nearly 400,000 Jews are supposed to reside there in the present day.

The island of Corsica, after having had many masters, came under the power of the Genoese, who had made many attempts to conquer it, but without success, till the year 1481. Subsequently to that year it was assailed by the French and the Turks, but the Genoese maintained their hold, until in later years it was ceded to France. It has attracted considerable notice, from having been the birthplace of Napoleon I.

As she was amongst the earliest, so Portugal was one of the most successful in the work of discovery, and exerted an influence upon the commercial relations of different countries which soon began to operate, and which is felt even in the present day, by diverting the eastern trade from its previous channels, and leading the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope. This great work was effected by Vasco de Gama in 1497.

But the discovery most important to the Portuguese as a nation, was effected in 1500, when, assailed by a fierce tempest, Alvarez de Cabral was driven upon the coast of Brazil. This vast empire, comprising about 2,500,000 square miles, rich in gold and diamonds, besides the red wood from which it takes its name, soon became the possession of Portugal. Contenting themselves with sending Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to the whole continent, the Portuguese did not effect any settlement till about 1523, when John III. invested some of the wealthiest families of his kingdom with extensive tracts of land on the coast; but this plan not succeeding, a governor was sent out in 1549, the town of Bahia founded, and a regular colonial government established. This arrangement continued, interrupted only by some futile attempts by the French and the English to gain a settlement, until the Dutch West India Company, inflated by their success in the East, attempted to appropriate Brazil also in 1623. Successful in the first instance, they were afterwards expelled, but the struggle was not finally settled until the year 1660, when the Dutch renounced all claim upon the country by a treaty of peace.

Subsequently to these events it continued under the rule of Portugal until its independence was secured, as will be related in a future chapter.

The extensive colonial possessions of Spain in the six-

teenth century would require too much space to describe them in detail, and therefore we must restrict ourselves to the two principal, Mexico and Peru.

MEXICO.—While the Portuguese sought the extension of their commerce by the means of their colonial possessions, a course in which they were afterwards imitated by the Dutch, the great aim of the Spaniards in their various conquests was to discover and obtain the wealth which they supposed the various countries they attacked to possess. Hence all their advances upon the Western world were disgraced by cruelty which was incited and sustained by an avaricious greed of gain. Influenced by these sordid views, Velasquez, a Spanish nobleman, was sent early in the sixteenth century to effect the conquest of the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola. In doing this the most horrid cruelties were perpetrated in the sacred name of religion. The rack, the gibbet, and the stake, were the favourite instruments by which the Spaniards sought to carry out their schemes of colonization. The miserable inhabitants were hunted down like wild beasts to compel them to reveal treasures they did not possess, or to adopt a form of religion which was made hateful to them by the atrocious crimes of those who professed to be its advocates.

To such an extent was this fearful crusade carried, that Cuba and Hispaniola were in a short time completely depopulated; still the mainland remained to be explored, and as soon as the islands were subdued it was resolved to undertake the work. In the army of Velasquez was a young officer named Hernan Cortez, who had been in early life designed for the study of the law; but exhibiting a wayward, reckless disposition, totally unfit for such quiet pursuits, he was permitted to go out with Velasquez. In the fearful wars, or rather outrages, which occurred in Cuba and Hispaniola, he displayed a fearless courage and ready tact, which seemed to fit him for the work of extending the power of Spain on the continent. Velasquez therefore gave him a commission, and sent him in 1519 to attempt a settlement in the empire of Mexico, furnishing him with eleven ships, and little more than six hundred men for the enterprise. Landing near to the site of Vera Cruz, he soon exhibited the desperate daring with

which he designed to carry out his purpose, by destroying his ships, and thus teaching his soldiers that they must conquer or die. He then marched into the heart of the country, which he found to comprise some few republics, while the whole was governed by Montezuma the king of the Aztecs. On every side he beheld evidences of an advanced stage of civilization, combined with considerable splendour. The unsophisticated inhabitants, when they saw the destructive power of the Spanish artillery and the military evolutions of the soldiers, looked upon their invaders as a superior race of beings, and were disposed to reverence them as descendants of the sun. Such was the awe with which the Mexicans were inspired, that they were afraid to attack them, until, in a sudden outbreak, one of the Spanish soldiers being killed, his head was carried through the country in triumph as a conclusive proof that their foes were not immortal. Cortez fearing the influence this event might have, immediately proceeded to the palace with fifty men, and boldly seized the emperor Montezuma in the midst of his court, and, loading him with irons, took him with him to his camp. When there, he demanded that the officer who was the aggressor, his son, and five other officers, should be given up to him; which being done, he burnt them to death in front of the palace on a pile of Mexican arms; thus pretending to perform an act of justice, after having perpetrated the most frightful slaughter at Tabasco, where he first landed, and massacred 6000 of the Tlascalans who had ventured to resist him. The Mexicans, affrighted by the capture of their emperor, immediately agreed to surrender all the imperial treasures for his restoration. After this daring act, Montezuma was induced to acknowledge the supremacy of Charles V.; but when pressed to adopt the Christian faith he most resolutely refused, a determination which can excite no surprise, when viewed in connexion with the indignities and wrongs he and his subjects had been called to bear from these warlike apostles of the lowly Jesus. Subsequently, when Cortez attempted to destroy their idols, the people rose and compelled him to desist.

While pursuing this career of successful violence, Cortez received information that Velasquez had sent an army against him, in consequence of his refusing to return to

Cuba as he had summoned him to do. Cortez immediately set out to meet his new enemy with 250 soldiers, leaving 150 men to defend the city of Mexico. Attacking the newly arrived Spaniards at midnight, he took Narvaez, their general, prisoner, and compelled the men, numbering 800 infantry, 120 cross-bowmen, 80 horsemen, with their 12 pieces of artillery, to join with his forces, and led them all to the siege of the city, which had revolted during his absence. Though successful in the siege, he soon found that the martial spirit of the natives had been aroused; for not only were they ready to resist the Spaniards, but when Montezuma attempted to induce them to submit, they put their beloved monarch to death rather than obey. Under Guatimozin, the successor of Montezuma, the whole empire rose; but though displaying a bravery as determined as it was unexpected, the discipline of the Spaniards prevailed, and Mexico was completely subdued. Guatimozin, the new emperor, was taken prisoner; and because he refused to reveal where his treasures were concealed, he was stripped and stretched upon burning coals: and afterwards a conspiracy against the Spaniards being discovered, he and all the princes of the royal house were hanged. Thus in 1527, this empire came into the possession of the Spanish crown, by whom it was held for more than three hundred years. We have given but a faint impression of the awful and innumerable cruelties by which this conquest was effected; nor indeed, until the revelations of the day of final retribution shall make them known, can the amount of savage violence which Cortez and his troops inflicted be correctly estimated. After this remarkable campaign, Cortez returned to Spain; but again crossing the Atlantic, he discovered California, whose wealth has of late years excited so much attention and attracted so many adventurers.

PERU, another extensive and valuable empire, was invaded by the Spaniards in 1527, the same year that Mexico was subjugated. The adventurers in this instance were Diego d'Almagro and Francis Pizarro. The latter discoverer and conqueror of Peru, was the natural son of a Spanish officer, born at Truxillo in 1480. He was so neglected in early life, that he never received even the rudiments of education, but was employed to keep pigs; until wearied of the occupation he ran away, and managed

to reach America, where he joined the soldiers who were ravaging the different parts of the newly found world. Having formed an acquaintance with Almagro, they resolved to explore the western coast of the Continent; but being destitute of money, they persuaded a priest named Hernando de Luque to advance the necessary funds, and in 1524, Pizarro sailed in a small vessel with only eighty men, it being arranged that Almagro should follow with a larger force. But, ignorant of the coast, and probably not very skilful in the science of navigation, he and his little band were exposed to so many difficulties, that they were compelled to wait the arrival of Almagro. Still their numbers were too small to encourage any hope of success, they therefore returned to Panama; but the governor not only refused any new levies, but sent a vessel to capture Pizarro and his men. To this order the bold adventurer refused to submit, and drawing a line in the sand with his sword, requested those who were willing to accompany him to cross the line; only thirteen had the courage to do so. But with these, and a few more whom he obtained afterwards, he proceeded to explore the coast. Encouraged by the sight of the ornaments made of the precious metals, which he saw on the clothing of the natives, and some of which he obtained, he ultimately sailed for Spain, at the request of Almagro and the priest, that he might obtain that assistance which the local governor refused. He managed to make favourable terms for himself, but made none for Almagro, and returned with some small amount of aid, invested with the authority of captain-general of the forces, and governor of the countries he might conquer. This treachery excited intense indignation in the mind of Almagro; but something like a reconciliation having been effected, Pizarro landed, it being again arranged that his partner in the adventure should follow. Thus, with 150 soldiers and 36 horsemen, this fearless captain undertook the subjugation of a mighty empire, abounding in wealth, and enjoying a considerable share of the benefits of civilization under the government of their incas. After a few struggles he advanced further into the heart of the country, when, finding a civil war raging, he determined to turn it to his own account by joining with Atahualpa, the reigning inca. As was usual in those freebooting

expeditions, the monarch was required to acknowledge Charles V. as his lord, and profess the Christian faith ; but these demands not being complied with, Pizarro made the inca his prisoner, and massacred 5000 of his subjects : the real cause of the violence being, that Pizarro and his men were maddened by the profuse display of wealth which surrounded them on every side.

Atahualpa was confined in a room of considerable size, and detecting the covetous spirit of the Spaniards, offered to fill the room with gold as high as could be reached, if his liberty should be granted him afterwards. Pizarro professing to agree to this, the wealth was collected till the Spaniards became intoxicated with the sight of such a vast amount, and divided it amongst them according to a fixed scale, a portion being reserved for the king of Spain. But craving still, they yet insisted on the unhappy inca providing more to satisfy their insatiate demands, and, pretending that he was concealing it from them unlawfully, they, in spite of previous promise, not only refused him his liberty, but had him strangled at a stake.

Almagro, who with incredible perseverance had toiled on through opposing foes, and over the mighty Andes, losing a considerable number of men in the enterprise, had penetrated into Chili, and thus earned a fame for himself, additional to that he had acquired in connexion with his commander in Peru. The feud between these two men never seems to have been sincerely healed: hence when free from their conflicts with the natives, they soon disagreed ; and ancient hatred being increased by fresh injuries, war broke out between them, when Almagro was taken prisoner, and, by the direction of his former associate, executed as a criminal. The triumph of Pizarro however was not of long duration ; the son of Almagro gathered other of the disaffected around him, and after fighting bravely for his life against a number of assailants, Pizarro fell covered with wounds at the foot of the staircase ; and Peru, with valuable silver mines at Potosi, which the Peruvians were compelled to work, became, with a considerable portion of Chili, an appendage to the Spanish crown. Thus by proceedings, which in the present day would be regarded as the lawless outrage of freebooters, did Spain become possessed of

some of the wealthiest parts of the globe; but as she had acquired them by fraud and violence, that very wealth became, by the operations of a just retribution, the source of her weakness and of her ultimate decay.

The rapid advance of the Dutch republic in political importance and commercial prosperity, indicates how fervent and sincere was the patriotism which animated them in their resistance to the oppressive tyranny of Philip. The progress is the more remarkable from the fact, that many of these foreign enterprises were successfully achieved at the very time the states were enduring all the miseries of war at home.

Like their more powerful neighbours, the Dutch are chargeable with much violence and injustice in many of their attempts to extend their commerce; but as they were later in the field, their contentions were more generally with their European predecessors than with native inhabitants of the places in which they settled. Their three great trading companies, the East and West Indian, and the Greenland company, rivalled each other in their enterprises, industry, and perseverance. The Eastern world, the Western continent, and the Northern climes of wintry storms, were all visited by these intrepid navigators, who ran every risk and endured every privation, in their ardour to acquire wealth.

In the East, amongst other possessions, they held Amboyna and other of the Molucca islands, which they wrested from the Portuguese in the beginning of the seventeenth century; where, in their commercial rivalry with the English East India company, they incurred the odium of torturing and putting to death several Englishmen and others on a charge of conspiracy, which was never proved, and generally regarded as totally unfounded. This unjust conduct gave considerable rancour to the wars which not long after raged between England and Holland.

At Java they founded the town of Batavia, making it the capital city of their Eastern possessions; a place which soon rose into considerable importance as the mart for all the commerce in that part of the world. In Africa, landing at the Cape of Good Hope, they soon extended their power into the interior; and the descendants of the

first settlers reside there to the present day. The islands of Curaçoa and St. Eustatius, in the Caribbean sea, with Surinam, or as it is now called Dutch Guiana, on the main continent, acknowledged their sovereignty; while the state of New York, formerly called New Amsterdam, and New Orange, with the state now known by the name of Pennsylvania, in North America, were held by them until taken from them by the English. But we cannot specify all the places where these busy sons of industry were found. Some idea of the extent of their commerce may be formed from the fact that "in Europe alone they had 1200 merchant ships in activity, and upwards of 70,000 sailors continually employed. They built annually 2000 vessels. In the year 1598, eighty ships sailed from their ports for the Indies or America. They carried on besides, an exclusive trade on the coast of Guinea, whence they brought large quantities of gold dust; and found, in short, in all quarters of the globe, the reward of their skill, industry, and courage."

Thus did the busy and fearless sons of a country, scarcely protected from the waters of the ocean, stretch themselves over the world under the influence of a new-born freedom, which had been produced and secured by their determined struggles for that religious liberty, which a dominant church and a despotic tyrant had so strenuously endeavoured to withhold.

In the sixteenth century, England, previously destitute of colonies, began to develop that spirit of commercial enterprise which has since led to the establishment of her sovereignty in all parts of the globe, to an extent which is without a parallel. In the time of Henry VII. she bore an honourable part in the efforts for maritime discovery; for it was by his countenance and encouragement that Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian by birth but settled at Bristol, was enabled to sail on his adventurous voyage. He was rewarded with the discovery, in 1497, of those parts of North America now known as the Canadas, and Nova Scotia, besides the island of Newfoundland.

But though discovered, no settlement was attempted for

a long series of years. This delay may be accounted for by the troubles which marked the reign of Henry VIII., arising out of the divorce controversy, and the religious disputes which existed until Elizabeth ascended the throne. Even then it was not until the year 1584 that any decided steps were taken to secure colonies; but in that year, Sir Walter Raleigh, having obtained a patent for colonising any part of America he might find unappropriated, fitted out two vessels, which first touched at Florida, then belonging to Spain, and then sailed northward as far as the island of Roanoke. Returning, he gave the country the name of Virginia in honour of the queen.

The first actual colony was planted in what is now called North Carolina, in 1606, when three ships, conveying one hundred and five men, located themselves on the border of the main land, calling the place they had chosen James' Town, in honour of James I. Finding themselves in an unaccustomed position, disputes arose, which, in addition to the illness with which they were seized, would soon have ruined them, but for the prudence of a Captain John Smith, who undertook their government, and by his wise and firm behaviour appeased their discontent. An event which at first seemed to threaten the destruction of the colony, proved in its ultimate results the means of its preservation. Smith, when travelling farther inland with two companions, was attacked by the natives, his friends murdered, and himself made prisoner. Carried to the abode of the principal chief, he there obtained the favour of his daughter Pocahontas, by whom he was not only protected, but sent back to the colony unharmed. Her kindness was shown still further by giving him timely notice of a plot formed by the Indians, which, but for this warning, would most probably have issued in the destruction of the whole colony. While Smith remained, matters went on prosperously; but when he left to return to England, the colony which had previously numbered five hundred, was soon reduced to sixty.

They were now about to give up the enterprise in disgust; but fresh colonists arriving, bringing with them abundant supplies, confidence was again restored; and finally strengthened by the marriage of Pocahontas with a

young Englishman named Rolfe, a union which secured the favour of the Indians, and proved happy and prosperous to themselves. Many families, it is said, are to be found in Virginia who boast of their descent from this source.

The New England states, including Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, owed their colonization, not to plans for the acquiring of wealth, or to sanguinary conflicts conducted by those who were thirsting for conquest or for fame: far higher and holier was the origin of the enterprise which redeemed this portion of America from the solitude which had reigned for ages. It requires very little attention to the spirit of the time of Elizabeth, to see that with all the eminent qualities of which she was possessed, she was bigoted and arbitrary in her administration in relation to religious opinions. None were allowed to differ from her; the royal standard of orthodoxy was to regulate the faith and practice of the nation; and those who ventured to judge for themselves were sure to feel the weight of her indignation, by fines and imprisonment, while some were called to die a martyr's death.

If the puritans were offensive in her sight, in requiring a still further remove from the doctrine and discipline of the Romish church than agreed with Tudor notions, those who contended for perfect freedom in religious matters, as did the independents, were perfectly intolerable, and the severest punishment was inflicted upon them for their contumacy. But oppression cannot be borne long without producing marked results: either it crushes the energy of the mind into slavish subserviency, or it will lead its victims to escape from its pressure by active resistance. Thus those in the days of Elizabeth, who longed for more spiritual worship, endured patiently her severities, in the hope that when James, who had been trained amid the simple rites of presbyterianism, came to the throne, greater freedom would be granted, and a further reformation of the faith effected; but finding on the accession of "the British Solomon" that all these hopes were doomed to disappointment, they resolved to seek in distant lands a liberty which was denied them in their own.

A goodly number of these independents had sought

shelter in Holland, under the guidance of their pastor, the devoted Robinson, and a project was discussed and determined upon to emigrate to America, and there seek "freedom to worship God." Accordingly they purchased two small vessels, the Speedwell, 60 tons burden, and the Mayflower, of 180 tons. The Mayflower was to remain in the river Thames, and be freighted with every thing that was needful for the undertaking, while the Speedwell was to return to Holland, and take in all who were willing to join in the plan. With many appropriate religious services the emigrants and their fellow worshippers prepared for the separation. On the 1st July, 1620, they went from Leyden to Delf Haven, and on the next day Mr. Robinson kneeled with them on the sea-shore, and with fervent prayer committed them to the Divine protection and blessing, and then the little band parted; some entered the vessel to go to distant lands, the pioneers of liberty and religion, and to lay, as it proved, the foundation of an empire's greatness—the remainder to follow them with their prayers until they could join them in their toils in the far distant land. And thus the colonists started on their mission; joining the Mayflower at Southampton they put out to sea, but in consequence of the treacherous misrepresentations of the master of the Speedwell, they were obliged to leave her behind, and the Mayflower ventured alone over the mighty Atlantic. One hundred and twenty persons, under the guidance of Mr. Brewster, were crowded in this one vessel, but watched over by the Divine mercy they had solicited, on the 9th November they reached Cape Cod, and going on shore, began to make such preparations as were required to meet the severities of the coming winter. Amid persecution, suffering, and toil, they were sustained by a faith sincere in its principle, simple in its forms, but powerful in its influence. And thus commenced an enterprise, the fruits of which are seen in the present day in the growing power and importance of the United States of America. To this refuge many betook themselves in after years, until the establishment of the principles of civil and religious liberty in England rendered it unnecessary to seek an asylum.

We cannot enter upon the details of their after history,

but simply remark that, increasing in the number and influence of their inhabitants, these states, with others, continued under the influence of the British crown until the revolution occurred, of which we must treat in a future chapter.

Pennsylvania was first settled by the Swedes in 1627, but was seized by the Dutch in 1658, from whom it was taken by the English in 1664, and granted to the celebrated William Penn by Charles II. in 1681. The fame of the constitution which Penn established, who gave his name to this state, attracted many to join him, and it soon became populous.

The state of New York, which had been transferred by the republic of the United Provinces to the Dutch West Indian Company in 1645, was seized by the English, and after several struggles was finally ceded to this country by treaty.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus, and remained under the power of Spain, until it was conquered by the ships of Cromwell in 1655; since which it has remained the undisputed possession of this country.

In 1623 a colony was planted in Newfoundland, where the fishery soon became a source of great profit. This island was known to the Norwegians before the year 1000, but was lost sight of until visited by Cabot as before stated.

Although England had a claim to the Canadas, from the fact of their being discovered by their means, no lasting settlement appears to have been effected until the French, who had engaged in many struggles with the English for its possession, established themselves at Quebec, from which they were not dislodged until the victory of Wolfe. Several transient attempts to settle had been made by the English in 1604, but without success.

At Nova Scotia, also, a colony was planted; but the French attempted to break it up, in which they would have succeeded but for the assistance afforded by the Virginian colonists; nevertheless they maintained an influence, and were continually making encroachments, until Oliver Cromwell sent a powerful force, and finally expelling them, left the colonists in peace.

Such were some of the early attempts at colonization

made by this country—such the germs of a colonial empire which is now to be found in both hemispheres, and which, while it adds to Britain's power and political glory, imposes a weight of responsibility which it is at her peril to neglect.

CHAPTER XI.

The Successful Patriots.—A. D. 1513—1648.

THE NORTHERN STATES.

DENMARK AND NORWAY.—CHRISTIERN II.—HE IS DEPOSED.—FREDERIC DUKE OF HOLSTEIN.—REVOLT UNDER WULLENWEBER.—CHRISTIERN III.—THE REFORMED RELIGION FIRMLY ESTABLISHED.—FREDERIC II.—STRUGGLE WITH ERIC XIV.—CHRISTIERN IV.—TYCHO BRAHE.—WAR WITH SWEDEN.—ACCESSION OF FREDERIC III.—SWEDEN.—GUSTAVUS VASA.—SEIZURE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.—ERIC XIV.—IS DEPOSED.—JOHN III.—SIGISMUND DEPOSED.—CHARLES IX.—GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.—HIS WARS WITH THE CATHOLIC POWERS.—QUEEN CHRISTINA.—HER ECCENTRIC CONDUCT.—POLAND.—SIGISMUNDAUGUSTUS.—RAPID PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—DECLINE OF POLAND.—HENRY OF ANJOU.—HIS STRANGE BEHAVIOUR.—STEPHEN BATTORI.—THE COSSACKS.—SIGISMUND II.—WAR WITH SWEDEN AND TURKEY.—VLADISLAS.—JOHN CASIMIR.—MICHAEL COREBUT.—JOHN SOBIESKI.—RUSSIA.—IVAN "THE TERRIBLE."—MASSACRE OF NOVOGOROD.—FEODORE BORIS.—A FALSE DEMETRIUS.—MICHAEL OF ROMANOFF.—ALEXIS.—FEODORE II.—HIS TREATMENT OF THE NOBLES.—IVAN V.—PETER THE GREAT.—PRUSSIA BECOMES A KINGDOM.—FREDERIC WILLIAM THE GREAT ELECTOR.—FREDERIC I.

1513.—It might reasonably be expected that the very defective training of Christiern II., of which we gave an

account in the last volume (p. 381), would be followed by unhappy results, and such was the case. No sooner had he succeeded to the crowns of Denmark and Norway, by the death of his father John, than he began to exhibit those vicious propensities which obtained for him the unenviable title of the "Northern Nero." Low and scandalous pursuits, united with reckless cruelty, soon alienated the affections of his subjects, and sowed the seeds of his subsequent misfortunes.

Taking advantage of the confused state of things in Sweden, he managed by force and intrigue, assisted by Trolle, archbishop of Upsala, to gain the crown of that kingdom.

This country had by the treaty called the "union of Calmar," effected by the power and sagacity of Margaret, queen of Norway and Denmark, been united with her dominions, with the stipulation that while the three crowns were to be indissoluble, the internal government of each kingdom was to be distinct and separate. This arrangement, which seemed to be favourable for the general good, was disturbed by the tyranny of her nephew, Eric VII. which so irritated the Swedes that in 1439 they revolted, and drove out the Danes. Subsequent monarchs were however allowed to preside in their affairs, and under John the union of Calmar was renewed. When Christiern II. succeeded to the throne, the remembrance of the equitable rule of his father would most probably have inclined the Swedes to agree to a similar arrangement with him; but preferring crooked policy, by falsehood and violence he seized the sovereignty of the kingdom, and by flattering promises persuaded the people to agree to his being crowned at Stockholm, notwithstanding he had murdered their chief minister Stien Sture. The Swedes were however soon led to see the error they had committed, for while the ceremony of his coronation was proceeding, Christiern had given orders for the assassination of ninety-four of their principal nobility, and thus changed a scene of festivity and rejoicing into consternation and deadly hatred.

Among the murdered noblemen was one named Eric Vasa, whose son Gustavus was at the time in prison. Fired with indignation he escaped from his captivity, and

gathering around him first the miners of Dalecarlia, and then the people generally, he asserted the independence of his country, and compelled the tyrant to escape to Denmark.

Returning to his own dominions Christiern pursued the same tyrannous and cruel course towards his subjects, until no longer able to bear his despotic and unjust conduct they deprived him of his crown, and imprisoned him in the castle of Sunderberg, in the island of Alten.

1523.—Freed from this despot, the Danes bestowed the crown upon his uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein, who formed an alliance with Sweden and the Hanse Towns against Christiern, should he effect an escape. Having embraced the Lutheran faith, he established it in his dominions, where it rapidly spread amongst all classes. Animated by the national ambition, he tried to bring Sweden under the Danish power; but that country, having chosen its deliverer Gustavus Vasa for its king, effectually resisted the endeavour, and Frederic gave up the attempt.

1533.—At the death of Frederic Denmark was convulsed by a fearful revolt of the people against the arbitrary power of the nobles, headed by one Wullenweber. In this insurrection one of the leaders, Mark Meyer, who was, like our own Wat Tyler, who headed the insurrection in the days of Richard II., a blacksmith, and said to be the handsomest man of his age, defended the Sound; but being driven on the coast of England, was wrecked, and sentenced to be hanged as a pirate. Managing however to ingratiate himself with Henry VIII., he was not only saved from the gallows, but sent home with marks of favour and distinction.

The agitation having subsided, the diet gave the crown to Christiern III., the son of Frederic, who proved to be a lover of peace and desirous of promoting the welfare of his subjects. During his reign the reformed religion was firmly established throughout his dominions. But his accession was accompanied by many adverse circumstances: the bishops had opposed his election, wishing a younger brother, whom they thought might be more easily influenced, to be chosen; the relations with Sweden were uncertain, from the attempts of Russia to induce his

father Frederic to attempt a partition of that country ; and his own kingdom was still in an unsettled condition, owing to the recent revolution. Indeed he was not master of Denmark until he compelled Copenhagen to capitulate after a lengthened siege. But the sagacity and firmness of the king surmounted all these difficulties. He excluded the bishops from the senate, and abolished the catholic religion ; applying the revenues of the church to meet various necessities of the state, he established schools, hospitals, and other institutions of public utility. Norway was incorporated with Denmark by royal decree, and the efforts of Charles V. and the Dutch to undermine his authority were neutralized, and peace was maintained with Sweden, although often in danger of being broken.

Indeed the reign was a decidedly prosperous one, and secured him a name which lived in the grateful remembrance of his people. The tyrant Christiern II., who was still living, was treated with greater lenity now that there was no longer any danger to be apprehended from him ; he was removed to the island of Zealand, and allowed more indulgences than he had hitherto enjoyed. Christiern III. having persuaded the diet to recognise his son Frederic as his successor, effectually guarded against those evils which an uncertain succession had often produced. He provided amply for two of his brothers ; but because the other was a catholic, he, with a bigotry as culpable as the folly was deplorable, intentionally refused him a share. Zealous for the outward forms of a pure faith, many doubted his personal experience of its influence ; but this question was to be decided by a higher tribunal than man's judgment, and in 1559 he died.

1559.—On the death of this prince, who had earned for himself the honourable title of "Father of his people," he was succeeded by his son, Frederic II. Following the example of his parent, he sought to elevate Denmark by promoting the interests of commerce as extensively as possible, and by the introduction of manufactures and useful arts. Pursuing a course of uprightness and humanity, he gained the confidence of his subjects, while neighbouring princes respected him for his sagacity and high moral conduct. He married the daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg, and thus was brought into closer con-

nection with Germany. Our queen, Elizabeth, influenced by respect for his character, sent him the order of the garter, as a proof of her esteem.

Although desirous of avoiding war as much as possible, he could not entirely escape it, for on his accession to the throne, he had to subdue an insurrection in Ditmarsh, the western district of Holstein, whose inhabitants attempted to obtain their independence; by the aid of his brother, the duke of Holstein, he succeeded, and reduced them to obedience.*

But the most serious struggle in which Frederic was engaged, was with Eric XIV., the restless king of Sweden, who, under the joint influence of his turbulent temper and bigoted attachment to popery, invaded Denmark, and most fearfully ravaged the country. Frederic, though loving peace, was adequate to the emergencies of war, and returned the attack with terrible energy, and for some time the two kingdoms were wasted by continual rapine and bloodshed. Eric being at length deposed by his irritated subjects, Frederic formed an advantageous treaty with them, and employed the period of peace in the more congenial pursuit of his people's welfare.

The university of Copenhagen was encouraged, learned men patronized, amongst whom was the celebrated astronomer, Tycho Brahe, and education and religion promoted. James VI. of Scotland sought and obtained the hand of Frederic's daughter, Anne; who, as queen of England, left a much better name than the royal Stuart her husband. After a reign of twenty-nine years, marked with honour to himself and productive of benefits to his country, this prince died in 1588.

1588.—Christiern IV. succeeded his father at the early age of eleven years. A regency being therefore essential, the queen mother and his uncle, the duke of Holstein, each aspired to the honour; but the senate, rejecting both their claims, selected four of their own body to occupy the post conjointly. By these men the government was carried on with vigour and integrity, until Christiern was

* It is remarkable how very protracted have been the difficulties between Denmark and the Duchies. Even in our day, as is well known, the Sleswig-Holstein question causes perplexity with the court of Copenhagen, complicated still further by its relation to Prussia.

able to take the reins into his own hand. He has been charged with an extreme degree of selfishness, which was nourished by the arts of favourites, not always of the most honourable kind. Among other discreditable acts of his reign, the astronomer Tycho Brahe, instead of receiving the same honour as had been awarded him by Frederic, was treated with so much neglect that he retired to Prague, where he found a more generous patron in the emperor Rodolph.

To check the encroachments of Sweden and Russia on Lapland; and of Elizabeth, queen of England, on Iceland, Christiern IV. built Christianople, besides several other important towns. In consequence of the disputes with Sweden, about their commercial rivalry, war broke out between him and Charles IX., the king of that country. The successes in this struggle were various; but such an antagonist was too mighty for Christiern, and he lost some of the finest provinces of his kingdom, besides the island of *Æland*. Gustavus Adolphus, who carried on the war with greater vigour and skill, pressed Denmark severely, when, by the intervention of James I. of England, a peace decidedly favourable to Christiern was concluded in 1641.

When the thirty years' war was raging between the catholic and the protestant princes, Christiern joined in league with the latter, and was chosen as the chief, but the guiding power was really Gustavus Adolphus, by whose bravery and skill Germany and Denmark were both preserved; but by the treaty of Lubeck, the whole weight of the conflict was thrown upon him, while Christiern, having recovered all his possessions, withdrew from the struggle. Indignant at this treachery, Oxenstierna, who continued the war after the death of Gustavus, resolved to chastise it, and by consent of the senate dispatched Torstenson into Germany, from whence he advanced to Holstein, and captured Jutland, and threatened further attacks. The situation of Denmark was now alarming, but the movements of other powers who were weary of the war presented the hope of deliverance, which was realized by a treaty of peace in 1645.

One event, important to the commercial interests of his kingdom, was the establishment of the Danish East India

Company, in 1612, for commercial enterprise, an object which the king was always ready to promote.

During his reign, and by the arrangement of Christiern, the unsettled state of law in Norway was remedied, and the first complete code given to that part of his dominions. After a chequered reign of sixty years, harassed by foreign wars and domestic trials, he died in 1648, and was succeeded by his son, Frederic III.

SWEDEN.

1523.—We have related the patriotic conduct of Gustavus Vasa, in his successful opposition to the tyranny of Christiern II., on the occasion of his cruel and perfidious massacre of his father and fellow noblemen, and the ultimate expulsion of the Danes: we have now to contemplate the grateful return the Swedes made to Gustavus for the signal deliverance he had effected for his country. Order having been restored, the senate made him an offer of the crown, but, with a magnanimity as noble as it is rare, he steadily refused for some time to comply with their request, and continued to superintend the government with the title of Stadtholder, or president; but at length, in consequence of the intrigues of Christiern, and the catholic party, who were striving to undermine his authority, he consented to ascend the throne. Accordingly he was crowned at Stockholm, and to show the deep sense that was felt for his services, more than usual pomp and solemnity were employed in the ceremony, and a decree passed that his foes should be declared the enemies of the nation, while he was invested with full authority to adopt any means that might be required to defend his throne.

The reformed faith was at this time making rapid advances in Sweden, and Gustavus, having professed himself a protestant, proceeded to adopt such measures as appeared suitable to establish and promote it. Finding that half the revenues of the kingdom, the royal castles, lands, and other valuable possessions, were in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, the catholic clergy, he reclaimed all these things for the service of the state. Many of the bishops occupying fortified castles, being surrounded by troops whom they had raised for their

defence, he commanded them to surrender the former, and disband the latter, and restore to the crown the forfeited estates they had seized. The magnificent and superfluous plate which they had accumulated, professedly for the church, and the unnecessary bells, he ordered to be sold for the payment of the debts of the nation: part of the tithes also, and the enormous estates of the clergy, were sequestered, and the money appropriated to the building of schools, hospitals, and other works of national utility.

Nor was he satisfied with simply enacting these and other laws, but that he might ensure obedience he visited every part of his kingdom, attended by a troop of horse, and accompanied by divines who preached the reformed faith in all the principal churches. The factious and ambitious plans of the clergy having been thus frustrated, he compelled the nobility and others who held crown lands, either to restore them, or retain them at a fair and equitable rent. So complete a revolution as this, in a country hitherto the scene of misrule and disorder, required sagacity and firmness of the highest kind; but these Gustavus possessed, and by their employment restored peace and prosperity to the kingdom. Sensible of the advantage of his measures, the people willingly submitted, and declared the crown hereditary in his family. This eminent monarch closed his career, amid the regrets of his subjects, in 1560.

1560.—Eric XIV., son of Gustavus, but his opposite both as a man and a king, succeeded to the throne, but by his folly, cruelty, and dissolute life, soon forfeited the confidence of the people. Exhibiting a strong leaning to popery, and giving no prospect of improvement in his public administration, the patience of the nation became exhausted, and at length they deposed this degenerate son of a noble sire, and placed him in perpetual confinement, while his brother, John III., succeeded to the throne (1568). If Eric was bad, John soon proved himself to be worse, and caused constant disquietude by his arbitrary proceedings, his vain efforts to restore popery, his encouragement of religious disputes, and his wars with Denmark. But the act which has stamped his name with especial infamy, was his causing his brother Eric

to be poisoned after a long and wearisome captivity. He was succeeded, at his death, by his son Sigismund.

1592.—Sigismund, who had previously been elected king of Poland, was chiefly engaged in that kingdom, in the history of which his name will appear. In Sweden his predilections for popery were so strong and so apparent, that the nation, still mindful of the evils which the influence of the church of Rome had produced, deprived him of his crown (1604), which was bestowed upon Charles IX., his uncle, who had acted as regent while Sigismund was in Poland. During his reign the ambitious plans of the catholics were repressed, and the disorders caused by the maladministration of previous sovereigns remedied to some extent. His wars with Denmark added little either to his own fame or the prosperity of his country; but his efforts to advance agriculture and the peaceful arts, as they were more praiseworthy, were also more successful. He died in 1611.

1611.—We now come to record the name and doings of a prince whose history has shed imperishable lustre upon Sweden—the son of Charles IX., and his successor on the throne—Gustavus Adolphus, usually termed the Great. Compelled by the proceedings of his predecessors to engage in war with Denmark, Poland, and Russia, he forced the two former to renounce their claims upon Sweden, and conquered Livonia and a considerable part of Finland from Russia; and at the early age of eighteen years, at which he ascended the throne, afforded unmistakable indications of the great civil and military capacity he possessed. But the chief event of his history was his connection with the thirty years' war between the catholic and protestant powers. Sincerely devoted to the reformed faith, he willingly joined the league, and hastened to relieve the German protestants from the plots of the Jesuits, and obtain the restoration of the Palatine. Not deterred by the divisions which existed among the princes, and excited to indignation by a barbarous massacre of the citizens of Magdeburg, in which 30,000 persons were thrown into the river, until its course was literally choked, he hastened to Berlin, and compelled his brother-in-law to adopt a more decisive policy: he quickly made himself master of all the country from the Rhine to the

Elbe, and threatened to attack the emperor Ferdinand in Vienna. The pope and the French endeavoured by their intrigues to stop his progress, but in vain; resolved on establishing religious freedom, he determined to penetrate Upper Germany, and obtain liberty for the protestants there. At Frankfort on the Maine, which he entered with all the pomp and triumph of a conqueror, it is said his queen Eleanor, to whom he was devotedly attached, met him, and embracing him with ardour, cried, "Now I hold the great Gustavus as my prisoner." The battle of Rain-on-the-Lech followed; Tilly, the celebrated imperial general, was killed, and Munich submitted to Gustavus; but the hardest and the last struggle of this monarch was with the unfortunate Wallenstein, who had been recalled by his capricious master, Ferdinand, and appointed successor to Tilly. The battle occurred in 1632, at Lutzen, and the forces of the combatants were vastly disproportionate; notwithstanding its inferior numbers, the army of Gustavus triumphed, but it was at the sacrifice of their beloved monarch, who fell in the moment of victory, and was found stripped and covered with blood, upon a stone which is still known by the name of the "Swedish stone." Thus fell one who was employed under Providence to break the military power of Rome, as Luther and others had been successful in weakening its moral influence; for though the war lasted yet several years, Gustavus unquestionably, by his personal bravery, his steady determination, and the successful training which he had given to those who carried out his plans, most materially prepared the way for the peace of Westphalia, in 1645. Long was his noble and majestic person, his quiet deep-blue eye, and his winning manner, remembered by his subjects with the deepest affection; while his sagacity and steadiness of purpose, commanded the respect of all. Let us hope that genuine principle, and a sincere desire for the establishment of spiritual religion, were the foundation of the character of this monarch.

1632.—Christina, the only child of Gustavus, succeeded to the throne. This eccentric princess was but six years of age at the death of her illustrious parent, and therefore the kingdom was governed by a regency of five

senators, of whom Oxenstierna was the president. This profound counsellor carried out the policy of Gustavus, and by his general, Torstenson, and other officers, sustained the war, until it was closed by the treaty of Westphalia.

Christina was one of the most remarkable persons who ever occupied a throne : with considerable powers of mind, and vast attainments, all these advantages were neutralized by an eccentricity of conduct of the most extravagant kind. She cared little for the pomp of royalty, and mostly employed herself in scientific pursuits, choosing her associates from the learned men who visited her court. She positively determined not to marry, and caused herself to be crowned, not queen, but king, of Sweden ; indeed she seemed determined to forget her sex, and as much as possible avoided all friendship with any of the females about her palace. In 1644 she assumed the reins of government, and added to her dominions by her wars with Norway and Denmark ; and by becoming a party to the treaty of Westphalia, she obtained three votes in the German diet. Although educated in that faith for which her father died, she soon, through her intercourse with foreigners, many of whom held infidel principles, became lax and indifferent, and was led eventually by a Portuguese Jesuit to embrace catholicism, and thus forfeited her crown, which she willingly abdicated in 1654. She then went to reside at Paris, until her extravagances and intrigues led Mazarin to advise her to retire. She had some idea of visiting England, but receiving no encouragement from Cromwell, who understood her character, she renounced her purpose. She once more visited Stockholm, on the death of Charles Gustavus, and expressed some desire to resume the crown ; but not succeeding, she left and retired to Rome, where, engaged in political intrigues, scientific pursuits, alchemy, judicial astrology, and extensive correspondence, she passed the remaining years of her life, and died, 1689, leaving a sad example of powers wasted, energies misemployed, and an influence, which might have been used for noble and useful purposes, completely thrown away. How different might have been her history had that faith for which her father suffered had a place in her heart,

and exerted its beneficial power in the formation of her character!

POLAND.

1548.—In a previous chapter (Vol. V. p. 390) the constitution of this country is described, and a sketch of the reign of Sigismund I. given. We have now to narrate the progress of affairs under Sigismund Augustus.

This prince ascended the throne at the early age of ten years, having been elected to the dignity during the lifetime of his father, as a mark of respect to that monarch. From the great indulgence with which his mother had trained his early youth, his subjects did not anticipate much prosperity under his rule; but he lived to disappoint all their fears, and to acquire their respect and esteem for the wise and equitable manner in which he conducted the administration. The first threatening event which occurred was a popular commotion in consequence of his having chosen his second wife without consulting the diet, who claimed a right to interfere in the alliances of their sovereigns. At first the outbreak appeared alarming, but by the prudence of Sigismund the storm was averted, and Barbara, his queen, was crowned without opposition. The many virtues of this princess, added to her great beauty, soon made friends of those who had opposed her, and her death, which occurred shortly afterwards, was looked upon as a national calamity.

During this reign the reformation made rapid and extensive progress in the country, especially amongst the higher classes, and Sigismund himself was thought to be secretly favourable to the movement. He did not indeed profess the reformed faith, but he protected the reformers in Lithuania, and allowed Calvin to dedicate some of his works, and Luther a translation of the Bible, to him, and sought further information as to their views. But, alas, it was not the result of heartfelt principle; for submitting himself to the influence of a papal legate whom he had received, the fires of persecution were again lighted, and would have been continued, but that the numbers of the reformers compelled the instigators of this sinful policy to cease their violence. At Dantzic the reformers, or as they were called, "the dissidents," were so much excited,

that they meditated a revolt against the authority of the king, and were only restrained by the conciliatory spirit with which Sigismund heard and granted their demands for liberty of conscience. Some disputes with Russia and Sweden arose, which led to some fearful bloodshed, but were eventually settled, Russia obtaining Polotsk, and the Swedes Esthonia. This prince died in 1572, and with him ended the male branch of Yagellon, which had ruled Poland and Lithuania for one hundred and eighty-six years, with credit and advantage to the country. This is usually regarded as the period of Poland's greatness, and the commencement of its decline. The throne became henceforth really elective, having been hitherto only nominally so, and the disorders which such an arrangement inevitably produced, together with other causes yet to be mentioned, rapidly prepared the country for the subjection and degradation in which we behold it in the present day.

1572.—Several competitors for the vacant throne soon appeared, and fearful confusion and disorder ensued, which was only partially allayed by the election of Henry of Anjou, brother of Charles IX., king of France, a vain and frivolous prince, totally unfit to rule the turbulent and democratic Poles. Disgusted with them, and disgusted with the limitations to his authority which they had imposed by the *pacta conventa*, and which they compelled him to sign, he sighed to be back again and enjoy the gaieties of Paris, and only waited a favourable opportunity to do so; and in 1574, hearing of the death of his brother, he secretly escaped from his palace, and hastened out of the kingdom. Astonished, indignant, that the honours they had bestowed should be so contemptuously spurned, the whole population of Cracow was aroused, an immediate pursuit of the fugitive king was resolved on, and some of the dignitaries sent to persuade him to return. But Henry having obtained his freedom, resolved to maintain it, and receiving the noblemen, when they overtook him, with courteous smiles and deceptive promises, and dismissing them with the most bland protestations, he continued his journey. The diet, meeting at Warsaw, resolved that if their fugitive monarch did not return within twelve months, the throne should be declared vacant, and a fresh election take place. Sending

to him to inform him of their decision, they waited the allotted term; but not seeing or hearing from Henry, whose return they neither wished nor expected, they solemnly declared his abdication, and looked around for a successor.

1576.—Five candidates offered themselves for the throne of which Henry thought so meanly, from amongst whom the Poles selected Stephen Battori, a prince of Transylvania. Having married Anne, the sister of Sigismund Augustus, he soon became very popular, and by his subsequent conduct justified the confidence of his subjects. Some difficulties arose at the commencement of his reign from the factions who were opposed to him: these he not only overcame, but obtained the sovereignty of Livonia, and added Polotsk and other fortresses to Lithuania.

But the principal event in his history, is his wise plan for promoting the civilization of the Cossacks. Hitherto little better than barbarians, with a religion composed of Christianity, Paganism, and Mahommedanism, they were a terror and a trouble to the country; but by judiciously gathering them into a city, and directing their military spirit, he formed many of them into regiments, and introduced amongst them the useful arts of life; and eventually they became the most attached friends of the state.

Although educated in the reformed faith, Stephen was induced, it is said by the influence of his wife, to embrace catholicism, to the great delight of the Jesuits, who were ever on the watch to improve opportunities.

These active emissaries of Rome immediately employed every endeavour to spread their doctrines, and tried to persuade Stephen to aid them by the sword of persecution; but he replied in words creditable alike to his piety and his wisdom: "I reign over persons; it is God who rules the conscience. Know that God has reserved three things to Himself: the creation of something out of nothing, the knowledge of futurity, and the government of the conscience." A friend to literary pursuits, and himself well acquainted with several languages and general knowledge, he founded the university of Wilna, and patronised it with great zeal. While busily engaged in preparing for a Russian campaign, he was suddenly seized with death, and expired exclaiming, "In manus tuas, Domine, com-

mendo spiritum meum," leaving the character of having been one of the greatest and best monarchs of Poland.

1586.—The long reign of Sigismund III., prince royal of Sweden, and grandson of Gustavus Vasa, was one series of errors and mistakes. Chosen because he was a scion, through the female branch, of the race of Yagellon, after the fierce disputes and disorders of the interregnum, he was not adequate to the duties of his position, notwithstanding some good qualities which he really possessed.

Marrying an Austrian princess contrary to the wishes of his subjects, and persecuting the dissidents, both being violations of the *pacta conventa*, popular commotion was produced, and he had to submit to the censures of the diet. In addition to this he had to repel the incursions of the Tartars; while the loss of the Swedish crown from his attachment to popery, led him into a long and fruitless war with that country, then under his uncle Charles IX., and the great Adolphus, his successor. Interfering with the civil disputes which arose in Russia, in consequence of the usurpation of Boris, he gained some victories, and succeeded in getting his son Vladislas raised to the throne; but the triumph was only temporary, as the Poles were soon expelled, and his son deprived of his transient dignity. With the Turks his successes were great, but the results futile. Indeed, this seems to have been the feature of his reign; surrounded by generals who mostly secured victory for his armies, sometimes against most overwhelming numbers, Sigismund knew not how to improve his advantages, and lost by his weakness what his armies had acquired by their valour; and hence his reign was on the whole disastrous. Blood and treasure, valuable lives, and the material resources of the country were squandered, and all for nothing.

Poland was now sinking in morals, and in all that constitutes national prosperity, when in the year 1632, Sigismund III. died.

1632.—Two sons of Sigismund successively filled the Polish throne. The first, Vladislas, had, as we have seen, for a little time enjoyed the dignity of czar of Muscovy; he reigned sixteen years, and was occupied with successive wars and the disputes between his nobility and the Cossacks. He died, deeply regretted by his subjects, in

1648, and his brother, John Casimir, a Jesuit and a cardinal, obtained the election. This fact shows how the power of catholicism had increased; but the opponents were yet too numerous and too powerful, to allow the choice to pass unchallenged, especially as Casimir was, like our own James II., striving after absolute power. Civil war, as a matter of course, ensued: Casimir was defeated, and having previously drained the country of all the money he could obtain, fled to France, renounced the crown, and died two years after. Thus in Poland, as in most other countries in this age, religious struggles decided the destiny of the nation.

1669.—The quiet and peaceable Michael Corebut, who succeeded, was too feeble to control the elements with which he had to contend. The nobles despised him for his pacific disposition, and treated him with the greatest indignity; and being unsuccessful in his wars with the Russians, Turks, and Tartars, he died of grief after a brief reign of three years, and was (1674) succeeded by John Sobieski, whose active career belongs to another period of our history.

RUSSIA.

1533.—This country, now occupying so large a portion of the world, was, as described in our last volume (p. 383), gradually assuming an important position amongst the nations; but was much retarded in its progress by those sanguinary civil commotions which continued incessantly for a long series of years, a detailed account of which would add nothing to general history, and only cause us to sigh over the degeneracy of human nature when not restrained by religious principle. The monarch who succeeded in this year, Ivan IV., as an instance in point, pursued a course so cruel, that he obtained the title of "Ivan the terrible." Being but three years old at the death of his father, Basil IV., he was so trained as to exhibit his fierce disposition without restraint. Checked for a time by the influence of his wife Anastatia, whose loveliness and gentleness had some influence upon him, he gave way to his passions after her death to a fearful extent. A conspiracy, real or pretended, having been discovered at Novogorod, he deliberately massacred the people for five

weeks, until the bodies of 60,000 citizens choked the streets and bred a most destructive pestilence.

Among the good actions of this reign, was the treaty made with our Elizabeth allowing the English to trade on the borders of the White Sea, and the encouragement given to foreigners to settle in Russia. Ivan added Astracan to his dominions, and Siberia was explored. But cruelty and passion were the characteristic features of his life, and, by a just retribution, the cause of his death. Having in a sudden fit of rage killed his eldest son, whom he seems to have loved to idolatry, his remorse was so bitter that he sunk beneath its power, and died in 1584 the object of universal execration. His son Feodore, proving imbecile, was led by his brother-in-law, Boris, who eventually poisoned him (1586), and usurped the throne himself, having also murdered his nephew, Demetrius, who would otherwise have been raised to the throne. The usurper did not however long enjoy his ill-gotten dignity; as in the case of Warbeck in our own country, an impostor appeared claiming to be the murdered Demetrius. Assisted by Sigismund of Poland, he succeeded for a time; Boris was slain, and afterwards the false Demetrius. But another Demetrius appeared, who was acknowledged by the people, and even by Marina, the widow of the first impostor; but by the power of Sigismund this attempt was quelled, and his son, Vladislav, raised to the Muscovite throne to descend from it as rapidly. At last (1613), Michael, of the house of Romanoff, from which the present emperor is descended, was chosen czar. Wise, upright, and, according to the light he possessed, pious, he allayed the disturbances of his country, and formed alliances with England, Holland, Germany, and Denmark. His son and successor, Alexis (1645), pursued the same prudent policy, and acquired by a patriotic course, through the twenty-three years of his reign, the title of "father of his people."

1676.—Feodore, or Theodore II., though feeble in mind and weakly in body, resolved to check the increasing arrogance of the Russian nobles; and, amongst other expedients, sent for the genealogical tables of the different families, on which they not only prided themselves, but founded fierce and frequent disputes. Having got them

into his possession under pretence of correcting them, he had them formed into a pile and burnt to ashes, and severely rebuked their foolish family pride. Dying amid the regrets of his subjects, in 1682, the kingdom fell to his son Ivan, who was blind, nearly dumb, and all but idiotic in mind. His sister, Sophia, endeavoured to get him completely under her influence that she might reign through him; but was compelled to agree to their half-brother, Peter, being united with Ivan as joint sovereign, while Sophia was appointed regent (1682), the one brother being too weak mentally, and the other too young in years, to be entrusted with the cares of government. Ivan soon retired from a position for which he was altogether unfit, and Peter was left sole monarch of a country which was to receive from him an impulse in the march of civilization stronger than it had ever felt, and which was to confer on Peter the just and well deserved title of "the great." But a narrative of this extraordinary man must be reserved until we come to consider the contemporaneous history of other nations.

PRUSSIA.

This now important kingdom had its origin in one of those ecclesiastical military orders which grew out of the crusades in the eleventh century. They were of the Teutonic race, and were called the knights hospitallers, and had been induced to settle in Prussia in the thirteenth century for the purpose of repressing the pagan inhabitants, who were fiercely opposed to the Christian religion. In the reign of Vladislas IV., king of Poland, they were located in Culm; but taking advantage of some disturbances which had arisen, they seized the marquisate of Brandenburg under pretence of helping the inhabitants, and defied every effort to dislodge them. Governed by their grand master, they continued to harass and to oppress their neighbours until 1519, when Albert, duke of Prussia, was their grand master, having been elected about eight years previous. At this time they had become so fearfully demoralized that they were universally execrated, and dared not appear in public in the dress of their order. Invaded by the Poles, and reproved by the pope, who imperatively demanded some reformation,

Albert obeyed; but in a way not likely to please the Romish court. He sent for some Lutheran divines, and thus originated that protestantism which has continued ever since. He further signed a treaty with Sigismund, king of Poland, dissolved his order, and declared the kingdom of Prussia hereditary, to be held in fee of the Polish crown. Marrying a daughter of Frederic II., the king of Denmark, he founded the Hohenzollern family, which still occupies the throne. A long line of princes succeeded; but none require notice until the accession of Frederick William, usually called the "great elector," in 1640.

This prince, eminent for his military and political powers, obtained, in 1656, an extinction of the treaty by which Prussia paid homage to Poland for the duchy, and was acknowledged by all European powers as an independent state. He established his right to other places, and thus extended his dominions, besides recovering Pomerania. Affording a home to many of the French refugees, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he not only showed his attachment to protestantism, but most materially promoted the population and prosperity of his country.

Successfully resisting the attacks of the Swedes, and frustrating the intrigues of France, he established his authority upon a firm basis. Though arbitrary in his proceedings, all his efforts tended to advance the civilization of his people. In 1687, he established a colony on the coast of Guinea, and in various ways prepared Prussia for the position she now holds amongst the European states. Having thus earned to himself the honourable appellation of "the great elector," he died in 1688, and was succeeded by his son, Frederic I., whose history will be found in a future chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

The Royal Plotter.—A. D. 1521—1701.

THE PENINSULA.

PORTUGAL.—JOHN II.—JOHN III.—HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE JESUITS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INQUISITION.—FRANCIS XAVIER.—HIS MISSIONARY UNDERTAKINGS.—SEBASTIAN.—EXPEDITION TO AFRICA, IN WHICH HE IS SUPPOSED TO BE SLAIN.—CARDINAL HENRIQUE.—DEPOSED BY PHILIP II.—THE KINGDOM POSSESSED BY HIM.—PHILIP III.—REVOLUTION UNDER DON JOHN, DUKE OF BRAGANZA.—ASCENDS THE THRONE.—ATTEMPTS OF THE SPANIARDS TO DISPOSSESS HIM.—ALONZO VI.—HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF NEMOURS.—HIS ABDICATION.—PEDRO II.—PEACE WITH SPAIN.

SPAIN.—CHARACTER OF PHILIP II.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE POPE AND HENRY II. OF FRANCE.—VICTORY OF ST. QUENTIN.—BUILDING OF THE ESCURIAL.—PHILIP'S MARRIAGES.—“THE LEAGUE.”—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INQUISITION.—THE NETHERLANDS.—MARGARET THE STADTHOLDRESS.—SUPERSEDED BY THE DUKE OF ALVA.—HIS VIOLENT CONDUCT.—REVOLTS, AND WAR WITH SPAIN UNDER THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—THE SPANISH ARMADA.—DISPUTES WITH THE MOORS.—PHILIP OBTAINS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF PORTUGAL.—OPPRESSION OF THE HUGUENOTS.—HIS DEATH.—SPAIN BEGINS TO DECLINE.—PHILIP III.—THE DUKE OF LERMA.—THE MORESCOES OF VALENTIA.—PLOT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF VENICE.—PHILIP IV.—OLIVAREZ.—CONFLICTS WITH THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE.—INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES ACKNOWLEDGED.—CONTINUED WAR WITH FRANCE.—THE TREATY OF THE PYRENEES.—DEATH OF PHILIP.—CHARLES II.—HIS MOTHER'S TREATMENT.—JOHN OF

**AUSTRIA REGENT.—RENEWAL OF WAR WITH FRANCE.
—DEATH OF CHARLES OCCASIONS THE “WAR OF THE
SPANISH SUCCESSION.”**

JOHN II., surnamed the great, of whom an account has been given in this history (Vol. V., pp. 269—274), was succeeded by Manuel, who acquired the title of “the fortunate” from the prosperity which characterised his reign. He proved to be an able prince, and pursued the schemes of maritime discovery commenced by his predecessor with much zeal. In the year 1497, the important enterprise of doubling the Cape of Good Hope was effected. Vasco de Gama, with a squadron of five ships, accompanied this undertaking for the first time, and made a voyage to India and back in little more than two years. Brazil was discovered, and a colony planted, which laid the foundation of the extensive empire now existing there; besides Goa, Malacca, and Ormuz being colonized, and the city of Calicut added to the list of Portuguese discoveries, trade was introduced into China and Japan, and Lisbon soon became the most important commercial city of Europe; while Portugal, once weak and insignificant, assumed the character and position of a powerful monarchy. In these peaceful and useful plans Manuel continued to promote the welfare of his country, until he died amid the regrets of his people in 1521.

His son, **John III.**, though possessing many of the qualifications of his father, and, like him, encouraging the discoveries which his skilful navigators were anxious to pursue, was of a gloomy and superstitious temper; and through his bigotry and intolerance his country began to decline from the eminence it had attained. He still promoted the colonization of Brazil, and the commercial relations of Portugal with the East, and successfully repelled the attacks of the Moors, and the pasha of Egypt, who sought to deprive him of some of his possessions; but the unhappy encouragement he gave to the Jesuits—he being the first European monarch who allowed these indefatigable men to settle—and the establishment of the inquisition, produced troubles and tarnished his fame. It must however be admitted, that he was animated with an earnest zeal for the diffusion of what he esteemed “the truth,”

if not according to knowledge, of which an illustration is supplied in the encouragement he gave to the missionary efforts of Francis Xavier. This devoted man, who was one of the early associates of Ignatius Loyola, whom he actively assisted, was staying at Rome, when he was invited by the king of Portugal to undertake the work of making known the truths of the gospel to his subjects in Asia. Willingly acceding to the request, he came to Lisbon, whence, after a brief residence, he sailed for Goa in the East Indies. It is recorded that, when on his journey to Lisbon, he was requested to turn aside to visit his mother, then in a declining state of health, and not likely to live to see him again should he return from his mission; but he refused, saying that he feared the mingled pain and pleasure of the interview might, in some measure, tend to unfit him for his sacred undertaking. He had learned evidently, that in a work of consecration to the service of his Lord, every thing should be sacrificed which might endanger its integrity and completeness.

Arrived at Goa, he commenced his work of evangelization; but soon found, as many engaged in similar work have found since, that the greatest obstacle to his success was the immoral lives of the resident Europeans. He therefore determined to seek their benefit in the first place, and going from street to street with a bell in his hand, summoned them to send their children and slaves to him to receive the rite of baptism. From Goa he proceeded to Malacca and other places, and subsequently to Japan; indeed his whole soul seemed devoted to his mission. His great desire was to visit China, but the exclusive policy of that vast empire presented insuperable obstacles. While devising schemes to surmount these difficulties his health failed him, and after ten years of intense and untiring labour, he died in December 1552. While we cannot but wish that the self-denying energy of this extraordinary man had been as much devoted to the diffusion of the truths of the gospel, as it was to the observance of its outward rites, it is impossible not to admire his singleness of purpose, and to believe that beneath his zeal for the church and its forms, there was the power of genuine "love to Christ, constraining him to live not to himself, but to Him who died for him and rose again."

And while we express admiration for the character of Xavier, we must not overlook the fact that it was at the request of the king of Portugal he had undertaken the mission, and was sustained in the use of means which were, at least, more consistent than the devices of cruelty John was employing, through the agency of the inquisition, in Portugal. Bigot though he may have been, John felt that the possession of colonial territories involved duties as well as increased wealth; a lesson which the professors of a purer faith, as well as his colonial governors, have been too often unwilling to learn. Famous for brilliant exploits, and the increasing extent and importance of his kingdom, John would have left an unsullied name but for the cruelty which a gloomy superstition led him to display, under the name of religion, towards those who differed from him, and especially towards the Jews, who were either banished or exterminated.

The extent of his colonial possessions and the very recent attempts made for their colonization, prevents any surprise being felt at the fact that evil-minded or incompetent governors often caused anxiety to the king, and exposed him to some perplexity by their tyranny and injustice. Such was unquestionably the case, and this prevented either the mother country or the colonies from deriving all the advantages which might have been obtained; nevertheless, Portugal reached its zenith, and if it was giving signs of approaching decadence, the fact had its sad explanation in the evident absence of that "righteousness which alone exalteth a nation."

1557.—On the death of John III. he was succeeded by his grandson, Sebastian, who was only three years old; and the widow of John undertook the regency for a short time, but relinquished it in consequence of popular dissatisfaction, and cardinal Henrique, brother of the late king, was appointed to the office. The education of the young king was entrusted to the Jesuits, who had now attained considerable influence; but the subsequent character of Sebastian reflected no credit upon the training. Possessing mental power, and several good qualities, all were neutralized by a headstrong rashness which would listen to no counsel. Anxious to recover some possessions which had been lost in the previous reign, he under-

took an expedition to Africa, contrary to the entreaties of his grandmother, the advice of cardinal Henrique, and his most prudent counsellors, and in opposition to the warnings of the sovereign of Morocco, Muley Molech, a most sagacious prince, against whom the expedition was to be directed. Despising all efforts to dissuade him, he persevered, and, as all had foreseen, experienced a most disastrous defeat, notwithstanding the unquestionable bravery and skill he displayed. He is supposed to have been slain in the conflict, but some uncertainty rests upon his fate. A body, which was thought to be his, was found covered with wounds, and interred in the royal tomb; but whether it was really his, or whether he had been carried into perpetual captivity, remained a doubtful question, and was never solved.

1581.—Cardinal Henrique now ascended the throne, but showed himself but little qualified for the discharge of the royal functions. On his death Anthony, a prior of Crato, obtained the crown, but was soon deposed by Philip II. of Spain; who, having bribed the regent, and enforced his intrigues by an army of 30,000 men, under the command of the duke of Alva, obtained possession of the kingdom, which he designed to unite with Spain. During his lifetime he maintained his supremacy, and handed it down to his son, Philip III., with his other possessions, and its independence seemed to have passed away for ever; but in the year 1640, it once more arose, as the result of a bloodless revolution, effected by Don John, duke of Braganza, a descendant from the ancient royal family, though not by the direct line. Having expelled the Spaniards, he was called upon, by the unanimous votes of the people, to assume the kingly authority. He therefore ascended the throne with the title of John IV., and founded the family which still reigns.

Many plots were formed by the Spaniards to dispossess John of the Portuguese crown; but strong in the affection of his subjects, he successively defeated them all, and continued to seek the improvement of his country in its political and commercial relations. Brazil, which had been captured by the Dutch, was regained; but many of the East Indian possessions were lost to Portugal. This

monarch entered into a commercial treaty with England, and thus relations between the two kingdoms, which were afterwards to prove so important to both, were established. The great grief of this king, and indeed of the whole nation, by whom he was ardently beloved, was the death of his eldest son; an event which brought the kingdom at his own death, which occurred in 1656, under the evils inseparable from a regency, his infant son, Alonzo VI., succeeding to the throne.

The prudent conduct of the queen-mother, who was appointed regent, baffled the schemes of Spain, and tended to secure the national independence, especially by the complete victory which her troops achieved at Montesclaros.

Alonzo profited but little by the prudent training he had received; giving himself up to the influence of unworthy favourites, he became so uncertain and capricious in his conduct, as to induce a belief that he was afflicted with partial insanity, and his subsequent career confirmed the suspicion. Fancying that his mother wished to transfer the crown to his talented brother Pedro, he treated her in a most unworthy manner, and at last compelled her to withdraw from his court; thus depriving himself and the nation of the advantage of her wise counsels, and salutary control. One event, interesting to England, which she accomplished before she retired, was the arrangement of the marriage of her daughter Catherine, with Charles II., by which this country obtained, besides a considerable sum of money, always welcome to the extravagant and profligate Stuart, the possession of the island of Bombay and its dependencies, Tangiers* in Africa, and permission to establish a free trade with all the possessions of Portugal in Brazil and the East Indies.

After the queen-mother had retired, Alonzo gave way to his folly and vice without restraint, and especially after her death, which happened soon after she left the court. Thinking that a prudent marriage might have a beneficial influence upon him, he was persuaded to marry a daughter of the duke de Nemours, connected with the ducal house of Savoy; but as though determined to disappoint every expectation of amendment, he treated

* Charles II. did not consider Tangiers as worth preservation, and therefore caused the works to be blown up, and the place abandoned, in 1683.

his queen in so outrageous a manner, that she felt compelled to leave the palace, and seek shelter in a convent; from which she wrote to the king, and insisted on their nominal marriage being annulled. The Portuguese nobles, incensed at the gross treatment she had received, readily espoused her cause; and, compelled by the continued and increased extravagances of the king, demanded that he should renounce the crown in favour of his brother Pedro. Forsaken by all, the unhappy Alonzo consented to abdicate, and to declare the entire nullity of his marriage. Placed under restraint, and treated with kindness, during the short continuance of his life, he died in 1683.

Pedro II., who during the life of his brother would assume the title of regent only, now ascended the throne, having previously married the queen, between whom and himself a warm friendship had long existed. Pedro was a man of sound judgment, and proved an able ruler. He completed a peace with Spain, and being thus freed from foreign interference, he occupied himself with attending to the welfare of his native country until his death, which occurred in 1706.

SPAIN.

1555.—Philip II. succeeded to the throne of Spain and its tributary states on the abdication of his father, Charles V. No monarch was ever invested with greater power for good, both to his country and the world, and no one ever more completely abused the advantages of his position. Spain had been so humbled by Charles, that the royal authority was absolute. Milan, Naples, Sicily, the Netherlands, Mexico, and Peru, with their inexhaustible treasures, were all subject to his sway. Connected by family ties with the leading powers of the world; numbering several others amongst his allies, while France and Turkey, formerly such formidable foes to his father, were not in a condition to give him any present trouble; surrounded by the ablest generals of the age, and by his marriage with Mary of England, possessing an authority there which the mighty Charles could never obtain;—there seemed to be no limit to his prosperity, and no obstacle to his becoming a benefactor to his race; and yet the memory of Philip is one unlovely unredeemed exhibition

of crafty cunning without true wisdom, determined obstinacy without any worthy object, merciless cruelty without any plausible pretence, and gloomy bigotry without one indication of genuine piety.

Some have regarded him as a profound politician, but more accurate investigation exhibits him as a strange compound of imbecility and immorality. Nor do we think he can be more accurately described than in the words of Scripture, as being "without natural affection," "earthly, sensual, devilish." The only ideas which he steadily pursued, were the subjugation of all beneath his power to the obedience of the Romish church, and the establishment of absolute and despotic rule over his vast dominions. These two objects he continued to pursue through the whole course of his reign, with what success we shall soon perceive.

The first principal event of his career seemed likely to consolidate his authority. Paul IV., jealous of a power which seemed likely to be as troublesome to the Romish see as that of his father had previously been, formed a league with Henry II. of France, to deprive Philip of Milan and the Two Sicilies; and on the renewal of the war, Philip obtained, mainly by the skill of Philibert, duke of Savoy, his able general, the great victory of St. Quentin, on August 10th, 1557. In this battle the French lost many of their chief nobility, 4000 soldiers were killed, and the remainder taken prisoners or dispersed. So great was the consternation of the vanquished, that they thought their kingdom utterly ruined; and had the Spanish army marched upon Paris, which the inhabitants were fortifying in great haste, nothing could have prevented their success. But the unaccountable caution of Philip prevented him in this, as on most occasions, from improving his opportunities, and thus enabled the French so far to recover themselves as to wrest Calais from the hands of the English, and present a formidable army against him at Gravelines the following year; when they were again defeated, and obliged to agree to the treaty of peace signed at Château-Cambresis in the year 1559. The importance of these victories is apparent, from the fact that they terminated those fierce wars between Spain and France which had for so many years desolated and afflic-

ted the continent of Europe. By this treaty France surrendered to Philip as many as eighty-nine fortified towns in the Netherlands; and thus, not only showed and increased her own weakness, but gave Philip a predominance in the Low Countries, which he soon employed for the oppression of the inhabitants.

To celebrate the battle of St. Quentin, the superstitious monarch, in fulfilment of a vow which he pretended to have made prior to the engagement, erected the palace and convent of the Escorial at Madrid, which became the usual place of residence for the Spanish kings.* Philip was married four times; first, and at a very early age, to the infanta of Portugal, his cousin, who died in giving birth to his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos; secondly, to Mary, queen of England; and thirdly, as he could not persuade Elizabeth to listen to his addresses, to Isabel, the daughter of Henry II. of France. This princess was betrothed to his son Carlos; but disregarding this fact, he completed the union, and by his ill-treatment of his son, drove him into excesses, for which he had him arrested, in 1564, and committed to the keeping of one of his creatures, by whom it was supposed he was murdered, as he suddenly and for ever disappeared. Isabel dying soon after, he took for his fourth wife, his niece, Anne of Austria, who also had been betrothed to Carlos.

Intent on his purpose of compelling all to submit to the claims of the catholic church, he entered into what was termed "the league" with Charles IX. of France, by which they agreed to extirpate heresy in their respective dominions. This determination was quite in accordance with the cruel disposition of Philip. He established the inquisition throughout his various possessions, and

* "This palace is one of the largest and most magnificent in the world; it forms a vast square of polished stone, and paved with marble. It may give some notion of the surprising grandeur of this palace to observe, that according to the computation of Francesco de los Santo, it would take up more than four days to go through all its rooms and apartments, the length of the way being reckoned thirty-three Spanish leagues, which is above one hundred and twenty English miles." The number of doors and windows is almost incredible.

The battle having been fought on the festival of St. Lawrence, the king illustrated his folly and his bigotry by causing it to be built in the form of a gridiron, the martyr being recorded to have suffered on such an instrument. The Spaniards speak of this edifice as being the eighth wonder of the world.

was present and presided at those exhibitions of bigotry called "Autos-da-fé." In many places these measures were submitted to in sullen silence, but there was one portion of his dominions where they produced a resistance which resulted in the most important changes; we allude to the Netherlands, where the protestant faith had made most extensive progress. Charles, having been called to the imperial crown, as well as to the throne of Spain, had but little personal intercourse with his countrymen after he first left them; but amid all his ambitious schemes, and despotic measures, he appears to have retained some feeling of patriotism for those amongst whom he spent his early youth, and to have submitted, with as good grace as possible, to those indications of the growth of popular freedom which could not be really palatable to his arbitrary temper. But Philip had no sympathy with such feelings; born and educated in Spain, a country thoroughly imbued with the spirit of popery, his own disposition gloomy, superstitious, and unfeeling, and accustomed to the exercise of despotic authority, he could ill brook the plain dealing and unvarnished honesty of his Belgian subjects, especially, as even he was forced to observe, the spirit of political independence, and a determination to enjoy religious liberty, were advancing together. Hence, when visiting them, he commenced that system of duplicity which was his favourite expedient, but which was soon followed by fiercer and more sanguinary struggles. In the treaty of Cambresis, a secret article bound the French king to aid him with all the power of France, should his Belgian subjects be impracticable; evidently proving that he had already formed his determination, and foreseen the conflicts to which its fulfilment might lead.

Having appointed Margaret, duchess of Parma, an illegitimate daughter of Charles V., stadtholdress, Philip departed from a country which was hateful to him, and which he never again beheld. The constitution he had arranged soon showed how small was the wisdom he had employed in its construction. Disputes arose, which assumed so serious an aspect, that he found it necessary to use more energetic measures; he therefore sent the duke of Alva to supersede Margaret. But the violent

conduct of this man speedily produced a series of revolts, which led to a war with Spain; and under the guidance of the great prince of Orange, to the ultimate determination of seven of the provinces, in the year 1580, to throw off the yoke of Spain, and assert their independence. The war thus enkindled continued to rage until 1609; when, after a severe struggle of about thirty years, peace was restored, the haughty Spaniards being compelled to treat with the Dutch as an independent nation. But as the history of the successive events may be better detailed when we come to treat of the Netherlands in their separate existence, we reserve them for the present. One event which arose out of this struggle, was the determination of Philip to invade England, in order to punish Elizabeth for refusing the offer of his hand and for assisting the Flemings in their revolt, and to deal a fatal blow to protestantism, of which the queen of England was the acknowledged head. How the attempt failed, in the utter discomfiture and destruction of the so-called "Invincible Armada," is detailed in the history of this country; affording another illustration to the many supplied by the reign of Philip, of vast schemes frustrated by the incapacity of him by whom they were conceived and directed.

The despotic conduct of Philip involved him also in serious troubles with the Moors, who formed a conspiracy against him, but were subdued and scattered amongst the inland provinces of Spain; while the pirates of Barbary, and the ambition of Turkey, gave him frequent employment. Ever plotting to disturb the peace of the nations, he not only obtained the sovereignty of Portugal, but interfered with the succession to the French crown, hoping to secure it for his daughter Isabel. Willing to show his hatred to the reformed faith, he joined the catholic league, whose objects were to oppress the Huguenots, and prevent the accession of Henry of Navarre. Indeed, until a long and painful illness befell him, which closed his life, in 1598, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-second of his reign, his spirit of restless and mischievous interference knew no repose; and though he encouraged many useful and ornamental works, and built many splendid monasteries, he died unregretted by any of

the people over whom he had swayed his despotic sceptre. Unloved and unlovely, bigotry and cruelty were the features by which he was known: he was a fitting consort for the sanguinary Mary, whose deeds of blood, when endeavouring to stop the progress of the English reformation, are suspected to have been encouraged by his counsels. No improbable suspicion respecting one who rejoiced in the St. Bartholomew massacre at Paris, and who exclaimed when hearing of the assassination of William, prince of Orange, the deliverer of his country, "Better late than never." By some advocates of the catholic church he is held in esteem, but so long as honour and integrity are estimable in the human character, while equity and justice are required in sovereigns, and "righteousness and peace" constitute genuine piety, instead of "bitterness, and strife, and all uncharitableness," Philip II. will be remembered only with loathing, and his memory be without honour.

1598.—Spain, which had so long ruled the world with so much pride and arrogance, into whose treasuries the wealth of the Eastern and Western Indies had been so abundantly poured—who probably had said, like the Babylon of old, "I sit a queen for ever: I shall never be a widow,"—began now to decline. The sun of her glory had set; unsanctified wealth, unbridled power, swelling vanity, and selfish indulgence, added to wilful rejection of the truth, had begun their work. The vast edifice of political greatness was being sapped, and, as of old, the nation had been "weighed in the balance and found wanting," and the time of the end, if not begun, was approaching. The sentence of Eternal Justice, which says, "The kingdom and nation that will not serve me shall perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted," was waiting for its fulfilment, when Philip III. ascended the throne. Like his father, bigoted and superstitious, he was unlike his father in the indolent insignificance of his character.

Without sufficient energy or inclination for the cares of government, he committed the management of affairs to the duke of Lerma, who was his principal favourite. This nobleman does not seem to have had much more capacity for business than his master; there were, however, some

useful arrangements made to which he was a consenting party, but which were the natural results of existing circumstances, rather than the suggestions of a thoughtful policy. Thus peace was made with England, the severe blow inflicted on the military and naval power of the country by the destruction of the Armada, rendering such a step imperative; again, a truce for twelve years was concluded with the Dutch, the exhausted state of Spain demanding it as much as the newly erected republic.

There were other transactions, which showed that a ruler of a very different kind to Charles was now at the helm of government. The Morescoes of Valentia had been exempted from the previous proscription, because of the value of their skill in various useful arts. These unfortunate beings were commanded to retire to Africa, and only a few days were allowed for their removal, and all their property was confiscated. When a nation thus drives away those who are contributing to its prosperity, and retains only the drones who consume its resources, we may be sure that blindness has befallen the rulers. Such was the case in this instance; one individual, however, whom the religion of his Master should have instructed better, made himself conspicuous for his intolerance in continually insisting on their being exterminated, because, as he said, "it was impossible for them to become Christians." It was in this reign, and by noblemen accredited from Philip's court, that the plot for the destruction of Venice, and which so nearly succeeded, was concocted, it was believed with the knowledge, if not the concurrence, of the home authorities. Spain was exposed to considerable peril from the determination formed by Henry of Navarre, king of France, to humble the lofty pretensions of Germany and Spain, who had not lowered her pride with the decrease of her power; and this determination would most probably have been put into execution, but that the knife of the assassin brought the life of Henry to an untimely end. Philip was, as might be supposed, deeply implicated in the thirty years' war—of course, on the side of intolerance—and endured, with other nations, all the desolating consequences of that fearful struggle. Finding his lofty station to be vanity, and utterly incapable of remedying the evils with which his country was

afflicted, Philip drooped, and, hopeless and helpless, closed his feeble reign in death, in 1621.

1621.—Philip IV., son of the preceding monarch, was possessed of but very little energy, giving himself up to the guidance of Olivarez, whose abilities, though great, were not of a practical kind, and therefore were inadequate to the task of stopping the downward tendency of the nation, as was proved by the failure of his plans.

Anxious, if possible, to prevent James I. of England, from interfering on behalf of the elector palatine, he not only formed an alliance with James, but consented to enter into those negotiations for the marriage of the Infanta with prince Charles, which were broken off by the licentious behaviour of Buckingham.

The truce with the Netherlands had expired, and Olivarez hoped by the help of the emperor, Ferdinand II., to recover the revolted provinces, but in vain. In an engagement with prince Maurice, the stadtholder, the loss of the Spaniards was immense, and afforded but a gloomy prospect of the ultimate result. In Catalonia a revolt occurred, induced by the indignation of the people at the arrogance of the minister, and the oppressive burdens they were expected to bear. In this insurrection the French gave the rebels encouragement, besides aiding the Dutch to resist the attempts of Spain, and every thing seemed to threaten that the old contests with France were about to be revived with their original energy. But the death of Richelieu, the ruling spirit of French policy, gave some interruption to these fears; but it was only for a little space. Mazarin soon succeeded to the guidance of affairs, and with Condé and Turenne in the field at the head of numerous armies, Spain had every thing to dread. The battle of Rocroi, which was fought soon after, increased the alarm, while it fearfully damaged Spanish power in the Netherlands. Olivarez, as unequal to the crisis, was removed and banished from court, 'sighing probably, "put not your trust in princes." Philip, unable to withstand the current of events, at last agreed to acknowledge the independence of the united provinces; and a treaty recognising the fact, and conceding to them all their conquests, was signed in 1648.

Notwithstanding the peace of Westphalia, war con-

tinued between Spain and France, and was not concluded until 1649, when, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, Spain yielded Roussillon, Artois, and her claim to Alsace; and France ceded her conquests in Catalonia, Italy, and other places taken in the course of the contest. To cement this treaty yet more completely, Maria Theresa, infanta of Spain, was united in marriage to Louis XIV., the youthful king of France. The independence of Portugal was fully admitted in this reign after the battle of Villa Vicosa.

Philip died in 1665. During his reign the abundant wealth which was received from America, diminished the industry while it increased the pride of the people, and helped to promote that national degradation which was in progress.

1665.—Charles II. was but four years of age when he succeeded his father; and the country, nominally under the rule of the regent, Mary Anne of Austria, the queen-mother, was really governed by a German Jesuit named Nitard, whom she had appointed inquisitor-general, until the nobles, displeased with the exclusion of John of Austria from public affairs, encouraged him to occupy the regency, and the queen-mother was confined in a convent, while Nitard was dismissed. Charles, feeble both in mind and body, was supposed to have been rendered still more so by the arts of his mother, who was suspected of giving him injurious potions to keep the power in her own hands.

Charles married the daughter of the duke of Orleans, and Henrietta, daughter of Charles I. of England, who was believed also to have been the subject of the wicked arts of the queen-mother. John of Austria having died, she regained her liberty and influence, and produced such domestic commotions that the French king thought it a fitting opportunity to renew a war, which in its results proved most afflicting to Spain, and lasted until the treaty of Ryswick, of which we must speak elsewhere. The failure of any direct and immediate heir to the throne, caused great uneasiness in Spain, and several schemes were known to be under the consideration of foreign powers for a partition of the kingdom. Charles therefore left the crown to the duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., and at the death of Charles he was sent

to Madrid as Philip V.; but several powerful competitors putting in their claims, "the war of the Spanish succession" succeeded, which must be reserved for a future chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Rising Republic.—A. D. 1548—1688.

THE NETHERLANDS.

UNION WITH SPAIN.—PERSECUTIONS BY PHILIP.—THE MANIFESTO.—WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.—INTERVIEW WITH MARGARET.—GRAND BANQUET AT BRUSSELS.—RETIREMENT OF WILLIAM AND OTHERS.—EXTENSION OF THE CONFEDERATION.—RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCES.—POLICY OF THE KING'S PARTY.—ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF ALVA.—HIS CRUELTY.—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TAKES THE FIELD.—ALVA SUCCEEDED BY REQUESENS.—DEATH OF THE LATTER.—FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF WILLIAM.—HIS ASSASSINATION.—FALL OF ANTWERP.—DESTRUCTION OF THE BRIDGE OF THE SCHELDT.—THE STATES ASSISTED BY ENGLAND.—THE TRUCE OF 1609.—THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATES ACKNOWLEDGED.

THE Netherlands, which comprised seventeen provinces in the days of Philip II., are situated on the western coast of Europe, opposite to England, and stretch from France to Hanover. Their united length was, from north to south, about 220 miles, and their breadth, from east to west, nearly 140. A considerable portion of the country was redeemed from the sea, protected by dykes. The inhabitants of the southern provinces are supposed to be of French origin, and were formerly called Walloons; while those of the northern division are evidently descended from the Saxon race, whom they greatly resemble in their perseverance and their fondness for commerce and agriculture. Their language, modified by the Flemings and

the Dutch, who occupy these parts of the country, is low German, while those of the southern parts use a dialect of the French tongue.

In 1548, Charles V. united the seventeen provinces with Spain. They retained however the name of the circle of Burgundy, and as such were attached to the empire. During the reign of Charles, the protestant religion had made considerable progress in the provinces, although several thousands had suffered death for their adoption of that faith; and here, as in other places, neutralized the violence of their adversaries by the patient submission with which they endured wrong, rather than sacrifice the duty they owed to their God.

When these provinces came under the dominion of Philip II., by the abdication of his father, he found the reformed faith so prevalent that he resolved at all risks to attempt its extirpation, and, at the same time, bring the people into more complete subjection. The severe measures he adopted, especially the establishment of the inquisition, which was employed with more than usual rigour, at length exasperated the people to attempt some improvement in their condition, and obtain a relief from their oppressive grievances. Confusion everywhere prevailed; the inquisitors traversed the provinces with their familiars, and, like the deadly pestilence, scattered desolation and death wherever they went. Irritated to madness, the people rose in many places, and tumults and bloodshed were the results; but these collisions, though often frightful, were partial, and might soon have been subdued had not the more systematized plan of the year 1566 been adopted, the real commencement of the revolution.

Margaret, the stadtholdress or governante, and her ministers, saw the storm of popular discontent gathering, and they strongly urged Philip to relax the severity of his measures, but in vain. Hoping to render these national discontents subservient to his wicked designs, he persisted with all the obstinacy of his unfeeling nature, and resolved to excite it to greater disorder than ever.

While the public feeling was in this state of ferment, the marriage of Alexander, prince of Parma, son of the governante, was celebrated at Brussels, and a large number of the nobles were assembled to honour the event. The

state of public affairs, as a matter of course, was the subject of free and frequent discussion, the result of which was the adoption of a manifesto, complaining chiefly of the illegal establishment of the inquisition, and a solemn engagement on the part of all who should sign it to unite to remove the hateful tyranny. Nobles, merchants, even catholic priests, signed the document, and the confederates became formidable from their numbers: the only want was some sagacious mind to direct the enthusiasm so as best to secure the object desired.

Such a leader, could they have obtained his adhesion, the confederates recognised in William, prince of Orange. This eminent man, destined to render such important service to his country, was descended from the illustrious house of Nassau, and was at this time stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. Distinguished for sagacity and penetration, which excited the notice and confidence of Charles V. even in early life, and firmly attached to the reformed faith, he seemed the fittest person in the kingdom to take the lead of the confederates; but William and his two intimate friends, the counts Egmont and Horn, though faithfully and earnestly desiring to promote the mutual interests of the king and his subjects, and in the deliberations of the council of state avowing their desires, had hitherto stood aloof from the popular demonstrations of discontent, and were not amongst the number of those who joined the confederation. They strongly advised moderation and respectful conduct towards the governante on those who had.

Margaret, alarmed by the proceedings, a rumour of which had reached her, assembled the council of state to guide her as to the course she should pursue. Through the influence of William, she was persuaded to be ready with a promise of redress when the confederates came to lay their grievances before her. While the council was thus engaged in discussion, a report was spread that the confederates were approaching to Brussels. During the previous months their numbers had increased considerably, and now hundreds of them entered the city. Slowly, solemnly, they advanced in regular procession, with no show of violence, but with the step and demeanour of resolute determination. Comprising representatives of

the most distinguished families in the various provinces, as well as many others, they walked quietly from street to street; while the inhabitants of the city, unused to such a display of moral resistance, looked on with utter amazement, fearing that this peaceable exterior might after all conceal plots of sanguinary violence, which would ere long break like a thunder-storm upon the confiding town. But on and on they went, till arrived at the presence of Margaret, the governante, they firmly yet respectfully presented their supplications for redress of those evils which were eating out the vitals of the state. Margaret listened with attention, and courteously dismissed them with a conciliatory but evasive reply.

The day after the interview, Brederode, marquis of Utrecht, one of the most active of the confederates, gave a grand banquet, at an hotel in the city, to upwards of three hundred of his companions, where, when the wine had circulated freely and the spirits of the company were high, a toast was given and responded to with an energy which knew no bounds. This toast—"Long live the gueux," that is, the beggars—originated in the circumstance of one of the guests remarking that count Berlaimont, one of the creatures of Philip, had said to the governante when they presented their petition, that "she had nothing to fear from such a band of beggars (gueux)." Adopting the designation in their cups in the manner described, Brederode made the excitement yet greater by taking a beggar's wallet, and, as he drank out of a wooden cup to the health of all present, swearing that he was willing to sacrifice property, nay life, for the common cause. The oath, the cup, and the wallet went the round of the assembly, and at last the wallet was hung in the room to remind them of their vow. From such proceedings, partaking of the character of a drunken frolic, or the enthusiasm of rash conspirators, it was not surprising that the sagacious William should stand aloof; but attracted by the tumult, he and his friends, the counts Egmont and Horn, entered the room and endeavoured to still the storm. The next day, resolving to make a stronger demonstration, the confederates clothed themselves in the ordinary grey cloaks of beggars, and attached to their dress cups and other light utensils, such as mendicants or pil-

grims were accustomed to carry. From this singular circumstance the term "gueux" became a common and lasting designation of those who were striving for religious freedom, as well as for deliverance from the despotism of Philip.

William could not but perceive the injurious tendency of these tumultuous proceedings, which were liable to the charge of either going too far, or not going far enough. Unwilling to frown upon these early struggles for liberty, yet feeling that they were not of a nature to advance or recommend the end desired, he and the counts resigned their places in the council of state, and retired from the city, awaiting a more favourable opportunity for promoting a cause, on which their affections were at least as sincerely set as those of these noisy patriots.

The confederation continued to extend, and became a centre around which the discontented of all classes met. But we shall err if we suppose that all who joined it were animated with a sincere desire for either religious or civil liberty; the mass of the adherents were most probably animated with this feeling, but, as in all popular movements, there were the vain, who sought distinction, indifferent as to its source so that they obtained it; the discontented, some of whose grievances were the morbid cravings of an unhappy temper; and the restless, who in the mere constitutional activity of a temper which never knew repose, fancied they were exhibiting a spirit of genuine patriotism; but with these were—and they constituted the majority—those who sincerely sought the common good, and who were prepared to make any sacrifice to obtain it.

According to the promise she had given to the confederates, the governante directed the magistrates to deal leniently with the heretics, and interfere with them as little as possible. The immediate effect of this was to bring many of the protestants of different sects from the surrounding countries to settle in the Netherlands; but one circumstance threatened serious results. Instead of meeting by stealth in the darkness of the night as hitherto, the protestants now met in open day; and being without places of worship, they assembled in the open fields, and the preachers proclaimed the truths of the

gospel in the midst of overwhelming numbers, who were attracted, some by curiosity, and others that "they might hear words whereby they might be saved." One of these field preachers, named Dathen, is said to have gathered as many as 15,000 persons at a time, to listen to his discourses. In the existing state of things such assemblies were not very likely to part without some disturbances: thus we learn that on one occasion, a magistrate, furious in his bigotry, rushed amongst the people, thinking to disperse them with his sword, but fell a victim to his own intemperate zeal. Arms and barricades were adopted by the protestants to prevent any hostile attack, but this very expedient rendered the danger the more imminent. At Antwerp the multitudes were so vast, and the excitement was so extreme, that the citizens applied to the governante for protection. Margaret, bewildered by the growing confusion, was obliged to request the interference of the prince of Orange, to prevent any popular disturbance. Indeed matters had now become so serious, that the prince and count Egmont were invested with full powers to treat with the confederates. They accordingly met with twelve of the associated lords, from whom they received a respectful message to the governante, declaring that the statement of their having entered into treaties with foreign powers was libellous and false, expressing their readiness to march against the French whenever their services might be required, and earnestly begging that the states-general should be convoked as early as possible. To these reasonable demands it was replied, that it was necessary to communicate with the king, whose answer might be looked for in less than a month. Application was made to Philip for advice, and the whole question discussed with apparent fairness by the Spanish council, who recommended moderate measures to be adopted. But nothing would move Philip: he refused to allow the states-general to be summoned; he rejected all advice as to moderation, and directed Margaret to raise an army of 3000 horse and 10,000 foot soldiers; only agreeing to modify in some degree the working of the inquisition.

But concession or non-concession now availed little: a fresh illustration of the licentiousness to which all things

were tending was afforded in mobs of image-breakers, who now arose amongst the lowest classes of the people, professing zeal for the purity of religion, but in reality moved by a love of violence. They broke into the churches, and despoiled them of everything in the way of ornament which they could remove or destroy: priceless images, plate, stained windows, were broken to atoms; and in the cathedral at Antwerp the organ, said to be the finest in the world, was subjected to this destructive enthusiasm. Alas! what violence and strife, what licentiousness and cruelty, have been perpetrated in the name of that Saviour whose religion is love, order, peace, brotherly kindness, and charity, and which seeks its extension, not by the fierce conflicts of hostile passions, but by the blessing of the Spirit of God upon the truth as it is in Jesus, widely diffused, and personally experienced.

The only tendency of such extreme measures was to render the breach between king and people irremediable, especially with a temper like that of the superstitious and despotic Philip; and their influence became apparent very quickly. Negotiations were again opened with the confederates, and William, Horn, and Egmont, were employed to treat with them on behalf of the government. The confederates were absolved from all participation in the outrages, nay, they themselves sought out the ring-leaders in the affair, and delivered them over to justice, and several of them were executed; but none of these facts weighed with Philip. His council, and even the emperor his uncle, urged moderation, and advised him to visit his revolted subjects, and appease the strife by some equitable arrangement, but all was in vain: violence and duplicity were the only features of his policy during his reign, especially in the Netherlands. The protestants, those who really knew and valued truth, taking advantage of the short period of repose afforded by the conciliatory spirit of Margaret, had built a number of wooden churches to prevent the need for field preaching. Men of all classes engaged in the labour, while the females sold their jewels and ornaments to provide the necessary funds; and, had they been left to themselves, the power of the religion they professed would soon have quieted the storm of passion, and healed the evils of their land.

The policy of the king's party for some time was to produce a spirit of disunion amongst the leaders of the confederation; and this plan was to some extent successful. Egmont was led to give himself up to a delusive confidence in the king's sincerity; but William and Horn could not be thus deceived. Obeying the directions she had received from Philip, Margaret was busy in levying troops, and every thing betokened the approaching conflict. Valenciennes, known to be devoted to the reformed faith, was first besieged; and thus began a war which lasted for upwards of forty years with more than usual vigour, and in which both parties seemed disposed to carry matters to an extreme issue. On the one side the utter subjugation of free thought and national freedom, was the object aimed at; on the other, "freedom to worship God," settled law, and personal liberty.

For some time every thing appeared favourable to the success of the royal cause. Valenciennes was taken, and other places fell beneath the power of the troops; Brederode fled into Germany, and the confederacy was dispersed. In order to render the triumph complete, a new oath of allegiance was proposed to every functionary of the state: by this oath, containing declarations opposed to every principle of patriotism and liberty of conscience, it was sought to entrap all the influential leaders. Egmont and others took it, but William, Horn, and the greater number refused, and most of them left the provinces. These events threatened the utter ruin of the popular movement, and multitudes of emigrants sought protection in England and Germany.

The general consternation was rendered yet more intense, by the arrival of the duke of Alva, in August, 1567, with 15,000 men. The government had earnestly entreated Philip not to adopt the step of sending this man, whose name is so universally execrated. But deaf to all suggestions save those of his own vindictive nature, he not only sent him, but invested him with such extensive powers, that Margaret in utter disgust solicited leave to retire from the nominal position she now held, and soon after left for Naples. Alva commenced his work of cruelty and blood immediately; Egmont and Horn, and others of the most distinguished families, were

arrested and executed. The inquisition was re-established in all its horrors, the decrees of the council of Trent promulgated, and all the favourable edicts of Margaret, and the treaties she had made with the confederates, revoked; a tribunal called "the council of troubles," of which Alva was head, was appointed, before which all classes, both sexes, and persons of every profession, were summoned, and with scarcely the appearance of trial, were condemned to death, by the axe or the halter. Bloodshed and confiscation were the daily amusements of this tyrant, who thus gratified his avarice and his cruelty, and the tendency of his rule was manifestly to effect the utter depopulation of the country. Notwithstanding all his efforts to prevent them, crowds of emigrants continued to flock to the English ports, all of which Elizabeth opened for their reception, bringing with them that industrial skill which amply repaid the hospitality with which they were treated.

The prince of Orange, who, with his brother, had been summoned to appear before Alva, firmly refused to obey, denying the authority of the duke, and asserting that he was answerable only to the emperor as one of his vassals, or to the king of Spain in person, as president of the order of "the golden fleece."

To attempt to detail the atrocities of this furious tyrant, would be both impossible and repulsive. Frenzy, anarchy, and death, every where prevailed; the extent of which may be imagined from the boast of Alva himself, who gloried in having caused 18,000 of the inhabitants to perish, in little more than five years.

The reports of these wholesale butcheries rapidly spread to other countries, and the emperor, Maximilian II., and the German princes, catholic as well as protestant, England, France, and other powers, endeavoured to arouse Philip to some feeling of humanity and moderation, but all in vain. Sitting in his little cabinet in the Escorial, his letters were still breathing vengeance for the Netherlands, as well as plotting mischief in every other land.

1568.—The prince of Orange now felt impelled to adopt more decisive measures to prevent the utter ruin of his country; he therefore sold his jewels, plate, and even the furniture of his houses, to raise the necessary funds, and being assisted with men and money by Elizabeth,

the protestants in Germany and France raised an army, and took the field; but the divisions under his brothers Louis and Adolphus were defeated, and Adolphus killed. Failing, notwithstanding all his efforts, to bring Alva to an engagement, William was obliged to disband his forces, and await a more favourable opportunity. Flushed with this apparent success, Alva plunged into fresh extravagances. No one of any grade was allowed to marry without his express permission; enormous taxes were imposed, and where resisted, the citizens hanged at their own doors; while the wholesale murders of his council, were as numerous as ever. Unmoved by a fearful inundation, which destroyed 20,000 persons in Friesland alone, he continued his frightful career, till even Philip is said to have reproved him for his inhumanity. Indeed another governor was sent out, who it was thought might conduct the reign of terror with more policy; but the duke of Medina-Celi, to whom this post was offered, after being attacked by the privateers of the patriots, which were now becoming very numerous, and losing considerable treasures, found Alva so impracticable, that he obtained leave to return to Spain, and the governor was left undisturbed to perpetrate further enormities.

Succeeding in throwing all the towns of Holland and Zealand into revolt, such a spirit of universal indignation was excited, that William, who had again taken the field, was able to capture several towns. Philip now felt that it was imperatively necessary that some change of policy should be tried: he therefore recalled his too-willing instrument of cruelty; and in 1573 Alva returned to Spain, loaded with the curses of a people whom he had treated with all the malignity of a demon, and was succeeded by Don Luis Zaneja y Requesens.

The new governor was soon found to be a man of more prudence and moderation than his predecessor; and although the war continued, his rule was evidently more likely to conciliate than the harsh cruelties which had been hitherto practised, and in 1574 negotiations for peace were commenced at Breda; but after three months of fruitless deliberation, were broken off, in consequence of Philip's firm determination to refuse toleration to the

reformed faith, which the patriots were as firmly resolved to obtain.

War being renewed continued to rage, till the death of Requesens, in 1576, still further complicated affairs, and left the government in such confusion, that the Spanish troops mutinied; and after seizing other towns, attacked Antwerp, which they took and sacked with all the unbridled ferocity and licentiousness with which they had so long been familiar.

A short period of repose was obtained by the "pacification of Ghent," in 1576; but the contest was soon renewed, and with such success on the part of the patriots, under the guidance of the prince of Orange, that in 1580, the states-general assembled at Antwerp, issued their declaration of national independence. The authority of Spain was renounced for ever; and five provinces, comprising Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Friesland, joined eventually by Overijssel and Groningen, constituted the United Provinces of Holland, afterwards so famous in the commercial and political history of Europe. The duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France, was appointed to preside over the united provinces, while the sovereignty of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, was secured to William as stadtholder in fealty to the duke.

A very short time showed the Hollanders, or Dutch, as they were soon called, the mistake they had committed in selecting the duke of Anjou. This intemperate and unprincipled man, comparing his restricted authority with the absolute power possessed by many of the continental rulers, began to conspire against the states he had sworn to protect; and directing the governors of Dunkirk and other towns to seize and hold them in his name, he personally led an attack upon Antwerp. But, recovering from the surprise, into which the sudden onset had thrown them, the inhabitants flew to arms, attacking their assailants with their tools, or whatever came to hand, and displayed such indomitable resolution, that the French were completely beaten, 1500 of them killed, and the duke compelled to fly into France; where, before matters could be satisfactorily arranged, he died, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

Such were the repeated trials to which the infant republic was exposed in its efforts to secure that freedom of person, and liberty of conscience, which are the inalienable right of all. But severe and alarming as were these difficulties, they were surmounted, under Providence, by the sagacity and patriotism of William "the silent," prince of Orange. This extraordinary and exemplary man seems to have been raised up by God, who always sends the right man at the right time, for the salvation of his country. To him must be ascribed the merit of restraining the frenzied indignation of his countrymen, when on many occasions it was ready to burst forth, under intolerable provocation, in a manner which would have been destructive alike to their friends and their foes. He had headed their armies, and led them on to victory; he had regulated their treaties; and though for twenty years he had spent his fortune, his ease, and his health, for the common good, calumny had failed to show that he had in any instance used his power for any selfish purpose. With a courage that never quailed, a perseverance that never deviated from its aim, a sagacity so profound that it has never been excelled, and the whole baptized with religious principle as powerful as it was sincere, he stands before us as one of the most memorable characters of history, and well deserves the title of "father of his country."

Philip appears from the first to have recognised the superiority of William, either as the consequence of his penetration, or, as (from the almost idiotic imbecility of the royal bigot) is much more likely, from the instinctive dread and hatred with which base natures usually regard mental superiority. But whatever may have been the cause, he felt that William was the animating soul of these struggles for liberty, and hence he sought to crush him. Five unsuccessful attempts had been made to assassinate William; but Philip would not give up hope. In 1580 he published a ban of proscription, in which he denounced the prince as guilty of the foulest crimes, and declared that it was permitted to all persons to assail him in his fortune, person, and life; and promised "25,000 golden crowns, a pardon for all offences whatsoever, and a patent of nobility," to any one who should

deliver up to this implacable monarch William of Nassau, dead or alive.

This infamous document was circulated widely, and soon did its work; but before the final catastrophe a grateful country showed the deep feeling of obligation which his great and invaluable services had produced. After the treachery and death of Anjou, the general feeling pointed to William as the only one who could or ought to be entrusted with the helm of the state; and it was resolved therefore to invest him with the trust which had been so basely betrayed; and the prince agreeing to accept the offer, retired for a few days to Delft to await the ceremony of his inauguration. While there the diabolical plan of Philip was realized. On the 10th July, 1584, while passing from the dining-room to the staircase, he was suddenly attacked by an assassin named Balthasar Gerard, who had passed himself off to the unsuspecting prince as a friend to the reformed faith, but who was proved to be a catholic and a Jesuit. Assailing William in a moment of fancied security, he shot him through the heart with a pistol, which it is said he had purchased with money he had begged from the prince but a short time before. "God pity me," cried the wounded patriot, "I am sadly wounded—God have mercy on my soul, and on this unfortunate nation;" and being carried into the dining-room, he expired. His wife, daughter of Coligny, and widow of count Teligny, who both fell in the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew, and his sister, were with him in the solemn moment, and witnessed the calm departure of one who had not lived for himself.

The consternation caused by this atrocious deed was deep and universal; all felt that they had lost a friend and a father; and vengeance was speedily wreaked upon the assassin. Philip, who received the news from the prince of Parma, convicted by his own letter of having been privy to the plot, was transported with joy, exclaiming, "Had it only been done two years earlier, much trouble would have been spared me; but better late than never, better late than never!" Such are the effects of bigotry, when exciting the worst passions of human nature it dignifies them with the name of religion. The only way in which the states could express their attachment to their

murdered patriot, was by raising his son Maurice to the dignity they had designed for him; this they did, and the war continued, rendered memorable by the siege and fall of Antwerp, which occurred in 1585. Had the citizens listened to the advice of William, this catastrophe might have been avoided; but preferring present gain and individual profit to the common good, the prince of Parma was able to carry out his stupendous plans for its subjugation to a successful issue. Erecting a fortified bridge over the Scheldt, he effectually closed the river, to the utter amazement of the people of Antwerp, who ridiculed the scheme as absurd. All communication with Zealand was now cut off, and the only possible hope of deliverance depended upon the destruction of the bridge: but of this they completely despaired, when an Italian engineer named Giambelli offered to destroy the bridge. They consented to allow him to make the experiment; but, with the same selfish parsimony that they had displayed to William, they so limited the material he required, that he was unable to complete his plan so fully as he proposed: but at length, having made such preparation as was in his power, three immense masses of flame, besides many smaller ones, were seen floating down the river in direct course for the bridge. Soldiers, officers, nay, the prince of Parma himself, congregated on the bridge to witness the result; when one of the machines bursting before its time, revealed the dreadful purpose for which they were sent. Multitudes of the gazing spectators rushed towards the land to escape the peril, and the prince was with difficulty induced to retire; when one of the flaming vessels striking the bridge exploded, and the proud structure was soon shattered: while soldiers, cannon, machinery, and timber, were blown up into the air—a fearful exhibition of wholesale destruction, and a thousand soldiers lost their lives. Had the opportunity been improved, Antwerp might then have been saved; but William was dead, and as yet there was no one with sufficient influence and skill to occupy his place. Maurice indeed did all that was in his power, and more than could have been expected from one only eighteen years of age; but it was felt to be essential to seek the aid of some foreign power. Application was therefore made to England; and Elizabeth sent the earl of Leicester

with 500 men, besides a splendid retinue. But the favourite had not capacity for the situation in which he was placed; while his arrogance destroyed the confidence of those whom he came to aid. Sundry engagements ensued, of which the success was various: but the dissatisfaction between the states and the English became so intense, that in 1586, Leicester returned to England, and left Maurice to pursue a career for which he was found to be well-qualified. The war did not, however, advance with its usual vigour, owing to an event which awakened and enchained the attention of Europe: we allude to the preparations Philip was making for the Spanish Armada. Had Elizabeth given more hearty help to the states, she might so completely have crippled, or at least have so occupied the Spanish power, as to have prevented the invasion which afterwards took place: but allowing some jealousy of the republican states to co-operate with her well-known parsimony, she exposed her kingdom to a peril, from which it was only delivered by the providential interference of that God who rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm.

Another circumstance which protracted the war, was the connexion with the league against the protestants in France, which Philip had joined, and which compelled the duke of Parma on more than one occasion to lead his armies into that country. Indeed Philip began to tire of his fruitless efforts in the Netherlands, and being earnestly engaged in the wars of the league against Henry IV., he determined to transfer the sovereignty to his nephew the archduke Albert, son of the emperor Maximilian II., and his daughter the infanta Isabella on their marriage, as a decent method of retiring from the contest, shortly after which he died, September 13th, 1598.

Henceforth the Netherlands may be regarded as constituting two kingdoms; the Northern states formed the United Provinces, and Flanders and others, now included in the kingdom of Belgium, which submitted to the power of Spain. But the difference between the seven free, and the ten reconciled states, was marked and extreme in every feature: in the latter the towns were almost depopulated, villages were abandoned to the wolves, which increased to a frightful degree, while dogs had become

nearly as fierce. Trade was destroyed, and the once prosperous Antwerp, whose merchants had been princes, was reduced to ruin; while in the Northern states, constituting the united republic, trade and industry were, notwithstanding the unceasing war, increasing their wealth: liberty and religion giving them a character and position in relation to other countries, which could not be despised. Becoming in a short time the first maritime power among the nations, they carried on their commerce with all parts of the world, and emulated the Portuguese and the Spaniards in their zeal for discoveries.

1609.—In this year a truce for twelve years was signed at Antwerp, with the exception of which the republic had to sustain incessant attacks, under the guidance of prince Maurice, who died in 1625, after a life spent in foreign struggle; and in its closing years, amid religious discords at home. Holland, as it was usually called, from the greater extent and wealth of that province, now took its place among the nations of the continent; its independence was acknowledged, as it took part in European politics, and was as a matter of course, involved in European wars. In the time of the English commonwealth, the name of Van Tromp indicated the naval eminence to which the republic had attained; and in the reign of Charles II., the Dutch navy was able to invade England and strike terror into the heart of the voluptuous king and his licentious court.

In 1648, the independence of the states was finally acknowledged in a treaty signed on the 30th January, by the ambassadors of the United Provinces and Spain. By this treaty, the ratifications of which were exchanged at Munster, on the 15th of May, with great solemnity, Spain renounced all claim upon the states for ever; and fully recognised their sovereignty, the rights of trade and navigation in the East and West Indies, with the possession of all countries and stations then occupied by the contracting powers, and the provinces and towns in the Netherlands. Thus after a struggle of eighty years, the republic was freed from war; and obtained that civil and religious liberty, for the attainment of which she had endured so much.

To detail the various events which occurred after the

establishment of the republic, would require more space than can be allowed: we can only remark that being the successful rivals of England in trade, and naval enterprise, after returning to those who fled from the tyranny of the Stuarts the hospitality they had formerly received from Elizabeth in the time of their trial,—the Dutch gave a deliverer to England in a descendant from William the silent, who effected for this country a revolution as glorious as his noble-hearted ancestor had done for them. Hence, while the events of 1688 are remembered, Englishmen cannot fail to feel an interest in the rise of the Dutch republic.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Crisis.—A. D. 1604—1688.

ENGLAND.

ACCESSION OF JAMES.—SUPPOSED CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.—EXECUTION OF RALEIGH AND OTHERS.—THE HAMPTON-COURT CONFERENCE.—THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.—FAVOURITES OF JAMES.—THE PEOPLE'S DISLIKE OF HIS TIMID POLICY.—DEATH OF HIS QUEEN.—WAR WITH SPAIN.—DEATH OF JAMES.—REVIEW OF HIS REIGN.—ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.—HIS MARRIAGE WITH HENRIETTA OF FRANCE.—HIS TREATMENT OF PARLIAMENT.—INFLUENCE OF BUCKINGHAM.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—ASSASSINATION OF BUCKINGHAM.—ATTEMPTS AT ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY BY CHARLES.—SHIP MONEY.—PERSECUTION OF THE PURITANS.—THE SCOTCH AND THE LITURGY.—MASSACRE OF PROTESTANTS IN IRELAND.—IMPEACHMENT AND EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD AND LAUD.—THE CIVIL WAR.—EXECUTION OF CHARLES.—OLIVER CROMWELL.—HIS PROCEEDINGS IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.—ASSUMES THE PROTECTORATE.—ENGLAND HELD IN GREAT RESPECT DURING HIS POWER.—HIS DEATH.—RICHARD CROMWELL SUCCEEDS TO THE PROTECTORATE.—SOON RESIGNS.—RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.—ACCESSION OF CHARLES II.—THE COUNTRY DECLINES UNDER HIS RULE.—PERSECUTION OF THE NONCONFORMISTS.—LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE COURT.—THE PLAGUE.—FIRE OF LONDON.—THE RYE HOUSE PLOT, AND EXECUTION OF LORD RUSSELL.—DEATH OF CHARLES.—ACCESSION OF JAMES II.—THE MONMOUTH REBELLION IN ENGLAND.—THE ARGYLE REBELLION IN SCOTLAND.—ATTEMPTS OF JAMES TO RESTORE POPEERY.—HE ABDICATES, AND ESCAPES TO FRANCE.

WHAT the most astute politicians had vainly sought to arrange, and warlike rulers could not accomplish, the

union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland under one monarch, was now quietly effected by the ordinary proceedings of Divine providence in the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne.

The objections which might have been raised against his unfortunate mother Mary from her attachment to the catholic faith, did not exist in reference to her son, who had been trained in accordance with the doctrines of the reformation; hence his accession was hailed with general satisfaction, and his right to the throne supposed to be indefeasible, from his descent from Henry VII., and the wish expressed by Elizabeth in her last moments. Considerable surprise was therefore felt, when it was announced that a conspiracy had been discovered to overturn the government, and transfer the throne to Lady Arabella Stuart, who, like James, was descended from Henry VII. This plot was said to have been concocted by Watson and Clarke, two catholic priests, Lord Grey, a well known puritan, Lord Cobham, and the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh.

Whether such a scheme was really devised is doubtful; and still more so whether Sir Walter was concerned in it if it really did exist; the above named persons were however, tried, and with some others condemned to suffer. The two priests, and Mr. Broke, brother of Lord Cobham, were put to death; others were pardoned after they had laid their heads upon the block, and Raleigh was reprieved, but doomed to endure a long and wearisome imprisonment of thirteen years, before he suffered the penalty which it had been determined to inflict.

1604.—One of the most important events of this reign, was a conference that was held at Hampton Court between the church and the puritan parties. The latter, notwithstanding the efforts which were made to repress them during the reign of Elizabeth, had increased very considerably; and, encouraged by the fact that James had been trained amid the forms of presbyterianism to which their preferences inclined them, they hoped that a favourable opportunity had arrived for carrying out those more complete changes in the discipline and forms of worship which they so ardently desired. They therefore willingly agreed to the conference: but in this case, as in most where the dependence is turned from the Creator to the

creature, they were called to endure a bitter disappointment. James, who prided himself no less on his theological knowledge, than on his skill in what he termed "kingcraft," met them with most undignified displays of royal abuse; and convinced them that they had now a ruler who added to the lofty assumptions of his predecessor, a vulgar arrogance that was as fatal to their hopes as it was disgraceful to himself.

The only really valuable result of the Hampton Court conference, was the determination to prepare an amended translation of the sacred scriptures; for which work forty-seven learned divines were engaged. This important undertaking was begun in 1607, and published in 1611, in the form in which we now have it, with the fulsome dedication to the king, which is still prefixed.

Whatever doubts might have been entertained respecting the alleged conspiracy in favour of Arabella Stuart, there could be no question but that a most atrocious plot was formed in this year, 1604; which if it had succeeded, might have been followed by the most disastrous consequences to the nation: this was the well-known scheme commonly called "the gunpowder plot." The plan was to collect a quantity of fuel and gunpowder, conceal it in a vault under the house of lords, and when the king was engaged in addressing his parliament, suddenly to ignite the combustibles, and bury the king, his family, and the assembled senate, in one common destruction. The design appears to have originated in the resentment which the more bigoted catholics felt, when they found that they were likely to be treated with as much rigour by the new monarch as they had been by his predecessor. Among the conspirators were Catesby, a gentleman of ancient family; Percy, a descendant of the house of Northumberland; Sir Everard Digby, and some few more. As a fit agent for carrying out their purpose, they invited over from Flanders an officer in the Spanish service, named Guido Fawkes; the plan was carefully matured, every thing arranged for the seizure or destruction of the royal family, and the members of the legislature; when ten days before the meeting of parliament, one of the conspirators sent a letter to lord Monteaule, a catholic nobleman, warning him against being present on the occasion. This led to a strict inves-

tigation ; and the day before the proposed opening of the session, November 5th, the vault was searched, the preparations discovered, and Fawkes found concealed in a dark corner, who was immediately apprehended. Put to the torture, Fawkes bore his sufferings with incredible firmness, and refused to give up the names of his accomplices ; but these were soon known, and amid the universal consternation which the discovery of the atrocious plot produced, Percy and Catesby were shot by the people while attempting to apprehend them ; and the remainder being taken were tried and sentenced to die for treason, which punishment they, with Fawkes, suffered at the west end of St. Paul's churchyard, in the following January.

One great weakness in the character of James was the readiness with which he gave himself up to the influence of favourites, mostly of a very unworthy kind : such was Carre, created earl of Somerset, a man who had nothing to recommend him but a handsome person, and a pleasing address ; but who nevertheless maintained his hold on the mind of his master, until he was convicted of being a party, with his countess, to the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, in 1613. This man was succeeded in the affections of James by another equally unworthy ; this was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty years of age, subsequently dignified with the title of duke of Buckingham. These preferences were usually associated with such lavish gifts to his favourites and their relatives, that the king soon found his exchequer exhausted. Such was the result which speedily followed the elevation of Villiers ; and to meet the pressing demands to which he was subject, James consented to deliver up the cautionary towns, Flushing, the Brill, and Rammekins, which had been pledged to Elizabeth as security by the Dutch states for the money she had lent them when engaged in their wars with Philip. The sum offered by the states, and accepted by the king for this restoration, was £250,000 ; and thus closed the direct influence of England with the United Provinces, to their great delight, but to the unspeakable mortification of this country.

1620.—Another event which wounding the national attachment to protestantism, excited great indignation

against the king, occurred this year. He had married his daughter Elizabeth to Frederic the elector palatine, who was subsequently elected king of Bohemia by the protestants of that country, instead of Ferdinand II., emperor of Germany, whose determination to enforce catholicism filled them with alarm. Ferdinand, unwilling to lose an honour which had for so long a time been regarded as belonging to the house of Austria, immediately declared war against Frederic, who applied to James his father-in-law for help. With much reluctance he sent him an inconsiderable body of volunteers; but the aid was so insufficient, that Frederic, unable to contend with the great power of the emperor, lost Bohemia and the palatinate also, and was compelled to escape with his young wife into Holland.

The displeasure of the people against the timid policy of James, by which he had sacrificed, as it was thought, the interests of religion and his own family, was so great, that he felt compelled to make some show of activity. Being naturally averse to war, he had recourse to negotiations; but these very negotiations, which were contemptible abroad, only increased the ill feeling amongst his subjects at home. Anxious to marry his son Charles to the infanta of Spain, without regarding the national antipathy of the people to that country, he hoped at the same time to effect something in favour of the elector: but the whole affair was so badly managed, and so completely damaged by the journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, that it only resulted in still greater estrangement between the two countries, and the marriage of Charles with Henrietta of France. The king, as unfit for the duties of peace as for the exigencies of war, must have felt at this crisis his folly, if not conscious of his crime, in putting to death the gallant and sagacious Sir Walter Raleigh, who might have materially helped him amid these complications. This eminent man, after thirteen years' imprisonment, and reprieve of the sentence pronounced on him for alleged participation in the scheme to place Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne, had been entrusted with a commission to occupy and work a gold mine, said to be situated in Guiana: but the expedition proving a failure, and having led to some hostile collisions

with the Spaniards, it was resolved to make him a victim to the Spanish policy, which was then in favour with the king. Accordingly, on his return he was again arrested, and committed to the Tower; from whence, after several expedients to give these harsh proceedings the appearance of justice, he was brought out and executed, Oct. 29, 1618, in pursuance of the sentence which had been passed fifteen years before.

Soon after the execution of Raleigh, queen Anne, who had been his patron, and who strove to exert a beneficial influence over the mind of James, died; and he seemed left to the association of flatterers and corrupt parasites, who helped to encourage the disgraceful vices and pitiable weakness of their royal master, till the court presented a strange contrast to the vigour and sagacity which prevailed in the days of Elizabeth. Striving throughout his reign to conciliate the friendship of Spain, he found himself, in his last days, and with declining health, drifting into a war with that power, which he had neither skill to avert nor energy to conduct. He therefore made a treaty with France, the principal stipulations of which were the marriage of Charles with Henrietta, and a free passage for an army which he was raising for the relief of the palatinate. The army was raised and despatched on its errand; but like his former contingent to the cause of Frederic, proved utterly ineffective, and returned covered with disgrace and disaster.

1625.—But now this reign, reflecting so little credit upon the history of the country, was rapidly approaching its end: in the spring of this year, the king was seized with a tertian ague, which ended his life on the 27th of March. Thus died one whom few appear to have regretted, and whose history is looked back on without any feeling of satisfaction or approval.

James had learning without wisdom, religion without piety, and mental powers of some considerable extent, without the ability of applying them to the practical duties of his station. With the most lofty notions of kingly prerogative, he was utterly destitute of royal dignity; and while his claims on the servile obedience of his subjects were loudly and constantly vaunted, the means by which he sought to enforce them, were such as secured

for himself either hatred or contempt, and prepared for his successor an inheritance of sorrow and misfortune.

One great object of James, was to complete the union between Scotland and England; but the jealousies of the two countries prevented it from being accomplished, while his own injudicious conduct in interfering with the religion of his northern subjects, was of itself enough to raise an insuperable barrier to the success of his design. He however succeeded in again introducing episcopacy amongst them, and thus sowed the seed for future troubles.

The most praiseworthy part of James' administration was in relation to Ireland, where he certainly did more than had been done for hundreds of years previously. That distracted country having been to some extent subdued by the forces sent over by Elizabeth, under the command of lord Mountjoy, had yet been left to its former ignorance and uncivilised state, without any means being used for its improvement. But James, abolishing several of their most mischievous laws and customs, established amongst them more equitable rules of government; and by forming a company of English and Scotch settlers, colonized its northern province, introduced the arts of agriculture and other improvements with so much success, that Ulster soon became distinguished as the most orderly and civilised part of the island.

The peace which had prevailed during his reign, had also been the means of promoting the commerce of England to a considerable extent, so that at his death its material prosperity had greatly advanced. But in matters of religion unhappily there was much declension; the introduction of the "book of sports" had diminished the reverence for the sabbath, and many of the prelates and leading clergy had followed the example of the monarch, and renounced the distinguishing doctrines of the reformed faith. The puritans indeed had multiplied, and, where they were able, carried on their labours of faith and love with success. Many of the nonconformists had fled to Holland; but still a power was silently, yet certainly, growing which made itself felt in the following reign, and resulted in important events to kingly power, and the agitated questions of religious truth and worship.

The authority of parliament, though often despised and

insulted, was also acquiring a strength and determination which soon proved irresistible.

Prince Henry, the eldest son of James, having died, November 6th, 1612, to the great regret of the nation, who had expected much from him, the succession was of course left to Charles; who, on the 27th March, 1625, was proclaimed king, and entered upon a reign which was to be so fruitful with stirring events, and to have so sad a termination.

Having ratified the treaty with France, and married Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king Louis XIII., he summoned his first parliament in the month of June; but the plague raging at the time with considerable violence, the business was interrupted, and the assembly adjourned to Oxford, where it met in August. But even at this very early period symptoms of that serious misunderstanding, which afterwards developed itself between the king and the parliament, began to appear. Nor is it difficult to account for this: Charles, whose disposition was naturally haughty, had been trained with very lofty notions of royal prerogative; he had seen his father again and again resist the decisions of the national council, and had been taught to look upon the efforts made by the commons to secure greater liberty to the subject, and a more exact limitation of the extent of the power of the monarch, as seditious if not actually rebellious: hence he was very unlikely to guide to an amicable settlement those various questions which now began to occupy public attention. Indeed, the only view Charles seemed to take of parliaments was, that they were to be used as instruments for raising money at the demand of the court, while its irresponsible expenditure and the right of legislation were to be exclusively reserved to the crown.

In addition to this, it is evident the influence of Buckingham over the royal mind was quite as strong, if not more complete, than that which he exercised over the feeble character of James. This man was now almost universally detested for his pride, his extravagance, and his arbitrary conduct, and despised for his manifest incapacity for the post he filled. When therefore the king at his first meeting with the parliament, only and imperatively demanded supplies, a feeling of disaffection

became so evident that in a short time he dissolved it. To supply the funds which he could not obtain by legal and constitutional means, he, by the advice of Buckingham, issued privy-seals for borrowing money from the people, and with the proceeds he fitted out an expedition against Spain, hoping to replenish his exhausted exchequer by seizing the valuable ships which were engaged in the trade with America. But failing in this scheme, from the incompetency of those to whom it was entrusted, and as a necessary consequence increasing his perplexities, he was compelled in 1626 to summon another parliament. Some small amounts—small as compared with his wants and demands—were voted; but on proceeding to attempt some settlement of the various grievances complained of, he again interfered and dissolved them.

In the parliament of 1627, he had threatened to adopt "new counsels" if his demands were not complied with: what these new counsels were was soon made apparent. A commission was opened to compound with the catholics, by substituting money payments for the penal laws which had been enacted against them; forced loans, under threat of punishment, were imposed on the people; the maritime towns were ordered to provide a certain number of ships, each manned and supplied with provisions; and £100,000 were demanded from the city. Many of these expedients succeeded for a time, notwithstanding the growing discontent; but the money asked of the citizens was refused.

As though all moderation and prudence had left the royal mind, war was declared against France in the midst of these complications at home; a war which, though ostensibly undertaken to help the persecuted Huguenots, was, in fact, to revenge the wounds which had been inflicted on the vanity of Buckingham, to whose management it was committed, and by whose utter incapacity it signally failed.

Again, in 1628, a parliament was summoned by whom the famous "petition of right" was presented, and agreed to on the part of Charles; but in a manner so informal as to show unmistakably his intention to disregard it. The death of Buckingham by the hand of the assassin Felton, led some to hope that there would now be an improve-

ment in the administration; but these hopes only met with disappointment: Charles continued the same course. Parliaments were prorogued or dissolved if they did not comply with the course prescribed; members were imprisoned in utter violation of privilege; tonnage and poundage were levied without the necessary sanction of law; imprisonment without legal warrant was still continued; the star chamber and the high commission court levied ruinous fines, and sentenced their victims to stand in the pillory, and to have their ears cut off, for the most frivolous offences; monopolies, though abolished in the former reign by the act of the legislature, were revived by the royal will and made a source of profit; in short, every thing tended to prove the intention of the king to rule absolutely without the aid of parliament, and indeed for eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, he dispensed with them altogether. The only wise thing the king did during this time was to make peace with France and Spain; but in this act the conditions were such as to bring no credit either to himself or his country. Yielding to the advice of the evil counsellors, Strafford, Laud, and others, with which his own inclinations appear to have unhappily coincided, the church and state were treated in the same arbitrary manner. The forms of law and the decisions of justice were disregarded; while in the church the innovations which were continually introduced, showed an intention to assimilate it to the church of Rome, both in doctrines and discipline, if not to effect a complete union, for which some intrigues were carried on.

Amongst other expedients to obtain funds, one was tried in the year 1634, which at the time excited considerable feeling, and which helped to hasten the subsequent struggle—we refer to the levy of ship-money. A certain sum was levied on each county, and then each individual was assessed with his share. The pretence for this imposition was, that the money so obtained would be expended upon forming and keeping up a fleet, which was necessary for the safety of the country; and that as each individual would share the benefit, each should bear his portion of the expense. This reasoning, however plausible, was met by the undeniable fact that the exaction was arbitrary, and not having had the sanction of parliament,

was therefore illegal; though this objection weighed not with the government, it spread general discontent among the people. Another means resorted to, was to cite the nobility and landed gentry before the star chamber, and impose heavy fines upon them if they disobeyed the royal proclamation, requiring them to retire to their country houses instead of remaining in London.

Under the influence of Henrietta, increasing indulgences were granted to the catholics; while the puritans, on the contrary, were treated with such severity, that numbers of them fled either to Holland or to America, and became the nucleus of that vast republic designated the United States; but so far as practicable, even this relief was refused, and proclamations were issued forbidding escape. Amongst those who were thus detained, after having embarked for the purpose of leaving a land from which liberty, civil and religious, was being so completely banished, were Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Pym, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, who afterwards took such prominent positions in England's mighty struggle. It is of course vain to speculate as to what might have been the issue had they been allowed to go; but in their detention we see the mysterious method of Divine Providence illustrated, in making the most insignificant circumstances the means of effecting the mightiest results.

In Scotland, to which the king paid a visit in 1637, the most serious results ensued from the attempt to force the use of the liturgy upon the people. A disturbance at St. Giles' church, Edinburgh, was followed by others still more alarming: the general assembly met, episcopacy was abolished, the liturgy denounced, the solemn league and covenant adopted, and war once more scattered its horrors on the borders of the two countries. These facts, with the growing discontent in England, the resistance of Hampden to the illegal enforcement of ship-money, the subserviency of most of the judges to the arbitrary will of the court, and the universal interest which the spirited conduct of Hampden produced, all united to show that the crisis was come, and compelled Charles once more (1640) to summon a parliament; but finding this parliament, like its predecessors, determined to remedy grievances which had now become intolerable, he in a

very short time dissolved it, as he had done previous ones. But matters had now become too serious to be thus treated, and therefore he reluctantly summoned another in the same year, and on November 3rd, 1640, that memorable body assembled which is known in history as the "long parliament," and which maintained so fierce and determined a struggle for English freedom.

1641.—In Ireland most of the questions which had excited so much interest in England were as warmly discussed, and with the same indication of a determination to resist the growing encroachments of despotic power; but taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, the catholics formed a conspiracy to free the country altogether from English rule, and extirpate the colonists who had been so successfully planted in the north of the island. Accordingly, on a fixed day, while the matter was hardly known to the government, they rose and perpetrated an indiscriminate massacre upon the English protestants, not only in Ulster, but throughout the other provinces; neither age, sex, nor condition was spared, and barbarities of the most atrocious kind were committed without the least mercy, and to such an extent, that from fifty to a hundred thousand persons are said to have perished during the insurrection. This circumstance was not likely to diminish the intense interest with which the members of the long parliament conducted their deliberations, or with which they were watched by others, especially as matters connected with religion, as well as questions of civil polity, demanded their attention.

In the previous year, Strafford—formerly, when known as Sir Thomas Wentworth, one of the most strenuous opponents of kingly despotism—and Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, had been impeached, condemned, and executed on the charge of high treason; and others, who had been foremost in the misguided policy of Charles, compelled to fly. But not content with these sacrifices, the commons removed the bishops from the parliament; appointed a committee to enquire after "scandalous ministers," ejecting those who were unfit, or unworthy to sustain the sacred office; the dispute about tonnage and poundage was settled; parliaments appointed to be triennial; the star chamber and high commission courts, which had been

such powerful instruments of oppression, abolished; and various other sweeping reforms carried out.

Charles now thought his better policy was to agree with every thing, and he appeared to do so; but in such a manner as to excite general suspicion that he was but temporizing; a feeling which was strengthened by his attempt to seize five of the members of the commons, Hollis, Hazelrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode, in the house for the freedom of their speech, and also by his accusation of lord Kimbolton, an attempt which failed of success, but incensed the popular feeling against him more strongly than ever. These circumstances, as many persons foresaw and feared, issued in the civil war which for six years afflicted the country, and which, after promising success to Charles, ended in the complete ruin of the royal cause, and led to the execution of the king as a traitor to the commonwealth, January 30th, 1649.

That Charles fell a victim to his arbitrary policy and double dealing, appears to us unquestionable. His design from the commencement of his reign, was to subvert the institutions of the country where they were fixed and definite, and so to stretch those that were doubtful that he might make the power of the crown absolute. When adverse circumstances showed that he could no longer pursue that course, and that his attacks on public freedom only produced greater determination on the part of its advocates to maintain and extend it, he attempted by intrigue and duplicity to deceive those whom he could not subdue, until the conviction of his thorough unfaithfulness became so strong, that his death was thought to be the only means of securing the safety of the nation. As to its policy, it seems questionable, as other means less extreme might possibly have secured the end; as to its legality, we must look upon it as more than doubtful. In its occurrence we think we may trace the workings of that retribution which never sleeps; but as to its entitling him to the character of a martyr, we think this idea not justified either by what he was, or the cause in which he fell.

After the death of Charles, the parliament, though very much reduced in number, continued to rule by the means of a council of thirty-eight, chosen for that

purpose, with Bradshaw as president. Of this council Cromwell was a member, but he does not appear to have had at this time the preponderating influence in political affairs that is frequently ascribed to him. That he was one of the court by which Charles was tried is unquestionable, and that he consented to his execution is incontestably proved by his signature to the warrant; but that the event depended mainly upon his individual will, or that it could have been prevented by him without a military commotion, are opinions which appear to have no foundation but in the representations of his enemies; and indeed it was not until five years after that he obtained that supreme authority that constituted him the chief man in the state.

The attention of the parliament was very soon after the death of the king called to the condition of Ireland and Scotland. In the former kingdom Charles had for some time after the battle of Naseby, been endeavouring to strengthen his influence by the means of an Italian nuncio, whom the pope had sent for the purpose, and the intrigues of the marquis of Ormond; and with some success. But when, by the fatal event of the 30th January, all hope for the king was closed, Ormond transferred his devotion to his son Charles, and proclaimed him king. Cromwell was therefore sent over as the lieutenant of Fairfax, still the nominal head of the army; and a most terrible retribution was inflicted for the horrors of the massacre of 1641, and an effectual stop put to the schemes of the royalists.

1650.—In Scotland the covenanters having made an agreement with the young prince at Breda, in which he promised to adopt and rule in accordance with the national covenant, proclaimed him king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, with the title of Charles II., and made military preparations to enforce his authority. The English parliament resolving not to be behind, dispatched Cromwell, who left his work in Ireland to be finished by his son-in-law, Ireton, with an army to oppose the Scots. The battle and victory of Dunbar followed, which checked the efforts of the royalists for a time; but the next year Charles, resolving to invade England, led his army as far as Worcester, where he was completely routed by the parliamentary troops under Cromwell, and

compelled to escape into France. Scotland and Ireland were now incorporated with England, but the difficulty of arranging the form of religion to be professed, caused continual disturbance; the presbyterians in Scotland, and their partisans south of the Tweed, insisting upon the solemn league and covenant being recognised, and the forms of the Scottish church established, without toleration to the catholics, or the sectaries, as they termed other denominations. The final settlement of these matters was postponed by the breaking out of a naval war with the Dutch, produced by many causes, but especially by the support which the Dutch republic had given to the house of Stuart.

1653.—The factions into which the English parliament was divided, with the growing discontent in the army, and in the nation generally, indicated that a change of some kind was inevitable. The expectation of an appeal to the people for a new election, was treated with indifference; and of the many vacancies in their number, caused by death or expulsion, very few were filled up. At last, while Cromwell and several members were debating matters with some of the officers, the house was hurrying a bill through its several stages, the tendency of which was, by securing the addition of a considerable number of presbyterians, to strengthen and perpetuate their own power. On hearing this, Cromwell and a party of soldiers went and forcibly dissolved the house, and locked the door. The protectorate under Cromwell was now established, and lasted for five years, during which free toleration for all forms of faith was granted, unless found opposed to the public peace; but episcopacy as the established form of worship was abolished. The incessant plots of the royalists, catholics, and others, were restrained or crushed by the vigilance of Cromwell. Law was faithfully administered by upright judges; men of piety, learning, and talent, promoted to prominent places in the church, whether independents, presbyterians, or episcopalians; trade and commerce revived; and though displaying at times an arbitrary spirit, the rule of Cromwell was on the whole mild and equitable. Abroad the name of an Englishman came to be, as the protector expressed his determination to make it, as much honoured

as that of an ancient Roman. The Dutch were completely defeated by Blake and others, and a peace effected. War was carried on successfully against Spain, Jamaica conquered, and Dunkirk ceded to England. The duke of Tuscany was obliged to make restitution for injuries inflicted on some English traders, and the persecuted protestants of Piedmont found in Cromwell a powerful and liberal defender. Cardinal Mazarin, minister of France, courted his alliance, and all the foreign courts treated him with respect; but his rule was destined to be of brief continuance: on the 3rd September, 1658, he passed to a tribunal where his character would be righteously judged. The nation felt his loss, and crowded to witness the magnificent funeral ceremony, which took place at Westminster Abbey.

Cromwell has suffered, not only from the misrepresentations of his avowed enemies, but also from the indiscriminate eulogy of his friends. That he was sagacious, brave, and persevering, are facts which the slightest consideration will establish. That he was a hypocrite in his religious profession, is and must be a merely gratuitous supposition, having its foundation in prejudice, and not in trustworthy evidence. To say that he was ambitious, is to say that he was human; he was doubtless in the latter part of his career ambitious, but he never sacrificed his country to his ambition, but rather made his ambition subservient to his country's good. His refusal of the crown was a fact: the motive for that refusal, whether good or bad, has received its shape and colour from the prejudices or partialities of those who have sat in judgment upon him. He had his faults, and was occasionally arbitrary; but still his protectorate will ever be regarded as one of the brightest periods in our history, if we may not apply the words of his physician, when writing after his death, "To say all in one word, all England over there were halcyon days during his rule."*

Richard Cromwell soon retired from the cares of government, and by the intrigues of Monk, who had for some time previously been engaged in the plot, the house of

* Dr. Bate, "Elenchus Motuum," Part II. The most recent index to the protector's real character, is supplied by "The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with notes," by Thomas Carlyle.

Stuart was restored in the person of Charles II. ; who entered London, May 29, 1660, after twelve years' exile.

Having foolishly omitted to require any conditions from the king as the terms of his restoration, the people soon suffered for their blind confidence in the evils which followed. The commanding position to which England had attained, was not only humbled, but exchanged for one of contempt and dishonour. The Dutch regained their naval supremacy, and sailed up the Thames as far as Tilbury. Dunkirk was sold to the French for £40,000, to supply the extravagance of the court; and Scotland driven into insurrection by the manner in which it was sought to establish episcopacy, and overturn the presbyterian forms of worship.

In England the most oppressive measures were adopted to nonconformists of all kinds, with the exception of the catholics. Successive acts were passed, by which, on one day, August 24, 1662, two thousand of the most learned and pious ministers were ejected from their pulpits; while by the five-mile act, and other equally oppressive enactments, it seemed the intention of the court to root out all the appearance of piety from the land. While these proceedings were being conducted, under pretence of zeal for religion, the court was the scene of the most shameless licentiousness, and the monarch set an example, willingly followed, of indulgence in every vicious pleasure. Paid by France, and made the mere tool of that kingdom, English honour seemed to have departed for ever.

In the midst of these excesses, 1665, the plague raged with fearful violence in the guilty land; and in September, 1666, the memorable fire of London threatened to destroy the city. Popular prejudice ascribed the fire to the catholics, but it appears to have been accidental; it was more properly speaking, in connection with the plague, a retributive judgment which was permitted to punish the people for neglecting that "righteousness which alone exalteth a nation."*

The habeas corpus act was passed in this reign, and some efforts made to exclude James, the king's brother,

* In the plague of 1665, 100,000 persons are said to have perished. In the great fire 13,000 houses, 89 churches, and a great number of other public edifices were burnt down. The fire raged for several days and nights.

from the throne, because of his attachment to popery; and Algernon Sidney, and lord Russell, were executed, as being participants in the Rye-house plot, but upon very insufficient evidence. Several others suffered on the same ground. The whole reign was disastrous and dishonourable, and made many look back with regret to the security of their persons, and the honour of their country, which none could deny had characterized the period of the protectorate. Vice and immorality threatened to become universal; and the time, the honour, and the treasures of the nation were wasted upon "harlots and riotous living;" when on February 5th, 1685, the king was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of York, with the title of James II.

Not a few looked upon the accession of this monarch with considerable alarm, from his well known attachment to popery, and his zeal for its extension; but no public demonstration of any importance occurred, excepting the rebellion of Argyle in Scotland, and Monmouth in England. In Scotland the parliament displayed such a spirit of subserviency to the new king, and appeared so ready to sacrifice not only liberty, but religion too, that Argyle determined if possible to resuscitate the ancient spirit of his countrymen; but, failing in the attempt, he was taken prisoner and executed.

In England, Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II., landed at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, and asserted his right to the throne: but passing over to Somersetshire, he was defeated by the king's army at Sedgmoor, near Bridgewater, taken prisoner, and executed on Tower Hill three days after the battle. To strike terror into the minds of any who might be disposed to emulate such attempts, and to gratify the cruelty of those in power, the adherents of Monmouth were punished with the most fearful severity. Numbers were murdered after the battle, and between two and three hundred hanged and quartered by order of Jeffries and colonel Kirk, who were commissioned to try the offenders. These men revelled in their barbarities—the roads for miles were lined with gibbets, or the quarters of their unhappy victims—and no deference was paid to age, sex, or condition. For these

services, James raised Jeffries to the dignity of lord chancellor.

From the commencement of his reign, James gave indication of his design to bring back popery as the religion of the country. Catholics were favoured in every possible manner, and the king, in disregard of the law, had the mass publicly celebrated. Pensioned by France, with the understanding that he should be subservient to the French king, he entered into negotiation with the pope to obtain the re-admission of his people into the Romish church; but what most irritated his subjects, and hastened his ruin, was his claiming a power of dispensing with the laws which had been enacted against catholics, and thus making the royal will supreme. For refusing to read a declaration to this effect, which non-conformists and churchmen alike resisted, the primate and six bishops were sent to the Tower; but being acquitted on their trial, the public rejoicings were so loud and demonstrative, that James began to feel that his kingly power was lost. Meanwhile William, prince of Orange, his nephew and son-in-law, had been invited over by many of the leading men of the nation. The king lost heart, and not having a friend on whom he could rely, escaped to France, where, with his queen and infant son, he was kindly received by Louis XIV. The struggle for religious freedom was thus far successful in this country.

CHAPTER XV.

Magnificent Despotism.—A. D. 1512—1700.

THE EAST.

TURKEY.—BAJAZET II.—HIS IMPRISONMENT.—SELIM.—CONQUEST OF SYRIA AND EGYPT.—SOLYMAN.—HIS MILITARY SUCCESSES.—THE JANISSARIES.—TRUCE WITH MAXIMILIAN OF GERMANY.—AMURATH III.—INSURRECTIONS.—MAHOMET III.—HIS INDOLENCE AND CRUELTY.—ACHMET I.—MUSTAPHA.—OSMAN II.—MUSTAPHA RE-ENTHRONED.—AMURATH IV.—REBELLIONS.—IBRAHIM I.—MAHOMET IV.—VIENNA THREATENED WITH DESTRUCTION.—JOHN SOBIESKI.—MAHOMET DEPOSED.—PERSIA.—TAMERLANE THE TARTAR.—ISMAIL SOPHI.—HE ESTABLISHES A KINGDOM.—THE PLAGUE.—REVIEW OF THE TWO SUCCEEDING REIGNS.—ABBAS.—SHAH SAFFI.—ABBAS II.—SOLYMAN.—INDIA.—FOUNDATION OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.—BABER.—HOOMAYOON.—AKBAR.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.—SELIM.—JEHAN.—SHAH JEHAN.—AURUNGZEBE.—DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.—CHINA.—GOVERNED BY THE TARTARS.—EXPULSION OF THE TARTAR DYNASTY.—THEY REGAIN THEIR AUTHORITY.—JAPAN DISCOVERED BY THE PORTUGUESE.—TRADE WITH FOREIGNERS PROHIBITED.

ACCUSTOMED as we are in the present day to consider Turkey as a decaying empire, and one that must most probably disappear ere long from the list of nations, it is difficult to realise the idea of the powerful influence she possessed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but certainly, after the taking of Constantinople, of which an account has been previously given (Vol. V., p. 26), her position was one of proud preeminence, and the power she exerted sufficient to alarm the mightiest kingdoms of Europe. Reckless of human life, and able to bring vast armies into the field of battle, she succeeded equally

the overwhelming number of her troops, and a courage which was rendered invincible by those Mahometan delusions, which, instead of being a mere creed, as with many of the professedly christian states, had imbued the national mind with all the force of a deep-rooted religious conviction. To their prophet, and the glory of his empire, the Turks devoted themselves as so many living sacrifices. Animated with the desire of conquest, they were for a long period the scourge of a guilty world and an apostate church, and many persons believed their destructive course to be the fulfilment of some of those splendid visions which were revealed to the beloved John in the isle of Patmos.

The history of this remarkable people, of which we purpose to give a rapid sketch, affords us a succession of painful illustrations of the depravity of the human heart, and of the cruel fierceness to which our nature may sink when destitute of the conservative and elevating power of the religion of Jesus, especially when positive falsehood and delusion take the place of the principles of truth. In no nation do we see the absence of the social affections, combined with unmitigated despotism, more than in the annals of Turkey; and looking at the domestic, civil, and religious inversion of all that is lovely and true, we need not be surprised at the weakness and degradation which have succeeded to their former greatness.

Bajazet II., who succeeded his father, Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople, was soon recognised by the European powers, and his aid solicited by the pope and the Venetians in their efforts to drive the king of France, Charles VIII., out of Italy. He extended the range of his empire, and interrupting the aid which the Mamelukes obtained from Circassia, he prepared the way for the subjugation of Egypt. But he found even the throne of the Cæsars subject to the afflictions of this uncertain world, and was compelled to resign his crown through the ingratitude of his youngest son, Selim, and soon ended his life in a prison.

1512.—Selim, who ascended the throne by unnaturally revolting against his own father, was not likely to pursue such a course as would gain him a title to the esteem of

those around him, and soon exhibited the fierce cruelty of his nature. To prevent any successful claimant, he put to death all his brothers, and five of his neighbours; and would have killed all the christians in his dominions, but that his ministers reminded him that by the law of the Koran, non-believers were to be tolerated so long as they continued to pay a capitation tax. The most important event of his reign was the conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1517, after a desperate engagement, in which Toomann Beg, the caliph, was defeated, and 50,000 of the inhabitants of Cairo slaughtered. Egypt thus, in accordance with sacred prophecy (Ezek. xxix. 3, 10, 15; xxx. 13), lost its national existence, and from having been once the mightiest, and perhaps the earliest empire of the world, became a mere province of Turkey. Selim returned to Constantinople in triumph, bringing with him 1000 camels loaded with precious spoils. Ever since this victory the Turkish emperors have assumed the sacred title of caliph. Excessively addicted to opium, he terminated his reign of cruelty by the indulgence of his taste for this drug.

1520.—The reign of Solyman the magnificent, was one of the most illustrious in Turkish history. This monarch, distinguished for his bravery and activity, was also eminent for his wisdom and learning. Anxious to elevate the character of his people, he encouraged genius wherever it was exhibited; while he considerably enlarged his dominions by the successes which attended his conflicts with surrounding nations. Belgrade and the island of Rhodes yielded to his power; his armies overran Hungary without any serious check; the isles of the Archipelago submitted to his arms, and even Vienna was besieged, though without success; Italy and Assyria acknowledged his power; and in the Red Sea his vessels of war materially interfered with the trade of the Portuguese. His navy was the most considerable in the world, and triumphantly traversed the Mediterranean Sea; at nearly the same time we find him contending with Germany, Venice, and Persia, and maintaining his position with each.

But in his thirteenth campaign, while heading his armies against Sigeth, in Hungary, he too had to learn how vain

is human greatness, even at its highest altitude, suddenly struck with apoplexy, he expired while surrounded with all "the pomp and circumstance of war."

His grand vizier, or prime minister, fearing the effect which the news of his death might have upon the army, resolved to keep it secret until the siege was concluded, and therefore, in accordance with the barbarous practices then too common, had his physician and attendants, who were present at his decease, strangled, and thus prevented any tidings from being carried from the tent of death. He further arrayed the body in the royal robes and thus exhibited it to the soldiers, who were at too great a distance to perceive that they were serving under a dead sovereign. Turkey attained its greatest power and eminence during the reign of this monarch.

1565.—The janissaries, an order of infantry amongst the Turks, were first instituted by Amurath I., in 1361, as a body-guard to the sovereign. Distinguished by many marks of royal favour, they at last became so powerful as seriously to interfere with the proceedings of government, and often effected the deposition of an obnoxious sovereign.* These proud soldiers broke out into rebellion after the accession of Selim II., son of the previous monarch, and it was with difficulty their mutinous spirit could be quelled. This however being done, Selim arranged an advantageous truce for twelve years with Maximilian II., emperor of Germany. He soon after attacked Persia, but failed in his attempt; his disappointment was however soothed by adding Yemen in Arabia to his dominions. He also claimed and took Cyprus from the Venetians, on some antiquated plea, arising from his authority over Egypt. In the naval battle in the bay of Lepanto, in 1572, where his admiral, Ali Pasha, contended with the combined powers of Spain, Venice, and the pope, he was completely defeated and his fleet nearly annihilated; and thus a most serious check was given to the progress of Turkish power.

In 1575, Amurath III. commenced a war with Persia, which lasted several years, inflicting great calamities on

* In 1826, they broke out into serious rebellion, and it was thought necessary to suppress the order; 3000 of them were killed on the spot, and two days afterwards a firman was issued, by which they were finally abolished.

each empire. In this reign insurrections broke out in several places, caused by the unwillingness of the people to pay the annual tribute; and a very alarming revolt occurred among the Druses of Mount Lebanon, who in those days, as in our own, were notorious for their factious and turbulent spirit. Diplomatic relations were at this time commenced by Turkey with most of the European nations, and a treaty of commerce was concluded with England.

The indolence and effeminacy of his son, Mahomet III., who succeeded to the throne in 1595, were equalled only by his cruelty. That he might render his throne secure, he put his nineteen brothers to death, besides seven slaves of his father's harem, who were likely to add as many children in a short time to the royal household. His troops suffered such frequent and severe defeats, that Mahomet seemed for a little time to be aroused; but he soon relapsed into his former indolence, until confusion and tumult spread on every side. Revolts, rebellions, and mutinies succeeded each other; the janissaries became disaffected, and amidst all these perplexities, owing mainly to himself, Mahomet closed his inglorious reign, and was succeeded, in 1603, by his son Achmet I., a boy of fourteen years of age. A series of disastrous wars showed that, though Turkey was still powerful, she had passed her zenith, and that decline was to be dreaded. Governed by favourites, and more interested with his harem than with his kingdom, Achmet was evidently unfit to contend with the difficulties of his position, which were increased by the mutinies of the janissaries, which now occurred with dangerous frequency. To free himself from these troublesome troops, he determined to remove them from Constantinople and send them to Asia. Popular discontent became general, and incendiary fires were kindled in several parts of the imperial city, when in 1617 Achmet died, little regretted.

Mustapha, his brother, soon disgusted the people with his excessive cruelty, and in six months he was deposed and placed in confinement.

Osman II., son of Achmet, was now placed on the throne, and engaged in a war with Poland, but was unsuccessful. He offended his subjects by projecting a

pilgrimage to Mecca, and still more by the constitution of his harem, which was said to have been contrary, in some particulars, to the laws of the Koran. The janissaries, constituting themselves the guardians of public virtue, insisted upon the sultan telling them by whose advice he had acted, and being met with a resolute refusal to give up any one to their fury, deposed him and threw him into prison, where he was soon after strangled.

Mustapha was now brought out of his bondage, and once more elevated to the unenviable distinctions of empire; but displaying symptoms of insanity, the tyrannical janissaries brought him down from his transient dignity, and again cast him into his dreary captivity, from which he was never allowed to remove till death set him free.

1621.—A boy of twelve years of age, Amurath IV., son of Achmet I., was now recognised as sultan. His mother presided over the government for two years after he ascended the throne, and seems to have been able at first to maintain tranquillity in the city. A rebellion, which broke out in Asia, led to long and sanguinary conflicts, with the loss of some of the Asiatic provinces. Another rebellion broke out amongst the Crimean Tartars in 1632, while a number of Cossacks came over and ravaged the shores of the Bosphorus. The discontent produced by these events rapidly spread, and soon showed itself in the fires which were kindled in the city of Constantinople—the usual method of expressing popular discontent, and one which is still occasionally adopted. Amongst the confusion, the young sultan heard shouts, “the only means of saving the empire is by the sword;” he immediately showed himself to the troops, and was received with such enthusiasm that he resolved to undertake the management of affairs. He succeeded in recovering some of his Asiatic provinces; but being especially anxious to reclaim Bagdad, which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, he left Scutari and hastened to attack the city, which he carried by storm in 1638. Eighty thousand persons are said to have been killed in this affair, of which number thirty thousand Persian inhabitants of the city were massacred some days after the storm. The heart sickens at such recitals, and sighs for the time when, in accor-

dance with Divine prophecy, the nations "shall learn war no more."

During the last seven years of his reign, while his active and enterprising spirit still continued, he became a cruel tyrant. He gave himself up to drinking and all its attendant vices, and died from the effects of his sinful indulgence in 1640. He was regarded as one of the worst of the princes that ever ruled over Turkey.

1640.—Ibrahim I., the son of Achmet and youngest brother of Amurath, has left no honourable name to posterity. His reign was but short, lasting less than nine years, and was barren of any public event of importance. The only fact recorded, is the disgraceful one of Ibrahim yielding himself to intemperance and debauchery, until he was slain in a revolt of the janissaries.

1649.—Mahomet IV., son of Ibrahim, began his reign at the very early age of seven years. The widow of Achmet I. was again appointed to the difficult duties of the regency; but the demoralization of the empire had advanced so rapidly during the previous reigns, that she soon found herself unequal to the task. Domestic mutinies were continually occurring; the Venetians destroyed a considerable portion of the Turkish fleet in the very neighbourhood of the Dardanelles; the janissaries ravaged the suburbs of Constantinople; and bands of robbers flourished unchecked in Asia. The aged sultana was strangled, and nearly twenty revolutions happened in a few years. "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child," seemed to be fearfully realized in the case of this unhappy empire. At length, by the accession of some judicious and capable viziers to office, partial recovery was effected, and when Mahomet assumed the reins of government he proved himself fully adequate to his responsibilities. As usual, war was the favourite and frequent occupation; but the successes were varied, and the gain more than doubtful. He recovered Candia from the Venetians, after having been so long coveted. Hungary again felt the blighting influence of Turkish power, as her armies passed over her like a mighty storm. Assembling around Vienna, nothing apparently could preserve the imperial city from destruction. The emperor Leopold fled, taking his family with him, and the alarm became universal, when John

Sobieski, king of Poland, so completely defeated the swarming host of the Turks, that they fled, leaving behind them their camp, artillery, and baggage. In their flight the Turks had taken with them 6000 men, 11,000 women, 14,000 girls, and 50,000 children, that they might sell them into slavery. The imperial troops followed the Turks into Hungary, deprived them of most of their conquests, and in three years drove them beyond the Danube. These disgraceful defeats, as they were considered, irritated the people; all the blame being ascribed to the sultan. Revolutions succeeded, and the janissaries deposed Mahomet in 1691, and, like several of his predecessors, he had to leave the splendour of a throne for the gloom of a prison.

PERSIA.

In 1381, Tamerlane the Tartar conquered a considerable portion of Asia, and amongst the rest Persia, where he founded a dynasty which lasted till 1502; when Baber, one of his descendants, carrying his arms to India, established the empire of the Moguls, and Persia was left to some extent under the influence of several warlike tribes. A Mussulman sect now arose who, besides adopting the mystic doctrines of Suffeism, contended that Ali was the true successor of Mahomet, and not Omar whom the Turks acknowledged, and denied the validity of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Driven from Erdibil, where the family of the founder had long dwelt, his descendants found refuge amongst the people of the White and Black Wether, Turcoman tribes who had settled in the country, receiving their name from the colour of their standards.

At the close of the fifteenth century, Iooneid, a restless member of this sect, ravaged the possessions of the prince of Shirwan, but was slain in the attempt. His son, Haider, followed in his ambitious career, and that his soldiers might distinguish one another in their tumultuous conflicts, compelled them to wear red caps, whence the Turks gave to the Persians, as a term of derision, the name of Kuzzil Bashes, that is, *red-heads*. Haider also fell in battle, leaving two sons, the youngest of whom, Ismail Sophi, placed himself at 15 years of age at the head of 7000 of his adherents, and, succeeding better than his

father, established a kingdom, and fixing his throne at Tabreez, extended his dominions by conquest beyond the Oxus ; made himself feared from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf ; and thus founded the modern empire of Persia. His contests with the Turks were frequent and terrible : sometimes with the cruel Selim, and then again with Solyman the magnificent. Georgia, and several other places, submitted to his power ; and wherever he conquered he introduced the religion of Ali, a fact which gave to the various struggles of Persia and Turkey a theological bitterness, in addition to the cravings of worldly ambition. Honoured by his people, who gave him the title of Shah Shean, or the king of the Sheans, he died in the year 1523. He is still spoken of with the deepest veneration and esteem.

Tamasp, who succeeded his father Ismail, was but ten years of age at the time of his accession, the government was therefore necessarily entrusted to his ministers. When able to assume the reins of power, he exhibited many qualities which secured him the confidence of his subjects. Repeated wars with his neighbours the Turks, and the Usbegs of Tartary, gave him full occupation ; but he not only preserved but in some degree extended his dominions. The latter period of his reign was marked by several severe judgments ; a fearful famine reduced the people to such extremities that they fed on human flesh, while in some provinces the plague raged to such an awful extent, that in one city 30,000 persons are said to have fallen victims to its violence. Happy would it have been for Persia had there been any to have directed her to Him, who would have made her sufferings the means of her regeneration ; but spiritual darkness brooded over the land. Her king had no confidence but in the false prophet, to whose faith he was so bigoted, that when an ambassador of Elizabeth, queen of England, waited upon him, he not only refused to listen to him when he learned that he was a Christian, but ordered him to depart immediately, and sand to be strewed over every spot on which he had trodden. The events of the two succeeding reigns do not need specific recital. Ismail, who succeeded Tamasp, was a mere debauchee, and died a victim to his vices almost as soon as he ascended the throne. His brother, Mahomed

Meerza, was so unfitted for his position by almost total blindness, that he was obliged to leave the cares of government to his ministers. One of these, Solyman Meerza, in whom he mainly confided, was a man of steady integrity, and served his master with fidelity in many difficult emergencies; but becoming the object of the factious opposition of the other nobles, he threw himself on the protection of his king; but doomed, like many others, to experience the folly of putting trust in princes, given up by the master he had served so well, he soon fell under the vengeance of his foes. Unable to cope with his enemies, the king must have perished also but for the heroic valour of his son, the prince Humza, who effectually protected him till he himself fell by the hand of an assassin, leaving a son named Abbas, who succeeded his grandfather in 1582.

Abbas, or as he is generally called, Shah Abbas the Great, as a man had nothing to commend him to esteem: as a monarch, he was the most powerful and eminent that ever occupied the throne. Cruel and vindictive in his temper, his sons all became the victims of his jealousy; despotic in his rule, he was yet tolerant in matters of religion towards those who differed from him, and especially to Christians, so generally spurned by Mahometans. Recovering Khorassan from the Usbegs, he extended his rule over Armenia, Mesopotamia, and many other places; enlarging his dominions by his conquests from the Turks, the Tartars, and the Great Mogul.

Ever ready to cultivate friendly relations with the European nations, he received two English travellers with the utmost courtesy, and employed them as his envoys to several Christian states. In these proceedings he was probably influenced by a desire to humble the Turks, who were ever threatening hostilities against Persia, while, as we have seen, they were at that time the common terror of Europe. Sensible of the value of trade, he protected the commercial settlements of the English, French, and Dutch at Gambroon, and gave them every needful encouragement.

In his reign Ispahan became the seat of government, as more central than Tabreez, where it had been hitherto located. The pilgrimage to Mecca was formally abolished,

and Meshed substituted in its stead. Many of the cities of Persia were rebuilt, and the arts of civilization introduced to an extent previously unknown. In short, he raised the kingdom to a higher point of eminence and political prosperity than it had ever enjoyed, and closed a long and successful reign in 1629.

The kings who followed proved themselves far inferior to this eminent monarch, and soon brought the kingdom into weakness and trouble, either by their weakness or their incapacity. Shah Saffi, the grandson of Abbas, has left a name infamous for his horrid cruelties and degrading vices. The princes of the blood were all put to death by his orders, and his ministers either slain or deprived of their sight. Females as well as men were the victims of his rage, which visited all classes of society.

Having murdered his favourite sultana while under the influence of drunkenness, to which he was excessively addicted, his grief was so extreme when he became sober, that he ordered all the wine to be destroyed throughout his dominions. This however was but a temporary impulse: intoxication was still his habit; and, encouraged by his example, it became the prevalent vice amongst his subjects. Such a state of things was sure to invite the aggressions of foreign foes; and the Turks, Usbeks, and the Moguls, the old enemies of Persia, recovered many of the places which Abbas had obtained, and spread ruin and desolation wherever they trod.

His son, Abbas II., who succeeded him in 1641, was but a child of ten years of age; but being surrounded by wise and upright ministers, attempts were made to reform the prevalent evils. The use of wine was forbidden; all drunkards, whatever their rank, removed from office; and the observance of the outward rites of religion rigidly enforced, and some amount of prosperity was restored. But Abbas, when he assumed his power, showed how superficial had been the influence of this training in reference to himself. Drunkenness and excesses of every kind were indulged in within the limits of the palace, though not allowed to show themselves beyond.

In his external administration, he so conducted himself as to obtain the esteem of his subjects. Candahar was regained from the Mogul, and peace and commercial

prosperity maintained; while the intercourse of Persia with foreign nations was greatly extended. Contrary to the doctrines of his creed, he refused to persecute Christians; saying he made it his rule "not to interfere with the consciences of men, or that which belonged to the tribunal of the great Creator of the universe." Evidently possessed of many pleasing and generous qualities, which he unhappily clouded by disgraceful excess, he reigned till 1660, when he was succeeded by his son Solyman, or Suffeg, whose vices and weakness were without one redeeming quality.

Wasting his life in sensual indulgence, he left the cares of government in the hands of his ministers; whose prudence and integrity prevented those evils which the dissolute conduct of the king would inevitably have produced. After a long reign, neither disturbed by calamity, nor rendered famous by any remarkable event, he died in 1694, and was succeeded by his son, the last of the Sefi dynasty.

INDIA.

The foundation of the Mogul empire, which ultimately attained such a height of power and magnificence, was laid in 1501 by Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, or Timoor the Tartar, who, after contending with the khan of the Usbeks, resolved to seek an establishment in Hindostan. Having conquered a considerable portion of the country, he seized upon Delhi in 1525, and made it the principal city of his new empire; which he rapidly extended from the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, and died in 1530. During his reign the Portuguese first opened their trade with India, and fixed their settlements on the Malabar coast.

Hoomayoon, his son, who succeeded, was soon made to feel that the empire was not consolidated, and was exposed to many hostile attacks, not only from strangers, but from his own brother, the governor of Cabul. But his most serious struggle was with the viceroy of Bahar, Sheer, an Affghan chief, by whom Hoomayoon and all his family were driven beyond the Indus; while the victor occupied Delhi, which he held till his death, and which

was subsequently held by his son Selim. Wandering as an outcast and a fugitive, Hoomayoon had several very narrow escapes for his life, his only companions being his wife, just about to become a mother, and a few devoted adherents. Endeavouring to flee into Persia, he sought the protection of the rajah of Ameer; but learning the treachery of this chief, he was obliged to take a hasty departure from his fancied security, and accompanied by his wife and friends, to start at midnight a journey of two hundred miles, over a vast desert of sand. For three days, while the thickening clouds of dust indicated that their foes were in pursuit, and rapidly gaining upon them, they had to endure all the horrors of the heat, and want of water. Separated by the darkness from the rest of his friends, the wretched fugitive discovered in the morning, that he, with his wife and about twenty followers, were likely to be attacked by ten times their number. For a moment or two despair seems to have seized him; but immediately after he wheeled suddenly round, and with his small band, charged his foes with such vigour, that they were completely defeated, and their leader slain. Pursuing their course without further molestation, they had now to endure the agonizing influence of intolerable thirst; until frenzied with agony, shrieks, wailings, and scenes of awful contention ensued; the groans of the dying mingled with the screams of survivors; until on the fourth day they came to a well. Rushing to its brink with the energy of madness, they met with another disappointment: the water was too deep to be reached; numbers fell in and perished, while others were adopting means to obtain the cooling draught. Even their camels, having borne the privation to the very extremity of endurance, drank so excessively, that many of them died. At length, wearied, exhausted, and their numbers diminished by these sad scenes, they reached Scinde, where Hoomayoon's wife was delivered of a son, prince Akbar, who afterwards became so famous in the history of Hindoostan. After various revolutions at Delhi, the inhabitants entreated Hoomayoon to return; and once more, after years of exile and suffering, he ascended the throne of empire, and continued to reign till his death in 1555.

Akbar, whose birth was attended by such painful events, and who had shared his father's lengthened exile, seems to have learned much in the school of affliction, and commenced a career of honour and renown from the time that he succeeded to the Mogul empire, at his father's death, until his own occurred in 1605.

Not only distinguished for vast military talent, he was equally remarkable for administrative capacity ; while the whole of his course was marked by a moderation and spirit of clemency not often found in connection with the absolute despotism of eastern monarchs. The internal affairs of the empire needed, and received, an attention which was both wise and vigilant. With a firmness which did not degenerate into obstinacy, he united a generosity which was as discriminating as it was regal. Guzerat, Bengal, Cabul, Cashmere, and the Deccan, were besides other places added to the empire, and prosperity prevailed on every side. Not only were the Dutch allowed to continue their maritime commerce on the Malabar coast, but a number of London merchants, who had in 1600 obtained a monopoly of the East Indian trade for fifteen years, were permitted to open their factories, and thus commenced the honourable East India Company, which had so powerful an influence upon the history of the eastern world until its recent dissolution.

Honoured and esteemed, Akbar reigned till 1605, when he died, and his son Selim ascended the throne, taking the lofty title of Jehan Ghuire, that is, the conqueror of the world : a title the vanity of which was seen in his after life, in his inability to conquer himself. After a revolt which he successfully quelled, Jehan enjoyed tranquillity, until attacked by his own son, under the pretext that he was unfitted for the duties of government, through the influence which Nourmahal, his favourite sultana, had obtained over him. Before the death of Akbar, Jehan had seen and loved this princess, who was then celebrated for the beauty of her person ; but being betrothed, Jehan could not obtain her. After he ascended the throne, he pursued her husband with plots and hatred, till the unhappy man fell under the knife of an assassin. Nourmahal then became an inmate of the royal harem, but for four years was so neglected by her former

lover, that she had to work for her support. At length she met with Jehan, and her influence over him was restored; her family was raised to the highest dignity, and herself installed as the favourite sultana. But yielding to a spirit as vindictive as it was ambitious, she involved Jehan in several acts which threatened the stability of his throne; till her tyranny and cruelty became so extreme, that one of the generals actually made the king his prisoner, and would have slain the sultana, but for the intercessions of Jehan, whom he restored to liberty. Neglecting to learn wisdom from these events, Nourmahal continued the same career; until her own brother, leagued with the faithful general she had used so ill, planned a revolution, which was anticipated by the death of Jehan in 1626, and the accession of his son, Shah Jehan. The usual sanguinary cruelty was displayed by this monarch towards the princes of the royal house. Mercy, wisdom, and equity, marked his internal administration; but his wars were carried on with the most ruthless severity. The ambitious contentions of his four sons, when he was erroneously supposed to be dying, caused him much pain. But by the superior craft and skill of Aurungzebe, who governed the Deccan, three of them were subdued, and this successful warrior commenced his celebrated career during the lifetime of his father, and at his death in 1660 took full possession of the throne. As a man he was cruel, crafty, and despotic; but as emperor of Hindostan he displayed qualities of the highest and noblest character. Though not desirous of war, when he engaged in it he exhibited the greatest military skill, and by his successes added some most valuable territories to his empire. But his greatest honour is his constant and wise attention to the internal advancement of his kingdom, which he raised to a state of power and prosperity such as it had never previously known. After a long reign of forty-seven years, he died in 1707; and soon after his decease this magnificent empire began to decline.

CHINA.

This vast empire, whose origin is lost in a remote antiquity, was governed in the end of the tenth century

by the Tartar descendants of the fierce warrior Genghis Khan, and nine monarchs of the family of Yven succeeded to the throne without any opposition from the passive Chinese; until the odious conduct of the last excited a rebellion, and in 1357 the Tartar dynasty was expelled, and the native Chinese rulers occupied the throne for 276 years; when the Tartars again invaded China in 1641, and easily subdued it to their sway. Since then they have maintained their authority; but whether the convulsions and wars of recent times will effect any change in that unchanging country, remains for time to determine. The fact that Christianity is now beginning to exert its influence, encourages the hope that the long stagnation of the human mind will be broken up, and the vivifying power of the gospel spread through the mighty masses of its population.

JAPAN.

This empire, which was first discovered by the Portuguese in the middle of the sixteenth century, in the first instance encouraged the visits and commercial enterprise of the Portuguese and the Spaniards; until the ambition of the Spaniards and the plots of the Jesuits so alarmed the emperor, that he was obliged to interfere with the pretended conversions which were being effected. Trade still continued to be carried on with foreigners till 1637, when it was discovered that the Spaniards had formed a plot for seizing the empire. They and the Portuguese were immediately ordered to retire; but refusing to comply, they were expelled by force. Since then, with the exception of one ship annually from Holland being allowed to visit for purposes of trade, foreigners have been rigidly excluded, until the treaty lately made by lord Elgin.

The exception made in favour of the Dutch was granted because the Spanish conspiracy was betrayed by them; and even they were obliged to protest that they were not of the same religion as that professed by the treacherous conspirators.

CHAPTER XVI.

*Recapitulation and Reflections.—The Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries.*

GREAT AND IMPORTANT CHANGES.—THE GOVERNING PRINCIPLE WHICH INDUCED THEM.—THE EXERTIONS OF LUTHER.—THE REFORMATION AND ITS RESULTS.—RAPID EXTENT OF LEARNING.—THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION.—EXTENSION OF COMMERCE.—SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

WE have already traversed in this volume a period of history extending over two hundred years, a period as fruitful in important events as any that has transpired since the commencement of the world. It is therefore time to pause, and, taking a retrospect of the leading transactions, enquire whither the course of affairs was tending during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It has been seen that the Greek empire, when destroyed by the Turks, was succeeded by the restless movements of the Mahometan conquerors continually disturbing the nations of Europe, and proving the scourge of the world; until the Turkish empire commenced a decline which has lasted down to the present day. The imperial house of Austria, rendered yet more powerful by its connection with Spain and her vast American dependencies, aimed at establishing a universal monarchy, in which it would have succeeded but for the aggressions of the Turks, and more especially the energetic efforts of France, which continued until the defeat at St. Quentin's, and her own internal troubles, compelled her to withdraw from the struggle. The princes of Germany, also, acquired an influence in the sixteenth century greater than they ever enjoyed before; while the Italian states, succumbing to ecclesiastical domination or imperial power, lost an eminence which had attracted universal attention. The north-

ern kingdoms, again, rising from their former condition of degradation, made themselves felt by the older monarchies, especially under the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus. India and Persia, once so mighty, gave evidence of decline. Prussia on the contrary held out the promise of future prosperity. Holland established herself a free, strong, and commercial nation; while the wealth of Portugal and Spain became one of the causes of their ruin and decay. England, driven out of France, assumed her natural position as a maritime power, and after passing through a variety of severe revolutions, emerged from them all more free, powerful, and prosperous than before. Rome, after enduring the horrors of a sack, and witnessing the captivity of her pontiff, still exerted amongst the nations a power, which though repressed, seemed, to the superficial observer, to be indestructible. In a word, by the collisions of nations during this period the old landmarks were so removed, the political aspect of many kingdoms so changed, and their relative importance so materially altered, that future ages might expect to see a very different apportionment of political power and influence.

But what, it may be asked, was the governing principle which induced these changes, so many and so mighty, and gave to national struggles a character so manifestly different to the previous conflicts for supremacy and power? Was it simply ambition, was it only the desire of gain, or was there some other feeling which gave intensity to the strife, and modified its character and progress?

That ambition had very much to do with the wars of Charles V. and Francis I., and that a thirst for gain and territorial extension influenced the Portuguese and Spaniards in their attacks on the American and other aborigines, is undeniable; but still we detect throughout all the conflicts of these centuries another element, which, either avowedly or covertly, was mingled with the strife, and by which the combatants were consciously or unconsciously most materially affected; and that was the determination which was growing up amongst the nations to obtain liberty of conscience, and freedom in the great matter of personal religion.

Despotic power, and priestly usurpation, had rested like an incubus upon the human mind until the pressure was felt to be intolerable; and nothing but a favourable opportunity, connected with a clear indication of the course to be pursued, was needed to induce many to attempt the emancipation of themselves and others from "a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear." Some efforts had been made in previous ages to assert their rights, and secure the advantages of christian liberty, and its constant attendant, political freedom; but they had to a great extent proved unsuccessful. Those who attempted to initiate the good work, had either been compelled to hide themselves from the violence of bigotry, like the faithful Waldenses; or had fallen in the struggle like Savonarola, in Italy; or Jerome of Prague, and Huss in Bohemia. But still their labours were not in vain, the seeds of thought they scattered were seeds of truth; and therefore in their nature imperishable, and their fruit was seen after many days. Such were the labours of Wickliffe in our own country in the fourteenth century. But what was wanting was some fearless spirit who would not only unveil the corruptions of Rome, where they were concealed from the vulgar gaze, but also exhibit truth in its simplicity and power, that men might learn what they should desire for themselves, and what they should demand from those who had hitherto held them in bondage. This need was supplied, when Luther stood forth as the advocate of an open bible, and an unfettered faith; it was just what was required: the circumstances of the age were favourable, the public indignation against papal assumption had become intense, from the overpowering revelations of its hypocrisy and corruption; and the divine blessing clearly rested upon the attempt of the intrepid reformer. Kindred spirits, such as Zwingle, Calvin, Melancthon, and others, appeared about the same period: while the chivalry of Hutten, and the learning of Erasmus, were auxiliary forces in the holy war. Hence, as we have seen, the reformation rapidly spread; and that which in the first instance was regarded as the visionary enthusiasm of an obscure monk, soon assumed an importance which neither haughty Rome, imperial Austria, nor the various monarchs and princes of Europe, ventured to treat with

contemptuous scorn. The tide of thought had swollen, and to attempt to stem its advance by papal bull, or imperial rescript, was but to court disappointment, if not complete destruction: the light had arisen on the souls of men, and as easy had it been to collect the rays of the natural sun, and imprison them in a lantern, as to stop the diffusion of heavenly knowledge; the heaven had begun to work, and its influence reached the halls of the Vatican, the palace of the monarch, and the cabinet of the statesman, as well as the homes of the poor. Diplomacy, literature, legislation, and the habits and customs of social life, were gradually permeated with its spirit; and hence it was only what might have been expected, that in the fierce collisions of nations some reference more or less distinctly recognised should be made to that which was becoming, in an emphatic sense, the question of the age. Schemes of ambition might indeed be concealed under the guise of zeal for the faith, either catholic or protestant, and unquestionably were so in many cases; but still we repeat, the evidence of historic fact proves that the desire for religious freedom not only gave a character to, but was the avowed object of very many of the conflicts which agitated the nations during these two centuries: and where it was not the avowed object, it gave a tone and bias to the conflict, which could not be mistaken or overlooked.

Amongst a very considerable number of instances in which it was the express purpose of the rival parties—the one to repress the rising spirit of religious enquiry, the other to obtain free scope for its exercise—we may mention the wars of the princes of Germany with the emperor, the rebellion of the Dutch states, the thirty years' war, the contests of the Huguenots in France, and the civil war in England. Hence, the leading feature, as well as the peculiar excellence of the treaty of Westphalia, was its distinct recognition of the right of conscience so far as the German nations were concerned; while it constituted one of the most valuable results of the revolution in our own country, in 1688. The reformation then, was essentially and inseparably connected with the movements of the age, either as the impelling impulse, or the unavoidable consequence. What then is the estimate we are to form of this great schism? was the

reformation a failure or otherwise? To give a fair reply to this enquiry, we must carefully look at its direct results, and its more remote consequences.

The first direct result of the reformation, was the loss to popery of one half of the German empire, more than half of Switzerland; besides the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, Scotland and England, and the United Provinces of Holland: these, with all the wealth they were accustomed to contribute to the papal treasury, were irretrievably lost to the papal see. There were other and great kingdoms, such as France, Belgium, Southern Germany, Hungary and Poland; constituting what Lord Macaulay terms "debatable land," in which, though catholicism continued the religion of the state, there were multitudes of protestants who longed for a more scriptural exhibition of the christian faith: so far then, the reformation had proved powerful to a wide extent. In Spain and the Italian states, where any effort to introduce its influence was sedulously and immediately repressed, it is not correct to speak of that as having failed which was never tried. The political results of the reformation were then considerable. But its ecclesiastical influence was not insignificant: though not so evidently favourable to the cause of truth, yet as forcing the Romish church to come out of the atmosphere of ambiguity, with which she had hitherto encircled herself, and which was one element of her power, and to reveal herself bodily to the world, it was by no means unimportant: and, but for the energy with which reformed truth was spreading on every side, the council of Trent would not have been held. Before the session of that famous conclave, the only really recognizable tenet of Rome was submission to the pope: prior to that, papal bulls and decrees of councils had so denied and contradicted each other, as Luther boldly asserted, that it would have been a vain effort to generalize the doctrines of the church; and say without fear of denial, what were the respective limits of orthodoxy and heresy. But now the Romish church stood before the world, giving her dogmatic statements of what she held as truth: and albeit those statements, unlike the religion of Jesus, are overloaded with anathemas, we at least know what she claims—no small advantage in a contro-

versy, where a polemic might, like the ink-fish, escape in the darkness he created when finding himself worsted by his adversary.

The moral influence of the reformation was soon discernible in the improved features of character which popes, cardinals, and the clergy in general, felt themselves obliged at least to assume, in their controversies with men the holiness of whose lives was the best commentary on the purer faith which they taught. The abominations of an Alexander, the military spirit of a Julius, nay, the voluptuous elegance and indolence of a Leo, could no longer be tolerated; men had at length learned to regard religion as a reality, and a profession of Christianity as demanding something approaching to consistency, instead of being a pretence for pursuing, and a veil for concealing, the indulgence of sensual instincts and hateful passions by those who professed to be ministers of Christ.

Another result of the reformation was the diffusion of the principles of constitutional government amongst the nations by which it was adopted. Religious liberty is the only sure foundation of political freedom; and just in proportion as the former is secured, is the latter the result. We need not reason out the proposition: the evidence of fact is universally in its favour. Spain, Italy, France, refused the one, and as a consequence they have failed to obtain the other. England, Holland, Prussia, North America, determined to maintain the former, and the latter has followed as a necessary consequence. With these have been associated improved principles of legislation, and more equitable administration of justice; so that while the stability of the state has been upheld, the freedom and security of the individual have been maintained.

The influence of the reformation on science and literature in its various branches is self-evident from the character of the productions, as well as from the number of learned writers. Bacon would never have written his *Novum Organum* in the atmosphere of popery; and only the pervading associations of advancing religious liberty, could have produced the noble epic of a Milton. Popery did much unquestionably for the encouragement of the fine arts, but the trammels of ecclesiasticism have always

impeded the free operation of the reflective faculties; when therefore these were removed, and men could think freely, the inclination to do so increased with the opportunity. Spiritual domination, which had so long maintained itself in high places, fell as a free faith advanced; and it was found not only possible, but positively desirable, to entrust the reins of government to other hands than those of ecclesiastics. Mental power was no longer regarded as the exclusive monopoly, and administrative skill not necessarily confined to a Wolsey, a Richelieu, or a Mazarin; a change which has been neither without its significance nor its advantages to nations which were once only satellites revolving around the pontifical throne.

The material prosperity which has crowned the reformed nations, as contrasted with most of those who clung to the traditions of past ages, must not be overlooked. What fostered the spirit of successful enterprise in Holland? what enabled England to rise, from the condition of a comparatively insignificant island-kingdom, to a proud preeminence amongst the nations of the world, but the adoption of principles which recognise Divine authority on the one hand, and individual rights on the other? What were the causes of decay which humbled the once proud states of Italy, the once commercial Portugal, and mighty Spain? Doubtless several influences may be traced; but was not the pertinacity with which they resisted the light, and clung to the ancient despotism which enthralled the mind, kept the soul in bondage, and trampled on personal freedom, the great and prevailing malaria which enervated their strength, and impaired their beauty?

We will not enlarge on those more remote consequences of the movement which present themselves in our own day; but we think we have said enough to show that the reformation of the sixteenth century was a success, a power, a blessing, which cannot be too highly prized; the commencement of a campaign, the ultimate issue of which shall be seen in the complete subversion of error, and the overthrow of that system which has for so many ages held the world in thrall.

But, it has been objected, many evils attended the

reformation, such as the extravagances of Munster, the disputes amongst the reformers themselves, and the numerous sects which arose at the time, and which still divide Christians and Christendom into so many parties. But to what does the objection amount but to this—that the reformation was not free from those imperfections which characterise every thing which men have to accomplish, however sacred the work and however good the design? Christianity itself might as justly be blamed because there were those who in its early history “turned the grace of God into lasciviousness,” as the reformation for the imperfections of pretended or real friends.

But protestantism, it is further objected, by lord Macaulay (see Review of Ranke’s History), has been stationary, nay scarcely that: in the course of two hundred years, she has not “been able to re-conquer any portion of what was then lost.” This is an incorrect statement. “The debatable land” was never fairly in possession; it was from the commencement to the close of the struggle debatable land still; and even now it may be regarded as in the same condition: it is yet to be contended for, and if we read the signs of the times aright, the contest is coming on. But protestantism has not retrograded; the treaty of Westphalia was the result not of defeat but victory, and while Prussia can be pointed to as supplying the position of political importance once occupied by Sweden, and while the mass of the increase on the American continent is being added to its ranks, protestantism cannot be regarded as stationary, much less as retrogressive.

Politically, protestantism ceased to be aggressive after the treaty of 1648; but it is impossible to compare the position of the Romish church at that period, with what it was in 1500, without feeling that a great victory had been obtained by truth over error, and the claims of religious freedom over the oppressive bondage of antiquated forms, and priestly domination.

But the proper view to take of the reformation is to regard it, not as the establishment of a creed, but as the embodiment of an influence: and that influence we contend has not lost its might, nor abated one jot of its energy. It has been interrupted in its progress, but one

battle does not usually determine a campaign, nor one campaign often terminate a war. These interruptions have not necessarily impeded the vigour of the moral influence of truth; nay, though they have often been caused by the fierceness of persecution, they have rather tended to give that energy which alone can ultimately succeed: as in the tropical regions the mighty power and resistless violence of the storm is rendered essential by the intense glare of an unclouded sun, lest the excess of vegetation should make them the abodes of disease and death,—so were the trials of the Marian persecution in our own land, and similar tribulations in others, required to clear the moral atmosphere of what might otherwise have produced a spiritual malaria. In all great religious movements, as indeed in all movements which produce popular excitement, the half-hearted and the simply impulsive are drawn into connection by the common sympathy of human nature, without the existence or experience of settled conviction. But as the power of a spiritual influence is in exact proportion to its purity, it is necessary for its ultimate success that “the wood, the hay, the stubble,” should be separated, or if not entirely separated, yet hindered from excessive aggregation: and the process by which this is effected, even though it be “as by fire,” must be estimated in relation to its ultimate design. The piety and the protestantism of England was rendered more intense, as well as more pure, by the cruelties of Mary, than it was when, as under Henry VIII., the reformation partook more of the character of political arrangement than of personal conviction. So in the armies of Henry of Navarre, there were Huguenots in creed, but of a different stamp to those who, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, “took joyfully the spoiling of their goods,” rather than “make shipwreck of their faith.” To us it seems that the sunshine of political favour and royal patronage did more to impede the real progress of the reformation, than all that inquisitions or star chambers, high commission courts or successful warriors, have ever been able to effect. Had it been left to itself, with “a clear stage and no favour,” God would have defended the right, and the pæans of victory would have become

louder as the warlike hosts, using only their appropriate weapons, receded into the far distance. As it was, the reformation gave its character to the age: noble spirits laboured for God, and we have entered into their labours. May we be found faithful as they were faithful, and "follow them so far as they followed Christ;" and yet greater victories and mightier triumphs shall crown our efforts in the cause of liberty, of righteousness, and truth.

Another feature which characterised the two centuries of which we have been treating, was the rapid and vast extent of learning in all its branches. It is usual to ascribe this to the influence of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in scattering the literati who had previously congregated in that city: and doubtless this was one cause; but had not other favouring circumstances occurred, we fear that the light of intellectual knowledge would have made but little progress under the system of repression which then so extensively prevailed. One great cause of the extension of learning must be recognised in the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, by which enlarged facilities for the acquirement and diffusion of knowledge were provided. But the chief explanation is to be found in the spirit of enquiry awakened by the stirring events connected with the progress of the reformation. Hence in the sixteenth, and yet more especially when the combatants were settling down in the seventeenth century, literature and science made more rapid advances than had been witnessed in any former age. Space would fail to refer in anything like detail to the various intellectual lights which shone forth in the various nations. We can only remark that while works of imagination had their fair share of writers, works on geography, philosophy, and theology, were the more frequent claimants on the public attention; nor is it difficult to see the reason of this fact. The age was an earnest one: men were contending for matters of vital importance in church and state. The current events were related to their dearest interests, and the public mind was engaged in the discussion of questions not of taste, but of stern truth; and the literature, as a matter of necessity, partook, as it always does, of the prevailing sentiment.

In England, as its fortunes were for a long period fluc-

tuating, so its literature was as much marked by its variety as it was by its extent: Jonson and Shakspeare, not to mention a host of inferior writers, cultivated the drama; Harvey, Boyle, Newton, contributed to the stores of science in its various departments; Spenser, Milton, Dryden, sustained the credit of English poetry; Usher, Taylor, Barrow, Butler, Cudworth, and Locke, discoursed on the more abstruse points of theology and philosophy; while Bacon, almost universal in his genius and attainments, effected a revolution in the modes of thought and rational investigation, as marked as that which Luther accomplished in religion. We purposely give only a selection; indeed the stream of intellectual light is too broad and continuous to admit of more than a passing reference. The night of darkness had closed—mental pursuits took the place of sanguinary struggles—and men began to feel that life might be more honourably and pleasantly spent than in devising schemes and executing plans for mutual destruction.

The principles of government and legislation were not left unaffected by the advancing tide of religion and knowledge. The feudal system had in most countries become extinct, and as the consequence regal authority was carried to the highest pitch; but by the rising spirit of freedom resulting from the religious agitations, a desire soon sprung up to restrain its exercise within prescribed limits. This was especially the case in England, where, during the reign of the Tudors and the Stuarts, the power of the monarch was nearly absolute; until the attempts of the latter family to stretch it to yet greater extent, aroused an opposition which not only led to the death of Charles I., but continued, notwithstanding the apparent interruption of the Restoration, until, at the revolution in 1688, the principles of the constitution were accurately defined, and a basis of righteous liberty laid down.

The supremacy of the church of Rome had in most countries impeded the due execution of justice. Ecclesiastics claimed exemption from civil authority, and were thus frequently able to indulge with impunity in the most flagitious crimes; while by the right of sanctuary, as it was termed, powerful offenders were shielded from the

punishment their crimes deserved. But in this age many successful efforts for improvement in this particular were accomplished. "While the catholic superstition subsisted," says Hume (Hist. of England, Vol. II. chap. 33), "in relation to England, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities; the privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a sub-deacon." Thus gradually a system of fixed and impartial law was being developed, which tended to the security of all, while it determined a point which had often been a matter of fierce dispute between governments and the church.

Commerce, as might be supposed, extended most widely in consequence of the extensive discovery and colonization of so many places in America, and the new route to India round the Cape. Instead of being confined as formerly to Venice and a few Italian states, most countries availed themselves of its advantage, especially the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English; and amongst these the Dutch maintained the pre-eminence for some time. Indeed English commerce was mainly carried on through the inhabitants of the Netherlands in the time of Henry VIII., and therefore any interruption of friendly relations between these countries, inevitably produced mutual inconvenience. The Dutch had indeed become, as they have been well described, "the general factors, and carriers of Europe;" hence the impolitic navigation law passed by the English parliament in 1652, as it directly affected them, soon led to a war.*

The spirit of commercial enterprise must have been instrumental in providing many comforts and necessaries for the people which their own country could not supply: a result which it can be readily supposed was exceedingly beneficial, when even such simple articles as salads, turnips, carrots, and other edible roots, were not produced in

* By this law all nations were prohibited from importing into England any commodity which had not been produced or manufactured in their own country; a measure not of protection but virtual exclusion.

England till towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII. When Catherine of Arragon, it is said, wished to indulge in the luxury of a salad, she had to send a special messenger to the Netherlands to obtain one; and even in the time of Elizabeth it was some years before the queen herself could obtain silk stockings for her use.

Another result of commercial expansion was the encouragement given to ship-building. This was the case in the reign of Henry, from whose time the art went on with great rapidity, until we find England attaining the position of the first maritime kingdom in the world. Many useful arts sprang up under the influence of internal peace, which the many years of fierce warfare necessarily impeded. Coaches were first seen in England in Mary's time, but were probably far from being very luxurious conveyances, since Elizabeth was accustomed to make some of her "progresses" seated on a pillion behind her chancellor.

The social condition of the people appears to have advanced with the march of time, although the immediate result of the reformation was productive of a considerable amount of distress, by the breaking up of the monasteries and religious houses where numbers of the poor were accustomed to obtain daily relief. This distress was yet farther increased by the practice of turning arable land into pasture land, and absorbing the smaller holdings into farms of vast extent; this, which was done doubtless to secure a greater amount of wool than the staple trade of the country, produced great scarcity of labour, and various legal enactments were passed to check the practice. But not all the severe laws of Henry against "vagabondism," nor the poor-law system introduced in the reign of Elizabeth, could remedy the evil; until the multiplication of manufactures, and the growth of towns, provided employment for the surplus population; a population which, when compared with the teeming numbers of the present day, appears but small, not exceeding in Elizabeth's time five millions of souls.

Although the power of the truth was gradually spreading through different classes of society, the manners and customs of the lower orders in the rural and less visited districts continued barbarous and uncultivated, nor was

the order of James to have "the book of sports" read in the churches every Sunday likely to improve them. During the commonwealth there was manifest advance; and if coercive measures were adopted to the extent often supposed—though the notion rests rather on a popular belief than on satisfactory evidence—yet was there an amount of genuine piety, and perception of propriety, sufficiently strong to rise against the outbreak of royal and noble immorality, after the people had recovered from the intoxicating effect of the Restoration; and which induced them to expel those who sought both to corrupt and betray their country.

On the whole, the age was one of progress for our nation and for the world; and few can survey the course of events, the concurring circumstances, the noble spirits who mingled in the fray, the high and sacred purposes which were formed, the steadiness with which they were pursued, and the success with which they were ultimately crowned, without exclaiming, "Verily He is a God that judgeth in the earth." (Ps. lviii. 11.)

PART VI.

CONFLICT FOR THE BALANCE OF POWER.

CHAPTER I.

The Ambitious Monarch.—A.D. 1643—1715.

FRANCE.

CONTESTS FOR SUPREMACY.—THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.—THE AUTHORITY OF ROME LIMITED BY THE CIVIL POWER.—LOUIS XIV.—STATE OF EUROPE AT HIS ACCESSION.—MAZARIN.—RETZ.—CIVIL WAR.—WAR WITH SPAIN.—DEATH OF MAZARIN.—PEACE WITH SPAIN.—MARRIAGE OF LOUIS AND MARIA THERESA OF SPAIN.—CONDUCT OF THE KING TOWARDS HIS PARLIAMENT.—WARS WITH THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD. LOUIS UNITES WITH THE DUTCH AGAINST ENGLAND.—ATTACKS SPAIN.—IMPROVEMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE.—INVASION OF HOLLAND.—SEIZURE OF STRASBURG.—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS.—BRIBERY AND THE DRAGONADES.—THE TREATY OF AUGSBURG.—CAMPAIGNS.—INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON FRANCE.—INTRIGUES OF LOUIS TO OBTAIN THE CROWN OF SPAIN.—THE GRAND ALLIANCE.—WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.—THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.—DEATH OF LOUIS.

THE history of France, like that of most of the European states, presents us with frequent contests for supremacy between its princes and nobles. In the earlier ages the principle of popular liberty was distinctly recognised in its constitution. The crown was elective, and the national will respected in its acts of legislation; but by the increased power of Pepin and Charlemagne kingly authority was exalted to such a degree, that, had their successors

had sufficient firmness, it might have become completely absolute. Such however was not the case, and a factious aristocracy—seldom united for any other purpose—often joined to humble the monarch and oppress the people.

When the Capetian race succeeded to the throne, many of its princes strove to restrain the despotism of the nobility and extend the power of the crown, and were often successful. One of the most effective expedients in these efforts was that of Philip the Fair, who mingled the commons with the national assemblies, previously composed of the nobles and the clergy exclusively. Still these assemblies were called, not so much for the purposes of legislation, as to ratify and register the edicts of the king, and were by Louis XIII. entirely laid aside, and legislation and taxation were regulated by the monarch alone.

There were however the provincial parliaments, which though originally courts of justice, acquired some amount of controlling influence, and tended to check the advance of despotism. This was especially the case with the parliament of Paris, which often interfered, although possessing no representative position, and chosen only by the nomination of the king. Nevertheless, by discussion and their social connexion with the body of the nation, its members kept the spark of liberty from being entirely extinguished; and had their measures always been guided by moderation, and a single eye to the public advantage, they might probably have secured to themselves a position resembling that occupied by the parliament of our own country; but they too frequently listened to the suggestions of faction, and therefore caused disputes and agitations in the state.

The authority of Rome was by no means so powerful in France as it was in other countries, even in the church. Contrary to the assumptions of the Vatican, the ecclesiastics asserted the superiority of general councils over papal infallibility, and denied the right of the pope to depose a temporal sovereign, while the ordinary contributions to the Romish see were not permitted without the leave of the monarch. The encroachments of the church were thus wisely limited by the civil power. This state of things was evidently one which afforded abundant opportunity for an able and sagacious ruler to establish an

almost absolute control over all the departments of the state, without appearing to assume an unconstitutional despotism; and such a ruler the people soon found in Louis XIV.

The condition of Europe at the time of his accession was one of turbulence and confusion. The thirty years' war was still raging, and continued to rage until by the treaty of Westphalia, five years afterwards, the nations obtained peace; but even then the strife between France and Spain was still maintained. Little concerned about the progress of religious liberty, Richelieu had been only anxious to humble the power of Austria, and thus maintain the balance of power in Europe, or more correctly speaking, thus aggrandise the authority of France. With this policy, Mazarin, who succeeded to his position, fully agreed, and strengthening his influence by a treaty with Cromwell, the protector of England, his plans were for a time eminently successful.

Louis XIV. being only in the fifth year of his age when he ascended the throne, his mother, Anne of Austria, sister of Philip IV., king of Spain, was appointed regent; and Mazarin, an Italian cardinal, was entrusted with the guidance of affairs. The intellectual powers of this man were far in advance of his moral qualities: false, supple, intriguing, he was little careful of the means he used, so that he could but carry out the plans he formed. The financial and civil condition of the country having become materially disorganized by the numerous expensive wars of the previous reign, the popular feeling was but little favourable to the continuance of this policy; when, therefore, new taxes were levied to meet the emergencies of the state, discontents and insurrections of a most serious character broke out. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being insulted, and her favourite cardinal was the object of general hatred.

These tumults were yet further increased by the intrigues of the nobility, who were jealous of the power and greatness of Mazarin. Amongst the most active in these plots was Retz, coadjutor archbishop of Paris, and afterwards a cardinal. This man, whose ambition was as unprincipled as it was persevering, endeavoured by fomenting the existing discord to raise himself to the position of

minister. He not only gained over many of the nobility, but induced the parliament of Paris to approve of his proceedings. Mazarin, hoping to check the progress of the sedition, ordered the president and several of the members of the parliament to be arrested, when the popular indignation broke out with unrestrained violence, and the people assembling in large numbers barricaded the streets, and refused to disperse until the prisoners were set at liberty. The parliament, evidently exceeding their legal rights, and assuming an authority which we have seen did not belong to them, then proclaimed the cardinal a public enemy, and civil war was the result.

In this war, usually called "the Fronde," the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville and others, headed the rebels, and were encouraged by the parliament; but the rebel troops being dispersed, quietness was restored. This was soon disturbed again by the imprudence of Mazarin, who, acting under the treacherous advice of Retz, caused Condé, Conti, and others, to be arrested in the council, and the flame broke out again. The parliament now banished the cardinal from the kingdom, and such was the indignation excited against him, that he found it necessary for a time to fly to the emperor's dominions; but Turenne and the duke of Bouillon having been induced to join the court party, he returned, and six thousand men accompanied him. Condé, however, mingling feelings of personal resentment with his factious ambition, now entered Paris at the head of a body of Spanish troops, when he was attacked by Turenne, and a serious battle occurred between these two great generals in the Faubourg of St. Antoine. How it might eventually have terminated it is impossible to conjecture, had not the daughter of the duke of Orleans, the uncle of Louis, and the leader of the rebels, ordered the guns of the Bastille to fire on the king's troops, after the contest had been maintained for a long period. This bold act soon decided the struggle in favour of Condé.

Such was the disturbed condition of things when Louis, coming of age in the year 1659, took the reins of government into his own hands, and very soon convinced all parties that he was fully competent to deal with the difficulties of his position. Mazarin, though dismissed for

a time, was shortly after recalled and reinstated in his office, which he retained until his death. De Retz, Orleans, and others who had been prominent in the rebellion, were banished, the nobles punished, and the parliament taught the limits of its authority.

The martial disposition of the young king induced him to continue the war with Spain, and several towns submitted to France, until both countries felt the necessity for peace. Accordingly, Mazarin and the Spanish minister, Don Louis de Haro, surrounded by all the splendour of their respective courts, met in a place called the isle of Pheasants, amid the rugged mountains of the Pyrenees, and in this lonely spot, supposed to belong to neither power, the treaty of 1659, since called "the peace of the Pyrenees," was settled, and yet further confirmed in 1661; soon after which Mazarin died.

Louis was now twenty-one years of age. He had, in accordance with the stipulations of the peace, married the infanta Maria Theresa, and renounced all claim upon the Spanish crown, and might have employed his power and talents for the good of his kingdom; but, influenced by inordinate ambition, he engaged in almost continual wars with foreign powers, while at home he soon changed the government into an absolute monarchy. Enticing the nobility to court, he employed them about his person, and by the dissipation and splendour which were constantly encouraged, he gradually obtained a power over them, which effectually curbed the turbulence which had caused such serious inconvenience to his predecessors. Bestowing the temporalities of the church upon his favourites, he brought that body completely under control, while he took care, after the death of Mazarin, to admit no ecclesiastics into his council. The parliaments were now compelled to restrict themselves to their judicial functions. For this limitation they must have been in some measure prepared from the bold conduct of the king a few years before, when only seventeen years of age. Some hesitation having been displayed by the Paris parliament about registering an edict relating to the coinage, the young king rode in haste to the city, and entering into the hall where they were assembled, and holding up his whip, told them that their discussions had caused sufficient calamities, and com-

manded them to cease from debating about the merits of the royal edicts; then turning to the chairman he exclaimed, "And you, Mr. President, I forbid you to allow these discussions." But there cannot be a better illustration of the arbitrary spirit of this monarch, than what he has himself given in his well-known exclamation, "L'état, c'est moi." Aiming to concentrate all authority under his own influence, he encouraged that system of centralization, which has continued down to the present time. The tiers état, or commons, were the objects of his supreme contempt; of this he gave a notable instance in an edict which he issued in 1679, against, not duelling itself, but what the king terms the insolence of the common people challenging "gentlemen" to hostile encounters; and directs that if wounds are inflicted, or death should ensue to the gentleman, the commoner should be strangled and his goods confiscated; and any "gentleman" who should so disgrace himself as to fight with any of "ignoble birth," was to be liable to the same penalties.

Absolute despotism was not only the temper of Louis, but the course which his own convictions led him to adopt; hence in a work, written for the guidance of his successor, entitled, "Instructions pour le Dauphin," he says, "All which is found in the extent of our dominions, of whatever nature it be, belongs to us." The money, whether taken in the form of taxes, or left with subjects for the purposes of trade; yea, the very lives of the subject are declared to be the absolute property of the sovereign; and he adds, "He who has given kings to men, has ordered them to be respected as His lieutenants, reserving to Himself alone the right of examining their conduct. It is His will, that whoever is born a subject, should obey without discrimination or reservation." The "right divine of kings" can scarcely be carried farther than this; and with such principles we may well be prepared for the course of tyranny and ambition by which the reign of the haughty monarch was marked.

Influenced by personal hatred against Leopold, emperor of Germany, his wars with the imperial ruler were both frequent and fierce. The cause of this hostility appears to have been disappointed ambition. On the

death of Ferdinand III., in 1657, Mazarin engaged in a variety of intrigues to get Louis elected to the imperial throne. For this purpose he spent immense sums of money in bribes, and Louis himself repaired to Metz with a large body of troops for the purpose of supporting his claims; but the electors, determined to carry out their own wishes, unanimously chose Leopold, the son of the late emperor. The disappointment seems to have produced in Louis a spirit of undying hostility against his cousin, which soon manifested itself in long and sanguinary wars.

Before, however, a fitting occasion presented itself, the restless king found employment in the conflict between England and Holland, which commenced in 1664; when, not from any fondness for the enterprising republic, but rather from a jealousy of the rising power of England as a maritime state, he sided with the Dutch, and sent a navy which he had raised at great expense to their assistance. But finding that the sea was not likely to be a fitting theatre for the aggrandisement of French glory, he consented to become a party to the peace of Breda, which was signed in 1667; and to this treaty he the more willingly acceded because an opportunity appeared to offer for playing the game of ambition on a larger scale, and, at the same time, displaying his enmity against the emperor.

Philip IV. of Spain, having died, was succeeded by his only son, Charles II., a sickly infant only four years of age, whose reign threatened, from his frequent attacks of illness, to be a very short one. Louis, therefore, notwithstanding he had by the peace of the Pyrenees renounced all claim upon the Spanish throne, resolved to establish his power in the Peninsula, in the hope of ultimately securing it for himself. Accordingly, pretending that Spain had not fulfilled her promise in reference to the dowry he was to receive with his queen, he headed his armies, and, accompanied by Turenne and Vauban the famous engineer, advanced into the Spanish Netherlands and captured several towns, and was likely to subdue all the provinces, until a triple alliance, comprising England, Holland, and Sweden, was formed to stop his encroachments. By these powers, he and Spain were compelled to agree to

terms satisfactory to neither, and sign the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668.

When Louis had fairly assumed the royal power, on his majority, he found the institutions of the country in a very confused and disordered state, the finances exceedingly low, and every thing disorganized by the civil feuds which had prevailed. Applying himself to the work of improvement with his accustomed energy, he soon effected a marked change, especially by the appointment of Colbert as minister of finance in the place of Fouquet, whom he removed and imprisoned. By this change the resources of the kingdom were developed to an extent never before witnessed; manufactures and commerce were encouraged; a canal connected the Bay of Biscay with the Mediterranean; and the internal police was vigilantly superintended. By the industry and skill of Louvois, secretary of war, the defence of the country was secured, and the means provided for raising those armies which, under the command of Turenne and Vauban, were extending the power of the French arms on every side.

Had Louis been able to appreciate what constitutes the real greatness of a kingdom, he might, by fostering the elements of prosperity which were within his reach, have raised France to a position both enduring and elevated; but deluded by the dreams of ambition, he saw no glory but in military enterprise, and was for ever seeking to secure conquests over surrounding lands. Incensed against Holland, because of the influence the republic had exerted as one of the powers constituting the triple alliance in preventing his progress in the Spanish Netherlands, Louis determined to have his revenge against a people whom he despised as a set of mercantile plebeians, and of whom he ever spoke in terms which remind us of Napoleon's description of the English, as "a nation of shopkeepers." Availing himself of the disputes which were raging between the parties of De Witt and the prince of Orange, he resolved to invade Holland, and with this view formed a secret treaty with Charles II., of England, engaging to help that arbitrary king to restore popery and despotism in England, in return for his assistance in conquering Holland. This base arrangement being made, they invaded the United Provinces, and

in a short time Louis succeeded in taking a considerable part of the country, and was rapidly approaching Amsterdam, when the prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England, ordered the sluices to be opened, and by inundating the whole of those parts compelled the French to retire. To increase the perplexity of the Dutch, the combined fleets of England and France threatened them in the following year, when a sudden tempest drove them out to sea, and violent storms prevented them from disembarking the troops they had brought.

Several actions were subsequently fought; but the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg coming to the relief of the states, the balance between the contending parties became more equal. Charles II. being refused the requisite supplies by his parliament, retired from the contest, but the others continued the dispute with untiring vigour. William, prince of Orange, the most determined opponent of Louis, acquired renown by his successful struggles with Turenne, until that eminent general was killed by a cannon-ball in 1675; but still the arms of Louis prevailed, and at the peace of Nimeguen, in 1685, he was the most formidable monarch in Europe.

Unrestrained by the stipulations to which he had so lately agreed, this treacherous king seized Strasburg, and nearly accomplished the ruin of the empire, by secretly aiding the Hungarians and the Turks, in their attack upon Vienna; which, but for the timely aid of the king of Poland, John Sobieski, must have fallen into their hands. Luxemburg, Courtray and Dixmund, now submitted to his arms, and the emperor and Spain were compelled to ask a truce. Elevated to the pinnacle of human greatness, and intoxicated with his success, there were no bounds to his arrogance; the power and freedom of Genoa were trampled on, the pope was again and again insulted; and, as though he were seeking to ruin his own country by his bigotry, as he had done others by his ambition, in 1685 he revoked the edict of Nantes, which Henry IV. had granted to secure the toleration of the Huguenots, and which had been declared irrevocable.

It is often the case, that this act is looked upon as the sudden impulse of a bigoted and capricious monarch, but such is very far from being the fact; it was really the

climax of a long and severe course of persecution, which, though alas, too often paralleled in the history of intolerance, has never been surpassed.

When after the death of Mazarin, Louis commenced what may be regarded as his own career, protestantism was not only tolerated, but authorized in all parts of the kingdom. This state of things, however, was but of short duration: before long, yet gradually, he turned from this course of forbearance, and began a series of persecutions, which became increasingly severe at every stage.

In 1662, he ordered the destruction of twenty-two protestant places of worship, in Gex; under the pretence that it was not included in the provisions of the edict of Nantes, because it had been annexed subsequent to the issue of the decree. In the same year, Languedoc had to bear the cruel laws of bigotry: converted protestants were exempted from the payment of debts contracted before their professed conversion; children born of mixed marriages, were ordered to be brought up in the faith of the catholic parent. The corpses of those who refused the sacraments of the Romish church, in their last moments, were drawn through the streets upon hurdles, naked, without any consideration of birth, sex, or age; priests were commanded to besiege the beds of the dying, and to compel those who were in the agonies of death, to receive the last offices at their hands; and, if in the least degree successful, or apparently so, to seize upon the children, and train them up for popery. In 1666, the free-will offerings of the worshippers for the support of their pastors were forbidden: their churches were destroyed, and the congregations prevented from assembling in the open air; towns which had risen into prosperity under protestant influences, were ruined. At the time of the war with Holland, Louis in a manifesto addressed to the catholic powers, declared that the object of the war was to extirpate heresy; and thus aroused the opposition of the prince of Orange, who regarded Louis as at once a despot and a bigot, a judgment which was most amply verified by subsequent events.

In 1680, catholics were forbidden to embrace the tenets of the Huguenots, under pain of being sent to the galleys. Children, boys at fourteen, and girls at twelve years of

age, were commanded to adopt the catholic faith, and parental authority was completely destroyed. Barristers, physicians, schoolmasters holding the reformed faith, were prohibited from following their respective professions; those employed in the civil service were excluded from their employment, however honest or effective they might have been, and every possible species of annoyance was adopted.

Louis had not been allowed to pursue this unwise and unrighteous course, without warnings as to its probable results. Colbert, the minister of finance, though a catholic, had used all his influence to dissuade his master from this unholy procedure, and to extend protection to the Huguenots, but in vain: urged on by the imperious bigotry of his own temper, and encouraged by the flatteries of Louvois his secretary of war, he determined to adopt more positive means; such as bribery, and the military missions termed "dragonades." The money employed in bribery was obtained from the revenues of a bishopric, between the death of one occupant, and the appointment of another. The administration of these funds, which amounted to a considerable sum, was committed to one Pélisson, who had himself sold his professed faith for gold. The results of this scheme, especially amongst the low and ignorant of the protestants, was, as might be expected, considerable: multitudes pretended to be convinced of the truth of the catholic faith, and the efficacy of the "golden arguments" of Pélisson, as they were termed, became the subject of common discourse. Madame de Maintenon entered into the scheme with enthusiasm; and her letters, while they display the most extravagant ardour for the increase of these purchased conversions, exhibit also the most lamentable ignorance of the nature of true conversion. But a more terrible effort was planned by Louvois, and executed under his direction. This was the system of "dragonades;" it consisted in sending a troop of soldiers to a town or district, and levying the men in excessive proportions upon the protestant inhabitants, indeed sometimes billeting them exclusively upon the protestants, who might be worried, oppressed, fleeced, and treated with any indignity and violence, short of death, until they re-

nounced their faith and professed themselves catholics. The awful deeds of these military ruffians almost exceed belief, and make us blush for the depravity of which the human heart is thus seen to be capable; it was, in fact, a system of universal terrorism—every house was converted into a miniature inquisition; with an unbridled soldiery performing the part of bishops and priests in the service of bigotry and despotism. Personal violence, agonizing tortures, and every scheme of ingenious cruelty, was used in this work of conversion, as it was termed. One of the orders received by the soldiers, was that they should deprive those of their rest who would not yield to other means. In obeying this novel expedient of intolerance, drums were beaten, shouts, blasphemies, the crushing of the furniture from being thrown about, blowing tobacco smoke into the eyes, suspending the sufferers by ropes, beating them, dragging them about—were some of the expedients adopted to make these wretched victims keep their eyes open, when under the influence of exhausted nature, they were ready to forget their sorrows in slumber.

At an hotel in the south of France, some men who were concealed behind the doors, fell upon some noblemen who had been inveigled to the place; and kneeling upon them, held them down, while the bishop converted them by making over them the sign of the cross. But space fails to record the injustice and gross absurdity which marked these crusades of conversion; and we must therefore, simply observe again, that the revocation was the climax of a long series of oppressions to which the victims must have looked onward, as a more than probable occurrence. By the act of revocation, all the places of worship belonging to the protestants, were ordered to be destroyed; the ministers were to leave the kingdom in fifteen days, under penalty of being sent to the galleys; schools were to be closed; all children born after a certain date, were to be baptized by the priests: the laity were not to be permitted to leave the kingdom; if they did, they must return within four months, or have their property confiscated; but those who had not changed their religion, were to be allowed to remain in France, until it should please God to enlighten them.

Severe as these enactments were, it is easy to perceive that they could easily be rendered more severe still, by the way in which they should be enforced; and such was the case: every obstacle was thrown in the way of the exile of the ministers, though they were commanded to depart. Their passports were withheld; and if found after the fifteen days they were sent to the galleys. To prevent the flight of the laity, the coast, the frontiers, and the public roads were closely watched, and Louvois was untiring in his efforts to arrest the fugitives: but despite all these precautions, it is computed that at least half a million of these persecuted professors escaped to England, Germany, or Holland, carrying with them those arts and manufactures which had promoted the prosperity of France, but which were to divert henceforth trade and prosperity into other channels: a just punishment of a bigotry which was as ignorant as it was cruel.

The tidings of these arbitrary proceedings flew rapidly to other lands, and in the protestant states produced intense consternation; while all the powers of Europe felt that some check must be given to a despotism which was evidently unreasoning, and which if allowed to spread would enslave the world. Hence serious deliberations were entered upon by several governments; and at length, in the treaty of Augsburg, a plan was determined on to stop the encroachments of France.

1686.—The league of Augsburg was originated principally by William, prince of Orange, whose policy of limiting the power of France had been occasioned by the late intolerance of the king. William was throughout the continuance of this alliance its main, it might be said, its only guide and support; fitted, both as a general and a diplomatist, for the position, he was the only one in those days who could fulfil its duties in opposition to Louis. England, governed by a bigot who was so soon to abdicate his throne, would not have been willing, even if she had been able, to venture on the enterprise. Charles, king of Spain, and Leopold, emperor of Germany, were totally inadequate to undertake the guidance of the struggle. William was the only one by whom the interests of liberty and truth could be upheld; and he was as willing to incur the responsibilities, as he was adequate to meet them.

Germany, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Savoy, joined the confederacy, of which Leopold was the nominal head, but the prince of Orange the pervading genius. Louis, who was not alarmed by a league which would have confounded one of less resources, immediately raised four armies: two in Flanders, a third was sent against the Spaniards in Catalonia, and the fourth attacked the palatinate. These armies were all commanded by the most eminent officers of the day. The first campaign, in which Louis was mostly unsuccessful, was rendered notorious by the awful ravages he perpetrated in the palatinate; where, under pretence of securing himself a barrier against his enemies, he completely desolated a tract of country thirty miles in extent, including several large towns. The inhabitants, stripped of everything, after enduring the brutal violence of his soldiers, were either killed in cold blood, or driven out to perish by hunger and exposure. Heidelberg, which had partially recovered, was subjected to a second sack, till it was completely depopulated. To celebrate these atrocities a Te Deum was performed at Paris, and a medal struck having a town in flames on the one side, with the inscription, "Rex dixit, et factum est."

In the campaign of the following year, Louis was more successful; and many places submitted to him and the Turks, with whom he had formed an alliance. The struggle continued till 1697, when a peace was concluded at Ryswick, in Holland; by which Louis not only acknowledged William to be the king of England, but restored nearly all the places he had taken. The fearful influence of the war was soon manifest, in the financial perplexities of France; increased by the loss of Colbert, who had died in 1683. The commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the country, had also materially declined subsequently to the flight of the Huguenots; and everything tended to show how ruinous was the course pursued by the monarch in his pursuit of military glory. Neglecting the lessons, we still find him intriguing to secure his interest in Spain, in the event of the death of Charles, which there was every reason to believe could not be far distant; and whose want of children left the succession to the Spanish throne a matter of contention. Three competitors for the

honour appeared, all of them related to the house of Austria: they were Louis, and Leopold the emperor, both of them married to daughters of Philip IV., and the elector of Bavaria, grandson of the same monarch. Foreseeing the evils which might occur to the general welfare of Europe, should either France or the emperor obtain Spain in its integrity, several schemes for dividing the kingdom, were discussed by the different powers, and encouraged by William III. of England. But the king of Spain, resolving to dispose of the crown himself, first bequeathed it to the elector, whose accession would have been most conducive to European interests. Induced by intrigues to alter this arrangement, he next bequeathed it to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. Yet again undetermined in his choice, he wrote to the pope for his advice, by whose counsel he finally appointed Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., his successor; and on the death of Charles, in 1701, in accordance with the will which had been secretly made, the young duke was crowned king of Spain, with the title of Philip V.

This event led to a treaty called the grand alliance, between the emperor, Holland, and William of England, to prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain; while on the part of Holland and England, it was resolved to make such arrangements as would prevent the excessive increase of the empire by the entire addition of Spain to the Austrian territories, should Leopold be successful. William III. dying soon after, queen Anne adopted his policy; and her armies, under the command of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, two of the ablest generals of the day, had a most important share in the struggle which followed, usually called "the war of the Spanish succession." This severe contest lasted for thirteen years, evidently to the disadvantage of France and Spain. The victories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, achieved by the English, besides others gained by the allies, considerably weakened the French power: and Louis, now in the decline of life, sued for peace, which was secured by the treaty of Utrecht, signed March 31st, 1713. By this treaty, it was agreed that Philip V. should renounce all title to the French crown; that the Italian

dependencies should be ceded to Austria, together with the Spanish Netherlands; and that the Rhine should be the boundary between France and Germany. England gained some territories in America; and repose once more visited the distracted continent.

In the following year, Louis, who had shed so much blood, who had desolated so many lands, and who has been flattered with the title of the Great, died, leaving his country, which might have flourished beneath a beneficent rule, impoverished and disordered by the indulgence of his dreams of worldly ambition, and his lust for absolute dominion.

CHAPTER II.

The Empire in Peril.—A. D. 1658—1780.

GERMANY.

EFFECTS OF THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.—LEOPOLD I.
 —HIS EDUCATION.—DISPUTES WITH OTHER NATIONS.
 —AID GRANTED TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—SIEGE OF VIENNA.—REVOLT OF HUNGARY.—DEATH OF LEOPOLD.—JOSEPH I.—“THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.”—ACCESSION OF CHARLES VI.—“THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.”—“WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION.”—PRINCE EUGENE.—DEATH OF CHARLES.—MARIA THERESA.—CONFEDERATION AGAINST HER.—FRANCIS OF LORRAINE.—BATTLE OF FONTENOY.—“THE SEVEN YEARS’ WAR.”—DEATH OF FRANCIS.—JOSEPH II.—FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND.—DEATH OF MARIA THERESA.

THE importance of the treaty of Westphalia in relation to the settlement of the German states, and the determination of the imperial constitution, while it removed those religious disputes, which for so many years caused bloodshed and confusion, consisted in its giving permanent effect to those reforms which had been procured by the wisdom of Maximilian I. in the year 1500.

Wise and suitable as were the arrangements of that

emperor, the ambition of Charles V., and several of his successors, would have rendered them nugatory, but for the ultimate settlement of 1648. By that famous treaty the prerogatives of the ruler, and the privileges of the states, were defined; the independence of the several princes was secured, and usurping encroachments on each other's territories were prevented; while each state was left to determine its own particular form of government. Hence we hear no more of those internecine wars in the empire, which had caused so much misery, and so long retarded its advancement. We have already seen how the rise and progress of the reformation became the central point around which the combatants ranged, and by their struggles secured the triumph of civil and religious liberty; and but for that movement Europe might have continued to the present day, one unrelieved exhibition of mental slavery and political bondage.

Nothing requiring to be recorded occurred in the reign of Ferdinand III., after the treaty was signed, till his death in 1657; when his son, Leopold I., surnamed "the thick-lipped," was chosen to occupy the imperial throne. The early education of this prince had been entrusted to the Jesuits, who, judging from the favourite employment which they encouraged him to pursue, and his subsequent character, sought to dwarf his intellect, and bring him into a state of subserviency, so that he might be a mere puppet in their hands; a course not unusual with this crafty sect, when permitted to interfere with the training of the young.

Leopold, instead of being judiciously prepared for those cares of government to which he would afterwards be called to attend, amused himself under the influence of his ghostly tutors, "in making and adorning small altars with the figures of saints," and similar occupations. Under such a regimen, and engaged in such pursuits, it is not surprising to find him grow up a gloomy, superstitious bigot, without mind to direct him in the serious avocations of government, or any moral features of character fitted to excite esteem. Indeed his whole political career, when contrasted with many who had held the imperial sceptre, and compared with many of his contemporaries, was only and absolutely contemptible. It is

indeed only pity for his manifest want of capacity that restrains indignation against this unworthy successor of the Cæsars. Forming alliances without judgment, he violated them without shame; and but that braver and worthier men than he, were found around his throne, or came opportunely for its deliverance when exposed to peril, he would have been driven from a position for which he was so totally unfit.

Like most princes of his time, he was engaged in constant disputes with other nations. The French on the one side, and the Turks on the other, kept the court of Vienna in a continual state of excitement and alarm; but in addition to these troubles, which to a certain extent were unavoidable, Leopold, having formed an alliance with Denmark and Poland against Sweden, attacked Pomerania; where he suffered such a complete defeat, that he immediately concluded a peace. His subjects in Hungary made several attempts to throw off the Austrian yoke, and encouraged the incursions of the Turks; who at this period were, with their army of janissaries, well disciplined, and influenced by all the fanaticism of Islamism, the terror of Europe. Entering Transylvania, under the command of the grand vizier Kara Mustapha, they spread desolation in their course; but being met by the imperial troops, headed by count Montecuculi, a most skilful and experienced general, were defeated, and compelled to sign the treaty of Temeswar.

In Holland the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV., aided by the internal factions of the republic, were spreading so rapidly, that the utmost alarm was produced, not only in the United Provinces, but throughout Europe. The request of the prince of Orange for assistance was therefore complied with, and Austria dispatched troops to his aid, in consequence of which Louis was compelled to retreat.

Despotic in his rule, and capricious in his government, Leopold was little suited to settle the turbulent spirit of Hungary; where the people broke out into revolt, and solicited the help of the Turks against their arbitrary monarch. Quite willing to renew their attacks on Germany, they, with the Transylvanians under count Tekeli, presented a most menacing front. Secretly incited by

Louis XIV., the Turks determined to attempt the capture of Vienna, and invested it with an army amounting to 300,000 men. Leopold, as unfit for the perils of war as he was for the duties of government, immediately fled, leaving the city to its fate. This would soon have been determined, but for the courage of count Von Stahrenburg; who, for two months, defeated all the efforts of the besiegers. The most fearful havoc was perpetrated on all the surrounding country, upwards of eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the greatest distress prevailed. Other countries, became alarmed at the progress of the Turkish power, fearing that the eastern despotism was about to become universal, and that Christianity would be entirely subjugated. The miserable occupants of the city expected the most calamitous fate, as they saw their foes drawing closer around their walls, in which at length they effected a practicable breach. The assault was looked for hourly. Consternation, dismay, and almost despair, reigned; when at length they saw the Polish troops, for whose aid they had been longing, appearing on the surrounding heights, under the command of the king, the noble John Sobieski. The gloom of despair now gave way to the delirium of hope, and hope was soon followed by a happy deliverance. Sobieski, though aided by numbers most alarmingly disproportionate to the vast armies of the Turks, boldly attacked the invaders, and completely routed them, taking the sacred standard of Mahomet, and penetrating to the tent of the grand vizier himself, whom he found quietly taking coffee with his sons.

By this victory not only was the beleaguered city set free, and its famished defenders delivered from the fearful indignities and sufferings they were dreading, but the military stores and the immense treasures of the Turks fell into the hands of the victors, together with the correspondence between Louis and the Turkish sultan, from which the treachery of this most Christian monarch was fully learned. Services like these might have been expected to influence the heart of Leopold, and have awakened some slight emotion of gratitude; but he not only met his deliverer with coldness, but treated him with positive insult: so thoroughly heartless was this man,

and so forgetful of his own cowardly flight from his capital in its hour of peril.

Hungary, oppressed by the tyranny of Leopold in reference both to religious liberty and civil freedom, still struggled to throw off the Austrian yoke; and though deprived of the guidance and counsel of the brave count Tekeli, who had been sent to Constantinople as a prisoner, was encouraged by the determined resistance which Helena, his devoted wife, offered to the efforts of the imperialists to capture the fortress of Mungacs. Unable however to contend successfully with the vast power of Austria, the Hungarians were ultimately defeated, and compelled to endure the greatest indignities. Their dearly prized privileges were taken away, and the crown declared to be the hereditary possession of their conquerors.

The duke of Lorraine subdued the disaffected provinces, and the imperial authority appeared, at least for a time, to be completely established. Availing himself of this period of repose, he created the electorate of Hanover, destined to bear afterwards so important a relation to this country.

The "war of the Spanish succession" soon interrupted the quiet of the empire, and plunged it and the other nations of the continent into all the horrors of conflict; when the Hungarians, taking advantage of the confusion, again revolted. The difficulties and perplexities of Leopold multiplied; without capacity to cope with them, and obstinately refusing to remove their cause, he was utterly at a loss what cause to pursue; until the splendid victories of the English under Marlborough and prince Eugene, checked the ambition of Louis XIV., and afforded some prospect of arrangement; a prospect however which was not to be realised until the fierce passions of the combatants had yet further deluged the earth with blood.

In the midst of these uncertainties Leopold closed his long reign, in which he accomplished nothing to shed even a passing lustre on his name. Leaving behind only the character of an inefficient monarch, an unskilful commander, and a proud and unfeeling bigot, he died in 1705 having occupied the imperial throne for the period of forty-eight years.

Joseph I., the son and successor of Leopold, was a prince of far greater worth than his father in every respect. Diligently devoted to the duties of government, he brought a cultivated mind to their discharge. Humane in his disposition, he was desirous of lightening the pressure of authority as much as possible; and though a catholic himself, was tolerant to the opinions of others.

During his reign the Hungarians yet again attempted to obtain their independence. Joseph had been crowned king of Hungary during the life of his father, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his turbulent subjects: but refusing every thing like compromise, they insisted upon being governed in accordance with their ancient laws; and to enforce their demands they broke out into open rebellion, headed by prince Rakotski, son of the spirited princess Helena. A long and sanguinary war ensued; but ended, as formerly, in the triumph of the Austrian arms.

The dispute about the succession to the Spanish throne continued with increased energy. Louis had suffered repeated defeats, and there appeared little probability of being able to preserve his grandson, Philip V., in possession of his dignity. The archduke Charles, brother to the emperor, had entered Madrid, and every thing promised the establishment of the Austrian power in the peninsula; the battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet had covered the allies with honour; when the emperor, being seized with the small-pox, died in the sixth year of a reign which had begun with credit, and promised to be one of the most prosperous in the imperial annals. This event, as it led to the elevation of the archduke Charles to the throne of Germany, was the occasion of bringing the contest respecting the Spanish crown to an end. It being determined by previous arrangement that the possessor of the imperial crown should not be at the same time king of Spain, Charles could no longer aspire to the honour; and the elector of Bavaria having already renounced his claim, there was in fact no competitor with Louis, and his grandson was left in quiet possession of his power, for which there had been such fierce contention.

After an interregnum of six months Charles succeeded

to the Austrian dominions, and was elected emperor, having by the treaty of Rastadt renounced his claim to the Spanish throne. The warlike spirit so common in that age, soon showed itself again in contests with the Turks. These restless invaders having attacked the Morea, Charles joined in a league with the Venetian republic, and succeeded in capturing a great part of Servia, with Temeswar and Belgrade, which were ceded to Austria by the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718.

In 1724 Charles issued the decree which afterward had so important an influence upon the events of Europe, and which is usually called "the pragmatic sanction." This designation was not new, having been given in several previous instances to arrangements issuing from competent authority, and designed to regulate matters of national law. In this instance it had reference to the succession to the Austrian dominions. Charles, having no male descendant, was desirous that his daughter, Maria Theresa, should, at his death, succeed not only to Austria, but to all its dependencies and possessions, without disturbance or division. To secure this object it was necessary to obtain the consent of the various German states, besides the concurrence of the leading European powers. After considerable labour, he succeeded in obtaining the consent of all parties, with the exception of France and Spain, and even they subsequently gave their adhesion. Had this arrangement been faithfully carried out at the period when it came into force, Europe would have been spared those numerous and sanguinary struggles which we shall hereafter have to record. But one sad lesson amongst many others taught us by the records of history is, that something mightier and more sacred than the agreements of princes, however wise and equitable, is necessary to restrain the lust of power, and dispel those dreams of ambition which are ever ready to deluge the world with blood. It is only by the moral influence of the gospel that the bright visions of the prophet shall be realized, when the people "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks," when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (Isaiah ii. 4.)

"The war of the Polish succession" gave another

opportunity for the rivalry between the Bourbons and the house of Austria to display itself; but as usual it tended only to distress the countries which were engaged in the contest, or which were the scene of the struggle. No material results were secured to the empire; Frederic Augustus obtained the Polish throne, and Stanislaus renounced his claim. France had been successful in Germany, and Spain had taken Naples and Sicily. Desirous of peace, Charles signed in 1735 the treaty of Vienna, by which it was agreed that Don Carlos should obtain the Two Sicilies, that Francis of Lorraine should be grand duke of Tuscany, with other less important stipulations.

After the conclusion of this peace, Francis, having renounced all claim to Austria, and agreed to the pragmatic sanction, married the daughter of Charles, the celebrated Maria Theresa, and founded that branch of the Hapsburg family now occupying the Austrian throne.

Charles had a severe loss about this time in the death of his veteran general, prince Eugene. This eminent man, a Frenchman by birth, incensed by some affronts offered by Louis XIV. to himself and his family, had renounced his allegiance, and entered the service of the emperor Leopold. He soon acquired renown by his valuable co-operation in several of the fierce contests of the age, especially in the battles of Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. Wounded no less than thirteen times, he survived to the age of seventy-three years, and in 1736 closed his eventful career. The loss of his services and counsel were of great moment to Charles, who had now no general in whose capacity and skill he could have confidence; and the succeeding campaign in the Crimea, which he undertook against the Tartars at the requirement of Russia, was only productive of loss and disgrace; Servia, Bosnia, and Belgrade, had again to be given up, and the military glory of Austria appeared to have passed away. Gloomy and discontented, Charles often vented his spleen upon his ministers and generals, several of whom he unjustly consigned to the scaffold, throwing upon them the blame of reverses which chafed his wounded pride, and disappointed the ambitious schemes he had formed. He died in 1740, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary and Bohemia, now succeeded her father, in accordance with the arrangement of the pragmatic sanction. "No sovereign," says lord Macaulay, "has ever taken possession of a throne by a clearer title. All the politics of the Austrian cabinet had, during twenty years, been directed to one single end, the settlement of the succession. From every person whose rights could be considered as injuriously affected, renunciations in the most solemn form had been obtained. The new law had been ratified by the estates of all the kingdoms and principalities which made up the great Austrian monarchy. England, France, Spain, Russia, Poland, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Germanic body, had bound themselves by treaty to maintain the pragmatic sanction. That instrument was placed under the protection of the public faith of the whole civilised world."

But notwithstanding all these precautions, Maria Theresa was soon called to experience how hollow are all such agreements when opposed to the cravings of insatiable ambition. Exceedingly beautiful in person, endowed with a mind of unusual power, and married to a husband whom she tenderly loved, her lot seemed an enviable one in every respect, and, judging from mere externals, many would have pronounced her supremely happy; but like others, she had to experience the vanity of earthly good. With an exhausted treasury, and an army evidently inadequate for the defence of her extensive dominions, this princess soon found that royalty has its cares as well as its crown, and that the elevation of a throne often serves only to make its occupant a more conspicuous mark for assault and misfortune. Her first step was to hasten to Vienna and take possession of Austria, Bohemia, and her other dominions in Germany. She then proceeded to Hungary, and was proclaimed queen, in accordance with the laws and customs of that country, and received the congratulations and promises of friendship and support from the leading powers of Europe. Amongst others, Frederic of Prussia was profuse in his professions of interest in her welfare and the security of her crown: professions which after events showed were hollow and insincere at the very time when they were uttered, and the violation of which was even then being planned.

A formidable confederation to deprive her of several portions of her dominions, and remove her from the imperial throne, was soon developed. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, and Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had married her cousin, a daughter of the emperor Joseph, disputed her succession; while Frederic, king of Prussia, reviving some obsolete claims of the house of Brandenburg, asserted his right to Silesia. The latter left no doubt of the impetuosity and determination of his character, for before his claim could be known by the unfortunate Maria his army was on its march, and in a very short time overran a great part of the province with 30,000 men, and seized Breslau, the capital. At the same time an alliance was formed between France and Prussia to raise the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. With characteristic perfidy Frederic, notwithstanding this alliance, offered to aid the queen and assist in raising her husband to the imperial dignity, if she would consent to yield Lower Silesia to him.

Maria indignantly refused all compromise, and presenting herself with her recently born infant before the estates of Hungary, she called upon them by all the honour of chivalry and the duties of allegiance to defend their helpless and oppressed queen. Excited to enthusiasm, the palatines drew their swords, and solemnly swore their determination to die in her defence. With no ally but England, she had now to sustain the united assault of the continental powers; but the Hungarians, so often troublesome in former reigns, true to their oath, sent 30,000 men to relieve Vienna, pressed by the elector of Bavaria. Charles Albert then entered Bohemia, and having received a large reinforcement of troops from Saxony, assaulted and took Prague, and caused himself to be crowned king of Bohemia. Afterwards advancing to Frankfort, he was chosen emperor of Germany, and assumed the title of Charles VII.

The affairs of the injured Maria now seemed to be reduced to extremity. England seeing but little hope of delivering her from the complications which were rapidly multiplying, advised her to consent to a treaty with Frederic, by which part of Silesia became annexed to Prussia, and thus one, and that the fiercest of her enemies, was

detached from the confederation. But this did not terminate the war.

Saxony having joined Frederic in his secession from the confederacy, Maria was now able to direct her undivided energies against France and Charles of Bavaria, the rival emperor. For a time she was triumphant on all sides: the imperialists were defeated at Braunau; the French were driven out of Bohemia; and Charles, deserted by his allies, and vanquished by the armies of the queen, fled to Frankfort, where, after living a few years in obscurity, death terminated his ambitious career. In Italy, the Spaniards endeavoured to seize the possessions of Maria; but protected by the English fleet and the Austrian army, their security was preserved.

The queen, elated by her success, gave way to the haughty spirit which was hereditary in her family, and hence new confederacies were formed to effect her overthrow. France and Spain entered into close compact, agreeing, among other arrangements, to invade England and place the pretender on the throne. Frederic, as perfidious as ever, and intent only upon the extension of his dominions, entered into a treaty at Frankfort with the disappointed Charles, with the elector palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Frederic invaded Bohemia, but was defeated, losing 20,000 men, besides his military chest. France and Spain had been successful in Italy, and had moreover recovered Vienna and the Austrian possessions; in Flanders the English allies of Maria, under the command of George II. and his son, the duke of Cumberland, had achieved the victory of Dettingen, in 1743, when the death of the rival emperor, Charles VII., in January, 1745, caused an alteration in the state of parties. The queen formed a treaty with Maximilian, the son of Charles, then only seventeen years of age, by which it was agreed that the imperial title of his deceased father should be recognised; that Maximilian should be put in possession of all his hereditary dominions, on condition of his renouncing all claim to the Austrian succession, and giving his vote for the election of Francis, the husband of Maria, for the imperial dignity. These arrangements were carried out, and Francis of Lorraine became emperor of Germany; and it was hoped that peace might be re-

stored, but France and Spain resolved to continue the war. This determination was mainly owing to the ambitious project of Elizabeth Farnese, the queen of Spain, who was endeavouring to obtain, by some means, a sovereignty in Italy for her second son, Philip.

Milan and Pavia were taken by the confederate armies, aided by the republic of Genoa. In Flanders, notwithstanding the skill and bravery of the English under the command of the duke of Cumberland, the French gained the victory of Fontenoy. In this battle the English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, were engaged on the one side, and were opposed by the French under the command of count Saxe, who, being ill at the time, was carried about in a litter during the contest. The carnage on each side was fearful, but tended to no useful result; for though Brussels, Hainault, and Brabant were reduced, the advantages were counterbalanced in the following year, and, wearied with the severe and unjustifiable struggle, all parties sighed for peace. The restless Frederic had already, after his victories in Saxony, made peace with the empress-queen and the king of Poland. Accordingly a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and peace concluded. By this treaty Parma, Placentia, and Guastella were ceded to Philip, with the stipulation that they should not be united either to Spain or the Two Sicilies. Frederic obtained Silesia and Glatz; but France and England gained nothing but a fearful loss of blood and treasure.

Thus ended a war which was begun in perfidy, and which was characterized by the extreme determination of all parties engaged in it. Frederic simply sought increased dominion, and was perfectly indifferent as to the means so that he accomplished his end. France was desirous of humbling the power of Austria, its ancient and its present policy; but in doing this she inflicted the most serious injuries upon her own prosperity. The reckless ambition of an intriguing woman drew Spain, as before stated, into the sanguinary strife. England was involved in the contest by the connexion into which the electorate of Hanover brought her with the empire. Maria Theresa herself, attacked in the first instance by those who had sworn to protect her, acted for a

time merely on the defensive; but afterwards, listening to her not unnatural indignation, refused the terms offered, and carried on the war in a manner which showed her determination not only to preserve her rightful dominions, but also to avenge the injuries which she had endured.

It might be supposed that after the many years of carnage which had afflicted the continent, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would be carefully preserved, and that for some time at least the nations would be too much engaged in attending to their internal concerns to think of renewing their destructive struggles; but this was not the case. In 1756, the seven years' war commenced with all its horror. The origin of this conflict is to be found in the determination of Maria Theresa to be avenged on Frederic, for the treachery with which he had treated her at her accession, and to recover the province of Silesia; indeed she now made it her leading policy to humble the house of Brandenburg, and, if possible, reduce it to a very low position in the Germanic body. With this view, she laboured with incessant zeal to form a vast confederacy, which was to attack Prussia simultaneously and divide the kingdom amongst them. France, which had been the rival of Austria, was propitiated by the influence of Madame de Pompadour, its real ruler; to secure the favour of this royal courtesan, Maria condescended to write a letter, addressing her as her "dear cousin," and expressing the warmest friendship and esteem. By the arts of this woman, Louis XV., already irritated against Frederic, was induced to give his adherence to the scheme. Ultimately Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the Germanic body also united with Austria, and there appeared every prospect of completely crushing the aspiring king. Spain refusing to participate in the struggle, Frederic had no other resource than England, who was at the time in unsettled relations with France in America and India, and with whom he formed an alliance. No sooner had he detected the design of his foes, than he commenced offensive action, and in an incredibly short period invaded Saxony with 60,000 men, and made himself master of Dresden. In Bohemia, the Austrians were defeated, and the Saxon army surrendered. In Germany, the French invaded Hanover, and succeeded in wresting the electorate

from the duke of Cumberland. At Prague the Prussians were victorious; but being afterwards defeated at Kolm, they were obliged to evacuate Bohemia. At sea the English gained several victories over the French, and took the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's in America. In short, the successes of the various powers were so divided that substantial advantage remained with no one in particular. Prussia was weakened, but not crushed, and, with an energy which appeared indomitable, arose from every disaster with a power which threatened to prolong the conflict to an indefinite extent. In 1762, Spain had been persuaded to declare war against England, and thus an additional element was introduced into the strife; but the death of the empress of Russia removed one power from the confederacy, as her successor, Peter III., willingly made peace with Frederic. Austria still maintained the conflict, but all parties were exhausted; negotiations for peace were therefore commenced at Paris, and, after some delay, a treaty was signed in 1763; and between Maria and Frederic, at Hubertsburg, about the same time. Amongst other stipulations in this treaty, Austria and Prussia agreed to put each other in possession of the same places which they held before the commencement of hostilities.

This struggle is remarkable for the extent of the confederacy Maria had formed against Frederic, in which ancient jealousies were laid aside for the time; for the vigour with which it was conducted; and especially for the fact that, while the principal combatants had wasted an incalculable amount of treasure, and sacrificed an incredible number of lives, it literally resulted in neither the one party or the other gaining any advantage whatever. They were at its end, just as they were at its commencement, with this exception, that both were thoroughly weakened and exhausted. Alas, what folly as well as crime marks the history of nations, when the angry passions of the heart are allowed to reign instead of principles of equity and righteousness!

In 1765, Maria Theresa was plunged into the deepest affliction by the death of her husband, the emperor Francis. The relation between this pair had originated in sincere affection, which had continued with unabated strength

not often witnessed in the union of princes. Grieving for his loss with unaffected sorrow, she exchanged the robes of royalty for the sad garments of widowhood, which she continued to wear till the close of her life.

Francis was succeeded in the imperial throne by his son, Joseph II., who however took little part in state affairs during the life of his mother. Happy would it be for the fame of Maria Theresa could we close her history here, and pass over the only memorable occurrence of the closing years of her eventful career in silence; but the claims of truth require that her share in the most monstrous injustice of the age should be recorded: we allude to the first partition of the kingdom of Poland, in the year 1772. The particulars of this unrighteous act belong more appropriately to the history of the dismembered nation; but it must be stated here, that Austria agreed with Russia and Prussia in seizing a third of a kingdom, whose only crime was that it had been so disorganized by foreign intrigue, that it was unable to resist the act of spoliation: that it was while Maria Theresa was in power the deed was done, and that she was a consenting party.

With the specious attempts which were made to justify the procedure, we have nothing to do now. Indeed the verdict of all the ages which have succeeded, has been one of unqualified condemnation; but we grieve that Maria, who had stirred all Europe to avenge her wrongs when deprived of Silesia by Frederic, should have been persuaded to concur in the deed of wrong. Grateful remembrance of what Poland had done for Austria, especially the great and opportune assistance which the noble John Sobieski had rendered to Vienna, when, little more than a hundred years before, it was threatened with destruction by an overwhelming multitude of Turks, might have suggested a contrary policy. That she could not prevent the act is incredible, when we recall the energy she had displayed in previous conflicts; but it was not simply that she did not prevent others from accomplishing the shameful wrong, but that she became a sharer in the plunder, that has exposed her to the just indignation of posterity. We believe that it was maternal weakness, leading her to listen to the importunities of her son Joseph, that explains, though it does not justify the

fact. That she gave an unwilling consent is certain, and we gladly record the evidence of her dislike to the scheme in the following letter, which she wrote to her minister, Kaunitz: "When all mine own dominions were assailed, and I knew not where to lay mine head in peace, I relied on my good cause, and the help of Almighty God. But in the present affair, wherein not only political right, but honesty and common sense are against us, I must needs confess that never, in the whole course of my life, have I felt so grieved and ashamed. I know that I stand alone, and am no longer *en vigueur*, I must, therefore, let things take their course; but it is pain and grief to me. *Placet*, because so many great and learned men will have it so; but the day is at hand when you will regret this *daring* violation of all that is sacred." Thus did she "condemn herself in the thing she allowed," and the partition was effected.

In the administration of Hungary, she ever remembered the affectionate fidelity of her subjects in that kingdom, and gained from the grateful people the honourable title of "mother of her country." Though a decided catholic, she expelled the Jesuits, being convinced of the mischievous tendency of their influence. The rack was no longer employed; education was promoted; just and equitable laws were enacted; and in every way she sought to improve the internal condition of the kingdom, and was especially mindful of the interests of the lower classes who had suffered under the tyranny of the despotic aristocracy. In short, she acquired a name which has ever been held honourable, with the exception of her share in the Polish partition, and died in 1780, followed by the regrets of millions who had shared in the glory and benefits of her reign.

Of her sixteen children, nine survived her, one of whom was the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, whose sad history is yet to be related.

• CHAPTER III.

Constitutional Monarchy.—A. D. 1688—1760.

ENGLAND.

STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING.—ARRIVAL OF WILLIAM PRINCE OF ORANGE.—SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN UPON WILLIAM AND MARY.—THE BILL OF RIGHTS. PROCEEDINGS IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.—EFFORTS OF CLAVERHOUSE.—LANDING OF JAMES II. IN IRELAND.—SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.—BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.—MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.—DEATH OF MARY. CONSPIRACY TO ASSASSINATE THE KING.—DEATH OF WILLIAM.—ACCESSION OF ANNE.—UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—GIBRALTAR TAKEN.—THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—DEATH OF THE QUEEN.—GEORGE I. —THE SOUTH SEA SCHEME.—GEORGE II.—CESSION OF THE CANADAS.—BATTLES OF PRESTON PANS AND CULLODEN.—CORRUPTION OF PARLIAMENT.—STATE OF RELIGION.—DEATH OF THE KING.

THE revolutionary movement which led to the civil wars of England, was interrupted by the restoration of Charles II. in 1660; but it was by no means suppressed. The chief actors were dead, but the opposing principles were still in existence; and lasting peace and settled government could not be reasonably expected until the struggle between royal despotism and popular freedom was finally decided. The former principle appeared to have triumphed when the Stuarts once more occupied the throne, but the triumph was in appearance only. Giddy dissipation might delude a court where truth was unknown, and from whence decency and honour had fled; but the recollections of the sacrifices for liberty, civil and religious, were too recent in the minds of the nation, for the mass to submit willingly. While flippant nobles and titled harlots sought, with the approval of hollow-hearted monarchs,

to enslave Englishmen at home, and disgrace them abroad, the middle classes of society had not only increased in wealth, but advanced in intelligence; and with a clearer perception of their just rights had grown up a stern determination to maintain them. It was too late to talk of the character of the Tudor rule. As well might it be expected, that the antique dresses and social habits of Henry's time should be resumed, as to suppose that liberties which had been bought with blood, should be renounced, and the subserviency of ancient days be repeated. The contest had gone too far, or it had not gone far enough; the decision was in abeyance; the death of Cromwell had removed a necessary pressure; and now factious spirits broke forth like the winds from the cave of Æolus, and the final struggle was yet to come. Nor was the rule of the Stuarts calculated to avert the coming catastrophe: another trial was given them, and they were found wanting. The disgraceful saturnalia which marked the reign of the "merry monarch," and the ultramontane bigotry which characterized the gloomy James, alike tended to show the necessity for further change, and to prepare the way for its occurrence. Hence, when the revolution of 1688 happened, instead of its leading to those scenes of violence and bloodshed which have afflicted other lands, it was a comparatively peaceful transition: the people had made up their minds as to what they wanted, and they determined to obtain it with all the quiet resolution of conscious power, governed by unquestionable equity. It was not apathy, or slavish subserviency, or a feverish love of change, but settled unity of purpose, combining all classes, that allowed James to go unmolested in his ignoble flight, and gave William of Orange a hearty yet peaceful welcome to these shores. There were factions unquestionably, but they were only amongst nobles who strove to gain or to preserve the power and authority of office. There were, indeed, non-juring clergy and nonjuring bishops, but the heart of the nation was soundly protestant; and while catholic Ireland, and the popish clans of the highlands of Scotland, might cling to the Stuarts and defend the divine right of kings, liberty and religion were, with all the exceptions which might be made, too deeply rooted in the affections of

England to be exchanged for the despotism and superstition which had been so difficult to expel before, and which it was attempted to restore again.

That there were true hearts and enlightened minds which superintended the important change cannot be denied; but their sincerity and intelligence would have been wasted had not the country learned wisdom from the ordeal through which it had passed during the civil convulsion. The three years' reign of James II. most thoroughly convinced all parties that if the slightest vestige of liberty was to be preserved, decisive measures must be adopted. James was evidently determined to restore popery, and establish a system of despotism even more severe than that of his predecessors. While, however, the succession remained presumptively with Mary, wife of the prince of Orange, the patience of the people endured; but when the birth of a prince of Wales was announced, the necessity for immediate action was felt. Irritated by the atrocious cruelties of Jeffries in England, and of Claverhouse in Scotland, and regarding the birth of the young prince as a mere pretence, public endurance could last no longer. The prince of Orange was invited over to mediate between the king and his subjects; and if necessary to employ more stringent measures. In accordance with this request, the prince landed at the town of Brixham, in Torbay, on the 5th of November, 1688; and after staying a few days at Exeter proceeded to London. In the meantime, James fled without striking one blow in defence of his crown; a course which can only be explained, by supposing that he was fully aware of the universal feeling of disaffection existing amongst his subjects. He was not naturally destitute of courage, but the consciousness of wrong seems to have so completely enervated him, that he was totally unfit to contend with the opposition he had evoked. His flight unquestionably relieved the ruling powers from many perplexities which might otherwise have arisen, and thus facilitated a speedy and peaceful arrangement of affairs.

The prince of Orange quietly waited for the future determination of the English, residing in the interval at Whitehall. As the wisest expedient which could be adopted in such extraordinary circumstances, a national

convention was summoned, and William requested to undertake the provisional government of the country. The throne was then voted vacant by the abdication of James; the resolution being thus framed: "That king James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when sent to the upper house, met with some opposition, but was eventually agreed to. A remarkable circumstance in connexion with these preliminary debates, was the disposition which seemed to exist with all parties to regard the birth of the young prince of Wales as more than doubtful. Even before the abdication, a persuasion that an infant had been surreptitiously introduced, and palmed off as a genuine son of James, was so extensively held, that the king had felt it necessary to contradict the rumour, and summon witnesses to attest that the child was really of royal birth. Most probably it was so, but general conviction was, or professed to be, of a contrary opinion: and hence, the unfortunate prince has ever since been known as "the Pretender."

All previous difficulties being arranged, the convention passed a bill by which the crown was settled upon the prince and princess of Orange, jointly and severally, the sole administration to be with the prince: that at their death, failing issue, it was to descend to the princess Anne and her heirs; and in the event of further failure, to the descendant of William by any subsequent marriage. But a most important appendix to this, was the bill of rights, by which questions that had agitated the nation for many years received their final decision. By this famous bill, it was determined that the dispensing power, as the attempt of the Stuarts to set aside existing laws was termed, was illegal; that the commission for erecting the high court of commissioners, and similar courts, was both illegal and pernicious; that it was illegal to levy money without consent of parliament, or to keep a standing army in the kingdom in time of peace. These with several other salutary enactments in reference to the right of petitioning, liberty

of speech in parliament, and the frequent assembling of the national council, indicate very clearly what were the points of dispute which had so often produced strife and bloodshed in the kingdom: while the moderation which characterized it, showed that its framers were earnest, but not factious men. Had their demands been extravagant, or had these just requirements been met with the same insincerity which so often marked Charles I. and his dissipated son in their public dealing, not only must the settlement of the kingdom have been delayed, but war with dreadful results might again have deluged the land, and retarded indefinitely the prosperity and advancement of the country.

The kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, although both under the authority of the kings of England, were yet each of them independent, and governed by laws made with the sanction of their own parliaments; it was therefore necessary that separate arrangements should be adopted by them. In England, the settlement had been effected by the joint efforts of the whig and tory parties,* but in Scotland the tories, under the influence of their leaders, the earl of Balcarras and viscount Dundee, the notorious Claverhouse, strove to uphold the interest of king James: but the opposite party being more numerous, and also more influential in the convention, passed a resolution somewhat similar to that of the English parliament, in which they stated that James had by his maladministration forfeited the Scottish crown, and therefore that it should be offered to William. Several of the highland clans where popery prevailed, refused to submit to this decision, and gave cause for measures which we shall soon have to relate. In Ireland, Tyrconnel raised an army of catholics in defence of James; and several battles followed, before the country was subdued.

Engaged with the parliament in passing such measures as the emergency required, William soon exhibited those liberal tendencies, which, though they fitted him most preeminently for his position as a constitutional sovereign, failed to confirm the attachment of some who had been

* These terms Whig and Tory are of uncertain origin. They began to be used as expressions of reproach, when "the meal-tub plot" was brought before parliament, in 1679, and ultimately became the names of distinct parties.

prominently active in placing him on the throne. Several of the bishops contending for the divine right of kingly power, refused to take the required oaths; and retiring from their places in parliament, became the leaders of a troublesome faction, afterwards known by the term "nonjurors." Some efforts which the king made to remove the civil disabilities of protestant dissenters from the church of England, and arrange a scheme of comprehension which might remove their objections to the establishment, not only failed, but arrayed a powerful party against him: he succeeded, however, in extending the principle of religious toleration, and neither nonconformists nor catholics were persecuted for their faith.

In Scotland a considerable ferment was produced in consequence of the measures of the court not being so comprehensive and liberal as some of the more zealous of the presbyterians desired. A bill was passed abolishing prelacy in that kingdom; but still the discontent increased, until the commissioner in alarm adjourned the house. Irritated by this interruption, the opposition party drew up a remonstrance, and presented it to William at Hampton Court. The king, conscious of his own liberal intentions, and sensitive to any thing like a charge of wishing to diminish the liberties of his subjects, or of violating the conditions on which he had accepted the crown, published the instructions he had given to his commissioner, by which he convinced the remonstrants that he was not to blame for the reforms in church and state not having been carried to a greater extent.

The castle of Edinburgh, which had hitherto been held by the duke of Gordon in favour of James, now capitulated at discretion; and the hopes of the dethroned monarch all rested upon the success of Dundee in raising the Highland clans. These clans, most of them steeped in ignorance and superstition, and constantly engaged in sanguinary encounters amongst themselves, really felt, we are disposed to believe, little genuine interest in the claim of either of the rival princes. It was not so much the principle of loyalty to the house of Stuart, or preference for the prince of Orange, as a desire to secure the superiority of particular clans, and settle disputes which had been rife amongst themselves for generations,

that led them to unite with the contending parties. Be this as it may, Dundee succeeded in raising a considerable body of these hardy warriors; and though disappointed in the expected reinforcements from Ireland, led his troops against the English infantry and Scotch dragoons, under the command of Mackay, William's general. The armies met at the pass of Killicrankie, where a serious engagement took place, ending in the defeat of the English, who were unable to withstand the furious charge of the Highlanders, and fled with great precipitation, until rallied by their general. In this battle the English lost twelve hundred who were killed on the spot, and five hundred who were taken prisoners; but the cause of James suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Dundee, who was killed while urging on his men to the charge. Colonel Cameron succeeded him in the command; but there was no real principle of cohesion amongst the clans, and they by degrees laid down their arms and yielded to the authority of William.

James and his queen had fled to France, where they were kindly received by Louis XIV., who gave them the castle of St. Germain for their residence, treated them in the most liberal manner, and engaged to restore James to his throne. But the spirit and energy which once distinguished this unhappy king seemed to have deserted him, and a gloomy superstition to have seized his character; giving himself up to the influence of the Jesuits, he evinced but little zeal for the recovery of his dominions. So completely was he absorbed in the observance of the forms and ceremonies of the Romish church, that the sceptical bishops and dignitaries of that communion, who frequented the saloons of Paris, and who believed in popery just as much as they believed in Mahometanism, were completely puzzled, and could not comprehend the case of a king renouncing a kingdom rather than sacrifice his religious convictions. Stimulated to action however by the emissaries of Tyrconnel, who commanded in Ireland, James embarked at last with fourteen vessels, with which Louis had supplied him, in addition to a large quantity of arms and money; and on the 22nd March, 1689, he landed at Kinsale, in Ireland; where he was met by Tyrconnel, who had disarmed the protestants, and

raised an army of thirty thousand men in his favour. Towards the latter end of the month, James entered Dublin amid the acclamations of the people, and resumed something like the pomp and authority of royalty. In a short time he took Coleraine, invested Kilmore, and advanced towards Londonderry; but was interrupted at the Long-causey, where Walker, rector of Donoughmore, in conjunction with Colonel Crafton, resisted his advanced guard for a whole night, until, overpowered by numbers, they betook themselves to the city.

Had Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, taken the advice of Walker and others, and attacked James before his army was arranged, it is most likely a considerable advantage might have been gained, and possibly the Irish struggle terminated; but instead of so doing he manifested such unaccountable cowardice, that he was allowed to leave the city, and braver men undertook its defence. Cunningham and Richards, two officers who had been sent from England with two regiments for the defence of the city, exhibiting the same timidity, were allowed to return to England, where they were deservedly cashiered. Londonderry, now left to its fate, chose George Walker, the intrepid rector of Donoughmore, and major Baker, joint governors; and preparations of the most vigorous kind were made to sustain the siege, which James commenced on the 20th April. Nothing can be conceived more deplorable than the condition of the place when its fearless inhabitants undertook its defence. Very imperfectly fortified with only twenty guns, and those wretchedly mounted, without a single engineer, destitute of provisions, and the garrison ignorant of military science, the place seemed little likely to withstand the assault of James, with his numerous army, and abundant stores of necessary implements; but notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the inhabitants defended the place with a determination which was unconquerable. Disease thinned their numbers—deficiency of provisions diminished their strength—while the sight of ships from England entering their river with abundant supplies, yet unable to approach their town because of the enemies' batteries, aggravated their distress. Such was the fearful extremity to which they were reduced, that cats, mice, tallow, and the most

disgusting material, was used as food by the famished inhabitants. De Rosen, the French general, whom James had left in command while he went to attend the parliament at Dublin, irritated by the obstinate opposition he met with, resolved to increase the distress of the starving garrison by driving the protestants, whom he collected from all the surrounding country, under the walls, in the expectation that they would be admitted within the city, and thus increase the distress which had already become awful. Having therefore gathered about four thousand of these unhappy beings, he stripped them naked, and drove men, women, and children together, immediately under the walls. But the inhabitants, perceiving his object, erected a gibbet, and gave De Rosen to understand, that unless these protestants were allowed to retire to their homes, they would hang every prisoner they had taken during the siege. This produced the desired effect; and the protestants, after being kept three days without food, were allowed to go back to their homes.

At length, after the siege had lasted nearly four months, a squadron containing provisions, under the command of colonel Kirk, arrived in the river, and after hanging about for several weeks, and thus tantalizing the hopes of the starving garrison, was compelled by the peremptory orders of William to attempt their relief; and having broken through the boom which the enemy had placed to intercept the vessels, succeeded in reaching the town, where the brave defenders were so exhausted that they could hardly utter their thanks for the relief. Finding further effort useless, De Rosen now raised the siege, and withdrew under the cover of night, having lost about nine thousand men in his attempt to take the place. Thus terminated one of the most remarkable contests that had ever been exhibited: on the one side a large and well-appointed army, and on the other a garrison composed of those who knew nothing of the arts of war, but strong in consciousness of a good cause, resolved to die rather than submit to the degradation and cruelty which they well knew awaited them. On the day of the deliverance of Londonderry, the Inniskilleners gained a victory over Mackarty, another of James's generals, and thus the province of Ulster was saved.

In his interviews with the Dublin parliament, James showed unmistakably the little improvement he had derived from adversity; and the measures he suggested or approved only justified the course the English had adopted in rejecting him, and refusing to allow him to reign over a free people.

Several conflicts occurred in the course of 1689; but it was by the famous battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st July, 1690, that the dispute was closed. In this battle William, aided by the duke of Schomberg, commanded in person; while James led the forces on his side. Forging the river, William pressed on the Jacobites with so much vigour, that they were completely dispersed. His faithful and veteran general was the severest loss which the victor had to lament. Early in the action, while leading on a body of Huguenots, he exclaimed, while pointing to the French papists in James' ranks, "Allons, Messieurs, voilà vos persécuteurs," and had hardly uttered the words when a bullet passed through his neck, and closed his busy career.

James, finding all was lost, hastened to Dublin; from whence, with a small retinue, he fled to Waterford, and from thence to Kinsale; where, embarking in a French frigate, he finally fled from a country which he was both unworthy and unfit to rule.

While William was thus busily engaged with Ireland and the factious disputes of his subjects in England, he did not neglect the great work he had undertaken in relation to the balance of power in Europe. It was still his aim to frustrate the ambition of Louis XIV. Of the extensive confederacy which had been formed, he was the guiding spirit; and though often defeated in his plans, yet managed, with a skill which was peculiarly his own, to recover from the disappointment, and present the confederacy as compact and determined as ever. In these continental wars the people willingly co-operated, impelled by the indignation felt against Louis for attempting to restore James to his forfeited throne.

The turbulent state of the Highland clans often caused so much inconvenience, that at length it was resolved to bring them into subjection. Bribery was employed with great success on the rude chieftains; and orders were,

issued that those who would not take the oath of allegiance before the 1st January, 1692, should be subjected to military execution. Three Scotch noblemen were entrusted with the duty of carrying out these arrangements: two of them it is to be feared were influenced by unworthy motives, instead of seeking to promote order and good government. Most of the chieftains took the oath early, within the time prescribed; and only one had neglected to do so at the close of December, 1691. This was Mac Ian, the head of a small clan of Macdonalds, in the wild vale of Glencoe in Argyleshire. This man, whether from pride or from thoughtlessness it is of course impossible to determine, delayed taking the oath till the 31st December; he then went with some of his clansmen to Fort William, that he might be sworn; but the governor, from some cause not explained, refused to administer the oath. Mac Ian therefore started for Inverary, but was not able to reach that place till the 6th January, when the sheriff administered the oath, and sent a certificate to Edinburgh to explain the special features of the case, and Mac Ian in perfect confidence returned to his home. Now the baseness of the commissioners appears: one of them, Sir John Dalrymple, writes, "My lord Argyle tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which *I rejoice*. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlanders." In connection with Argyle and Breadalbane a murderous plan of procedure was concerted by them; and having obtained the royal signature, they proceeded to put it into execution. A body of troops, principally Campbells from the regiment of Argyle, were put under the command of lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, and directed to hasten to Glencoe; about one hundred and twenty, led by captain Campbell, having already visited the place, where they remained enjoying the hospitality of the unsuspecting tribe. For twelve days these treacherous guests assembled in the various huts, and entered into the amusements which were prepared for their welcome; when at five o'clock on the morning of the 13th February, 1692, the tragedy commenced. With savage ferocity old and young were dragged from their beds and murdered. Mac Ian hearing a noise in his house, thought his guests had

come to pay him a visit, and called out to his servants to supply them with provisions, when he was shot in the arms of his wife. His unhappy partner was wounded, and died in the course of the day. About forty were slaughtered on the spot; but about one hundred and twenty escaped, to perish from cold and hunger in the mountains, Hamilton having neglected to secure the passes.

The indignation excited throughout the kingdom by this atrocious act was intense and universal. William was charged with having arranged or at least being cognizant of the deed; but of this there is no evidence. His negligence in signing the order for the attack, is deserving of the severest condemnation; and his allowing the matter to pass over without bringing to justice the parties actually engaged, is utterly indefensible. He ordered enquiries to be made; "but," says Burnet, "when the letters writ upon this business were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the king's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himself with dismissing only the master of Stair (Sir John Dalrymple) from his service." But this was only for a brief period. Without supposing William to have been a consenting party, his conduct both before and after the transaction is certainly the darkest blot in his reign.

Returning from the continent in 1693, the king found intrigues and cabals as rife as ever, as indeed they were throughout the whole period of his rule. Some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom were in traitorous correspondence with James; and Marlborough was detected in revealing the military and naval designs of William to St. Germain's, and thus ensuring their failure. By the influence of this nobleman and his imperious wife, the princess Anne was persuaded to conduct herself so offensively, that it was found necessary to forbid her the court; and a quarrel ensued so bitter that queen Mary refused to see her even at her death, which occurred on the 28th December, 1694. Mary, though her conduct as a daughter and a sister has been much condemned, was a most devoted and affectionate wife, and by her amiable and virtuous deportment not only acquired the highest popularity as a queen, but materially counteracted the

ill feeling and prejudice which the phlegmatic character of William often excited. Weakened by mental sufferings, and the perplexities which surrounded her throne, she was attacked with malignant small-pox, which after a few days of suffering, spent in perpetual prayer, terminated her life in the thirty-third year of her age. The king was utterly crushed by the bereavement, and the whole nation was plunged in grief for her loss.

James, unable to succeed in his open attempts to drive William from the throne, now resorted to the base expedient of plotting for his assassination, and an extensive conspiracy for that purpose was discovered in 1696, and happily prevented. The succession, which had engaged considerable attention from the circumstance of Mary dying without issue, and all the children of Anne dying young, was in 1700 settled upon the next protestant heir after Anne, Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I. Several other important measures were adopted, but the end of the reign was approaching. On the 21st February, 1702, though he had been for some time exceedingly unwell, William started from Kensington for Hampton Court; when his horse fell under him, and fractured his collar bone. This calamity, followed by other symptoms, so completely reduced his naturally delicate constitution, that it was soon seen no hope could be entertained of his recovery; and on the 8th March he calmly closed his eyes in death. Immediately after his decease a black riband which he wore round his left arm was untied, and found to be attached to a ring containing a portion of the hair of his beloved and lamented queen. Thus died one of the greatest monarchs that ever occupied the British throne; a profound statesman, one of the most eminent generals of the age, and a decided friend to civil and religious liberty. Called to the government of three kingdoms, whose language and manners were all foreign to his own, and that at a time when the factious spirit of party, though repressed for a season by the common danger, soon displayed itself in unscrupulous intrigues; when political honesty was but little known, and the effects of the licentiousness so freely encouraged in the court of the second Charles were still working—it is not strange that he was not a popular monarch; especially when all these

unfavourable circumstances were opposed to a temper naturally cold, a mind ever revolving schemes of extensive policy, and a body wasted with disease and toil. But though destitute of the courtly ease of a Louis, or the unrestrained familiarity of the "merry monarch," he was unquestionably a great benefactor to England, in delivering her from a despotism which, had it remained unchecked, would have crushed out all her energies, and prevented her rise perhaps for ever; a fate from which "the glorious revolution" of 1688, under William III., effectually preserved her.

Chelsea hospital was founded by William and Mary, and Greenwich palace appropriated as a refuge for disabled seamen. The foreign wars of this reign were very expensive, and laid the foundation of our national debt. In 1694 an act was passed by which parliaments were made triennial.

Anne, second daughter of James II., by Ann Hyde, ascended the throne on the death of her brother-in-law, William. This princess was remarkable for the slavish subserviency with which she submitted to the arts of the imperious duchess of Marlborough; yielding to her influence in every thing relating to affairs of state. Her husband, prince George of Denmark, was as weak as herself; and for some years the power of the Marlboroughs was supreme. Adopting the same continental policy which had been pursued by William, she employed Marlborough to withstand the power of Louis XIV.; and the victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and others, have shed a lustre on her reign, and thus concealed its real character. Though not a catholic, Anne held the highest principles in relation to the church; and though restrained from the exercise of despotic power, her strong tory predilections disposed her to recognise popular liberty as little as possible. The time in which she lived was marked by the growth of high church notions, and the struggles between the whigs and the tories; and the mind of Anne was too weak and uncultivated to exercise any independent judgment: while a bigoted and prejudiced temper, in which she resembled her father, made her willing to listen to any suggestions of intolerance. The paltry dispute about the sermon of

Dr. Sacheverel will ever remain a sad illustration of the reactionary movement which had followed the mild and tolerant reign of William, the monarch of the revolution.

The most important event of this period was the union of England and Scotland, which took place in 1706; which, though opposed at the time, is now regarded as the wisest and best arrangement for both nations. The capture of Gibraltar in 1704, was the most valuable result of the war which cost the country such immense sums, and such a vast sacrifice of human life. When peace was concluded, Marlborough returned to England, and being charged with receiving bribes, fell into disgrace; while Mrs. Masham, cousin of the duchess, supplanted her in the favour of the weak and bigoted queen.

An unusual galaxy of talent distinguished the reign of Anne; and the illustrious names of Addison, Steele, Pope, Wren, Newton, and many others, have secured for it the title of the Augustan age of English literature and science. Anne survived her husband eight years; and though she had several children, died without issue August 1st, 1714. As a woman, she was weak, prejudiced, and intolerant; as a monarch, swayed by unworthy favourites, and surrounded by a glory which was achieved by others, but in which she had no share.

It had been hoped by the Jacobite party that Anne would have made some arrangement by which the crown might have reverted to prince James, the pretender; but this hope was disappointed by the accession of George, the elector of Hanover, or Brunswick, great grandson of James I., in accordance with "the act of settlement." Ignorant of the language of the country he was called to govern, with strong predilections in favour of Hanover and continental politics, his reign occupies no very important place in English history, and is chiefly memorable for the efforts of the pretender to obtain the crown. Endeavours were made in Scotland and in the north of England to restore the house of Stuart, but were defeated, and several of the nobility engaged in the plots were executed. Unlike his predecessor, George had a strong preference for the whig party, who were now raised to the chief posts of power and authority. Cautious in all his proceedings, he took

care not to offend the prejudices of his subjects; while his attachment to constitutional liberty preserved him from interfering with their rights. Real sympathy did not and could not exist between him and his people—they were foreigners to each other; and their connection was a necessary expedient, rather than a matter of choice on either side. The factions amongst the higher classes were a continual source of inconvenience; and stringent measures were necessary to prevent confusion. The nonjuring clergy were especially troublesome; and one prelate, eminent for his learning and talents, Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, was banished for his complicity in a conspiracy in favour of the pretender. The continental possessions of George mixed him up with many of the conflicts of the European states, in whose history they are more appropriately recorded. The act by which parliaments were made triennial, was repealed in this reign, and seven years fixed as the maximum of their duration. The South Sea scheme, or bubble, as it is more usually called, was one of the most memorable events of this reign. Originating in a feverish “haste to be rich,” thousands were inveigled into the scheme, which was from its commencement a compound of folly and fraud; and the result of the enterprise was loss, misery, and destitution, instead of the boundless wealth that was anticipated by many. The king was attacked with apoplexy when on a visit to his electoral dominions, and died in his carriage, June 17th, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

George II. was in his forty-fourth year when he succeeded his father. Violent in temper, and accustomed to the authority of camps, it was well for him that his wife Caroline Wilhelmina, daughter of the margrave of Anspach, who had considerable influence over him, was a woman of prudence and virtue. In his home politics he left matters very much to his ministers, and the decisions of the two parties which were still contending for power; while his real interest was in the disputes of the continent, in which, like his father, he willingly engaged. Indeed the Hanoverian connexion was in this respect a serious inconvenience to Britain, involving her in disputes with which she had no real connexion, and increasing

the pecuniary liabilities of the nation for no corresponding advantage; thus the wars of the reign of George II. added thirty millions to the national debt. The only valuable results of the foreign wars of this time, were the cession of Canada and other possessions in North America, after the victory at Quebec by general Wolfe.

The young pretender, as Charles, the grandson of James II., was called, defeated the king's troops at Preston Pans, near Edinburgh, and advancing into England as far as Manchester, caused considerable alarm; but was finally defeated at Culloden, April 16th, 1746, and after wandering about for some time escaped into France. Thus ended the open attempts to seize a throne from which James had been so justly excluded, after his despotic reign and ignoble flight. The unhappy quarrel between the king and his son Frederic, prince of Wales, produced much domestic perplexity, and tended to strengthen the animosity of parties; and this continued until the death of the prince in 1751.

The corruption of parliament during this reign was both extreme and barefaced. Public morality was very low, and religion had in too many cases become a mere matter of form or of creed without any vital power. Worldliness reigned supreme, and "truth had fallen in the streets."

This monarch, after a reign of thirty-three years, died suddenly on the 25th October, 1760. Some important conquests had been effected in India, in connexion with the East India Company; an account of which must be postponed for a future narration.

CHAPTER IV.

The Licentious Monarch.—A.D. 1715—1774.

FRANCE.

REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.—LOUIS XV.—INFLUENCE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—PRIVILEGE OF REMONSTRANCE RESTORED TO PARLIAMENT.—THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.—SPANISH CONSPIRACY AGAINST ORLEANS.—WAR WITH SPAIN.—THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.—ABBÉ DUBOIS.—HIS DEATH.—DEATH OF ORLEANS.—LOUIS ASSUMES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT.—CONDÉ.—CARDINAL FLEURY.—THE WAR FOR THE POLISH SUCCESSION.—EUROPEAN WAR.—BATTLE OF FONTENOY.—DEATH OF FLEURY.—TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE KING.—REMONSTRANCES OF PARLIAMENT.—BANISHMENT OF THE MEMBERS.—POPULAR DISCONTENT.—THE KING WOUNDED BY DAMIENS.—TORTURES AND EXECUTION OF THE LATTER.—INFLUENCE OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR.—DISPUTES WITH ENGLAND.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—ENGLAND THREATENED WITH INVASION.—SURRENDER OF MINORCA TO FRANCE.—BATTLE OF ROSBACH.—SUCCESSES OF THE ENGLISH.—TREATY SIGNED AT PARIS.—THE COUNTESS DU BARRÉ.—OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE.—CONDITION OF THE CHURCH.—SPREAD OF INFIDELITY.—THE JESUITS.—THEIR SUPPRESSION.—DEATH OF LOUIS.

THE vanity of earthly greatness has not often received a more complete illustration, than that supplied by the history of Louis XIV., generally termed "the great." Rising by his successful campaigns to the highest point of earthly splendour and political influence, he appeared, at one time, to have attained a perfect immunity from those mortifications and disappointments which so frequently attend upon worldly schemes. His country flourishing, his power absolute, even his nobles submitting with a

servility they had never displayed to his predecessors ; surrounded by men eminent for their capacity in their several departments, whether civil or military ; his finances abundant, and his commerce continually extending—men who judge only from externals, might have expected that his course would have been one of ever-growing brightness, and that he would have descended to the grave beloved by his subjects, and envied by all the world besides. But such was not the case : the very means by which he sought to aggrandise his country were the cause of its decline ; his victories were followed by defeats, and if, at the close of the Spanish campaign, he obtained far more favourable terms than he had ventured to ask or to hope, the result was secured by the weariness and indifference of his foes, and not by the success of his arms. His great generals were gone, his able ministers had sunk into their graves, his people were miserable and impoverished, while his family had been smitten with such a mortality, that, with the exception of Philip of Spain, he left only a great-grandson, a child of six years of age, to occupy that throne which he had filled with so much splendour, and for the honour of which he had engaged in so many desolating wars. Wearied and foiled, he sunk into the tomb, and was succeeded by Louis XV., a monarch, as was soon seen, of very limited capacity, but of unbounded licentiousness.

By the will of his predecessor, a council of regency was to govern the country during the minority of the young king ; but his uncle, the duke of Orleans, managed to obtain the reins of power, and being acknowledged by the parliament of Paris, constituted himself sole regent. This nobleman had married the princess Henrietta, daughter of Charles I. of England, and was suspected, though apparently without sufficient evidence, of having removed her by poison ; while many believed him to have been guilty of the murder of the children of Louis XIV. Though these charges seem to have been totally unfounded, he was a man of profligate life and quite destitute of any religious principle ; his low sensual indulgences, and his general example, were fearfully effective in training his nephew for that degraded course he afterwards pursued.

But though thus depraved in his morals, the duke was

of a generous disposition, and possessed of considerable capacity. Nor does he seem to have formed any schemes of ambition at variance with the fidelity due to his nephew, a fear of which is supposed to have prevented Louis XIV. from appointing him to the regency. He commenced his career in a manner which gained him the confidence of the nation. In gratitude to the parliament of Paris for having acknowledged his natural right to the regency, he restored them the privilege of remonstrance in relation to the edicts they were required to register. Prisoners who had been confined in the Bastille for political or imaginary offences, during the previous reign, were set at liberty; he enforced economy in the different departments of government, reduced the army, and displayed a desire to preserve the peace of Europe. Giving up the cause of the pretender, he sought the favour of England. These popular measures, combined with a diligent attention to the several departments of government, such as they had not recently received, not only gained him the favour of the people, but retarded for a time the downward tendency produced by the intolerance and ambition of the late king.

The next measure which the duke adopted, although in the first instance received with universal approbation, issued eventually in the most disastrous results, and in the ruin of numbers: this was the Mississippi scheme, invented by the notorious John Law. The favour with which this scheme, which was to pay off the national debt of France, besides securing immense fortunes to all engaged in it, was received, amounted to a perfect mania.

The duke, naturally inclined to indulge in speculations, had encouraged the Scotch adventurer, and such was the public confidence in ultimate and brilliant success, that the shares of the company rose to the enormous amount of 2050 per cent on their original value; but in a short time the bubble burst, when the consternation was, of course, proportionate to the previous excitement, and poverty and destitution were the lot of those who had previously lived in affluence. All classes of society felt the shock, for all classes had shared in the delusion. Such was the intensity of public discontent, that Law was obliged to escape, and outbreaks of the populace were feared. Thus, as is generally the case, and as the history

of our own country and our own times proves, excessive eagerness for wealth is frequently the quickest road to want; as Solomon has taught us, "He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him." (Prov. xxviii. 22.)

Philip V. of Spain, was at this time very much under the influence of a crafty and ambitious minister, named Alberoni. This man endeavoured to convince the king of Spain, that his renunciation of the French crown was invalid, that he was the proper guardian of the youthful Louis, and that he ought to be the regent. Not content with this, he formed a conspiracy against Orleans, the object of which was to assassinate the regent, effect a revolution which should give Philip supreme authority in France, and enable him to recover all the possessions he had lost by the treaty of Utrecht.

The plot being discovered, the principal leaders were punished with death, and war was declared against Spain. The French armies, conducted by the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., were repeatedly successful; several towns were captured, when Philip, fearing to what this success might lead, banished Alberoni, and consented to become a party to the "quadruple alliance." This alliance, comprising France, Germany, and England, and now Spain also, had been formed to check the exorbitant power of Spain, and preserve the arrangements of the treaty of Utrecht unaltered.

In 1722, the abbé Dubois was appointed minister, a man of the most depraved habits, who was regarded as having had much to do in leading the regent into the profligate course he had pursued. France was little likely to improve in morals under such an administration; but their rule did not last long, both dying in the following year.

Louis, though now only fourteen years of age, assumed the reins of government with Condé for his minister, during whose term of office the young king married the daughter of Stanislaus, the ex-king of Poland; and the state of affairs underwent no change until cardinal Fleury was substituted in the place of Condé, in 1726, when a period of improvement commenced, which lasted through the seventeen years of his administration. This was

decidedly the best period of this reign. Fleury was honest, an uncommon virtue in those days, a friend to peace and economy, and a patron of learning and learned men.

With the exception of the short war with Spain, caused by the intrigues of Alberoni, France enjoyed repose for some years after the death of Louis XIV., and was able to recruit her strength after the long series of exhausting struggles in which she had been engaged; but at length she mingled again in the strife of human passions. A vacancy having occurred on the throne of Poland, Stanislaus was re-elected by the great majority of the nation; but a faction calling in the assistance of Russia and Austria, under whose influence they were acting, the diet was compelled to choose a son of the former king, Augustus. Hence arose the war for the Polish succession. Louis XV. was resolved to support the claims of his father-in-law Stanislaus; and Fleury, overborne by court influence, was compelled to yield. An alliance having been formed with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, the conflict commenced; but though both France and Spain were successful, the one in Germany, and the other in Italy, the main object, the restoration of Stanislaus, could not be effected in opposition to the power of the united empires of Russia and Germany. Peace was therefore agreed on in 1736, when it was stipulated that Stanislaus should renounce all claim to the throne of Poland, receiving instead the duchy of Lorraine, which should eventually revert to France; and that Don Carlos, son of Philip V. of Spain, having conquered Naples and Sicily, should retain them with the title of king of the Two Sicilies, thus commencing a third Bourbon dynasty in Europe; France was to restore her German conquests, and guarantee the pragmatic sanction published by Charles VI., emperor of Germany.

The perfidious conduct of Frederic, king of Prussia, in seizing Silesia, a part of the possessions of Maria Theresa of Austria, led to a European war, in which, contrary to the urgent advice of Fleury, France took part: first, as the ally of the elector of Bavaria, and afterwards as a principal. Many severe and hardly-fought battles ensued, and in most of them Louis had to suffer defeat. In one battle, that of Fontenoy, where his troops were comman-

ded by count Saxe, a natural son of Augustus, king of Poland, the French gained the renown of victory; but generally the contest brought disgrace as well as suffering to France, while it could bring no real advantage. In the midst of this struggle Fleury died, and Louis resolved to be his own minister; a position for which he was not fitted, either intellectually or morally, governed as he was by his favourite mistress, Madame de Pompadour, a vain, intriguing, and ambitious woman.

At length peace was concluded by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, and Louis gave way to his indolence and licentiousness without restraint. Not only Madame de Pompadour, but women of characters so bad, and profligacy so extreme, as to make the vices of the chief favourite appear in a somewhat favourable light, completely governed the king and the people. The church, the army, the different departments of the state, were controlled by those who had no idea of justice, and no sense of shame.

Pompadour, because she occasionally gave a serious thought to the wants and the woes of the suffering country, though but an occasional one, acquired a reputation to which only the unmixed selfishness and sensuality of others gave her a claim.

Such a condition of things was sure to awaken any patriotic feeling that might be slumbering in the country, and it was soon found that there were some individuals even in France who were prepared to struggle against its continuance. The clergy having, in many instances, refused to administer the rites of their church to those who refused to subscribe to "the bull Unigenitus," issued by Clement XI., the parliament of Paris remonstrated against the spirit of arrogance which was displayed, and even caused some of the ecclesiastics to be apprehended. Finding that they all acted under the direction of the archbishop, they applied to him; but being treated with the utmost contempt by that haughty prelate, they proceeded to summon the clergy before them, until the king commanded them to desist. They then ventured to remonstrate with his majesty; but only received fresh commands to cease from intermeddling with ecclesiastical affairs, and to register his royal commands. Undeterred

by this exercise of arbitrary power, they passed a resolution, in which they state, "That, whereas certain evil-minded persons had prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remained assembled, and all other business should be suspended."

The king commanded them to proceed with their ordinary business, under pain of his displeasure; but nothing deterred the parliament from the course on which they had entered, until the king banished all the members, except those of the upper chamber, to different parts of the kingdom. But this severe expedient did not settle the dispute: the members of the upper chamber were as unmanageable as the others, and therefore they were banished also. Such harsh measures as these could not be disregarded by a people suffering under the wretched government then in power, and popular discontent was the result. The people praised the spirited conduct of the parliament, and execrated the clergy; and to such an extent was the feeling carried, that an ecclesiastic could not appear in the streets without being exposed to insult, if not violence. Indeed, but for the presence of a powerful army, this dispute might have ended in a revolution of most serious and perilous extent.

Amid this state of excitement, and evidently resulting from it, an attempt was made on the life of Louis by a man named Robert François Damiens. This unhappy man had been originally a soldier; but on leaving the army he was employed as a menial in the college of the Jesuits, and afterwards by several families in Paris. Excited by the existing disputes, and especially irritated against the archbishop, he conceived the idea of producing some change in the state of parties by assassinating, or at least by wounding, the king. Accordingly he went to Versailles, on the 5th January, 1757, and having forced his way through the crowd, approached the king as he was stepping into his carriage, and suddenly stabbed him in the side with a small knife which he had provided for the purpose. Making no attempt to escape, he was immediately apprehended, examined, and put to the torture to discover whether he had any colleagues; but there was no reason to suppose that any others were associated with him. He declared that he only designed to wound, and

not to murder, the king; and the fact that of the two blades in the knife he had used the smaller one, tended to confirm the statement. The wound was but a slight one, and the king was convalescent in a few days, when he wrote to the judges, demanding "signal vengeance" on the wretched man. Thus instructed, the court condemned Damiens as a regicide, to be broken alive by four horses; on the 28th March, the sentence was carried out in the Place de Grève. Prior to the execution, he had to endure an hour and a half of the most fearful torture: his flesh was torn from his bones with red-hot pincers, molten lead, resin, and wax, were poured into the wounds, and every expedient which ingenious cruelty could suggest was employed to aggravate his sufferings; while men and women of rank, as well as others, crowded the windows and roofs of the houses to feast on the agonies of the miserable victim, whose disordered intellect made him more worthy of a lunatic asylum than the "signal vengeance" of a king.

While these fierce cruelties and threatening disputes were agitating the public mind, Pompadour was appointing her favourites to various influential positions, without the slightest reference to their fitness for the post to which she assigned them; while in the royal councils her influence was so powerful, that peace or war were at her disposal, until summoned to that righteous tribunal, the thought of which it is to be feared seldom entered her mind in the whirl of profligacy and sin.

In the year 1750, serious misunderstandings arose between France and England, in relation to the boundaries of their respective possessions in North America, as also those incipient bickerings which ultimately led to such important results in India in after years. Nova Scotia, though the nominal, was not the only source of discontent between the two nations in America. The interference of the French with the English, on the eastern coast of what now constitutes the United States; the seizure and imprisonment of some English merchants, besides other outrages on the part of the French, accompanied or followed by annoyances from the English against the French colonists, had sufficiently embittered the feelings of the two nations to render a fitting occasion for war acceptable. The conduct of the French during the discussion of the

boundary question, in preparing false maps, misrepresenting treaties, and personal outrages inflicted on the British, even while the negotiations were pending, made a quarrel inevitable, and in 1756 the war broke out between the rival nations, and soon brought most of the European powers into the struggle, usually called the seven years' war. Austria hoping, in the complications of war, to recover Silesia from Prussia, joined France; and thus, after two hundred and eighty years' rivalry, the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon were for a time united. Sweden, Saxony, and Russia joined the alliance, while Spain, Portugal, the Italian States, and the United Provinces of Holland remaining neutral, England and Prussia had to sustain the contest alone.

France made great preparations for the struggle; an invasion of England was resolved on, and six thousand flat-bottomed boats were prepared for the attempt. The news of these preparations caused the greatest consternation in Britain; Hessian and Hanoverian troops were obtained, and in conjunction with the native forces distributed in various parts near the coasts; the different fortifications were repaired, and every expedient adopted to repel the invaders: but the discovery of the scheme convinced the French of the futility of the attempt, they therefore gave up the project, and determined upon other plans.

Having managed to elude the vigilance of the English, the French fleet in the Mediterranean attacked Minorca, and compelled it to surrender. Inconsiderable as was the advantage, as to the ultimate issue of the war, it caused the most extravagant rejoicing at Paris: the English were ridiculed, and the triumph as great as though Britain itself had been captured, instead of a comparatively inconsiderable dependency. In America also they were successful in several instances, but on the continent of Europe they met with some severe reverses. In Saxony, the French in connexion with the Germans encountered the troops of Frederic of Prussia; and at the battle of Rosbach, near Dresden, they were thoroughly routed, though double in number to the army of Frederic. In this victory the Prussians lost but five hundred men; while the loss of the combined army of French and Germans, was nine thousand, killed, wounded, and taken.

In the next year's campaign, the English regained their naval superiority, and in America several places were recovered; but in India the French as yet prevailed. The war was now at its height, and varied fortune attended the combatants. In the West Indies, Guadaloupe and other places were taken by the English, and the victory achieved by Wolfe deprived the French of Quebec, while in India also success seemed to have left them.

Martinique and the Havannah in the West Indies, and Manilla in the Philippine Islands, subsequently yielded to the English; when, after long negotiations for peace, the definitive treaty was signed, in 1763, at Paris. By this treaty, Canada, Nova Scotia, the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, with Granada, Dominica, and Tobago in the West Indies, and various places, were ceded to England, who restored the other conquests she had made: while Prussia and Austria agreed mutually to return to the same relative position they occupied before the contest.

Thus ended the seven years' war, in which a vast amount of treasure and human life had been spent; all of which might have been spared if the maxims of righteousness had been listened to, instead of the fierce passions of the heart, and the dreams of worldly ambition. The French navy never recovered from the effects of the contest: the finances of France were completely exhausted, and her commerce destroyed. Louis had undertaken the war rashly, and its results sunk him more than ever in the opinion of his people. Instead of being termed "the beloved," as in an earlier part of his reign, he was regarded as an incapable tyrant, whose selfishness and profligacy were rapidly bringing his kingdom to decay and ruin.

He now gave himself up to the most unblushing licentiousness; his female favourites still continued their evil influence over him, and no attempt was made to conceal his sin. After the death of Madame de Pompadour, her place was supplied by the daughter of an exciseman, who at her father's death had obtained employment at Paris as a milliner. Taken by the king from a most disreputable course, she was introduced to court, with the title of countess du Barré, and maintained a paramount influence over the king until his death. This woman, low in her origin, and shameless in her sins, like her predecessor

Pompadour, only with more unmitigated selfishness, reigned supreme over a profligate court, and a suffering people. By her advice and influence all the parliaments were dissolved; and many of the members imprisoned, and the last spark of liberty trodden out. Expense to an enormous amount was incurred to gratify her extravagance; while the people, looked upon as useful only for the purposes of paying taxes, or supplying victims for the battle-field, were ground to the very dust to uphold the riot and debauchery of the court. Folly and sin alternately or together occupied the time and engaged the energies of the great, and those called noble; while every principle of honour, morality, and decency, was treated with undisguised contempt.

The church, as arrogant as ever, still claimed infallibility, though destitute of anything resembling an approach to virtue: demanding reverential confidence while it was showing itself scarcely deserving of toleration, it exhibited a sensitiveness to the remarks of spectators which was evidently the result of a consciousness of guilt, rather than of any jealousy for the honour of religion. Its zeal was displayed not by its labours for the good of the people, and the glory of its professed Master, but by those occasional ebullitions of cruelty which relieved the satiety produced by incessant debauchery. That infidelity should have been found to be a growing power in France in the days of Louis XV., need excite no astonishment: Christianity, as exhibited by Jesuitical intrigue, or the worldly avarice of some of the clergy, the gross licentiousness of others, and the manifest hypocrisy of nearly all, could only exhibit a repulsive aspect to those who knew nothing of its real character, and saw only these corrupt misrepresentations of it. Knowing nothing of the religion of Jesus, as a doctrine to teach, and a power to induce men "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world," it is, we say, not surprising that men should arise and say, "There is no God." The rebound from superstition to infidelity is not uncommon, but this is not the solution of the scepticism of the days of Louis XV. The recoil was not from gloomy and ascetic superstition, but from a professed form of faith, where the priest and the prelate could vie with

the debauchee and the courtesan in the wildest immorality; and where to fleece the flock, and break up the fold, were conceived to be the appropriate functions of the spiritual shepherd. Even the intellectual greatness which shed some lustre on the church, in the days of Louis XIV., was gone: the days of Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue, and others, were over; and mental energy seemed to have expired with the few remaining symbols of moral worth. The prevailing feature of France in these days was its infidelity; an infidelity which, by Voltaire, Mirabeau and others, was openly and bitterly avowed, but paralyzed many a heart concealed beneath the sacerdotal robes, and breathed in the bacchanalian songs of many a priest. Vice was deified and God was forgotten; virtue was too much despised to be simulated, and the only acknowledgment of religion was the habitual desecration of its sacred rites. Over all these abominations, Louis presided as the high priest of iniquity, surrounded by fawning parasites, fluttering triflers, and painted harlots; and the land where martyrs had shed their blood, and where confessors had lived for God, was polluted with their presence: while the few, if such few there were (and we believe there were some, though scarce as the pious amongst the guilty thousands of the cities of the plain), sighed in secret, "O Lord, how long, how long wilt thou not avenge thy saints!"

To such an extremity was the immorality of Louis at length carried, that Choiseul ventured to remonstrate with him on the subject, and endeavoured to waken him from his sybarite dream; and as the reward for his fidelity, was dismissed: and thus the king lost the only really meritorious servant he had. Amongst the great body of the people the most frightful poverty prevailed; the sources of wealth were destroyed or impaired, and the little property that was possessed, was drained out by the excessive exactions which the expensive frivolities of the court required. The powerful order of the Jesuits was called to bear some severe reverses in various countries, at this period. In France they were suppressed by the minister; the causes which led to this were, first, their incessant and mischievous political intrigues, which Choiseul saw were incompatible with any sure government, and the inconvenience of which he had often experienced; their

fierce controversies with the Jansenists, and the persecutions they excited against these friends of evangelical truth, by which the whole kingdom was shaken, and which interfered inconveniently with the voluptuous sloth of the ruling powers; and still further, because Madame de Pompadour disliked them. Such were some of the principal causes of their suppression; the immediate occasion was somewhat peculiar.

The missionary zeal of the society of Jesus was always a prominent feature of the order, and was as active as ever at the time to which we are referring. In the French possessions in the West Indies, these missions were conducted under the superintendence of one father Lavalette, who improved his opportunities by dealing on his own account in colonial produce; when unfortunately, his cargoes were seized by the English, then at war with France, and Lavalette became a bankrupt. His creditors appealed to the Paris parliament, who, finding that by the constitutions of the order no Jesuit could hold property as his sole right, decided that the father's debts, amounting to three millions of livres, were chargeable upon the whole society, whom they ordered should discharge them.

The investigation of their constitution led to a more careful consideration of the claims and operations of the body; and the parliament resolved, that a society having peculiar and independent laws, and all subject to one individual, and he a foreigner, was a dangerous institution in any state. All the other parliaments came to the same wise decision, and a great outcry against them was the result: and this outcry became so strong, that, combined with the causes specified above, in 1764, an order was issued in the name of the king, entirely suppressing the society, and confiscating their property. More merciful treatment was, however, awarded them in France than in some other countries. A small pension derived from their property was given to the members; and instead of being expelled, as in the case of the kingdom of Portugal, they were allowed to dwell in France, on condition of swearing to their utter renunciation of the order and its laws.

But now this wretched reign was soon to come to a close, and remain in the records of history as a beacon to other rulers: but to be remembered by Frenchmen as

destitute of the military glory, which with them covers a multitude of sins, degraded by an unusual degree of vice, and as one of the most effective causes of the horrors which so soon followed. The character of Louis as a ruler, may be judged from the words he is said to have uttered when his ministers were perplexed because of the low state of the finances: "Try to make things go on as long as I am alive: after my death matters may be as they please." And thus things did go on till 1774, when this worthless king died at Versailles, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, from an attack of small pox, the punishment of his own sin.

The closing hours of his life gave a sad but true illustration of the utter hollowness of the hearts of those who had previously flattered and encouraged him in his evil courses. Treating him with almost entire neglect, the galleries of Versailles thundered with the noise of the courtiers, who, forsaking their dying master, were hastening to commend themselves to his successor.

CHAPTER V.

The New Kingdom.—A.D. 1688—1786.

PRUSSIA.

FREDERIC.—INFLUENCE OF DANKLEMANN.—FREDERIC JOINS THE CONFEDERACY AGAINST LOUIS XIV.—THE ELECTORATE RAISED INTO A KINGDOM.—PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF VON KOLBE.—ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN TO LEARNING.—FREDERIC WILLIAM.—HIS PARSIMONIOUS HABITS.—FOUR HUNDRED SCHOOLS FOUNDED.—GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS.—THE ARMY OF GIANTS.—CRUELTY AND OPPRESSION.—HATRED OF THE KING TOWARDS HIS SON.—FREDERIC II.—HIS EARLY LIFE.—ATTENTION TO BUSINESS.—HIS WARS WITH MARIA THERESA.—CESSION OF SILESIA.—TRAITS OF CHARACTER.—RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.—VAIN ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE COMMERCE AND ARTS.—ARBITRARY CONDUCT.—DEPRECIATION OF THE CURRENCY.—RENEWAL OF WAR.—DRESDEN TAKEN.—BATTLES OF PRAGUE, KOLM, ROSBACH, AND KUNNERSDORF.—SERIOUS DISCOMFITURE.—THE PEACE OF HUBERTSBURG.—PROSPERITY RESTORED AT HOME.—FREDERIC'S SHARE IN THE PARTITION OF POLAND.—HIS DEATH.

“THE great elector,” Frederic William, was succeeded by his second son, Frederic, in the year 1688, notwithstanding the efforts made by his second wife, Dorothea of Holstein, to secure the succession to her own children.

Frederic's eldest brother having died before his father, his claim to the electorate was admitted without dispute. Deformed and weakly in body, his education had been much neglected, and in after-life he gave by his vanity and folly frequent evidences of his deficiency.

With the exception of his cruel treatment of his step-mother, on account of her having solicited his father to bequeath his possessions to her children, the opening

years of his rule were popular and equitable, owing most probably to the influence of Danklemann, his just and upright minister.

Soon after he came into possession of the electorate, he agreed to aid William, prince of Orange, in his expedition to England, with several thousand men. He also joined the confederacy, which that profound statesman instituted, to check the exorbitant ambition of Louis XIV., and maintain the balance of power in Europe. These facts show that his sympathies were in favour of constitutional freedom, and not with that spirit of absolutism which was so common amongst the potentates of the time. Thus far Frederic's course had been without blame, while his constant endeavours to extend his dominions beyond the narrow limits of the electorate by just and equitable means, entitle him to praise; but the fair prospect soon clouded, and weakness, vanity, and folly, soon made their appearance, and crime came in due course.

Hearing that the elector of Saxony had been chosen king of Poland, his ambition to enjoy royal dignity was excited; and when the war of the Spanish succession occurred, he stipulated, as the price of his adherence, that the emperor should raise the electorate into a kingdom, and a treaty to that effect was signed in 1700. Having thus attained the rank which he so earnestly coveted, he inaugurated his admission into the brotherhood of sovereigns by a pompous coronation, in which he first placed the crown on his own head, and then on the head of his queen; and at the same time instituted the order of "the black eagle." Thus commenced the royal honour of a house since occupying such an important relation to constitutional freedom and the reformed faith.

Had Frederic continued to follow the counsels of the prudent Danklemann, his course might have been an honourable one; but giving way to the weakness of favouritism, he turned from the straight path, and yielded to the dishonourable influence of a sycophant, named Von Kolbe; who not only encouraged his master's fondness for luxury and show, but most flagrantly violated all the sacred claims of social life and the precepts of scrip-

tural authority, by yielding his own wife to him as a mistress.

Danklemann was now removed from the position he had filled with so much honour; arrested on false charges, and cast into prison, while the iniquitous Kolbe took his place. Empty show and parade were now the prevailing character of the new court. The etiquette of Spain was imitated with ridiculous exactness. Vast sums were lavished on these childish proceedings; to supply which Kolbe extorted money from the people in the most unjust and oppressive manner, while he did not fail to enrich himself from these stores of ill-gotten gain. His coarse and vulgar wife, whom Frederic had created countess of Wartenburg, employed all her arts to uphold her husband in his base and extortionate career. But the triumphing of the wicked is often mercifully short; and thus after a time a dispute between Kolbe and one of his companions in iniquity, led to the disclosure of his nefarious practices, and he in his turn was removed from power.

Amongst other devices which Frederic adopted to raise money, he engaged the services of a foreign alchemist, who dazzled his covetous mind with promises of untold wealth; but disappointing these avaricious dreams, the king was so irritated, that he ordered him to be hanged on a gilded gallows, clothed in a robe made of gold paper.

Amid these follies and crimes he was still desirous of advancing the prosperity of his kingdom; which he managed to preserve in peace even while war was raging around him. Anxious to promote learning, he founded the university of Halle, and the academy of painting and sculpture at Berlin. He laboured to improve his capital, and to reform the administration of justice. Hence it will be seen that there were principles and qualities belonging to him which, had they been sedulously and virtuously trained, might have made him an eminent and successful monarch; but the childish spirit of vanity, and the unrestrained indulgence in sin, procured him, though the first of Prussia's kings, only a dishonoured name. His people prospered, and the elements of future greatness manifested themselves, notwithstanding the character of their ruler. In 1713 Frederic died, and was

succeeded by his son Frederic William, a prince the very reverse of his father, in his extravagance and love of show. Adopting the other extreme, his economy became the most miserable parsimony, which showed itself in every department, with one exception. The royal palace was soon cleared of the hundreds of officers, of various kinds, with which his father had filled it. The paintings, articles of vertu, etc., were removed and sold. The dresses of his wife and family were of the simplest kind; and in every thing he affected an extremity of plainness. With the money thus obtained, it must be recorded to his credit, he founded schools, to the number of four hundred, for the orphan children of soldiers, and thus commenced that system of national education, for which Prussia is now so remarkable. The severe economy which he introduced, extended not simply to what may be termed luxuries, but even the necessaries of life were doled out with a niggardly hand to his family, who were indeed often required to take the most inferior food, in order to save expense. Anxious at the same time to encourage the prosperity of his country, he patronised manufactures and commerce—established settlements for the French protestant refugees—strengthened his various fortresses, and greatly improved Potsdam. Totally uncultivated himself, he hated literature and those who professed it; and regarded them with supreme contempt. But while parsimonious in every other matter, there was one whim he had formed which he spared no expense to gratify;—that was to obtain an army of tall soldiers. To realise this purpose crimps were employed in all parts of the world, and tallness of stature was a certain recommendation. As much as thirteen hundred pounds is said to have been given for an Irishman of more than usual elevation. The feeling, like every other prejudice in this extraordinary man, was extreme, and almost bordering on madness.* But having obtained his soldiers, his next work was to drill them; and this he made the great business of his life, and indeed he seemed to regard it as the only worthy end of existence. This incessant labour secured his end, and an army of seventy thousand of the

* "Peter the great offered to send him all the giants in Russia, in return for an equal number of whitesmiths."

finest troops in Europe were thus provided, the contemplation of which was the only happiness the king seemed capable of enjoying. Having thus drilled and prepared them, he had no disposition to employ them; and beyond the fatigues of ordinary parade, they knew nothing of the realities of war until after his death. Whether this resulted from a love of peace, or from a fear of losing his men, may not be easy to determine, nor is it needful to decide. The fact is only adduced as an illustration of the strange and often purposeless caprices of the man.

With all his interest in his tall soldiers, and the time which their drill necessarily consumed, Frederic William was most exemplary for his attention to business. Nothing was postponed—much less neglected: the minutest details came under his notice, and were examined and arranged with the greatest care.

Low in his habits, as he was vulgar in his mind, he found his enjoyment in beer drinking and tobacco smoking, in gambling, or in hunting wild hogs, or in similar unkingly recreations. Professing to be a republican in principle, he was a complete despot in practice, and seemed to derive a special delight from degrading others; until his people fled at his approach as from the presence of a beast of prey. To kick the shins of those with whom he came in contact, or to assault them with the royal cane, while he addressed them in language of vituperation and abuse, without waiting for provocation, were the means by which he reminded his subjects that they had a king. That such a temper should indulge in cruelty and oppression was of course only natural, and therefore we are not surprised to find his reign defaced by many crimes.

But it was in his own family that the savageness of his nature was indulged to the utmost. Here the caning, shin-kicking, hair-pulling, and other proofs of paternal love, were of daily and constant occurrence. No restraint was attempted, no justification was sought: ungovernable rage, or the habitual malevolence of savage abuse, were the only prevailing principles that regulated the palace, the home of this wretched family. In his court it was precisely similar; generals, judges, ladies, all had to submit to the process of having their limbs injured, and

submit quietly under peril of a repetition of the operation.

Against his son and successor, Frederic, and his daughter, Wilhelmina, he conceived a perfect hatred, to which he constantly gave vent. The prince, Frederic, was at length so deeply wounded by the ill-treatment he received, that in company with a friend he resolved to escape from Prussia; but the purpose being discovered, they were both arrested, and being charged with what in the mind of the king constituted the greatest crime of which any one could be guilty, they were tried before a military commission for desertion; and both of them would have been executed, but for the interposition of Austria, who succeeded in preserving the life of the prince; but his friend, De Catt, could not be rescued from the cruel hands into which he had fallen, and he was ordered for execution. That the heart of the prince might be wounded, since his life was not to be taken, a scaffold was erected opposite the dungeon where he was confined, and raised to a level with the window of the room in which he resided; he was then forced into a chair close to the window, that he might be compelled to look on the sufferings of his friend, whose only crime was the fidelity of his friendship. It is refreshing to turn away from such a display of ferocity, and record the more pleasing fact of the kind and honourable treatment which the king gave to the unfortunate Stanislaus, when fleeing from Poland after the capitulation of Dantzic. For doing this he incurred the displeasure of the emperor, but this did not turn him from his fidelity to his ill-used guest; and when Austria declared war against France, he sent ten thousand men to the Rhine for the service of the emperor. His hatred against his son was of course increased by this attempt to escape, and it was some years before any thing like reconciliation took place between them, since both were alike hard, arbitrary, and unforgiving. But about the year 1736 or 1737, Frederic William fell into a weak state of health, and his temper became more savage than ever. He was for some time thought to be drawing near to death, and the presence of the heir apparent was therefore necessary. From that time they lived on tolerable terms; affection there could not be

between two such characters; but the fierceness of temper was restrained, and the king expired in the arms of his son on the 31st May, 1740, leaving a disciplined army of seventy thousand men, nine millions of dollars in the treasury, and about two millions and a quarter of subjects.

The character of Frederic William will be plainly understood from the previous delineation, and will easily be seen to have been a compound of the madman and the savage. Without one feature to redeem its deformity, it stands before us as one of the most unlovely exhibitions that can be imagined. Indeed the only charitable explanation that can be given of its eccentricities, is to suppose that some amount of insanity was the constitutional affliction of a man whose only aim in life was to escape the love and secure the hatred of all around him.

Frederic II., son of Frederic William and Sophia Dorothea, sister of George II. of England, was born January 24th, 1712, and succeeded to the throne in the twenty-eighth year of his age. Frederic has been usually surnamed "the great;" and that he possessed many qualities which favourably distinguished him from his contemporaries, is unquestionable. But greatness is not always goodness;—nay, it has been too often the case that the world has estimated greatness and goodness according to their inverse proportions, rather than otherwise. There was much in the character and course of Frederic that commanded attention; but there was as much, at least, which deserved the most severe condemnation, and indiscriminate eulogy is as unjustifiable, in relation to such a man, as contemptuous indifference would be. Many of the faults with which he was chargeable may be traced to the defective training he had received, but others were plainly his own.

In early life he had an abundant share of the savage caprice which was so strongly exhibited by his father. Being suspected of holding the tenets of religion very lightly, a suspicion most abundantly confirmed in after years, the old king was excited to a more than usual display of ferocity towards his son, whose French studies and performances on the flute, had been long regarded with disfavour. "The ordinary malignity of Frederic William was bad enough. He now thought malignity a

part of his duty as a Christian man, and all the conscience that he had, stimulated his hatred. The flute was broken, the French books were sent out of the palace: the prince was kicked, and cudgelled, and pulled by the hair. At dinner the plates were hurled at his head: sometimes he was restricted to bread and water: sometimes he was forced to swallow food so nauseous that he could not keep it on his stomach. Once his father knocked him down, dragged him along the floor to a window, and was with difficulty prevented from strangling him with the cord of the curtain. The queen, for the crime of not wishing to see her son murdered, was subjected to the grossest indignities. The princess Wilhelmina, who took her brother's part, was treated almost as ill as Mrs. Brownrigg's apprentices."

Such training as this was by no means likely to produce good results with any, and was most unsuitable, as well as unjust, with one who possessed the strong will of Frederic. The confinement in the fortress of Custring, when arrested with his unfortunate friend De Catt, must have been enjoyment after such severe discipline; especially after his jailors had learned to treat him with so much lenity that he was frequently allowed to visit, under cover of darkness, a chateau in the neighbourhood of his prison, where at great risk the family received him, and entertained him with little concerts. But Frederic had no heart; every moral emotion was dead within him, and his whole career was one of unblushing egotism and selfishness. He was a stranger to the commonest gratitude. Austria had by her interposition saved his life, when his ferocious father would have sent him to the scaffold for attempting to escape to his uncle, George II., king of England; and almost immediately on his accession he repaid the kindness by robbing the empress of part of her dominions. De Catt had sacrificed his life, and the family at the chateau had perilled their's by the commiseration and kindness they showed him; but when he became a king, he treated the relations of each with the most studied neglect, and never repaid the money with which the latter had supplied him from their straitened means.

At the age of twenty-one he was released from his con-

finement, and allowed to keep a separate establishment at Rheinsberg. Forced by his tyrannical parent, he married the princess Elizabeth Christina, of Brunswick Bevern, whom he treated with constant neglect. His residence at Rheinsberg was the most peaceful period of his life; addicting himself to literary pursuits, carrying on a correspondence of mutual flattery with Voltaire, or amusing himself with his flute, of which he was excessively fond; he alternated these occupations with attention to political and military affairs, and carrying on improvements in the grounds surrounding his residence. A few companions, with whom he lived on familiar terms, were allowed to reside with him, and assist him in the concerts which were always a favourite means of recreation. His father sometimes expressed his displeasure at what he termed these fooleries; but the occasional presence of a tall soldier preserved the son from any serious interference.

When he ascended the throne, Frederic displayed as much inclination for business as his father, but far greater capacity for its discharge. Nothing was overlooked, the most minute details were examined; he was his own minister, and his servants were slaves; rising at three o'clock in summer, and four in winter, he attended to his vast correspondence, and gave directions to his various clerks for their replies: while these were being prepared, he carefully inspected his soldiers, and then signing his letters, had them despatched the same evening. Associated with this constant diligence in reference to administration, he displayed a parsimony in all his expenses, civil and social, which, if not so ridiculous as the niggardliness of his father, was yet as general in its application.

Soon after he received the crown, he displayed the spirit of ambition, which had hitherto been concealed under a professed love for literature, or repressed from dread of his despotic father: and the first exhibition was such as to forbid any future belief in the equity of his principles, however it might awaken surprise at the energy of his military genius. To say that his attack on the dominions of Maria Theresa was unprovoked, is to utter the mildest form of condemnation: it was not merely gratuitous violence, it was injustice and perfidy. His own

solemn oath to observe the terms of the pragmatic sanction, was seen to be the deceit of a perjurer, to cover his designs of iniquity. The pretence that Prussia had ancient claims on Silesia, was an absurdity as glaring as its dishonesty; and was only advanced to give something like a colour to a proceeding which he knew to be as contrary to all the principles of international law, as it was to the plainest dictates of honour. He succeeded, it is true, and retained his ill-gotten possession, and his descendants hold it still; but the success was secured by means which recall to the mind the idea of the freebooter rather than the progress of a conqueror, whose claims and whose movements are made in the face of day. Almost simultaneously with the demand for the coveted province, the unhappy queen learned that it was in his possession. This may be termed energy, and so it was; but let not the act or its results be looked upon as contributing to his title to be called "the great," but rather as the expedient of a trickster, who succeeds because his villany is unexpected.

By this war, not only was the empress-queen robbed, but all Europe plunged into long and desolating conflicts; which, but for the perfidy of Frederic, would not have occurred. His first battle, which was fought at Molwitz, was crowned with victory, but not in consequence of the skill or bravery of the king; who, completely unmanned by the carnage and danger which surrounded him, fled from the field at the head of his discomfited cavalry, and hid himself in a mill: while his general, the veteran Schwerin, rallied the troops, and achieved the triumph. His consternation amid scenes so entirely new, may be regarded as natural; but his coldness and neglect of the able general who had saved him from defeat, shows a littleness of soul as contemptible as it was base. In succeeding battles, he acted more in accordance with his subsequent fame as the first captain of his age. But the perfidy which was inherent in his character was still displayed. Fearing that France might acquire a preponderance amongst the powers of Europe, he made secret advances to the empress to aid her against her foes, on condition of Silesia being conceded to him: after some hesitation, Maria, by the advice of England, conceded the province, made peace with the spoiler, but declined his

aid; while his former allies denounced his selfishness and his treachery. Maria, everywhere triumphant, seemed likely to regain for the house of Austria the pre-eminence which it had enjoyed for so many generations; when Frederic, with whom oaths and treaties were mere baubles, again took the field against her, marched into Saxony, invaded Bohemia, took Prague, and threatened Vienna. In the Netherlands his armies were successful, and his character as a general was established; and now he began again to think of deserting his allies. Louis, who had heard of his ambiguous conduct, wrote him a letter, entreating his adherence until the close of the war, but it produced no effect. Frederic withdrew from them by a separate peace with Maria, and the war went on without him, until it was settled by the peace of Aix-la-chapelle, in 1748; when it was found that Prussia alone had been the gainer by the fearful strife; while by alternately helping the contending parties, he held the balance of power in Europe. A proud distinction, indeed, for so small a state, but one which was the accidental result, rather than the designed purpose.

The lust of dominion first led him to light up the flames of war; the hope of success, and the fear of loss in reference to the province he coveted and obtained, guided his successive acts of treachery; but to ascribe the fact of the great powers of Austria and France, exhausted with frequent and extensive wars, being materially affected by his alliance or enmity, as the fruit of far-seeing policy, is to overlook the real spring of his conduct, and ascribe to him a sagacity which, though it belonged to William of Orange, was not found in Frederic. He had shrewdness, energy, decision, and untiring diligence in attention to details, of which his whole life affords illustration; but the profound sagacity which can devise and conduct a comprehensive plan to accomplish a distant and desirable end, is characteristic of an order of mind to which he had no just claim. As a politician he had neither morality nor decency; while falsehood which never blushed, and a greed of dominion which could not be satisfied, marked all his proceedings. We must look to other events in his busy career, to give him a title to honourable fame, and not to the early campaigns in which he was engaged.

Having now the leisure of peace, he laboured to improve it to the utmost. His army, as it had been and was yet to be the instrument of his ambition, received his first and greatest attention. Though free from the silly vanity of making it an army of giants, as his father wished, he resolved to promote its efficiency by every possible means. Drilling and reviewing under the stimulating influence of the scourge and the cane were carried on incessantly: determined to have neither fleet nor colonies, he resolved to make the home power of greater importance and efficiency than any other country could possess. Not only was the greater proportion of the male population capable of bearing arms, compelled to serve; but by the infamous system of crimping, vast numbers were collected from other countries, and obliged to serve under the banners of this military despot. In his civil administration he was peculiar: allowing his subjects perfect liberty of speech and writing, yet maintaining order with all the unbending firmness of military discipline: outrage or violence was unknown, and property was secure. Toleration was extended to all sects; the catholic was as safe as the Lutheran; the French infidel and the French Huguenot, were alike welcome to his country; not because he held any enlightened views of the rights of conscience, but rather because religion of all kinds was with him a nonentity, a thing in which he did not believe, and which therefore he supposed was a mere sentiment in those who professed to yield to its influence. Even the Jesuit, proscribed in most other countries because of the mischievous and intriguing spirit of his order, found a peaceful asylum in Prussia.

In the erection of public buildings he indulged in a profusion which was carefully avoided in every thing else; the palaces at Berlin and Potsdam were embellished at great cost, and many public edifices reared. But there was this remarkable fact continually patent; that many of the buildings on whose exterior vast sums were lavished, were only designed to be used as barracks for soldiers. He endeavoured to promote agriculture, commerce, and the useful arts; but his mistake was, in supposing that these matters could be arranged on the same principle and with the same facility that raw recruits could be drilled into effective soldiers, and drafted into regiments

and battalions. Indeed, by universal and continual meddling, he never left opportunity for spontaneous development: discipline and command were expected, not to regulate only, but to create material prosperity, and form a nation's habits. Egotism, excessive and unreasoning, pervaded everything. The schools where boys should attend were prescribed by authority; the royal license was to be obtained if any one wished to travel, and that not in the ordinary form of passports, but by personal request and royal consent: the money the traveller was to take with him was fixed according to the social position of the individual. The decisions of the judges were reviewed, and sometimes reversed; and the judges themselves abused, and subjected to the royal discipline of the cane, or being kicked on the shins, were committed to prison.

Anxious to extend the commerce of his country, he took the most unlikely method of effecting it, by granting monopolies in almost every article of traffic to some favoured parties. By these measures, as might have been foreseen, prices were raised, the consumption was diminished, and the comforts of the people curtailed. Sometimes he attempted to force trade by arbitrary commands, compelling certain classes to purchase particular articles, at fixed prices; especially was this the case in relation to royal monopolies. These whims may be regarded simply as errors of judgment; but his attempt to depreciate the currency was at once an act of dishonesty and folly. Thus, on one occasion, fifteen millions of ducats were coined with one third base metal; these were circulated in Poland, and every thing that could be purchased was directed to be secured, to be sold again at a profit for genuine coin: but the money having come into the hands of the empress of Russia, when the cheat was detected, she compelled the discomfited Frederic to take the spurious coin at its nominal value: he obeyed, but boldly asserted his ignorance of the deception. Such acts of perfidy are too gross to be condoned by victories, however splendid, where the struggle originated in selfishness and injustice.

It was in these various and incessant occupations the king employed the period of peace; but the time had now arrived, when he was to be again engaged in the more

appropriate contests of military strife. In 1755, Maria Theresa formed an extensive league amongst the continental powers to recover Silesia, deprive Frederic of his kingdom, and divide it amongst the principal states. The king learned the plot that was being arranged, through the treachery of a clerk in the Saxon chancery; and, according to his usual tactics, determined to anticipate the blow, and thus on the 24th August, 1756, commenced "the seven years' war." This fierce conflict, which soon involved nearly all the nations of Europe in the struggle, was the period when the energy of Frederic's character was most strikingly displayed. At its commencement, he met with his usual success; Dresden was taken, where he found the queen of Poland. Anxious to secure the correspondence between the allies, and thus prove to the world his real position in the war, he demanded them from the queen; but she not only refused to resign them, but sat down on the box in her bed-chamber in which they were concealed: but resistance was useless, a Prussian soldier removed her, and carried the papers to the king, who immediately published them, and thus showed that he was not the aggressor. Several battles followed. At Prague he was successful, but lost at the least eighteen thousand of his most effective troops, besides the brave Schwerin, who, at the age of seventy-two rallied the Prussian guards when they began to waver, and fell in the thickest of the battle, just as the victory was secured. At the battle of Kolm, which followed soon after, he was seriously defeated, and lost a vast number of his men, but retrieved the disaster at Rosbach; and thus, aided only by England, he sustained the assault of nearly the whole continent: but his tide of prosperity began to ebb in the year 1759, and every thing looked gloomy; his mother and sister Wilhelmina died (the only persons for whom he had the slightest affection), and their death, added to the perplexity of his condition, produced some amount of feeling. At Kunersdorf in Silesia, he seemed utterly undone; his army was put to universal rout, and the king fled to a deserted farm-house, and threw himself on a heap of straw in utter despair. He had sent a message to Berlin, in which he says, "Let the royal family leave Berlin; send the archives to Potsdam; the town may make terms with the enemy."

He then began to meditate the crime of suicide, but was persuaded against it. His situation was indeed extreme; not three thousand out of the fifty thousand whom he had led out in the morning, buoyant with hope, remained together, and hope seemed to have gone: in a few days, however, he managed to collect another army of thirty thousand, and succeeded in keeping his foes at bay. He gained some victories afterwards, especially at the battles of Lignitz and Torgau, but no real deliverance seemed possible; his enemies were closing upon him on every side, and, like an enraged and beleaguered tiger, he continued to fight. The country was desolated, his generals were defeated, and he was again and again about to destroy his own life, rather than fall into the hands of his foes; when the death of Elizabeth of Russia relieved him from his most determined foe, and enabled him once more to assume a commanding attitude. England on his side, and France on the side of the allies, having withdrawn, the contest became more equal; and at length the rage of battle subsided, and the peace of Hubertsburg was signed between Maria and Frederic, in 1763, both parties retaining the possessions they held before the war.

After six years' absence, Frederic returned to his desolate land, where he exerted his usual energy in repairing the fearful ravages which had been committed. Every possible expedient was adopted to alleviate the extreme distress which existed; and supported by a willing nation, into whom he infused much of his own energy, prosperity was soon restored. In these superhuman efforts to sustain the troubles which came upon him, we must acknowledge there was the display of qualities which few possess; and but for which, he must have succumbed to the powerful coalition that was arrayed against him.

His share in the partition of Poland, to which we shall have to advert more particularly in the history of that country, is universally acknowledged to be an act of base and cruel turpitude; and in the occasional efforts of that unhappy people to regain their freedom in the present day, and the political complications to which these efforts lead, we still see the evil character of this nefarious act. In consequence of the oppressive behaviour of the emperor Joseph I., he had a short campaign in Bohemia, by

which he obtained an addition to his dominions. He formed several treaties of commerce with various countries, and died, Aug. 17th, 1786, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign; leaving his kingdom considerably enlarged, free from debt, and with an army of two hundred thousand men. His character has already been so delineated that little more need be said respecting it. We would gladly point out its virtues could they be discerned, but truth compels us to doubt their existence: without such sensibility as is common to men, he was ever ready to rejoice in the mortification of those around him, even though they might be his most familiar associates. His intimacy with Voltaire, first most ridiculously familiar, and then followed by coarseness and ill-usage, renewed again with unhesitating falsehood on both sides, is not only a curious episode in his history, but at the same time a fair illustration of the oddities, violence, conceit and selfishness which met in his character, and perverted powers naturally strong, which under proper training might have been eminently useful. His genius was essentially military, and as a general he was pre-eminent in his time; but heart, emotion, principle, he had none. Lord Brougham's testimony is as follows:—"To his sprightliness in society, and his love of literary company, so rare in princes, he owes the reputation of a philosopher; and to the success of his intrigues and his arms the appellation of Great, a title which is the less honourable, that mankind have generally agreed to bestow it upon those to whom their gratitude was least of all due."

CHAPTER VI.

Internal Dissensions.—A. D. 1648—1768.

SWITZERLAND.

WANT OF ORDER IN THE FEDERAL UNION.—INSURRECTION.—THE “SOFT ONES” AND “HARD ONES.”—BARBAROUS CRUELITIES.—TREATY OF TOLERATION.—RELIGIOUS WAR.—BATTLE OF VILLMERGEN.—PEACE EFFECTED.—FURTHER DISTURBANCES.—ENCROACHMENTS OF THE ABBOT OF ST. GALL.—RENEWED HOSTILITIES.—TREACHERY.—DECISIVE STRUGGLE AT WOHLLEN AND VILLMERGEN.—DECLINE OF THE COUNTRY.—ARISTOCRATIC EXCLUSIVENESS OF THE GOVERNMENTS.—CONSPIRACIES AND OUTBREAKS.—ADDRESS OF THE BURGHERS OF GENEVA.—WELCOME GIVEN TO THE PROTESTANT REFUGEES.—FACTIONS IN GENEVA.

THE treaty of Westphalia, amongst many other important matters, recognised the independence of Switzerland; and it might have been expected that when this was formally done, the several cantons would have constituted some fixed government, which would give security and order to the federal union which existed. But Switzerland, though nominally one country, included a variety of races, distinct in their origin, their language, and their religion, and hence no real union ever took place amongst them. Separate interests, local prejudices, and, above all, the intrigues of foreign courts, prevented that fusion which alone could be the basis of a strong nation. The form of government also which prevailed amongst them, was so essentially democratic, that there was little prospect of lasting unity. In their hamlets, where every individual was a lord in his own esteem: throughout their communes, bailiwicks, and even in their general confederation, the rights of persons and local assemblies were reserved with so much jealousy, that it was next to impossible to

maintain the majesty of the law for any length of time. The least appearance of partiality, therefore, or even the suspicion of its existence, was easily made the cause, not only for discontent, but for actual outbreaks of popular violence. The influence of foreign oppression produced generally a forced harmony; but when this was removed, the discordant elements were frequently found in a condition of fierce conflict. This was strikingly illustrated by the events which succeeded the peace of Westphalia. The peasantry in Berne, Lucerne, and some other cantons, indignant at what they considered the arbitrary conduct of their land-vogts and other officials, manifested considerable disaffection of spirit, which was increased by the imposition of new taxes. It is probable that some of their alleged grievances were matters of just complaint, and that some of their officials were unduly elated by the recognition of Swiss independence; while the conduct of the government of Berne in excluding the small coins of other cantons from their territories, and depreciating the value of their own, must have produced extensive inconvenience amongst the poorer classes. But it does not appear that there was any sufficient cause for the extreme measures, which were resorted to in 1653, issuing as they did in an alarming insurrection.

Had there been calmness on the one side, and a conciliatory spirit on the other, the disputes might have been settled; but these feelings were absent, and hence bloodshed and confusion ensued. The peasants besieged the castles of the land-vogts, and endeavoured to obtain assistance from the French, thus exciting a prejudice against their cause with some who were disposed to give a calm consideration to their claims. Many persons of the wealthier classes, were unwilling to violate their allegiance to the constituted authorities, and were therefore termed *soft ones*; while those who favoured the insurgents, were termed *hard ones*. The former, when falling into the hands of the peasants, were treated with the greatest barbarity, and their heads held close to a grind-stone when in motion, till hair and scalp came off together; and this cruelty was inflicted, as it was said, for the purpose of *hardening* them, or, in other words, to compel them to join the insurgents.

This alarming insurrection was not quelled, until all the confederate forces were called into the field, when the insurgents were soon overpowered, and a fearful loss of life ensued. The survivors fled to their villages, and their leaders were subjected to various punishments; some were either hanged or beheaded, others were banished or fined, the districts were disarmed, and heavy penalties levied on the rebel bailiwicks.

The imperative necessity for closer union between the various parts of the Helvetic body, was now felt more than ever, and some attempts were made to secure it; but religious and political bigotry again interfered, and the practical execution of the purpose was indefinitely postponed. It was at this time that negotiations were carried on by the Swiss protestants with Cromwell, protector of England, on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses, which resulted in a treaty of toleration for these faithful adherents of the truth, being signed by the house of Savoy. The catholic cantons, not only determined to maintain their possessions, but anxious, if possible, to extend them, renewed their leagues with the bishop of Basle and each other, promising mutual assistance in matters of religion, and other just causes, and agreeing to divide any conquests they might make equally amongst those who held their common faith. These decisive measures for denominational ends, showed how slight was the hope of effecting national unity, and their tendency was fatally illustrated in the religious war which broke out in 1656.

The immediate occasion of this outbreak, was the persecution of six protestant families of Arth, in the canton of Schwytz. These persons were exposed to so much danger, that they fled to Zurich, and begged, with tears and earnest entreaties, that their property might be secured for them. The Zurichers interested themselves on their behalf, and endeavoured to obtain from Schwytz an equitable adjustment of their claims; but instead of listening to these representations, the authorities demanded that the refugees should be given up to them, while they added to the injury by confiscating the property, and imprisoning the relatives of the afflicted families.

Finding their remonstrances treated with contempt, the Zurichers appealed to the rights of the confederacy; but

were met with the reply, "Within our own land, we yield no account to any one, except to God, and to ourselves." The neutral cantons endeavoured to appease the quarrel, but with no better success. War was now imminent; Zurich, Basle, Mulhausen, and Schaffhausen, took up arms, and marched their troops towards the Rhine. Schwytz, and the catholic cantons, were equally alert, and succeeded in securing several places near Berne. The Bernese now joined in the conflict by giving aid to Zurich, and the war threatened to become general.

How long this internecine struggle might have continued, it is impossible to conjecture, so fierce and determined were the passions on each side; but the strange want of discipline which prevailed amongst the ranks of the reformers produced such disasters, that a speedy termination was mutually desired. Sacking, burning, and pillaging churches and monasteries wherever they came, driving off the cattle from the villages, their progress was more like that of a company of freebooters, than that of regular troops. Lulled into unaccountable security, the Bernese encamped without troubling themselves to ascertain whether the enemy was in the neighbourhood, and without even providing themselves with the necessary ammunition. Information had been given them that their foes had been seen in a village close by; but they disbelieved, or disregarded, the warning. In the meantime, more than four thousand men of Lucerne were in ambush on the heights of Wohlen, in the district of Villmergen; effectually concealed, and protected by a hollow way, they suddenly poured their fire down upon the Bernese camp. In the panic and confusion which followed, it was scarcely possible to range the Bernese in the order of battle, and when that arrangement was made, the deficiency of their ammunition prevented them from making any stand, and a complete rout ensued. Other squadrons came to their aid, but they too wheeled round and fled; while the victors pursued the fugitives, and cut them down without mercy. More than eight hundred men were killed, and eleven pieces of artillery taken. Such was the fatal battle of Villmergen: characterised by the most criminal carelessness on the part of the vanquished, while, on the part of the victors, it had originated in the most dishonourable

treachery. Prior to the engagement, arrangements for a peaceable settlement of the dispute were in progress; information of these negotiations, with orders not to fight, were sent to the general of the Lucernes, and received by him before the action commenced; but, suspecting the nature of its contents, he put the letter unopened into his pocket, that he might not be disappointed of the expected slaughter. Words are too feeble to express condemnation sufficiently strong for such base and murderous policy.

No attempt was made by the Bernese to retrieve the losses they had sustained; and, three days after the battle, the victors returned home, taking with them an immense amount of plunder. A peace was shortly effected, the impelling inducement to which, was the fear which the combatants mutually felt from the discontented peasantry in the vicinity of their respective towns; and, as in the case of many more extensive wars, matters were left in the same state in which they were before hostilities commenced, excepting that the feelings of both parties were more exasperated than ever, and ready on the slightest provocation to renew the war.

The superficial character of the peace was soon seen by an event which, though but slight in itself, had very nearly plunged the cantons again into the horrors of war. Some soldiers having conducted themselves in an irreverent manner, in a protestant church at Ripperswyl, were followed by a woman, who, in violent language, cursed them and denounced their conduct till they reached Wigoldingen, where a popular commotion was produced, in which five of the soldiers were killed and some others taken prisoners. The affray being connected with religion, party bigotry was aroused, and the catholic and protestant cantons were again found preparing for the field of battle. Before however war actually occurred, negotiations were tried, and two men sentenced to death to satisfy the craving of the irritated catholics for blood. The commune of Wigoldingen was mulcted in the expenses of the quarrel, and public collections were made in the protestant churches to provide the money.

It was impossible that such a state of feeling could exist between these neighbouring states without great distrust and suspicion, with all their consequent evils

being produced amongst the people generally; this was manifestly the result. Confidence was destroyed; bigotry and cruelty were frequent; households were divided; creeds were substituted for piety; and sectarian bitterness too often supplied the place of genuine faith; the bands of society were loosened, and gloomy discontent prevailed. Added to these social disturbances, sickness and scarcity, produced by a most unhealthy season, afflicted most of the states, as though God would warn them by His judgments to cease from their unholy strife, and turn to Him in righteousness; but the lesson was, alas, unheeded, and the spirit of bitterness continued as strong as ever.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, a most serious quarrel was occasioned by the arbitrary encroachments of Leodegar, abbot of St. Gall, upon the freedom and privileges of the people in the district of Toggenburg. This ecclesiastic claiming certain feudal rights which formerly belonged to the counts of Toggenburg, but had become antiquated, wished to revive them in opposition to the will of the people. Remonstrances and negotiations followed, but the power and claims of the abbot continued to extend so successfully, that it was evident liberty would be soon crushed, and despotic authority be established. In their distress, the Toggenburgers applied to Glarus and Schwytz for help. These communes heartily interested themselves on their behalf, notwithstanding the protestantism of the poor peasants of Toggenburg. So enthusiastic were the Schwytzers on their behalf, that they exclaimed in the general assembly, "Though they were Turks and heathens, they are nevertheless our countrymen and confederates, and we should help them to assert their rights." The abbot now made his appeal to the cantons on behalf of his rights. The long and numerous discussions which followed in the various diets failed to produce any peaceful solution; while the interference of the emperor's envoy claiming Toggenburg as a fief of the empire, complicated the affair still more. Zurich and Berne, encouraged by the ambassadors of Prussia, England, and Holland, resisted the claim of the emperor, and boldly defended the Toggenburgers; while Schwytz and other catholic cantons gave up their patriotism for their prejudices, and sided with the abbot.

In Toggenburg the violent passions of the contending parties were now rapidly bringing matters to a crisis. The abbot insisted upon the exercise of his usurped authority, and the people refused to obey. The abbot then posted troops in all the surrounding districts; while the mayor of Berne exhorted the reformed cantons to appeal to the sword in defence of the rights of the people, and the safety of protestantism. Thus assailed on the one hand, and encouraged on the other, the Toggenburgers no longer hesitated, but proclaimed war against the abbot, and placed themselves under the command of Rabholz, a member of the government of Zurich. Zurich and Berne encouraged the movement; while Lucerne, Uri, and other catholic cantons, came to the aid of the abbot. Some helped them with money; presented prayers to the saints for the success of the catholics, and the priests distributed consecrated bullets and charms to the soldiers. Some of the cantons remained neutral, and endeavoured to prevent the occurrence of hostilities; but the well-intentioned effort was too late. Passion was too fierce to yield to persuasion, and Swiss again met his brother Swiss in mortal encounter.

The armies of the reformers, every where successful, seized the old abbey lands, and advanced through the whole of the district as far as the abbey of St. Gall, where, and also at Rosbach, they placed a garrison. The abbot, foreseeing the storm, had fled to Augsburg, taking his valuables with him.

Encouraged by these successes, the Toggenburgers were desirous of uniting themselves with some neighbouring communes into a free and independent state, and framed a constitution accordingly. But these ambitious views were so unfavourably received by their brave leader, Rabholz, and the cantons of Berne and Zurich, who had so effectually helped them, that no prospect appeared of their being realized. They however gratified their revenge by condemning some of the abbot's officers to death, and entirely renounced all subjection to him. Considerable perplexity arose amongst the catholic cantons as to the better course to be pursued. Foreign powers, hoping to profit by the internal discord, encouraged the strife, while the pope supplied money. The neutrals now ranged

themselves with one or the other of the parties, till no less than one hundred and fifty thousand Swiss were arrayed against each other. Treachery was again called to do its work: the leaders of the Bernese troops being invited to a banquet by their foes, while negotiations were pending, were suddenly attacked and many of them slain before they could take measures to defend themselves, and, after a protracted and vigorous resistance, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners to Knight Ackermann, who preserved them from being slaughtered. In another engagement the Schwytzers were defeated by the Zurichers after a conflict of seven hours. The final and decisive struggle occurred at Wohlen and Villmergen, where the Bernese had been defeated some fifty years before. Here the catholics under Knight Ackermann, to the number of twelve thousand, were opposed by the troops of Berne. A long and severe struggle ensued, until the Bernese completely defeated their foes and put them to flight, leaving more than two thousand dead upon the field. The catholics, pressed on every side, now sued for peace, which was at length concluded on terms decidedly favourable to the Toggenburgers and the reformed cantons; while the abbot, his cause now being hopeless, remained in exile until his death, obstinately refusing to agree to the terms which had been arranged.

The days of the glory of Switzerland were now rapidly passing. The ancient spirit of freedom which had formed the Helvetic league had lost its purity. Democracy in some districts, aristocratic assumption in others, and foreign intrigue in nearly all, had produced a state of confusion in which the genuine principle of liberty was unknown. The troops of the country sold their swords and their services to the highest bidders; and became mercenaries in the armies of the surrounding countries, especially in France. But that which more than any thing else led to the degradation of this once noble people, was the aristocratic exclusiveness which was allowed, as in the case of the Italian republics, to enter into the governments of several of the leading cantons. This produced, as a necessary consequence, the occurrence of frequent efforts of the less favoured classes to throw off the yoke; efforts which, as they were generally unsuccessful, only made

matters worse, increased the arrogance of the various oligarchies, and by fostering the discontent of the inferior orders, loosened the hold of patriotism, and hastened the downward progress. Religion too had lost its power, even in the reformed churches, and thus left the people a prey to the arts of the spiritual mountebanks who occasionally came to delude and fleece them. Thus, at the commencement of the century, Jesuit missionaries visited them; and by arts, which had nothing whatever to do with the religion of Jesus, and which could be expected to succeed only with the utterly ignorant and vulgar, made large numbers of proselytes, and then left the country loaded with the wealth of which they had fleeced their dupes, and carried to the pope the fallacious tidings that Switzerland might soon be restored as a whole to the true church.

In 1743 one of the most serious attempts to break up the existing oligarchy and obtain a more general admission of the burghers to the government, was made at Berne; but the bold innovators were arrested and banished, and matters went on as before till 1749, when Samuel Henzi, one of the exiles, formed another conspiracy for the purpose; but this too was discovered, and Henzi and other leaders of the party beheaded.

In Freyburg also a similar attempt was made, which produced a general revolt of the surrounding villages which were subject to the government; but by calling in the aid of an armed force from Berne, the town, which had been compelled to close its gates to keep out the insurgents, was relieved, and the leader of the enterprise slain. No reforms were granted, and the disappointed flocked in multitudes to the tomb of their murdered leader, as to the shrine of some venerated saint.

In Geneva this aristocratic exclusiveness was carried to a great extent, and repeated outbreaks were the consequence. To such a pitch of discontent was the popular feeling carried at length, that in 1734 eight hundred burghers addressed the government, requiring the repeal of some obnoxious taxes, and the infusion of a more liberal element into the constitution. Refusing to comply, the authorities made preparations for defence, under the apprehension of civil war. Ambassadors from Berne

Zurich, and France, undertook the work of mediation; and at length a constitution on more liberal principles was proposed, and unanimously adopted, and tranquillity was restored.

It is pleasing to record that the protestant states of Switzerland were amongst the first to give a cordial welcome to the refugees who fled from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.; of these very considerable numbers came to Geneva, Berne, and Zurich. In Berne, the largest and richest of the states, between six and seven thousand refugees are said to have settled down under the protection of the government; which, together with Zurich, defied the wrath of their persecutor. The Genevese, from their proximity to France, though welcoming their afflicted brethren in the faith, were in constant dread of the vengeance of Louis XIV., who had uttered threats of punishing them for their hospitality—threats which he would doubtless have executed, but that his incessant wars denied him the fitting opportunity for gratifying his revenge.

Several disturbances arose in Geneva from the council having sentenced the works of Rousseau to be burnt, as injurious to truth and order. This step produced three factions in the state: the *representatives*, who claimed the right of the burgher assembly to present remonstrances to the council; the *negatives*, or adherents of the council, who denied the right; and the *habitans*, or *old inhabitants*, who were excluded by birth from public office. These three factions kept the state in a constant ferment, which was partially allayed by an arrangement in 1768, but, as we shall afterwards see, often broke out again.

Thus, continental insurrections, sometimes slight, but at other times serious and alarming, were gradually doing their work, loosening the foundations of national stability, and preparing the way for that revolutionary torrent which in a short time flowed so destructively over the kingdoms of Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

Greatness and Meanness.—A. D. 1648—1763.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

PETER THE GREAT.—HIS CHARACTER.—REFORM IN THE ARMY.—ATTENTION TO THE ART OF SHIP-BUILDING.—VISIT OF THE CZAR TO HOLLAND, ENGLAND, AND AUSTRIA.—IMPROVEMENTS AT HOME.—DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS OF PETER.—HIS EXAMPLES OF INDUSTRY.—AGGRESSIVE WARS.—FOUNDATIONS OF ST. PETERSBURG LAID.—SUSPECTED MURDER OF THE PRINCE ALEXIS.—CATHERINE I.—WAR WITH TURKEY.—FURTHER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—DEATH OF PETER.—ACCESSION OF THE EMPRESS.—PETER II.—ANNA IVANOWNA.—INFLUENCE OF BIREN.—DEATH OF ANNA.—IVAN III.—ELIZABETH.—WAR WITH SWEDEN.—VICTORIES OVER FREDERIC THE GREAT.

POLAND.—EVENTS FROM THE REIGN OF VLADISLAS TO THE DEATH OF SOBIESKI.—FREDERIC AUGUSTUS.—PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS.—FREDERIC DEPOSED.—STANISLAUS.—FREDERIC RE-INSTATED.—HIS DEATH.—STANISLAUS AGAIN ASSUMES THE THRONE.—AUGUSTUS III.—HIS INDOLENT HABITS.—RAPID DECLINE OF THE COUNTRY.

By the retirement of his imbecile brother, Ivan, in 1689, Peter became sole monarch of all the Russias, and soon showed himself to be well qualified for the peculiar position he was called to occupy as the monarch of a people just emerging from barbarism. Hitherto his half-sister, Sophia, had been the real ruler in the name of Ivan; but the energy of Peter's character could brook no partner in his power, he therefore completely subverted her influence, and at the early age of seventeen claimed uncontrolled authority.

This extraordinary man was a compound of a great variety of contradictory qualities. Evidently possessing

mental capacity of a very superior kind, he was yet accustomed to yield himself to sensual indulgences, and give way to paroxysms of anger which amounted almost to madness. It had been the base policy of Sophia to surround him with companions of the most corrupt morals, that she might thus enervate and degrade him, and so retain the government in her own hands. This fact may account for much in the conduct of Peter which darkened the lustre of his reign, and sometimes neutralised the beneficial tendency of his really patriotic plans. The great excellencies of Peter were that he had sagacity to discern what was wanted to promote the prosperity of his country, and an indomitable determination to obtain the elements of national greatness. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable—his courage and perseverance such as no difficulty could deter—and his faith in the final success of his efforts to civilize his people vigorous and enduring. His father Alexis had indeed commenced the work of improvement, but the glory of raising Russia to a condition in which she might emulate the progress of other nations, is unquestionably due to Peter. At the commencement of his reign, he had been induced to marry the daughter of the boyar Feodor Abrahamavich, for whom he appears to have had no affection. Galitzin, who had been associated with Sophia in the regency, finding that there was the prospect of an heir to the throne, and that thus his own ambitious schemes were likely to be frustrated, incited an insurrection against the young czar. This however was soon suppressed, and Galitzin banished to Archangel, all his estates being forfeited; while Sophia, who had encouraged the attempt, was confined in a convent for the remainder of her life.

The first reform Peter endeavoured to effect was in the army; and by the means of some foreign officers who had joined him, he carried out his plans. One method he employed was as sagacious as it was unusual. He entered himself as a private, and submitting to all the drill and discipline which were introduced for the first time, worked himself up through all the intermediate grades to the rank of a commissioned officer. All the young boyars were required to follow this example; against which they could not object, since it had been

exhibited by the sovereign himself. Indeed, this seems to have been his course through life, and was unquestionably one cause of his success. He was not content to issue orders and give directions, however wise and politic, but he took the lead personally in whatever scheme he wished to have accomplished: a suggestive lesson to all who desire to influence others.

In the time of his father, some Dutchmen had built a small vessel on the river which runs through Moscow; and this circumstance led him to give unceasing attention to the art of ship-building, and doubtless suggested the idea, which he afterwards cherished with so much earnestness, of obtaining an efficient navy. Having defeated the Turks at Azof, he opened to his country the Black Sea, afterwards the scene of so many Russian contests. The victory of Azof was followed by a conspiracy formed by some of the boyars who disliked these reforming measures, to put him to death; but it was discovered, and its authors executed.

That he might carry out his purposes of improvement more effectually, he encouraged foreign artisans to settle in Russia; besides sending a number of young Russians to Holland, Leghorn, and Venice, to acquire the art of ship-building. The rise which he made in the custom dues enabled him to meet the expense of these patriotic schemes, which otherwise must have been ruinous to a country so poor, though so extensive. Feeling the importance of a personal knowledge of the different industrial arts which he wished to introduce, he determined to visit some of the more eminent nations of Europe. He therefore first provided for the safety of his dominions by stationing general Gordon at Moscow with four thousand of his guards, investing him with full authority to repress any disorder. He then sent an embassy to Holland, and accompanied it himself, under the name of Peter Timmerman, attended by twelve persons only. They arrived at Saardam, in Holland, where having hired very humble lodging, he and his companions worked in the dockyards as shipwrights; he rose early, performed the most menial offices, and took his wages as a common labourer. Desirous of learning the practical art of seamanship, he spent all the time that could be spared from

his other avocations in sailing on the Zuyder-Zee. Rope-making, sail-making, and smiths' work, also engaged his attention. Anxious to make the most of his opportunity, he visited the various manufactories, and made himself master of all the details of their different employments; while, that he might obtain some knowledge of practical surgery, he frequented the hospitals, and learned to perform some of the simple operations of the healing art. In short, his whole time and his untiring energies were engaged in acquiring a practical acquaintance with those matters which he saw were essential to elevate his country.

From Holland he went to England; where, in the dockyard at Deptford, he pursued the same course. In this country he threw off his incognito, and was attended by the marquis of Carmarthen, whom William III. had appointed to that duty. His habits here seem to have been far from reputable, if the report be true that he and the marquis and others spent the time after work-hours at a public house near Tower hill, since called the czar's head, smoking and drinking. Not contenting themselves with beer, these roysterers are said to have addicted themselves to the use of brandy and pepper. All the dockyards and arsenals were visited by this enterprising monarch, and that not for a hasty and casual glance; but so that he might become thoroughly familiar with all the details and arrangements of the several departments. William had a yacht built and presented to him; and so highly did Peter prize the gift, that he preserved it with the greatest care, and used it in his own country as a model. When he left England he engaged several scientific men and skilful artisans to accompany him, that they might settle in Russia.

The next visit of Peter was to Vienna; where he wished to learn the discipline and appointments of the Austrian army, that he might arrange his own after the best pattern, with a view to those endeavours for territorial extension which were evidently as much part of his policy as internal improvements. He even designed to visit Italy; but hearing of the disturbed state of things in Russia, he thought it better to return.

A rebellion, supposed to have been fomented by the

princess Sophia and the priests, had broken out during his absence, and at first assumed a most threatening aspect; but by the energetic measures of general Gordon was soon suppressed, and the leaders taken prisoners. These were reserved to be disposed of at the will of the czar; and the severe and savage punishments he inflicted upon them show how thoroughly vicious were the feelings of his heart, notwithstanding the extent of his intellect and the general wisdom of his policy.

The knowledge he had acquired abroad was now applied at home. Regiments were raised and regulated after the Austrian pattern—printing presses were introduced—the finances were regulated on a systematic plan—the church was reformed, so far as such a reformer understood the work—the administration of the laws was transferred from the clergy to civil authorities—and even the dress and social habits of the people attempted to be improved.

In his own domestic arrangements, Peter displayed the same contempt for pomp which he had shown when on his travels. "In his humble abode at Petersburg, an abode which a mere artisan would hardly think good enough for himself, a bed, a chair, a table, a lathe, and some books, formed the whole of the furniture. Every thing in him was hostile to luxury; his clothes were plain, and even of a coarse cloth, calculated to wear well; his shoes, which were solid and clumsy, were frequently mended. His habitual food, that which he preferred, was such as was eaten by the people. He drank however to excess. Deplorable orgies occurred, but less frequent than they are supposed to have been, where he was too often seen overcome by a shameful or a furious intoxication; but where, still oftener, proving himself more powerful than his excesses, he kept his senses, and patiently bore the rash language which intemperance prompted to his convivial companions. His court, at common times, consisted only of a few officers to convey his orders. He waited upon himself, rose at four in the morning, and lighted his fire with his own hands."

Many a time was he seen working in the manufactories which he had established. It is known that he often offered himself to pilot the European vessels which came to Cronstadt, and that he received, like other pilots, the

pay of a service which he considered as an honour, and which he was desirous to render honourable: everything, even the major part of his most trifling actions, tended to a great purpose. Thus, on his return to Moscow, he went to the master of the forge, and enquired what he paid his workmen. "Well then," said he, "I, at that rate have earned eight altins (about thirteen pence), and I am come for the money;" having received it, he added, that with that sum he would buy himself a new pair of shoes, of which he was in great want. He hastened to the market to make his purchase, which he afterwards felt a pleasure in wearing. "See what I earned by the sweat of my brow," said he to his courtiers; thus priding himself on the fruits of his labour, in the eyes of a nobility whom he wished to cure of the haughty oriental indolence with which they were imbued. Thus, as we before observed, he constantly enforced precept by example.

It would have been well if Peter had confined himself to these measures of internal reform and national progress, and taught his subjects the arts of peace, as well as those of civilization; but that was perhaps too much to expect from such an ambitious temper as his. Though crowds of artizans settled in Russia, by whose skill vessels were built which were soon seen on the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the ocean; though colleges, libraries, and public buildings of various kinds were being rapidly erected, he still thirsted for extended dominion and military glory; and therefore, in 1700, he formed an alliance with Denmark and Poland, to strip Charles XII. of Sweden, of some of his possessions. But he had found an adversary as energetic as himself; and at the siege of Narva, though heading a force numbering eighty thousand Russians, he sustained a severe defeat by the youthful Charles, who had only eight thousand men under his command. Peter seemed to expect this, for he coolly remarked that the Swedes must beat him for a time, but that they would eventually teach him to beat them; and with determination only increased by failure, he raised fresh armies, and succeeded in taking Narva and Ingria. But while occupied with these unjustifiable wars, he continued his improvements at home; and in 1703, laid the foundations of St. Petersburg, on a place which he had recently taken from Sweden.

The site of this celebrated city was in many respects unfavourable, being low and marshy, and surrounded by dense forests, abounding with bears and wolves; but as it was suitable for checking the encroachments of the Swedes, and the only place adapted for realizing the great desire of Peter, of establishing a trade with the civilized nations of Europe, he resolved to surmount every difficulty, and make it a fortified city: with what success, its present extent and magnificence sufficiently demonstrate.

By his first wife, whom he had divorced and confined in a convent, he had a son named Alexis, whose dissipation and turbulence gave him considerable trouble; after many expostulations and threatenings he had him brought before the judges on the charge of rebellion, Peter himself appearing as his accuser. Whether justly or unjustly, the unhappy prince was found guilty, and condemned to death; and the following day, apparently seized with a severe illness, he died in the greatest agony, murdered, as was generally believed, by his unnatural parent. Indeed, the fits of passion in which this extraordinary man indulged, increased by frequent intoxication, were often ungovernable, and hurried him into the commission of the most atrocious cruelties towards those who offended him. Happy would it have been for him had he felt with Solomon, that "he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." (Prov. xvi. 32.)

When the siege of Marienburg, previously belonging to the Swedes, had been successfully terminated, a young girl was found amongst the prisoners of such exquisite beauty, that she excited general attention, and was at length conducted to the presence of the czar; who, struck with her appearance and manners, determined to make her his wife, and accordingly married her, first privately, and afterwards publicly. Such was the sudden and unlooked-for event by which Catherine I. ascended a throne, and Peter obtained a companion, whose gentleness, prudence, and affection, exerted a most beneficial influence upon the subsequent career of this hitherto untameable despot, often restraining his passion by her soothing attentions, when all around were trembling with fear. This extraordinary woman is said to have been found neglected

and forsaken in a snow storm, when quite an infant, by a Livonian pastor, who rescued her from death, and adopted her as his own daughter: repaying this kindness with filial affection, she was taken prisoner by the Russians, when seeking the body of her adopted parent amongst the wounded and the dead, after the taking of Marienburg. So impressed was Peter with her superiority of mind and character, that some years after their marriage she was crowned "Empress of all the Russias;" the czar himself placing the royal diadem upon her brow.

The war between Peter and Charles continued, until the defeat of the latter at Pultowa; when Charles induced the Turks to declare war against Russia. Peter, with his usual ardour, entered the country of the Mussulmans, but neglecting to keep up a communication with his own dominions, soon found himself surrounded by his foes: after three days' action the condition of his army became desperate, and no prospect appeared but starvation and slaughter. In this extremity, Catherine, who had accompanied her husband in the campaign, now showed the superiority of her mind; collecting such plate and other valuables as the camp supplied, she sent them as a present to the grand vizier, by the hands of a faithful officer, and solicited negotiations for a truce. The Turks, who were probably ignorant of the real condition of the Russians, consented; and after some delay a treaty of peace was signed, by which Peter gave up the towns of Azof and Taganrog, and the Turks supplied his army with provisions.

On his return, so impressed was Peter with the great services of Catherine, that he not only officiated at her coronation, but instituted a company called "the knights of the empress," the honours of which could be conferred only by the empress herself. Exhausted by excessive labours, and suffering under a severe complaint aggravated by his intemperance, he was compelled for a season to seek repose, but soon renewed his old quarrel with Sweden, which he deprived of Finland, Esthonia, and Livonia; having thus completely crippled the power of Charles, he again took a tour through the European states. In this journey, Catherine accompanied him: pictures, cabinets of birds and insects, and everything fitted to enrich or orna-

ment was collected; but the circumstance which above all others gratified the ambition of Peter in this journey, was his being appointed to the temporary command of the combined fleet of Russia, Denmark, England, and the United Provinces, when on the look-out for the ships of Charles. Elevated to the highest point of political greatness, he now directed all his attention to the improvement of the internal condition of his kingdom: canals were cut, palaces were built, wharves, fortifications, ships were completed; the trade of Moscow transferred to St. Petersburg, which rapidly became a flourishing city; manufactories of woollen and linen cloths were encouraged, hospitals instituted, and all the materials of national greatness provided. The only thing wanting was the influence of true religion: of this, unhappily, Peter was ignorant; but though a stranger to piety himself, he manifested a spirit of tolerance which might put many to the blush who make greater profession. His directions being asked as to the treatment of those who had adopted, or seemed likely to adopt, views at variance with the Greek church, his reply was, "First endeavour to convince them; if that fails, try again; and if that should not succeed, let them alone."* At length, worn out with disease and intemperance, he closed his busy life on the 28th of January, 1725, in the fifty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by the empress.

Peter was altogether an extraordinary character, and the most contradictory qualities were alternately exhibited by him. Vast enterprises and the most ludicrous pursuits engaged his attention successively. Sometimes savage even to ferocity, at others exercising the utmost humanity and kindness of heart, he was a striking illustration of the insufficiency of vast powers to produce real greatness when left to fitful impulse, without the governing principle of piety. "He gave a polish," says Voltaire, "to his people, and was himself a savage; he taught them the art

* "A certain number of French refugees," says count Lagarde, "penetrated into the interior of Russia, and formed a little colony, at once agricultural and commercial, on the banks of the Volga. Their descendants continue to form, according to the testimony of a modern traveller, a distinct community, whose members go every year, from the village they inhabit, near the great river, to the fair of Makarieff, there to traffic with the Hindoos. According to this writer, they have preserved, in the heart of the Russian empire, the complete costume of Louis XIV.'s reign, not excepting the large skirted coat and the voluminous peruke; and they still express themselves in the classic language of the cotemporaries of Corneille and Racine."

of war, of which he himself was ignorant; from the sight of a small boat on the river Moskwa, he created a powerful fleet, made himself an expert and active shipwright, sailor, pilot, and commander; he changed the manners, customs, and laws of the Russians, and lives in their memory as the father of his country."

Catherine I. reigned only two years and a few months, when she died of cancer in the breast, aggravated by excessive indulgence in Tokay wine, at the early age of thirty-eight years. During her reign, Menschikoff, who had been elevated by Peter from the lowest obscurity, possessed most extensive power, and founded the family so well known in after years.

Peter II., son of the unfortunate Alexis, succeeded, in accordance with the will of Catherine, but was carried off by small pox in less than three years, and by his death ended the male line of the Romanoffs. Anna Ivanowna, duchess of Courland, the daughter of Ivan the elder brother of Peter I., now ascended the throne. The first three years of the reign of this empress were marked with promising appearances. Improvements were made in the mode of conducting the government; five separate departments of administration were instituted, and the whole controlled by a cabinet. Some nobles who had attempted to produce a revolution were banished to distant parts of the empire, without being exposed to heavier punishment. Liberty was gradually extended to the various classes of the gentry, and it was hoped that Anna would complete what Peter had begun, but this fair prospect was soon clouded: yielding herself to an infatuated and dishonourable attachment to an unworthy favourite named Biren, the grandson of a groom, she soon became his slave, and under his influence gave way to the most oppressive and tyrannical measures; confusion and disorder soon ensued. Her wars were unsuccessful; and places which had been wrested from Turkey by Peter I., were ingloriously restored; terror brooded over the kingdom; the soldiers, instead of receiving regular pay, were allowed free quarters wherever they happened to be located, and villages and towns once flourishing were speedily depopulated by the fierce violence of men who, no longer under sufficient authority, became no better than

brigands. The nobles who ventured to oppose Biren were put to death in the most cruel manner. The empress was in fact the mere creature of Biren, who ruled supreme, and who in 1737 himself became duke of Courland, still retaining the chief authority in Russia. Under his rule exile was thought a light punishment. "Many," says a Russian writer, "were knouted, many had their tongues cut out, and not a few were broken on the wheel." Eleven thousand are supposed to have perished in this manner, besides upwards of twenty thousand banished.

Without sufficient strength of purpose to free herself from this dishonourable slavery, and yet painfully conscious of the guilt she was attaching to herself, and the misery she was bringing on her people, Anna yielded to all the bitterness of remorse, and died in 1740, in the forty-seventh year of her age, bequeathing the crown to her nephew Ivan, the grandson of her elder sister Catherine. Thus, by criminal indulgence and weakness was a reign which commenced most auspiciously, converted into a course of tyranny and oppression, which has made the name of Anna to be recorded only with execrations.

Ivan III. had, by the will of Anna, been left under the guardianship of Biren as regent; but such was the hatred in which he was held that the people banished him to Siberia, and allowed the mother of the young emperor to assume the reins of government: this, however, was but a short-lived arrangement; giving way to indolence and disgraceful indulgences, she was soon with her husband and child consigned to a dungeon, and Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great by Catherine, proclaimed empress.

1741.—Elizabeth was very unwilling to accept the perilous honour of a throne, either from indolence or fear; but being persuaded by her friends, and especially by a surgeon named Lestoque, she allowed herself to be proclaimed. Of a gentle and amiable disposition, like her celebrated mother, she acquired the esteem of all parties at the commencement of her reign; and great hopes were entertained of a peaceful and prosperous course for Russia after its late troubles. Having made a vow never to sign a death-warrant, Elizabeth never inflicted a heavier punishment than exile to Siberia. She was called to sustain a war with the Swedes, who were desirous of regaining

Finland: Russia, however, retained the province, and in addition took several other places from them and added them to her own. Elizabeth did not long continue at peace; taking part in the seven years' war, she joined the allies of the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, and acquired several victories over Frederic the Great, against whom she had a most determined hatred.

The latter years of her life were disgraced by intemperance and sensual passion of the most unblushing character; and which ultimately led to her death, in 1762, in her fifty-third year. Never having been married, though leaving several natural children, the crown passed to her nephew. Here again, we have to mourn over vicious indulgence, changing one who was once lovely, amiable, and gentle, into an intemperate sensualist; a disgrace to her sex; a tyrant to her subjects; and the butt of scorn against which the infidel Frederic continually directed his bitter sarcasms. Yielding herself and her government to the unworthy favourite she selected, equity and justice were little regarded, and oppression and cruelty were perpetrated with perfect impunity. She attempted to complete the system of law which her father had commenced, but indolence and vice prevailed, and the work was left incomplete.

POLAND.

The days of the glory of this country were rapidly passing away, though one or two of her later kings attempted to arrest their course. Internal factions, religious disputes, foreign interference, were all conspiring to deprive the republic of the proud independence it once claimed. The dreadful wars with the Russians, Turks, and especially the Cossacks, in the reign of Vladislas, prevented that internal reform which the king was both able and inclined to accomplish. John Casimir II. was a mere instrument in the hands of the Jesuits, whose intolerance and continual interference prevented the possibility of peace, and at length induced the wearied John to resign and retire to France.

The election of Michael Coribut, in 1668, was the result of one of those sudden fits of enthusiasm which sometimes seize popular assemblies. Obscure in station, infirm in body and feeble in mind, Michael was little inclined to

accept the proffered honour, and with tears in his eyes begged to be allowed to decline; and when met by the cries of—"Most serene king, you *shall* reign!" mounted his horse, and fled from the scene: but this availed not, he was brought back and compelled to sign the *pacta conventa*, and assume the title of king. Such an arrangement, unsuitable in all cases, was especially so with such a factious people, and plots were soon formed to deprive him of the throne. Foremost amongst the conspirators was his own queen, who conceived the idea of obtaining a divorce and marrying the successor, whoever he might be, should her husband be dethroned. Counter-plots by others, equally ambitious, prevented any decisive result, especially as the Poles were engaged with continual wars; and Michael, dying in 1673, was succeeded by John III. (Sobieski), a prince of a very different character. Eminent as a warrior, he not only rescued his country from the alarming assaults of the Turks and other foes, but performed such remarkable exploits on behalf of his neighbours, particularly in the deliverance of Vienna when in its greatest peril, that he was regarded as one of the most able generals of his age, and the only effectual opponent to the encroaching spirit of Turkey.

But while distinguished as a general, John was very deficient as a king. Yielding the reins of government to his queen, a bad and an ambitious woman, every department of the state soon fell into the greatest confusion. All the offices of trust were put up for sale; or what was identical, were granted to those who could bring the largest bribes. The palace was the scene of the most disgraceful disputes; and the will of the king as inoperative as the whims of a child. In the diet he was often assailed with the cry of "traitor, traitor," and he was desired to descend from a dignity for which he was unfit. Indeed, to such an extent was this disaffection carried, that John seriously deliberated the expediency of abdication. Persuaded however by his friends to continue in office, he retained the name of king until 1696, when he died, conveying with his dying breath an intimation that he had been poisoned, and that by his wife.

Thus did John Sobieski tarnish, by an inexcusable weakness, the lustre of a reign which otherwise was the

most illustrious in the Polish annals, and foster the decay of his country, which he saved from foreign despotism by his splendid victories.

During the interregnum, the intrigues of France and Austria were diligently employed, but terminated in the election of Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, in 1697. This prince, in order to procure his election, abjured protestantism, and courted the favour of the Jesuits by promising to establish them in Poland. He is said to have been of gigantic stature, and of such immense strength that, being present at a bull fight at Madrid, he seized one of the infuriated animals by the horns, and dashed it to the ground in the midst of the arena. Distrusting his new subjects, he surrounded himself with Saxon troops, and thus produced so much discontent, that the Germans could not go beyond the limits of the capital without risk of assassination. Intolerant in his temper, and yielding to the influence of the Jesuits, the dissidents, as the protestants were called, were cruelly persecuted on the most frivolous pretences. Having formed an alliance with Peter the Great against Charles XII., of Sweden, whose youthful ardour he affected to despise, he soon learned the error he had committed in exciting the displeasure of that warlike king. Poland being, as usual, torn with factions, one of the most considerable of the parties joined the Swedes, and soon succeeded in deposing Frederic; and, by the absolute will of Charles, Stanislaus, palatine of Posnania, was elevated to the throne. So long as Charles maintained his military superiority, Stanislaus, who was well fitted for regal power, without being ambitious to possess it, retained his authority; but the defeat of his patron at Pultowa compelled him to retire, and leave the throne to Frederic, who was again called to occupy it. Civil dissensions, as might be expected, were the inevitable results of these frequent changes; these, increased by religious animosities, were yet more intensified by the loss of Courland, which became eventually annexed to Russia, after the death of Catherine I.

This disastrous reign was closed by the death of Frederic in 1733, and the usual disorder of an interregnum followed. Severe laws were passed against the dissidents, who were deprived of their civil rights, and, at the same

time, forbidden to leave the country. By the influence of France, sixty thousand votes of the diet chose Stanislaus, now father-in-law to Louis XV., to reoccupy the throne ; but quietly pursuing philosophical studies in his duchy of Lorraine, this amiable prince was unwilling to accept the precarious dignity, until overcome by the persuasions of Louis, and the solicitations of the nobles, he consented to present himself at Warsaw, where he was received with the acclamations of his friends.

His possession of royal power was however doomed to be but brief, and he was compelled to retire again from this uncertain throne, while a less worthy but more successful competitor occupied his place. Had Poland been free, Stanislaus would doubtless have continued to hold the reins ; but this was not the case. Austria and Russia were gradually bringing the republic entirely under their power, and it was their will that Augustus Frederic, or as he is now generally called, Augustus III., son of the late monarch, should put in his claim. Excessively indolent and fond of pleasure, he refused, until his wife, a daughter of the emperor Joseph I., roused him to action ; and the Russians having sent an army into the neighbourhood of Warsaw, Augustus and his queen presented themselves in Silesia, and, having sworn to the *pacta conventa*, were crowned at Cracow. The unfortunate Stanislaus fled to Dantzic, pursued by the Russians, and after sustaining a siege of five months' duration, when the city was about to capitulate, escaped into Prussia, after encountering many perils.

Augustus now gave himself up to self-indulgence without reserve: smoking or hunting occupied all his time ; business of every kind was totally neglected, or attended to by the minister Bruhl only, and by him no further than imperative necessity demanded. The utmost interest the slothful king displayed, was to enquire with sleepy air, amid the continual fumes of tobacco smoke, " Bruhl, have I any money ?" and receiving the constant reply of " Yes, sir," relapsed into his inglorious idleness, which was only to be interrupted by the useless occupation of the chase. If he had money, it was obtained by means which rapidly reduced both Saxony and Poland to beggary ; but this never disturbed the royal voluptuary. Finding the woods

of Saxony more adapted for hunting than Poland, the greater part of his time was passed there; but his minister having formed an alliance with Great Britain, in defence of Maria Theresa against the attacks of Frederic the Great of Prussia, that energetic monarch marched to Dresden at the head of one hundred thousand men, conquered every thing in his way, and compelled Augustus and his minister to flee into Poland. By the truce which followed, Saxony was restored, and Maria Josepha, daughter of Augustus, was married to the dauphin of France, from which marriage proceeded Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., kings of France. Neglecting the instructions of past failure, Augustus, or rather his minister, under the influence of Russia, formed an alliance with the czarina to attack Prussia, and partition the country; but, without waiting to be assailed, Frederic, ever on the alert, again invaded Saxony, and took the whole army prisoners. Indeed, Russian influence had now become supreme in Poland: every thing emanated from St. Petersburg. To that imperial city the aspirants for Polish honours constantly resorted; the internal regulations of the kingdom came from thence. The king was a cipher, nay an incumbrance, and every thing betokened the coming overthrow of the state. Some true-hearted Poles laboured for the salvation of their country, but in vain. Among these Branicki, grand-general of the crown, stands pre-eminent; but the end was coming, the shadow of future doom was projected on the unhappy country, and its spoilers had but to "bide their time."

The empress Catherine II. had formed the purpose of deposing the poor puppet who occupied the throne, and placing one of her favourites in his stead; but she afterwards determined on delay, and entered into an alliance with Prussia to concert measures for the ultimate division of the country. The way was soon cleared for further arrangements by the death of Augustus, who expired at Dresden in 1763.

"Though under Augustus Frederic Poland entered on no foreign war, his reign was the most disastrous in her annals. While the Muscovite and Prussian armies traversed her plains at pleasure, and extorted whatever they pleased; while one faction openly opposed another, not

merely in the diet, but in the field ; while every national assembly was immediately dissolved by the veto ; the laws could not be expected to exercise much authority. They were, in fact, utterly disregarded ; the tribunals were derided, or forcibly overturned ; and brute force prevailed on every side. The miserable peasants vainly besought the protection of their lords, who were either powerless, or indifferent to their complaints ; while thousands expired of hunger, a far greater number sought to relieve their necessities by open depredation. Bands of robbers, less formidable only than the kindred masses congregated under the name of soldiers, infested the country in every direction. Famine aided the devastations of both : the population, no less than the wealth of the kingdom, decreased with frightful rapidity."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Madman of the North.—A. D. 1648—1771.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

SWEDEN.—CHARLES X.—HIS MILITARY GENIUS.—INVASION OF POLAND.—WAR WITH DENMARK AND HOLLAND.—CHARLES XI.—A REGENCY APPOINTED.—THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.—CONDUCT OF CHARLES TO HIS SENATE.—HIS DEATH.—CHARLES XII.—HIS PASSION FOR MILITARY GLORY.—ALLIANCE AGAINST HIM.—HIS GREAT SUCCESSES.—PROCEEDINGS IN POLAND.—FATAL EXPEDITION TO RUSSIA.—RESIDENCE IN TURKEY.—PLOT TO ASSASSINATE CHARLES.—HE IS KILLED IN A SIEGE.—SWEDEN A REFUGE FOR THE PROTESTANTS.—FREDERIC AND ULRICA ELEONORA.—PEACE RESTORED.—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM.—THREATENED ATTACK BY RUSSIA.—ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.—CONSPIRACY TO ALTER THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.—WAR WITH PRUSSIA.—DEATH OF ADOLPHUS.

DENMARK.—FREDERIC III.—TURBULENT SPIRIT OF THE NOBLES.—ALLIANCE WITH HOLLAND.—PERFIDIOUS CONDUCT OF FREDERIC.—ALTERATION IN THE GOVERNMENT.—DEATH OF FREDERIC.—CHRISTIERN V.—HIS BEHAVIOUR TO ADOLF, DUKE OF HOLSTEIN.—BATTLE OF LUNDEN.—SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.—FREDERIC IV.—FRESH ATTACK ON HOLSTEIN.—RUPTURE WITH SWEDEN.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—CHRISTIERN VI.—MAINTENANCE OF PEACE.—FREDERIC V.—HIS OPPOSITION TO WAR.—EXTENSION OF COMMERCE.—ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE, RELIGION, AND ARTS.—CARSTEN NIEBUHR.—DEATH OF FREDERIC.

SWEDEN.

ON the abdication of the eccentric Christina, in 1654, her cousin, Charles X., son of John Casimir, count palatine of the Rhine, ascended the throne. This prince, like his

uncle Gustavus Adolphus, was distinguished for his military genius and enterprising character. Fearless in the midst of the greatest perils, following out his plans with persevering devotedness, ambitious of the fame of a warrior; he was warmly welcomed by his subjects, by whom martial pre-eminence was held in high esteem. An opportunity for displaying his talents as a general was soon afforded him by John Casimir, king of Poland, who, irritated by his exclusion from the Swedish throne, to which as the last scion of the house of Vasa he thought himself entitled, directed his ambassador at Stockholm to protest against the election. This rash procedure afforded Charles a pretext for warlike measures, which he was quite willing to adopt; and being encouraged still further by the representations of the vice-chancellor of Poland, Radzichowski, whom John had flagrantly injured, he determined to invade the country.

Sixty thousand men were quickly landed in Pomerania, and penetrated into Great Poland. Taking advantage of the religious disputes which were agitating the country, Charles proclaimed himself the champion of protestantism, and the decided friend of religious freedom. The Lutherans, attracted by these professions, flocked to his standard, and, with greatly increased numbers, he led his troops to Warsaw and Cracow, which readily submitted to his power. Several palatinates joining him, and the grand duchy favouring his invasion, John Casimir fled before the victorious progress of his foe, and sought refuge in Silesia. This extraordinary success of the Swedish king was owing, not merely to his energetic character as a man, although that was one cause, but also very considerably to the earnest desire which was felt by the country generally to be delivered from that bondage, both in reference to religion and civil matters, in which they had been held for some time past. Added to these considerations, we must not overlook the fact, that John, yielding to his fears, had not made even the show of resistance, but had fled at the very first rumour of invasion. From these various causes combined, Charles had effected a complete triumph, and succeeded in subduing all Poland to his authority, and removing its name for a time from the list of independent nations. But "pride goeth before destruction, and a

haughty spirit before a fall." Inflated with success, the kingdom of Poland prostrate at his feet, Cromwell, the protector of England, courting his alliance with a general confederacy of protestant princes which he wished to form, Charles began to display considerable arrogance towards the unfortunate Poles. His soldiers indulged in the excesses of military license, while the catholics employed these facts to excite the disaffection of the people. A reaction took place, and numbers crowded around John in his exile, and urged him to make an effort to recover his crown. Russia assumed a threatening attitude; and symptoms appeared on every side which showed that, if Sweden was to maintain her hold on Poland, she would have to succeed in fiercer struggles than she had yet attempted.

Several defeats tended to humble the pride of Charles. Dantzic held out for John with brave determination, though invested by the Swedish troops; and the grand-general, Potocki, entirely routed the duke of Transylvania, who had come to the assistance of Charles. The elector of Brandenburg, disappointed in his hope of sharing the dominions of the republic, left the standard of Charles and allied himself with the Poles, while Holland, Hungary, and Germany, came to their help. Charles now felt that his glory had been but a dream, and his success no better than a vision of the night. Sweden was invaded by Denmark, and the conqueror was obliged to retire to defend his own dominions; thus Poland was free once more, with the exception of Pomerania, where the contest continued even after the death of Charles.

Transferring the war from Poland to Denmark, the warlike Swede succeeded in obtaining some of the finest provinces of the Danes, and three times besieged Copenhagen, but without success. In these attempts he had to encounter the opposition of the Dutch, whose interests were as much involved as the safety of Denmark in driving Charles from the Sound. Accordingly Opdam, who succeeded Tromp, was sent to the Baltic, where he was met by Wrangel, the Swedish admiral: a fierce engagement ensued, while the kings of Denmark and Sweden looked on, ending in the defeat of Charles' fleet. Other encounters took place under Opdam's successor, De Ruyter,

with similar results. Persisting in his obstinate endeavour to capture Copenhagen, although his army was perishing in the adjacent island of Funen, he was at length compelled to desist by the determined representations of Holland and England, enforced by a squadron from the latter power. In this, Algernon Sidney went as ambassador, and, in conjunction with the Dutch representatives, insisted on the siege being raised. Indignant as the haughty warrior felt at this demand, he saw that it was vain to refuse the united squadrons, which could so easily starve his army into submission while shut up in a small island, he therefore consented, exclaiming, "It is cruel that laws should be prescribed me by parricides and pedlars." Thus, just at the time of expected success, he was obliged to quit his prey, and sign a peace much more favourable to Denmark than could have been expected. After this severe disappointment he returned to his own country, where, seized with fever, he died in 1660, leaving it as his dying counsel that his ministers should make peace with all his foes, perhaps seeing amid the realities of death how vain a thing was that military glory he had so much desired.

Charles XI. was but an infant at the death of his father, and therefore a regency was appointed, consisting of five of the nobles, under the presidency of the queen, to whom was entrusted the management of affairs. In accordance with the advice of the late king, treaties of peace were arranged and signed with Poland and Holland, and a truce with Russia concluded; a welcome period of repose after the exhausting strife in which they had so long been engaged. An alliance was formed with France; but it involved the Swedes in the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV., and was soon broken. In the famous "triple alliance" of 1668, Sweden joined with Holland and England to endeavour to check the encroachments of the French king; this however soon fell to pieces by the treachery of Charles II., and the intrigues of Louis. Having been detached from this alliance, the Swedes were induced to attack Brandenburg, then under the rule of "the great elector;" but in most instances they were defeated, and on one occasion Frederic William pursued them in sledges across the Gulf of Finland, and routed

them near Riga. Arbitrary and determined in his character, Charles determined to destroy the authority of his senate, which he had been persuaded to believe had encroached upon his power. Summoning them therefore to meet at Stockholm to confer on matters of state, he took the precaution to quarter several regiments of soldiers in and about the city, and thus compelled them to concede his demands, until a commission was appointed to enquire into the relative rights and powers of himself and his council. This commission being composed of those who were completely under his influence, brought up a report by which Charles claimed absolute authority, and independence of the advice of the senate. This unprincipled procedure produced considerable excitement, and, fearing that the despotism would be carried yet further, the nobles insisted that their ancient privileges should be respected, and drew up a remonstrance to that effect, which was presented to the king by Patkul, one of their number; but, resenting their conduct in the spirit of a tyrant, he convicted all the remonstrants of high treason, and sentenced the unfortunate Patkul to be deprived of his honours and estates, to lose his right hand, and then to be put to death.

From motives of faction, it is to be feared, rather than from genuine kindness, he defended Adolf, duke of Holstein Gottorp, against Christiern, king of Denmark; carefully avoiding at the same time any open rupture with that monarch. Throughout his reign he was upheld by the influence of Louis XIV.; without whose protection he and his country, notwithstanding the valour of the Swedes, might have been ruined.

This unprincipled king died in 1697, without having done any thing for his kingdom but enslaving her with the bonds of despotism, and reducing her ultimately to a state of dependence on more powerful states.

Charles XII. succeeded his father at the early age of fifteen. His mother had been appointed regent; but influenced partly by the persuasions of others, and partly by the impetuosity of his own temper, he very soon took the government into his own hands. Brought up in the despotic principles of his father, he exhibited from his early youth the most obstinate self-will, and an over-

whelming passion for military glory. With a courage which nothing could daunt, he possessed amazing strength, and was capable of enduring the greatest extremes of hunger and fatigue. Plain in his manners, observing the strictest abstinence in his food, he was entirely free from any inclination for sensual indulgences, and lived only to fight and conquer.

His early youth and the distracted state of his country encouraged Peter I. of Russia, Frederic IV. of Denmark, and Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, to form an alliance for seizing and dividing his dominions amongst them; an enterprise which they considered not difficult to accomplish. By no means alarmed at the threatening danger, Charles speedily prepared for the struggle, transported a body of troops to the island of Zealand, and besieged Copenhagen with such vigour, that in a few weeks he compelled the king of Denmark to sue for peace. Frederic having consented to reinstate the duke of Holstein in his kingdom, Charles granted a peace, and proceeded to deal with his other foes. At Narva he met with Peter I. at the head of eighty thousand Russians, and totally defeated him, though he had not more than eight thousand men to bring into the conflict. His next encounter was with the Polish and Saxon armies, whom he totally routed, and followed up his victory by seizing the whole of Courland and Lithuania. Successes like these, achieved by a youth yet in the seventeenth year of his age, attracted universal attention, and produced some amount of alarm as to his future career. Resolving to reduce Poland entirely beneath his power, Charles compelled Augustus to resign the Polish crown, and sign a deed of abdication, by which he renounced all his claims in favour of Stanislaus Leczinski, a Polish palatine, whom the Swedish monarch raised to the throne. The history of Poland shows that in this arrangement he was aided by the factious state of the republic, and the disposition which ever prevailed there to be dissatisfied with the reigning monarch: an essential circumstance indeed at all times for the success of despots and usurpers.

But the young warrior had still to contend with his most powerful opponent, the emperor of Russia. Before

however he came to the actual struggle he fixed his headquarters at Leipsic, and received ambassadors from nearly all the courts of Europe, amongst which his fame had rapidly spread. The duke of Marlborough had a long interview with him, and endeavoured to induce him to join England and the other powers united against the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV.; but the politics of Charles were limited to the north, and he declined to aid the coalition. As the champion of a faith, to the power of which it is to be feared he was a stranger, he compelled Leopold I., emperor of Germany, to grant religious liberty to the protestants in Silesia, and make over several churches for their use.

His chief purpose now was to dethrone Peter I., and the great czar evidently felt somewhat doubtful as to his security before the progress of the daring youth, and offered him terms of peace. These offers Charles haughtily and contemptuously refused; and at the head of a noble army of forty-three thousand men left Leipsic, intending to march direct to Moscow. Peter retired beyond the river Dnieper, and by desolating the country, and other expedients, endeavoured to impede the advance of the Swedes. The czar was led to attempt this mode of warfare doubtless from the recollection of the defeat he had so recently endured in Lithuania, and by which his army was weakened for a time. But Charles, like others who have attempted the work, soon found that military skill and fearless courage are not sufficient qualifications for a Russian campaign. Like Napoleon the Great, his proposed march to Moscow taught him that the natural obstacles of soil and climate defy all the arts of strategy, and can bend even the most determined will. Amid surrounding wastes and inhospitable plains, with provisions so scanty that they were not likely to last many days, the king found his position alarming. But still his resolution was to press onwards. Yes, press onwards, though his army was dying around him; though the heaps of frozen corpses marked the stages of his progress;—press onwards! and for what? to gratify the mad ambition of one man who thirsts to be praised as a conqueror. Oh! wretched exhibition of human selfishness, and wretched folly of the human family to call such

men great! Finding the obstacles in his way insurmountable, Charles turned towards the Ukraine, where he expected to meet with Mazeppa, the chief of the Cossacks, who had promised to bring considerable reinforcements. But Peter was as vigilant and energetic as Charles, and so disturbed the plans of Mazeppa, that when he joined the king it was more in the character of a fugitive than that of an ally. Surrounded by desolate plains, his army wasting away from exposure and destitution, Charles had to endure a winter of unusual severity, depending for sustenance upon the scanty provisions that the Cossacks under Mazeppa were able to secure.

1709.—In the spring the army was reduced very low, and the king looked anxiously for the arrival of general Löwenhaupt and the troops he had left in Poland. Again was he called to endure disappointment. Löwenhaupt came, but his army was shattered by repeated attacks, and his baggage and artillery lost. He could not now muster more than 18,000 of his own troops; and with these and about the same number of Cossacks, he laid siege to the town of Pultowa, where he hoped to secure the large amount of stores which the Russians had laid up. He prosecuted the siege with vigour, but was met with a determined defence; and the place held out till the czar came to its relief. Charles was soon obliged to hazard an engagement against the overwhelming numbers of the Russians. After a most severe conflict the Swedes were totally defeated, and half their army left dead on the field. With the remnant of his forces the king made a rapid retreat towards the frontiers of Turkey, which he reached almost alone. The sultan, Achmet III., whose protection he sought, received him with the utmost hospitality, made him a liberal allowance, and gave him the town of Bender for his residence. Here his restless spirit was employed in devising plans for future campaigns. By his earnest and persevering advice, the sultan was induced to declare war against Peter, whom he would have effectually subdued, but for the prudent conduct of the czarina, afterwards Catherine I. Irritated at the escape of his foe, Charles succeeded in obtaining the dismissal of the grand vizier, who had made the terms with Peter. This however only complicated his condition still further.

The new vizier, convinced that so long as the king remained in the country there would be no possibility of preserving peace, requested him to leave Turkey. This he positively refused to do, and conducted himself so offensively, that they surrounded his house with troops, with whom Charles and his few attendants ventured to fight. The unequal contest was ended by his being taken prisoner, and committed to slight confinement. At length, finding that it was impossible to persuade the sultan to carry out his mad schemes, he mounted his horse, and with a single attendant left Turkey, after an abode of five years. Crossing Hungary and Germany in sixteen days, he arrived at Stralsund on a dark November night, where he found the city besieged by the Danes and the Russians. For some months he continued here and gallantly defended the place, and obtained some advantages against the combined powers of Prussia, Denmark, Saxony, and Russia. But unable to contend against such a powerful coalition, he fled into Sweden; but even then refused to return to Stockholm until he had regained his military fame. While thus struggling with disappointment and defeat, he entered into correspondence with Alberoni, the restless minister at Madrid, and a scheme was formed, though never executed, for placing the pretender on the English throne, and exalting Spain to the position she once occupied in Europe. He also entered into secret negotiations with Peter; when it was agreed that Charles should retain his conquests in the Gulf of Finland, and marry the grandduchess Anna, daughter of Peter, and that Stanislaus should be restored to the Polish throne. These arrangements, which would have entirely disconcerted the plans of his foes, were frustrated by the Danes having seized a Swedish dispatch which revealed the whole. It was then resolved to assassinate Charles before the treaty should be completed. This plot was also frustrated, or as it may be more correctly stated, was rendered unnecessary, by the death of its intended victim before the time.

The war with Denmark had not been interrupted by the treaties which Charles had formed with other powers. In 1716 he invaded Norway, and penetrated the country as far as the city of Christiania, with an army of twenty

thousand men ; but the want of provisions compelled him to return to Sweden. Undeterred by this disappointment, he invaded it again in 1718, while his negotiations with Peter were in progress. Having undertaken the siege of Friedrichshall in person, he was busily engaged inspecting the trenches, fearlessly exposing himself to the fire of the batteries, when he was struck on the head by a cannon-ball, and died instantly. Thus, on the 11th of December, 1718, ended, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, the career of one whose only object seemed to be to keep the world in a state of strife and contention without any sufficient reason or colourable pretext. In one respect Charles was superior to his contemporaries, and indeed to most successful commanders—in preserving a rigid morality and discipline in his armies, and restraining them from that licentious violence and outrage by which the course of victorious generals is too frequently marked. With this solitary exception, scarcely any thing can be said in favour of this man. He had great military talents, it is true, but they were prostituted to merely selfish ends. His education, however, it is fair to remember, was military and despotic. His purposes and plans were pursued with untiring perseverance, but this was the result of an unreasoning obstinacy, in which individual will was consulted without reference to principles of equity, or the prospect of utility. War occupied all his thoughts : glory, as it is termed, was the only object of his life. He was but nominally king of Sweden, his true rank was that of a general ; his course was as the devouring fire or the wasting pestilence ; poverty, widowhood, national ruin, destructive campaigns, sanguinary battles, all the ills that flesh is heir to, were to be endured, that Charles might be known amongst the nations as pre-eminent in the work of blood and carnage. And he had his reward, for his fame still lives, and he is known as the “ Quixote,” and “ the Madman of the north.”

Notwithstanding the purely military character of her late king, Sweden still maintained its profession as a protestant nation ; and though from its geographical position it was to some extent inconveniently situated, yet many of the refugees from France sought and found an asylum here after the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

A pleasing illustration of the esteem in which the Swedes were held, is afforded us in the fact that some of the refugees, before leaving Paris, desirous of preserving their property, entrusted it to the care of the Swedish ambassador, and his secretary, the *Sieur Palmeguiste*, by whom the various sums were returned to them on their arrival in Holland. Charles XI. allowed a subscription to be made on their behalf at Stockholm, gave them two churches for their use in his capital, and encouraged their traders and manufacturers with grants of money; and in the reign of Charles XII. many exiled protestants, unable to find employment in Holland, settled in the German provinces of Sweden, where lands were allotted them.

A short time before Charles left Turkey his sister, *Ulrica Eleonora*, had married *Frederic*, the prince of *Hesse Cassel*. She now succeeded; but anxious to ingratiate herself with the Swedes, she renounced all right to the throne, and would only consent to occupy it as the gift of the people. After the despotic rule of her father, and the military madness of her brother, this step was as wise as it was graceful, and was universally appreciated, and her husband, prince *Frederic*, recognised as joint monarch with her.

The source and author of discord being removed, and his place filled by monarchs of such a different kind, peace was arranged with the surrounding nations, and the places which had been conquered by Charles restored; while to prevent any probability of the recurrence of war, disputed possessions were ceded. *Stettin* was given to *Prussia*; *Bremen* and *Verdun* to *England*; and part of *Sleswick* to *Denmark*. *Peter the Great* obtained the largest extent of dominion in these arrangements, being allowed to take possession of *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Esthonia*, and *Carelia*. The condition of the kingdom, as might be expected after such exhausting wars as those in which it had been engaged, was most deplorable. The finances were all squandered—the trade was gone—the population most extensively diminished—and what was still worse, fierce factions, which for want of a restraining power had acquired considerable strength, agitated the various departments of the state. The two principal factions were known by the terms, “the *hats*” and “the *caps* ;” the

hats including the court party, and the *caps* the party of the senate. It was the great desire of Frederic and Ulrica to revive the national prosperity in its various branches, restore order, and repair the evils resulting from the expensive wars of their predecessors; but the turbulent and unreasonable conduct of the factions were an effectual barrier to any improvement, and perpetuated the disorders which wise and equitable rule might in a short time have removed. The sovereigns saw and deplored these facts, but were unable to remove them, and hence the consequences are felt to the present day. Sweden has never recovered her population, or regained that position amongst the nations of Europe which she held so long and with so much honour to herself. Such were the sad results of the spirit of party; a spirit, which concealing itself under the name of patriotism, has often been the greatest barrier to the progress of nations, and in many cases, the real cause of their downfall. That different minds may adopt different views as to the best means of promoting the public good, is unquestionable; and that combination will follow from identity of feeling is a thing of course, and considerable benefit may be the fruit of free and full discussion. But such cannot be fairly viewed as the operation of what is understood by the term party-spirit. The former is the privilege and the honourable exercise of freedom; the latter is the produce of unreasoning selfishness, which is ever seeking its own advantage, but prefers companionship to individual effort; it is the spurious imitation of genuine liberty; the expedient of the weak and the despotic, and in proportion to its extent and power there will be difficulty in legislation, weakness in government, and a gloomy future for the people who are cursed with its presence.

The only threatened interruption to the peace of Sweden during this reign was caused by the czarina Elizabeth; who, pretending that a revolution was preparing in the Swedish court, moved a strong body of troops towards the frontiers of Finland. This hostile act awakened considerable alarm in the government, and repeated declarations were made to St. Petersburg that no change was contemplated. Still however Elizabeth persisted in maintaining her menacing position; when the aged monarch

sustained by the energetic Frederic of Prussia, told her plainly that "if her forces should pass the frontiers of Finland, he would consider their march as a hostile invasion, and employ the means which God had put in his power for the defence of his dominions." This decisive statement, aided by the representations of the courts of London, Versailles, and Berlin, induced the empress to recall her troops, now at the very frontiers, and express herself satisfied. Thus labouring sincerely for the good of his country, Frederic reigned till 1751, when he died at an advanced age. Ulrica Eleonora had died some years before.

The late king having no issue, the succession had been settled several years previous on Adolphus Frederic, duke of Holstein-Euten, bishop of Lubeck, by the unanimous consent of the states of the kingdom. This prince now ascended the throne without opposition, and, in the senate, voluntarily took an oath that he would govern the country in all respects in harmony with the Swedish constitution; maintain the liberties of the people with his blood; and never attempt to introduce despotic authority. This wise procedure was quickly made known to all the European courts, and especially to that of Russia; while Elizabeth having now no pretext for interference, professed herself satisfied, and the uneasy feeling between Sweden and herself was entirely removed.

Although desirous of reigning as a constitutional king, and sincere in carrying out the promises he had confirmed with an oath, some of Frederic's false friends formed a conspiracy to alter the form of government, and increase the power of the crown. The plot was however discovered, and several persons of rank being convicted of having been concerned in the scheme were executed. This event produced some unpleasantness between the king and the diet. Persons were to be found who suspected Frederic to be the originator of the design; while he, irritated by their suspicions, and what he regarded as harsh treatment on the part of the diet, threatened to resign, and retire to his own hereditary dominions. The people, who esteemed and confided in him, heard this statement with much alarm, dreading the despotism of the diet, and therefore induced him to alter his determination.

When Maria Theresa was employing her energetic efforts to form a confederacy powerful enough to crush Frederic, king of Prussia, France, who had agreed to her plans, was very desirous of rekindling a war between Sweden and the dreaded object of these extensive combinations. French emissaries were therefore industriously employed to sow the seeds of animosity between the two kingdoms. In this scheme they were so successful, that, contrary to the personal feelings of Adolphus, Sweden was persuaded to engage in the struggle which for seven years devastated Europe, and she declared war against Prussia. Troops were introduced into Pomerania, and several towns taken from the unfortunate Frederic, amongst which were Anclam and Demmin. To justify this proceeding, the Swedish general, Hamilton, issued a declaration, in which he stated "that the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania, belonging to the king of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country, must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish majesty; that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline."

For a time the progress of the Swedes was unopposed, Frederic being engaged with more formidable antagonists. But at length his hussars turned upon the invaders, and town after town was retaken; and the Swedes, with their army reduced to half its number by sickness, desertion, and other causes, retired to Stralsund without fighting one decisive battle. The military spirit of the days of Charles XII. had evidently evaporated. In the year 1771, Adolphus Frederic died, and was succeeded by his son.

DENMARK.

Christiern IV. was succeeded, in 1648, by his second son Frederic III., the eldest having died young. The kingdom was greatly agitated at the commencement of this

reign by the turbulent spirit of the nobles, who, to ensure the continuance of their power, entered into an agreement with the young king, by which his authority was restricted within very narrow limits. The nation having been much exhausted by the wars in which his father had been engaged, Frederic felt the necessity for improving its commerce, and promoting its internal prosperity as much as possible; he therefore formed an alliance with the Dutch, whose favour he had already acquired by seizing a fleet of English merchantmen, laden with naval stores at Copenhagen. The Dutch granted him a subsidy; but Cromwell demanded satisfaction for the violence done to his country's flag, which was soon rendered by Holland. Charles X. of Sweden, desirous of annexing Norway and Denmark, attacked Frederic and deprived him of some important portions of his dominions. He crossed the ice to Zealand and besieged Copenhagen several times, and would doubtless have succeeded in taking it, but for the interference of the English and Dutch fleets.

The conduct of Frederic in relation to the disputes between the Dutch and the English, soon after the restoration of Charles II., was as ungrateful as it was extraordinary, when it is remembered how important it was that Denmark should retain the friendship of Holland. Overlooking these obvious considerations, Frederic made a secret agreement with Charles II., to seize all the vessels in his harbours belonging to the republic, and divide the spoil with him, provided that he would aid him in the nefarious scheme. To make this treachery the more gainful, he invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports, and, thus encouraged, the East India fleet very richly freighted put into Bergen. The English admiral, who was to aid in this plot, advanced to the attack; but Frederic, from some cause, delayed the necessary orders to the governor of the port, and the Dutch being thus able to take measures for their defence, the perfidious scheme failed. If the conduct of the Danish king was bad in this affair, his subsequent course between the contending parties looked as though treachery was his favourite and constant policy. Endeavouring to excuse the delay which had occurred, he concluded an offensive alliance with the English envoy, Sir Gilbert Talbot, against the republic,

and, at the same time, gave orders to his resident at the Hague to form an alliance with the States against England. To act upon both these treaties was impossible, he therefore adhered to the latter, and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. He further stipulated to assist Holland with a fleet of thirty sail, if wanted, and receive in return an annual subsidy of one million five hundred thousand crowns, of which three hundred thousand were to be paid by France.

An important alteration in the government was effected during this reign, chiefly by the instrumentality of Swan, bishop of Copenhagen, who induced the diet to invest the king with absolute power, and to make the authority of the crown, which had previously been limited and elective, supreme and hereditary. This change was the result of the arrogant behaviour of the nobles, which led the commons to surrender their own liberties, rather than submit to their despotism. The king, as may be imagined, willingly agreed to the alteration, and the nobles, overawed by the army, were obliged to submit. A formal recognition of the change was made, and the various orders of the state offered their homage anew to the monarch and his family. Leaving a numerous issue, Frederic died in 1670, after an eventful reign of twenty-two years.

Christiern V., the eldest son of Frederic, succeeded his father, in accordance with the altered constitution of Denmark, without election. This prince was brave and of an affable disposition, and greatly addicted to scientific pursuits. Not having, however, that independence of character which his position required, he was apt to yield implicitly to the advice of his ministers. Desirous of making his court resemble those of other countries, he created an order of titled nobility, an arrangement that was new in the history of Denmark. His endeavours to improve the city of Copenhagen were energetic and persevering; but sometimes exhibiting a more anxious desire for embellishment than utility. Some amount of dissimulation seems to have belonged to the temper of Christiern, and was especially shown in his behaviour to Adolf, the young duke of Holstein. The duchy of Holstein had long been a source of perplexity to Denmark.

arising from its peculiar relation to that kingdom and to the German empire; and the complications which cause uneasiness in the present day, have existed in their principles through several generations. Professing friendly intentions, Christiern invited Adolf to meet him; the unsuspecting prince went to the place appointed, when Christiern caused him to be seized and conveyed as a prisoner to Rendsburg, where he compelled him to agree to unjust and unfavourable terms. At the same time he had the various fortresses of the duchy destroyed, that there might be no danger of Adolf repudiating the agreement which he had made under coercion. The minister of Holstein, indignant at these treacherous proceedings, remonstrated with Christiern, but only secured his own ruin; for the treacherous king had him arrested, and very shortly afterwards put to death. A succession of acts, the perfidy of which rendered him the object of execration with all whose consciences were not seared by political expediency.

Adolf, feeling that his life was in peril from such a man, fled, and sought refuge in Hungary until more favourable times should occur, leaving his rightful possessions under the power of a tyrant and deceiver. In his war with Charles XI. of Sweden, Christiern obtained very doubtful advantages. Besides compelling the duke of Holstein to supply his contingent, the king levied fifty thousand troops of his own. At the battle of Lunden, the two monarchs were personally engaged, and by their presence and bravery stimulated the courage of their subjects; but the engagement, which was fought with great determination on both sides, produced no decisive result, and both sides claimed the victory.

By the interference of Louis XIV., the quarrels of the northern kings were settled, and the long dispute with Holstein satisfactorily arranged, at least for a time. Adolf returned to his hereditary dominions, and his rights as duke were restored to him by the treaty of Altona. The conquests Christiern had effected in Sweden were restored, and a friendly alliance formed by the marriage of his sister, Ulrica Eleonora, with Charles. More important matters being thus peacefully settled, the subsequent disputes between the two countries were arranged without

any hostile encounter. Christiern died in 1697, and his son Frederic IV. ascended the throne.

One of the first acts of the new reign was a fresh attack on the duchy of Holstein, which, though apparently successful, brought heavy trouble, and involved Frederic in serious wars as a just retribution. Charles XII., now king of Sweden, the brother-in-law of the duke, took up his cause, and, with his usual impetuosity, invaded Zealand and besieged Copenhagen. Against such an opponent, Frederic had but little chance of success, and he soon found himself obliged to sue for peace; this was granted by the victorious Charles, on condition that Frederic should indemnify the duke for all the losses he had caused him, and acknowledge his title to the sovereignty of his own dominions. The justice of the terms shows the injustice of the conduct of the Danish monarch, who so soon after the treaty of Altona, forgot the stipulations which had been mutually agreed to. When the fortunes of Charles began to wane, Frederic seemed to forget his past reverses, and joined a league formed by Russia, Poland, and Saxony to restrain the Swedish hero; but again the Danes were called to endure humiliation, and were totally defeated at Schonon. In Swedish Pomerania some slight success was obtained, and the duchy of Bremen conquered. This triumph however was short; for general Steinbock, the commander of the Swedes in that province, thoroughly defeated shortly afterwards the united armies of Denmark and Saxony at Gadebush, captured the town of Altona, and burned it. In 1718, Frederic was more successful, and drove the Swedes out of Norway; but these wars were, in every respect, too much for the limited resources of the country, already impoverished by previous struggles: he therefore cheerfully listened to the overtures for peace which in 1720 were proposed, and arranged by the mediation of Great Britain. The terms were, on the whole, favourable to Frederic, especially as he obtained the duchy of Sleswick by the treaty.

From this time until his death, Denmark had rest from war, and the king devoted himself with great zeal to the improvement of his dominions. The arts of peace were sedulously cultivated; commerce, literature, and every

thing calculated to promote the real prosperity of his subjects, was encouraged; and pleasing fruits gradually appeared from this patriotic policy, while it secured him the affection and loyalty of his people. Thus pursuing a wiser and a better course than that he followed at the commencement of his reign, he availed himself of ten years of undisturbed peace, and died in 1730.

Frederic was possessed of many qualities which were admirably suited to the elevated position he was called to fill, and was really desirous of advancing the welfare of his dominions. Generally prudent, he sometimes listened too credulously to the suggestions of ambition, and engaged in schemes for which he had not sufficient power; but by the wiser policy of his later years, he secured to himself the distinction of being one of Denmark's best kings.

In Christiern VI. Denmark enjoyed the advantage of a truly patriotic monarch. Mild and pacific in his nature, he had little inclination for war, and was more desirous of improving than of extending his dominions. The national finances were carefully attended to, and those taxes which pressed most heavily upon the people were repealed, while the general administration was conducted with justice and moderation. Anxious to maintain peace with foreign powers, he settled the disputes which had long been pending with reference to Hamburg and Sleswick, and renewed the existing treaties with Great Britain and Sweden. Like some of the wiser of his contemporaries, he encouraged foreign workmen and artisans to settle in Denmark, that his subjects might be instructed and national industry increased. A company to carry on commerce with the East was formed, and a royal bank founded, and his whole time devoted to the great and good work of repairing the evils caused by the rapacity and ambition of his predecessors. In these praiseworthy endeavours, he occupied a reign of sixteen years, and died in 1746, beloved and honoured by his people.

Following this worthy example, his son, Frederic V., pursued the same course. Decidedly opposed to military undertakings, and having no ambition to obtain what is termed glory, he preserved his dominions in peace, and increased their wealth by extending their commerce.

Greenland and America were visited by his subjects, and their trade with these countries delivered from all restrictions. But while labouring to increase the material wealth of his kingdom, he was equally desirous of encouraging its advance in the higher pursuits of literature and religion. Academies were founded at Soroc, Drontheim, and Bergen, the latter for the especial benefit of his Lapland subjects. Painting, sculpture, and architecture were liberally and wisely patronised, and every effort employed to elevate and refine the tastes of his people, and subvert those delusive notions of the honour of war which had so long existed.

Learned men were heartily welcomed to the court of Copenhagen, and found in Frederic one who could intelligently sympathize with their pursuits, and cordially co-operate in their investigations. Amongst others who were encouraged by this enlightened monarch, was Carsten Niebuhr, father of the eminent author of the history of Rome, and many other valuable works. The elder Niebuhr, so celebrated as a traveller, lost his parents in early life, and by some confusion in the arrangement of their property, which was ample in its extent, was so reduced that he was utterly unable to obtain a suitable education; and for several years he could not rise above the condition of a peasant. In the twenty-first year of his age, some land-surveying being required in reference to his property, he determined to employ the little he was now able to claim in obtaining a knowledge of geometry. Incited by this attempt he resolved to seek further instructions; and for this purpose repaired to the universities of Hamburg and Gottingen.

At the age of twenty-four he entered the corps of Hanoverian engineers, but soon after accepted an offer from the Danish government, to join a scientific expedition to Arabia, which had just been projected.

This expedition, which was one of the most honourable events of the reign of Frederic, originated in a proposal to the prime minister Count Von Bernstorff, by the learned Michaelis, with the view of illustrating some passages of the Old Testament. The plan, which was liberally enlarged from the original scheme, was arranged eventually to include an oriental scholar, a naturalist, and a physician:

Niebuhr was appointed geographer, and, as a mark of confidence in his probity, treasurer to the whole. In January, 1761, the expedition sailed from Copenhagen, visiting and exploring a variety of countries. In the course of his travels, Niebuhr had to lament the loss of his four companions, who, instead of pursuing the rule of abstinence commonly adopted by the Danes in tropical countries, yielded to indulgences which, combined with fatigue and the excessive heat, brought them to early graves: while Niebuhr, resisting every temptation of the kind, survived, and returned to Denmark, in November, 1767, where he was received with all the honour which his persevering labour and valuable researches deserved. In after years he published the results of his travels to the world; and his works are regarded as faithful and authoritative text books in reference to eastern lands, even in the present day.

In this manner Frederic occupied an honourable reign of twenty years, esteemed as one of the wisest and most patriotic monarchs of his age; and died, beloved and revered, in the year 1766. So averse was he to those military pursuits which engaged the attention of so many other kings of Denmark, that he is said to have comforted himself on his death-bed, with the reflection that he had not been the cause of shedding one drop of blood; a reflection far more pleasing than if, surrounded with the false lustre of warlike renown, he had had to think of millions of his fellow men sacrificed, homes desolated, and a country wasted and exhausted by sanguinary strife. Happy will it be for the world, when, according to the language of sacred truth, its "officers shall be peace, and its exactors righteousness."

CHAPTER IX.

War and Commerce.—A. D. 1648—1760.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

WILLIAM II.—HIS ATTEMPTS AT INDEPENDENCE.—HIS EARLY DEATH.—ABOLITION OF THE DIGNITY OF STADTHOLDER.—JOHN DE WITT CHOSEN GRAND PENSIONARY.—CHARACTER OF HIS BROTHER CORNELIUS.—WAR WITH ENGLAND.—THE TREATY OF 1654.—DISCONTENT OF THE STATES.—COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.—WAR RENEWED WITH ENGLAND.—TREATY OF BREDA.—INVASION OF THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.—“THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.”—PERFIDY OF CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND.—HE DECLARES WAR AGAINST HOLLAND.—UNSETTLED STATE OF THE PROVINCES.—ENGAGEMENT OF SOLEBAY.—INVASION OF THE FRENCH ARMIES.—DESPERATION OF THE PEOPLE.—MASSACRE OF THE DE WITTS BY THE MOB.—PRINCE WILLIAM REGARDED AS THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY.—HIS OPPOSITION TO LOUIS AND CHARLES.—DESPERATE NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS.—RETIREMENT OF ENGLAND FROM THE CONTEST.—THE WAR WITH FRANCE.—DEATH OF DE RUYTER AND TURENNE.—PEACE SIGNED.—WILLIAM BECOMES KING OF ENGLAND.—RETAINS THE TITLE OF STADTHOLDER OF HOLLAND.—HIS DEATH.—HEINSIUS CHOSEN GRAND PENSIONARY.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—PEACE OF UTRECHT.—“THE TREATY OF THE BARRIER.” THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.—INFLUX OF PROTESTANT REFUGEES.—INTIMATE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND.—THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY.—DEATH OF THE YOUNG STADTHOLDER.

THE recognition of the independence of the United Provinces, in 1648, placed them in a new and most important relation to the other nations of Europe. They had strug-

gled for liberty in the midst of the most adverse circumstances, and they had achieved it by the exercise of the most determined bravery. While carrying on a war for their existence as a people, they had by the vast extension of their commercial industry, obtained colonies in different parts of the world; which, by their value, gave the maritime republic the dignity of empire. To disregard such an energetic confederacy was neither desirable nor possible; and henceforth they are seen occupying a prominent position in the transactions of European politics.

William II., who had succeeded to the office of Stadtholder on the death of his father Henry, had the distinguished honour of being a party to the treaty of Munster and the peace of Westphalia, by which the successful struggles of his country were terminated; but beyond this he performed nothing which deserved or obtained the approval of the people of Holland. With all the courage and military skill for which his race had been famous for several generations, he was destitute of those enlightened and patriotic principles, which had made the names of his predecessors illustrious. With little sympathy for the simplicity of republican government, and feeling the restraints of the limited authority it allowed, irksome; he longed to possess and exercise that absolute power which surrounding monarchs enjoyed. Several arbitrary acts indicated the nature of the policy he would have pursued, had his life been continued. Not a few collisions had occurred between himself and the states, who were unwilling to surrender liberties they had purchased so dearly; when his death at the early age of twenty-four, relieved them from the apprehensions which already began to be serious.

Overlooking the obvious fact, that it was not the office but the temper of its occupant that had placed their liberty in peril, the states abolished the dignity of stadtholder; the various towns secured the privilege of electing their own magistrates; and, further, the direction of the army and navy was committed to the states-general. The widow of the prince of Orange became the mother of a prince, afterwards William III. of England, within a week of the death of her husband; and the state of Zealand wished to secure his accession to the rank of his ancestors, but it

was resolved that the house of Orange should be for ever excluded from power. The condition of Holland was now a most peculiar one: the army was without a leader, and the state without a head: to supply the latter deficiency, which was soon felt to be a practical difficulty, the states-general chose John de Witt, to be the grand pensionary of Holland. This distinguished man, and his elder brother Cornelius, were decided friends to freedom; they both of them belonged to a party, which had for some time been avowedly opposed to the assumptions of the house of Orange. Cornelius, the elder, was elected burgomaster of Dordrecht, and deputy to the states of Holland and West Friesland; which, besides the office of inspector of the dykes in the district of Pulten, were the highest dignities to which he attained, with the exception of a temporary employment in the fleet, in 1667 and 1672: but privately, he doubtless, gave the benefit of his solid judgment to his more brilliant brother. John had been elected to the situation of pensionary of the town of Dordrecht, where his activity, skill, and manifest ability, attracted attention; and led to his being chosen by the states, in 1652, when he was only twenty-seven years of age.

When he undertook the cares of government, the republic was engaged in a war with the commonwealth of England, on disputed points of national etiquette, and opposing commercial interests. Each republic claimed the supremacy of the seas, and frequent collisions occurred between the merchants of England and Holland in the colonies; while each country was influenced by a groundless jealousy of each other's trade. The English parliament, by their navigation act, sought to cripple the trade of the Dutch, and the Dutch refused to yield the honours claimed by the English flag. Several engagements, attended with fearful destruction of life, with varying success, were fought by the two nations, under the renowned commanders, Blake and Van Tromp: but no decisive advantage was gained by either. De Witt, therefore, negotiated a peace, which was signed at Westminster, in 1654; the stipulations of which were decidedly favourable to the English. Secret articles were attached to the treaty, by which it was agreed that the Dutch republic should not afford any support to the Stuarts in any

attempt to regain the throne; and that no prince so nearly allied to the Stuarts as the young prince of Orange or any of his family, should ever be stadtholder or grand-admiral of Holland. In this treaty, we have a sketch of the policy which De Witt pursued during the twenty years of his administration; waiving contention about unmeaning etiquette, he conceded the honour of the flag. Anxious to preserve the foreign possessions in peace, he would rather pay a pecuniary acknowledgment, than have the interest of commerce injured by war; maintain as much as possible, the balance of power between neighbouring states, and so prevent encroachments on the republic, and finally curb the aspirations of the house of Orange, that liberty might not be endangered. These objects, though evidently wise and equitable, were not so esteemed by the states of Holland; looking upon the peace as inglorious, they manifested the most restless discontent: while the friends and adherents of the house of Orange, regarded the article of exclusion with perfect hatred. De Witt does not appear to have been influenced by any personal hostility to that eminent family in these arrangements; for having had the superintendence of the youthful William committed to him, that cautious prince, when he ascended the English throne, ever displayed the highest respect and esteem for his memory, and testified to the kindness which he had ever experienced from him. His real feeling appears to have been a dread, lest the renewal of the law which made the stadtholderate hereditary in the family, might lead to the ultimate establishment of despotic power. Inferior minds, however, on both sides, made this policy the means of strengthening the factious spirit of parties, whose dissensions were as mischievous as they were perplexing.

At the conclusion of the peace, De Witt endeavoured to bring the finances of the republic into a more favourable condition, an attempt in which he was eminently successful; he also arranged a treaty with France, by which entire freedom of commerce was conceded between the ports of the two nations: Dunkirk was guaranteed to the French, while Louis recognised the right of the Dutch to fish off the coast of Great Britain and Ireland. This last stipulation, which was an act of impertinent

interference, was feebly objected to by Charles: but he was too much the creature of the French court, to offer any earnest opposition. The affront, however, rankled in the minds of the English, and, combined with jealousy at the commercial superiority of the Dutch, soon resulted in war. According to the opinions of many of both nations in those days, and it may be added in these also, war undertaken for the purpose of promoting trade, was a justifiable expedient; persons who would have denounced the sin of seeking merely military honour or territorial extension, yet saw nothing wrong in securing an increase of national wealth, by the extreme method of compulsion and sanguinary conflict. It is, however, very difficult to find any superior morality in the case: whether the gain is to come in the shape of money or of soil, cannot affect the principle of mere selfishness which originates the attempt. Commercial prosperity is an advantage, and an extended territory is an advantage; but it is certainly contrary to the ethics of the word of God, that in seeking to secure even an admitted good, we may employ any means, however evil. It may be in accordance with the morality of the burglar or highwayman, but derives no support from the rule of impartial justice and equity. The solemn question, with its divine reply, as given by James, is still indisputable, "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not, ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not."

In 1665, the mutual discontent which had long been working, broke out; war was declared, and both nations prepared for the struggle with the utmost determination. For some time the advantages were decidedly with the English; Opdam, de Ruyter, and other Dutch admirals were met by the duke of York, afterwards James II., the earl of Sandwich, and prince Rupert. Louis stood aloof, probably hoping to further his own ambitious views, by the destructive policy which the two maritime powers were exercising towards each other. In 1666, the contest raged with the utmost fury; the English people, notwithstanding the voluptuous indolence of the court, proved that the same energy existed as when engaged in a better

cause, they withstood the mighty armada of Spain. The Dutch, emulous of the superiority of their rivals, and determined to efface the disgrace of their late defeats, put forth the most strenuous efforts. For four days, the fleets under De Ruyter, and Tromp, son of the former admiral of that name, on the one side, and prince Rupert, and Monk, now duke of Albemarle, on the other, sustained a most murderous conflict with doubtful advantage: but in a contest which occurred a few weeks afterwards, the defeat of the Dutch was most decisive; and the English, masters of the sea, insulted their adversaries, and exulted in their triumph.

De Witt, whose energies and capacity always seemed to rise with the occasion, took the command of the shattered fleet, piloted it safely to Antwerp through a number of shallows, which the most experienced pilots were afraid to attempt; and after refitting it, with equal speed and secrecy dispatched it under De Ruyter, who suddenly appearing in the Thames, took Sheerness, burned many ships of war, and menaced London itself. Had Louis fulfilled his promise, and come to the aid of the Dutch, the future condition of England might have been most materially altered: but he knew that gold was more powerful with Charles than gunpowder, and that he could at any time enslave him with licentious pleasures, and thus use him as his tool, without the risk of exasperating a people, with whom the love of freedom was an undying passion. By the intervention of France and Denmark, the fearful struggle was at length terminated; and a treaty of peace signed at Breda, on the 30th July, 1667.

The ambition of Louis did not long allow the republic to enjoy and improve its repose: putting forth as a pretext to cover his designs, a claim upon the Spanish Netherlands derived through his queen, he invaded them in the same year that peace had been signed. His armies, under the command of Turenne, suddenly entered into Brabant and Flanders, took possession of these provinces, and in three weeks seized Franche-comté, and were rapidly advancing to Brussels; when it was represented to the states-general, that if the career of conquest was not arrested, there would remain no barrier between Holland and France, and that the republic would lie at

the mercy of the French king. These considerations were urged by Temple, the English minister, upon his friend De Witt with the greatest earnestness, and led to the formation of "the triple alliance" between Holland, England, and Sweden; the proposed design of this alliance, was to compel the kings of France and Spain to conclude a peace; but the confederation was, as the event proved, utterly futile. Temple was undoubtedly sincere in the stipulations which he framed on the part of the English court; but Charles was sincere in nothing except his subserviency to France, and his devotedness to his licentious pleasures, and formed a secret engagement with Louis to draw off from the triple league, at the very time when he was professedly engaged in its completion. This perfidy was soon made apparent. A treacherous attack was made by Sir Robert Holmes on the Dutch Smyrna fleet; but being defeated by the valour of the admirals, yielded only shame and loss to the English: this overt act, however, necessarily led to further results, and upon pretences as frivolous as they were false, Charles declared war against Holland. Sweden, having in the meantime been induced by the intrigues of France to withdraw from the triple alliance, the Dutch republic was left to contend single-handed with her foes.

Totally unprepared for the emergency, the greatest consternation prevailed in the United Provinces, and De Witt had to bear the indignation of the people for allowing them to be reduced to such a defenceless state. The fleet was disorganised, the army was little more than nominal, and their ammunition was nearly exhausted by having been made an article of traffic with the very powers now ranged against them. That there was less appearance of vigour than usual in the administration of De Witt at this period is unquestionable, but it admits of sufficient explanation without casting blame upon the unfortunate pensionary. The government over which he presided had no real unity. The absence of any central authority left every public question to the decision of innumerable petty councils; every province and almost every town having its distinct sovereignty. Before money could be levied or troops raised, the consent of these different sections had to be obtained, and prompt and

unanimous co-operation could seldom be obtained, unless by the pressure of some present danger. Added to this was the growing strength of the Orange party, strengthened by the fickleness of many who had become desirous of change after twenty years' administration of the same minister; while others, mindful of the historic fame of "William the silent," wished to see his family reinstated in the honourable position he had so deservedly won and so beneficially sustained. This party was not likely to stem the tide of displeasure against De Witt, which was now so evidently and rapidly rising.

Anxious on every account to provide for the growing necessities of the occasion, De Witt gratified the adherents of the Orange party by consenting to prince William, now twenty-two years of age, being appointed captain-general and high admiral; while he exerted himself so strenuously that in a short time one hundred ships of the line and fifty fire-ships were ready for sea. This formidable fleet was dispatched to meet the combined armaments of France and England. De Ruyter, the most skilful admiral of the day, was entrusted with the command of the Dutch fleet, and encountered the enemy in Solebay on May 6th, 1672, when a most sanguinary conflict ensued. The earl of Sandwich, on the side of the English, and Van Ghent, an eminent admiral, on the side of the Dutch, were slain; but after a prolonged and determined conflict, the victory remained undecided. The army, committed to William, prince of Orange, consisted of only seventy thousand raw and undisciplined troops, with which he could attempt nothing against the veteran legions of Louis; he therefore retired into the province of Holland, expecting that the various towns and provinces would offer some resistance to the French monarch. This however was not attempted; and the French armies, amounting to one hundred and seventy thousand men, under the command of Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and other eminent generals, advanced and took possession of several provinces without opposition, till they reached Amsterdam, where a regular plan of defence was energetically maintained, the sluices were opened and the country submerged, an example which was then followed by other provinces.

In this emergency the states-general assembled, and

resolved to sue for peace, but the terms demanded by both Louis and Charles were so extravagant, that they were rejected with disdain. Desperation now seized the people, increased by the agitation of factions. The De Witts were charged with being the authors of the prevailing calamities. Cornelius, the elder, was arrested on a false charge of bribing a man to assassinate the prince of Orange, tortured, and sentenced to perpetual exile. While in prison he was visited by his brother John, the grand pensionary. While the two brothers were commiserating their mutual troubles, the mob excited to madness dragged out the two unfortunate patriots, treated them with the most atrocious cruelty, and even after their death continued to perpetrate the grossest indignities upon their bodies, until wearied with their own violence, they hung them on gibbets and left them. After the mob had dispersed, the states-general ordered the bodies to be honourably entombed, and made some faint efforts to discover the murderers. Thus perished men whose only fault was that they were unable to avert irresistible calamity from a country they had loved and served too well. The capacity and activity of John have been seen in the course of this history; and Cornelius, if less prominent, constantly aided his brother with sound counsel in the discharge of those duties which belonged to a position he felt himself unfitted to fill. That they may have carried their jealousy of the house of Orange somewhat too far, is probable; but that their inhuman massacre was a premeditated plot of that illustrious house, is a charge, the absurdity of which would be its own refutation, even if it were not so utterly unsupported by the slightest evidence. They fell the victims of the blind fury of an unreasoning mob, whose prejudices were inflamed into passions by calamities which were unavoidable, and of which they were too ignorant to understand the cause.

All parties now turned to William as the only deliverer of his country, and he soon showed that he was every way worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Possessing all the excellences for which his family had been distinguished, he was governed by intense devotion to his country, and a determined feeling of opposition to the ambitious schemes of Louis. His energy speedily

infused itself into all classes in the republic. The spirit of heroism was resuscitated, and a resolution was formed, that sooner than submit to the slavery the combined monarchs wished to impose, the whole nation would transport itself to the East, and, opening all the sluices, leave their fatherland to be submerged by the sea. With a view to the practical adoption of this extreme measure, the capacity of their vessels was estimated, and it was found that more than two hundred thousand families could be transported without difficulty. Finding that an opposition to their progress of a most serious kind was arising from the influence of William, Louis and Charles endeavoured to detach him from the interests of his country, by those bribes which the French king knew so well how to offer, and the licentious Stuart was so accustomed to receive. But William was deaf to all these temptations; and when told by Buckingham, who was striving to allure him from the path of honour, that if he did not consent he would see the republic ruined, he replied, "There is one means which will save me from the sight of my country's ruin—I will die in the last ditch."

William by his subsequent conduct convinced his foes that these were not idle words. Some of the governors of the frontier towns were executed for not attempting to resist the progress of the French troops. He besieged and took the town of Naarden; by a skilful movement eluded his foes, and formed a junction with Montecuculi, whom the emperor Leopold had sent to his aid with twenty thousand men; the bishop of Munster, an ally of France, was repulsed, with the loss of twelve thousand men; assistance was obtained from Spain; the favour of the elector of Brandenburg was secured; the whole condition of things was altered, and Louis obliged to leave his conquests even more quickly than he made them. The combined fleets of England and France attempted to invade the republic, but were most providentially carried from the coast by an unusual tide caused by the tempestuous weather which prevailed throughout the season. Thus the endeavour proved fallacious; while the deliverance occurring at such an opportune period, helped still further to revive the hopes of the Dutch. Hume

derides the idea of any special interference in the event, but the believer in revelation will recognise an illustration of the government of Him "who holds the waters in the hollow of his hand."

After this two desperate engagements took place between the English and the Dutch; when prince Rupert on the one side, and De Ruyter on the other, did all that skill and valour could accomplish, but the victory was left undecided. The English nation being ashamed of the war which Charles had engaged in as the minion of France, were unwilling to grant the requisite supplies; the king therefore found himself compelled to make a separate peace, which was accordingly signed in 1674, when the honour of the flag was yielded to the Dutch. Regulations were made respecting the trade of the two nations, possessions restored to the same state as before war commenced, and £300,000 agreed to be paid by the republic. Certain English troops were in the armies of Louis, whom Charles professed himself unable to recall; but promised to prohibit any recruiting for the French army in future, a promise which he treated with his usual perfidy. The prince of Orange continued the war with France with his accustomed skill, and proved himself to be one of the most consummate generals of the age. In the death of De Ruyter, who was killed in an action against the French fleet in the Mediterranean, the Dutch had a severe loss; but it was counterbalanced by the death of Turenne, the French general in Germany. Some attempts were made to negotiate a peace, but William urged the states to try another campaign. This was agreed to, but yielded no advantage to Holland; and Louis, being engaged with Germany and Spain, having offered fair terms, peace was signed at Nimeguen on the 10th August, 1678. This peace, though needful, and indeed essential for Holland, disturbed the arrangement which William had made to repress the ambitious designs of Louis; but the republic being naturally unwilling to continue the war, the French king was for a time supreme in his policy.

The internal improvement of the republic now engaged the attention of William, though still intent on the object which he never renounced, that of limiting the power of

France ; but having some few years before married Mary, the daughter of James, duke of York, he became mixed up with English politics soon after his father-in-law had ascended the throne. There is no reason to believe that he in any degree encouraged the discontent which the arbitrary and bigoted conduct of James had produced. Indeed, when Monmouth's rebellion broke out, he sent over six regiments of British troops which were in the Dutch service, and offered to take the command of the king's forces against the rebels, an offer which was not accepted. William, so far from interfering with England, was still attempting, as just remarked, to arrange his confederacy to maintain the balance of power, and James offered to join in it, if William would in return aid him in his efforts to subjugate his subjects. This the prince refused to do, and a breach between the two princes was the result. When at length William did interfere it was at the earnest request of the English themselves, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the real protector of protestantism. How he interfered and how he succeeded belongs not to this history, further than to say that he left Holland on the 21st October, and landed at Brixham, Torbay, November 5th, 1688. After he became king of England he still retained his title of stadtholder of Holland, and amid the greater pomp of royalty, and the absorbing occupation of his anti-Gallican policy, he never lost his affection for the republic he had served so well. When he died, in 1702, Holland was filled with grief. The states-general seemed to be stunned by the intelligence of the event, and to have felt some alarm as to what might be the future history of the republic.

William well deserved these indications of esteem. Like his great ancestor and namesake, William the Silent, to whom in many respects he bore a striking resemblance, he had saved his country when its destruction seemed to be inevitable, and when he had delivered it from foreign assailants he was careful not to impose upon it a despotism of his own. Plain in his habits, averse to pomp and parade, he was well suited to be the first citizen of a state where the simplicity of republican government prevailed ; but sagacious, brave, and profound in his policy, he was

evidently equally fitted for that proud position he afterwards filled as defender of European liberty.

William had nominated as his successor John William Fritz, prince of Nassau; but in consequence of his untimely death by drowning, the states-general chose Heinsius to the office of grand pensionary, no new stadtholder being appointed; but moved by a common fear of their great enemy, France, the factions which had been the source of so much trouble in previous years, did not make their appearance. The allies, under Marlborough and prince Eugene, kept Louis so fully employed, and achieved such repeated successes, that he had neither time nor opportunity for carrying out the boast which he made when hearing of the death of William, "That he would punish those audacious merchants."

Heinsius seems to have inherited the spirit of opposition to France by which William was so constantly guided, and sustained the part of Holland in the confederacy with considerable energy, and appeared to have determined, in conjunction with England, to effect the destruction of the French monarchy. Hence when in 1709 Louis sued for peace, the terms that were proposed to him by the allies were so extravagant, that his compliance with them was a complete impossibility, and the war went on till April 11th, 1713, when the peace of Utrecht was signed. Thus ended a war in which all the combatants were exhausted, in which the blood and treasure of Holland had been lavishly used, but from which she seemed to arise with renewed energy. Her commerce extended on every side, her finances soon attained a most satisfactory condition, and her greatness and influence seemed to have reached their height.

The treaty of Utrecht, though it settled many most important matters, left one question of vital importance to Holland undecided. Ever since the peace of Munster the question of a distinct and guaranteed line of frontier between France and the republic had been felt to be of increasing importance. It had been named in the articles of "the grand alliance," as one of the points to be arranged, and now it was resolved to make it the matter of a distinct treaty. Conferences were therefore opened at Antwerp in 1714 to arrange the matter, and protracted

discussions ensued ; and at length, in November, 1715, "the treaty of the barrier," comprising twenty-six articles, was settled. Some of these articles being likely to infringe the commercial prosperity of the Austrian Netherlands, some jealousy was produced ; and after renewed discussions the United Provinces consented to some modification, and satisfaction was restored.

After the settlement of the treaty of Utrecht, Holland enjoyed a long period of repose. The quadruple alliance between France, Germany, England, and Holland, was arranged during the discussion of the barrier question, and its formation brought Holland more decidedly into connexion with European politics. Many other alliances were formed amongst the different powers, but in them all the rights and the dignity of the republic were treated with the greatest deference and respect. The internal improvement of the country was wisely attended to under the enlightened superintendence of Heinsius. Like most other protestant nations, Holland received its share of the numerous Huguenots who fled from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and received them with a ready welcome. This was fully expressed in the following decree, passed by the states of Holland and West Friesland, in reference to them. "Considering that the prosperity of states is in proportion to the greater number of their citizens, and that these provinces more than any others have seen their wealth increased by the arrival of Frenchmen, driven from their own country for their attachment to our common faith ; considering that they have caused commerce and manufactures to flourish, and that their conduct has long entitled them to the most favourable treatment ; that consequently it is just that they should in all respects be assimilated to other citizens, we declare them naturalised Dutchmen." In a short time the other states followed this good example, and the whole republic reaped, as every nation acting on the principles of impartial justice will reap, the reward of the increased prosperity which their presence, their skill, and their intelligence, promoted amongst the people.

In addition to the refugees from France, many witnesses for truth from Poland and Germany also came ;

and found a freedom in Holland, which was refused them in their own countries. One exception the republic was compelled to make in reference to the Jesuits, who here, as elsewhere, pursued that course of mischievous intrigue which was so frequently characteristic of the body: hence, in 1720, it was resolved to revive the ancient laws against them, as dangerous to the state.

The young prince of Orange, son of the prince of Nassau, whose death has been recorded, having married the princess Anne, daughter of George II. of England, the union between that kingdom and the republic became more intimate; and when the war of the Austrian succession occurred, these two powers were the first to come to the aid of the empress-queen. William, who notwithstanding the remonstrances of some of the provinces, had been elected stadtholder of Holland, was appointed captain-general, and admiral-in-chief, and the dignities made hereditary in his family, even in the female and collateral branches. Under the direction of William, who seems to have been possessed of qualities well fitting him for his station, the war was carried on with considerable vigour, though little success. The French had seized again on the Austrian Netherlands, and were hastening to attack the United Provinces, when the election of the prince of Orange to the dignities of his ancestors restored the ardour of the Dutch, who always seemed to have an unshaken confidence in the wisdom and the valour of this illustrious house.

Among the troops commanded by George II., at the battle of Dettingen, were twenty thousand men, contributed by the United Provinces; who, besides this numerous contingent, granted a large subsidy in aid of the empress. Twenty thousand more troops, and six ships of war, having been furnished to England, when invaded by the young pretender, Holland was not in circumstances to offer any effective resistance to the enemies which threatened her own frontier; but her determination not to yield to a foe she had so completely defeated in former years was as strong as ever, and in the battle of Fontenoy showed that the ancient valour of the republic was in no degree diminished.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by once more stilling the

fierce contentions of Europe, was as grateful to Holland as to any of the nations; and again left her at liberty to pursue her favourite commercial enterprise, and recover that prosperity which had been interrupted by the strife. Scarcely, however, had their prospects begun to brighten, and their country to flourish with the results of peace, when they were called to bear a fresh affliction, in the death of the prince of Orange, the young stadtholder, which occurred in October, 1751. This event produced universal grief, all the more intense from the indications of mental and moral fitness for his position which he had exhibited, and which had encouraged the hope that a long period of repose and security would be enjoyed under his rule.

CHAPTER X.

Ambition and Intrigues.—A. D. 1701—1788.

SPAIN.

PHILIP V.—INFLUENCE OF HIS SECOND QUEEN.—ALBERONI.—INVASION OF SARDINIA.—CONQUEST OF SICILY.—ALLIANCE AGAINST SPAIN.—UNSUCCESSFUL SCHEMES OF ALBERONI.—HIS BANISHMENT.—ABDICATION OF PHILIP.—SHORT REIGN OF HIS SON.—PHILIP RESUMES THE THRONE.—DUKE RIPPERDA.—HIS IMPRISONMENT.—ESCAPE, AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.—COMMERCIAL DISPUTES WITH GREAT BRITAIN.—FARINELLI.—DEATH OF PHILIP.—FERDINAND VI.—TAXATION DIMINISHED.—COMMERCE ENCOURAGED.—ABUSES OF THE ADMINISTRATION CORRECTED.—THE QUEEN BARBARA. ENSENADA.—NEUTRAL POLICY.—DON RICARDO WALL.—ARREST OF ENSENADA.—FRIENDLY FEELING TOWARDS ENGLAND.—DEATH OF BARBARA.—GRIEF OF THE KING.—HIS DEATH.—CHARLES III.—WAR WITH ENGLAND.—POPULAR TUMULTS.—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS.—A FLEET PREPARED AGAINST ENGLAND.—UNSUCCESSFUL ENTERPRISE AGAINST ALGIERS.—SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.—ITS FAILURE.—INSURRECTION IN PERU.—TUPAC AMARO.—RECOVERY OF THE ISLAND OF MINORCA.—DEPREDACTIONS OF THE ALGERINE PIRATES.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—PARTY FACTIONS.—DEATH OF THE INFANTA.—GRIEF OF CHARLES.—HIS DEATH.

THE war of the Spanish succession is so much mixed up with the history of the leading states of Europe, that it is not necessary to repeat its details here; and may be dismissed, by simply remarking that it commenced soon after the accession of Philip V. in 1701, and was concluded by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, leaving the young monarch in undisputed possession of the throne. Philip, grandson of Louis XIV., was but seventeen years of age when he succeeded Charles II.: indolent in his disposition;

melancholy in his temperament, and far from being remarkable for soundness of understanding, he seemed to be little fitted for the stormy position he was called to occupy; and was often led during the course of his reign by the influence of more ambitious and vigorous minds. But in the opinion of the Spaniards, his title, both by descent from Philip II., and by the will of Charles, was indisputable; they were therefore prepared to give him a cordial welcome when he arrived at Madrid. His affable and conciliatory manners soon confirmed these favourable prepossessions, and gained him the esteem and confidence of all: so that, while all Europe was agitated by the conflicts of the claimants for his crown, his own subjects were quite willing to recognise him as their king.

Being tenderly attached to Maria Louisa, daughter of the duke of Savoy, he had married her at the age of fifteen; and the union was productive of happiness and peace during the ten years of its continuance. At her death, in 1711, he was induced by the intrigues of Alberoni to marry Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany; whose restless and imperious temper soon subdued the peaceful Philip to her sway, and made his reign the period of intrigue and dishonour. This person had been recommended to him by the princess des Ursins, a Frenchwoman, who had attended the late queen from Italy, and acquired a considerable influence over the youthful pair; an influence which she retained after the death of Maria. Alberoni, who was desirous to supplant her, represented Elizabeth as a princess whom she might mould as easily as she had done her late mistress: thinking therefore the scheme a politic one, she urged Philip to consent to the match; but found almost as soon as it was completed, that she had committed a fatal error; for the new queen, as determined and intriguing as herself, caused her to be dismissed from court, and afterwards commanded her to leave the country. Retiring to Rome, she next forced herself upon the attention of the Pretender, James Stuart; who permitted her to superintend his household, until her death in 1722.

Philip was now left to the unscrupulous management of his queen, and her confidant Alberoni. This man, who occupies so important a place in a reign in which the

monarch was eclipsed by the prominence of others, must receive some notice. Like many who have attained the highest dignities in the church of Rome, he was born in humble circumstances, and was for some years a curate in the states of Parma; having rendered some services to the duke of Vendome, when in Italy, the duke took him into his train, and obtained a pension for him from Louis XIV. He was afterwards employed by the duke in some negotiations with the court of Philip V., when the princess des Ursins was in the plenitude of her power. Their mutual fondness for intrigue soon produced an intimacy, and an apparent friendship; but desirous of securing his own position, he gladly accepted the work of carrying on the negotiations of marriage between Philip and Elizabeth, and proceeded to Parma for that purpose; but in the meantime, Des Ursins, hearing that the proposed queen was not so pliable as she had been represented by Alberoni, persuaded the king to send a messenger to his agent to suspend the completion of the contract. But Alberoni was as crafty and unprincipled as the princess, and by bribes and threats compelled the messenger to conceal his arrival until the day after the negotiations were completed and signed: it was, of course, then too late, and the queen and her attendant proceeded to Spain, where they very soon supplanted the favourite, and ruled supreme. The new queen having obtained the appointment of Alberoni to the bishopric of Malaga, to a place in the king's council, and lastly to the post of prime minister, Philip was induced shortly afterwards, by his consort to solicit a cardinal's hat from the pope; this was also secured, and his dignity and power now seemed to be complete.

Placed on a pinnacle of power, whence he might have exerted an influence for good, and obtained a title to honourable fame, so as to have effaced the memory of his past intrigues, he chose to use his authority in a manner which at last made him the object of execration, and produced his downfall. Anxious to elevate Spain from the secondary position into which she had sunk, and little careful of the means, he first invaded the island of Sardinia, which had been secured to the emperor by the recent treaty of Utrecht. Sicily was afterwards conquered

from the duke of Savoy, notwithstanding the existing peace. These unscrupulous proceedings soon attracted the attention of Europe, just recovering from the exhausting wars in which she had been so long engaged; and an alliance was formed between France, England, and the empire against Spain; but trusting as much to his intriguing policy as to military success, Alberoni defied all his foes. He encouraged the Pretender to put forth his claims to the crown of the Stuarts, that the English might be preoccupied; he endeavoured to produce disorder in the south of France, by demanding the regency for Philip, during the minority of Louis XV., and attempted to secure the assassination of the duke of Orleans; and so embroiled the emperor with Transylvania, that he was obliged to secure an unfavourable peace with the Turks, to prevent the encroachments of this mischievous politician.

Circumstances, however, disappointed this carefully constructed plot. Charles XII., of Sweden, was killed by a cannon ball at Friedrichshall; the proposed aid he was to give to the Pretender, therefore, failed; the conspiracy to assassinate the regent of France was discovered, and the agents punished; the naval and military efforts of Spain were alike unsuccessful, and peace was eagerly desired. The indignation against Alberoni, as the cause of this confusion, was universal: the pope severely condemned his conduct, and the allies insisting upon the dismissal of the cardinal before they would negotiate a peace, Philip, or more properly his queen Elizabeth, who had herself become weary of his haughty assumptions, consented; and, in 1719, Alberoni was banished from the kingdom. Retiring to Italy, whither he had previously sent considerable sums of money, he continued his restless course until his death, in 1752, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years; but does not appear again in Spanish history.

Wearied with the cares of government, in which he never felt a real interest, Philip, in 1724, abdicated the throne in favour of Louis, his son by his first queen; but the young king had enjoyed the royal dignity only a few months, when he was seized with small-pox, and died. Philip, who with his queen had retired to a monastery at St. Ildefonso, was therefore called to resume the vacant throne.

The post of prime minister was now held by one as energetic and unprincipled as Alberoni, duke Ripperda. This man was a descendant of an ancient and honourable Spanish family; after receiving an education in the Jesuit college at Cologne, he entered the army of the United Provinces; here, being desirous of obtaining some property belonging to his wife, he renounced catholicism, and professed himself a protestant. He was afterwards sent to Spain to arrange some commercial treaties, where he joined himself to Alberoni, whose favour and that of Philip he managed to secure. His protestantism standing in the way of his obtaining any dignified employment in Madrid, he, after a short visit to Holland, renounced it, and was made a grandee of Spain; shortly afterwards he was appointed secretary of state, and on the fall of Alberoni, prime minister. With the consent of Elizabeth, he went as ambassador to Vienna, where he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the emperor and Philip, and in persuading Charles to renounce all claim to the Spanish throne; for these services he received his dukedom. For a time he was all-powerful in the kingdom; but failing in carrying out his scheme to recover the fortress of Gibraltar from the English, and seat the Pretender on the throne of his ancestors, he lost the favour of Elizabeth Farnese, who obtained his dismissal and had him arrested. Being sent to the prison of Segovia, he managed after a time to make his escape, and fled to Ireland. After several vicissitudes, we find him heading an army against the Spaniards in Morocco, having now become a Mahometan, and taken the name of Othman Pasha. In the battle which ensued, he was defeated; and Oran, the city before which it was fought, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. His subsequent career of luxury, his claim to inspiration, and his attempt to form a new religious sect, uniting the tenets of Judaism, protestantism, and Mahometanism, though remarkable facts in connection with this man, do not properly belong to our present narrative.

The remainder of the reign of Philip was harassed by various wars and commercial disputes with Great Britain, often threatening to lead to war. These troubles were owing principally to the busy intrigues of the queen.

Philip being often quite unfitted for public business by fits of hypochondriacal depression, to arouse him from one of the worst of these fits, Elizabeth secured the services of a celebrated singer, named Farinelli, whose musical fame was widely diffused through the courts of Europe: being successful with the king, Elizabeth gave him a handsome pension, and retained him to cheer the melancholy monarch, like David with the gloomy Saul. This man, who managed to secure the favour of those around him, afterwards took an important part in the politics of the succeeding reign. Philip founded a valuable public library, and instituted academies for the cultivation of painting, sculpture, and the Spanish language; and died, in 1746, after a reign of forty-five years.

Though Philip had been disappointed by the premature death of Louis, in handing over the kingdom to a descendant of his first queen, the beloved Maria Louisa, there was another son by that marriage, to whom the crown now descended in regular course, and who succeeded his father with the title of Ferdinand VI.

This prince, by his just and equitable administration, acquired to himself the appellation of "the wise Ferdinand," and sustained it throughout the duration of his reign. Like his father, his temperament was hypochondriacal, subjecting him to occasional fits of depression; but his natural energy led him to take an active share in the duties and responsibilities of government. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle being signed soon after his accession, left him at liberty to attend to those measures, by which he strove to raise his country from the depressed and exhausted state to which it had been reduced by the restless policy of the previous reign: the excessive taxation by which his subjects were oppressed was diminished; commerce encouraged, and various abuses which had crept into the administration corrected.

In all these efforts he was aided by his queen Barbara, a princess of Portugal, whose qualities of mind and heart more than counterbalanced the extreme homeliness of her person. Though, in the first interview, her want of personal attractions is said to have produced some feeling of dislike in the king, she soon won his affections, and obtained a complete influence over him, which she was

always careful to employ for the wisest and best ends. Strongly attached to her cousin, the empress Maria Theresa, she encouraged her husband in resisting the warlike plans which Louis XV., at the commencement of his reign, felt disposed to urge upon Spain. Indeed Ferdinand was more of a Spaniard than his father, and was not willing to yield that submission to the policy of France to which Philip was, from his early training, strongly inclined. One of his father's ministers, the marquess de la Ensenada, was retained by Ferdinand on account of his eminent worth, and was for some time supported by the influence of queen Barbara; but the power of the queen-mother, Elizabeth Farnese, was still considerable in the Spanish councils, and being herself strongly attached to the French policy, she induced Ensenada to adopt it, which, together with his attempts to embroil Spain with England, led to his dismissal. Indeed, throughout his reign, Ferdinand was anxiously desirous to maintain a good understanding with this country. Doubtless this inclination was strengthened by the musician Farinelli, whose position at court was as distinguished as during the reign of Philip. This man, though a subject of Maria Theresa, and deeply concerned for her prosperity, was also sincerely grateful to England, having acquired his fortune in London; and therefore when, in the war which the extensive alliance formed by the empress was waging against Frederic of Prussia, and England his only ally, both parties were seeking the co-operation of Spain, he helped to persuade Ferdinand to maintain strict neutrality. War indeed was not agreeable to his feelings, nor in accordance with his plans; his aim was to elevate his country by the arts of peace. In 1750 he effected a treaty with England, in which some matters which had been left undecided by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle were finally arranged. In this he was assisted by an Irishman of great skill and intelligence, named Don Ricardo Wall, a gentleman who had distinguished himself both in the field and the cabinet. After the peace, he was for some time the accredited ambassador of Spain in London, where he spared neither time nor expense in acquiring an accurate acquaintance with the nature of the manufactures and commerce, which had so much tended to secure pre-

eminence to England. When he returned to Spain, he turned his knowledge to good account: and so convincingly demonstrated the value of that active commerce which Spain had so long neglected, that, in a short time, Spanish ships were to be found in almost every European port.

It was by the efforts of this enlightened minister, that Ferdinand was materially encouraged to resist the schemes of the queen-mother and the marquess de la Ensenada, to bring him under the power of France; indeed, so strongly was Ferdinand convinced that the prosperity of his country would be best promoted by an English alliance, that he ordered Ensenada to be arrested, and bestowed most of his honours upon Wall. Nor was this friendly feeling a mere impulse, that would not endure the test of provocation, but a steady policy, which was not to be diverted by those occasional annoyances which will frequently arise between nations. Proof of this was seen by the determination of Ferdinand not to allow the disputes, which sometimes broke out between the English and Spanish colonies, to irritate him. On one occasion, during the war between England and France, the neutrality of his coast was violated by the English admiral Osborne; on another occasion, the vessel in which his ambassador was sailing was boarded by privateers, and his possessions plundered. It is true the British government readily made amends for these occurrences; but much slighter causes have too frequently disturbed the amity of nations, and set them in hostile array against each other. France made several attempts to destroy this good understanding, and made very strong representations to the court of Spain; but England was told, "that the court of Madrid was so far from being influenced by any of these representations, that it gave his Britannic majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and its intention to take no part in the differences between him and France, but such as should be conciliatory, and tending to restore the public tranquillity."

These pacific counsels were reciprocated in England, where the celebrated William Pitt was at the helm of affairs, and who was determined to secure the friendship of Spain, even, if needed, by the sacrifice of Gibraltar.

But Ferdinand was now plunged in deep affliction: Barbara, his valuable and beloved queen, after a long season of illness, died in 1758. The grief which seized the unhappy king was of the most poignant kind; tenderly attached to her, the bereavement seemed to rend his soul. No human consolation afforded him the slightest relief. Abandoning himself to hopeless sorrow, his intellect became affected; no public business however urgent could arouse him; he maintained almost perpetual silence; refused food and rest, until, completely exhausted, he sank under his grief, and in less than twelve months joined his partner in the silent grave.

It was the policy of Elizabeth Farnese to obtain for her sons some sovereignty in Italy, as the two sons of Maria Louisa would have the first claim to the Spanish throne. She succeeded in this design during the war of the Polish succession, by getting her son, Don Carlos, acknowledged king of the Two Sicilies, the stipulation being made, that if he should succeed to the crown of Spain he should abdicate the kingdom of Naples. Accordingly, Ferdinand dying without issue, the king of Sicily, his half-brother, was the next heir. Appointing his mother regent in the interim, he remained at Naples until he had transferred the kingdom to his son, a child only eight years of age, and then ascended the Spanish throne with the title of Charles III. This monarch was strict in his morals, and possessed of good but uncultivated mental powers; his disposition, with the exception of a strong tendency to obstinacy, was generally good, and his manners affable. Fond of the chase, he sometimes allowed this amusement to interfere with the important duties of government. A war with England, into which he had been brought by what was termed "the family compact," comprising the French and Spanish branches of the Bourbons, proved disastrous to the interests of Spain. The internal condition of his kingdom also gave him considerable anxiety, from the opposition of his people to several reforms which his prime minister, Squallacci, attempted to effect.

Desiring to improve the condition of Madrid, and prevent the occurrence of assassinations, which were so often perpetrated, he established an effective police, and lighted

and cleansed the streets—important and desirable improvements, which might have been tolerated, and after a time approved; but not satisfied with this, he proceeded to enforce a change in the ordinary Spanish costume, to remove the facility for carrying secret weapons, which the usual dress supplied. This innovation was resisted with the utmost determination; popular tumults were excited; the people rose in arms, and demanded that Squallacci should be given up to their vengeance, or that the king should cause him to be beheaded. Charles at length appeased them, by promising them that the unpopular minister should be dismissed. Intending however only to temporize, he secretly withdrew from the city with his family, accompanied by Squallacci; but his flight was soon discovered, and he was compelled to return and faithfully perform his promise. This opposition was peculiarly mortifying to the pride of the haughty king, and he looked around for objects upon whom he might wreak his vengeance. Thinking from some circumstances that the Jesuits had been the instigators of the outrage, he resolved to expel them from his dominions, and arranged his plans with so much secrecy and completeness, that all the members of the order in Spain, numbering about nine hundred and seventy, were surprised in their beds, and marched off to Carthagena, whence they were dismissed to Italy.

The struggle between England and America for independence having commenced, France induced Spain to prepare a fleet, which, in conjunction with her own, appeared at the entrance of the channel, to the great alarm and consternation of the English; but the effort resulted in nothing more than the capture of one frigate, which was taken in the dark. An enterprise which Charles undertook against Algiers was also a failure, and Spain did nothing to raise her naval credit. The old quarrel about Gibraltar was revived; but the English refused to give it up on any terms. A blockade was therefore attempted, and maintained for three years; but not all the vigilance of the Spaniards could prevent the English from carrying in supplies of every kind, so that, far from being distressed, the garrison was in every respect in a better condition than when the blockade commenced. Spain

at last, irritated by this failure, resolved to make such preparations as should infallibly secure success.

Twelve thousand men were obtained from France, and the forces were put under the command of the duke de Crillon, assisted by a French engineer of great reputation named D'Arcon. Numerous floating batteries were constructed, which it was thought could be neither sunk nor consumed. Ten of these batteries—composed of bottoms of immense solidity, and defended by ramparts of wood, cork, and wet sand on the sides, and mounted with brass cannon—were prepared, each of the batteries having a roof made of strong rope net-work, covered with wet hides.

The strongest hopes were entertained of the success of the enterprise. The brother and cousin of the French king, besides other members of the royal family, and large numbers of the highest nobility of France, either joined the forces as volunteers, or came as spectators of the expected capture of this celebrated fortress, and the consequent mortification of England. The allied fleets of Spain and France cruised at the mouth of the straits, to prevent the approach of lord Howe, who had been despatched from England with supplies for the garrison. Everything being arranged, the positions of the battering ships were taken on the morning of September 13th, 1782, and they were anchored parallel with the rock at about one thousand yards' distance, under the command of admiral Don Moreno, and the bombardment commenced on all sides. The scene is described as being awful beyond description. Red-hot balls flew in showers from the fortress, and every effort which skill and determination could use were employed on both sides. Lives were sacrificed to a fearful extent, and the loss of the allies was immense. At length the fire from the garrison did its work: the admiral's ship was seen to be in flames; the boasted batteries were destroyed; the fire-ships exploded prematurely, and confusion of the most dreadful kind prevailed amongst the assailants. Signals of distress were hoisted; but all relief from the fleet was intercepted by captain Curtis, who had command of the bay, and the enemy was left to the mercy of the waves or the British. To the honour of England it should be recorded that that mercy was not refused, and that

while there was a stern determination to annihilate the instruments of assault, human life was spared as much as possible, and many poor French and Spanish sailors rescued from the waves and from the flames; but notwithstanding the utmost assistance that could be afforded, the Spaniards lost more than fifteen hundred men, while their batteries were all destroyed. Thus ended a siege which had been anticipated by the allies with nearly as much confidence, as when their forefathers sent out the "invincible" armada to subdue this kingdom. Soon after these transactions, lord Howe approached with his supplies; and the allied fleet having been driven upon the Barbary coast by severe storms was unable to oppose him, though greatly superior in number: quietly therefore, and in the sight of his foes, lord Howe sailed into the harbour and delivered the provisions, ammunition, and other stores, with which he had been entrusted, to the great joy of the garrison, whose destitution was rapidly increasing. A slight and unimportant action occurred between the English and allied fleet, as soon as the relief had been effected; but it led to no result, and lord Howe having accomplished his mission returned to England. General Elliot, who had so bravely defended the fortress, received a pension, and was raised to the peerage with the title of baron Heathfield. All hope of taking the fortress was now given up by the Spaniards, and the siege was finally abandoned, to the unspeakable mortification of the allies, who had thought defeat an absolute impossibility.

The defeat was the more galling, inasmuch as not long before an English squadron, under the command of Sir George Rodney, had fallen in with several merchantmen and gunships as a convoy, and made prizes of them all. Again, a few weeks subsequently, he met with eleven Spanish ships of the line, of which, after a severe engagement, he destroyed or captured eight, and compelled the remainder to escape to the West Indies. Thus in all her naval enterprises did Spain show how far she had fallen from that state of pre-eminence in which her power and her possessions were unbounded, but of which, because she failed to improve them, she was deprived.

In addition to these disappointments, Charles was perplexed by a very alarming insurrection in Peru. In that

country the influence of Spain had taken deeper root than in most of her colonies; and had the treatment of the conquered Peruvians been just and equitable, they would doubtless have remained in a state of quiet, if not of willing subjection. But when, in addition to the loss of their country, they had to bear the arrogance and oppression of men, who, because of their distance from the supreme government, fancied they might play the part of tyrants with impunity, long brooding passion would burst forth occasionally into open revolt.

In the year 1780, Tupac Amaro, a Peruvian inca, indignant at the wrongs of his countrymen, took up arms against the Spaniards, and attempted to seize the town of La Paz; but failing in effecting a sudden surprise, he patiently besieged it for a considerable time, but without success. He then renounced the royal honours with which his followers had invested him, and submitted to the Spaniards.

But Spaniards were not accustomed to show mercy to the people whom they had spoiled and robbed in the new world, and the traditionary policy of cruelty still continued to exist in connexion with this Amaro. His wife and family were first subjected to the most shocking torture, and then put to death, thus increasing the number of sins which were crying out for judgment against the oppressors of that unhappy country.

Charles was more successful in the Mediterranean. Having heard that England had offered the island of Minorca to the empress of Russia in the hope of securing her friendship, he determined at all hazards to attempt its recovery. He therefore despatched the duke de Crillon to the island with a large force, managing the whole affair with the greatest secrecy. The duke made a sudden descent upon the island, which he soon subdued, with the exception of Port Philip, which was garrisoned by four regiments, two British and two Hanoverian. This he invested, and, after a long siege, compelled its exhausted garrison to capitulate, and thus regained the whole island.

The Algerine pirates continuing their cruel depredations, Charles formed an alliance with Portugal and Naples, in 1785, to chastise them, and the united fleets made a

formidable attack upon them ; but as formerly, his efforts proved unsuccessful, and that barbarous people remained a scourge and a terror to the ships of all civilised nations, notwithstanding the repeated attempts which had been made to compel them to respect the claims of humanity and justice.

In his internal government, Charles exhibited the qualities of a wise and upright ruler. Many abuses were reformed, and wholesome and salutary laws enacted. The inquisition, which had for so many years been the opprobrium of Spain, was, during his reign, most materially modified, its power checked, and its cruel authority restrained. These facts sufficiently show that the king, amidst many disadvantages, had yet a sincere desire to promote the welfare of his people, and a correct appreciation of the best means of effecting his object. A sincere believer in Christianity, he could not but perceive the injurious influence which the writings of the infidel philosophers were exerting in the neighbouring country, France ; he therefore resolutely prohibited any of these works being introduced in his kingdom, a measure which some will regard as either timid or intolerant, but which others will consider as justified by the extraordinary emergencies of the time in which he lived.

Like most monarchs who have tried to break up old and mischievous arrangements, and introduce a better order of things in the administration of government, he was perplexed by the cabals of parties ; and this was especially the case towards the end of his reign, when advancing years diminished the vigour necessary to repress factious schemes, and keep the different parts of the state in harmonious combination. In his domestic affairs also, he was called to drink the cup of sorrow, and learn that the palace is as liable to the attacks of trouble as the humblest home. Don Gabriel, the infanta of Spain, was a young man of considerable promise, and his father contemplated with much pleasure that opening intelligence, which he hoped would be employed for his country's good ; bound to him in the warmest affection by the endearing qualities he displayed, he regarded Gabriel as the solace of his declining years. The young prince had married Donna Maria Victoria of Portugal, to whom he was tenderly

attached, and their married life proved the source of mutual happiness; when, shortly after her confinement, she was attacked with small pox, and like her brother, the king of Portugal, fell a victim to the malady. Her afflicted husband, who positively refused to leave the bedside of his wife during her illness, caught the infection, and soon followed her to the grave. Charles, crushed by this stroke, gave way to an intensity of grief which told rapidly upon his health, and in a short time died, grieving for the loss of a beloved son and a daughter-in-law, who deserved and gained his esteem. Thus terminated, in 1788, a reign which, during the twenty-nine years of its duration, had been busy, and not without its benefits to Spain.

CHAPTER XI.

Convulsions Physical and Political.—A.D. 1706—1794.

PORTUGAL.

ACCESSION OF JOHN V.—EXTENSION OF COMMERCE.—MINERAL WEALTH OF BRAZIL DISCOVERED.—ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS.—REFORM OF THE CIVIL TRIBUNALS.—MILITARY SUCCESES IN AMERICA.—EARTHQUAKE IN ALGARVE.—DEATH OF JOHN.—JOSEPH I.—THE COUNTRY INVADED BY SPAIN.—THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL.—ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRINTING, MANUFACTURES, AND AGRICULTURE.—ATTENTION TO EDUCATION.—COMMERCIAL LEGISLATION.—EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON.—GREAT EXERTIONS OF POMBAL.—EFFECTS OF THE EARTHQUAKE ELSEWHERE.—ASSISTANCE FROM ENGLAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES.—RESTORATION OF LISBON.—PERSECUTIONS OF THE JESUITS.—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE KING.—ARREST OF SEVERAL OF THE NOBILITY AND JESUITS.—CRUEL TORTURES AND EXECUTIONS.—THE JESUITS EXPELLED.—NATIONAL IMPROVEMENT.—MARRIAGE OF THE KING'S DAUGHTER WITH HER UNCLE.—ACCESSION OF DONNA MARIA FRANCESCA.—DISMISSAL OF POMBAL.—PUNISHMENT OF ASSASSINS.—ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH ENGLAND.—SUPPORT OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.—RELIGIOUS ANXIETY OF THE QUEEN.—HER MENTAL DERANGEMENT.—APPOINTMENT OF HER SON AS REGENT.

THE history of Portugal supplies but few events of importance from the accession of John V. in 1706, until the time when the waves of the French revolution flowed so fiercely over Europe; and the reign of John was especially barren. Like most of the monarchs of his time, John was engaged in the war of the Spanish succession, and entered into it with considerable zest, but

with little success; and continued the contest with Spain for two years after the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, had been signed by most of the combatants. No beneficial result accrued to either country by this dispute, and in 1715 a peace was concluded, when John acknowledged Philip as the king of Spain, and Philip recognised John's title to the crown of Portugal. After this there was a good understanding between the two courts, which was further strengthened by a double marriage, in which the prince of Asturias married Barbara, the infanta of Portugal, and the prince of Brazil, the heir apparent, married Mary Anne, the infanta of Spain. A serious dispute broke out subsequently between the two courts on a question of precedence, and hostilities were threatened; but the mediation of England, the ally of Portugal, prevented the actual occurrence of the calamity, and happily preserved peace. This event induced John to attempt the confirmation of his alliance with the different European powers, and during his long reign he secured their good-will. This leisure from the ruinous influence of war, afforded him a favourable opportunity for promoting the commercial activity of his people, which he wisely improved, and very considerably extended the commercial relations of Portugal. Brazil, which was subject to his authority, had never been thoroughly explored until this time, and consequently its mineral wealth was unknown; but now several districts were examined, and the valuable mines and diamonds of the country for the first time discovered. These things doubtless tended very materially to increase that state of national prosperity which renders his reign remarkable in the annals of Portugal.

Strongly attached to the church of Rome, the Jesuits reached their highest point of power and influence in the kingdom during his reign; he was nevertheless diligent in his efforts to effect many important ecclesiastical reforms, in which he had the good fortune to secure the consent of some of the more enlightened popes, who happened at that time to occupy the papal throne. He succeeded in getting Lisbon created a patriarchal see, and introduced a more definite arrangement respecting the delinquencies of ecclesiastics. He even contemplated a separation from Rome, in reference to temporalities and

discipline; but the concessions with which he was met prevented the final step.

One measure which he adopted reflects credit on his humanity so far as it went, that was allowing the prisoners of the inquisition the benefit of competent advocates when brought before their judges. Previously these unhappy victims of cruel bigotry, ignorant alike of their accusers and their crimes, were left to the arbitrary and irresponsible treatment of the iniquitous court before which they had to appear; it was therefore no small boon that they could secure the services of men whose knowledge of what was termed law might in some measure protect them, instead of being left to the confusion and terror which their perilous circumstances necessarily produced. The civil tribunals also received considerable attention, and acquired a vigour from the wise alterations of this king, which they had never previously known. In America the arms of Portugal were successful in restraining the encroaching spirit of some of the Spanish colonists; especially the hostile attempts of the governor of Buenos Ayres, who had endeavoured to seize the district of Sacramento. A severe famine occurred in 1734, and an earthquake did much damage in Algarve; but with these exceptions Portugal enjoyed much prosperity, and the people were happy and contented.

For the last eight years of his life John suffered from severe disease, which he bore with much fortitude until 1750, when he died, after a reign of forty-four years. By Portuguese writers he is spoken of in terms of extreme adulation, and his character compared with some of the worthies of sacred truth, but the praise is extravagant and without foundation. That he had many princely qualities is unquestionable, but that they were obscured and debased by bigotry and cruelty is beyond dispute; while the low state of his social morality is sufficiently illustrated by the illegitimate children for whom he secured some of the principal dignities of the church of Rome. By his wife, Mariana of Austria, he had a numerous family, but only three survived him. His highest praise is that he avoided war, and endeavoured to elevate and improve his country.

Joseph I. succeeded his father in 1750. This prince

had little personal excellency to distinguish him ; though he could at times display a spirit of independence which was deserving of praise. This was the case when Spain, by virtue of what was termed "the family compact," formed by the Bourbons for mutual defence and assistance, demanded his co-operation against England ; to which he replied, "That he had no wish to engage in a war alien to the interest of his subjects : and that he had too much pride to submit to dictation." This bold refusal excited the indignation of France and Spain, and soon led to hostilities. Animated with a determined hatred against the Spaniards, the peasants harassed them with a system of guerilla warfare, to which they were well accustomed ; while the English afforded them such efficient help in officers and troops, that though Spain invaded the country with twenty-two thousand men, she was obliged to retire after taking Almeida. This success prevented his kingdom from becoming a mere province of Spain, which it must have done had he consented to receive a Spanish garrison.

In all his efforts he was ably sustained by his minister, the marquis of Pombal. This celebrated man, known originally as Don Sebastiano José de Carvalho, was the descendant of a noble family of the second class ; he was born, in 1699, at Soura, a village in the territory of Coimbra. He commenced his studies for the legal profession, but being desirous of a more active life, joined the army. This he also gave up in a short time, having been introduced, by cardinal Matta, to John V., who employed him as envoy extraordinary to the courts of London and Vienna. In the latter place he married the niece of general Daun, a lady of high rank and influence. On his return the queen, who was attached to the lady, induced her son, Joseph I., to take him into his employment soon after his accession. The capacity and industry he displayed speedily excited attention, and he was entrusted with the management of foreign politics, and subsequently became prime minister. The entire direction of affairs was now left in his hands ; and the energy, sagacity, and perseverance he exhibited, produced a most marked improvement in the condition of the kingdom, for the government of which Joseph had but little capacity.

Pombal, as he was subsequently called, gave great encouragement to printing, manufactures, and agriculture. The education provided by the university of Coimbra being exclusively classical, Pombal was possessed of too much penetration to overlook its unsuitableness for the wants of modern life; he therefore introduced a much more extended scheme of instruction, including the physical and mathematical sciences, and provided the requisite means.

Brazil was rendered more productive by the growth of sugar, coffee, rice, cotton, and indigo, being introduced. Various trading companies were instituted in Portugal, and an efficient police establishment. Being anxious to foster the trade of his own country, he levied such heavy duties on English importations, that they almost amounted to complete prohibition, not considering that by such partial legislation while he was enriching the few he was distressing the mass; but freedom in commerce was little understood in his days.

Great as were his powers of administration, and useful as were most of the measures he employed, he not only failed to secure the approbation of spectators, but he was actually hated both at home and abroad. This might be partly accounted for from the disappointed selfishness of many whose malversations in office he had detected and punished; but it was doubtless very much owing to the stern and arbitrary manner of his proceedings, in which he was more anxious about the end, than careful about the methods he employed. The great proof of his ability for administration is afforded by the fact that he raised Portugal from its low and languishing condition, and elevated it to a level with other European kingdoms.

On the 1st November, 1755, a most fearful calamity befell the city of Lisbon, which was attended by a vast sacrifice of human life. The morning arose with a thick fog which hung over the city until it was dissipated by the heat of the sun. The wind was perfectly still, and though so late in the year the weather was as warm as with ourselves in the height of summer. The streets, arranged in the form of a crescent, looked down upon the bay, whose placid waters were in perfect quiet. The people of Lisbon were busily engaged in their various

pursuits: some seeking pleasure had been attracted by the smooth waters of the river or the sea; others were actively employed in their industrial occupations; the rich and the noble were exchanging their visits of ceremony; multitudes had gathered to witness the iniquitous ceremony of an auto-da-fé, where bigotry libelled the religion of Jesus by the indulgence of fiendish cruelty. Superstition was holding her carnival, when the earth began to tremble, the sea rose fifty feet above its level, and came rushing in like a liquid mountain, and as suddenly retired. Ships were driven from their moorings, and destroyed each other by their mutual concussions; gloomy darkness obscured the sun, so lately shining with a summer's brightness. The sound as of distant thunder was heard in the bowels of the earth; and as shock succeeded shock the houses rocked to and fro, and at length fell in ruins or sank in the yawning gulfs, amid the wild clanging of the bells of churches and convents, which seemed to ring a funeral dirge over the doomed city. A newly-built quay, upon which considerable numbers were congregated, intent on worldly gain, sank with all its occupants to an unfathomable depth, and not one body of the hundreds who were there was ever recovered. Scarcely an intermission occurred in the shocks during the eight awful minutes through which the convulsion lasted. Houses without number, magnificent churches, convents, and public buildings, were suddenly thrown down, entombing their inhabitants, or crushing the affrighted citizens in the streets; whole streets were buried, and upwards of fifty thousand persons perished. The horrors of the earthquake were immediately followed by a devouring conflagration, which, produced most probably by accident, or by the fierce war of the elements, was increased by a band of villains who thus promoted the general confusion, that they might more extensively pillage the unhappy citizens. Bodies of brigands openly wandered amid the ruins, and robbed and murdered those whose consternation rendered them unable to resist. The king and the royal family, who had left the palace only a few minutes before the first shock was felt, wished to retire to Oporto, and many of the nobility encouraged his design; but Pombal firmly and successfully resisted

his departure ; saying, "That in such a fearful calamity as that which had befallen them, the king's place was amongst his suffering subjects."

Pombal never exhibited himself to greater advantage than during this time of peril and difficulty. He seemed to be present every where ; he superintended as well as suggested the means for helping the sufferers, stopping the wide-spreading conflagration, repressing the marauding violence of the brigands, and making provision for the multitudes who were thus suddenly bereft of home and food. No perplexity or confusion distracted his counsels, no consideration of fatigue interrupted his labours ; with enlightened energy and untiring perseverance he pursued his work, till order and confidence was in some measure restored.

The violence of the earthquake was not confined to Lisbon, the cities of Coimbra, Oporto, and Braga, besides several parts of Portugal, suffered severely. In other countries, also, it produced alarming desolation ; a large portion of Malaga in Spain was reduced to ruins, one half of the city of Fez was destroyed, and twelve thousand of the inhabitants perished. The island of Madeira, to a considerable extent, was reduced to a waste, and the shocks were felt even in Scotland ; the water of the hot wells at Bristol became as red as blood, and so muddy that it could not be used. The river Avon flowed contrary to its natural course, and other extraordinary phenomena awakened conjecture as to the cause of these things, but no satisfactory solution could be offered, till the fearful convulsion at Lisbon, occurring at the same day and hour, explained the whole.

When the tidings of this dreadful earthquake were carried to other countries, they produced the utmost consternation : "men's hearts failed them for fear." In England some alarm was felt in reference to public credit, from the vast quantities of British produce in Lisbon at the time. But it was found that the part of the city where the warehouses containing these goods were situated, had been less affected than any other ; while the English families had mostly retired to their country houses to escape the sight of the *auto-da-fé*, and avoid the insults to which they were exposed on such occasions.

The English parliament, as soon as they heard of the calamity, voted £100,000 for the relief of the sufferers; and the value of the gift was enhanced from a very considerable portion of the grant being laid out in rice, flour, and other necessaries. These timely supplies were received by the Portuguese with the warmest gratitude. The king of Portugal, that he might show his sense of the kindness, directed that such English as had suffered loss should have a preference in the distribution. Other nations also came to the aid of the distressed people; but though they could supply them with food, habitations of course could not be provided, and during the winter the whole population were obliged to remain in the fields with no better dwelling-places than tents or hastily constructed huts. Looked at in all its bearings, this great earthquake was one of the direst judgments with which the world was ever visited, and for some time the minds of the people were under painful apprehensions lest it should occur again. Happy would it have been for them had they been led to learn righteousness, and build on that Rock of ages which never can be moved.

As soon as the season and circumstances allowed, measures were adopted to rebuild the houses; and under the energetic and intelligent direction of Pombal, a new and more elegant city arose. The old part, which had been spared by the earthquake, still continues; but in the districts where its violence had been chiefly felt, to repair was impossible, and therefore an entirely new arrangement was adopted, which in a short time illustrated the genius and the skill by which the restoration was planned and perfected. Gradually the commercial prosperity of the country was restored, and the fearful earthquake became a theme of conversation; while with the sad insensibility common to the human heart, the lessons it might have suggested were forgotten.

Though the court and the kingdom of Portugal were intensely catholic, it is a remarkable fact that the Jesuits met with more determined persecution in this than in almost any other country. The first occurrence of an unpleasant kind between "the order" and the government, was in reference to a proposed exchange of certain districts in Paraguay, belonging to Spain, for a settle-

ment on the left side of the river La Plata, subject to the Portuguese. The Jesuits, having been successful in training the natives, and redeeming Paraguay from the condition of a wilderness, were unwilling to leave the fruits of their labour and remove with their pupils to the new settlement, as required by the Spanish authorities; they therefore earnestly remonstrated against the command; but finding that the change was finally determined, prepared at length to submit. The natives, however, were so strongly attached to their own soil that they resolved to remain; and when the troops of Spain and Portugal attempted to compel their removal, they openly resisted. Subsequent arrangements prevented the transfer from being made; but the two courts charged the Jesuits with having excited the rebellion, as they designated the opposition of the natives. Spain withdrew her charge, on receiving what were deemed satisfactory explanations; but the Portuguese, either sincerely or otherwise, professed to hold the fathers as guilty, and an ill-feeling sprang up which was never removed, but which ultimately issued in most serious results to the whole body. Pombal, though first introduced to the king by their means, entertained a decided hostility to them, and resolved on their expulsion at the first favourable opportunity. Whether this dislike was from personal pique simply, or whether it was his acquaintance with their restless ambition and crafty intrigues, it is impossible now to determine; but that it formed a lasting element in his policy, events ultimately proved. The first decisive measure he employed was the removal of three Jesuit confessors from the court, and the appointment of three ordinary priests in their stead. This step was followed by manifestoes addressed to the various European courts, accusing the order of crimes detrimental to the interests of morality and the security of governments. These things proved that the minister was only waiting an occasion for more severe treatment. This occasion at length arrived, in connexion with a conspiracy against the life of the king. Joseph, who was not eminent either for mind or morals, was returning one day, in 1758, from a disreputable intrigue, in which he was to be engaged with the wife of a young noble-

man of the house of Tavora, attended only by one servant, when the carriage was attacked by two men on horseback; one fired at the coachman, but without any other result than making the man drive as fast as possible, that he might save his own life, and that of the king. The assailants followed at full gallop, and, having no other resource, fired at the king through the back of the carriage. One shot took effect on his right arm, upon which the king immediately repaired to the residence of his principal surgeon, had his wounds dressed, and then proceeded home. The next morning an embargo was laid on the shipping; the palace gates were closed, and an air of mystery pervaded the whole place; the guards were increased, and every precaution against sudden violence adopted. Still the reason for all this was unknown; a rumour had indeed spread that the king had been wounded, but no one knew the particulars, and no one dared to enquire. Pombal appeared calm and even cheerful; but, though more than usually busy in some scheme, he made no communications as to the event, but such as were unavoidable. A vague notion was afloat that an extensive conspiracy had been formed to assassinate the king, and that many of the principal nobility were involved in the plot. Nor has the mystery been fully cleared up to the present day, as to the real authors and their motive for forming the plot.

A variety of conjectures were made at the time, and all have had different advocates since. Some were of opinion that the plot was formed by the Jesuits, to revenge their treatment in relation to the dispute in South America. Others believed the attempt to have been made by some who were bribed by Spain, and who wished Portugal to be united to the Spanish kingdom; while others believed that it was the result of the private resentment of the injured husband. The whole affair is uncertain.

Very shortly several of the first nobility were arrested, and with their wives and families thrown into prison. Among these were the duke of Aviero, the marquis of Tavora, the marchioness, and their two sons, and the conde de Atongia; several Jesuits and others were seized as accomplices; one of the assailants was taken, the

other escaped. Having been submitted to the torture, that cruel and absurd method of eliciting the truth, once so common, the government resolved to inflict capital punishment on the greater number. The wives of most of the alleged conspirators were, with some others, condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but those who were esteemed the chief were reserved for a fearful tragedy, which was to be performed at the commencement of the following year. Accordingly, on the 13th January, a scaffold eighteen feet high was reared in one of the principal squares, opposite the prison where the victim had been confined. At one corner the assailant who had been taken was fixed to a stake that he might be burnt alive; the other having escaped, his effigy was fixed at the other corner. Eight wheels were fastened at different parts of the scaffold, a strangling post and a block completed the horrid apparatus for the work of slaughter. Between eight and nine in the morning the marchioness of Tavora was brought out to be offered the first victim on the altar of revenge. Haughty and firm even in the last trying moments, she repulsed all the attempts of the ministers of death to bind her; telling them, "that they should not touch her only to kill her," she laid her head on the block, and at one stroke her spirit was dismissed to a more righteous tribunal. And now the work of death went on; the dead body of the marchioness remained on the scaffold, covered with a cloth; her two sons and her son-in-law, with three servants of the duke, were first strangled and then broken on wheels, where their bodies were left. But the duke of Aviero and the marquis were reserved for greater torture; the poor mercy of strangulation was denied them, and after being stripped they were broken alive on the wheels, while their cries under the barbarous vengeance re-echoed throughout the neighbourhood. The wretched man who was charged with being the assailant of the king, and who, fixed to a stake, had been the witness of this awful tragedy, was now to be disposed of, which was done by setting fire to the scaffold, with which he and the dead bodies were all consumed, and the ashes of the whole thrown into the Tagus.

Orders were then given to confiscate the estates of

the unfortunate noblemen. Their dwelling-houses were razed to the ground, and the king and his court repaired to a church to assist in the public performance of a *Te Deum*. The heart sickens at such an illustration of the dreadful depravity of which human nature is capable, and the gross blindness which could baptise vengeful cruelty with the sacred names of justice and religion.

Of the Jesuits who had been seized, father Malagrida, who had been confessor to some of the party, was tried as an accomplice; but the evidence being insufficient, he was then accused of heresy, and on this always convenient charge, was executed soon after. Not satisfied with these offerings of blood, Pombal obtained a decree from the king, during the same year, for the entire expulsion of the whole order from Portugal, and the confiscation of their estates. This determination was carried out in the most arbitrary manner, and, with the exception of those who were condemned to linger out a miserable existence in perpetual imprisonment, all the rest were hurried into vessels and driven out to sea without sufficient provision; some of them reached Civita Vecchia, and other places in the papal states, but great numbers perished.

Though the society had ever been chargeable with restless and mischievous intrigue in politics, their complicity with the plot for assassinating the king, or indeed whether there was a plot at all, is so uncertain, that the determined hatred with which they were treated in Portugal, must for ever remain one of the darkest pages of the history of that kingdom, and a blot on the names of those by whom the outrage was perpetrated. The example thus set was soon followed by France and other nations, but the details belong to their several histories.

After these events, Joseph and his minister, Pombal, proceeded with the more honourable work of promoting the national improvement of the kingdom, and succeeded in raising Portugal to greater prosperity than she had ever previously attained. The principal perplexity was in reference to the succession to the throne. Joseph not having any male descendants. To prevent the confusion which this fact might have caused, he obtained a dispensation from the pope allowing him to

marry his daughter to his younger brother, Don Pedro. This union was completed in 1760, and seems to have excited no opposition in Portugal, where incestuous marriages had not been uncommon. The facility with which the court of Rome could, when interest favoured, disregard the ties of consanguinity, is a striking illustration of the purely political character she has so often assumed.

Joseph lived seventeen years after this arrangement, but no event of historical importance occurred; and in 1777 he was succeeded by his daughter, Donna Maria Francesca. Some intrigues were employed to prevent her occupying the throne; but Spain advocating her cause, and the principal nobility of Portugal recognising her claim, the opposition was given up, and she was allowed to retain her authority.

One of the first acts of Maria was to dismiss her father's energetic minister, the marquis of Pombal. This unwise step was induced to some extent by the efforts of the numerous enemies which his reforms had produced, but still more by the dislike which the queen herself felt to the man whom she fancied had a greater influence on the mind of her father than she had. This feeling was strengthened by the manner in which the Jesuits had been treated. Maria, who was completely under the power of the priests, made common cause with every thing that affected the interest of the church, and hence looked with especial disfavour on a man who carried on his schemes of improvement undeterred by fear of those ecclesiastical bodies who had so long swayed the destinies of nations. The stern severity which had marked many of Pombal's proceedings, afforded some excuse for her determination; and she ordered him to retire to his own estates, where he died a few years after, in the eighty-first year of his age. Though stern and severe in his policy, there is no ground for doubting the integrity of this remarkable man. The government had been mainly conducted by him; Joseph, weak and contemptible in his character, was little fitted for the duties of royalty; and the improvements in the internal condition and foreign relations of the kingdom, must justly be ascribed to the sagacity and energy of the minister.

When he retired from the position he had held so long, he left a surplus in the national treasury far greater than Portugal ever possessed before.

Maria had the welfare of her people at heart, and carried on the work of reformation; but mistaking the character of those whom she employed, she often neutralized her own plans. She had no suitable successor to the discarded Pombal; and an air of incapacity soon characterized the government. Her husband does not appear to have made himself very active in affairs of state, and the principal responsibility therefore rested upon the queen. She made strenuous efforts to put a stop to the crime of assassination, which was practised at Lisbon with dreadful frequency; and determined to visit those who were guilty with the severest penalties of law. This determination she soon illustrated in the case of a man who had perpetrated a most atrocious murder; she ordered him to be seized and tried, and being found guilty, he was condemned to die. Every effort was made to induce her to spare his life; some of the most distinguished among the nobility interceded on his behalf. But the queen, firm in her purpose, refused to yield, and openly declared "that she would not, under any circumstances, pardon a premeditated murder." The certainty of punishment had for some time the desired effect of repressing the crime.

Maria was very anxious to promote the agricultural interests of her country, and gave every encouragement to schemes for increasing the growth of wheat in Portugal; besides entering into a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and thus strengthening her union with her old ally. Desirous of peace, as well as unfitted by the condition of her health for the anxieties of war, she remained on friendly terms with surrounding nations, and was left undisturbed by the troubles which were acquiring such a serious significance in France; one amongst many illustrations supplied by history of the wisdom of the policy of non-intervention with other kingdoms, by those who wish to be left at peace themselves, justifying the words of our Lord, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Science and literature were especially patronized by

Maria, and the course of instruction at the university of Coimbra received, under her direction, very considerable improvement. These facts show sufficiently that Portugal had a queen whose judgment was sound, and whose desires for the happiness of her people were strong. Had she possessed greater energy of character to ensure the faithful observance of her plans, her reign would have been one of the most distinguished in the annals of a country, where too frequently the rulers had been of a character deserving neither esteem nor confidence. But Maria had a burden which not all the pomp of royalty could lighten, and which, pressing upon a mind naturally prone to depression, painfully affected her peace. By the writers of her country she is described as being very religious; meaning that her observance of the various forms and penances of her church was attended to with more than usual earnestness and feeling. Her piety indeed assumed a strongly ascetic form, but amidst it all she still felt the burden of sin; and so intense was her consciousness of guilt, that not all the rites and mortifications she performed, could afford her peace. She believed herself doomed to perdition, and the best consolation offered to her was that of her confessor, who pledged himself for the eternal welfare of her soul. Alas, that there was no one to tell her of the blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin! But instead of this, the simple yet glorious testimony of God's own truth, she was directed to forms of man's invention, which can never take away sin; until reason reeled, and she became incurably deranged, and her son was appointed regent in 1794.

CHAPTER XII.

The Vatican Reformed.—A. D. 1691—1769.

ROME.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION ON THE PAPACY.—
 INNOCENT XII.—OBSOLETE CLAIMS OF LEOPOLD I.—
 EMBELLISHMENT OF THE CITY OF ROME.—CLEMENT
 XI.—HIS CHARACTER.—RIVAL PRETENSIONS OF
 FRANCE AND GERMANY.—INVASION OF NAPLES BY
 AUSTRIA.—RUPTURE BETWEEN CLEMENT AND THE
 EMPEROR.—COLLISION WITH VICTOR AMADEUS OF
 SAVOY.—THE JESUITS AND JANSENISTS.—CLEMENT
 SUPPORTS THE CLAIMS OF THE STUARTS.—WAR WITH
 TURKEY.—ALBERONI INCURS THE POPE'S DIS-
 PLEASURE.—THE JESUITS IN CHINA.—DEATH OF
 CLEMENT.—INNOCENT XIII.—BENEDICT XIII.—OP-
 PRESSIONS OF CARDINAL COSCIA.—SETTLEMENT OF
 FORMER DISPUTES.—PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS OF
 BENEDICT.—HIS DEATH.—CLEMENT XII.—INTRIGUES
 OF ALBERONI IN SAN MARINO.—BENEDICT XIV.—
 BOARD OF INVESTIGATION ON THE CHARACTER OF THE
 CLERGY.—LIBERALITY OF BENEDICT.—HIS OPPOSITION
 TO RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.—PROSPERITY OF HIS
 SUBJECTS.—CLEMENT XIII.—CONTENTION WITH
 OTHER STATES.—CLEMENT REFUSES TO ABOLISH THE
 ORDER OF JESUITS.—HIS PRESENT TO MARSHAL DAUN.
 —DEATH OF CLEMENT.

ONE of the most convincing illustrations of the indirect influence of the reformation, is seen in the altered character of those who, since its occurrence, have succeeded to the papal throne. In previous ages, some of the most depraved specimens of fallen humanity arrogated to themselves the title of "vicar of Christ," and exercised a despotic sway over Europe, while they scandalized it by their vices; and, notwithstanding several pleasing exceptions in the list of pontiffs, the names of Urban, Alexander,

Spirit of God himself. The prepared soil is better fitted to receive the seed and to yield the crop, than where encumbered with rank weeds, or covered by the thick jungle, which for ages has been the home and the refuge of the crawling reptile, or savage beasts of prey; so when men or nations rise from the slough of pollution, there is at least ground for hope that heavenly influences are at work, which shall result in genuine regeneration.

Innocent XII., who succeeded to the pontificate in 1691, was a man of regular habits, diligently devoted to the duties of his station, influenced by a strong love of justice in all his dealings, and free from the vice too common in the occupants of the papal throne, of filling every lucrative situation with his relatives, without regard to their fitness for the distinction. His aim, on the contrary, was to appoint those whose adaptation gave them a claim to office. He rendered a service to Europe on the following occasion:—Leopold I., emperor of Germany, made a rash attempt to revive some antiquated claims of the empire, by demanding that those fiefs in Italy, which had become emancipated by wars and other events during several preceding centuries, should apply to him for investiture;—a scheme as unwise as it would be for the legislature of this country to pass a law, that all the arrangements of territorial possessions and feudal service, which existed in the time of William the Conqueror, should be restored, without reference to the events which have occurred since. Attempting to add terror to absurdity, he further enjoined that the applications should be made within a specified time, and that recusants should be considered as rebels and usurpers. This edict was widely circulated, and fixed up at Rome. The effect of this measure would have been to disturb the greater part of the landed possessions of the peninsula, and would have affected even the Roman see itself. Against this obsolete claim, Innocent firmly protested, and urged the various states of Italy to join him in his opposition. Foreign courts took up the dispute, especially the court of France; and at length Leopold was persuaded to desist from an attempt which, if persisted in, would most probably have enkindled the flames of war. Thus, as in many other instances, was the peace of the world endangered by the

folly and obstinacy of a man, who happened to occupy a position for which neither his mental nor his moral qualities fitted him, but who wished to employ the advantage of his elevated rank to gratify an insensate ambition.

Innocent busily engaged himself in the work of embellishing the city of Rome and its neighbourhood, an object which, though certainly not forming a part of his ecclesiastical functions, was laudable in relation to the temporal sovereignty which he exercised. His aim appears to have been utility rather than show. Hence harbours, asylums, schools, courts of justice, aqueducts, and other buildings which might promote the welfare of his subjects, received his especial attention. The harbour called Porto d'Anzo, on the ruins of the ancient Antium; the aqueduct of Civita Vecchia, Monte Citario; the Roman court of justice; the penitentiary of San Michele, besides many other useful edifices, are evidences of the enlightened industry of a pontificate of nine years, which closed in 1700, by the death of Innocent at the age of eighty-six.

Clement XI. was chosen to succeed to the papal throne, within two months of the death of Innocent. He manifested the utmost unwillingness to accept the proffered dignity, and allowed several days to pass before his repugnance was overcome by the earnest importunity of his friends. The pursuits of literature seem to have had greater charms for him than the schemes of ambition. He had already the character of being a man of extensive erudition and general knowledge. During the residence of the eccentric Christina, the ex-queen of Sweden, at Rome, he was one of the literary society which was accustomed to frequent her house, and was unwilling to exchange the learned trifling which often prevailed, for the intrigues of cardinals and the political cares of the so-called sacred throne. Nevertheless, he eventually yielded to the decision of the college, and entered upon the active duties of his office. His disposition was generous and amiable, and his morals appear to have been irreproachable; what he was as to spiritual piety can scarcely be known, as historians generally treat this point with cold indifference; and we can only hope that to many natural qualities of a pleasing kind, there was superadded the possession of Christian principle.

Clement soon found that the position to which he had been elevated was by no means free from care. He earnestly attempted to settle the war of the Spanish succession, and employed all his powers of persuasion with the contending parties; but so far from succeeding he soon became himself involved in the contest. Louis XIV., anxious to extend his influence in Italy, required Clement to grant his grandson, Philip V. of Spain, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. This was resisted by the emperor, who claimed it for himself. Perplexed by these rival pretensions, Clement hesitated to give his decision, being unwilling to offend either of the ambitious princes who coveted the fair regions of the south. This delay encouraged the agents of France and Germany, to try what could be effected by intrigue; but not succeeding by these means, the Austrians resolved to attempt the conquest of Naples, and their armies, under the command of marshal Daun, traversed the papal states, and Clement was forced to content himself with stipulating that they should avoid passing through the city of Rome. The violation of the neutrality of his dominions, however, was not the only mortification the pope had to endure, for the troops seized Comacchio in the papal states, and thus caused an open rupture between Clement and the emperor Joseph. Remonstrances against this outrage were addressed to the court of Vienna, but in vain. Clement therefore sent an army of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of count Marsigli, against the invaders; but being unable to withstand the power of the Austrians, the troops retreated, and Clement was obliged to sue for peace. This was granted, and Comacchio ultimately restored in the ensuing pontificate.

Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who exercised the right of sovereignty over the island of Sicily at this time, was brought into collision with the pope in consequence of a tribunal in the island, called "di monarchia," which was supposed to interfere with the papal prerogative. Clement, who held very exalted notions of his authority as head of the church, and was very jealous of its infringement, whether at home or abroad, insisted upon the tribunal being abolished or materially modified; with this demand Victor refused to comply. Negotiations, intrigues, and

threatenings then followed, but to no purpose; Victor still determined to uphold his own authority, and those of the clergy who refused to submit were either imprisoned or banished. Four hundred of them, preferring their spiritual to their temporal master, left the island and emigrated to Rome, where they were received as dutiful sons of the church. Complications of this kind seem to be inevitable, from the very nature of the authority claimed by the Romish see. It of necessity reduces the clergy of foreign countries to the unenviable position of having two masters; and, as we learn from the highest testimony, that in such a case it is impossible to serve both, confusion and dispute are certain to occur, especially should it so happen that "the two masters" are of equal energy and determination in upholding their respective claims; and the only explanation of the fact, that collisions between the spiritual assumptions of Rome, and the authority of kings and rulers, have not been yet more frequent, is to be found in the disproportion of mental power and energy which has often occurred between the heads of the church, and the occupants of royal thrones. Every pope has not been a Hildebrand, nor every king a Henry. Where there is conscious weakness, on either side, there must of necessity be submission. The presumptive argument thus supplied against the claims of the papacy, belongs not to a work like the present; but it will naturally force itself upon the attention of reflecting minds, when following the course of historic narrative.

Clement appears to have had a fondness for engaging in the controversial disputes which agitated the church in his time, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. These disputes were mainly confined to France, and the pope, by his interference, soon embroiled himself with many of the clergy of that kingdom.

His first step was to issue the bull, "Vineam domini," in which he declares the doctrines of the Jansenists about grace and free will to be heretical, and interdicts their being published. This was followed, in 1713, by the celebrated bull, "Unigenitus," which excited an immense commotion amongst all classes in France. A book had been published by father Quesnel, who belonged to the Jansenist party, entitled, "Moral Reflections on the New

Testament," in which he quoted from the writings of Augustine, and others of the ancients, opinions which were favourable to the evangelical views of truth held by his party. The Jesuits, who contended that divine grace was subordinate to the human will, and generally adopted the Arminian scheme, were very anxious to have the book of Quesnel condemned; when, therefore, the bull "Unigenitus" was issued *ex cathedra*, they rejoiced most triumphantly. Clement had gratified them by condemning no less than one hundred and one propositions of the book, and gave a decidedly favourable opinion of the tenets of the Jesuits. But it was necessary that the bull should be registered by the parliament of Paris before it could take effect: hence every effort was made by the Jesuits to obtain its formal acknowledgment, that they might proceed to the condemnation of Quesnel's obnoxious book; but the parliament contained many members who were favourable to the persecuted Jansenists; and what still more complicated the matter was, several of the leading French prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries, as Bossuet, cardinal Noailles, and others, looked with approval on the book, and regarded it as containing much moral truth. The contest at last became virtually a struggle between the authority of the pope, and the privileges of bishops. The pope claimed to be the sole guardian and exponent of truth; while the bishops claimed to have the right to judge of the truth or falsehood of different schemes of doctrine. The French clergy had already, in an assembly presided over by cardinal Noailles, claimed a right which Clement, in the pride of intellect and official supremacy, was not disposed to concede. These opposing pretensions kept the public feeling of Paris in a state of continual agitation, which was only partially allayed by the success of father le Tellier, a Jesuit, and confessor to Louis XIV., persuading that monarch to order the registration of the bull. The discussion was indeed stilled; but the separation of feeling and faith between the two parties, continued for many years after the agitation had passed away. Far better would it have been for the interests of truth, and the peace of the disputants, if, instead of trusting to the fathers on the one hand, and to papal infallibility on the other, they had each resorted to the sacred Scriptures,

and maintained or renounced their opinions, according to the decisions of that unerring rule.

Clement, like many other pontiffs who preceded him, was very desirous of bringing England again into communion with the Romish church, and, as is generally the case with the court of the Vatican, trusting to political measures for the accomplishment of spiritual ends, hoped by the restoration of the Stuarts he should succeed in this design. He therefore patronised the Pretender with great zeal, and when the young prince invaded this country, in 1715, he supplied him with money for the purpose. Failing in his attempt, and forsaken by France, the unfortunate James Edward retired to Rome, where the pope received him with a hearty welcome, and appointed the town of Urbino for his residence. His subsequent marriage with the daughter of the valiant John Sobieski was negotiated by the assistance of Clement, and performed at his expense. Not content with these evidences of his attachment to the cause of the exiled Stuarts, he gave the young couple a palace at Rome, and granted them an annual pension of twelve thousand crowns. Thus clearly did this sagacious man perceive the connexion between the recovery of England to popery, and the return of the Stuarts to their forfeited throne.

The Turks, whose restless ambition was still a cause of frequent trouble to the European nations, violated the treaty of Carlowitz, and invaded the Morea, made a descent on the island of Corfu, in 1716, and threatened to attack Italy. Clement now found abundant occupation in opposing their encroachments. He sent a squadron to assist the Venetians in their struggles with their old enemies, and induced the emperor, Charles VI., to league with Venice and himself against the Porte. The victory of prince Eugene at Peterwaradin, and the capture of Temeswar, compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Corfu, and once again to retire to their own dominions. Clement felt so much interest in this struggle, that he levied a contribution on all the Italian clergy to meet the expenses of this war.

Alberoni, the ambitious minister of Spain in the reign of Philip V., not only excited the opposition of the monarchs of Europe by his mischievous intrigues, but

brought upon himself the extreme displeasure of Clement, by whom he had been made a cardinal. Severe remonstrances against his policy, both foreign and domestic, were issued from the papal court; and the fall of the turbulent and arrogant minister was as acceptable to the Vatican as it was to the rest of Europe. When he retired to Rome, Clement directed that he should be arrested; but, hearing of his peril, the fallen cardinal managed so effectually to conceal himself, that he evaded the order during the life-time of the pope; but his removal enabled Clement to resume friendly relations with Spain, and his nuncio was again received at Madrid.

The Jesuit missions in China were a source of much perplexity to Clement. They gained considerable influence in the court of Peking, and mixed themselves up with the political affairs of the empire, still pursuing their work of proselyting the natives; but in this work they are said to have displayed the utmost latitudinarianism, and even given countenance to idolatry. It seems scarcely credible that keen and sagacious men should so far have imposed upon themselves as to call the mere outward observance of a few forms, conversion, when they knew that at the same time the principles, and the practices, the superstitious creed, and the idolatrous conduct of their pretended converts, remained unchanged. But such appears to have been the case in this as well as in many other instances. The missionaries of other orders with all their formality would not encourage this deception, and therefore made complaints to the pope. Clement therefore sent the cardinal de Tournon as his legate to investigate the matter; but the unfortunate cardinal was, on his arrival at Macao, so harassed and perplexed by the fierce polemics of the various sections of a church ever boasting of its unity, that he very soon died. Clement then drew up a code of laws, or instructions for the missionaries; but the distance of the seat of authority emboldened these men to treat them with indifference. Another legate was sent, but with no better result; he was treated with cold contempt by the emperor, under the influence of the Jesuits, and at length dismissed from the empire.

Amid these incessant cares and anxieties, Clement completed a pontificate of more than twenty years, and died

in March, 1721. Like his predecessor, he was much engaged in the improvement of the papal city; but was more interested in the cultivation of the fine arts than in works of general utility, such as were promoted by Innocent. Engraving, the art of Mosaic, tapestry after the fashion of the Gobelins, received his especial patronage and encouragement; learned and scientific men always received a ready welcome at the Vatican during his pontificate. The library and museum received liberal additions, and all his private pursuits indicated that the literary preference which made him unwilling to accept the tiara, at the time of his election, still existed.

Innocent XIII., who was elected in 1721, lived but three years after his elevation, and was not engaged in any transaction which requires to be recorded. Quiet and cautious in his temper, he carefully avoided any course which might produce unpleasant relations with his subjects or foreign courts. Comacchio, which, as was stated above, had been seized by the Austrians, was restored to the papal authority during the rule of this pope. He died in March, 1724.

Benedict XIII. was a plain and unostentatious man, simple in his habits, and strict in his morals, generous and charitable in his disposition; avoiding harsh and extreme measures, he was yet careful to uphold his ecclesiastical prerogatives. Wanting the power of rightly estimating character, he sometimes committed himself to those who were unworthy of his confidence. This was the case in relation to cardinal Coscia, a covetous and avaricious man; who, taking advantage of the favour of the pope, oppressed the people, that he might enrich himself. Had it not been that the character of Benedict was known and appreciated, the unjust proceedings of this man might have excited some manifestations of popular discontent; but the people visited upon the right object their indignation against the oppressions they suffered. During his pontificate, Benedict had to take up many of the disputes in which Clement had been engaged with Victor Amadeus, the emperor, France, and others; but by his prudent and conciliatory temper, he accomplished much more than the energetic Clement could effect. The disputes with Victor about the tribunal di monarchia, in

Sicily, was arranged; the controversy respecting the bull "Unigenitus," still agitating France, he persuaded cardinal Noailles, archbishop of Paris, to withdraw his opposition to that famous rule of Romish orthodoxy, and issued one of his own, called "Pretiosus," in which he gave a favourable exposition of the disputed bull and the controverted points of doctrine.

The policy of Benedict was decidedly peaceful; his interference with foreign courts was always with a view to allay animosities, and heal the strife which ambition and injustice were ever ready to foster, and in several instances he was eminently successful. The treaty of Seville was mainly the result of his negotiations; and thus France, Spain, England, and Holland, rested from their deadly contentions. So thoroughly was this his aim, and so manifestly was the attempt the result of principle, that we would fain hope that he had learned from the Divine teacher himself the great lesson, "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God."

Equally interested with his predecessors in the cause of James Stuart the Pretender, who was now residing at Bologna, he increased his pension, and in every way treated him with marked favour and distinction. After a pontificate of only six years, he died, leaving an honourable name, and was succeeded by Clement XII., in 1730. This pontiff, formerly known as cardinal Lorenzo Corsini of Florence, was seventy-nine years of age when he undertook the cares and responsibilities of the papal throne. Feeble in body, he yet possessed considerable energy of mind, and employed his influence like his predecessor in the interest of peace, though not always with success. In his conduct to San Marino we see a magnanimity which deserves much praise. Cardinal Alberoni, who after the death of Clement XI. had managed again to get into favour at Rome, had been sent as legate to Romagna. But altered circumstances had not changed the man; he could not exist without intrigue, and since he could not employ his intrigues on a large scale, he resolved to do so in a more limited sphere. There was a small republic about ten miles from the Adriatic, consisting of about twenty-one square miles, and comprising a population

amounting only to seven thousand six hundred souls, but enjoying its own independence and undisturbed liberty. Alberoni being in the neighbourhood of this miniature republic, made a pretence of intending to remedy some discontents among the people, entered the town, and commanded the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the pope. Some boldly refused to yield their freedom, others fled, and some overcome with fear took the oath. When this paltry conquest was reported to the pope, he expressed great displeasure at the outrage, sent another legate to displace Alberoni, and restored the independence of the injured republic.* Clement XII. died in 1740, and was succeeded in the same year by Benedict XIV.

This pontiff is described by lord Macaulay as having been "the best and wisest of the two hundred and fifty successors of St. Peter." He was certainly eminent for the wisdom, urbanity, and conciliatory spirit, which characterized the whole of his administration. As cardinal Lambertini, he had secured for himself a favourable reputation for the extent of his learning, and the mildness of his manners and disposition, long before his elevation to the papal throne. He commenced his administration by attempting the settlement of sundry ecclesiastical disputes, which had long existed between the court of Rome and Sardinia, in relation to appointments to dignities and benefices in connection with the church. In his intercourse with foreign powers, the firm yet courteous and dignified demeanour he constantly assumed, procured him the respect and esteem of all. He resolutely refused to interfere with the war of the Austrian succession, and maintained a perfect neutrality, though the Spaniards and the Austrians in their contests for Naples frequently traversed his dominions, and even fought the battle of Velletri within his territories. Such was the reverence entertained for his character, that the combatants on both sides endeavoured as much as possible to spare the lives and property of his subjects, and agreed to his stipulation that they should not pass through the city of Rome. Learned himself to an unusual extent, he

* San Marino has ever been acknowledged as an independent state by the popes; and even Napoleon respected its independence when he overthrew its papal government. In 1814 its freedom was confirmed.

gave the greatest encouragement to literature and learned men, and many distinguished professors were induced to settle at Rome, and thus made it for a time the chief seat of the arts and sciences. Works of general utility were promoted; churches, museums, schools, were repaired or instituted; and every thing which a wise ruler could devise for the social and intellectual benefit of his subjects was accomplished with willing energy.

Being very desirous of elevating the character of the clergy, and especially of those who occupied the more dignified positions in the hierarchy, Benedict instituted a board for the purpose of investigating the moral qualifications and general fitness of those who sought appointment to the various sees as they fell vacant; a measure which, if it had been previously adopted, and always honestly employed, would have saved the church of Rome from many an ecclesiastical scandal, with the record of which she is now disgraced. It may be hoped that in making this arrangement, this pontiff was influenced by more correct views of the spiritual design of the institution of the Christian ministry, than had been usually adopted by his predecessors.

One feature of his character, which from its rarity in the occupants of the Vatican, as well as from its real loveliness, deserves to be especially mentioned; that was the spirit of genuine liberality he manifested towards those who held other views of truth than those adopted by his own church. Without any appearance of latitudinarianism, with which he cannot be justly charged, he was ever disposed to receive with the greatest kindness and cordiality the professors of any other faith, without reference to their rank in the social scale. Christians of all denominations were treated with a kindliness which was as ardent as it was evidently sincere.

To persecution for conscience sake, he was a decided enemy, and used all his influence to prevent those acts of bigoted and arbitrary power in which ecclesiastics were too frequently inclined to indulge. The financial condition of his dominions was much improved, and under his prudent management his exhausted treasury was abundantly replenished, while his subjects attained to a state of prosperity which they had never known before, and

which they have never enjoyed since. The time of his pontificate was long regarded as the brightest and the best period of Rome's history, after it became the seat of ecclesiastical power. Upwards of eighty years of age, Benedict closed his honourable career, and was succeeded in 1758 by Clement XIII.

This pontiff seems to have been more estimable as a man than as a ruler. Anxious to uphold ecclesiastical authority, yet destitute of the sagacity and energy required to struggle against the advancing liberalism of the age, his pontificate was a period of fruitless contention with the surrounding states; Venice and Genoa, as well as more important powers, disregarded his mandates and resisted his claims. It was during his administration that the Jesuits were expelled from the various European kingdoms. That Clement should afford them an asylum at Rome, was but natural; but that he should refuse to abolish the order, notwithstanding the overwhelming evidence of the mischievous influence they had exerted wherever they had gained a footing, was unwise and chargeable with obstinacy, especially when all the powers of Europe were requesting, and some attempting to compel him to close the official career of the turbulent fraternity. France seized Avignon, and Naples occupied Benevento, to induce him to issue the bull of dissolution, but Clement finally refused.

When Maria Theresa and the formidable league she had formed, were pressing upon Frederic the Great of Prussia, Clement showed his zeal in an extraordinary manner. "This absurd priest," says Macaulay, "determined to try what the weight of his authority could effect in favour of the orthodox Maria Theresa, against a heretic king. At the high mass, on Christmas-day, a sword with a rich belt and scabbard, a hat of crimson velvet lined with ermine, and a dove of pearls, the mystic symbol of the Divine Comforter, were solemnly blessed by the supreme pontiff, and were sent with great ceremony to marshal Daun, the conqueror of Kolm and Hochkirchen. This mark of favour had more than once been bestowed by the popes on the great champions of the faith. Similar honours had been paid, more than six centuries earlier, by Urban II. to Godfrey of Bouillon.

Similar honours had been conferred on Alva, for destroying the liberties of the Low Countries, and on John Sobieski, after the deliverance of Vienna. But the presents which were received with profound reverence by the Baron of the Holy Sepulchre in the eleventh century, and which had not wholly lost their value even in the seventeenth century, appeared inexpressibly ridiculous to a generation which read Montesquieu and Voltaire. Frederic wrote sarcastic verses on the gifts, the giver, and the receiver. But the public wanted no prompter; and a universal roar of laughter, from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, reminded the Vatican that the age of crusades was over."

Clement died in 1769.

CHAPTER XIII.

Aggression and Decline.—The Eighteenth Century.

SMALLER STATES AND DEPENDENCIES.

DECLINE OF VENICE.—FLORENCE AND TUSCANY.—GENOA.—SAVOY.—WAR WITH FRANCE.—VICTOR AMADEUS CROWNED KING.—ADDITION OF SARDINIA.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—ABDICATION OF VICTOR.—CHARLES EMMANUEL III.—CAPTURE OF MILAN.—EXCHANGED FOR NOVARA AND TORTONA.—UNSUCCESSFUL INVASION OF PIEDMONT.—FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE KINGDOM.—DEATH OF CHARLES EMMANUEL.—CONQUEST OF NAPLES AND SICILY BY SPAIN.—REIGN OF CARLOS.

AFRICA.—PIRATICAL AGGRESSIONS OF THE BARBARY STATES,—ALGIERS, TUNIS, AND TRIPOLI.—INEFFECTIVE AUTHORITY OF TURKEY.—MOROCCO.—EVIL EFFECTS OF MAHOMETANISM.

AMERICA.—BRAZIL.—ITS EXCLUSIVE GOVERNMENT.—MEXICO AND PERU.—EXTENSION OF ENGLISH COLONIES.—NEW YORK.—MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.—MAINE.—RHODE ISLAND.—NEW HAMPSHIRE.—VERMONT.—NOVA SCOTIA AND THE CANADAS.—NEW-FOUNDLAND.

ASIA.—DUTCH POSSESSIONS.—LOSSES OF PORTUGAL.

DURING the seventeenth century very few events worthy of record occurred in connexion with the Italian republics, once so famous on the page of history. Reduced to poverty by the loss of their commerce, now diverted into other channels, or exhausted by expensive wars, or merged into the larger states in their immediate neighbourhood, they afford a striking contrast to their opulence and power in previous ages, when their merchant princes were welcomed at kingly courts, or when at home exercised a lordly despotism. Venice—the queen of the Adriatic, whose gondolas conveying parties of youth and pleasure

darted along their liquid roads, amid strains of enchanting music, while stately edifices threw their shadows on the grand canal; whose rich argosies were to be found on every sea; whose navies went forth to battle with all the pride of conscious power, and returned with the exultation of triumphant success; and whose lordly doge was the very incarnation of aristocratic pomp—deprived of her colonies, denuded of her wealth, exhausted by incessant war, appears an object for the deepest pity: her grandeur tarnished, her glory departed, her name almost forgotten amongst the rulers of the world; and the independence she once prized so highly, little more than a tradition of the past.

Florence, formerly so eminent for the encouragement she gave to learning and learned men, distinguished for the vast extent of her commerce, was, with the little republic Sienna, merged into the grand duchy of Tuscany, with which it continued to be united for several generations. Nor did Tuscany, which had acquired such an enlarged extent of territory by the absorption of neighbouring states, occupy a very important relation to European politics; and is chiefly remarkable as having been conferred, by the agreement of the great powers, on Francis of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, and afterwards emperor of Germany. The connexion of Tuscany with the imperial throne did not, however, produce any memorable event; occupied with the more pressing affairs of the empire, Francis left the government of the duchy to a regency, who simply attended to ordinary and routine administration. During the reign of Leopold I., second son of Francis, the duchy revived very considerably, and the industry and happiness of the people increased. The improvement in every department of administration, and the order and peace resulting from wise legislation, raised Tuscany to a position she had never occupied before, and made the rule of this sovereign deservedly famous. This state of prosperity was uninterrupted during the twenty-five years Leopold held the dukedom, and the results remained when, in 1790, he succeeded to the more important rank of emperor of Germany.

Genoa still maintained her independence under the aristocratic government formerly described. She retained

the island of Corsica until 1768, when she ceded it to France; but all her possessions in the Levant and the East were lost. Her navy, once so formidable, was reduced to a few galleys, which were compelled to endure frequent assaults from the Barbary privateers, who insulted her flag with impunity. Politically, the republic had lost all its importance, and, with but few exceptions, was left in the enjoyment of peace, while her powerful neighbours were contending for more valuable prizes.

The geographical position of Savoy, as we have seen, exposed her to frequent troubles from the repeated contests of France and Austria. Whether a policy of determined neutrality would have preserved her from the sufferings caused by the struggles of these ambitious powers, it may be difficult to determine. It is, however, to be regretted that she never put it to the test, but on the contrary was found alternating her adherence to the two courts as circumstances guided. When, in 1675, Victor Amadeus received the ducal crown, his early years rendered a regency necessary, and the government was entrusted to his mother, Françoise of Orleans, which, as a matter of course, gave France some amount of influence in the affairs of the dukedom; and hence, when Victor Amadeus assumed the active duties of his station, he soon found that influence threatening to become arbitrary and oppressive. Louis XIV., now zealously engaged in his schemes of worldly glory, compelled Victor to subdue the Waldenses, on whose behalf Cromwell had so effectually mediated in former years, commanded him to send two regiments of troops to Flanders, and yield the citadel of Turin to his authority. Irritated by these arrogant demands, which were increased by every concession, Victor at length determined to resist. He gathered his nobility around him, and declared war against France; a league was formed with Spain and Austria, and the exiled Waldenses were recalled to their homes. The war lasted till the peace of Ryswick, by which it was arranged that the French should evacuate Italy, and that Pignerol, which had belonged to France, should be given up to Savoy.

In the "war of the Spanish succession," we find Victor for some time aiding France, and afterwards joining with the emperor. This severe and calamitous struggle termi-

nated with the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, by the stipulations of which Victor gained a considerable addition of territory, and especially the island of Sicily, with the title of "king," and was formally crowned at Palermo. Not long after this he exchanged Sicily for the island of Sardinia, by an arrangement with the emperor, and henceforth was known as the king of Sardinia. This kingdom being now enlarged and consolidated, Victor applied himself to its internal improvement with the utmost energy. Agriculture, and industry in all its branches, were sedulously encouraged. Amongst other wise and useful measures, he promoted the cultivation of the mulberry tree, and the rearing of silk-worms, thus opening a source of traffic for which his country is still celebrated. After a long and successful reign, he abdicated the throne in 1730, two years before his death, and was succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel III.

When Charles ascended the throne, Europe was enjoying the unusual blessing of peace. This, however, was soon disturbed by the ambitious schemes of Spain, where the queen, Elizabeth Farnese, and the restless cardinal Alberoni, controlled or influenced the feeble mind of Philip V. : the war of the Polish succession supplied a pretext for hostilities. Charles Emmanuel, tempted by the promise of the duchy of Milan, which France promised to wrest from Austria, united his forces with the French army, and succeeded in capturing the coveted duchy; but in the peace which followed shortly afterwards, Milan was restored to Austria, and the king of Sardinia obtained Novara and Tortona.

In the war of the Austrian succession, Charles was also involved: in this instance, uniting with England to defend Maria Theresa. This brought an attack upon his territories by the combined forces of the French and Spaniards, who invaded Piedmont, but without success. In other succeeding battles the Piedmontese were equally successful, and so established their character for courage that, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the kingdom was free from invasion for many years. By the peace of 1748, Charles obtained further additions to his kingdom, though still disappointed in his hope of gaining Milan. By this treaty, the upper Novara and the districts of Voghera,

and Vigerano near the Po, became parts of the Sardinian kingdom.

During the remaining twenty-five years of his reign, Charles Emmanuel enjoyed peace, and improved the leisure by promoting in every possible manner the welfare of his subjects. A code of laws was prepared; a general survey of the land effected; roads and canals were opened; commerce encouraged; feudal services commuted by money payments, arranged by a court appointed for the purpose; and the heavy taxes caused by the long wars, either materially diminished, or entirely abolished. By a course of government so evidently beneficial, Charles Emmanuel secured the good will of his people, and died respected and beloved in February 1773, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Naples and Sicily experienced the influence of the disputes of the stronger powers of Europe, though not to the same extent as the states of northern Italy. In 1734, Don Carlos, son of Philip V. of Spain, conquered Naples and Sicily, and the troops of France and Sardinia took Milan and other places. These victories induced the emperor Charles VI. to agree to negotiate a peace; and arrangements were agreed to, by which Carlos was recognised as king of the Two Sicilies, the duchies of Parma and Placentia being ceded to the emperor, besides other stipulations which are mentioned in connexion with the countries to which they relate. Carlos reigned without interruption till 1759, when he ascended the throne of Spain with the title of Charles III., having, according to the arrangements of the treaty of Vienna, renounced his claim upon the Two Sicilies. No event of importance occurred under his rule, except that he acquired some small addition of territory by the annexation of some small fiefs, which once formed a part of the duchy of Parma. These were obtained, together with much valuable property, many admired statues and paintings, now in the museum at Naples, by his mother, Elizabeth Farnese, queen of Spain. This ambitious woman, on the occasion of the death of duke Antonio Farnese, the last male descendant of that once powerful family, claimed the duchy for her son, and, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Parma and Piacenza were awarded to her younger son,

Don Philip, and the property to which we have alluded, given to the king of the Sicilies. The chief advantage enjoyed by Naples during the reign of Carlos, was that of continued peace, which for centuries it had seldom known; and thus the schemes of a restless policy were overruled for good. The long reign of the son and successor of Carlos, must be reserved until we survey the revolutionary storm which soon agitated Europe, and the effects of which were seriously felt at Naples.

AFRICA.

The Barbary states continued their piratical aggressions on the ships of other nations, upon which they either levied tribute, or seizing their crews and passengers sold them into slavery. The determined adherence of these states to this barbarous practice is a curious fact in history, and suggests the enquiry in what did it originate? The fact of their being maritime nations is insufficient to explain it, since other states, as much accustomed to the sea, have regarded with horror a course which was looked upon by the tribes of the northern coast of Africa, as perfectly justifiable, if not really honourable. The most feasible explanation is, that it was regarded as a course of reprisals for the injuries they had endured in being expelled from Spain. It is well known that the Moors, when driven out of Granada, their last stronghold on the European continent, settled in what have been termed the states of Barbary; and, just as the Highlanders of Scotland sought to avenge their fancied wrongs, by levying "black mail" upon the inhabitants of the Lowlands, so these Moors, mindful of the grandeur and magnificence they had lost by the victorious arms of Ferdinand and Isabella, in expelling them from the rich provinces of southern Spain, attempted to gratify their cupidity and their revenge by seizing the vessels, not only of that kingdom, but those of any of the nations of Christendom which might fall under their power. This probably was the origin of this peculiar fact in connexion with their history; while long continuance and frequent impunity in the outrages they committed, at length led these maritime freebooters to regard the practice, as not only allowable, but really honourable. The student of prophecy cannot.

fail to observe the fulfilment of the prediction relating to Ishmael, from whom many of these Moors descended: "He will be a wild man: his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." (Gen. xvi. 11.)

This pugnacious disposition kept them in constant strife, and often brought down severe punishment upon them from the different nations with whose lawful commerce they interfered. Thus Louis XIV. directed Algiers to be bombarded, and compelled the dey to sue for peace. The Dutch, the Danes, and the Swedes, taught them that their flag should not be insulted with impunity; the Austrians and the Russians sheltered themselves under the protection of the Porte, and the treaties they concluded with the Turks; the English administered a punishment under Blake, which was not soon forgotten. The Spaniards seldom succeeded in their conflicts with these ancient foes; but the Italian states often had to complain of the inhuman treatment they received, and which they were too weak to resent.

Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli were nominally subject to Turkey; but the Ottoman government, inherently weak, was rendered quite inoperative for salutary supervision over these remote dependencies, by the fierce and frequent wars in which it was engaged with surrounding nations: hence its representatives indulged in all the excesses of despotic tyranny, without the dread of being called to account. In the first instance, the beys—or deys, as they are variously called—were sent from Constantinople; but after a time, any one who could transmit a sufficient bribe to the sultan, might assume the rank, even though he had attained its possession by deeds of violence and bloodshed. In some cases the authority of Turkey was openly repudiated, and a rebellious independency assumed. Thus in 1713, a Moorish chief, named Hamet Caramanli, headed a rebellion in Tripoli, murdered the Turkish officers and garrison, and was recognised by the people as pasha; and managed to acquire such an amount of popularity, that the dignity was declared hereditary in his family, and actually continued for several generations. In Tunis also a dynasty was founded by a renegade Greek, and his grandson, Hassan Ben Ali, retained the power till his death in 1753.

Morocco, in every respect more important, not only enjoyed the advantage of settled and regular government, but carried on a considerable amount of commerce, and some attention was paid to education; but the curse of Mahometanism is here, as in the neighbouring states. Despotic authority on the part of the rulers, an inseparable feature of Moslem rule, and the consequent degradation of the people, prevent anything like real national advancement, or even lasting prosperity. As with a torpedo touch, every thing is paralysed beneath this system of imposture, just as in other lands by the influence of encumbering superstition, the energies of the mind and the emotions of the heart have been repressed; thus teaching us, by contrast, that it is only the free, simple, unadorned Christianity of the word of God that is favourable to the development of communities, and that in this respect, as in many others, the religion of Jesus is for the "healing of the nations."

Distinct from the rest of the nations, who were then contending for power, for wealth, or freedom; separated by geographical position, by language, by manners, and religion, Morocco, and its neighbouring states, supplied nothing during the eighteenth century deserving historic record, except their marauding outrages upon hapless mariners, or their own internal quarrels of paltry ambition and heartless cruelty; and from these the enquirer turns away in search of topics of more pleasing and enduring interest.

AMERICA.

No fact in history is more unquestionable than the ignorant incapacity of many of the early settlers to turn to advantage the vast possessions they acquired in the New World. Military authority on the one side, and slavish subserviency on the other, seemed to be the only relation which was recognised; and hence the wealth of the newly-obtained empires was undiscovered to a great extent, and their capabilities undeveloped. A selfish policy, alike injurious to those who adopted and those who endured it, prevented the expansion of commerce, and often made those distant dependencies burdens, rather than benefits, to the nations which had conquered

or discovered them. Perhaps, however, this might be expected, when we so often see in these later ages such an extreme unwillingness to recognise the sound political economy contained in the words of Solomon, "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty." (Prov. xi. 24.)

Thus Brazil, the vast empire of South America belonging to Portugal, under a wise and equitable administration might have risen in the scale of nations to an exalted condition of prosperity, and at the same time have secured a real advantage to the governing country, and so have shown that the connexion of the two was a mutual benefit. But instead of acting upon principles of wise and equitable rule, the government of Brazil by Portugal was of the most exclusive character, and discontent was the inevitable result. Trade was placed under the most mischievous restrictions: foreign ships were prohibited from entering the Brazilian ports; and the Brazilians were forbidden to send their commodities any where but to Portugal. The rest of the world was completely ignored; other nations might have valuable articles of produce or manufacture to offer, but the inhabitants of Brazil were not allowed to enjoy them; Brazil might produce more than she needed from her prolific soil, but none but the people of Portugal were to share in her abundance;—a policy as wise as it would be to attempt to monopolize the light of the sun or the breath of heaven. Such a course could only be expected to issue as it did, in growing dissatisfaction among all classes.

But in addition to these commercial restrictions, it was ordered that only native Portuguese, who had emigrated, should be eligible for situations of honour and responsibility; thus passing by the descendants of those who generations before had left their native land, and borne the burden and heat of the day, in settling the new-found possessions in the first instance. These ill-advised proceedings occasioned feelings of alienation from the mother-country, which acquired strength by their continuance, and which might have led to a forcible disruption and all the dire calamities of war, and most probably would have so resulted but for circumstances

in connection with Portugal which we shall have to relate hereafter.

The valuable countries of Mexico and Peru, belonging to the Spaniards, were equally unfortunate in their experience of the wisdom and equity of their new rulers, and must have been disposed at times to contrast their abject condition with the freedom and magnificence of which they had been deprived by Cortez and Pizarro. Spain, in addition to the barbarous cruelties with which the first governors treated the natives, fell into the same error with the Portuguese in supposing that only those who were sent out from Europe were capable of ruling or worthy of being trusted; thus pouring contempt upon two very numerous classes, the Creoles, or descendants of the Spaniards who flocked to America, and the Mestizos, or children of the mixed marriages between the Spaniards and the natives. The conflicting feelings of these various classes caused, it must be allowed, a check to the preponderance of either; but the lurking disunion it was producing between them was necessarily associated with an increased aversion on the part of all against the government of which each complained. To build up nations there must be development as well as restraint; the development not merely of the material and natural qualities of the soil, but of the mental resources of the people, to be consolidated into a state; a development not of their powers of physical endurance, but their power of acting and governing, especially the capability of self-government. If not wisely trained it will develop itself, and that with all the wildness of anarchy and confusion. Restrain the mental faculty unduly, and if it does not die out and leave the nation a political corpse, a *caput mortuum*, it will acquire a force all the more intense for the repression; and when it breaks forth, as break forth it will, confusion and every evil work must ensue, especially if there be not the influence of religion to moderate its violence. France was repressed, and its unguided energies broke forth into the fearful chaos of revolution. Mexico and Peru, if not repressed with the same amount of despotism, were left undeveloped and unguided; and hence the subsequent career of the inhabitants of those lands, and the distracted state of misrule which so soon

ensued. The Stuarts attempted to repress England, but the element of self-government had been gradually introduced into her institutions, and religion was a pervading power: hence when the outbreak came, though there was violence and the struggle was severe, yet the storm passed away, and left the nation free from those mists of bigotry and intolerance which had so long darkened her prospect. Despotism was destroyed on the one hand, and lawless anarchy prevented on the other, and the majesty of law and the reign of constitutional government inaugurated, while an open Bible and liberty of conscience, secured and solemnized the results of the national convulsion. Happy would it have been for many lands if principles at once so simple and so powerful had been practically received.

In North America the progress of English colonization, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was more remarkable than in any other part of the world. Rising rapidly to that position of maritime superiority which she has since maintained, the extension of her colonies was a result which might have been safely predicted, and the prosperity by which they were generally marked was such as, under the blessing of Providence, might be expected to result from the energy of the national character, and the popular nature of the institutions which were introduced. The stamp and model of future colonization had been given by the settlement of the pilgrim fathers in the New England states; and the spirit of freedom in civil and religious matters, which first led them to Cape Cod, doubtless influenced all subsequent settlers to a considerable degree. The commercial rivalry which existed so long between Holland and England, was gradually ending in the admitted preponderance of the latter country. The state of New York was for some years a source of fierce contention between the two powers, with varied success. In 1645 the English wrested it from the Dutch; but in 1673 the brave republicans again obtained it, only however to cede it once more to England in the following year. Maryland and Virginia, named in honour of two English queens (the latter to celebrate the "maiden-queen," Elizabeth, and the former Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I.), rose

rapidly in the eighteenth century. Maryland had been first settled by Roman catholics, who, like the New England fathers, sought "freedom to worship God" with less interruption than they found at home; and like those pioneers of civilization in Massachusetts, opened up a path in which multitudes soon followed them, not only from the mother-country, but also from the nonconformist settlers in Virginia and New England. Maine was one of the discoveries of Cabot, in 1497, and was for some generations contended for by France and England; but by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, it was ceded to the English, and continued in connexion with this country till the war of independence.

Rhode Island owed its colonization to the decided views of Roger Williams on the subject of religious liberty and the rights of conscience,—a man who was manifestly in advance of his times, and therefore struck out a new course, in which he was joined by those to whom the rigid strictness of the emigrant Puritans was irksome.

New Hampshire grew out of the movement in Massachusetts, and received its name from the affectionate remembrance of the sunny downs and fertile fields of the country they had left, which still lingered in the minds of these pilgrims of faith.

Vermont, or the "green mountain," as it was called by the French settlers, from the verdant and mountainous character of the country, was first occupied as a settlement by France in 1731, but very little progress was made in its colonization till it was ceded to the British in 1763, after which it was carried on with great energy.

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York, all claimed to have Vermont included within their respective states; but the dispute was settled by the king of England in council, who in 1764 decided that it should belong to New York. In the wars which subsequently occurred, "the green mountain boys," as the inhabitants were termed, distinguished themselves for their enduring and determined courage.

The extensive regions of Nova Scotia and the Canadas, were successively under the power of the English and the French. The former was secured to the British in

1711; but its quiet possession was not obtained until 1758, when the French were finally expelled. The Canadas came into the undisputed power of the English by the treaty of 1763, as the result of the brilliant victory of Wolfe at Quebec in 1759, in which that gallant commander fell. Newfoundland was secured to the English by the treaty of Utrecht, after having been attacked and a considerable portion of it taken by the French, who were henceforth compelled to be content with a limited amount of fishing.

Thus, within about one hundred years, we see England acquiring an amount of colonial power altogether unprecedented. The states of New York, Maine, Vermont, and the northern territories of Nova Scotia and Canada, were within this comparatively short period added to the several dependencies she previously possessed in the New World, altogether constituting an empire vast in extent, abundant in wealth; with undeveloped resources, which under wiser counsels than afterwards prevailed, would have continued to augment the prosperity and strength of the mother-country throughout succeeding generations. But the narrative of England's folly and punishment, belongs not to the present chapter.

ASIA.

The Dutch, beside their colonies in South Africa and their possessions in the West Indies, still held several most valuable settlements in the East, as for instance Amboyna, Batavia, Sumatra, and several others. Some had been taken from the Portuguese, as the commercial spirit of that kingdom declined, and some were frequently the subject of contention with the English; but still, notwithstanding all opposition, the East continued for many years the source of great wealth to the republic. The various companies, formed by that irrepressible spirit of enterprise for which the Dutch were so long distinguished, were continually engaged in finding out fresh channels for their trade, and encouraging those different stations where they transacted their maritime operations. Combination was the rule on which they were fond of acting, and whatever may be the estimate in which such a principle is usually held in matters of

trade, it was essentially necessary to a people in the condition of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, where individual capital was seldom found sufficient for the adventurous schemes in which they wished to engage.

Portugal, once occupying so prominent a place in the work of discovery and commercial activity, had gradually slackened her energies. Content with the extensive empire of the Brazils, which we have seen she knew not how to govern, she had allowed the Dutch to supplant her in most of her early settlements in Asia and Africa, and thus to gather the fruit of her own successful enterprise in opening up the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope. Some few factories and settlements indeed remained to her both in India and on the coast of Africa, besides some other stations; but the spirit which once animated Portugal was gone. Its superstition, which sometimes gave life to her commerce, had become senile, and the busy republicans, who had so long and successfully battled for freedom, outstripped her in the race, and seized advantages which she knew not how to improve. Thus Amboyna, one of the Spice Islands, was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, after sixty years of cruelty and oppression so extreme, that the natives were glad to welcome new masters, let them be who they might. In Java the active policy of the Hollanders expelled the Portuguese and the English also, and soon built the noble town of Batavia. Malacca, Sumatra, and others which might be mentioned, were illustrations of the difference between the ancient kingdom and the new republic; the one retiring into comparative forgetfulness, the other all life and energy, courting difficulty, and successful in almost every struggle; and the question forces itself upon the mind, whence the difference?

Without attempting a complete solution of the question, it may in some degree assist the mind to come to a determination of the enquiry by stating it in a wider form, and asking how is it that some nations, with apparently every disadvantage, have succeeded in establishing a world-wide commerce, while others, who possessed every facility, have sunk into poverty and insignificance? What were the points of difference between them? The reply is obvious. The one were free—free in mind, free in govern-

ment, free in religion; while the others were fast tied and bound in these respects. Thus self-sustaining energy was produced and secured in the one case, and absolutely impossible in the other. Hence the difference in the two nations referred to: the Dutch republic achieved and maintained a liberty their rival never knew; and while the subjects of absolutism and priestly power sunk in the contest, the others extended their commerce in every clime, and slackened not till a nation as free compelled them to give up the struggle or divide the spoil.

CHAPTER XIV.

Fading Glory.—A. D. 1687—1789.

TURKEY.

SOLYMAN II.—INSURRECTION.—ATTACKS ON GERMANY AND VENICE.—ACHMET II.—THE EMPIRE ASSAILED BY THE VENETIANS.—THE PLAGUE, FAMINE, AND EARTHQUAKE.—MUSTAPHA II.—WAR WITH AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA.—TREATY OF CARLOWITZ.—MUSTAPHA DEPOSED IN A REVOLT.—ACHMET III.—MURDER OF THE JANISSARIES.—HOSPITABLE RECEPTION OF CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN.—RENEWED WAR WITH RUSSIA, GERMANY, AND VENICE.—THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ.—WAR WITH PERSIA.—ABDICATION OF ACHMET.—MAHMUD I.—CONTINUED WARS.—LIMITATION OF THE POWER OF THE VIZIERS.—OSMAN.—MUSTAPHA III.—CONTEST WITH RUSSIA.—EXTENSION OF COMMERCE WITH ENGLAND.—ABDUL ACHMET.—TREATY OF KUTCHUCK KAINARJI.—RENEWED WAR WITH RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.—DEATH OF ABDUL ACHMET.

THE indignation excited in Turkey by the misfortunes which attended the Turkish arms, was not appeased by the deposition of the unfortunate Mahomet; but when his brother, Solyman II., was raised to the throne in 1687, the rebellion continued to rage with the greatest

fury. The most dreadful excesses were committed, and every effort to check them proved fruitless. The seraglio, usually looked upon by the people as exempt from the least danger of being violated, was entered by an enraged multitude, and the unhappy inmates dragged through the streets of Constantinople, and subjected to the most brutal outrage by the enraged and licentious populace. All restraint was broken through; authority was totally disregarded, and for three days perfect anarchy prevailed; the habitations of the wealthy were pillaged; the vilest passions of human nature were indulged in with impunity, and the city appeared to be on the verge of entire destruction; till by the energy of the grand vizier order was restored, and the leaders in this fearful tumult visited with condign punishment.

These sad events however did not cure the Turkish government of restless ambition, and they soon resumed their attacks upon Germany and Venice, their old enemies. This war for some time resulted only in fresh disasters. At length, under the skilful command of the grand vizier, Kupruli Mustapha, they were able to obtain some degree of success, and check the progress of the emperor, Leopold I.; but the war, originating only in the spirit of ambition, tended to no good end. After a short and troublous reign, Solyman died in 1691.

Achmet II., the brother of the late sultan, was raised to power by the influence of the grand vizier mentioned above, who hoped to exercise the real authority under the name of Achmet. His designs, however, were disappointed by death, being slain soon after the accession of the sultan in a battle with the Austrians. Achmet was quite unfit for the cares of government; miserably weak in mind, and the slave of abject superstition, he was unfit for government of any kind, and was especially destitute of the promptness, decision, and firmness, required in an absolute ruler. Hence his reign was a period of continual disorder and confusion. The Bedouin Arabs, taking advantage of his weakness, attacked the caravan of the pilgrims to Mecca, thus showing at the same time their contempt for the imperial government, and their forgetfulness of the sacred character attributed to pilgrims to the shrine.

The Venetians, also, emboldened by the feebleness which had come upon the Porte, most successfully harassed the empire, seized upon Chios, and threatened to attack Smyrna; so completely had the Turks, once the terror of Europe, fallen into decrepitude, and begun that downward course which was to end ultimately in national prostration.

Added to these calamities, terrible physical judgments afflicted them still further. The plague broke out with all its horrors, and thousands fell beneath the deadly infection; famine carried off multitudes more, in different parts of the empire; and earthquakes increased the fearful amount of mortality and desolation in the wretched country. The feeble Achmet was unable to bear up against such an accumulation of woe, and having no support but the cold and heartless imposture of the false prophet, he died of grief, in 1695, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Mustapha II., who succeeded his uncle, was the son of the unfortunate Mahomet IV., who died in prison a few years after he was deposed. Mustapha gave indications, at the commencement of his reign, of being a wise and able ruler, and certainly corrected many abuses by his vigorous supervision. Soon after his accession he gained the victory of Temeswar over the Austrians, and recovered the island of Chios from the Venetians. But these were only temporary triumphs. In the following year he personally headed his armies, and marched against the emperor Leopold, whose troops were commanded by prince Eugene. The tremendous battle of Zeuta in Hungary ensued, in which Mustapha was completely defeated. But this misfortune did not prevent the sultan from venturing on another campaign, in which he encountered Peter the Great of Russia. Again he had to endure the mortification of defeat, and with it the loss of Azoff, for which the Russians and the Turks had frequently contended. These repeated failures compelled Mustapha to sue for peace, and the treaty of Carlowitz was concluded. By this treaty the sultan consented to renounce his claims upon Transylvania and several other districts; the Morea was ceded to Venice, the country taken from Poland was restored, and Azoff given over

to the Russians. These various stipulations, though now obsolete, are interesting, as illustrating the decay of a power which once threatened to overrun Europe, and which, if it had not been checked by these frequent defeats, would have destroyed at once the liberty and Christianity of the world. Had the career of victory been unchecked after the taking of Constantinople, the Turks would soon have substituted the name of Mahomet for the name of Jesus, and the cross would long ere this have yielded to the crescent; while the ruin and disorganization, inseparable from Mahometanism, would have destroyed all national prosperity.

Mortified by these frequent failures, Mustapha showed the absence of real vigour by withdrawing himself from public duties and retiring to Adrianople, where he sunk into the lowest sensuality, and gave himself up to unrestrained self-indulgence. Disorder and discontent soon began to work; the national pride was wounded by these repeated defeats in battle; while the negligence and debauchery of the sultan produced the utmost indignation. For a short time all public indication of these feelings was repressed; but gathering strength by the very attempt to restrain them, they at last broke forth into all the violence of open and fierce revolt. Constantinople was again the scene of lawless violence; but regarding Mustapha as the author of all their calamities, the insurgents marched to Adrianople, deposed the sensual monarch, and committed him to prison, where he died about six months afterwards. Thus did this unhappy man disappoint the hopes which the commencement of his career had encouraged, and by unrestrained submission to degrading vices, prepare for himself the disgrace, imprisonment, and probably violent death, by which his course was closed in 1703.

Achmet III., brother of Mustapha, was raised to the throne by the sudden revolution which had displaced its unworthy occupant. Achmet received from his brother some advice, the fearful observance of which blackened the early part of his reign. The late revolts had been instigated and conducted mainly by the janissaries, whose turbulent deportment had often disturbed the peace of the empire, and rendered a stable and firm administration

of government almost an impossibility. Mustapha's plan was to weaken them by a wholesale destruction; and in accordance with this recommendation, Achmet gave the fatal orders, and in one night fourteen thousand of the most turbulent were drowned; the sultan thus hoping that he should secure for himself a more peaceful reign than had been allowed to his predecessors. Far better would it have been to have corrected those evils in the administration, which though they did not justify the frequent revolutions, sufficiently accounted for their occurrence; but revenge is easier than reformation, and to many minds far more agreeable. These severe measures however did not secure the end desired; confusion and disorder still reigned to such an extent that constant changes occurred in the administration, and Achmet had fourteen grand viziers in fifteen years. Like his brother Mustapha, the sultan was much inclined to indolence, and when stirred to activity it was by imperative necessity or the impulse of others, and not from any natural energy of his own.

After the disastrous battle of Pultowa, Charles XII. of Sweden, sought refuge in Turkey, and was received with the greatest kindness and hospitality by the sultan. No contrast can be conceived more striking, than that supplied by these two monarchs, the one energetic, impulsive, despising luxury of every kind, delighting in danger, and capable of enduring the greatest amount of fatigue; the other yielding to the seductive influence of oriental pomp, enervated by indulgence, courting sensual ease, and though placed in a position which required unwearied energy, only roused to the most ordinary effort by the importunity of others. That Achmet, being such a man, should have given so warm and lasting a welcome to the fiery king of the Swedes, proves that whatever may have been the faults with which he was chargeable, he had a kindliness of disposition which, had it been united with becoming activity, might have rendered his character estimable, and his reign prosperous.

During his residence in Turkey, by unceasing importunity, Charles prevailed upon the sultan to declare war against Russia, and an army invested the forces of Peter the Great on the banks of the river Pruth, where he had incautiously permitted himself to be hemmed in. Had

Baltagi Mehemet, the grand vizier, been adequate to his position as commander, he might have compelled Peter and his army to surrender without a blow ; but his incapacity to seize the favourable opportunity, and the adroitness of the czarina, relieved Peter from his peril, though he was compelled to relinquish the town and citadel of Azoff to the Turks. This instance of negligence, if not of treachery, on the part of the Turkish commander, excited the rage of Charles to the utmost, and he allowed the sultan no rest till he consented to dismiss the offending vizier.

Achmet was doubtless well pleased to be delivered from his restless guest, whose turbulence at last became so serious, as to render his departure essential to the peace of the country. In 1714 the sultan gained an advantage over Venice by recovering the Morea ; this, however, led to an alliance between the republic and Charles VI. of Germany, which issued in a war with Turkey. In this war, prince Eugene defeated the Turks in several engagements, and in 1718 the sultan was compelled to conclude the peace of Passarowitz, by which he was obliged to cede such an amount of territory, that his influence in Europe was considerably diminished. Not long after this settlement, Achmet entered into alliance with Peter the Great against Persia, from which he took several of the frontier towns, and retained them under the government of the Porte, until he was compelled by the Persian prince, Nadir Shah, to restore them. When the news of the capture of Tebriz reached Constantinople, a serious revolt took place, and the janissaries obliged Achmet to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Mahmud I.

During the reign of Achmet, the first printing-office was established in Constantinople, under the patronage of the grand vizier ; an innovation on the long night of ignorance and prejudice, far more important than those incessant contests with surrounding nations, which Turkish ambition produced : these tended only to national exhaustion and ruin ; the other event was at least a germ of life, from which prosperity might have grown.

Mahmud I., who ascended the throne in 1730, was engaged in continual wars with the Persians, the Austrians, and the Russians ; but with the exception of his success

against the emperor, Charles VI., who was deprived of the services of prince Eugene and other famous generals by death, he secured no advantage by these disputes. Indeed, they proved positively disastrous; the Russians seizing the Crimea, and taking Oczakoff by storm, and recovering Azoff; while the Persians not only reoccupied all the places they had lost, but advanced into the Turkish dominions. Mahmud attempted, and with some success, to limit the exorbitant power of his viziers, by taking much of the management of public affairs out of their hands, and shortening their term of service. But this reign was a period of constant turbulence; Egypt, Bagdad, and the Wahabites in Arabia, gave him much trouble, till, wearied with the contention, he retired from active life, leaving the cares of state to his ministers and favourites. He died in 1754, after a reign of twenty-four years.

The reign of his brother Osman, which lasted little more than two years, offers nothing deserving of being recorded, excepting the fact that the viziers recovered much of the power of which they had been deprived at the commencement of the administration of Mahmud I.

Mustapha III., who succeeded to the throne of the Ottomans in 1757, took an active part in the government. Russia, which by the operation of the reforms introduced by Peter the Great, was becoming an important empire, soon became the most formidable opponent of Turkey. To hinder the aggrandisement of this aspiring empire, by the proposed partition of Poland, Mustapha declared war against the czarina Catherine II. That sympathy with the injustice intended against the Poles was but a pretext, is proved by the fact that ten months earlier than the Russian scheme of spoliation was even mooted, the minister of Mustapha had had a series of secret consultations with baron Thugut, the Austrian ambassador, in which it was proposed that the two empires should divide the doomed country between them. Not succeeding in obtaining the consent of Austria, the scheme was abandoned; but the ambitious designs of Russia would, if accomplished, expose Turkey to greater peril than ever: Mustapha therefore determined to try the chances of war. Immense preparations were made on both sides, and in

1768 the contest began. This fierce struggle was at its commencement favourable to Turkey, but in the end proved most disastrous. The Russian general defeated the Turks in repeated engagements, took all the fortresses between the Danube and the Dnieper, conquered the Crimea, seized Kertch and several other places. In the meantime a Russian fleet, under Alexis Orloff, left Cronstadt, proclaimed the independence of the Greeks, and destroyed the Turkish fleet in the bay of Chesme. Everything seemed favourable for fulfilling Catherine's purpose of driving the Turks out of Europe. The Greeks, instigated by her agents, rose in rebellion; but the pasha of Bosnia, at the head of thirty thousand men, attacked the rebels, and many thousands were cut to pieces by the janissaries. This brave pasha made for a short time a successful stand against the Russians, but was ultimately defeated; and Turkey might soon have been dismembered, but the plague broke out amongst the Russian troops at Jassy, and very considerable numbers perished. It afterwards extended to Moscow, where it is said to have carried off ninety thousand persons. In the midst of these events Mustapha died, leaving a fame for energy and decision, to which few of the later sultans had been entitled. He had been strictly confined in the seraglio from the time when his father, Achmet III., was deposed, in 1730, until his accession to the throne, a training which was very unsuitable for the busy scenes though which he was called to pass; but the native firmness of his character very soon displayed itself, and however impolitic his struggle with Russia, his internal administration secured him the general respect of his subjects.

The many energetic efforts which the Turks made during this reign to resist the power of Russia, serve to show that the ancient valour of the people remained as determined as ever, and that, had they enjoyed a succession of sultans more capable of administering the laws, the country need not have sunk into that condition of helpless weakness which it subsequently reached. But Mahometanism and bad government had been its curse for ages, and when such men as Mustapha appeared, the mistaken ambition by which they were impelled served

but to exhaust the empire, instead of fostering its still existing capabilities.

The strong hold, also, which the principle of fatality had taken of the national mind, under the teachings of the Koran, though it might inspire a courage in the hour of battle, which made them more willing to die than to surrender, repressed every attempt of hopeful activity to improve the internal condition of the state. Innovation, however advantageous, was esteemed irreligious, and opposed to the will of their prophet, and hence their unbending conservatism proved one cause of their ruin. Guided only by an ignorant preference for the traditions of the past, they refused to learn from the advancing civilization of states which were in barbarism when the ancestors of the Turks were the masters of the world.

Some commercial alterations, which were made by the English parliament, had a beneficial effect on the trade of Turkey, and served to open for it a more useful intercourse with western nations than such as was supplied by military conflict. A number of English merchants, jealous of the exclusive monopoly of "the Turkey Company," represented to the English government that the trade might be considerably increased, if the various existing restrictions were removed. At length their petitions were listened to, and a bill introduced into the house of commons opening the trade with the East, and enabling any of the mercantile community to share in its advantages by paying a fine of £20. This bill, after encountering a most strenuous opposition from the friends of monopoly, passed both houses, and received the royal assent, in the year 1753.

Another measure, prohibiting the importation of cloths into Turkey from France, with which England was then at war, was carried in 1759, and thus the interest of the Turks, with the extending commerce of this country, was still further strengthened.

Abdul Achmet, the brother of Mustapha, who ascended the throne in 1773, was a remarkably amiable prince, having but little personal sympathy with the constant disputes in which he was engaged. The war with Russia still raged, and was as disastrous to Turkey as previously. The general of Catherine seemed to be irresistible, and

several important fortresses and districts yielded to her arms, till, wearied by repeated failures, and deserted by the janissaries, who refused to serve any longer, the sultan sighed for peace, and yielding to the terms proposed by Russia, concluded a peace at Kutchuk Kainarji in 1774. By the stipulations of this treaty, Great and Little Kabarda, the fortress of Azoff, Kinburn, Kertch, and Yenikale, were ceded to Russia, besides the country between the Bog and the Dnieper. The free navigation of the Black Sea, a free passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, was guaranteed, with the joint protectorship of Moldavia and Wallachia, besides the absolute protectorship of all the Greek churches within the Turkish dominions. The Crimea was declared independent; but in a very short time this also came under the power of Russia. In addition to all these losses, Turkey was obliged, soon afterwards, to yield the Bukowina to Austria.

Such an immense sacrifice of territory, while it materially diminished the resources of the empire, excited considerable agitation amongst the people, and great preparations were made for a new war with Russia, in the hope of recovering some of their lost possessions, or at least to stop the further encroachments of Catherine, whose insatiable ambition was plainly seen by the watchful sultan.

To strengthen Turkey still further for the expected struggle, the sultan formed an alliance with Frederic William, king of Prussia. Catherine, on her part, entered into a treaty with the emperor of Germany, and everything betokened a severe and sanguinary struggle. At length the preparations appeared to be complete, and war was declared by the Porte. Joseph, emperor of Germany, as the ally of Catherine, led a large army into Hungary, intending to destroy the Turkish fortresses on the frontiers; but this design was foreseen, and all his plans frustrated. A fierce engagement took place at Rohartin, which brought no honour to the Austrian arms. In an attempt to take the frontier town of Belgrade, so often the object of contention, Joseph was totally defeated, and lost by various means upwards of thirty-three thousand men. Irritated by these failures, the Austrians opened the next campaign with great determination, and

succeeded in taking Belgrade, and gaining several victories over the grand vizier.

The Russians were more successful in their share of the war. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of Potemkin, invaded Turkey, and though opposed with the most resolute valour, they gained repeated victories over the sultan's troops. After immense slaughter on both sides, Oczakoff was taken by assault; Ismail was stormed and gained, with a loss of one thousand five hundred Russians; Tutukay, in Bulgaria, was captured; a great triumph was gained by the Russian general, Suwarrow, on the bank of the river Rumeck, and every thing seemed to favour Catherine's project of expelling the Turks from Europe.

In the midst of these calamities, Abdul Achmet died, in the year 1789. This prince was remarkable for the extent of his learning, a very unusual distinction with the Turkish sultans. His acquaintance with languages was considerable: while well acquainted with the Turkish, Greek, and Arabic tongues, he spoke the French, Italian, and Spanish with ease. He had a strong preference for the society of Europeans, and was able to appreciate the literature and civilization of the western nations. He was accustomed to hold parties of the ambassadors of the different Christian courts, who resided at Constantinople. In these friendly meetings, the pride of the Mahometan was renounced, all restraint was laid aside, and the utmost freedom of conversation was permitted and encouraged. We gather that Abdul Achmet was by no means an orthodox Mussulman, for he indulged in the forbidden luxury of wine, of which he was fond. He even went so far as to tell his European guests, "that if ever he gave up the Mahometan faith, he should embrace catholicism, since he found that all the best wines came from catholic countries." A strange motive in the selection of a creed; but quite as good as those which, in too many instances, have been permitted to influence men in adopting a profession of religion. Interest, ambition, prevalent custom, nay, the very design of deceiving, have led many to trifle with the God of truth, forgetting the solemn decision of God's sacred word by Paul the apostle, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

The declaration of the sultan, taken as an index of the state of national feeling in reference to the doctrines and precepts of the Koran, would indicate, what we think the course of Turkish history suggests, that the falsehoods of their prophet had lost their hold; the fanaticism of their religion was passing away; Mahometanism was not the living power which it showed itself to be, when the cry of "Allah is God, and Mahomet is his prophet" moved their tribes as with a divine afflatus, and led them on in an irresistible career of victory. The signs of decrepitude were multiplying, and the faith and the people which once made the world to tremble, were alike sinking into weakness and decay.

CHAPTER XV.

Empire passing away.—A. D. 1660—1796.

PERSIA AND INDIA.

SHAH HUSSEIN.—HIS WEAKNESS AND SUPERSTITION.—
 REVOLT OF THE AFGHANS.—INVASION OF PERSIA.—
 SIEGE OF ISPAHAN.—FAMINE, AND CAPITULATION TO
 MAHMOOD.—MAHMOOD USURPS THE PERSIAN THRONE.
 —ATTACKS BY THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS.—REVOLTS.
 —SLAUGHTER AND PILLAGE.—RESISTANCE TO THE
 AUTHORITY OF MAHMOOD.—HIS DEATH.—THAMASP
 ENDEAVOURS TO OBTAIN THE THRONE.—IS AIDED BY
 NADIR SHAH.—EXPULSION OF THE AFGHANS.—
 THAMASP MADE KING.—POWER OF NADIR.—IM-
 PRISONMENT OF THAMASP.—USURPATION OF NADIR.
 —CAPTURE OF CANDAHAR.—MASSACRE OF DELHI.—
 EXTENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.—CRUELTY OF
 NADIR.—HIS ASSASSINATION.—INTERREGNUM.—KUR-
 REM KHAN.—HIS JUST AND MODERATE RULE.—HIS
 DEATH.—CONFUSION AND STRIFE.—LOOFT ALI KHAN.
 —DISPUTES WITH AGA MAHOMET.—TREACHERY TO-
 WARDS LOOFT ALI.—HIS DEATH.—AGA MAHOMET
 SEIZES THE CROWN.—HIS ASSASSINATION.

INDIA.—AURUNGZEBE.—VIGILANCE OF HIS GOVERN-
 MENT.—HIS CONDUCT DURING FAMINE.—PERSECUTION
 OF THE HINDOOS.—INVASION OF THE DECCAN.—DEATH
 OF AURUNGZEBE.—SHAH ALIM I.—ATTEMPTS OF HIS
 BROTHERS TO SEIZE THE THRONE.—REBELLION OF THE
 SIKHS.—MAHOMET SHAH.—ATTEMPTS TO DEPRIVE
 HIM OF THE CROWN.—ACHMET.—FACTION AND CIVIL
 WAR.—IMPRISONMENT OF ACHMET.—ALUMGEER II.
 —DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.—ANOTHER AFGHAN
 INVASION.—ALUMGEER PUT TO DEATH.—SHAH ALIM
 II.—CRUEL TORTURES.

The reign of Shah Suffee, in Persia, was well suited to induce the most complete contempt for sovereign authority,

exhibited as it had been in connexion with low sensuality and reckless cruelty. But weakness in a ruler may be injurious to a state as really as wickedness, and feebleness and incapacity have often been as effectual in leading to ruin, as immorality itself. This was illustrated by the events we have now to relate.

Shah Hussein, who succeeded his father, Shah Suffee, in 1694, was a prince of feeble mind and most bigoted disposition. He carried his superstitious reverence for the Moollahs to such an extent, that he would not allow any but these professedly "holy men," to occupy the high offices of state; all the great princes, however capable, were removed from their posts, and their places supplied with these men, without respect to their adaptation to their duties; eunuchs and priests had the supreme rule, and exercised an undisputed authority; the colleges, where the priests dwelt, obtained the right of affording an asylum to offenders, and even murderers were thus protected from the reach of the law. Not the worst specimen of priestly misrule in the western nations, during the dark ages, afforded a more melancholy exhibition, than did the condition of the empire of Persia at this period. The buoyancy of the national mind seemed to be destroyed, and dull monotony characterised the first twenty-five years of Hussein's reign. This state of weakness at last produced its natural results, in the disturbances which arose. In Afghanistan dwelt a turbulent people, who claim to be descendants of the ten Jewish tribes carried away by Shalmaneser: this country had, from the days of Shah Abbas, been governed as a province of Persia. So long as the administration was conducted with justice and firmness, the Afghans submitted quietly and willingly: but when, by the weak rule of Hussein, instances of wrong and oppression occurred, the inhabitants broke out into open revolt. Candahar was invested by the Ghiljie tribe, under Meer Veis, who killed the governor, and openly defied the Persian authority. Hussein sent troops to retake the city; but the rebels repulsed the besiegers in every attack, and retained possession of the place, and Meer Veis, the chief, constituted Candahar an independent kingdom. After his death, which happened soon afterwards, his son, Meer Mahmood, assembled a large army,

and invaded Persia in the year 1716. Meeting with very insufficient resistance in his march, he advanced to the capital city, Ispahan, which he regularly besieged. The timid Shah Hussein now showed his utter incapacity for the position he held; thrown into the greatest consternation, he was utterly at a loss what means to employ, while his Afghan foes drew nearer and nearer to the doomed city. Prince Thamasp, Hussein's son, endeavoured to obtain help from those parts of Persia which continued faithful; but there was not sufficient regard for the shah to induce his subjects to exert themselves on his behalf, and the effort failed.

In the meantime a famine occurred within the city, and the inhabitants endured the utmost amount of suffering. The destitution at last became intolerable, and offers of capitulation were carried to Mahmood; but the haughty rebel, with an ingenuity of cruelty which fully illustrates his character, protracted the negotiations until the wretched sufferers were reduced to the most awful state of misery. At length Mahmood accepted the capitulation, and he entered the desolate place. The principal stipulation made by the conqueror was, that Hussein should resign the throne to him, and, with all his nobles, do homage to him as the rightful sovereign of Persia. To this the unfortunate shah was obliged to agree, and in carrying out the transfer of authority, Mahmood treated his vanquished monarch with every indignity he could inflict. Hussein was now consigned to a miserable dungeon, where, for seven years, he bore the ill-usage of his foes, until, tired of guarding him, they put an end to his existence, in 1722. Thus terminated the Suffavean dynasty, after occupying the Persian throne for more than two hundred years.

Thamasp, the son of Hussein, caused himself to be proclaimed shah on the death of his father, and endeavoured to retain those provinces surrounding the Caspian Sea, which continued faithful to his family; but he was never able to establish himself in power. The days of his race were numbered, and when he appears again in the course of the subsequent struggle, it is only with multiplied sorrows, and more hopeless distance from the honours of his ancestors.

The empire fell under the power of the usurper, simply because of the imbecility of those who ought to have watched over its interests, and guarded against the occurrence of a calamity so distressing to multitudes, upon whom it fell in common with the rulers. The conduct which may be allowed in a private person, may be criminal in a monarch.

Sultan Mahmood, who ascended the usurped throne in 1722, was in many respects far better fitted for the duties of government, than the unhappy prince whom he had deposed ; but by his caprice and cruelty, he soon rendered himself odious to his subjects, whose favour he, in the first instance, endeavoured to gain. With a magnanimity as rare as it was graceful, he favoured all who had remained faithful to their late sovereign, while he punished all who had proved themselves disloyal. Anxious for the improvement of the empire, he encouraged foreigners to settle, and afforded unrestrained liberty to Christian missionaries to celebrate the rites, and observe the duties of their faith. For a time every thing seemed prosperous ; but being attacked by the Russians on the one side, who were desirous of extending their commerce on the western shores of the Caspian Sea ; and by the Turks on the other, who wished to take advantage of the revolution in Persia, the latent qualities of his nature began to show themselves. Several towns revolted, and Ispahan itself exhibiting symptoms of disaffection, he resolved on the employment of extreme measures to maintain his power. He first ordered several of the principal nobility of Persia, with their sons, to be put to death ; he then commanded a general massacre of the inhabitants, and for fifteen days the most awful excesses were perpetrated. Slaughter and pillage prevailed on every side ; no distinction was made in sex, age, or condition ; natives and foreigners were alike exposed to the dreadful violence, and an immense number of lives were sacrificed to his blind fury.

Such proceedings soon aroused a spirit of resistance ; his principal chiefs rose against him ; his army could no longer be relied on, and his warmest friends forsook him. Finding this iniquitous course had made matters worse than they were before, he next resolved to try what help he could obtain from the Supreme Being ; whom he

attempted to propitiate in a most extraordinary manner, fancying his penance would succeed where his merciless cruelty had so signally failed. With this view, he immured himself in a subterraneous cave for the space of fifteen days, refusing to take more than was absolutely necessary to sustain life; and at length came forth almost in a state of insanity. But this voluntary seclusion did not improve his character. Hearing a report that Suffee Meerza, the eldest son of Hussein, had escaped, Mahmood determined to put all the princes of the family to death, and performed this act of cruelty with his own hand. His ungoverned passion at last produced raging madness, and he became totally unfit for the duties of government: dying in 1725, his cousin, Meer Ashruff assumed his authority. Thamasp now made an effort to obtain the throne; he had, since the deposition of his father, attempted to maintain an authority on the south and west borders of the Caspian Sea, but was reduced to extreme difficulties: when, at the death of Mahmood, he was joined by a person afterwards known by the name of Nadir Shah. This extraordinary man, whose original name was Nadir Kouli, was the son of a poor man, who obtained his livelihood by making coats and caps of sheep-skins. Distinguished even in early life for his fearless intrepidity, he was taken prisoner in the seventeenth year of his age, by the Usbeks, who were accustomed to make frequent incursions into Khorassan, his native province: after a captivity of four years he effected his escape, and returned to Khorassan, where he became the leader of a band of robbers. After a time he rose to high rank in the service of the governor; but being degraded and severely punished for some crime of which he had been guilty, he again took the lead of his band, and committed serious depredations on the surrounding country. No regular government was established at Khorassan and other remote provinces of the empire; and thus Nadir Kouli was able to extend his influence with impunity. Avowing his intention to expel the Afghans from Persia, he succeeded in raising a force of five thousand men, and offered his services to prince Thamasp. The hatred in which the Afghans were held, induced many of the Persians to join the standard of the prince. Nadir was now invested with

the chief command of the army; having cleared the way for his elevation, by putting the general, Futteh Ali, to death. Nadir now commenced his victorious career; towns and provinces submitted to his power; several brilliant victories were achieved; the city of Ispahan was captured; Meer Ashruff was taken prisoner and put to death; and before the end of 1729, the Afghans were completely driven out of Persia. Thamasp was now nominally king; but the real power was in the hands of Nadir, upon whom Thamasp bestowed four of the finest provinces of the empire. He seems at this time to have formed the idea of raising himself to sovereign authority; for though he refused to assume the title of sultan, he directed money to be coined in his name, thus assuming one of the rights of royalty. A few months after, Thamasp being defeated by the Turks, concluded a peace with that nation, while Nadir was absent at Khorassan.

The crafty adventurer thought this a favourable opportunity for developing his schemes. Knowing how unpopular the treaty of peace was with the people, he issued a proclamation in which he bitterly condemned it, and declared his intention of carrying on the war. He then persuaded Thamasp to visit his camp, when he ordered him to be seized, and carried prisoner to Khorassan: fearing, however, that the people might not be quite prepared to recognise himself as shah, he caused the son of Thamasp, an infant of eight months old, to be placed on the throne. He then continued the war with the Turks, whom he compelled to sue for peace, in 1735. The royal infant dying at this time, Nadir determined to temporize no longer. To give his intended usurpation the appearance of being supported by universal suffrage, he summoned a grand council to meet in the plains of Chowal Mogam. This council is said to have been attended by upwards of one hundred thousand persons, comprising every person of any rank or consideration in the empire; of course Nadir had previously arranged all his plans. The sovereign power was now offered to him, and after some affected hesitation, he accepted the dignity, and assumed the name of Nadir Shah. One stipulation which was made by Nadir, before he gave his consent to ascend the throne, was, that the sect of the Sunees should be the

established sect in the place of the Sheahs, who had hitherto enjoyed the favoured distinction, and that the sect of the Sheahs should be abolished. The only feasible explanation for this perilous innovation, is found in the fact, that the Sheahs had always been favourable to the Suffavean princes; and Nadir wished to have both church and state under his control. It certainly was not the result of any scruples of conscience: for Nadir was a total stranger to religion, and was accustomed to make both the Koran and the gospels, which had been translated into Persian by his own command, the subjects of his ribald jests.

Nadir now determined to attempt the reduction of the Afghans, and bring their country into entire subjection to Persia. Since the revolt during the reign of Hussein, the city and province of Candahar had been held by the brothers of sultan Mahmood as an independent state. The well-known turbulent character of the Afghans, and their displeasure at being expelled from Persia, seemed to justify his more ambitious motives; he therefore determined at once to attack the province. In 1738, he obtained possession of the city of Candahar; and produced so much alarm in the whole province, that considerable numbers of the Afghans fled into the northern parts of Hindostan for shelter, where they were received with kindness and hospitality. Incensed by these facts, Nadir demanded of the emperor of Delhi, that he should refuse an asylum to these fugitives, and either expel them or give them into his power. No attention being paid to these haughty requirements, he marched to Delhi, defeated the troops of the Mogul, and seized upon the immense treasures which had been accumulating for upwards of two hundred years. While in the city, a report was spread that he was dead; and the populace immediately attacked his soldiers. Nadir attempted to undeceive them; but finding his efforts vain, he gave the order, and his army commenced a general massacre of the inhabitants. No mercy was shown, but indiscriminate slaughter continued until the emperor of Delhi supplicated on behalf of his subjects, and the fearful sacrifice was stayed. One hundred and twenty thousand victims are said to have been slaughtered in this dreadful act of vengeance.

In the midst of these scenes of pillage and bloodshed, Nadir negotiated a marriage between his son and a grand-daughter of Aurungzebe; after which he retired from the unfortunate city, taking with him spoil and treasure, the value of which has been estimated at thirty millions sterling: besides pearls and valuable furniture, among which was the imperial throne of Delhi, which was constructed in the form of a peacock, covered with precious stones, of the value of six millions and a half sterling. Nadir does not appear to have meditated any permanent occupation of Hindostan; but simply to gratify his revenge and love of spoil. After his return to Persia, he conducted his armies against the countries to the north of his empire; he compelled the king of Bokhara to submit, and then attacked the kingdom of Kaurizm: but finding that its monarch was not disposed to yield, a severe battle followed; when the king was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.

Nadir had now extended the empire of Persia to the Indus on the east, to the Oxus on the north, and nearly to the plains of Bagdad on the west; peace was firmly established; the Turks had ceased to trouble him; the Russians willingly formed alliances with him; and he seemed to have reached the height of human power and prosperity. During the earlier years of his reign, Nadir ruled with moderation and justice, and thus secured the good-will of his subjects; and such was his liberality, that when he obtained the immense spoils of Delhi, he remitted the taxes of the empire for three years. But as affliction tries the characters of some men, prosperity is the testing time of others; and Nadir could not endure the test. Tyranny, oppression, and cruelty, now became the leading features of his government, until his name became the object of the bitter execration of all who were cursed with his rule. One of the most glaring instances of his ferocious disposition, was his treatment of his eldest son, Reza Kouli, in 1743. This young man, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in many actions, as well as by the possession of many very estimable qualities, was unjustly suspected by his father of aspiring to the throne: stifling every feeling of natural affection, and listening only to the fiendish jealousy of his own heart, the

inhuman monster commanded that his eyes should be put out. Numbers of his subjects were now massacred on the most frivolous pretexts; and he seemed to revel in cruelty. With this increasing inhumanity was associated growing avarice. Oppression and extortion prevailed to a most afflictive extent; and produced as the inevitable result, a considerable amount of disaffection: as this, though it did not take the form of open rebellion, could not be entirely concealed, it awakened a restless suspicion in the mind of the tyrant, which produced fresh outrages.

Nadir at length looked upon every Persian with suspicion; and fancied he could only trust the Turks and Afghans who were in his service. He even resolved to put every Persian in his army to death; and a long list of the proscribed noblemen and others was prepared, and the work of death was soon to commence with all its horrors: but some of the principal officers of his court, having learned that their names were among the doomed ones, resolved to save their own lives by taking the life of the merciless despot; they therefore broke into his tent, and assassinated him, in the night of the 20th June, 1747. Thus terminated the career of one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. The lowly circumstances of his origin, and the height of his temporal power and grandeur, strangely contrast; and are remarkable even in the annals of the East, where startling revolutions in nations, and vicissitudes in the fortunes of individuals, are by no means uncommon. That Nadir possessed many qualifications for the position of a sovereign and a general, the astonishing success he achieved abundantly demonstrated. He was, however, but a brigand at the commencement of his career, and much of the course of a brigand belonged to his subsequent history. He must be classed amongst the mighty destroyers of his species, not amongst those whose equitable principles and sagacious laws tend to elevate nations, while they promote the happiness and welfare of individuals. This was not the work of Nadir Shah; he was not a statesman, he was simply a successful soldier, who passed through "fields of slaughter to a throne." The world owes him no obligation; and abhorrence for his cruelty and tyranny is as

strong in our recollection of his name, as wonder at the greatness and rapidity of his rise.

After the death of Nadir, a long interregnum occurred, with all its attendant evils of injustice, insecurity, faction, and bloodshed; the ambition of the various chiefs prevented any one from obtaining a supremacy over the rest; the elective principle had not been recognised; and the violent death of the shah had prevented his making any arrangement. The nephew of Nadir, named Adel Shah, succeeded to the government of Khorassan; and murdered all the family of his uncle, with the exception of one named Shah Kokh. Indeed, four kingdoms arose out of the extensive Persian empire, as left by the victorious shah:—Candahar, Khorassan, Farsistan, and Georgia. Four of the generals or descendants of Nadir, presided over these separate states; until the power and great ability of Kurrem Khan obtained the pre-eminence, in 1750. This man, who had been in the service of Nadir Shah, was of humble origin; but by his superior military talents, and many estimable qualities, had raised himself to distinction. His first position of authority was that of chief of the Persian tribe of Zend, to which he had been elected by those who appreciated his character. His behaviour in that post recommended him as suitable for a more elevated station: he succeeded in defeating the various competitors for the Persian throne; and established peace and order in the country after the sanguinary wars which the heads of the separate divisions had waged. For six and twenty years, this prince continued to rule in the same spirit of justice and moderation with which he commenced; acquiring to himself a far more honourable name than a mere conqueror ever gained, and securing the confidence and esteem of his subjects. In 1779, this virtuous prince closed his career in death; and as there was no direct heir to the throne, confusion and strife again ensued. The brothers and kinsmen of Kurrem Khan, contended with each other for the crown for several years; while the prosperity and order which had been obtained by the righteous administration of Kurrem, was totally destroyed; factions and parties prevailed; much blood was shed, and many lives lost, before the unhappy country had rest. At length, Looft Ali

Khan, a young man of great personal bravery, and of very considerable military skill, subdued all his opponents; and ascended the throne, in the year 1789. Two monarchs had managed to obtain a short duration of power, prior to this year; but nothing of special interest occurred. Looft Ali Khan gave promise of being as eminent as a ruler, as he had already proved himself to be as a soldier: but he was soon engaged again in the fierce duties of war. During the long and prosperous reign of Abbas the Great, a Turkish tribe called Kazirs, had been allowed to settle in Mazanderan, having their own chiefs over them. The chief ruling over these people, when the young shah ascended the throne, was named Aga Mahomet Khan, a restless and turbulent soldier: disputes occurred between him and Ali Khan, and war soon followed. In military tactics Aga Mahomet was far inferior to the shah; he therefore determined to resort to treachery, and succeeded in inveigling the young monarch into his power. He immediately had his eyes put out, and then tortured him with the most merciless cruelty, that he might compel him to discover where his treasures were concealed: exhausted by the barbarous treatment, Looft Ali Khan died very shortly, and at the early age of twenty-four years. Aga Mahomet now seized the crown, and commenced a vigorous government, not unfrequently defaced by cruelty; but yet so suited otherwise to the condition of the people, that he preserved order, restored some amount of prosperity, and retained the allegiance of his subjects, until the year 1796, when he too was assassinated. Thus did retribution follow the man of treachery and blood.

INDIA.

Aurungzebe, one of the most famous monarchs that reigned over the Mogul empire, was the third son of Shah Jehan. His proper name was Mahomet; but his grandfather, probably discerning his mental capacity, gave him the surname of Aurungzebe, that is, "the ornament of the throne." The crafty policy which he adopted during the illness of his father, was doubtless carefully arranged with the view of ultimately attaining the supreme authority. His plan evidently was to secure his own advantage, by fomenting the contentions of his three brothers, Dara,

Shujá, and Murád. Affecting to be devoted to a religious life, he allowed the two first to weaken each other with their wars, and then joined Murád in a contest with them both. The partial recovery of Shah Jehan, interrupted these struggles for a time. The aged monarch, perceiving the crafty and ambitious intentions of Aurungzebe, pretended to throw the whole blame upon Dara; while the wily schemer, on his part, affected great loyalty for his father, and regret at the factious conduct of his brothers.

Before long, however, he showed himself in his true character. Having visited Shah Jehan with hypocritical professions of anxiety for his health, and a desire to obtain his blessing, he directed his son Mahomet, with a chosen body of troops, to take possession of the palace, and thus made the aged Mogul a prisoner for life. Being now virtually supreme ruler, he sought to get his three brothers within his power. Murád was soon secured; and, after a few struggles for safety on their part, Dara and Shujá were eventually captured, and the three were put to death. The obstacles in the way of his guilty ambition being now removed, Aurungzebe consented, though with much pretended reluctance, to ascend the throne of the Moguls, and was proclaimed at Izzabad, near Delhi, in August 1658. On this occasion he assumed the title of Alungeer, or "conqueror of the world." His father, Shah Jehan, died seven years after this act of usurpation, at a very advanced age, not without grave suspicion of having been poisoned. The means by which Aurungzebe attained his elevation cannot be too severely condemned; but as a ruler he showed himself every way fitted for his position, and the long reign of half a century, through which he occupied the throne, was one of the brightest periods of India's greatness. The steadiness and vigilance with which he conducted the government, prevented those outbreaks by which the internal tranquillity had so often been disturbed; while the extent and prosperity of his empire, rendered him one of the mightiest monarchs of his age. That it was a rule of the most despotic kind is manifest, and the submission of his subjects was more the result of fear than of love. The insincerity of the emperor, and the perfidy which marked many of his proceedings, produced a universal spirit of distrust and

suspicion. The exterior of the body politic was fair, nay, even magnificent, but the interior was radically unsound, and only wanted some great convulsion to shatter it to ruins. By a retribution as frequent as it is solemnly instructive, Aurungzebe found his filial ingratitude reproduced in his own children, who, having no confidence in their parent, were ever ready to encourage a factious restlessness in the nobles. The emperor seems to have been quite aware of the estimate in which he was held, and to have employed all his ingenuity to prevent any expression of disaffection. One of the nobles whom he most dreaded, was called Amir Jumla, a clever, powerful, and crafty man; to give occupation to his activity, the Mogul made him governor of Bengal, and, at the same time, advised him to invade the kingdom of Assam, and punish the monarch for some insult to the empire. Accordingly, Jumla marched into the country and gained several victories, but was obliged to return, in consequence of his army being reduced by a fatal disease, which carried off great numbers; at last Jumla himself fell a victim to the malady. Aurungzebe hearing the news, exclaimed to Jumla's son, whom he had recently appointed to some honourable post, "You have lost a father, and I have lost the greatest and most dangerous of my friends."

Throughout his reign the emperor had given the most careful supervision to the condition of his treasury, and was thus in possession of ample means to meet any emergency which might arise. The prudence of this course was strikingly seen in a munificent act, which sheds considerable lustre on his reign. In consequence of a very long and unusual drought, a dreadful famine visited Hindostan, and threatened the most alarming results. Aurungzebe immediately remitted the rents and taxes of the husbandmen; opened his treasury, and purchased corn from any of the countries or provinces where it could be obtained, and then sold it to his starving subjects at a very considerable loss, conveying it most abundantly to the places where the destitution was the most severe. By the promptness and prudence of this measure he saved unnumbered lives, and did more to gain and secure the affections of his subjects, than the most splendid victory could possibly have accomplished.

For a very considerable time, Aurungzebe displayed a spirit of toleration to the religion of his Hindoo subjects, and allowed them perfect freedom in the observance of its rites ; but as he advanced in years, this just, and at the same time politic, conduct was materially altered. He laid a heavy capitation tax upon them ; wantonly destroyed several of their most magnificent temples, and treated their religious peculiarities with marked contempt. But idolaters have a conscience as well as others, however dark and benighted it may be, and freedom in its exercise is as valuable to them as to the enlightened advocates of truth. Hence these interferences on the part of the Mahometan despot produced considerable dissatisfaction, and led to the forfeiture of the affection and allegiance of the Hindoos generally, and especially of the Rajpoots, a high-spirited class who inhabited the central provinces of the empire.

The Mahrattas—under their chief, Sivajee, and, subsequently to his death, under his son, Sambajee—gave Aurungzebe much trouble. His indignation was at last excited to an intense degree by their affording a refuge to his turbulent son, prince Akbar ; he therefore invaded the Deccan, conquered the cities of Hyderabad, Golconda, and Bijapoor, and compelled Akbar to escape to Persia. The chief, Sambajee, was afterwards captured, and put to a cruel death.

Notwithstanding the emperor's military skill, he had considerable difficulty in reducing the Carnatic, in consequence of the determined resistance of Kama, a brother of Sambajee, who, in the castle of Ginjee, endured a siege of six years by the greater part of the imperial army before he submitted.

The closing years of the life of this extraordinary man were, notwithstanding all his magnificence, gloomy and wretched. He was haunted with remorse for his conduct to his father, and his three brothers. He was suspicious of every one, and especially of his own children, and a dread of deserved retribution continually harassed him. His life was splendid misery ; his heart withered by the influence of its own selfishness. He had as large a portion of the world's goods as any one ever possessed ; but the world could not satisfy him, and he died unloving and

unloved, in February 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign.

As a man, Aurungzebe has no claim upon our admiration: as a ruler, he was unquestionably one of the greatest who ever filled the Mogul throne. Under his rule the empire attained its greatest magnificence. Twenty-one provinces submitted to his sway, and the annual revenue amounted to about forty millions sterling. But the splendour was all external: the dry-rot of universal distrust and subdued disaffection were at work, and it was soon seen that the glory of the Mogul empire was passing away.

Shah Alim I., or, as he is sometimes called, Bahader Shah, the eldest son of Aurungzebe, succeeded to the throne of India in 1707. He had been gradually accustomed to the duties of public life by his father; but though he always conducted himself in the most dutiful manner, he could not remove that gloomy suspicion with which the emperor looked upon him, and the rest of his family. Under the influence of this jealousy, Alim was, on one occasion, confined for nearly seven years. At the commencement of his reign, the usual contests for the crown occurred. The two brothers of Alim, Azim and Cambakhsh, although enjoying the sovereignty of the Deccan and Bijapoor by the will of their father, were envious of the more splendid possessions of their brother. They therefore gathered immense forces and attacked the emperor, and again the country was subjected to all the miseries of civil war. A long contest ensued, first with Azim, who was at length defeated and slain; the other brother, Cambakhsh, then attempted to seize the throne, but with no better success: he was wounded in the course of a most furious engagement, and died of his wounds in the evening of the same day, having, however, first received the assurances of his brother's forgiveness.

The principal disturbance which Alim met with, was caused by the Sikhs, a religious sect, who, in a previous reign, had settled on the eastern side of the empire by the mountains. These fierce fanatics now broke into rebellion, took up arms in Lahore, and wasted the country as far as the Jumna. While engaged in driving these rebels back, Alim died in the camp before Lahore, in 1712, in

the seventieth year of his age, and the fifth of his reign. His character and rule were alike estimable; but the short duration of his government deprived him of the opportunity of fully displaying the qualities he possessed. It was under his rule the celebrated "firman" was granted to the British, by which their goods, whether imported or exported, were exempted from the payment of duties.

After the death of Alim, several princes succeeded; but they were either murdered or deposed, and the declining empire exhibited nothing deserving of special notice.

In 1718, Mahomet Shah, a grandson of Alim, was raised to the throne, and displayed some considerable amount of vigour. Two powerful chiefs, brothers, caused some trouble, and produced a civil war; but Mahomet succeeded in quelling the rebellion, and brought the leaders to punishment. His next perplexity arose from the turbulent viceroy of the Deccan, Nizam al Mulek. This man appeared at court with a large body of armed followers, intending to seize the throne; but finding the emperor so well prepared as to render success more than doubtful, Nizam encouraged Nadir Shah in his invasion of Delhi, of which we have given an account in the history of that conqueror. At the departure of the fierce invader, Mahomet was obliged to cede to him, in addition to the immense spoil he had taken, all the provinces west of the Indus. The dismemberment of the immense empire of Aurungzebe was now commencing. The Rohillas, descending from the mountainous district between India and Persia, settled on the east of the Ganges, forming themselves into an independent kingdom within a few miles of Delhi. Subsequently, Achmet Abdallee, one of the officers of Nadir Shah, formed the kingdom of Candahar on the death of Nadir, by seizing the provinces which Mahomet Shah had ceded to Persia. Cabul also submitted to the authority of this man, who then attempted, with his Afghans, to enter Lahore, when he was attacked by the troops of the emperor, under the command of prince Achmet, and obliged to retire. This victory was achieved in 1747, soon after which Mahomet died.

Great hopes were entertained that Achmet, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, would prove a wise and eminent monarch. The prudent manner in which he had conducted himself in resisting the encroachments of Achmet Abdallee, had prepared his subjects to receive him with confidence; but these hopes were soon destroyed. From his accession to the throne, he gave himself up to a course of sensual indulgence and debauchery, and totally neglected the cares of government.

Unworthy and incapable men filled the various offices of trust and responsibility, while favourites governed the mind of the feeble Achmet. Confusion, faction, civil war, and all the evils of a disorganised government, now prevailed in the afflicted empire, and expedited its decline. One of Achmet's favourites, a young man named Shaabad-Dien, who had been raised to the dignity of vizier, possessed of great talents and equal boldness, soon made himself the principal in the conflicting affairs of the country, and displayed so much arrogance, that at length Achmet encouraged a conspiracy for his destruction; but Dien hearing of the plot, resolved to disconcert it. He therefore seized Achmet and his mother in Delhi, caused their eyes to be put out, and cast them into prison.

Alumgeer II., a grandson of Aurungzebe, was proclaimed emperor in 1752, on the deposition of Achmet. This prince, who owed his elevation solely to the vizier, was possessed of a very feeble mind, and was quite unfit to raise the kingdom from the state of decay into which it had sunk. Delhi, and the surrounding country, was now nearly all that remained of the once mighty and immense empire, and even this limited district was the scene of frequent troubles. By the bad conduct of the vizier, another Afghan invasion occurred, and Delhi was again taken and pillaged, and Alumgeer left under the charge of a Rohilla chief, by name Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah. This arrangement aroused the jealousy of the vizier, who assembled a powerful Mahratta army, besieged Delhi, and, on its capture, seized the unfortunate Alumgeer. Finding his enemies multiplying on every side, this restless and unprincipled man put Alumgeer to death, and fled into the district of the Jauts. The Mahrattas and the

Afghans now contended most fiercely for the empire of Hindostan, until Shah Achmet, the ruler of the Afghans, having obtained a splendid victory over the Mahrattas, placed Shah Alim II., a son of Alumgeer, upon the throne in 1759. His sovereignty was, however, merely nominal, and he was obliged to throw himself upon the protection of the British. Being anxious to return to Delhi, he sought the aid of the Mahrattas, who soon made him their dupe. Intrigues followed, and Alim was seized by a Rohilla chief, who stabbed out his eyes with a dagger, and then put him and all his family to torture, till the whole palace re-echoed with shrieks of agony. Shah Alim, blind, powerless, and a mere puppet in the hands of those around him, again mounted the throne; but henceforth the history of India belongs to that empire, whose dominions are more extensive, and whose power is mightier, than either Tamerlane or Aurungzebe ever possessed: we mean Britain.

CHAPTER XVI.

Recapitulation and Review.—A. D. 1688—1790.

WAR INEVITABLE.—THE OBJECT INSUFFICIENT.—CHARACTERS OF LOUIS XIV., CHARLES XII., AND FREDERIC THE GREAT.—AMBITION THEIR ONLY MOTIVE.—COMMERCIAL WARS.—ALTERED RELATIONS OF STATES.—REVIEW OF SEVERAL.—THEIR CONDITION AT THE CLOSE OF THE PERIOD.—CAUSES OF THE CHANGE.—PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL PROGRESS AND DECAY.—APPLICATION OF THESE TO THE KINGDOMS UNDER REVIEW.—RELATIVE POSITION OF POPERY AND PROTESTANTISM.—STATE OF RELIGION GENERALLY: IN ENGLAND—IN SCOTLAND.—LITERATURE.—THE FINE ARTS.—PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.—ENGLISH REVOLUTION.—BENEFICIAL TENDENCY OF THE COURSE OF EVENTS.

It was hoped that the equitable character which marked most of the stipulations of the treaty of Westphalia, would have tended to preserve the peace of Europe, after the exhausting struggles through which she had passed; but the hope was soon disappointed. In all ages some men are to be found whose restless ambition will embroil the nations, however much they may be disposed to avoid the miseries of war; and this we have seen was especially the case during the period which has passed under our review in the previous history. Peace was impossible while such men as Louis XIV., Charles XII., or Frederic the Great, were at the helm of affairs. Strife was their natural element: they were fitted for stormy scenes, and their conceptions of national prosperity exclusively associated with military success. To fight and to conquer seemed to be their sole aim, and the only view they took of their subjects was to regard them as so much material by which the subjugation of other countries might be achieved.

Had the leading spirits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries been struggling for some great object, the attainment of which would have lessened the ills or promoted the welfare of the human family, their names would command our reverence, notwithstanding the sorrows which they caused; but the struggles we have had to record aimed at no object which justified the vast expenditure of blood and treasure. The wars of the Spanish, the Polish, and the Austrian succession, had no end but the gratification of that lust of power which influenced those by whom they were originated.

Louis sought no other object than to elevate himself by the oppression of others. For this the lives of his subjects were sacrificed, the treasures of his kingdom squandered, and the material improvement of his country unnecessarily retarded; and if at the close of his reign he could boast the possession of some districts which did not own the sway of his predecessors; if he could inscribe upon the annals of France the record of several great victories achieved by his generals; these poor distinctions were gained by an amount of suffering which showed him to be one of the greatest tyrants that ever afflicted the world. His course as a warrior was that of a destroying angel, while his internal government was in every respect calamitous to the realms over which he ruled. The revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the fierce persecutions with which he harassed the Huguenots, were, by a just retribution, visited upon his own country, by the transfer of its lucrative industry to other lands, where the claims of conscience were treated with greater justice. The combination that was formed against him, and which was mainly guided by our William III., was occasioned unquestionably by the ambitious schemes he had devised to establish a universal monarchy, and the guilt of the consequent wars must be charged on him.

The policy by which the balance of power was sought to be secured, will in the present day be regarded as more than questionable; but that some means were needed to prevent the excessive and injurious extension of a monarchy, absolute in its authority, and arbitrary in its procedure, must be regarded as clearly indisputable.

Nor can any justification be pleaded for the war of the Polish succession. In this there was the exhibition of an interference with the freedom and rights of an independent people that was manifestly unjust. Charles XII., so justly designated "the madman of the north," was simply a military despot. Destitute of the magnificence and splendour which have made some forget the crimes of Louis, Charles had nothing to plead in mitigation of that condemnation which his baneful course produced. Still stronger must be the language of reprehension for the course pursued by Frederic of Prussia in relation to Maria Theresa. "The pragmatic sanction" was designed to prevent war, and its violation was an act of perfidy as well as of injustice; and all the conflicts which proceeded from that act, are chargeable upon him, who for the sake of a selfish ambition, could thus consent to "let slip the dogs of war." Well indeed will it be for the morality of rulers when those who do such deeds, instead of receiving the title of "great," shall be exhibited in their proper light as pests and scourges of the human race, when their course shall be esteemed as madness, and their end as without honour.

"Yes—let eternal infamy pursue
The wretch to nought but his ambition true,
Who, for the sake of filling with one blast
The post-horns of all Europe, lays her waste."

There were however other wars during the period of which we have been treating, wars in which England and Holland bore a conspicuous part, the ultimate object of which was the enlargement of commerce; and as we review them we cannot but recall those nobler contests through which each had passed, in their stern yet righteous determination to assert and maintain that civil and religious freedom of which tyrants sought to despoil them, and we deplore the change. No! human lives are more valuable than the richest argosies, and the claims of equity and justice too sacred to be sacrificed to the sordid lust of gain. We look with sorrow and with anger too upon nations thus violating the band of brotherhood, under pretence of securing the rewards of industry, more securely and more justly won by the peaceful arts, and the interchange of mutual service.

The period over which we have traversed was indeed a period of wars and conflicts, but upon very few of these fierce struggles can we look without our grief and indignation breaking forth at such displays of the weakness and the wickedness of those individuals with whom they nearly all originated. We deny their glory—we condemn their guilt.

Another feature of the times we have been considering, was the altered relations of the various nations of the world. At the commencement of this portion of our history, we saw Spain, though not occupying such a commanding position as when in conjunction with the German empire she was governed by Charles V., yet still one of the mightiest powers of Europe; France strong, aspiring, and an effectual opponent of the progress of the Spanish monarchy; England struggling to throw off the yoke of the Stuarts, and secure the rights of constitutional freedom, calling William of Orange to her help; Prussia raised from an electorate to a kingdom, and striving to gain a position of equality with surrounding nations; Russia emerging from a state of semi-barbarism, and beneath the rule of a monarch in whom the most contrary qualities met, striving after the envied civilization of central Europe; the empire of Germany giving evidence of the loss of the strong will which once directed the imperial councils; the Italian states, shorn alike of their glory and their liberty, dependent on those whose oppression had been their ruin; Holland substituting sordid wars for the nobler struggles of previous generations, murdering her statesmen because she was unable to subdue her foes, and allowing prejudice or partiality to determine the policy of her domestic rule; Switzerland wasting the blessing of liberty for which she had fought so bravely, by internal dissensions, or selling her valour to those who were intent only in enslaving others; we saw Turkey still strong enough to hold its own, and keep the western world constantly vigilant against the encroachments of the crescent; Persia and India possessing a magnificence which appeared to be unfading, and invested with a power sufficient to repel every attack; the shore of the western continent fringed with a few settlers, who had been drawn thither by the love of

religious freedom, or the desire of worldly gain. Such was the general condition of the world when the treaty of Westphalia was concluded; but how changed at the close of the eighteenth century, to which our history has extended! Persia, India, and Turkey, fallen into dotage, and become the objects of the pity of those to whom they were once a terror; the German empire little more than a nominal combination of states, which were rapidly outgrowing the feudal restrictions of previous ages; Spain and Portugal sinking into inferior rank, and enervated by those vast possessions in America, which, if used for righteous ends, might have proved inestimable blessings; France, exhausted by the ambition of one monarch, and thoroughly demoralized by the licentiousness of another, evidently ripening for the awful judgments which soon befell that sinful land; Sweden, once celebrated for the heroism of a Gustavus Adolphus, become notorious for the military madness of Charles XII.; Poland, betrayed by her own sons, becoming a prey to spoilers, who rested not till her national existence was destroyed; while on the other hand we see Prussia assuming an importance which even Austria was compelled to respect; Russia becoming a mighty and progressive empire, with an ambition more extended than even her vast possessions; America giving symptoms of the giant strength which was waiting for development; and above all Britain, her constitution settled, her liberty secure, breaking through the limits of her insular condition, claiming to be the mistress of the seas, and aiming to be the ruler of the world.

To what are we to attribute these changes? Military superiority alone will not account for them; a successful general, a warlike monarch, may obtain a kingdom and annihilate a foe, but for the progressive advancement and stability of nations, we must look to other causes. As in the physical so in the moral world, conservative and destructive principles are ever in a state of active opposition; as the former prevail, the welfare of a state will advance; as the latter predominate, decadence and ruin will be the result. An evanescent prosperity may be produced by the very means which will ultimately destroy it; just as disease may give brightness to the eye and a

bloom to the cheek, at the very time it is sowing the seeds of death within; but to promote the lasting welfare of a state, it is imperative that the principles of a righteous conservatism should be respected, and all history inculcates the lesson. What then will destroy, and what conserve? The records of the past, as well as the testimony of revealed truth, teach us that the insatiable ambition of military glory, despotism on the throne, or factious lawlessness amongst the people, excessive wealth derived from some other source than that of honourable toil, superstition which transfers moral obligation from the individual conscience to the priest, are some of the causes of national decay. On the other hand, fixed and righteous law; liberty which maintains the security of all, while it does not infringe the personal freedom of any; wealth which is the produce of industry, government which is strong without being despotic, intelligent patriotism superintending occasional change, and the mild influence of spiritual Christianity pervading all things, free and unforced as the breath of heaven,—are the elements of national progress, and the only sources of national stability.

It will be observed that just in proportion as the one or the other of these principles has been recognised and obeyed, has been the rise or the fall of the various kingdoms which have passed under review. England and Holland acquired their wealth as the reward of wholesome industry, hence it became one source of their greatness; Spain obtained hers by the forced labour and the oppressive slavery of the countries she had conquered, it therefore enervated her strength and fostered luxurious indulgences which proved her ruin; Turkey trusted to the sword and despotic authority; Russia encouraged the arts of peace, and gradually introduced the improvements of neighbouring nations, and thus Russia rose, while Turkey, India, and Persia fell; lawless licentiousness was mistaken for liberty in Poland, and the once famous republic became a prey to others; Britain established the supremacy of law, while she contended earnestly for freedom, and her course was an upward and an honourable one.

France expelled her artisans, and declined; other states

welcomed those refugees, and flourished. Priestcraft paralyzed with its torpedo touch the nations submitting to the authority of the Roman see; a free Christianity awakened and directed the energies of those nations which threw off the yoke, and literature, contentment, liberty, and prosperity were the result. The period we have been examining affords many illustrations of the truth of these statements.

It is not contended that any one nation has exhibited the exclusive operation and results of either of the distinctive classes of principles which have been named. Communities, like individuals, have mostly the mixed influence of good and evil tendencies working within them; but it will be found that in proportion to the prevalence of the former has been the prosperity, or of the latter the decline of every empire or kingdom, in ages which have passed, and in generations which are to come. Nor can we hesitate to admit the truth of these propositions, if we believe that there is One "whose kingdom ruleth over all," "who bringeth the princes to nothing, and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity."

The balance of power, to arrange which was the favourite policy of some of the leading spirits of the eighteenth century, was thus settling itself by other rules than those of cabinets, and obeying laws which were mightier than the power of the sword. Forced arrangements are essentially temporary—feeble restraints, which the advancing tide of public feeling, whether good or evil, will inevitably sweep away. The world has progressed, and national limits have become more defined; but we must look to other causes than simply the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the quadruple alliance, or the treaty of Utrecht, important as these measures may have been.

The altered power and condition of Rome is a fact which must not be overlooked in this hasty review. Strong at the period of the reformation, and strong still even at the time of the signing of the treaty of Westphalia, the subsequent period of the seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth century, exhibits her in an evidently declining state. Her political importance was gone, her strength was now weakness, and her moral influence over the mighty of the earth contrasts strangely with those

times when her haughty pontiffs put their feet on the necks of prostrate princes, and proclaimed themselves above all law. If protestantism did not succeed in driving popery from the lands she governed, after the lengthened struggle of the thirty years' war, if the two hostile forces still maintained their geographical relation, their moral power was strikingly altered. Jesuitism, it is true, for a time infused some energy into the papal system; but Jesuitism itself we have seen had become an accursed thing, and Portugal, France, and other powers, expelled it from their midst as detrimental to every interest that was worthy of being preserved. To explain the diminished power of popery amongst the European nations, by a reference to the altered character of the popes, is an imperfect solution. The characters of the popes were to a great extent moulded by the character of the times in which they lived, and were by no means independent of outward circumstances; and if it be still insisted that greater allowance must be made for original difference of disposition and mind, it must yet be remembered that the altered condition of the papacy produced the adhesion of a different class of men. The position which might be acceptable to a Lambertini (Benedict XIV.), would offer no attractions to a Hildebrand, an Alexander, or a Julius; the thunders of the Vatican had lost their power of producing terror, not only with those who denied the authority of the papal chair, but with those also who still recognised the pope as the vicar of Christ. Bulls and rescripts were held in much lighter esteem than when the daring act of Luther in burning the papal decree was regarded as both impious and dangerous. This was seen in the refusal of the parliament of Paris to register the bull "Unigenitus," and the opposition offered to its decisions even by the Romish clergy themselves; while the mirth which the consecrated gifts sent to marshal Daun by the pope, Clement XIII., created, proved that indifference to Romish assumptions had sunk to absolute contempt.

Let it not be assumed that this altered feeling is to be ascribed exclusively to the power of protestantism: such was not the case; infidelity had much to do with it, but infidelity is the offspring of superstition, and the relation-

ship is often apparent. Teach a man to substitute mere doctrinal error for truth; secularize his pretended piety, and contempt for truth altogether is the natural result. The operation of this law must be recognised in accounting for the loss of power which characterised Rome in the eighteenth century; and France supplies another illustration. Still it must be allowed that the moral victory of protestantism was great and signal, and that popery has never recovered from the defeat.

It would be gratifying to state that the power of protestantism retained the vigour she displayed in the first struggles, but this was not the case: by becoming political, she became weak. The edifice of truth, which had withstood the assaults of its avowed foes in too many instances, seemed in danger of being betrayed by its professed friends. The truth is, the eighteenth century opened with a general condition of indifference in religious matters; the life and energy of true piety seemed to have died out; the devotedness and fidelity which persecution could not weaken, were shaken or enfeebled by the peace and quietness which succeeded in reference to questions of religion; political supremacy was the great point to which all were looking, and thus religion was secularized or forgotten in the exclusively worldly; corruptions in doctrine began to creep in, and the neglect of practical obligations soon followed. The dry-rot of inward corruption has always been more injurious to the church of God, than the assaults of persecution, however severe.

In England, under the reign of William and Mary, attempts were made to arrange terms of comprehension, by which the various bodies of nonconformists might be induced to join the established church: but the effort failed, mainly from the determination of many of the high church clergy to yield nothing. In the time of Anne, whose bigotry and weakness were alike conspicuous, piety was of little account as compared with the mere observance of forms; while, under the first two Georges, wars and court intrigues induced its almost entire forgetfulness. Scotland saw some efforts to preserve the spirituality of the church of Christ, in the protests and secession of Fisher and Erskine, and their friends: but presbyterianism, episcopacy, and nonconformity, all required the re-

living influence of the Spirit of God to prevent them from entire death. The activity which is as essential to the healthiness of piety as it is to the vigour of the human frame, was absent; no efforts were made to extend the influence of truth; selfishness settled down upon the Christian church; and creeds and formularies took the place of enduring charity, untiring zeal, and expansive love. What the state of public morals was a hundred years since, the writings of Addison, Smollett, and Fielding will sufficiently indicate.

The various branches of literature were industriously cultivated during the eighteenth century in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Britain; while Spain contributed very little to the stores of human knowledge. The fine arts, as though they had received all the attention that they deserved, in the lands where once they were worshipped, found their students, not in fair Italy or sunny Spain, but in the commercial atmosphere of England and Holland.

The reign of Anne has been usually described as the Augustan age of English literature; and certainly, when it is compared with the ages which preceded it, well deserves the title. Dryden, Pope, Steele, Addison, Defoe, and a host of others, were names which would shed a lustre upon any age. The general education of the people, however, seems to have been but little attended to; learning was the privilege of the rich, and ignorance was too commonly regarded as the natural and necessary condition of the poor. In the large cities, the mere association with numbers tended to diffuse some knowledge, and awaken some degree of mental activity: but in the more remote districts, and in rural parishes, the pall of ignorance was fearfully dense. The church forgot her mission, and auxiliary means were but seldom tried: the wise benevolence of a Raikes and a Lancaster, was as yet unknown.

It will have been observed that during the period we have had under review, commerce made very considerable progress, but more especially with England and Holland; and though the absolute extent of the foreign trade of this country was small when compared with its present amount, yet when regarded in the incipient stage in which

it then was, its progress was very remarkable. The connexion of this country with Holland, in consequence of the accession of William of Orange, opened a large field for enterprise. The Dutch were our principal customers, and carried our produce and manufactures to the different markets they had opened in various parts of the world: while the increasing importance of the American and other colonies, were preparing markets of our own.

The principles of government underwent no change in any of the nations of Europe, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, excepting in Britain. France, Spain, and Portugal, were as much under the influence of despotic power as ever; the change of rulers made no other alteration in the internal policy, than the varieties of personal character would explain: but in England the advance was as remarkable as it was beneficial. The old contests between the church and the civil powers, the struggles between the monarchy and the aristocracy, which characterised the former condition of the country, had long been closed; and a new conflict had succeeded, between the throne and the people. During the reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts, this struggle had mostly tended to the aggrandisement of monarchy: but the events of the commonwealth, and the election of William and Mary at the revolution of 1688, settled the dispute satisfactorily, and for ever. The habeas corpus act, the bill of rights, the act of settlement, the mutiny bill, and other measures equally wise, defined the limits of the various parts of the constitution: while the liberty and growing power of the press, provided an ever-vigilant safeguard against the entrance of evil. Nor can we regard it as other than a providential event, that the first two Georges were, like William of Orange, foreigners; some, and perhaps many, evils resulted from the fact, but certainly their limited acquaintance with the various peculiarities of our law, compelled them to a certain extent to be followers, instead of leaders in the proceedings of government, and thus the constitution had time to strike its roots deep, and obtain a firmness and strength which could now defy all the efforts of Tudor arrogance, or the duplicity of the Stuarts. The elective source of royal authority, the sanctity of individual liberty, the power of parliaments, the

keeping of the public purse, the responsible position of the ministers of the crown, are now matters not of theory, but of fact; and matters of fact so completely interwoven with the British constitution, that nothing but national anarchy, or the most criminal unfaithfulness on the part of the people, could destroy them or diminish their importance. There may be incompetent administration, or occasional collision between the different parts of the body politic: but the broad outlines of the state are too deeply engraven in our country's history, for weakness or wickedness to be able to efface them.

The course of events therefore, during the two centuries referred to, was especially merciful to England. A family of despots was driven from the throne; a line of constitutional monarchs commenced; the limits of authority and obedience clearly defined; questions which had been agitated for ages, finally settled. A career of commercial prosperity commenced; liberty of conscience admitted; and religion, free from the yoke of a foreign ruler, though paralyzed for a time, preparing for a crusade of mercy; which, while it neglects not the giant evils of ignorance and wickedness at home, seeks to extend the blessings which have made this country free, to the remotest nations of the earth. Thus are we shown, that amid the storm and the conflict, the Supreme Ruler has so dealt with us as a nation, as to make "all things work together for our good."

Are we to suppose that the improved condition of our country is simply a temporary blessing occasioned by some few circumstances, and that she will yet sink into an inferior rank: or are we to view it as the harbinger of still better and brighter days, the commencement of a career of prosperity which shall culminate only, when all the earth shall rejoice beneath the reign of the Prince of Peace? We presume not to pry into the purposes of the Divine mind, or venture to insinuate that Britain must of necessity always enjoy a priority among the nations. Other empires, for aught we know, may arise, surpassing her in wealth, and exceeding her in influence; but this seems to be plainly taught us by the records of history, as well as by the testimony of the Divine word, that luxury, injustice, oppression, nay, even indifference to

the obligations of the Gospel, or unfaithfulness in proclaiming its blessings to others, may, and most probably will if it be continued, bring down her greatness, tarnish her glory, and eject her from her present position of eminence and power. Nations are amenable to Divine government as much as individuals; but their judgment is always in this world. If, then, Britain neglects the day of her visitation, she must pay the penalty even as others: but if, mindful of her advantages, sensible of her obligations, and impressed with a due sense of her responsibilities, she renders homage to the King of all the earth in accordance with the injunctions of his word, experience and prophecy alike encourage her to expect, that past advancement is but a step in that career of excellence and glory which awaits her in the future. May she then be wise, and inherit the land for ever!

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