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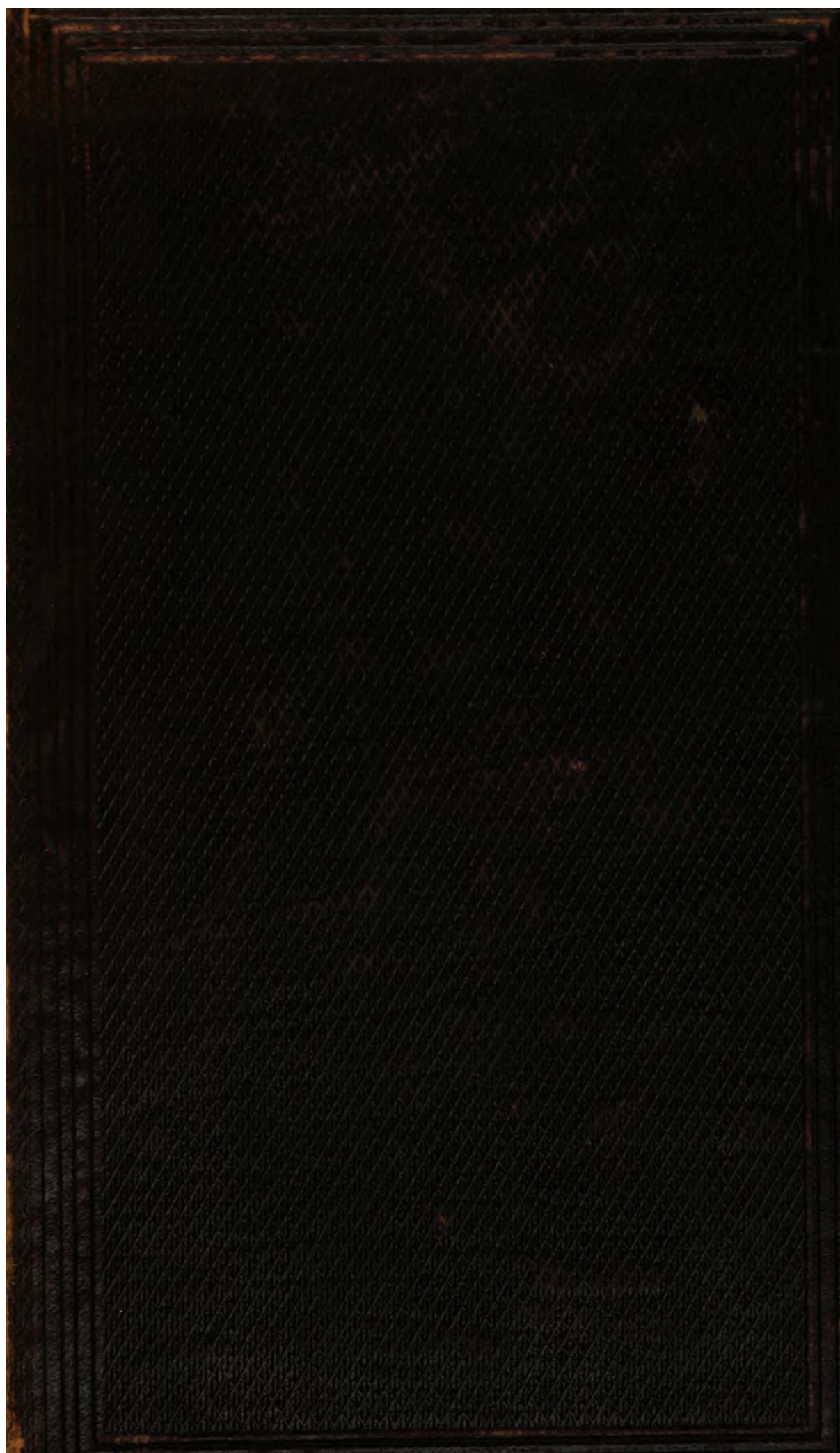
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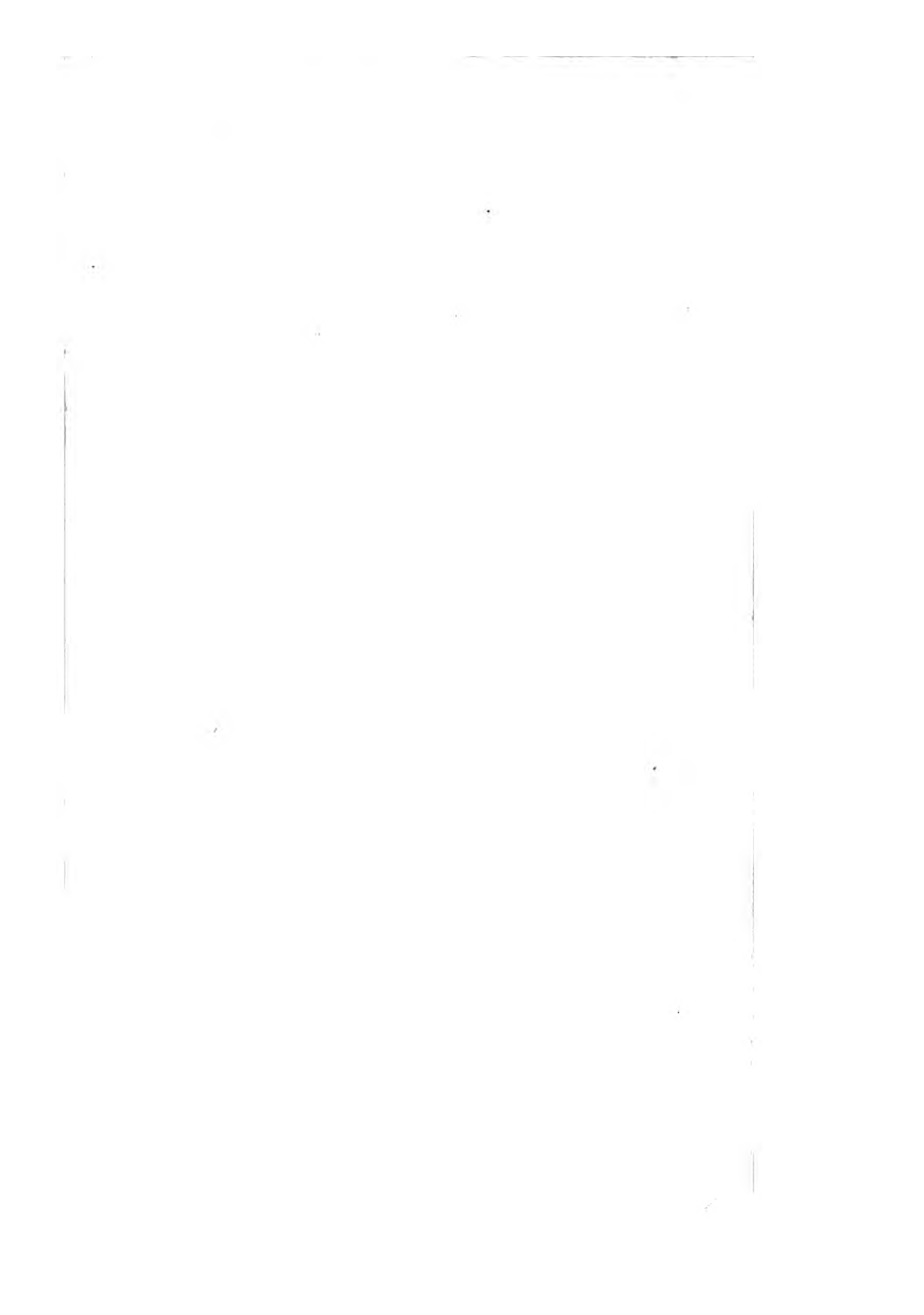


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THE
HISTORICAL CLASS BOOK;

OR

Readings in Modern History,

FROM

THE REFORMATION IN 1517,
TO
THE PEACE OF PEKIN IN 1860:

WITH

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS,

AND

NOTICES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE INVENTIONS
AND DISCOVERIES.

BY

JOHN DAVENPORT,

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF ALI PACHA; CO-EDITOR OF PETRONJ AND DAVENPORT'S ITALIAN,
FRENCH, AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY, AND OF BARETTI'S ITALIAN AND ENGLISH
DICTIONARY; AND EDITOR OF LE CORRESPONDANT CALLIGRAPHE,
OU RECUEIL DES LETTRES COMMERCIALES A L'USAGE DES
PERSONNES QUI SE DESTINENT AU COMMERCE.

THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE FIRST ADDED,
Specimens of English Poetry of each Century.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY RELFE, BROTHERS,
150, ALDERSGATE STREET.

1861.

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE “ Historical Class Book ” having reached the Third Edition, every endeavour has been made to render the new issue still more deserving of that patronage and support with which the work has hitherto been favoured:—1. By a careful revision throughout; 2. By continuing the Readings down to the close of the year 1860; and, 3. By adding, at the end of each century, specimens of the English poetry of that period—which new feature has been introduced, not only with the view of interesting and amusing the juvenile reader, but of enabling him, by committing the extracts to memory, to store his mind with some of the brightest gems which deck the brow of the British Muse.

JOHN DAVENPORT.

LONDON, 1861.

NOTICE.

THE object of the present work being set forth in the preface, a few words will suffice to explain its plan.

The first division of it is into centuries, commencing with the sixteenth, the Era of the Reformation.

Each century is preceded by a chronological table of contemporary sovereigns, and a general view of the then state of the civilized world ; and closed by a brief retrospect of manners, customs, etc., specimens of English poetry of each century, and a list of inventions, discoveries, etc., etc.

The subdivisions consist of the different reigns of the English Monarchs.

The whole of the subject matter is further divided into Readings of easy length.

By this arrangement the student will not only acquire, in an agreeable manner, the knowledge of many of the most interesting events which have occurred in foreign countries, but will also be enabled to refer them, with accuracy, to the reign of the British Monarch then upon the throne.

In order that the work may be placed, with the utmost confidence, in the hands of youth of either sex, the most scrupulous care has been exercised in the selections, both as to purity of thought and propriety of diction.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE works hitherto known by the names of *English Class Book*, *Diurnal Readings*, etc., etc., may be considered as of two descriptions—such as consist of a series of extracts taken from various authors, and strung together without the least regard to connection either as to matter or style,—and such as, treating professedly of the History of England, confine their information exclusively thereto.

The least reflection will suffice to show the inconvenience, not to say mischief, of works of the former kind. The youthful mind cannot be too early accustomed to the systematic arrangement of a subject, to a just and natural succession of ideas; how, otherwise, can it be expected to enter, with any prospect of success, upon the severer study of the mathematical sciences, or to acquire that precision and accuracy of thinking so essential in every profession of life? An object so important can never be attained by allowing the tyro to indulge in a desultory course of reading like that which we have described.

As to the second kind of works, their sin is more that of omission than of defective arrangement. All confine themselves to the occurrences, interesting no doubt, which constitute the history of our country; but the reader necessarily rises from the perusal totally ignorant of many of those great and important collateral events, which, although occurring in foreign countries, have exercised so powerful an influence over our own.

To remedy both these defects is the object of the present work, in which the youth of both sexes will have presented to them a narrative, chronologically arranged, of many of the most interesting and striking events which have happened either in the old or the new world; characteristic sketches of men who have acquired celebrity by their virtues, their talents, or the services they have rendered their fellow-creatures; an accurate description of the progress of literature and the arts, together with general views of the manners and customs of the civilized world.

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ERRATUM.

Page 35, line 5 : *for* "Old," *read* "New."

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READING I.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

No period of history, ancient or modern, is so replete with interesting events and illustrious characters as the sixteenth century. All the monarchs who then filled the different thrones of Europe immortalized themselves, either by their renown in arms, the depth of their political sagacity, or the important revolutions which their errors or their passions produced.

In the East, Sultan Selim, the Commander of the Faithful, after subjecting to the Ottoman power, Syria and Egypt, which, for three centuries, had been in possession of the Mahometan Mamelukes, was succeeded by his son, Soliman II., who struck terror throughout Christendom by advancing to the very gates of Vienna, and who was afterwards crowned king of Persia, in the city of Bagdad, which had surrendered to his victorious arms.

In the North, Gustavus Vasa earned the throne of Sweden, by his valour and patriotism in freeing his country from a foreign yoke; while, in Muscovy, the two John Basilowitz emancipated themselves and countrymen from the Tatars, beneath whose tyranny they had so long groaned.

Charles V., master, under the titles of emperor and king, of Spain, Germany, and Italy, presented the first instance in Europe, since the time of Charlemagne, of a powerful emperor, and of a king of entire Spain, since the conquest of that country by the Moors.

Inferior in his good fortune to the emperor, but rivaling him in glory, and surpassing him in valour and all

the higher moral qualities, Francis I., king of France, divided, with his great competitor, the esteem and admiration of their contemporaries. Covered with glory, although vanquished, he rendered his country flourishing, in spite of his misfortunes, and transplanted the fine arts, then at the acme (*height*) of their perfection in Italy, into France.

Our own Henry VIII., although rendered unworthy, by his cruelty, caprice, and tyranny, of being ranked in the list of heroes, claims association with his brother monarchs, as well on account of the revolution which he effected in the religious sentiments of his subjects, as for the new and important principle in politics which he introduced—that of maintaining a balance or equilibrium of power among the princes of Europe.

The illustrious head of the house of Medicis, Pope Leo X., justly commanded the admiration of the world, not less by the refinement of his wit and manners, than by his munificent patronage of the arts, and the protection and encouragement he afforded their professors. The great schism in the church, also, which occurred during his popedom, imparts no ordinary degree of interest to his character and times.

A zeal for reformation in religion, which, at the commencement of this century, produced such important consequences in Germany, was not less active on the borders of Africa, and ended in a new race of kings establishing themselves in the vast empires of Morocco and Fez.

During these occurrences in the old world, the new one, recently discovered by Columbus, was conquered by the captains of Charles V., and, about the same time, the arms and vessels of Portugal established commercial intercourse between Europe and Eastern India; the powerful empire of Mexico was subjected by Cortez; the Pizarros conquered Peru, with fewer soldiers than would have been required to besiege a small town in Europe; and Albuquerque, in the Indies, established the dominion and the power of Portugal, notwithstanding all the opposition of the native princes, and all the efforts of the Mussulmans then in possession of that trade.

But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this brilliant period is, that notwithstanding the wars excited by ambition, notwithstanding the fierce

religious disputes which continued to distract various states, the character of society and manners in general, became greatly softened throughout the whole of Christian Europe, an effect chiefly attributable to the institution of chivalry, but more particularly to the gallantry of the court of Francis I. There existed between him and Charles V. an emulation of glory, a chivalrous spirit of courtesy, which imparted to their age a character of elevated and refined urbanity till then unknown.

The increasing opulence of Western Europe also furthered this improvement in, and amelioration of, the manners of those times; and however paradoxical it may appear, this influx of wealth was chiefly owing to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, for, soon after that event, the whole of the commerce of the Ottomans was carried on by the Christians, who, taking in their cargoes of spices and other Indian produce at Alexandria, conveyed them to the ports of the Levant, where they found a rapid and advantageous sale. The Venetians, more especially, were engaged in this trade, not only up to the time of the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim, but until the Portuguese power was in the ascendant.

Industry received a stimulus in every direction; Marseilles was a flourishing commercial city, rivalled only by Lyons, in its beautiful manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were more thriving and opulent than when under the dominion of the House of Burgundy. In London the manners were still comparatively rude, although that city already began to be enriched by commerce.

In Germany, the cities of Augsburg and Nuremburg, diffusing around the rich produce of Asia, which they procured from Venice, already felt the beneficial effect of their intercourse with Italy. In short, Europe witnessed the revival of tranquil times, notwithstanding its repose was frequently disturbed by the political storms originating in the rivalry of Charles and Francis, and although the religious quarrels, which had already commenced, darkened the close of the century, and imparted to it a character of wildness and ferocity unknown even to the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Goths (*the barbarians who invaded the Roman empire in the fifth century*).

READING II.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF
FLODDEN FIELD.

1509—1513.

HENRY was only eighteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne of England. Impelled by a desire of acquiring military glory, he had, shortly after his accession, declared war against France, following up his defiance by an expedition which, after an ostentatious although ineffectual campaign, ended in a truce concluded between the two countries. It was while in his camp before Terouenne, that Henry received by the hands of Lion, the Scottish king at arms (*herald*), a letter from James IV. of Scotland, in which, after enumerating many injuries he had received from him, that monarch concluded by entreating him to desist from prosecuting the war in France, or otherwise he should take part with Louis against him. After consulting with his council, Henry delivered a letter to the herald, dated August 12th, written with great asperity, and refusing in positive terms to desist from the prosecution of the war against France.

In the mean time, James, knowing that his letter would be of no avail, was eagerly engaged in raising an army to invade England in person. From this project the queen and some of the wisest of his nobility endeavoured to dissuade him; and when all the tears, entreaties, and blandishments of his royal consort, and all the arguments of his counsellors were ineffectual, a stratagem was had recourse to. As the king was one evening at vespers in St. Michael's church at Linlithgow, a tall personage of a venerable aspect, with a long beard, dressed in a gown of azure blue, girt about his body with a white sash, made his way through the crowd, and leaning on the king's desk, said, "I am sent from heaven, O king! to warn you not to proceed on your intended enterprise, which will prove a fatal one; and to charge you to abstain from all familiarities with women, or the consequences will be most disastrous." Having thus spoken, he retired. When prayers were ended the king inquired

for him, in order to examine him, but he could not be found, having, most probably, retired to his accomplices in the palace, which was only a few paces from the church.

All the arguments and arts that were employed to dissuade or deter James from his intended expedition, served only to render him more determined and precipitate. Without waiting for all his forces, he passed the Tweed, August 22nd, and in a few days made himself master of the castles of Wark, Norham, Heaton, and Etat, and in part demolished them. The castle of Ford was also taken, but preserved from demolition by the charms of its fair owner. In this castle, it is said, James forgot the charge that had been given him by the apparition at Linlithgow, and, captivated by the conversation or personal attractions of the lady, misspent his time and neglected his affairs. The army remained about Ford several days in a state of inaction, great numbers taking that opportunity of deserting and returning home, some to secure the booty they had won, and others to avoid fatigue or danger. By this most unseasonable desertion, the army was equally weakened and dispirited.

As the English had long expected, so they were well prepared, for this invasion. As soon as the Earl of Surrey received intelligence that the Scots were beginning to collect their forces, he despatched messengers to all the noblemen and gentry of the northern counties, commanding them to meet him, with their armed followers, on the first day of September, at Newcastle. He himself set out from York, August 27th, and though the roads were bad and the weather stormy, he marched day and night till he arrived at Durham, where he received the news of the surrender of Norham, which was believed to be impregnable, and whose governor had promised to keep the Scots at bay till the king returned from France. Having received the banner of St. Cuthbert from the prior, he proceeded, August 30th, to Newcastle, where he was joined by Lord Dacre, and many other chieftains, with their followers. Here a council of war was held, and the troops from all parts were appointed to rendezvous, September 4th, at Bolton, in Glendale, about twenty miles from Ford, where the Scots army lay. The earl marched from Newcastle, September 3rd, to make room for the forces that were daily coming

forward, and arrived at Alnwick that evening. There, on Sunday, September 4th, he was joined by his heroic son, the lord admiral of England, with a body of choice troops from the English army before Terouenne; this most fortunate junction at so critical a time gave great joy to the earl his father, and to the whole army.

From Alnwick, the Earl of Surrey sent Rouge-Croix, the *poursuivant at arms* (*herald*) to the king, to accuse him of having broken the solemn oath he had taken to observe the treaty of perpetual peace, and to offer him battle on Friday, September 9th, if he dared to abide till then in the territories of his master the king of England. The lord admiral sent a message to the king by the same herald, "that he had come from the continent to justify his having put to death the pirate Andrew Bertoun; that he would take no quarter and give none to any but the king." James, consulting only his own intrepid spirit, accepted the offer of a battle with alacrity, and in a manifesto drawn up by his secretary vindicated himself from the accusation of having broken his oath, observing, "Our brother was bound as far to us as we to him; and when we swore last before his ambassadors, in presence of our council, we expressed specially in our oath that we would keep to our brother if our brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our brother broke first to us." We hear of no answer having been given by him to the lord admiral.

His nobility had before this earnestly importuned their king to return into Scotland, and supported their advice by strong arguments; "he had done enough," they said, "for his allies, by detaining so great an army at home, and causing so many troops to return from the continent. He had also gained sufficient honour by taking and demolishing so many castles and enriching his subjects with the spoils of their enemies. So many of their followers had gone home with this booty, and those who remained were so much weakened by fatigue and scarcity of provisions, that their army was become so inferior to that of the enemy both in strength and numbers, that the risk on both sides was not equal; Scotland hazarded her king, and almost all her nobility; England only a part of her nobility and common people; nor did the advantages to be gained by a victory bear any proportion to the ruinous consequences of a defeat."

Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a rough old soldier, thus exemplified the unequal stakes of both armies: "I compare your lordships," said he, "to an honest merchant, who would, in his voyage, go to dice with a common hazarder, and thereto jeopardy a rose-noble (*ancient coin, worth 6s. 8d.*) on a cast against a gleed (*crooked*) halfpenny, which if this merchant wins, it will be counted but little, or else nought; but if he tynes (*loses*) he tynes his honour, with that piece of gold, which is of more value. So, my lords, ye may understand by this, ye shall be called the merchant, and your king a rose-noble, and England the common hazarder, who has nothing to jeopardy but a gleed halfpenny, in comparison of your noble king, and an old crooked carle (*worthless man*) lying in a chariot." James is said to have been so incensed at this advice as to have threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate. He was equally enraged with similar counsel given him by the Earl of Angus, the once terrible "Bell-the-Cat," the king, in a passion, telling him, "if he was afraid, to be gone." This taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears, and departing said in mournful accents, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may old Angus's foreboding prove unfounded!"

READING III.

BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD (CONCLUDED).

1513.

THE noblemen and other chieftains finding the king was determined to give the enemy battle, entreated him to choose an advantageous situation, and prevailed on him to remove his camp from Ford to Flodden, a rising ground at a small distance on the skirts (*borders*) of Cheviot. This was a very well chosen post, which might have been made very strong by a little art and labour. But these were not employed; only a battery was formed, and mounted with cannon pointing directly upon the

bridge over the river Till. The soldiers built huts of earth, and covered them with straw, to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, which was very rainy, and there awaited the approach of the enemy.

When all the English force rendezvoused at Bolton, September 5th, they were found to amount to 26,000 fighting men, well armed and appointed in all respects, and impatient for action. They marched, September 6th, to Woollerhaugh, within three miles of the Scots camp, and there rested all the next day. The Earl of Surrey having discovered by his spies the situation the Scots had chosen, formed a scheme which he hoped would make them relinquish that advantage. Knowing the king's undaunted courage and high sense of honour, he wrote a letter, subscribed by himself and all the great men in his army, reproaching him for having changed his ground after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to descend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the spacious vale of Minfield that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms. This scheme did not succeed. The king would not admit the herald who brought the letter into his presence, but sent him this verbal answer: "That it did not become an earl to dictate to a king; that he would use no dishonourable arts, but expected victory from the justice of his cause and the bravery of his subjects, and not from any advantage of ground."

The English army decamped from Woollerhaugh, September 8th; but instead of marching down the banks of the Till towards the Scots, they passed that river near Wooller, directed their course towards Berwick, and encamped that night at Barmore. This made the Scots noblemen imagine that the enemy designed to pass the Tweed at Berwick, and plunder the fertile country of the Merse; and they importuned their sovereign to decamp, and march to the defence of his own dominions. But he declared that his honour was engaged, and that he was determined to abide there all the next day, which was the day appointed for the battle.

The English decamped from Barmore, Friday, September 9th, and directed their course towards the Tweed; which seems to have convinced the Scots that they designed to pass that river. About noon they set fire to

their huts, the smoke of which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had changed their direction, and marched with great expedition towards the Till. When the smoke was dissipated, the English infantry was seen passing that river by Twisel bridge, and the cavalry at a ford a little higher. At that moment, Robert Borthwick, who commanded the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and begged his permission to fire upon the bridge, which, he said, he could break down, and prevent the rear of the enemy from passing. "If you fire one shot upon the bridge," cried the infatuated monarch, "you shall be hanged, drawn, and quartered. I am resolved to have all my enemies before me, and fight them fairly." His nobles pressed him to take his station on a rising ground in the rear of the army, whence he might see the whole field and give the necessary commands. "No," said he, "I will live and die with my brave subjects; and if we obtain the victory, as I hope we shall, I will have my share of the honour." An imprudent and fatal resolution!

As soon as the English passed the Till they were drawn up in two lines, each consisting of a main battle (*body*), as it was called, in the centre, and two wings, with a strong body of reserve in the rear of both lines. The Scots were drawn up in one line, and with a body of reserve in the rear. The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon by a discharge of the artillery on both sides. Those of the Scots being pointed too high, the balls flew over the heads of their enemies; but those of the English did great execution, which made the Scots impatient to come to a closer engagement. The Earls of Huntley and Hume made a furious attack upon the right wing of the English, and threw it into disorder; Sir Edmund Howard, who commanded it, retreating upon the centre. The battle was here restored by Lord Dacre bringing up the English reserve, and compelling Huntley and Hume to flee in their turns. The undisciplined highlanders in the right wing of the Scots army observing the momentary impression made by Huntley and Hume, became ungovernable, broke their ranks, and rushed down in a tumultuary manner upon the left wing of the English, commanded by Stanley. They were received with a calm and steady courage; and, after a fierce and bloody

struggle, in which their two leaders, the Earls of Argyle and Lennox fell, they were put to flight and pursued a considerable way up the hill. Stanley now charged the king's centre in its right flank and rear; while Surrey attacked it in front, and Admiral Howard and Lord Dacre on the left. It was when thus surrounded and hemmed in by his enemies, that might be seen the devotion of the nobles and meanest vassals to their unfortunate prince. Even when they saw their beloved monarch fall, his body pierced by an English arrow, and his head cleft by an English bill (*battle-axe*), they closed round the corpse, and bravely defended it against a host of assailants. The battle continued raging with uncommon fury and great slaughter, till night put an end to the bloody contest, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The English retired a little from the field, and rested all night upon their arms. The Scots having lost their leaders, and being near their own country, went off in small parties in the night, some over the Tweed at Coldstream, and others by the dry marshes. The Earl of Hume and his numerous followers, who had not engaged in the last cruel conflict, remained on the field all night, employed in stripping the dead, after which they retired early in the morning with their booty, leaving the cannon behind them.

When the English approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, and no enemy to be seen. The king's body was discovered among the dead, and recognised by the Lord Dacre, who had been ambassador at his court only a few months before, and was perfectly well acquainted with his person. It was conveyed to Berwick; and there shown to Sir William Scot and to Sir John Foreman, his serjeant-porters, who burst into tears at the sight, and acknowledged that it was the body of their beloved master. From Berwick it was sent to Newcastle, and from that city was taken to London by the Earl of Surrey, who afterwards deposited it in the monastery of Sheen, near Richmond. The unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, as well as a turquois ring, said to have been presented to him by the Queen of France, are still preserved in the Heralds' College, London. No doubt therefore remains of the identity of the body, and thus the idle contradictory tales of his

escape from the battle, so long and fondly believed in by the vulgar, are unworthy of the least degree of credit. Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the king's natural son, and pupil of Erasmus, a youth of great hopes, was found dead by the side of his royal father, together with George Shepburn, the marshal bishop of the isles, and the Abbots of Kilwinning and Incheffray. No fewer than twelve earls, thirteen lords, and about four hundred knights and gentlemen of Scotland, fell in this fatal battle. James was killed in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

READING IV.

AMERICA.—CONQUEST OF MEXICO BY FERNANDO CORTÉZ.
1519.

It was only six years after the fatal battle which we have just described, that an event fraught with the utmost consequences to Europe, occurred in the New World, which had been discovered by Columbus in the preceding century. This was the conquest of Mexico by Fernando Cortez, an achievement that will form an interesting subject of study and reflection.

Velasquez, governor of the island of Cuba, with the intention of signalizing his administration by some discoveries, fitted out a small expedition, which he confided to the command of Fernando Cortez; and that gallant soldier is said to have accomplished what appears too bold even for fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could send millions into the field, with no greater force than 600 men, 18 horses, and a few pieces of artillery. He was at first lucky enough to meet with a Spaniard, who, having been nine years a prisoner at Yucatan, a town on the route to Mexico, served him as an interpreter, and he also attached himself to a beautiful American, named Marianna, who soon learned the Castilian language, and became his mistress and counsellor. To complete his good fortune, he discovered a volcano full of sulphur, as well as a mine of saltpetre, and thus secured a constant supply of ammunition.

Encouraged by these fortunate circumstances, Cortez advanced along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, at one time gaining over the natives by kindness, at another subduing them by force of arms. As he progressed he found, to his astonishment, many populous towns, in which the arts were fostered and protected. The powerful republic of Tlascala, which was flourishing under an aristocratical government, opposed his passage; but the sight of his horses, and the thunder alone of his artillery, put to flight the ill armed multitudes which endeavoured to arrest his march. Thus practically convinced of the mighty superiority of the invader, the Tlascalans eagerly entered into a treaty with Cortez, and became useful and faithful allies.

The Spaniard now entered the dominions of Montezuma, the Mexican emperor, without experiencing the least resistance, and had not proceeded above two or three days' march when he was met by ambassadors from the prince, who endeavoured by magnificent presents to induce the invaders to depart from their coast. The delay occasioned by this embassy was very opportune. Had an army, instead of negotiators, met him on his first landing, the ruin of Cortez would have been almost inevitable. He replied to the envoys that he was but an ambassador himself, and, as such, it was his duty, ere he departed, to have an audience of the emperor. This answer disconcerted Montezuma's envoys, and upon its being made known to the monarch, he became alarmed, and redoubled his presents; but these, as well as persuasion, were fruitless. Cortez remaining resolute, the ambassadors at length employed threats, and boasted of the military and pecuniary resources of their country.

"These," said Cortez, turning to his companions, "these are what we seek; great perils and great riches." In fact, what stronger incentives could have been administered to the chivalric spirit and the cupidity of a band of needy adventurers? Their leader saw conquest in their looks; and having now obtained the necessary information, and prepared himself against all hazards, he boldly marched toward the seat of empire, and advanced uninterruptedly to the gates of Mexico.

The city of Mexico, built in the midst of a large lake, was the finest monument of American art: immense cause-

ways intersected the lake, which seemed covered with small boats made of the trunks of trees. In the town itself were spacious and commodious houses built of stone, and markets and shops resplendent and glittering with articles of luxury, of gold and silver manufacture, sculpture, porcelain beautifully varnished, cotton stuffs, and cloth woven with feathers of the most brilliant hues. Near the principal market was a palace, wherein justice was publicly administered to the merchants and traders. Several other palaces, belonging to Montezuma, increased the splendour of the town. One of these stood upon columns of jasper, being appropriated for the reception of curiosities of every description: another was filled with weapons offensive and defensive, enriched with precious stones; a third was surrounded by vast gardens, in which nothing but medicinal herbs were cultivated; persons properly qualified distributed them to the sick; the result of their application was reported to the king, and the physicians kept a register of them, in a manner peculiar to a country in which the art of writing was unknown. The pompous descriptions which have been given of this city by the Spanish historians, must, however, be received with some caution, for the mechanical arts could not have been carried to any great perfection in a country where the use of iron was unknown; nor could the sciences or liberal arts be cultivated with success among a people ignorant of letters. The hieroglyphics which the Mexicans are said to have used for the communication of their ideas, could but imperfectly answer that end, in comparison with general signs or symbols; and without an easy method of recording past events, society can never make considerable progress. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of their barbarity. Human blood was profusely shed upon the altars of the Mexican gods; nay, according to the most respectable Spanish historians, human flesh was greedily devoured both by the priests and people.

The ambassadors of Montezuma assured Cortez that their master had, during his wars, sacrificed before the idol Visiliputsli, in the grand temple of Mexico, twenty thousand enemies yearly; but this is, no doubt, an exaggeration invented by the Spaniards for the purpose of

rendering the atrocities of the conqueror of Montezuma less frightful by the contrast. It is, however, certain, that when the Spaniards entered that temple, they found human skulls suspended from the walls and the roof, by way of trophies.

READING V.

CONQUEST OF MEXICO (CONCLUDED).

The invaders having arrived before Mexico, Montezuma was struck with terror and irresolution. That mighty emperor, whose treasures were immense, and whose sway was absolute, who was lord over thirty princes, each of whom could bring a numerous army into the field, was so intimidated by the defeat of the Tlascalans, that he wanted resolution to strike a blow in defence of his dignity. The haughty potentate who had ordered Cortez to depart from his coast, introduced him into his capital, where, instead of making use of force, he had recourse to perfidy, for while he professed friendship to the Spanish general, he sent an army to attack the Spanish colony, newly settled at Vera Cruz, and as yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received due intelligence of this breach of faith, and took one of the boldest resolutions ever formed by man. He immediately proceeded to the imperial palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers; arrested Montezuma as his prisoner, carried him off to the Spanish quarters, compelled him to deliver up to punishment the officer who had acted by his orders, and to acknowledge himself publicly, in the seat of his power, the vassal of the king of Spain.

Montezuma, and the chiefs of the empire, then delivered to Cortez, as the tribute annexed to their homage, six hundred thousand marks of pure gold, together with an incredible quantity of jewels, and pieces of exquisite workmanship in gold, with whatever the industry of several ages had accumulated of rare and valuable articles. Cortez reserved a fifth part of these treasures for the use of his master, kept another fifth for himself, and divided the rest among his soldiers.

It is a matter worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the mutual jealousies and divisions which reigned among the conquerors of the New World, and which were carried to the greatest extremes, their conquests never suffered. Never did truth wear so little an appearance of probability. While Cortez was subduing the empire of Mexico with five hundred men, who were all he had left, Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, more offended at the reputation which his lieutenant had gained, than at his want of submission to his authority, sent almost all the troops he had under his command, which consisted of eight hundred foot, and ninety horsemen, well mounted, together with two small pieces of cannon, to reduce Cortez, take him prisoner, and afterwards to pursue the plan of his victories.

Cortez, who had now a thousand of his own countrymen to fight against, and the whole continent to keep in subjection, left eighty of his people to take care of the kingdom of Mexico, and marched with the rest to give battle to those whom Velasquez had sent against him. He defeated one part, and found means to gain over the rest. In short, this little army, which came bent upon his destruction, enlisted under his standard, and he led them back to Mexico.

The emperor was still confined in prison, guarded by the eighty men whom Cortez had left behind in the city. Alvaredo, the name of the officer who commanded them, on a false report that the Mexicans had formed a conspiracy to deliver their emperor, took the opportunity of a public festival, while two thousand of the principal lords of the kingdom were drowned in the stupor of intoxication, to fall upon them with fifty of his soldiers, who murdered them and all their attendants, without the least resistance; after which he stripped them of all the gold ornaments and jewels with which they had decked themselves upon this public occasion. This flagrant outrage, which was justly imputed to a villainous avarice, effectually roused these too patient people, who instantly revolted against their perfidious conquerors; and when Cortez arrived at Mexico, he found two hundred thousand Americans in arms against his eighty Spaniards, who with difficulty defended themselves and kept the emperor in their custody. The Mexicans besieged Cortez in his

quarters, resolved to deliver their prince; and without the least regard to their lives, rushed in crowds upon the cannon and small arms, which made a dreadful slaughter among them. Montezuma judged this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his freedom and the departure of the Spaniards. On those conditions, he consented to employ his good offices with the people. He showed himself on the ramparts, clad in his royal robe, and endeavoured to induce the multitude to retire. They at first seemed overawed by the presence of their sovereign, and ready to obey his commands; but suddenly recollecting the pusillanimity of his behaviour, their love was changed into hate, their veneration into contempt, and a stone launched by an indignant hand, at once deprived Montezuma of empire and of life.

This occurrence gave sincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The successor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, resolutely determined to support the independence of his country. Cortez, after several ineffectual struggles, found himself under the necessity of quitting the city. The Mexicans harassed him in his retreat, took from him all his baggage and treasure, and engaged him in the field with an army astonishingly numerous; the ensigns of various nations waved in the air, and the imperial standard of massy gold was displayed. Now was the time for heroism, and stronger proofs of it were never exhibited than in the valley of Otumba. "Death or victory!" was the war-cry and the resolution of every Spaniard. The Mexicans were soon thrown into confusion, and a terrible slaughter ensued; but fresh crowds still pressing on supplied the place of the slain, and the Spaniards must have sunk under the fatigue of continual fighting, had not Cortez, by a happy presence of mind, put an end to the dispute, and rendered the victory decisive. He rushed at the head of his cavalry towards the imperial standard, closed with the Mexican general who guarded it, and at one stroke of his lance hurled him from his litter. The standard was seized, and the consequences proved as Cortez had expected; the Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation and terror.

This victory, and the assistance of the Tlascalans, encouraged Cortez to undertake the siege of Mexico, and

another fortunate circumstance enabled him to complete his conquest, for the new emperor, Guatimozin, was taken prisoner while attempting to make his escape out of his capital, in order to rouse to arms the distant provinces of his dominions. The metropolis then surrendered, and the whole empire submitted to the Spaniards.

READING VI.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

1520.

FRANCIS I. having, by the death of his predecessor, Louis XII., ascended the throne of France, renewed the treaty which Louis had made with the English monarch, and, being well acquainted with the latter's character, endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. For this purpose he solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey, the well-known chancellor, favourite, and counsellor of Henry, seconded this proposal, hoping, in the presence of both courts, to make a parade of his riches, splendour, and influence over both monarchs. This expensive congress was accordingly held between Ardres and Guisnes, near Calais, within the English pale (*territory*), in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea.

Henry spent three days at Calais to finish the preparations for the approaching interview, and set out on his way to Guisnes, June 4th, with his queen, the queen dowager of France, and all his court. The king, beside his guards and servants, and the noblemen and gentlemen of his household, was attended by one cardinal, one archbishop, seven bishops, two dukes, one marquis, eight earls, and eighteen lords, with all their numerous followers, and many knights and gentlemen. The queen, beside the ladies, officers, and servants of her household, was attended by three bishops, one earl, three lords, thirty-three knights, one duchess, seven countesses, fifteen baronesses, nineteen knights' wives, and many gentlewomen, with their attendants. The suite, or rather,

court, of the cardinal was nearly as numerous as that of the king. All the prelates, lords, and ladies vied with one another in the richness of their dresses and number of their followers: in a word, the court of England made a most splendid appearance on this occasion, and exhibited a magnificent display of the wealth of their country, and the vanity of their king.

Great preparations had been made at Guisnes for the reception of this illustrious company. Two thousand artificers of different kinds had been employed for several months in building a splendid wooden palace near the castle, for the accommodation of the king and queen, with the principal lords and ladies of the court. This palace formed a square surrounding a court, each side of which was three thousand and twenty-eight feet in length. The walls and roof were adorned on the outside with a great number of statues of warriors in the act of discharging weapons of various kinds. Over the great gateway was a colossal statue of a savage, armed with a bow and arrows, with this inscription below it:—*Cui adhæreo præest.*—("He to whom I adhere prevails.") The inside of the palace was divided into state rooms and lodging-rooms; the roofs of which were painted, the walls hung with silks or tapestry, the floors covered with Turkey carpets, and all richly furnished. On one side of the great gate was a fountain running with white and red wine, and hippocras (*spiced wine*), with this inscription, "Make merry who will," and a statue of Bacchus on the top. On the other side of the gate was an obelisk, surmounted by a statue of Cupid, in the attitude of discharging arrows at those who entered. Contiguous to this palace were built elegant and convenient lodges for all the great officers of the household, as the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, lord steward, the comptroller, and board of green cloth (*court of justice of the king's household*); and houses for the different offices, as the ewry, pantry, cellar, buttery, spicery, larder, poultry, pitcher-house, etc. On the plain around the palace were pitched two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them large and magnificent, covered with cloth of gold or silk. All the houses in the town of Guisnes were crowded, and several persons of rank and fortune were forced to lodge in barns, and sleep on hay or straw. Beside the great multitude of his own

subjects of all ranks, who accompanied the king of England on this occasion, and beside the vast number of foreign princes and princesses, and nobility of both sexes who frequented his court, and were nobly entertained, we are told by an historian who was present, "that during this triumph (which lasted twenty days) much people of Picardy and Flanders drew to Guisnes to see the king of England and his honour, to whom victuals of the court were given in plenty, and the conduit of the gate ran wine always. There were vagabonds, ploughmen, labourers, waggoners, and beggars, that for drunkenness lay in routs and heaps. So great resort thither came, that both knights and ladies that were come to see that nobleness, were fain to lie in hay and straw, and held them thereof highly pleased." If to the above were added a description of the dresses of the king, the queen, ladies, lords, and knights, in which nothing was seen but silks, velvets, cloth of gold, embroidery, and jewels, we might form some idea of the immense expense in which this vain display involved Henry and his most opulent subjects. "Many of the nobles," says a writer who was a spectator of this glittering scene, "carried their castles, woods, and farms on their backs."

READING VII.

HENRY VIII.—THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD
(CONCLUDED).

THE king of France, with his queen and court, as numerous and at least as gay and sparkling as that of England, arrived at Ardres in the beginning of June. Cardinal Wolsey, to whom both kings had given authority to regulate all the circumstances of their interview, went from Guisnes to Ardres, June 7th, in all the pomp his riches enabled, and his pride prompted him to exhibit, which was such as struck the French with astonishment. Francis, who ardently desired to gain him, received him with the most flattering marks of affection and respect. He spent two days in negotiating with the French minis-

ters ; but in these negotiations no uncommon cordiality appeared ; nothing of importance was concluded, and only a few trifling articles were added to the former treaties. Vain parade and bustle are unfriendly to real business.

When Wolsey published his orders for regulating this famous interview, they appeared to breathe a spirit of mutual diffidence ; and if the two monarchs had been the bitterest enemies, greater precautions could not have been taken to prevent the one from taking the other prisoner. This mutual distrust appeared in a strong light on the day of the first interview. Both kings drew up their followers in a kind of battle array ; both set out the same moment, upon the firing of a cannon from Guisnes, which was answered by one from Ardres. When the French had advanced a little, an alarm arose of some danger ; Francis alighted, and remained for some time in suspense, but being encouraged by Monsieur Morret, he remounted and proceeded. Soon after a similar alarm arose among the English ; the king halted ; but Lord Shrewsbury said, " Sir, I have seen the Frenchmen ; they be more in fear of you and your subjects, than your subjects be of them ; wherefore, if I were worthy to give counsel, your grace should march forward." " So we intend, my lord," said the king. Then the officers of arms cried, " On afore." At last the two kings met ; embraced on horseback, then alighted, embraced again, and went arm in arm into a tent of cloth of gold prepared for their reception. Here they held a secret conference. Henry proposed to make some amendments in the articles of their former alliance ; and he began to read the treaty, *I, Henry, king* : these were the first words ; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words of *England*, without adding *France*, the usual style of the English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed, by a smile, his approbation of it. Then having dined together, they separated for that time.

After this the king of France visited the queen of England in her palace at Guisnes, where he dined, and spent the day in dancing and other amusements, while the king of England acted the same part at Ardres. But all their movements were still regulated by the cumbersome etiquette established by the cardinal. Francis, who

earnestly desired to gain the confidence and friendship of his brother monarch, first broke through these embarrassing regulations. He mounted early in the morning, and rode toward Guisnes, attended only by two gentlemen and a page. A body of two hundred English, who were upon guard, and knew him, were greatly surprised at his appearance. "Ground your arms," cried Francis, "and conduct me to my brother." Henry was still in bed; Francis drew open his curtains, and awaked him. Nothing could equal his surprise, when he saw the king of France at the side of his bed. "You have gained a victory over me," said he, "my dear brother; I yield myself your prisoner, and plight you my faith." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels (about £9000 sterling), and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. The French monarch detaching a bracelet of still greater value from his own arm, tied it about Henry's, with the same request. From that time the intercourse between the two kings and their courts became more free and confidential.

Both Henry and Francis delighted and excelled in the martial and manly exercises of those times, and took this opportunity of displaying their courage and skill in arms, as well as their magnificence. Heralds had been sent into all parts, to proclaim the challenge of the kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, with fourteen companions, at tilts and tournaments; and to invite all valorous knights and gentlemen to come and accept the challenge. The wrestling match between the two monarchs is thus related by an eye-witness:—"After the tournaments the English and French wrestlers made their appearance, and wrestled before the kings and the ladies; the English gained the prize. After this the kings retired to a tent and drank together; and the king of England seizing the king of France by the collar, said, 'My brother, I must wrestle with you;' he endeavoured to trip up his heels; but the king of France, who is a dexterous wrestler, twisted him round, and threw him on the ground with great violence. The king of England attempted to renew the combat, but was prevented." The brilliant feats of arms commenced June 11th, and ended June 23rd. Francis spent the next day at Guisnes, with the queen and court of England; and Henry at Ardres, with the

queen and court of France. On their return the two monarchs met, and spent much time in familiar conversation, and expressions of mutual esteem and friendship; after which they embraced, and took their leave of one another.

Henry, with his court and queen, returned to Calais, June 25th, where the cardinal assembled all the English lords, knights, and gentlemen, thanked them for their honourable attendance on the king, and gave them leave to send home one-half of their followers.

Great preparations were then made for visiting the emperor (Charles V.) at Gravelines, and receiving a visit from him at Calais. Accordingly, Henry set out July 10th, with a splendid retinue, and was met by the emperor and conducted into Gravelines. Charles had given orders to entertain all the English in the most friendly and honourable manner, to efface any impression that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview; and they seem to have been much pleased with their entertainment. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Henry had caused a stupendous fabric of wood to be erected for their reception. It was of a circular form, eight hundred feet in circumference; and the ceiling was painted with a representation of the heavenly bodies: but the roof of it was so much damaged by a storm of wind, that it could not be repaired in time. Three days were spent in a continual round of banqueting, masquerades, balls, and other diversions. But Charles was not so much captivated by these vain amusements as to neglect business. On the contrary, he laboured with so much art and assiduity to gain the favour of Wolsey, and consequently that of his master, that he succeeded; and their professions of inviolable friendship to his rival, Francis, were forgotten. After the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, with his queen and court, having squandered, in a short time, an incredible mass of treasure, to no purpose.

READING VIII.

CHARLES V.—FRANCIS I.—BATTLE OF PAVIA.

1525.

SHORTLY after the above-described splendid interview, the violent personal rivalry and political jealousy which had arisen between the emperor and the French king broke out into open hostilities. Henry's conduct in the long and obstinate wars between those princes was wholly directed by Wolsey, whose present object of ambition was nothing less than the papal tiara (*a triple crown*) which he was in hopes would grace his brow, through the interest of the emperor. Charles, however, having twice deceived him, the mortified cardinal induced his master to espouse the cause of Francis, who had now the utmost need of his assistance, having been made prisoner in the disastrous battle of Pavia.

This celebrated engagement was fought on the 24th February, 1525. Francis having entered Piedmont at the head of his army, and received the keys of Milan, the forces of the emperor retired to Lodi; and had the French monarch been so fortunate as to have pursued them, they must have abandoned that post and been totally dispersed. But his evil genius determined him to lay siege to Pavia, a town of considerable strength, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. In the mean time, the Imperialists, under Pescara and Lennoy, advanced to the relief of the town. On the first intelligence of their approach, all his most experienced officers advised Francis to decline battle with an enemy who courted it from despair. The leaders of the Imperialists, they observed, would either be obliged in a few weeks to disband an army which they were unable to pay, and which they kept together only by the hope of pillage, or the soldiers, enraged at the non-performance of the promises to which they had trusted, would rise in some furious mutiny, that would allow them to think of nothing but their own safety; that, meanwhile, he might encamp in some strong post, and waiting in safety the arrival of fresh troops from France and Switzerland, might, before the end of spring, take possession of all the Milanese

without danger or bloodshed. But, in opposition to them, Bonnivet, whose destiny it was to give counsels fatal to France during the whole campaign, represented the ignominy that it would reflect on the sovereign, if he should abandon a siege which he had prosecuted so long, or turn his back before an enemy to whom he was still superior in numbers; and insisted on the necessity of fighting the Imperialists, rather than relinquish an undertaking on the success of which the king's future fame depended. Unfortunately, Francis's notions of honour were delicate to an excess that bordered on what was romantic; and having often said that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, thought himself bound not to depart from his word. The Imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched, that notwithstanding the powerful motives which urged them on, they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them; but at last the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their soldiers, obliged them to put everything to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with a higher opinion of the importance of the battle which they were going to fight; never were troops more strongly animated with emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. On the one hand, a gallant young monarch, seconded by a generous nobility, and followed by subjects to whose natural impetuosity, indignation at the opposition which they had encountered added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other side, troops more completely disciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought from necessity, with courage heightened by despair. The Imperialists, however, were unable to resist the first efforts of the French valour, and their firmest battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garrison, sallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara, falling on their cavalry, with the Imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable number of Spanish

foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack ; against which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became universal, and resistance ceased in almost every part but where the king was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage ; killing, with his own hand, Ferdinand de Castriot, Marquis de Saint-Auge, and six other of his opponents. Many of his bravest officers gathering around him, and endeavouring to save his life at the expense of their own, fell at his feet. * Among these was Bonnivet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The king, exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of further resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered, together with Bourbon, into the emperor's service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers, at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his traitorous subject, and called for Lannoy, who happened likewise to be near. The latter immediately ran up, and falling upon one knee, received the monarch's sword. "Receive, Monsieur de Lannoy," said the unfortunate Francis, "the sword of a king who is entitled to respect, since, before surrendering it, he has made it to do good service against his enemies, and who has become a prisoner, not from pusillanimity, but a reverse of fortune." Lannoy kissed the hand of his royal prisoner, and taking his own sword, presented it to him, saying, that it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects. Ten thousand men fell on this day, one of the most fatal France had ever seen. Among these were many noblemen of the highest distinction, who chose rather to perish than to turn their backs with dishonour. Francis announced his misfortune to his mother,

the Duchess d'Angoulême, in these justly celebrated words—"Madam, all is lost except honour."

Lannoy, though he treated Francis with all the outward marks of honour due to his rank and character, guarded him with the utmost circumspection. He was not only solicitous to prevent any possibility of his escaping, but was also afraid that his own troops might seize his person and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide against both these dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the strong castle of Pizzichitone, near Cremona, committing him to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarçon, general of the Spanish infantry, an officer of great bravery and of strict honour, but remarkable for that severe and scrupulous vigilance which such a trust required.

READING IX.

SACK OF ROME BY THE IMPERIALISTS.

1527.

CHARLES OF BOURBON.—CHEVALIER BAYARD.

REPLETE as is the history of these times with stirring events, none is, perhaps, so likely to affect the mind with the mingled emotions of surprise, pity, and indignation, as the one we are about to describe—the storming and sacking of Rome, the seat of the papal power, by the bigoted subjects of a Catholic monarch. As the author and chief perpetrator of this atrocious violence was a person who, although one of the highest noblemen of France, had dishonoured himself by becoming a traitor to his prince, it will be interesting to precede our account of the aggression by a short view of his character, and by an investigation of the causes which induced him not only to forfeit his allegiance, but to consummate his guilt by sacrilege.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, lord high constable of France, whose noble birth, vast fortune, and high office raised him to be the most powerful subject in the kingdom, was illustrious by talents equally suited for the field as for the council, and by the important services he had rendered

the crown. The near resemblance between the king and him in many of their qualities, both being fond of war, and ambitious to excel in manly exercises, as well as their equality in age, and their proximity of blood, ought naturally to have secured him a considerable share in that monarch's favour. But unhappily, Louise, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion to the house of Bourbon, and she had taught her son, who was too open to every impression which she gave him, to view all the constable's actions with a mean and unbecoming jealousy. His distinguished merit at the battle of Marignano had not been sufficiently rewarded; he had been recalled from the government of Milan, upon very frivolous pretences, and had met with a cold reception, which his prudent conduct in that difficult station did not deserve; the payment of his pensions had been suspended, without any good cause; and during the campaign of 1521, he had received a personal affront from the king, who gave the command of the van to the duke of Alençon. The constable, at first, bore these indignities with greater moderation than could have been expected from a high-spirited prince, conscious of what was due to his rank and services. Such a multiplicity of injuries, however, exhausted his patience, and inspiring him with thoughts of revenge, he retired from court and began to hold a secret correspondence with some of the emperor's ministers.

About that time the duchess of Bourbon died, leaving no children. Louise, who was still susceptible of the tender passion at the age of forty-six, began to view the constable with other eyes, and formed the scheme of marrying him; but Bourbon, stung with his recent injuries, not only rejected the match, but embittered his refusal by some severe raillery upon Louise's person and character. Exasperated by his contempt, the angry princess determined to ruin the late object of her love.

For this purpose, she gained over to her interests Du Prat, chancellor of France, and by his advice a lawsuit was commenced against the constable, for the whole estate of the house of Bourbon. Part of it was claimed in the king's name, as having fallen to the crown; part in that of Louise, as the nearest heir in blood to the deceased duchess. The decision of the court was, as may be supposed, fatal to the constable, who, driven to despair,

resolved upon measures which that passion alone could dictate. He entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England, and proposed, as soon as an opportunity presented itself, to raise an insurrection among the numerous vassals of the French monarch, and introduce foreign troops into the heart of France.

Although Francis had some information of this conspiracy, yet not having sufficient proof of Bourbon's guilt, he allowed him to quit the kingdom, and that traitor, entering into the emperor's service, devoted all his abilities and skill to injure his lawful sovereign and his native country.

The Imperialists having, in the year 1524, succeeded in marching a powerful army to oppose the French, who, under Bonnivet, had entered the Milanese, the latter being destitute of troops, to make head against them, was forced to abandon the strong camp in which he had entrenched himself at Biagrassa, and to attempt, soon after, a retreat into France, through the valley of Aost. Just as he arrived on the banks of the Sessia, and began to pass that river, Bourbon and Pescara appeared with the vanguard of the allies and attacked his rear with great fury. At the beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exerting himself with much valour, was wounded so dangerously as obliged him to quit the field; and the conduct of the rear was committed to the Chevalier Bayard, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche* (*without fear and without reproach*), who, though so much a stranger to the arts of a court that he never rose to the chief command, was always called, in times of real danger, to the posts of greatest peril and importance. He put himself at the head of the men at arms, and animating them by his presence and example to sustain the whole shock of the enemy's troops, gained time for the rest of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in this service he received a wound which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy; then, fixing his eyes on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross, he addressed his prayers to God, and in this posture, which became his character both as a soldier and as a Christian, he calmly awaited the approach of death. Bourbon, who

led the foremost of the enemy's troops, found him in this situation, and expressed regret and pity at the sight. "Pity not me," cried the high-spirited chevalier, "I die as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty: the real objects of pity are those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."

READING X.

SACK OF ROME BY THE IMPERIALISTS (CONTINUED).
1527.

MEANWHILE Francis was rigorously confined, and hard conditions being proposed to him, as the price of his liberty, he drew his dagger, and pointing it at his breast, exclaimed, "A king had better die thus." Thinking, however, when his passion had subsided, that an interview with Charles might procure him better terms, he desired to be conducted into Spain, where he had a conference with the emperor, who, fearing that some general league might be entered into against him, or that Francis might execute his threat of resigning the crown of France in favour of the Dauphin, consented to some diminution of the demands he had at first insisted upon. The treaty by which Francis obtained his liberty was signed at Madrid, on the 14th January, 1526. The principal articles were, that the same day Francis was set at liberty, his two sons, the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans, should be delivered up as hostages into the emperor's hands; after which, Francis was to cede the dukedom of Burgundy to the emperor, restore the duke of Bourbon and all his friends, marry the emperor's sister, Leonora, and indemnify his imperial majesty against all demands on the part of the king of England. These articles being ratified in form, and both sides having taken an oath to observe them, the French king, on the 18th March, was exchanged on the borders of France for his two sons, with much ceremonious solemnity, and the wisest precautions on both sides. It is said, that being at liberty, he immediately mounted a swift horse, and putting him at full speed, entered France waving his hand, and exclaiming several times, "I am still a king."

Perhaps one of the most unfortunate circumstances resulting to Francis from his captivity was the breach of faith which his anxiety to obtain his liberty induced him to commit. But for this, his character as a monarch would have commanded unmixed feelings of respect and admiration. The fact, however, is, that a few hours after signing the treaty, he assembled such of his counsellors as were then in Madrid, and having required from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he made a long enumeration of the dishonourable arts, as well as unprincely rigour, which the emperor had employed in order to ensnare or intimidate him, and concluded by making a formal protest in the hands of notaries, that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void. By this disingenuous artifice, for which even the treatment that he had met with was no apology, Francis endeavoured to satisfy his honour and conscience in signing the treaty, and to provide at the same time a pretext to break it. Accordingly, as soon as he arrived in France, he called together the states of Burgundy, who protested against the article relative to their province; and when the emperor's ambassadors insisted upon the immediate fulfilment of the treaty, Francis replied, that he would strictly perform the articles regarding himself, but as to those which related to the French monarchy, he must take the sense of the nation at large for his guide. Shortly after this declaration of his resolution not to execute the treaty, the then pope Clement VII. absolved him from the oath taken at Madrid; and the kings of France and England, the pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milanese, entered into a league against the emperor, which league, from the pope's being at the head of it, was dignified with the name of *holy*.

Francis flattered himself that the appearance of this great confederacy might engage the emperor to relax somewhat of the rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcements to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian

potentates; and not the less so, because Charles, destitute, as usual, of money, had not been able to pay the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city.

He executed his resolution with a rapidity equal to the boldness with which he had formed it. His soldiers, now that they had their prey in full view, complained neither of fatigue nor famine, nor want of pay. No sooner did they begin to move from Tuscany towards Rome, than the pope, sensible at last how fallacious the hopes had been on which he reposed, started from his security. But no time now remained, even for a bold and decisive pontiff, to have taken proper measures, or to have formed any effectual plan of defence. Under Clement's feeble conduct, all was consternation, disorder, and irresolution. He collected, however, such of his disbanded soldiers as still remained in the city; he armed the artificers of Rome, and the footmen and train-bearers of the cardinals; he repaired the breaches in the walls; he began to erect new works; he excommunicated Bourbon and all his troops, branding the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors. Trusting to these ineffectual military preparations, or to his spiritual arms, which were still more despised by rapacious soldiers, he seems to have laid aside his natural timidity, and, contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, determined to wait the approach of an enemy whom he might easily have avoided by a timely retreat.

READING XI.

SACK OF ROME BY THE IMPERIALISTS (CONCLUDED).

BOURBON, who saw the necessity of dispatch, now that his intentions were known, advanced with the utmost speed and encamped in the plains of Rome, on the evening of the 5th May, 1527. Early the next morning,

being determined to distinguish that day either by his death or the success of his enterprise, he appeared at the head of his troops, clad in complete armour, above which he wore a vest of white tissue, that he might be more conspicuous both to his friends and to his enemies; and as all depended on one bold impression, he led them instantly to scale the walls. Three distinct bodies, one of Germans, another of Spaniards, and the last of Italians, the three different nations of which the army was composed, were appointed to this service; a separate attack was assigned to each; and the whole army advanced to support them as occasion should require. A thick mist concealed their approach until they reached almost the brink of the ditch which surrounded the suburbs; having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade rushed on to the assault with an impetuosity heightened by national emulation. They were received at first with fortitude equal to their own. The Swiss in the pope's guards, and the veteran soldiers who had been assembled, fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the noblest city in the world was entrusted. Bourbon's troops, notwithstanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to give way; when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, threw himself from his horse, pressed to the front, snatched a scaling ladder from a soldier, planted it against the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men with his voice and hand to follow him. But at that very instant a musket bullet from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound which he immediately felt to be mortal; but he retained so much presence of mind as to desire those who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not dishearten his troops, and he soon after expired with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen in defence of his country, not at the head of its enemies.

This fatal event could not be concealed from the army; the soldiers soon missed their general, whom they were accustomed to see in every time of danger; but instead of being disheartened by their loss, it animated them with new valour; the name of *Bourbon* resounded along the line, accompanied with the cry of *blood* and *revenge*.

The veterans who defended the walls were soon overpowered by numbers; the untrained body of city recruits fled at the sight of danger, and the enemy, with irresistible violence, rushed into the town.

During the combat, Clement was employed at the altar of St. Peter's in offering up to heaven unavailing prayers for victory. When informed that his troops began to give way, he not only fled with precipitation, but with an infatuation still more amazing than anything already mentioned, instead of making his escape by the opposite gate where there was no enemy to oppose it, he shut himself up, together with thirteen cardinals, the foreign ambassadors, and many persons of distinction, in the Castle of St. Angelo. In his way from the Vatican to that fortress he saw his troops flying before an enemy who pursued without giving quarter; he heard the cries and lamentations of the Roman citizens, and beheld the beginning of those calamities which his own credulity and ill conduct had brought upon his subjects.

It is impossible to describe, or even to imagine, the misery and horror of the scene which followed. Whatever a city taken by storm can dread from military rage, unrestrained by discipline; whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of the soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns which are carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over; the Imperialists kept possession of Rome several months, and during all that time the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty in ready money alone amounted to a million of ducats; what they raised by ransoms and exactions far exceeded that sum. Rome, though taken several different times by the northern nations, who overran the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as by the bigoted subjects of a Catholic monarch. Clement.

himself, who had taken refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, was obliged to surrender at discretion; and found that his sacred character could neither procure him liberty nor respect. He was doomed to close confinement, until he should pay an enormous ransom, imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging to the apostolic see.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms; he put himself and all his court in mourning; he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers, during several months, to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty, which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

READING XII.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

1534.

AMONG the many beneficial and salutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cause, it was attended, as must be the case in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with some consequences of an opposite nature. No stronger instance of this can be adduced than the extravagances of which the Anabaptists were guilty soon after the Reformation, as well as the rapid progress which that sect made among the peasantry.

The most remarkable of the religious tenets of this people related to the sacrament of baptism, which, as they contended, ought to be administered only to persons grown up to years of discretion, and should be performed, not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it. They also maintained, that among Christians who had the precepts of the gospel to direct, and the Spirit of God to guide them, the office of magis-

tracy was not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment upon their spiritual liberty; and they reprobated all distinctions by birth, rank, or wealth, insisting upon a community of property. Considering also that *new/* the ~~Old~~ Testament had placed no restraint upon the number of wives which they might marry, they claimed to themselves the right of that liberty which God himself had granted to the patriarchs.

Such opinions quickly produced the violent effects natural to them. Two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker, of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman tailor, of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city of Westphalia. Having made a great number of disciples, they suddenly took possession of the arsenal in the night time. The senators and citizens, whether papists or protestants, fled in confusion, leaving the town in the power of the fanatics. These, under the direction of Matthias, who, in the style and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was death to disobey, pillaged the churches, defaced their ornaments, and destroyed all books, except the Bible, as useless or impious. The pseudo (*false*) prophet then ordered every man to bring forth his property, which he immediately deposited in a public treasury, naming persons to distribute it for the common use of all. He then sent messengers to the Anabaptists in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount Sion.

While thus employed, the bishop of Munster, having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. Matthias having sallied out and gained a trifling advantage, was so intoxicated with his success, that he appeared the day after brandishing a spear, and declared that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth the next day with a handful of men, and smite the ungodly. Thirty persons whom he named followed him, and, as might be expected, were all cut off.

Matthias, however, quickly found a successor in Boccold, who, though less daring in action than the former, was a wilder enthusiast, and of more unbounded ambition. He remodelled the government, and, in imitation of the Jews, named twelve judges in the place of senators,

retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as legislator of that people.

But, not satisfied with power or titles which were not supreme, he caused it to be declared by one of his creatures, a pretended prophet, that it was the will of God that John Boccold should be king of Sion, and sit on the throne of David. Having been acknowledged as such by the infatuated multitude, he, from that moment, assumed all the state and pomp of royalty, wearing a crown of gold, being clad in the most sumptuous garments, and having a Bible carried on his one hand and a naked sword on the other.

The excesses to which this impudent impostor now abandoned himself are too revolting to be more than hinted at in this place. Suffice it therefore to say, that having asserted the lawfulness, nay, the necessity, of having more wives than one, he himself set them an example by marrying at once three, a number which he afterwards gradually increased to fourteen.

The cup, however, of his iniquity was now full; the German princes, exasperated at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honours, raised a powerful army, which, under the command of an experienced officer, invested Munster. A deserter having informed the besieging general of a weak part of the fortifications, a chosen body succeeded in getting into the town and opening the gates. After a desperate struggle the Anabaptists were overpowered, their king being taken prisoner; he was loaded with chains, and carried from city to city, as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and to be exposed to their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the most exquisite as well as lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire such amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions so dangerous to society, was only twenty-six years of age.

READING XIII.

EXPEDITION OF CHARLES V. AGAINST ALGIERS.

1541.

WHILST the Reformation was making rapid progress in Germany, and our own Henry was busily engaged in the suppression of the monasteries in England, the emperor Charles V. experienced one of the most signal defeats recorded in history, a defeat only to be paralleled by the disastrous Russian campaign of Napoleon. The causes which led to it were as follows:—

Algiers was at that time governed by Hassen-Aga, a renegado eunuch, who, by passing through every station in the Corsair's service, had acquired such experience in war, that he was well fitted for a station which required a man of tried and daring courage. Hassen, in order to show how well he deserved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations against the Christian states with amazing activity, and outdid, if possible, his predecessor Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruisers, and such frequent alarms given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity of erecting watch-towers at proper distances, and of keeping guards constantly on foot in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their descents. Of this the emperor's subjects had long complained, representing it as an enterprise corresponding to his power, and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which, since the conquest of Tunis, was the common receptacle of all the freebooters, and to exterminate that lawless nation, the implacable enemies of the human race. Moved partly by their entreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his last expedition into Africa, Charles issued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for that purpose; and so firm was he in his resolution, that, notwithstanding the advice of Andrew Doria, who entreated him not to expose his whole armament to the hazard of destruction by venturing at so late a season to approach the stormy coasts of Algiers, he embarked on board

Doria's galleys, at Porto-Venere, in the Genoese territories. He soon found that this experienced sailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was so well acquainted; for such a storm arose that it was with the utmost difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. But as the emperor's courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible, neither the remonstrances of the pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he had already been exposed by disregarding them, had any other effect than to confirm him in his fatal resolution. His force consisted of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, mostly veterans, together with three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility; to these were added a thousand soldiers, sent from Malta by the order of St. John, and headed by a hundred of its most gallant knights.

After a tedious and dangerous voyage from Majorca to the African coast, the emperor landed, without opposition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose this mighty army Hassen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thousand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Grenada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty answer when summoned to surrender. But with such a handful of soldiers, neither his desperate courage nor consummate skill in war could have long resisted the forces now brought against him.

But howsoever far the emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence and human efforts availed nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for anything but to disperse some light-armed Arabs who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind, and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing on shore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents, shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low situation

was overflowed with water, and they sunk at every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hassen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning he sallied out with soldiers, who, having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them discovered greater courage, but as the rain had extinguished their matches and wetted their powder, their muskets were useless, and having scarcely strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

READING XIV.

EXPEDITION OF CHARLES V. AGAINST ALGIERS (CONCLUDED).

BUT all feeling or remembrance of this loss and danger was quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day, the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable; all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour fifteen ships of war, and a hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men perished; and such of the unhappy crew as escaped the fury of the sea were murdered without mercy by the Arabs as soon as they

reached land. The emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths of the ocean the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for subsisting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other assistance or relief than by sending some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were so fortunate as to get ashore, from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At last the wind began to fall, and to give some hopes that sufficient ships might escape to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness; and it being impossible for the officers aboard the ships which had outlived the storm to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty. Next day a boat dispatched by Doria made shift to reach land with information, that having weathered out the storm, to which, during fifty years' knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness and horror, he had found it necessary to bear away with his shattered ships to Cape Metafuz. He advised the emperor, as the face of the sky was still lowering and tempestuous, to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.

The comfort which this intelligence afforded Charles, by the assurance that part of his fleet had escaped, was counterbalanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was, at least, three days' march from his present camp; all the provisions which he had brought ashore at his first landing were now consumed; his soldiers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly capable of such a journey, even in a friendly country, and being dispirited by a succession of hardships, which victory itself would scarcely have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the situation of the army was such as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the least doubtful what to choose. They were ordered instantly to march, the wounded, the sick, and the feeble being placed in the centre; such as seemed most vigorous were stationed in

the front and rear. Then the sad effects of what they had suffered began to appear more manifestly than ever, and new calamities were added to all those which they had already endured. Some could hardly bear the weight of their arms; others, spent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almost impassable roads, sank down and died; many perished by famine, as the whole army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or the flesh of horses, killed by the emperor's order and distributed among the several battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were swollen so much by the excessive rains that in passing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greater part of their retreat, alarmed, harassed, and annoyed them night and day. At last they arrived at Metafuz, and the weather being now so calm as to restore their communication with the fleet, they were supplied with plenty of provisions and cheered with the prospect of safety.

During this dreadful series of calamities, the emperor discovered great qualities, many of which an uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him no opportunity of displaying. He appeared conspicuous for firmness and constancy of spirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier, he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened, he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his word and example. When the army embarked, he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance, ready to fall on the rear. By these virtues, Charles atoned, in some degree, for his obstinacy and presumption in undertaking an expedition so fatal to his subjects.

The calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprise did not end here; for no sooner were the forces got on board, than a new storm arising, though less furious than the former, scattered the fleet, and obliged the vessels, separately, to make for such ports in Spain and Italy as they could first reach; thus spreading the account of their disasters, with all the circumstances of aggravation and horror which their fears or fancies suggested. The emperor himself, after escaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bogoa, in Africa, where he was

obliged by contrary winds to remain several weeks, arrived at last in Spain, worn out with fatigue, anxiety, and disappointment.

READING XV.

CARDINAL BEATOUN.

1546.

THE doctrines of the Reformation, having once found their way into England, soon crossed the Tweed, and were received with the utmost welcome by a shrewd and thinking people; while the pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beatoun, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer upon him greater influence. This prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to the reigning monarch James V., and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and properties of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, apprehensive of the consequences both to his party and to himself, he endeavoured to keep possession of power; and, for that purpose, he is accused of executing a deed which required a high degree of temerity. He is said to have forged a will for the king, appointing himself and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess; at least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation. By virtue of this will, Beatoun had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of Hamilton, earl of Arran, who, being next heir to the crown, seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had obtruded himself.

The cardinal did not long retain his ill-gotten power. A convention met, December 28th, A. D. 1542, only eight days after the king's death. In this convention no regard

was paid to the pretended will, as the manner in which it had been fabricated was not unknown. The cardinal, irritated at this, made a most violent declamation against appointing any single person, and particularly any of the name of Hamilton, regent. In this oration he gave the Hamiltons all the opprobrious names that language furnished. The Earl of Arran then stood up and said: "My lords, call me what names you please, but deny me not my right to the regency. Whatever faults any of my name may have committed, none of you can say I have done him any injury, neither am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing, but by God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities as any within the realm can reasonably require me. Therefore yet again, my lords, in God's name, I crave that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before you have experience of my government." The whole assembly, the cardinal and a few of the clergy excepted, cried out that the Earl of Arran's claim was most just and could not be disputed, and he was accordingly appointed guardian to the queen and governor of the kingdom, and invested with all the power, prerogatives, and possessions of the crown.

But the weak and injudicious conduct of the earl soon brought disgrace upon himself, and restored the cardinal to his former power; the great seal being taken from the archbishop of Glasgow, and delivered, in parliament, December 15, 1543, to the cardinal. The same day the governor himself, who had abandoned his principles as well as his party, and was entirely under the direction of the cardinal, complained in parliament of the great increase of heresy in all parts of the kingdom, when an act was made for its extirpation, commanding all bishops and their officials to apprehend and bring to trial all who were suspected of heresy, and promising them the support of the secular arm in that pious work.

The hatred between the partisans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent; and the resolution which the cardinal primate had formed of employing the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient

superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning; but these praises cannot be much depended upon, because we know that among the Reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old Testament alone was the word of God. However the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation, and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they dared to reject him, together with the word of God, threatened them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed that the town had drawn down the vengeance of heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine; but lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate; the infected stood within, the others without. The preacher, as may naturally be supposed, failed not in such a situation to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission. After this he visited Montrose, Perth, and several other towns, and such was his success that his converts were almost innumerable, and among these were not a few of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the kingdom.

The cardinal and the clergy in general were greatly incensed against this bold and dangerous adversary, and a resolution was formed to put an end to his attacks upon the church, by taking away his life by some means or other. Two attempts were made to cut him off by assassination; but he defeated the first by his courage, and the second by his caution. At length, finding his efforts baffled, Beatoun engaged the Earl of Bothwell to arrest him and to deliver him into his hands; and this being done, he was conducted to St. Andrew's, and, after a trial, was condemned to the flames as a heretic. But as Arran, the governor, irresolute in his temper, would not consent to his execution, the cardinal determined to inflict the penalty of death without the aid of the secular arm, and he himself beheld from his window the barbarous spectacle. Wishart suffered with unexampled patience; but remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy, foretold that he should in a very few days, and in the very same place, lie as low as now he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion.

The prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal, and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprise with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified, and though they were not above sixteen in number, thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle, and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: but finding that they had brought fire, in order to force their way, and having obtained, as believed, a promise of life, he opened the door, and his assassins rushed in with their swords drawn. They found the cardinal seated in an elbow chair, and upon seeing them he cried out, "I am a priest, I am a priest, you will not kill me!" James Melvil then sprang forward, and stopping his comrades, bade them reflect that this sacrifice was the

work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beatoun, he thus addressed him: "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands; it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee; we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death; but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Jesus Christ, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beatoun time to finish that repentance to which he had exhorted him, he thrust him through the body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet; his last words being, "Fy! fy! all is lost, all is lost!" This murder was perpetrated on the 28th of May, 1546.

READING XVI.

ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI.—FIESCO'S CONSPIRACY.

1547.

UPON the death of Henry VIII., Edward, his son by Jane Seymour, ascended the throne; but being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government was committed to sixteen executors, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the great officers of state, the king's uncle the Earl of Hereford, who was raised to the dukedom of Somerset, being chosen Protector.

One of the most memorable foreign events which occurred during his short reign was the celebrated attempt of Fiesco to subvert the government of the Dorias in Genoa.

The form of government which had been established in this city at the time when Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country, did not, after a trial of nearly twenty years, give universal satisfaction to those turbulent

republicans. In addition to which Giannettino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise at being his successor in power; and as he manifested, from the earliest years, a tyrannical and overbearing disposition, he was already feared and hated as an enemy to the liberties of the republic.

This growing disgust having been observed by John Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, encouraged him to attempt one of the boldest actions recorded in history. This young nobleman, the richest and most illustrious subject in the republic, possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities which win upon the human heart, command respect, or secure attachment; but to these qualities he added an insatiable and restless ambition, and a mind that disdained subordination. These various passions preying with violence upon his turbulent and aspiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not submit.

Having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidants, from whom he kept nothing secret, the chief of whom was Perrina, a man of desperate fortunes, it was resolved to assassinate the two Dorias as well as the principal persons of their party, to overturn the established system of government, and to place Fiesco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requisite to ripen such a design for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on these, Fiesco made it his chief care to guard against everything that might betray his secret or create suspicion. The disguise he assumed was of all others the most impenetrable. He seemed to be abandoned entirely to pleasure and dissipation; but amidst all this hurry of amusements, he prosecuted his plan with the most cool attention, neither retarding the design by a timid hesitation, nor precipitating the execution by an excess of impatience.

Various consultations were held by the conspirators as to the best plan to be adopted for the execution of their purposes. After several schemes had been proposed and rejected, it was at last determined to attempt by open force what they found difficult to effect by stratagem, and the night between the second and third of January was appointed for the enterprise.

The morning of that day Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours among them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed as at other times. Towards evening he paid court to the two Dorias with his usual marks of respect, and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long gathering, and which was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court, surrounded by a high wall. The gates had been set open in the morning, and all persons, without distinction, were allowed to enter, but strong guards posted within the court suffered no one to return. Perrina, meanwhile, and a few persons entrusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his galleys, into the palace in small bodies, with as little noise as possible, dispersed themselves throughout the city, and in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled; the rest, astonished at finding, instead of the preparations for a feast, a court crowded with armed men and apartments filled with the instruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curiosity, impatience, and terror. While their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation, Fiesco appeared, with a look full of alacrity and confidence; he addressed himself to the persons of chief distinction, telling them that they were not now called to partake of the pleasure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He set before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannettino was about to enlarge and render perpetual. "This unrighteous domination," continued he, "you have it now in your power to subvert, and to establish the freedom of your country on a firm basis. The tyrants must be cut off; I have taken

the most effectual means for this purpose ; my associates are numerous ; I can depend on allies and protectors, if necessary. Happily, the tyrants are as secure as I have been provident ; their insolent contempt of their countrymen has banished the suspicion and timidity which usually render the guilty quick-sighted to discern, as well as sagacious to guard against, the vengeance which they deserve. They will now feel the blow, before they suspect any hostile hand to be nigh ; let us then sally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almost unaccompanied with danger and certain of success." These words, uttered with that irresistible fervour which animates the mind when roused by great objects, made the desired impression on the audience. With one voice they all applauded and promised to second the undertaking.

Fiesco, having thus fixed and encouraged his associates before he gave them his last orders, hastened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble house of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whose beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noise of the armed men who crowded the court and palace having long before reached her ears, she concluded some hazardous enterprise to be in hand, and she trembled for her husband. He found her in all the anguish of uncertainty and fear ; and as it was now impossible to keep his design concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken: the prospect of a scene so full of horror, as well as danger, completed her agony ; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal issue of it, she endeavoured by her tears, entreaties, and despair, to divert him from his purpose. Fiesco, after trying in vain to soothe and to inspire her with hope, broke from a situation into which an excess of tenderness had unwarily seduced him, though it could not shake his resolution. "Farewell," he cried, as he quitted the apartment ; "you shall either never see me more, or you shall behold to-morrow everything in Genoa subject to your power."

READING XVII.

FIESCO'S CONSPIRACY (CONCLUDED).

1547.

As soon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper station ; some were appointed to assault and siege the different gates of the city ; some to make themselves masters of the principal streets or places of strength : Fiesco reserved to himself the attack of the harbour, where Doria's galleys were laid up, as the post of chief importance, and of greatest danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens slept in the security of peace, when this band of conspirators, numerous, desperate, and well armed, rushed out to execute their plan. They surprised some of the gates without meeting with any resistance. They got possession of others after a sharp conflict with the soldiers on guard. Perrina, with the galley which had been fitted out against the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darsena, or little harbour, where Doria's fleet lay, all possibility of escape being cut off by this precaution. When Fiesco attempted to enter the galleys from the shore to which they were made fast, they were in no condition to make resistance, as they were not only unrigged and disarmed, but had no crew on board, except the slaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noise and tumult, all the streets resounding with the cry of *Fiesco and Liberty* ! At that name, so popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms and joined the conspirators. The nobles and partisans of the aristocracy, astonished or affrighted, shut the gates of their houses, and thought of nothing but securing them from pillage. At last, the noise excited by this scene of violence and confusion reached the palace of Doria ; Giannettino started immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occasioned by some mutiny among the sailors, rushed out with a few attendants and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to pass, was already in the possession of the conspirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmost fury, and murdered him on the spot. The same must have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fiesco had

executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace ; but he, wishing from sordid motives to prevent its being plundered amidst the confusion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger, and, mounting on horseback, saved himself by flight. Amidst this general consternation, a few senators had the courage to assemble in the palace of the republic ; at first, some of the most daring among them attempted to rally the scattered soldiers and to attack a body of the conspirators ; but being repulsed with loss, all agreed that nothing now remained but to treat with the party which seemed to be irresistible. Deputies were accordingly sent to learn of Fiesco what were the concessions or conditions with which he would be satisfied ; or rather to submit to whatever terms he should be pleased to prescribe.

But by this time, Fiesco, with whom they were empowered to negotiate, was no more. Just as he was about to leave the harbour, where everything had succeeded to his wish, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard some extraordinary uproar on board the admiral's galley. Alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains and overpower his associates, he ran thither, but the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel happening to overturn, he fell into the sea whilst he was hurrying forward too quickly ; being loaded with heavy armour, he sank to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of everything his ambitious heart could desire. Perrina was the first who discovered this fatal accident, and foreseeing all its consequences, concealed it with the utmost industry from every one but a few leaders of the conspiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidst the darkness and confusion of the night, to have kept it secret until a treaty with the senators should have put the city in the power of the conspirators. All their hopes of this were disconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fiesco, who, when the deputies of the senate inquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their proposal to him, replied with a childish vanity, " I am now the only person to whom that title belongs, and with me you must treat." These words discovered, as well to his friends as to his

enemies, what had happened, and made the impression which might have been expected on both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occasion such a sudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, assumed instantly, with admirable presence of mind, a new tone, suitable to the change in their circumstances, and made high demands, while they tried to gain time by protracting the negotiation; the rest of the senators were busy in assembling their partisans, and in forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republic. On the other hand, the conspirators, astonished at the death of a man whom they adored and trusted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fell from their hands. That profound and amazing secrecy with which the conspiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of those who acted under him knew not his confidants, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place, or to finish his plan; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had passed unobserved, and might remain unknown. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat, and before break of day most of them fled with precipitation from a city which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

Next morning, everything was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be seen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conspirators having conducted their enterprise with more noise than bloodshed, and gained all their advantages by surprise, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the disgrace as well as danger of the preceding night was fresh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinsman still before his eyes, such was his moderation and magnanimity, that the decree issued by the senate against the conspirators

did not exceed that just measure of severity which was requisite for the support of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of resentment nor the rancour of revenge.

READING XVIII.

FREDERICK, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, TAKEN PRISONER BY
CHARLES V.

1547.

THE emperor Charles V., no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy; he was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the Protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; and having by his political arts separated the Palatine (*German potentate*) and the elector of Brandenburg from the Protestant confederacy, he took up arms against the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave (*German prince*) of Hesse.

At the head of sixteen thousand veterans, the emperor advanced into Saxony. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to unite, but attacked the main body at Mulhausen, defeated it after an obstinate dispute, and took the elector prisoner. The captive prince was immediately conducted to the emperor, whom he found standing on the field of battle, in the full exultation of victory. The elector's behaviour, even in his present unfortunate and humbling condition, was decent and even magnanimous. It was worthy of his gallant resistance. He alike avoided a sullen pride and a mean submission. "The fortune of war," said he, "most gracious emperor, has made me your prisoner, and I hope to be treated"—here Charles rudely interrupted him:—"And am I then, at last, acknowledged to be emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You shall be treated as you deserve!" turning from him with a haughty air. To this cruel repulse the king of the Romans (the other title of Charles) added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more harsh and insulting. The elector made no reply;

but, with an unaltered countenance, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him.

The emperor speedily marched towards Wittenberg (the capital, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family), hoping that, while the consternation occasioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants would submit as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sibylla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman equally distinguished by her virtue and abilities, instead of obeying the imperial summons, or abandoning herself to tears and lamentations, on account of her husband's misfortunes, animated the citizens, by her example as well as exhortation, to a vigorous defence; and Charles, finding that he could not suddenly reduce the place by force, had recourse to means both ungenerous and unwarlike, but more expeditious and certain. He summoned Sibylla a second time to open the gates, informing her, that, in case of refusal, the elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. And to convince her that he was in earnest, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial, subjecting one of the greatest princes in the empire to the jurisdiction of a court-martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers; who, founding their charge against him upon the imperial ban, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of Charles, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid, presumed the elector convicted of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded.

Frederick was amusing himself at chess with his fellow-prisoner, Ernest of Brunswick, when this decree was intimated to him. He paused for a moment, though without any symptom of surprise or terror; and, after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injustice of the proceedings against him, "It is easy," said he, "to comprehend the emperor's scheme; I must die because Wittenberg refuses to surrender; and I will lay down my life with pleasure, if by that I can preserve the dignity of my house, and transmit to my posterity the inheritance which I received from my ancestors. Heaven grant," continued he, "that this sentence may affect my wife and children no more than it does me! that they may not, for the sake of adding a few years to a life already too long, renounce honours and territories which they were born to

possess!" He then turned to his antagonist, challenged him to continue the game, and played with his usual attention and ingenuity.

It happened as the elector had feared, the account of his condemnation was not received with the same indifference at Wittenberg; Sibylla, who had supported with such undaunted fortitude her husband's misfortunes, while she imagined his person was free from danger, felt all her resolution fail the moment his life was threatened. Anxious for his safety, she despised every other consideration, and was willing to make any sacrifice in order to appease the rage of an incensed conqueror. Meantime, Charles, perceiving that the expedient he had tried began to produce the intended effect, fell by degrees from his former firmness, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the elector would show himself worthy of favour by submitting to certain conditions. Frederick, on whom the consideration of what he himself might suffer had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved. He could not resist the entreaties of his family; in compliance with their repeated solicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain—to resign the electoral dignity, to put the imperial troops immediately in possession of his capital, and to remain the emperor's prisoner. In return for these important concessions, Charles promised not only to spare his life, but to settle upon him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, with a revenue of fifty thousand florins.

READING XIX.

ACCESSION OF MARY.—SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT.

1553.

EDWARD died of consumption in 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age; and, from his zeal for religion, excluded by will his sister Mary from the succession, which he transferred to Lady Jane Grey, grand-daughter to a sister of Henry VIII. The tragical end of this amiable and

accomplished lady is well known. Her death left Mary without a competitor. Upon her accession she immediately lighted up the flames of religious persecution, to which she consigned the most illustrious reformers. Her husband, Philip II. of Spain, was as remorseless a bigot as herself; and it is singular that the same horrible crime, the murder of his own son, of which he was accused, should have also been perpetrated a few years before by the commander of the faithful, Solyman the Magnificent. The account of this fatal deed cannot fail to excite a most powerful interest in the reader, and awaken all his sympathies.

Solyman, though distinguished by many accomplishments from the other Ottoman princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden as well as furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage of love which reigns in the East, and often produces the wildest and most tragical effects: his favourite mistress was a Circassian slave of exquisite beauty, who bore him a son called Mustapha, whom, both on account of his birthright and merit, he destined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Russian captive, soon supplanted the Circassian, and gained the sultan's heart. Having the address to retain the conquest which she had made, she kept possession of his love, without any rival, for many years; during which she brought him several sons and one daughter. All the happiness, however, which she derived from the unbounded sway that she had acquired over a monarch whom one-half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Mustapha's accession to the throne, and the certain death of her sons, who, she foresaw, would be immediately sacrificed by the barbarous jealousy of Turkish policy, to the safety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, she came gradually to view Mustapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a step-mother's ill will. This prompted her to wish his destruction, in order to secure for one of her own sons the throne, which was destined for him. Nor did she want either ambition to attempt such a high enterprise, or the arts requisite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the sultan to give her only daughter

in marriage to Rustan, the grand vizier, she disclosed her scheme to that crafty minister, who perceiving that it was to his own interest to co-operate with her, readily promised his assistance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line to which he was so nearly allied.

As soon as Roxalana had concerted measures with this able confidant, she began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was superstitiously attached, and proposed to found and endow a royal mosque, a work of great expense, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the highest degree. The mufti (*Mahometan high priest*) whom she consulted, approved much of her pious intention; but, having been gained and instructed by Rustan, told her that she being a slave could derive no benefit herself from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the master whose property she was. Upon this she seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, and to sink into the deepest melancholy, as if she had been disgusted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was absent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and the cause which had produced it, discovered all the solicitude of a lover to remove it, and, by a writing under his hand, declared her a free woman. Roxalana, having gained this point, proceeded to build the mosque, and resumed her usual gaiety of spirit; but when Solyman, on his return to Constantinople, wished to renew his former intercourse, she refused unless she was made his wife. The amorous monarch was not long before he solemnly married her, according to the form of the Mahometan ritual, though by so doing he disregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood has taught all the sultans since Bajazet I. to consider as inviolable. From this time none of the Turkish monarchs had married, because, when he was vanquished and taken prisoner, by Tamerlane, his wife had been abused with barbarous insolence by the Tatars. That no similiar calamity might subject the Ottoman family to the like disgrace, the above resolution was adopted.

But the more uncommon the step was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which she had acquired over the sultan's heart; and emboldened her to prosecute, with greater hope of success, the

scheme that she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young prince, having been entrusted by his father, according to the practice of the sultans in that age, with the government of several distant provinces, was at that time invested with the administration of Diarbequir, the ancient Mesopotamia, which Solyman had wrested from the Persians, and added to his empire. In all these different commands Mustapha had conducted himself with such cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the same time, he governed with so much moderation as well as justice, and displayed such valour and generosity, as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the soldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; she turned his virtues against him, and made use of these as engines for his destruction. She often mentioned in Solyman's presence, the splendid qualities of his son; she celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. As soon as she perceived that the sultan heard these often repeated encomiums with uneasiness; that suspicion of his son began to mingle itself with his former esteem; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealousy and fear,—she introduced, as by accident, some discourse concerning the rebellion of his father Selim, against Bajazet, his grandfather; she took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Mustapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Persian sophi (*emperor*), Solyman's mortal enemy. By these arts, whatever remained of parental tenderness was entirely extinguished, and such passions were kindled in the breast of the sultan, as gave Roxalana's malignant suggestions the colour not only of probability but of truth. A deep-rooted hatred succeeded now to his suspicions and fear of Mustapha; he appointed spies to observe and report all his words and actions; he watched and stood on his guard against him as his most dangerous enemy.

READING XX.

SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT (CONCLUDED).

1553.

HAVING thus alienated the sultan's heart from Mustapha, Roxalana ventured upon another step. She entreated Solyman to allow her own sons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining access to their father they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, insinuate themselves into that place in his affections which Mustapha had formerly held; and, though what she demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her request. To all these female intrigues Rustan added an artifice still more subtle, which completed the emperor's delusion, and heightened his jealousy and fear. He wrote to the bashaws (*governors*) of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, instructing them to send him regular intelligence of Mustapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, emanating, apparently, from his zeal for their interest, that nothing would be more acceptable to the sultan than to receive favourable accounts of a son whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The bashaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their sovereign at such an easy price, filled their letters with studied but fatal panegyrics of Mustapha, representing him as a prince worthy to succeed such an illustrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal, his fame. These letters were industriously shown to Solyman, at the seasons when it was known that they would make the deepest impression. Every expression in recommendation of his son wounded him to the heart; he suspected his principal officers of being ready to favour the most desperate attempts of a prince whom they were so fond to praise; and fancying that he saw them already assaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to secure his own safety by his son's death.

For this purpose, though under pretence of renewing

the war against Persia, he ordered Rustan to march towards Diarbequir, at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a son whose life he deemed inconsistent with his own safety. But that crafty minister did not choose to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As soon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman that the danger was so imminent as called for his immediate presence; that the camp was full of Mustapha's emissaries; that many of the soldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had discovered a negotiation which had been carried on with the sophi of Persia, in order to marry Mustapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt his own talents as well as authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of such an arduous conjuncture; that the sultan alone had sagacity to discern what resolution should be taken in those circumstances, and power to carry that resolution into effect.

This charge of courting the friendship of the sophi, Roxalana and Rustan had reserved as the last and most envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Persians, and threw him into the wildest transports of rage. He set out instantly for Syria, and hastened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As soon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted measures with Rustan, he sent a chiaus, or messenger of the court, to his son, requiring him to repair immediately to his presence. Mustapha, though no stranger to his step-mother's machinations, or to Rustan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet, relying on his own innocence, and hoping to discredit the accusations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the messenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the sultan's tent. As he entered it, he observed nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the same order and silence which always reign in the sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, several mutes (*executioners*) appeared, at the sight of whom, Mustapha, knowing his fate, cried with a loud voice, "Ho! my death," and attempted to

fly. The mutes rushed forward to seize him ; he resisted and struggled, demanding with the utmost eagerness to see the sultan ; and despair, together with the hope of finding protection from the soldiers, if he could escape out of the tent, animated him with such extraordinary strength, that, for some time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his son's cries, as well as of the noise which the struggle occasioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and struck with terror at the thought of Mustapha's escaping, he drew aside the curtain which divided the tent, and thrusting in his head, darted a fierce look at the mutes, and with wild and threatening gestures, seemed to chide them for sloth and timidity. At sight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Mustapha's strength failed, and his courage forsook him ; the mutes fastened the bowstring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was exposed before the sultan's tent. The soldiers gathered round and contemplated the mournful object with astonishment, sorrow, and indignation ; nor was there one of them who tasted food, or even water, during the remainder of that day. Next morning the same silence and solitude reigned in the camp ; and Solyman, being afraid that some dreadful storm would follow this sudden calm, in order to appease the enraged soldiers, deprived Rustan of the seals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raised Achmet, a gallant officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of vizier. But when all fears of a mutiny had subsided, Achmet was removed by the bowstring, and Rustan again received into favour. This infamous minister, together with his former power, re-assumed the plan for exterminating the race of Mustapha, which he had concerted with Roxalana ; and as they were afraid that an only son whom Mustapha had left might grow up to avenge his death, they succeeded, by employing the same arts, in inspiring Solyman with like fears, and in prevailing upon him to issue orders for putting to death that young and innocent prince. These orders were but too faithfully executed, and thus no rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne with the sons of Roxalana.

READING XXI.

MARTYRDOM OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

1555.

MARY's authority having been considerably strengthened by the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, and by the arrival of her husband, Philip II. of Spain, in England, she proceeded to adopt every means to re-establish the ancient superstition. Cardinal Pole arrived in England shortly after, with legatine powers from the pope; both houses of parliament immediately voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that the nation had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church, declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Romish religion, and praying their majesties, happily uninfected with that criminal schism, to intercede with the holy father (*the pope*) for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was readily granted, and the parliament and kingdom were again received into the bosom of the church. The consequence of this reconciliation was, that the punishment by fire was rigorously employed against the most eminent reformers. Of all the martyrs who thus suffered, none have excited so much interest as Ridley and Latimer.

The horrible scene of their barbarous murder took place on the 16th day of October, 1555, at Oxford, the place of execution being upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Bailey College; and for fear of any tumult that might arise, the Lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters to superintend the execution, and the householders of the city, to be his assistants, sufficiently appointed; and when everything was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs. Master Ridley had a fair black gown, furred, and faced with some such as he was wont to wear, being bishop, and a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, about his neck; a velvet nightcap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same; going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and walking between the mayor and aldermen.

After him came Master Latimer, in a poor Bristow frieze frock, all worn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief upon his head, all ready for the fire; a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet; which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to see upon them, beholding, on the one side, the honour they sometime had, on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him, but then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion (*on that account*); when Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Ah! be ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other; when first, Doctor Ridley entering the place, marvellously earnestly holding up his hand, looked towards heaven; then, shortly after, espying Master Latimer, with a monstrous cheerful look, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it:" with that went he to the stake by it, kissed it, and effectuously prayed; and behind him, Master Latimer as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Dr. Smith now began his sermon to them, upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, "If I give my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." He concluded his sermon, which was scant (*short*), in all a quarter of an hour, by a very short exhortation to them to recant, and to come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned.

Doctor Ridley now said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Doctor Ridley.

Thus having spoken, Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a form thereby, unto whom Doctor Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak out two or three words;" and whilst my lord bent his head to the mates and vice-chancellor, to know, as it appeared, whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Doctor Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Master Ridley. "No," quoth Doctor Marshall; "therefore, if you will not so do, there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Doctor Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth. God's will be done in me." And with this he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently (*impartially*) judge all."

To whose saying, Master Latimer added his old posie (*motto*), "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened," and he said he could answer Smith well enough if he might be suffered. Incontinently (*immediately*) they were commanded to make them ready, which they, with all meekness, obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and tippet and gave to his brother-in-law, Master Shipside, who, all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charge, to provide him necessaries, which, from time to time, he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel, that was little worth, he gave away, other the bailiffs took.

He gave away, besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them plentifully weeping. As to Sir Henry Lea, he gave him a new groat; and to divers of my Lord Williams's gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and such other things as he had about him to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points

off his hose; happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and his other array (*garments*), which to look unto was very simple; and being stripped unto his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should usually see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a crooked and silly old man, he now stood bolt upright as comely a father as one might lightly (*easily*) behold.

Then Master Ridley, being in his shirt, stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hands and said, "Oh! heavenly Father, I give thee most hearty thanks for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Doctor Ridley's and Master Latimer's middles; and as he was knocking in a staple, Doctor Ridley took the chain in his hand and shook the same, for it did girder his belly, and looked aside to the smith and said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was; his brother said "gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother?" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime, lest ye come too late." So his brother went and carried of the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

Then they brought a faggot kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Doctor Ridley's feet, to whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, Doctor Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as, I trust, shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Doctor Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum; Domine, recipe spiritum meum!*—"Into

thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit ; Lord, receive my spirit.") And after repeating this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!" Master Latimer crying on the other side, "Oh! Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame, as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appeareth, with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travel, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give thanks to God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil-making of the fire unto him ; because the wooden faggots were laid about the gosse (*furze*) and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood, which, when he felt, he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him ; which, when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, for the which cause he gave attendance, as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him ; which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether (*lower*) parts, before it once touched the upper ; this made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn," which indeed appeared well, for after his legs were consumed, by reason of his struggling through the pain, he showed that side towards us clean, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet, in all this torment, he forgot not to call unto God, still having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pain he laboured, till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above, and where he (Doctor Ridley) saw the fire flame up, he pressed himself into that side ; and when the flame touched the gunpowder he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet. Which some said happened by reason that the chain loosed, others said that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise (*balancing*) of his body, and the weakness of the limbs. Some said that before he

was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. Signs, there were, of sorrow on every side, and whoso considered their preferment in times past, the places of honour that they sometime (*formerly*) occupied in the commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion (*character*) of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment.

READING XXII.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

1556.

THE year 1556 is rendered memorable by the death of the most powerful European monarch since the time of Charlemagne; of a prince who having wielded the sceptres of Germany, Spain, and Italy, and added to these vast dominions the sovereignty of the New World, ended by becoming a living example of the vanity of all human greatness.

The voluntary abdication of Charles V. in favour of his son is well known. Of all the vast possessions which he resigned to Philip, he reserved nothing to himself but an annual pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity. Upon entering his retreat, the monastery of St. Justus, near the town of Plaçencia, in Estramadura, Charles formed such a plan for himself, as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat, but plain; his domestics few, his intercourse with them familiar; all the cumbersome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted, in order to soothe the remainder of his days. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance

from the burdens and cares of government, procured him, at first, a considerable remission from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had so long engrossed and disquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind; far from taking any part in the political transactions of the princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from any inquiry concerning them.

Other amusements and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Torriano, one of the most ingenious artists of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the most useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers, and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the intentions of the artist. He relieved his mind at intervals with slighter and more fantastic works of mechanism; in fashioning puppets which, by the structure of internal springs, mimicked the gestures of men, to the no small astonishment of the ignorant monks, who, beholding movements which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Torriano of being in compact with invisible powers. He was likewise particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches, and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing

mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the intricate and mysterious doctrines of religion.

But in what manner soever Charles disposed of the rest of his time, he constantly reserved a considerable portion of it for religious exercises. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery every morning and evening; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and conversed much with his confessor and the prior of the monastery on pious subjects. Thus did Charles pass the first year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life, and standing on the confines of a future world, either in innocent amusements, which soothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with excessive application to business; or in devout occupations, which he deemed necessary in preparing for another state.

But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not vigour enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind; he endeavoured to conform in his manner of living to all the rigour of monkish austerity; he desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the missal (*the Roman Catholic prayer book*). As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline (*scourge*) in secret with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating all that he had done, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety, that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as

any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to anticipate and to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands ; he himself followed in his shroud, and was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the 21st of September, 1558, after a life of fifty-eight years, five months, and twenty-five days.

READING XXIII.

DEATH OF MARY.—ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
1558.

THE loss of Calais, which had been in the possession of British monarchs for above two hundred years, and which, as it opened for the English an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable territory belonging to the crown ; the hatred of her subjects ; and the contempt of her husband Philip, had such an effect upon the health of Mary, who had long been in a declining state, that she fell into a low fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign, on November 17, 1558. The persecutions to which Elizabeth was subjected during the reign of her bigoted half-sister are well known, and it is more than probable that she entirely owed her

personal safety to the interested policy of Mary's husband, Philip II. This detestable and cruel tyrant, foreseeing the premature death of his consort, was anxious, by taking as her substitute her young and highly-gifted sister, to secure for himself an agreeable companion, and at the same time to prevent Mary, queen of Scots, from being seated on the British throne, whose accession threatened him with nothing less than the powerful hostility of the French and English monarchies united.

Notwithstanding some supposed defects in her title, Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England to the general joy of the nation. Endowed with a masculine mind, and talents of the highest order, Elizabeth had profited by the lessons of adversity, and by the leisure afforded by solitude. The ancient and modern languages were familiar to her; she spoke and wrote with facility the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French tongues. Her studies indicated a serious and powerful intellect. At the same time that she translated Sophocles, she commented Plato. Happy had it been for her had she applied as much care to the improvement of her moral as of her intellectual qualities.

Both Henry IV. of France and Philip II. of Spain beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal solicitude; and, equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both courted it with emulative zeal. Henry endeavoured, by the warmest expressions of regard and friendship, to detach her from the Spanish alliance, and to engage her to consent to a separate peace with him; while Philip, unwilling to lose his connexion with England, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her; but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations; and while she intended to yield to the solicitations of neither, she continued, for a time, to amuse both.

The friendly dispositions of Philip continued until the death of young Francis of France, husband of Mary, queen

of Scots, which event freeing him from all apprehension as to Mary's succession to the British crown, together with that of France, his rancour began openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and England were found opposite in every negotiation and public transaction.

In 1562, Philip, jealous of the progress of the Huguenots, or Protestants, in France, and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the prince of Lorraine, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. In consequence of that alliance, he now sent six thousand men to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, who headed the Protestants, finding himself unable to oppose so strong a confederacy countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the assistance of the queen of England. As an inducement he offered to put her in possession of Havre de Grâce, on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of the place, she should send over an equal number to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish him with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns.

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants, had other motives for accepting this proposal. She was now sensible that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in a preceding treaty, by which Calais was to be restored to the English, and wisely concluded, that could she get possession of Havre de Grâce, which commands the mouth of the Seine, she might easily force the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore accepted the proposal, and despatched the troops.

Busily occupied, however, as Philip II. thus was, both with France, England, and the Low Countries, he had shortly afterwards matters of equal moment to engage his attention in the south-east of Europe, namely, the rapid and alarming progress made by the Ottoman arms, a progress which showed the imperative necessity of a great effort being made for the defence of Christendom.

READING XXIV.

THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

1571.

SELIM II., who had succeeded his father Solyman, after attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which, at that time, belonged to the republic of Venice. Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm in 1570, and in the next year, Famagosta, the only city in the island which held out, was reduced, Bragadino, the governor, being flayed alive, and the companions of his heroism butchered, or chained to the oar.

The Venetians, in this exigence, applied for assistance to all the princes of Christendom, whom the common interest ought to have united in their cause. It was a cause, indeed, which should have originated another crusade ; but, by having exhausted themselves in so many needless ones before, they would not now engage in one that was really necessary. Pope Pius IV. did what was much better than preaching a crusade ; he had the courage to declare war against the Ottoman empire, by entering into a league with the Venetians and Philip II. of Spain. And now, for the first time, St. Peter's standard was displayed against the crescent, and the galleys of Rome encountered the Ottoman fleet. This single action of the pope, which was the last of his life, is alone sufficient to render his memory sacred.

Pius V. served as a model to the famous pope Sextus V., who imitated the example of this pontiff, and, in the space of a few years, amassed, by prudent savings, a sufficient treasure to make the Holy See considered as a respectable power. By this economy he was enabled to send a large fleet of galleys to sea. His zeal made him indefatigable in soliciting all the princes of Christendom for their assistance, but he met only with delays or excuses of inability.

Equally vain was his application to Charles IX. of France, to the emperor Maximilian, to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and to Sigismund II. of Poland. Charles was in alliance with the Turks, besides which he had no ships to send. The emperor Maximilian stood in fear of the

Ottoman power, and wanted money ; he had made a truce with the Turks, and dared not to break it. Don Sebastian of Portugal was as yet too young to display that valour which afterwards proved his ruin on the coast of Barbary ; while Poland's exchequer was drained by her wars with the Russians, and her king (Sigismund) was enfeebled with age. Thus none but Philip II. remained to take part with the pope in his design. He alone, of all the Catholic princes, was sufficiently rich to bear the prodigious expense of the armament ; he alone was able, by the judicious arrangements of his government, to carry this project to a speedy and successful issue. He was deeply interested in this, from the necessity there was of securing his Italian dominions, and the places he possessed on the coast of Barbary, from the insults of the Ottoman fleet ; and accordingly, although ever the secret foe of the Venetians in Italy, yet, fearing these less than he did the Turks, he entered into an alliance with them against those enemies of the Christian faith.

Never was so large an armament fitted out with so much expedition. Two hundred galleys, six large galleasses, twenty-five ships of war, with fifty sail of transports, were all ready in the ports of Sicily by the month of September, being less than five months after the taking of Cyprus. The one half of this armament was furnished by Philip. The Venetians were at the charge of two-thirds of the other half, and the rest was supplied by the pope. The command of the fleet was given to the famous Don John of Austria, natural son of the emperor Charles V., and Marc Antonio Colonna commanded under him, in the pope's name. The house of Colonna, so long the inveterate foe of the popes, had now become the chief prop of their power. Sebastian Veniero was admiral of the Venetian fleet. There had been three doges of his family ; all of whom he surpassed in ability and renown. Barbarigo, whose family was in no less esteem at Venice, filled the post of Commissary-general of the fleet. The Maltese sent three galleys, being the most they could furnish. The Genoese hardly deserve mention ; for fearing Selim less than they did Philip II., they sent but one galley.

Historians tell us that there were no less than fifty thousand fighting men on board this fleet ; but unfortunately, in accounts of military exploits, exaggeration is

but too common. A fleet of two hundred and six galleys and twenty-five other ships, could contain at most not more than twenty thousand fighting men. The Turkish fleet alone was stronger than the three combined Christian squadrons, being composed of about two hundred and fifty galleys. The two fleets met on the 5th October, 1571, in the gulf of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never, since the famous battle of Actium, had so numerous a fleet been seen in the Grecian seas, nor so memorable an engagement been witnessed. The Turkish galleys were worked by Christian slaves, and the Christian ships by Turks, who were compelled to serve unwillingly against their country.

The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and modern weapons of offence; such as arrows, long javelins, grenades, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, spears, and sabres. Most of the galleys were grappled together, and the soldiers fought hand to hand on their decks, as on a field of battle. At length victory declared for the Christians, a victory the more glorious as being the first of its kind.

Don John of Austria, and the Venetian admiral Veniero, attacked the ship which carried the Turkish admiral Ali, who being taken with his galley, had his head struck off, and hoisted upon his own flag-staff. This was a violation of the rights of war, but might be justified as a retaliation for the atrocities perpetrated by the infidels. The Turks lost above one hundred and fifty ships in this engagement. It is difficult to ascertain the number of the slain; some make them amount to fifteen thousand. About five thousand Christian captives were set at liberty. Venice celebrated this victory with such festivities as she alone in that age was capable of giving. Constantinople was in the utmost consternation; and the pope, when he received the news of this signal victory, the honour of which was ascribed to the generalissimo Don John, but in which the Venetians had the greatest share, cried out, in a transport of joy, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John;" words which were afterwards applied to John Sobieski, king of Poland, when in 1638 he delivered Vienna from the Ottomans. It was in this battle that the famous Cervantes lost his right hand. Glorious as this victory was, its fruits were by no means such as might

have been expected, for the Venetians gained no advantage over the Turks, and Selim II. retook, in 1754, the kingdom of Tunis, without resistance, and massacred all the Christians whom he found there.

READING XXV.

MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE, ON THE
EVE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

1572.

THE civil war between the Catholics and Protestants, which had so long desolated France, was at length terminated by the treaty of Saint Germain-en-laie, in 1570. This unhopèd-for peace was a triumph for the latter; but in the views of Catherine de Medicis, mother of Charles IX., it was far otherwise—she only intended it as a fatal snare, by which she might the more easily destroy by perfidy, those whom she could not overcome by arms. Charles IX., well versed in the arts of dissimulation, and inclined to cruelty, although only twenty years of age, seconded his mother with the utmost satisfaction and readiness, disguising the most atrocious wickedness, under the fairest appearances. In order to allure to court the chiefs of the Protestant party, the king offered his sister Marguerite in marriage to the young prince of Bearne, (afterwards Henry IV.) The queen of Navarre, delighted at this token of a perfect reconciliation, came in person to conclude the match, and was received with the greatest marks of respect and kindness. Charles IX. had taken a solemn oath that he would draw into the snare all the chiefs of the reformed religion; and although he found some difficulty in entrapping the illustrious admiral Coligni, he at length succeeded, by holding out to him as a lure, the command of an army which it was proposed should march into Flanders.

In the mean time a premature death carried off the queen of Navarre, nor is there any doubt that she was poisoned. Her son, the prince of Bearne, then in his nineteenth year, and his cousin the young prince of Condé, at length arrived at court, and on the 17th of August, 1572,

the marriage of the king of Navarre with Marguerite de Valois was solemnized. The following days were passed in the midst of feasting and rejoicings, all animosity appeared extinguished; but the flame was only smouldering, for it had been resolved to massacre in one night, if possible, all the chiefs of the Protestant party. Admiral Coligni, after being present at a game of tennis, in which the king took a part, was wounded by an arquebuse shot, as he was going home on foot, on the 22nd of August, about eleven o'clock in the morning. Charles here showed his profound dissimulation; he went to visit Coligni, expressed the utmost anxiety for the circumstance, and promised him signal vengeance. The court thus found means to allay the apprehensions of the Protestants, and to keep everything quiet until the eve of St. Bartholomew, the day fixed by Catherine and the secret council of Charles, for the massacre. The Duke de Guise was entrusted with the execution; and this horrible butchery, which for diabolical wickedness has no parallel in history, began on the night of the 23rd-24th of August. All Protestants, without distinction either of age or sex, had been condemned to destruction, and Coligni was marked out as the first victim. Guise, at the head of his satellites, hurried before daybreak to the admiral's residence, and having, himself, caused the doors to be broken open, ordered the immediate destruction of his enemy. His commands were soon obeyed, and the yet bleeding body of the unfortunate Coligni was thrown at his feet. This sight redoubling his rage, he abandoned the corpse to the insults of the infuriated mob, and proceeded to massacre, without the least mercy, all the Calvinists who had accompanied the admiral. "Courage, soldiers!" said he, "it is Medicis, it is the king, it is God, who commands you!" At the same instant the palace bell was heard to toll. It was the signal for despatch. Numbers of noblemen and gentlemen were murdered even within the Louvre itself. The Catholics deluged Paris with blood; many, to avenge their private quarrels, stabbed the professors of their own religion, whom their hatred transformed into Huguenots. The monarch himself, forgetting his dignity and his duties, placed himself at one of the windows which looked out upon the Seine, and with a long arquebuse fired upon the unfortunates who were swimming across that river in order

to escape the assassin's steel. His guards, imitating his example, killed and pillaged all whom they met, while the magistrates of the city, whose duty it was to maintain good order and defend the lives of their fellow-citizens, were the first to commit the most criminal excesses. The massacre lasted seven days; the order which had been issued throughout the kingdom to exterminate the Calvinists, was executed in several places with the like fury; so that more than sixty thousand persons were thus immolated under the pretext of religion.

The names of a few governors who courageously refused to lend themselves to so disgraceful and barbarous a deed, are gratefully remembered even in the present day. The viscount D'Orthe wrote in answer to the mandate he received, that the garrison of Bayonne was composed of many good citizens and brave soldiers, ready to devote themselves to the king's service, but that he had never found an executioner among them. The bishop of Lisieux behaved himself on this occasion in a manner truly worthy of the sanctity of his character. The commandant having communicated to him the orders of the court—"You shall not execute them," said he to him, with noble resolution, "those whom you intend to murder are of my flock; they are, it is true, stray sheep, but I am endeavouring to lead them back again into the fold. The gospel nowhere says that the shepherd should shed their blood; on the contrary, I find in it the injunction, that he should lay down his life for theirs."

READING XXVI.

MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE (CONCLUDED).

THIS horrible day, which will ever remain an indelible spot on the history of France, and which cannot be thought of without arousing feelings of the deepest indignation, was followed by the greatest demonstrations of joy. The king was not ashamed to take the entire odium of it upon himself. This monster declared, in

open parliament, that the massacre had been executed by his order, for the purpose of anticipating a conspiracy formed against his person. The interpreters of the laws saw only an act of prudence in this atrocious deed, and, in order to perpetuate the memory of it, caused a medal to be struck with this pompous inscription: *Pietas armavit Justitiam*.—"Piety has armed Justice." An annual procession was also ordered by way of returning thanks to God for the deliverance of the kingdom. At Rome, and in the countries of the Inquisition, this event was the subject of fulsome panegyrics, and was even celebrated by processions, thanksgivings, and public rejoicings. Among the Protestants it excited such horror, that Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, blushed to bear the word—Frenchman. At the first audience he had after the news had arrived of this barbarous massacre, "Sorrow and indignation," he says, "were painted on every face; a profound silence, such as is found in the darkest night, reigned throughout all the apartments of the palace; the ladies and noblemen of the court, clad in deep mourning, were ranged in two rows, and when I passed between them, none deigned to cast the least look upon me, nor to return my salutation." Elizabeth heard him with great coolness, and replied without asperity. She contented herself with observing, that, even supposing there to have been a conspiracy of the Calvinists, the slaughtering thousands of peaceful citizens was not the way to prevent it; that the persons of the chief conspirators might have been seized, and themselves brought to trial; that assassins were not the proper executors of the law; that she should confine herself to pitying the king for the rigour with which he had visited his subjects.

Sully, the illustrious minister of Henry IV., gives the following interesting account of his own escape on that terrific day.

"Were I inclined," says he, "to increase the general horror inspired by an action so barbarous as that perpetrated on the 24th August, 1572, I should in this place enlarge upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of those who were inhumanly murdered on that fatal day, as well in Paris as in every part of the kingdom. I would mention at least the ignominious

treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and savage insults, these miserable victims suffered from their butchers, insults a thousand times more terrible than death itself. I have documents still in my possession, confirming the report that the court of France had made the most pressing instances to the neighbouring ones, to follow its example with regard to the Protestants, or at least to refuse an asylum to those unfortunate people: but I prefer the honour of the nation to the satisfying a malignant pleasure which many persons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of those who were so lost to humanity as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even of their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that Divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continued succession of miseries, blood, and terror, during six and twenty years; for it is not possible to judge otherwise, if all that passed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598 be calmly considered. It is with regret that I cannot pass over what happened upon this occasion to the prince—the subject of these memoirs—and to myself.

“I was in bed, and awaked from sleep three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My tutor, St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to ascertain the cause; and I never afterwards heard more of these men, who, without doubt, were amongst the first that were sacrificed to the popular fury. I continued alone in my chamber, dressing myself, when, in a few moments, I saw my landlord enter, pale and in the utmost consternation; he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had agreed to go to mass, to save his life, and preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him; but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had studied, though the great distance between the house where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having disguised myself in a scholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm and went into the street. I was seized with inexpressible horror at the sight of the ferocious murderers, who, running from

all parts, forced open the houses, with the cries of 'Kill, kill, massacre the Huguenots!' The blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midst of a body of guards; they stopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to use me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and served me for a passport. Twice after this I fell into the same danger, from which I extricated myself with the same good fortune. At last I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger, still greater than any I had yet met with, awaited me. The porter having twice refused me entrance, I continued standing in the midst of the street, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whose numbers increased every moment, and who were greedily seeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to ask for La Fay, the principal of the college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me, and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman priests wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, saying the order was, not to spare even infants at the breast. All the good man could do was to conduct me privately to a distant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my destiny, and saw no one but a servant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me provisions.

"At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, I was suffered to leave my hiding-place; and immediately after I saw Ferrière and La Vieille, two soldiers in my father's service, enter the college. They were armed, and came no doubt to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards, I received a letter from him, in which he expressed the fears he had suffered on my account, and advised me to continue in Paris, since the prince I served was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid exposing myself to an evident danger, it was necessary I should resolve to follow that prince's example, and go to mass. In fact, the king of Navarre had no other means of saving his life. He and the prince of Condé were

aroused from their sleep two hours before day, by a great number of soldiers, who rushing boldly into the chamber in the Louvre where they lay, insolently commanded them to dress themselves and attend the king. The two princes, who were not allowed to take their swords with them, beheld as they passed along several of their gentlemen massacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and looks in which fury was but too visibly painted; he ordered them, with the oaths and blasphemies so familiar to him, to abjure a religion which, he told them, had been taken up merely to serve as a cloak to their rebellion. Notwithstanding, however, the perilous condition in which they were placed, the princes could not disguise the regret they should feel in obeying him. The king, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, 'that he would no longer be contradicted in his opinions by his subjects; that they, by their example, ought to teach others to revere him as the image of God, and should cease to be enemies to the images of the mother of Christ.' He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to mass, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treason against divine and human majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the princes to doubt their sincerity, they yielded to necessity, and performed what was required of them."

It appears that the number of Protestants thus murdered in cold blood, during eight days, throughout the kingdom, amounted to seventy-five thousand. It was not long, however, before Charles felt the most violent remorse for the barbarous action to which he had been forced to give the sanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th August, he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thousand acts of cruelty, which every one boasted of in his presence. Of all those who were about the person of this prince, none possessed so great a share of his confidence as Ambrose Paré, his surgeon. This man, though a Huguenot, lived with him in so great a degree of familiarity that, soon after the massacre, the king took him aside, and disclosed to him freely the trouble of his soul. "Ambrose," said he, "I know not what has happened to me these two or three days past, but I feel my mind and body as much

at enmity with each other as if I was seized with a fever; sleeping or waking, the murdered Huguenots seem ever present to my eyes, with ghastly faces and weltering in blood. I wish the innocent and helpless had been spared." The order which was published the following day, forbidding the continuance of the massacre, was in consequence of this conversation.

Charles died at the castle of Vincennes, at the age of twenty-three, in the most exquisite tortures.

READING XXVII.

ACQUISITION OF SIBERIA BY RUSSIA.

1577.

RUSSIA, which, in the present day, plays so conspicuous a part in the politics of Europe, was in the 16th century under the domination of princes little better than barbarians, and of these Ivan, the reigning sovereign, exhibits the most striking example of what unrestricted power is capable when united to innate cruelty of disposition. Unconnected as Russia then was with Europe, the events which occurred in that unfortunate country created but little interest abroad: the conquest of Siberia was, however, neither the least important nor least singular which characterized the reign of the Muscovite Nero.

Jermak Timofeow, one of the atamans or chiefs of the Cossacks of the Don, had, for a long time, desolated by his incursions the shores of the Volga, as well as those of the Caspian Sea. Foreign merchants and ambassadors could no longer traverse those countries with any safety. In 1557, the troops, who had been sent by the czar in pursuit of these robbers, destroyed some part of them, and dispersed the rest; but the greater number of these fugitives retreated up the course of the river Kama, under the command of the above-named chief. Having arrived at Orel, a small town then belonging to the family of the Strogonoffs, he procured from the rich merchants who traded with the Tatars of Siberia, guides and the requisite means for penetrating into that country,

and at length succeeded in making himself master of it, after having, with unheard-of constancy and resolution, triumphed over every obstacle which either the natural barriers of the country itself, or the valour of its inhabitants, opposed to him.

The name of Siberia generally awakens no other ideas in the mind than those of ice, frost, snow, and intense cold; the imagination pictures to itself a wretched country, in which man, no longer the favourite, but the outcast of nature, is exposed to all the inclemency and fury of the elements. But these notions, which have found such general belief, are much exaggerated. Siberia is by no means the most miserable of countries. Vegetables, it is true, cannot be produced upon its iron soil; but the rein-deer, which comes there in aid to the strength of man, as the horse and the ox do elsewhere, not only bears the burdens of the Siberian, but also nourishes him with its milk, its blood, and its flesh. Immense forests abounding in game, and numerous rivers well stocked with fish, furnish, moreover, inexhaustible means of subsistence; while no country can boast greater fertility than the southern plains of Siberia.

The interior of the earth abounds with treasures of another description. It contains elephants' teeth in large quantities in a fossil state, the wrecks of a remote age, doubtless, deposited there by some mighty convulsion, and extensive mines, many of which furnish gold and precious stones. Its rich furs, of which no other country can boast the possession, are more eagerly sought after than the pearls of Arabia or the diamonds of Golconda, and would, of themselves alone, constitute an extensive and opulent trade for the country, if it existed as an independent state.

But where is the country into which the ambitious spirit of domination does not penetrate? In vain has nature placed the liberties of Siberia under the protection of a rigorous climate: unable to colonize and people this country, the Russian government has made it the abode of the condemned. It is here that the victims of their own ambition, or of the vices or tyranny of ministers, illustrious victims and vulgar criminals, come alike to languish out the remainder of their existence.

Nothing in the history of this conquest strikes the

attentive reader so much as the resemblance it bears, in many respects, to that of the Spaniards in America, the discovery of which took place much about the same time. Here, as in America, a savage chief, a second Cortez, followed by priests, and mingling, as did the Spaniard, superstitious practices with deeds of ferocity, subjugates extensive populations with a handful of daring adventurers; for Jermak, who set out with six thousand soldiers, completed his conquest with less than fifteen hundred. Like the Spanish conqueror, he possessed all the resources of courage and cunning, nay, even of genius, and he found in the Tatars more formidable adversaries than the subjects of Montezuma or of the Incas.

In both cases firearms produced the utmost astonishment and consternation among the natives of the respective countries; but in the north, as in the south, the most heartfelt devotion and patriotism defended the natal soil against the invasion of cruel and perfidious foreigners. The Siberians, the Vogoules, the Kirguis, and even the Samoiedes—so dear is his native country to man—battled for their barren steppes, for their frozen marshes, with the same ardour, with the same desperate intrepidity, as the Peruvians and Mexicans for their fertile and beautiful land. The result was the same for all. As to the conquerors themselves, their fates were very dissimilar. Christopher Columbus and Fernando Cortez, both great men, experienced the ingratitude and neglect of their princes: Jermak, a ferocious bandit, whose depredations and murders had, at the time of his setting out for Siberia, condemned him to the just vengeance of the law, was loaded with honours and favours by the czar. This was the consequence of his prudence in having, after the conquest was effected, and his power established at Siber, despatched to the Russian monarch one of his officers, to communicate to him his adventures, and lay his conquests at his feet. By this act of discretion, very remarkable in such a barbarian, he not only obtained his own pardon and that of his followers, but secured for himself the possession of his acquisitions.

Subsequently to the conquest, Siberia continued a very wretched and neglected country. After the battle of Pultowa, Peter the Great exiled thither ten thousand Swedish prisoners, officers and soldiers. These unfortu-

nates, almost all men of merit and resolution, being compelled to struggle against a rigorous climate and an ungrateful soil, displayed so much energy and industry, that they vanquished every obstacle in a manner almost incredible. Colonies of Russians, Poles, and Tatars, sent thither by the government since that time, have persevered in the efforts of the Swedes, and succeeded, by cultivation, by clearing a part of the land, and by the increase of population, in rendering this inhospitable country habitable. More than thirty towns and two thousand villages are now established in Siberia, and an extensive and profitable commerce is carried on with China.

READING XXVIII.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1579.

OF all the foreign events which occurred during the reign of queen Elizabeth, that which forms the subject of the present reading was the most important at the time it occurred, and most productive of consequences of the highest interest for the future. A little corner of the world, almost buried under water, and which subsisted only by its herring fishery, raised itself into a formidable power, made head against Philip II., stripped his successors of almost all their possessions in the East Indies, and finally became the master of them.

The Netherlands, or Low Countries, were an assemblage of several lordships, which all belonged to Philip II. of Spain, under different titles. Each of these had its peculiar laws and customs. In Friesland and in the territory of Groningen, for instance, a tribute of sixty thousand crowns was all that was claimed by the lord. No taxes could be laid on any of these cities; no employments were to be bestowed on any but natives: no foreign troops were to be kept in pay, nor could any alteration be made in the Constitution without the consent of the three Orders of the State.

Philip II., in 1559, gave the government of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to William of Nassau, prince of Orange.

The Spanish monarch's chief desire was to be as absolute a sovereign in the Low Countries as he was in Spain. With this view, he attempted to abrogate all the laws, to impose arbitrary taxes, to create new bishops, and to establish the office of the Inquisition, which he had been unable to introduce into Naples or Milan. The Flemish are naturally good subjects, but bad slaves. The fear of the Inquisition alone made more Protestants than all the writings of Calvin, among a people whose natural disposition inclined them neither to novelty nor insurrections. The principal lords of Brussels were the first who joined together to make a representation of their rights to the governanté of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, the natural daughter of Charles V. The court of Madrid called their meeting a conspiracy, and sent the duke of Alva against them, with a body of Spanish and Italian troops, whose orders were to make as much use of executioners as soldiers. His arrival in the Netherlands was followed by the establishment of arbitrary tribunals, by absurd and oppressive edicts, which would have checked all commercial intercourse, by the judicial murder (*murder perpetrated with the forms of justice*) of counts Egmont and Horn, by the torture, captivity, and ignominious death of thousands, whom a firm adherence to their own religion, or even connivance at the heresy of others, had exposed to the indignation of this sanguinary tyrant. The exiles, whom his cruelty had driven from their country, desperate from want, and finding no possibility of existence, made an assault upon Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, which, after a short resistance, fell into their possession. Alva hastened to anticipate the dangerous consequences of their success, but the people in the neighbourhood, eager to liberate themselves from the persecution, insolence, and usurpation of their bigoted and cruel masters, joined with the fortunate adventurers. A flame was kindled which torrents of blood were insufficient to extinguish; in a few days both the provinces of Holland and Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards. The insurrection, which otherwise might have been a transitory effort, was directed by William, prince of Orange, whose illustrious birth,

extensive possessions, and, above all, great personal qualities, had pointed him out as the fittest person to maintain the cause of his fellow-citizens. It was with great difficulty, however, that William could raise an army; his lands in Germany were of little value, and the earldom of Nassau belonged to one of his brothers; but, by the interest of his brothers and friends, his own merit, and liberal promises, he found himself, at length, supplied with troops. These he sent into Friesland, under the command of his brother, count Louis. But his newly raised army was cut off: this, however, did not discourage him; he raised another, composed of Germans and Frenchmen, whom religious enthusiasm and hopes of plunder had engaged in his service: but fortune still continued to frown on him, so that not being able to penetrate into the Netherlands, he was reduced to serve in the Huguenot armies in France. The severities of the Spanish court, however, furnished him with resources. The tax of the tenth penny on the sale of all personal estates, of the twentieth penny on real estates, and the hundredth on all landed estates, completely roused the resentment of the Flemish, and made the revolt general.

At length, in 1570, the prince of Orange entered Brabant with a small army, and retreated afterwards into Zealand and Holland. The city of Amsterdam, now so famous, was then an inconsiderable little town, and did not dare to declare openly for the prince of Orange; its inhabitants were at that time engaged in a new, and, in appearance, an insignificant trade, but which, however, laid the foundation of its present greatness. The catching of herrings, and the art of salting them, do not appear very important objects in the history of the world; and yet by these was this once barren and despised country raised to a formidable pitch of power. Venice had not more noble beginnings. The most extensive empires were first raised from hamlets, and the greatest maritime powers from a few private fishing-boats.

The whole dependence of the prince of Orange was on those pirates who had been so fortunate as to have seized the little town of Brille. Flushing was brought to declare in his favour by a curate. At length the states of Holland and Zealand assembled at Dordrecht, and the city of Amsterdam itself joined the cause, and declared

him stadtholder ; so that he now held the same dignity from the people, which had been before conferred upon him by the king. After this the Roman Catholic religion was abolished in order that their government might have nothing in common with the Spaniards.

READING XXIX.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES (CONCLUDED).

THE seven provinces, now called by the general name of "Holland," were at length, by the care of the prince of Orange, brought to form that union which, at first, appeared so frail, and has since proved so durable, and by which seven states, though always independent of each other, and having different interests to support, have yet been ever as closely united in the great cause of liberty, as that bundle of arrows which forms their escutcheon, and is their truest emblem.

The union of Utrecht (1579), which was the foundation of the republic, was that of the stadtholdership likewise. William was declared chief of the seven united provinces, under the title of captain, admiral-general, and stadtholder. The other ten provinces, which, together with Holland, might have formed the most powerful republic in the world, did not join with the seven small united ones. These latter were their own protectors, while Brabant, Flanders, and the rest, chose a foreign prince to defend them.

It was at this time that Philip, who still continued inactive in Madrid, proscribed the prince of Orange, and set a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns upon his head. This method of commanding assassinations, unheard of since the time of the Roman triumvirate (*Lepidus, Marc Anthony, and Augustus*) had been practised in France against the admiral de Coligni, father-in-law to this William, the price of whose blood had been fixed at fifty thousand crowns.

William's reply to Philip's edict of proscription, is the most beautiful thing of the kind to be found in history.

From a subject, that he was before to Philip, he became his equal, from the instant of his being proscribed. In his apology we see a stadtholder, the prince of an imperial house, not less ancient, nor formerly less illustrious, than that of Austria, standing forth as the accuser of the most powerful king in Europe, before the tribunal of every court and of all mankind ; and showing himself far superior to Philip, inasmuch as having it in his power to proscribe him in turn, he abhors such revenge, and depends upon his sword alone for his safety.

Philip avenged himself on the prince of Orange by the hands of assassins. A Frenchman, named Salcède, laid a plot for his life (1583). One Jaurigni, a Spaniard, who was before suspected of having poisoned Don John of Austria, wounded him with a pistol shot in Antwerp, and at length Balthazar Gérard, a native of Franche-Comté, murdered him in Delft (1584), in the presence of his princess, who thus beheld her second husband slain by the hand of an assassin, after having lost her first, as well as her father the admiral, in the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This base and dastardly murder of the prince of Orange was not committed for the sake of the reward of the twenty-five thousand crowns offered by Philip, but through religious enthusiasm. The Jesuit Strada relates, that Gérard continued to declare, in the midst of his torments, " That he had been instigated to the commission of this act by a divine instinct."

At the time William the Silent was murdered, he was on the point of being declared count of Holland. The conditions of this new dignity had been already stipulated by all the cities except those of Amsterdam and Gonda. By this it may be perceived that he had laboured at least as much for himself as for the republic.

His son Maurice could not pretend to this principality, but the seven united provinces declared him stadtholder, and he strengthened the edifice of public liberty, which had been founded by his father. As a general he was altogether worthy to enter the lists with Alexander Farnese ; and these two great men immortalized themselves by their deeds on this confined theatre, where the scene of war attracted the eyes of all nations. Had the duke of Parma acquired no other reputation than that which he gained by the siege of Antwerp (1584), he would have deservedly

been reckoned among the greatest captains. The inhabitants of Antwerp defended themselves like the ancient Syrians, and Farnese took Antwerp, as Alexander, whose name he bore, took the city of Tyre, by raising a dam on the deep and rapid river Scheldt.

The new republic was obliged to implore the assistance of Elizabeth of England, who sent them four thousand men under the command of the Earl of Leicester. This was a sufficient succour at that time. Prince Maurice had for a while a superior in the Earl of Leicester, as his father had formerly in the duke of Anjou and the archduke Matthias ; this nobleman assumed the title and rank of governor-general, which, however, was soon afterwards disavowed by his mistress. Maurice would never suffer any encroachment upon his dignity of stadtholder of the seven united provinces.

During the whole course of this war, which lasted so long and with such various success, Philip had never been able to recover the seven provinces, nor could his enemies deprive him of the others. The republic became every day so formidable by sea, as to have been not a little instrumental in destroying Philip's famous fleet, called the *Invincible Armada* ; and in fact this people had for forty years resembled the Lacedemonians who repulsed the king of Persia. There were the same manners, the same simplicity, and the same equality of conditions at Amsterdam as at Sparta, and a greater degree of sobriety. These provinces still resembled, in some things, the primitive ages of the world. At this time the use of keys and locks was not known in Friesland. They had nothing more than the absolute necessities of life, and those were not worth locking up ; they were under no apprehension from their own countrymen, and could successfully defend their flocks and harvests against the enemy. The dwellings in all the maritime provinces were no more than huts, where cleanliness constituted all the magnificence. Never was there a people less acquainted with refinement. When Louisa of Coligni went to be married to William of Orange, an open post waggon was sent to meet her, in which she made her entry seated on a plank. But towards the latter end of Maurice's life, and in the time of his son Frederick Henry, the Hague became an agreeable residence by the concourse of princes, ministers of state, and

general officers who resorted thither; while Amsterdam rose, by its trade alone, to be the most flourishing and opulent city on the globe.

READING XXX.

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

1588.

IF it were required to point out the most critical period for the liberties, civil and religious, of our native country, there could be no hesitation in naming as such the years 1587 and 1588, which witnessed the arming, sailing, and subsequent defeat and dispersion, of the celebrated Spanish Invincible Armada.

All Europe had resounded for some time with the noise of the preparations which Philip II. of Spain was making, with a view to some important enterprise. He had been employed for several months in building ships of an extraordinary size, and in collecting stores for their equipment; while the duke of Parma had made such numerous levies in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, as showed that he intended to take the field, against the next campaign, with a much more powerful army than any he had hitherto commanded. These preparations were chiefly made with the intention of invading England, and subjecting it entirely to his dominion. As it was, however, necessary to conceal, if possible, from Elizabeth the purpose of this armament, and thus to attack her unprepared, he gave out that a part of his fleet was to co-operate with his land forces, in the reduction of Holland, and the rest to be employed in the defence of his transatlantic dominions.

Elizabeth had too much penetration to be easily deceived by the artifices of a prince with whose duplicity she was so thoroughly acquainted; and in the spring of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to the coast of Spain to interrupt his preparations. By this gallant seaman the Spanish ships of war which had been sent to oppose him were dispersed, and nearly a hundred vessels filled with naval

stores and provisions, besides two large galleons, were destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz. This loss rendered it impossible for Philip to execute his enterprise against England till the following year.

Elizabeth now began to put her kingdom into a posture of defence. An army was raised amounting to eighty thousand men, twenty thousand of whom were stationed on the south side of the island, twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse were posted at Tilbury, in Essex, under the Earl of Leicester, and the remainder, commanded by Lord Hunsdown, were kept near the queen's person, in readiness to march against the enemy where-soever they should attempt to land.

While these prudent measures were pursued on land, Elizabeth exerted herself strenuously in the equipment of her fleet. At the time she began her preparations, it did not amount to more than thirty ships, and none of these were nearly equal in size to those of the enemy. But this disadvantage was in some measure compensated by the skill and dexterity of the English sailors; and the number of her ships was soon augmented through the alacrity and zeal which her subjects displayed in her defence. By her wise administration she had gained their esteem and confidence. The animosity against her person and government, which the differences of religion had excited in the minds of some, was, at present, absorbed in that universal abhorrence which Catholics as well as Protestants entertained of the tyranny of Spain. Great pains were taken to keep alive and heighten that abhorrence. Accounts were spread of the horrid barbarities perpetrated by the Spaniards in the Netherlands and America: descriptions were drawn, in the blackest colours, of the inhuman cruelties of the Inquisition, and pictures were dispersed of the various instruments of torture employed by the inquisitors, of which, it was said, there was abundant store on board the Spanish fleet. These and such other considerations made so strong an impression not upon Elizabeth's Protestant subjects only, but likewise upon the Catholics, that the whole kingdom was of one mind and spirit; some Catholics entering the army as volunteers, and others joining with Protestants in equipping armed vessels. Every maritime town fitted out one or more. The citizens of London furnished

thirty, although only fifteen were required of them ; and between forty and fifty were equipped by the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom.

The states of Holland, in the mean time, were not inattentive to the approaching danger, but being delivered from their fears of an immediate attack by intelligence of the enormous size of the Spanish ships, to which the coasts of Holland and Zeeland were inaccessible, they turned their principal attention to the assistance of their ally : thus at Elizabeth's desire, they sent thirty vessels to cruise between Calais and Dover, and afterwards, when the duke of Parma's design of transporting his army to England was known to be certain, ordered Justin de Nassau, admiral of Zeeland, to join Lord Seymour, one of the English admirals, with five and thirty ships, to block up those sea-ports in Flanders where the duke intended to embark.

The principal English fleet was stationed at Plymouth, and the chief command of it was given to Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, who had under him as vice-admirals, Sir Francis Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, three of the most expert and bravest seamen in the world.

In the beginning of May one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, Philip's preparations, which had so long kept all Europe in amazement and suspense, were brought to a conclusion. That Armada, to which the Spaniards, in confidence of success, gave the name of Invincible, consisted of one hundred and fifty ships, most of which were greatly superior in strength and size to any ever before seen : it had on board nearly twenty thousand soldiers, and eight thousand sailors, besides two thousand volunteers of the most distinguished families in Spain. There were also on board 180 monks of different orders. It carried two thousand six hundred and fifty great guns, was victualled for half a year, and contained such a quantity of military stores, as only the Spanish monarch, enriched by the treasures of the Indies and America, could supply.

Philip's preparations in the Netherlands were not less advanced than those in Spain. Besides a flourishing army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which the duke of Parma had assembled in the neighbourhood of Nieuport and Dunkirk, that active general

had, with incredible labour, provided a great number of flat-bottomed vessels, fit for transporting both horse and foot, and had brought sailors to navigate them from the towns in the Baltic.

The Armada would have left Lisbon in the beginning of May, but the Marquis de Santa Croce, who had been appointed admiral, was, at the very time fixed for its departure, seized with a violent fever, of which he died in a few days; and, by a singular fatality, the Duke de Peliano, the vice-admiral, died likewise at the same time. Philip nominated as their successor, the Duke de Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of considerable reputation, but entirely unacquainted with naval affairs, a defect which was remedied, in some measure, by giving him Martinez de Recaldo, a seaman of great experience, for his vice-admiral.

In these arrangements so much time was lost, that the fleet could not leave Lisbon till the 29th of May. It had not advanced far on its voyage to Corunna, at which place it was to receive some troops and stores, when it was overtaken by a violent storm, and dispersed. All the ships, except four, however, reached Corunna, though considerably damaged. They were repaired with the utmost diligence, the king sending messengers every day to hasten their departure; yet several weeks passed before they could be put into a condition to resume the voyage.

In the mean time a report was brought to England, that the Armada had suffered so much from the storm as to be unfit for proceeding in the intended enterprise; and so well attested did this intelligence appear to queen Elizabeth, that, at her desire, Secretary Walsingham wrote to the English admiral requiring him to lay up four of his largest ships and to discharge the seamen. Lord Howard was fortunately less credulous on this occasion than either Elizabeth or Walsingham, and desired that he might be allowed to retain these ships in the service, even though it should be at his own expense, till more certain information should be received. In order to procure it, he set sail with a brisk north wind for Corunna, intending, in case he should find the Armada so much disabled as had been reported, to attempt to complete its destruction. On the coast of Spain he received intelligence of the truth; at the same time, the wind having

changed from north to south, he began to dread that the Spaniards might have sailed for England, and therefore returned without delay to his former station at Plymouth.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that the Armada was in sight. He immediately weighed anchor and sailed out of the harbour, still uncertain of the course the enemy intended to pursue; but on the next day perceived them steering directly towards him, drawn up in the form of a crescent, extending seven miles from one extremity to another. The Duke de Medina's plan was to steer quite through the channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, and after driving away the Dutch and English ships, by which the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk were blockaded, to convoy the duke of Parma's army to England, and to land there the forces that were on board the fleet.

Lord Howard, considering that the Spaniards would probably be much superior to him in close fight, by reason of the size of their vessels, and the number of their troops, wisely resolved to content himself with harassing them in their voyage, and with watching attentively all the advantages that might be derived from storms, cross winds, and such like fortuitous accidents. It was not long before he discerned a favourable opportunity of attacking the vice-admiral Recaldo. This he did in person; and on that occasion displayed so much dexterity in working his ship and in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spaniards for the safety of that officer. From that time they kept much closer to one another; notwithstanding which the English on the same day attacked one of the largest vessels. Other Spanish ships came up in time to her relief, but in their hurry, one of the principal galleons, which had a great part of the treasure on board, ran against another ship, and had one of her masts broken. In consequence of this misfortune she fell behind, and was taken by Sir Francis Drake, who on the same day captured another capital ship, which had been accidentally set on fire.

READING XXXI.

THE SPANISH ARMADA (CONCLUDED).

THE Spaniards, however, still continued to advance till they came opposite to Calais ; there the Duke de Medina having ordered them to cast anchor, sent information to the Duke of Parma of his arrival, and intreated him to hasten the embarkation of his forces. The duke set out immediately from Bruges, where the messenger found him, for Nieuport, and began to put his troops on board. But at the same time he informed Medina that, agreeably to the king's instructions, the vessels which he had prepared were proper only for transporting the troops, but were utterly unfit for fighting, and for this reason, till the Armada was brought still nearer, and the coast cleared of the Dutch ships, which had blocked up the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, he could not stir from his present station, without exposing his army to certain ruin, the consequence of which would probably be the entire loss of the Netherlands.

In compliance with this request, the Armada was ordered to advance, and it had arrived in sight of Dunkirk, between the English fleet on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, when a sudden calm put a stop to all its motions. In this situation the three fleets remained for one whole day. About the middle of the night a breeze springing up, Lord Howard had recourse to an expedient which had been happily devised the day before. Having filled eight ships with pitch, sulphur, and other combustible materials, he set fire to them, and sent them before the wind against the different divisions of the Spanish fleet.

When the Spaniards beheld these ships in flames approaching towards them, it brought to their remembrance the havoc which had been made by the fireships employed against the Duke of Parma's bridge at the siege of Antwerp. The darkness of the night increased the terror with which their imaginations were overwhelmed, and the panic flew from one end of the fleet to the other. In this confusion the ships ran foul of one another; the

shock was dreadful, and several of them received so much damage as to be rendered unfit for future use.

When daylight returned, Lord Howard had the satisfaction to find that his stratagem had fully produced the desired effect. The enemy were still in extreme disorder, and their ships widely separated and dispersed, while his own fleet had lately received a great augmentation by the ships fitted out by the nobility and gentry, and by those under Lord Seymour, who had left Justin de Nassau as alone sufficient to guard the coast of Flanders. Being bravely seconded by Sir Francis Drake, and all the other officers, he made haste to improve the advantage which was now presented to him, and attacked the enemy in different quarters at the same time with the utmost impetuosity and fury. The engagement began at four in the morning, and lasted till six at night. The Spaniards displayed in every rencounter the most intrepid bravery, but many of their ships were greatly damaged, and ten of the largest were either run aground, or sunk, or were compelled to surrender.

The Duke de Medina was much dejected at these misfortunes, and still more when he reflected on the superior skill of the enemy; for it is well attested, that in all the engagements which had been fought since the first appearance of the Armada in the channel, the English had lost only one small ship and about a hundred men. Animated by their past success, with sanguine hopes of final victory, they were now more formidable than ever. Medina dreaded, from a continuance of the combat, the entire destruction of his fleet. He could not, without the greatest danger, remain any longer in his present situation, and much less could he venture to approach the coast of Flanders.

It now appeared how great an error Philip had committed, in neglecting to secure some commodious harbours in Zealand. He had, from the first, supposed that the enemy's ships would fly to their respective ports, as soon as his stupendous Armada should appear. But this Armada had been made unfit for the purpose for which it was designed by means of that enormous expense which he bestowed in order to render it invincible. In constructing it, no attention had been given to the nature of those narrow seas in which it was to be employed; and

the consequence of this important error was, that even if the English fleet had been unable to contend with the Spaniards in the deeper parts of the channel, yet they would have prevented them from landing ; and the Dutch fleet lying in shallow water, to which the galleons durst not approach, would still have rendered it impossible for the Spanish fleet and army to act in concert.

This the Duke de Medina at length perceived, and he did not hesitate to abandon the further prosecution of his enterprise. The only subject of his deliberation now was, how he might, with the least difficulty and danger, get back to Spain ; at length he resolved to sail northward, and to make the circuit of the British Isles.

This resolution was no sooner understood by the English admiral, than, having despatched Lord Seymour with a part of the fleet to join the Dutch in watching the motions of the Duke of Parma, he set sail himself with the greater part of it in pursuit of the Spaniards. He followed close in the rear for three days without attacking them. This he declined from the apprehension of his not having a sufficient quantity of gunpowder, with which he had been ill supplied from the public stores. Had he not been deterred from renewing his attack by this provoking circumstance, he might have forced the Spaniards to an engagement off Flamborough-head ; and so great was the distress of the Spanish fleet, and such the admiral's dread of the long and dangerous voyage before him, that he would no doubt have surrendered without resistance, in case he had been attacked. But he was saved from this disgrace by the necessity under which the English admiral found himself of returning to England, to supply the deficiency of his stores.

The two fleets, therefore, sailed in opposite directions, and were not far distant from each other, when a dreadful storm arose. The English reached home, though not without difficulty, yet without sustaining any considerable loss. But the Spaniards were exposed to the tempest in all its violence, and became no less objects of pity to their enemies, than they had lately been of dread and terror. Having hitherto kept near each other, lest the English should renew the attack, this circumstance proved the first cause of their disasters. The ships were driven violently against each other, and thereby many of them

were rendered an easy prey to the fury of the waves. At length they were dispersed; and in order to enable them to ride out the storm, the horses, mules, and baggage were thrown overboard, a sacrifice which was of advantage only to such of the ships as were stronger, or more fortunate, than the rest. Some of them were dashed to pieces on the coast of Norway, or sunk in the middle of the ocean. Others were thrown upon the coast of Scotland and the western isles, and more than thirty were driven, by another storm which overtook them from the west, on different parts of the coast of Ireland. Of these, some afterwards reached home in the most shattered condition, under the vice-admiral Recaldo; others were shipwrecked amongst the rocks and shallows; and of those which reached the shore, the crews were barbarously murdered, from an impression, it was pretended, that, in a country where there were so many disaffected Catholics, it would have been dangerous to show mercy to so great a number of the enemy. The Duke de Medina, having kept out in the open seas, escaped shipwreck, and arrived at St. Andrew's, in Biscay, about the end of September.

The calamities of the Spaniards did not end with their arrival in Spain. Two of the galleons which had ridden out the storm, were accidentally set on fire, and consumed to ashes in the harbour.

Very different accounts are given by various historians of the total loss sustained. Some assert that it amounted to thirty-two ships, and ten thousand men; but others, without pretending to ascertain the number of men, which could not, they say, be less than fifteen thousand, affirm that more than eighty ships were taken, destroyed, or lost. This dreadful calamity was sensibly felt all over Spain, and there was scarcely a single family of rank in the kingdom, that did not go into mourning for the death of some near relation; insomuch that Philip, dreading the effect which this universal face of sorrow might produce upon the minds of the people, imitated the conduct of the Roman senate after the battle of Cannæ, and published an edict to abridge the time of public mourning.

While the people of Spain were thus overwhelmed with affliction, nothing was to be heard in England and the United Provinces but the voice of festivity and joy.

In Holland, medals were struck in commemoration of the happy event; and in both countries, days of solemn thanksgiving to Heaven were appointed for their deliverance. Elizabeth repaired, for this purpose, to St. Paul's Cathedral, seated in a triumphal chariot, and surrounded by her ministers and nobles, amidst a great number of flags and colours which had been taken from the enemy, while the citizens were ranged in arms on each side of the streets through which she passed.

Although Philip's ambition was, on this occasion, severely mortified, yet as he possessed, in a high degree, the art of concealing his emotions, he received the intelligence of the disaster that had befallen him with an appearance of magnanimity and resignation to the will of Heaven, which, if not affected, deserved the highest praise. He returned thanks to God that his calamity was not greater, issued orders to have the utmost care taken of the sick and wounded who had survived the general catastrophe, and, instead of forbidding the Duke of Medina Sidonia to come to court, as is alleged by some historians, he wrote to him in the most obliging terms, expressing his gratitude for the zeal he had discovered in his service; and observing, that no man could answer for the success of an enterprise, which, like that wherein the duke had been engaged, depended upon the winds and waves.

Philip's behaviour towards the Duke of Parma on this difficult occasion, evinced the same display of justice that appeared in his letter to Medina Sidonia. Notwithstanding the many proofs which Farnese had exhibited in the sight of all Europe of indefatigable vigour and activity, as well as of heroic valour, yet the failure of the expedition against England was by some ascribed to his negligence in making the necessary preparations, and by others to his excessive caution or timidity. But Philip refused to listen to these groundless calumnies, still continued to repose in the duke his wonted confidence, and testified towards him all that attachment and esteem which his conduct in the Netherlands had deserved.

The duke had indeed the greater reason to entertain the hopes of victory, in case his army could have been transported to England, as Elizabeth had, from her

partiality for the Earl of Leicester, bestowed the chief command of her land forces upon that nobleman, who was but little entitled, either by his courage or abilities, to so great a trust. This was perhaps the only imprudent measure of which, at this difficult crisis, she can be justly accused; but she fully atoned for it by the wisdom, vigour, and fortitude which she displayed in every other part of her conduct.

READING XXXII.

THE INQUISITION.

THE name of Philip II. is so intimately blended with that of the Inquisition, that the preceding account would appear incomplete without some notice of an institution which he converted into so terrific an instrument of tyrannical power. The Inquisition was not known in Europe till the beginning of the thirteenth century. Before that time the bishops and civil magistrates inquired after those stigmatized by the Catholic church as heretics, and either condemned them to banishment, or to the forfeiture of their property and estates, or else to some other penalties, which very rarely extended to death. But the vast number of heresies which appeared towards the end of the twelfth century caused the above-named tribunal to be established; the pope sent several ecclesiastics to the Catholic princes and bishops, to exhort them to take an extraordinary care in the extirpation of heresies, and to bring obstinate heretics to punishment, a state of things which continued till the year 1250.

In the year 1251, Innocent IV. authorized the Dominican friars, with the assistance of the bishops, to take cognizance of this sort of crimes; and Clement IV. confirmed these tribunals, in the year 1265. Afterwards, there were several courts erected in Italy, and in the kingdoms which were dependents of the crown of Aragon, till such time that the Inquisition was established in the kingdom of Castile, in the reign of Ferdinand and

Isabella, and afterwards in that of Portugal, by King John III., in the year 1557.

Until that time, the inquisitors had a limited power, and it was often contested by the bishops, to whom the cognizance of heretical crimes belonged. According to the canons, it was contrary to the rules of the church for priests to sentence any criminals to death, much less for those crimes which the civil laws often punished with far milder penalties; but ancient right yielding to new power, the Dominican friars had, by the pope's bulls (*decrees*), since the time of Innocent, been in possession of this extraordinary jurisdiction, from which the bishops had been excluded. The inquisitors now only wanted the authority of the prince to enable them to execute their sentences. Before Isabella of Castile came to the throne, the Dominican John de Torquemada, her confessor, and afterwards cardinal, made her promise to persecute all infidels and heretics, as soon as it should be in her power so to do. She prevailed over Ferdinand, her husband, to obtain, in the year 1483, bulls from pope Sixtus IV., to constitute an inquisitor-general over the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, for these two kingdoms were under his own jurisdiction, separate from that of Isabella, and this high office she obtained for Torquemada. Afterwards, the pope extended his jurisdiction over all the states and countries of the Catholic kings, and then Ferdinand and Isabella established a supreme council of the Inquisition, of which Ferdinand was made president. This council was composed of an inquisitor-general (nominated by the king of Spain, and confirmed by the pope), of five counsellors, whereof one was to be a Dominican, of a procurator, two secretaries of the king's chamber, two secretaries of the council, an alguazil-mayor (*superior magistrate*), a receiver, two reporters, and two qualificators and consulters. The number of the familiars and inferior officers was very great, because all who belong to the Inquisition, not being amenable to any other jurisdiction, are protected from the ordinary courts of justice.

The supreme council had a full and sole authority over the other Inquisitions, which could perform any *auto* (*execution*) without leave from the inquisitor-general. The special Inquisitions were those of Seville, Toledo, Granada, Cordova, Cuenza, Valladolid, Murcia, Saragossa, Valencia,

Barcelona, Sardinia, Palermo, Canaries, Mexico, Carthage, and Lima. Every one of these Inquisitions was composed of three inquisitors, three secretaries, one alguazil-mayor, and of three receivers, qualificators and consulters.

All persons who took upon themselves any of these employments were obliged to make out their proofs *de causa limpia*, that is, that their family was not stained with anything of Judaism or heresy, but had been Catholic from its origin.

The proceedings of this tribunal were very unusual. A man was arrested and thrown into prison, without knowing the crime he was accused of, or the witnesses which deposed against him. He could not come out thence, unless he admitted the crime, of which he was not often guilty, and which the desire of liberty forced him to confess.

There was no confronting of witnesses, nor any means for a man to defend himself, this tribunal affecting above all things an inviolable secrecy. It proceeded against all heretics, but chiefly against Judaizing Christians (*converted Jews*) and secret Mahometans, with whom the expulsion of Jews and Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella had filled all Spain.

The severity of this court was so excessive, that the inquisitor Torquemada tried above a hundred thousand persons, of whom six thousand were condemned to be burnt within the space of fourteen years.

The general acts of the Inquisition, which by the greatest part of Europe had been looked upon only as a bare execution of criminals, amongst the Spaniards were esteemed a religious ceremony, by which his Catholic majesty gave public proof of his zeal for religion, for which reason they were called *autos da fé*, or, acts of faith.

The Inquisition was established in Germany, 1244, by the emperor Frederick II., who thought by this means to free himself from the accusation of atheism, laid to his charge by the then pope. He issued four decrees, by which he ordered the secular judges to deliver up to the flames all whom the inquisitors should condemn as obstinate heretics, and to perpetual imprisonment such as they should declare repentant ones.

In 1255, pope Alexander III. established the Inquisition in France, under St. Lewis; and towards the end of

the thirteenth century Venice had adopted it, but took the prudent measure of subjecting it to the senate, and of not allowing the fines and confiscations to become the perquisites of the inquisitors.

The Inquisition proved itself less cruel at Rome and in Italy, where the Jews possessed considerable privileges, than in the above countries. Pope Paul IV., who gave too great a latitude to the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition, was detested by the Romans; the people insulted his remains when being carried to the grave, threw his statue into the Tiber, demolished the prisons of the Inquisition, and pelted the inquisitors with stones. The Italian Inquisition never equalled the cruelties and atrocities of that of Spain; the greatest evil it inflicted upon Italy being that of keeping that witty and ingenious people in the bonds of the grossest ignorance.

In 1808, the Inquisition was suppressed in Spain by a decree of Napoleon, and this suppression was confirmed by the Cortes in 1813. It was, however, re-established by Ferdinand VII. Pius VII. abolished the use of torture in all the tribunals of the holy office, a resolution officially communicated to the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal. The last person burnt by the Inquisition was a female accused of having made a compact with the devil. She suffered at Toledo, on the 7th November, 1781.

The number of persons condemned by the

Inquisition, and who perished in the flames	31,912
Burnt in effigy	17,659
Condemned to severe penance	291,450

Total	341,021
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READING XXXIII.

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV. OF FRANCE BY RAVAILLAC.

1610.

NEITHER France, nor perhaps any other country, ancient or modern, ever gave birth to a prince so distinguished by all the higher qualities of the mind as Henry IV. These virtues, not less than the romantic character of

his history, might of themselves justify a notice of him in this place, independently of the interest attached to a monarch so intimately connected as he was with the politics of queen Elizabeth.

France had, for a long time, been desolated by the religious feud between the Catholics and Huguenots, or Protestants. At the head of the former faction were the Guises, of the latter, Henry IV., king of Navarre, which at that time was a separate kingdom.

All the provinces were inundated with blood, the towns were taken and retaken successively by either party, and the fields laid waste; while continual skirmishes exterminated the nobility, and depopulated the kingdom. In this violent crisis of the state, Paris was the centre of discord.

The religion which Henry professed was a pretext for many of his rebellious subjects in their endeavours to foment political troubles; for which reason several of the king's best friends, and even Rosny himself (afterwards the duke of Sully), although a Calvinist, advised their master to embrace the Roman communion. "The *canon* of the mass," said they, punning upon the word, "will be the best for bringing the rebels to subjection." The Protestant ministers had assured Henry that his salvation might be effected in the Catholic church. Since, therefore, he found his conscientious scruples removed, he determined to be directed in this affair by sound policy. "Paris," said he, one day, when in a joking mood, "Paris is well worth a mass."

All the court repaired to Saint Denis, in which church was to be performed the ceremony of his abjuration, the procession being conducted with considerable pomp and splendour. The streets were carpeted and strewn with flowers. The people made the air re-echo with acclamations and cries of "Long live the king." The fair sex, shedding tears of joy, exclaimed, "May God bless him, and conduct him soon into our church of Notre Dame." Upon entering that of Saint Denis, he found the archbishop of Bourges, in his pontifical habit, seated in an arm-chair covered with white damask, having the arms of France embroidered on it, and by the side of this prelate, who in this ceremony performed the functions of grand almoner, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and several

bishops and monks belonging to the abbey, who waited for him with the cross, the holy gospel, and the holy water. The king having approached, the archbishop asked him, "Who are you?" "*I am the king,*" replied Henry. "What is your request?" "*I ask to be admitted into the bosom of the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.*" "Do you desire it sincerely?" "*Yes, I will and desire it.*" At the same time kneeling down, he made a profession of faith in these terms:—"I swear and protest, in the face of Almighty God, to live and die in the faith of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, and to protect and defend it against all persons whomsoever at the peril of my blood and life, renouncing all heresies contrary to the same." He then delivered into the archbishop's hand a paper, upon which this profession of faith was written, and signed with his own hand. Raising up the king, the prelate gave him his ring to kiss, pronounced his absolution, bestowed upon him his benediction, and then embraced him.

Towards the commencement of the autumn of the year 1601, Henry being then at Calais, Elizabeth wrote to him the most flattering letters, and requested that she might have an interview with him, assuring him that if he would accede to her wish, she was resolved, notwithstanding her advanced age, to embark and proceed half-way over the channel between Dover and Calais, in order to meet him, if he would perform the other half. The king made various excuses,—first, his anxiety for the health of Elizabeth: then, that it would be wrong in him to expose her Highness to the uncertainty of a sea voyage: next, the urgency of public business, which required his presence in Paris: lastly, that he would not be in a fit condition to appear before her, having only come to Calais in his travelling attire, etc. etc. Several reasons have been assigned for Henry's refusal, such as the great uneasiness this voyage would cause his consort Mary de Medicis, to whom he was tenderly attached;—his own dislike to the sea, of which, notwithstanding he was so courageous on dry land, he was much afraid, etc. etc. The eagerness, also, manifested by Elizabeth for this interview, made him suspect some hidden design. The king was not alone in this surmise, for as soon as the foreign courts had intelligence of this invitation, the politicians asserted that there

was no doubt but that Elizabeth intended playing Henry some trick, and that knowing that Francis I. had been blamed for not detaining the emperor Charles V. a prisoner, she would have profited by this fault, and have kept Henry IV. in durance until he had given up Calais to her.

In the year 1610, as Henry was preparing to set out upon his expedition for the purpose of supporting the claims of the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neubourg, against the house of Austria, he was assassinated in the very centre of his capital. A detestable fanatic named Ravallac, availing himself of the moment when the king's carriage was stopped by some carts, stabbed him, surrounded as he was by seven courtiers, who were seated with him. This wretch had been taught by the Roman Catholic priests to believe that he would perform an action highly meritorious in the eye of God by murdering a hero, whose only crime in the opinion of these bigots was that of being about to march to the assistance of Protestants. The murderer did not attempt to escape, and even appeared much surprised that his action should be looked upon as a crime, and himself held in execration. Thus perished, at the age of fifty-seven, a king truly worthy of immortality, one of the greatest and best who have ever been seated on the throne of France; and with him were lost all the plans he had formed for the welfare of his people; the hand of an infuriated fanatic destroyed, in one moment, all the hopes of a nation. This is said to have been the fiftieth conspiracy formed against Henry.

READING XXXIV.

PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

OF the many portraits drawn of our "Maiden Queen," none gives a more striking representation of her real deportment, and the manner of her court, than the following extract from the travels of Hentzner, who resided some time in this country as tutor to a young German nobleman.

After some preliminary remarks, he observes—"We arrived next at the royal palace of Greenwich, reported to have been built by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the present queen, was born, and here she generally resides, particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of its situation. We were admitted, by an order Mr. Rogers had procured from the lord chamberlain, into the presence chamber, hung with rich tapestry, and the floor, after the English fashion, strewed with rushes, through which the queen commonly passes in her way to the chapel. At the door stood a gentleman dressed in velvet, with a gold chain, whose office was to introduce to the queen any persons of distinction that came to wait on her: it was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of nobility. In the same hall were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, a great number of councillors of state, officers of the crown, and gentlemen, who waited the queen's coming out, which she did from her own apartments when it was time to go to prayer, attended in the following manner.

"First went gentlemen, barons, earls, knights of the garter, all richly dressed and bare headed; next came the chancellor, bearing the seals in a red silk purse, between two; one of whom carried the royal sceptre, the other, the sword of state, in a red scabbard, studded with golden fleurs-de-lis, the point upwards; next came the queen, in her sixty-fifth year, as we were told, very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, but black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to from their immoderate use of sugar); she had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false hair, and that red; upon her head a small crown of gold; her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it till they are married, and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels; her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither small nor low; her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging.

"On that day she was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a mantle of black silk shot with silver thread; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness: instead of a chain,

she had an oblong collar of gold jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian, for, besides being well skilled in Greek, and the languages mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch. Whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling; now and then she raises some with her hand. While we were there, W. Slanata, a Bohemian baron, had letters to present to her, and she, after pulling off her glove, gave him her right hand to kiss, sparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular favour. Wherever she turned her face, as she was going along, everybody fell down on their knees. The ladies of the court followed next to her, very handsome and well shaped, and for the most part dressed in white. She was guarded on each side by the gentlemen pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes. In the ante-chapel, next the hall, where we were, petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of "Long live Queen Elizabeth!" she answered it with "I thank you, my good people." In the chapel was excellent music: as soon as it and the service were over, which scarce exceeded half an hour, the queen returned in the same state and order, and prepared to go to dinner. But while she was still at prayer, we saw her table set out with the following solemnity:—a gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another, who had a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table; and, after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar, and a plate of bread; when they had kneeled as the others had done, and placed what was brought on the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies as were performed by the first. At last came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a countess), and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the most graceful manner, approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the queen had been present. When they had waited there a little while, the

yeomen of the guard entered, bare-headed, clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate, most of it gilt. These dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought in, for fear of poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in England, being carefully selected for that purpose, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets and two kettle drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular solemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the court.

"The queen dines and sups alone, with very few attendants, and it is very seldom that anybody, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time; and then only at the intercession of somebody in power.

"This queen passionately admires handsome persons; and he is already far advanced in her favour, who approaches her with beauty and grace. She has such an unconquerable aversion for men who have been treated unfortunately by nature, that she cannot endure their presence. When she issues forth from her palace, her guards are careful to disperse from before her eyes hideous and deformed persons, the lame, the hunch-backed, etc.; in a word, all those whose appearance might shock her fastidious sensations."

Elizabeth, who displayed so many heroic accomplishments, had the foible of wishing to be thought beautiful by every one. Du Maurier, in his memoirs, states that he was informed by his father, who was envoy at her court, that at every audience he had with her majesty, she pulled off her gloves more than a hundred times, to display her hands, which, indeed, were very beautiful and very white.

The education of Elizabeth had been severely classical; she thought and wrote in all the spirit of the great characters of antiquity; and her speeches and letters are studded with apophthegms and a terseness of ideas and

language that gives an exalted idea of her mind. In her evasive answers to the Commons in reply to their petition to her majesty to marry, she has employed an energetic word. "Were I," said she, "to tell you that I did not mean to marry, I might say less than I intend; and were I to tell you that I do mean to marry, I might say more than it is proper for you to know; therefore I give you an answer—*answerless*."

READING XXXV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

COMMENCING our observations upon the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by a glance at the then political state of Europe, we find that there were few absolute sovereigns, the emperors before Charles V. having never ventured to aim at despotic power. The popes, though greater masters of Rome than formerly, had much less power in the church; the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, like the other kingdoms in the north, were elective; and an election necessarily supposes a contract between prince and people. The kings of England could neither make laws nor break them, without the consent of their parliament. Isabella of Castile had acknowledged the rights of the Cortes, which were all the estates of the kingdom assembled as a legislative body. Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Aragon, had been unable to abolish the authority of the grand-justiciary of that kingdom, who considered himself as entitled to be the judge of kings. France alone was changed into a state purely monarchical, after the reign of Louis XI.

The civil government of Europe was greatly improved by the stop which had everywhere been put to the private wars between the feudal lords. The custom of duels, however, was still continued.

The popes, by their decrees, had anathematized these combats; but they were still permitted by several of the bishops; and the parliaments (*courts of justice*) of Paris sometimes ordered them, as in the case of the famous

one between Legris and Carronges, in the reign of Charles V. The same evil practice was likewise kept up in Germany, Italy, and Spain, with the sanction of certain forms, which were looked upon as essential; particularly that of confessing and taking the sacraments before they prepared to commit homicide. The chevalier de Bayard invariably heard a mass before he went into the field to fight a duel. The combatants always chose a second, whose office it was to take care that their weapons were equal, and to make diligent search that neither of them had any spells about him; for nothing on earth was so credulous as a knight.

Tournaments, though condemned likewise by the popes, were universal. They always went by the name of *Ludi Gallici* (*French Games*); because one Geoffroi de Prenilly had, in the eleventh century, published a body of rules to be observed in them, and although upwards of one hundred knights had been killed in these sanguinary sports, this only served to make them more fashionable.

It was thought that the death of Henry II., who was killed at a tournament held in 1599, would have abolished the custom for ever; but the idle lives of the nobility, long use, and the fury of the passions, revived these games at Orleans, in less than a year after the above mentioned accident, on which occasion Henry Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, and a prince of the blood, also lost his life by a fall from his horse. After this, an entire stop was put to tournaments; but a faint image of them remained in the Pas d'Armes (*Passage of arms*), held by Charles IX. and Henry III., the year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for in these times of violence and bloodshed, feasts and diversions were always intermixed with murders and proscriptions. The Passage of arms was not, however, attended with any danger, the combatants using only blunted weapons.

The suppression of tournaments may therefore be dated from the year 1560, and with these games expired the ancient spirit of chivalry, which never appeared again but in romances.

The art of war, the law of arms, and the offensive and defensive weapons made use of in those days, were likewise entirely different from what they are at present.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms

made use of by the Macedonian phalanx, which were spears of eighteen feet in length, and were used by the Swiss in the wars of Milan; but they were soon laid aside for the two-handed sword.

The arquebuse, or firelock, had become a necessary weapon against the steel corselets, by which the troops of those days were defended. No helmet or cuirass was proof against these. The gendarmerie, which was called the battalion, fought on foot as well as on horseback.

The German and Spanish infantry were reputed the best. The war-cry was, almost everywhere, discontinued.

As to the governments of states, cardinals will, at this time, be found at the head of the administration in almost every kingdom. In Spain, Cardinal Ximenes ruled under Isabella of Castile during her lifetime, and after her death was appointed regent of the kingdom. In France, Cardinal d'Amboise was prime minister to Louis XII., and Cardinal Duprat to Francis I. Our own Henry VIII. was for the space of twenty years entirely under the direction of Cardinal Wolsey. Charles V. appointed his preceptor Cardinal Adrian, afterwards pope, his prime minister in Spain, while Cardinal Granville had afterwards the government of Flanders. Lastly, Cardinal Martinus was master of Hungary, under Ferdinand, brother to Charles V.

The title of majesty began now to be assumed by kings, and the rank of the several sovereigns was settled at Rome. The first place was, without contradiction, assigned to the emperor; after him came the king of France without a competitor; the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Sicily took rank in turn with the king of England; then came Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland; and, last of all, Denmark and Sweden, but great disputes afterwards arose, from this settling of the precedence. The kings, almost generally, wished to be equal in rank with each other; but not one of them attempted to dispute the chief place with the emperors, who thus preserved their rank while they lost their authority.

All the customs in civil life were then different from ours; the doublet and short cloak were the common dress at every court. Professors of the law everywhere wore a loose flowing robe, which fell halfway down their legs.

In the time of Francis I. there were but two coaches in the city of Paris ; one for the queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. Men and women all rode on horseback. The first coach which appeared in Spain was that used by the emperor Charles V. It was, however, considered so effeminate a practice, as to incur the censure of the pulpit. Father Ramon, in his "Reformation of Abuses," thus expresses his indignation at this novelty : "But men with beards !—Men girt with a sword !—It is a disgrace and a shame for *them* to be seen carried about in boxes, instead of breathing the open air, and appearing in the light of day."

Riches were now so much increased, that Henry VIII. of England, in 1519, promised three hundred and thirty-three thousand gold crowns in dowry with his daughter Mary, whom he intended to marry to the son of Francis I. This was a larger sum than had ever yet been given as a wedding portion.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry VIII. was for a long time famous for its magnificence and splendour. Their camp was called the *camp of the cloth of gold* ; but this momentary parade, this extreme of luxury, did not imply that general magnificence, nor those useful conveniences, which are so common in our times, and which so far exceed the pomp of a single day. The hand of industry had not then changed their sorry wooden dwellings into sumptuous palaces ; thatched roofs and mud walls still remained in the streets of Paris. The houses in London were still worse built, and the manner of living there still coarser. The greatest noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their wives behind them on horseback ; princesses themselves travelled in no other manner, being covered with a riding cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather, which dress they wore even when they went to the palace. Queen Elizabeth frequently appeared in public, riding on a pillion behind her chancellor. Even the magnificence of Francis I., Charles V., Henry VIII., and Leo X., appeared only on days of public solemnity.

In the reign of Henry II. of France, none but bishops were permitted to wear silk ; and although, about that time, mulberry trees were cultivated in Italy and Spain only, and gold wire was manufactured exclusively at

Milan and Venice, yet the French fashions had insinuated themselves into the courts of Germany, England, and Lombardy.

Pope Julius II. was the first who let his beard grow, in order to inspire the people with a greater respect for his person. Francis I., Charles V., and all the other kings followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers. Philip II. of Spain, in 1597, commanded that the counsellors of all the royal councils should wear the beard long, so as to cover the whole chin. By this same edict, military and clerical personages were commanded to shave all but the mustachios. The most common of all Spanish oaths, was—*by my mustachios*. Don Joam de Castro, viceroy in India for king John III. of Portugal, went still further, for he put his mustachios in pawn. Being desirous of raising a sum of money among the citizens of Goa, for an expedition intended to raise the siege of Diu, he cut off one of his mustachios, and deposited it in the town house, by way of security for the payment of the loan. He received the sum he required, and honourably redeemed his mustachio on his return.

Copper-plate engraving, which was invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, was an art entirely new, and at that time in its perfection. The Germans had the reputation of having invented printing, nearly about the time when engraving was known. The assertion of some writers that Faust was condemned by the parliament of Paris to be burnt for a magician is erroneous. The fact is, that some agents who came to Paris to sell the first books that had been printed, were accused of dealing in the black art, but this accusation was not followed up. The parliament, in 1474, ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris by one of the factors from Mentz to be seized; and Louis XI. was obliged to forbid the parliament from meddling with the affair, and to pay the proprietors the price of their books.

READING XXXVI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
(CONCLUDED).

THE change in farming which had gained ground in England since the Reformation, and which consisted in turning arable land into pasture grounds, had deprived many labourers of bread, and caused great commotions amongst the peasants, who had likewise another and juster cause of complaint. The vile financial policy of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s reigns had so far debased the coin, that when the husbandman carried his wages to market, it would not purchase necessities for his family. The tumults which such oppression occasioned only added wounds and punishments to penury and discontent. Gradually, however, the eyes of the landholders were opened; books of husbandry were printed and studied; and a system of farming was introduced which was equally beneficial to landlord and tenant. The land of England was certainly, at this time, both cheap and productive. In this and all other cases we may believe the good Hugh Latimer; and he, in a sermon, tells us wonders concerning the produce of a small farm. "My father," says he, "was a yeoman, and had no land of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the utmost; and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He kept his son at school till he went to the university, and maintained him there; he married his daughters with five pounds or twenty nobles a-piece; he kept hospitality with his neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor; and all this he did out of the same farm."

The vast addition which the general stock of aliment gained by the discovery of potatoes in the sixteenth century, is too important to be passed over without notice. Captain Hawkins is said to have brought this excellent root from Santa Fé in New Spain, A.D. 1565. Sir Walter Raleigh soon after planted it on his lands in Ireland; but, on eating the apple that it produced, which is nauseous and unwholesome, he had nearly consigned

the whole crop to destruction. Luckily, the spade discovered the real potato, and the root soon became a favourite edible. It continued, however, to be thought rather a species of dainty than of provision; nor till the close of the eighteenth century was it supposed capable of guarding the country where it was cultivated from the attacks of famine.

The woollen manufacture progressed steadily, without any other aid than now and then an act of parliament to regulate the length, breadth, weight, etc., of the pieces. Such a one passed in 1552 (Stat. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 6), and was supposed to have been so precisely worded as to prevent the necessity of future ordinances. But it was not so; and a very few years proved the necessity of still further restrictions; for every fresh clause was rendered nugatory by a new species of fraud.

Still the clothing trade of England increased with the industry of the natives, and although it is a fact that in 1551, not less than sixty ships sailed from Southampton laden with unmanufactured wool for the use of the Flemish looms, yet when proper restrictions were laid on such ruinous exportation, princely fortunes were gained by the makers of cloth and woollen drapers, and immense charities to the poor, as well as magnificent dwellings for themselves and their families, were proofs of their opulence. In 1582, when the trade with the Hanse Towns was put on a footing advantageous to England, it was proved before the Diet of Germany that 400,000 cloths were annually exported from England to the Continent.

Cattle were not plentiful in England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. In 1563, it was enacted that no one should eat flesh on Wednesdays and Fridays, on forfeiture of three pounds, unless in case of sickness, or of a special license, neither of which was to extend to beef or veal.

With respect to horticulture, Hakluyt, in his "Patriotic Instructions to the Turkey Company's Agents," gives a circumstantial account of the introduction of many plants into England. The Damask rose, he gives to Dr. Linacre; the musk rose, and many kinds of plums, are owed, he writes, to Lord Cromwell; the apricot to a French gardener of Henry VIII. Various flowers, among which he specifies the tulip, had lately come from the East by way

of Vienna; the tamarisk had been brought from Germany by archbishop Grindal. The currant bush he mentions as lately brought from Zante, and although, he observes, it bring not its fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure, and for some use. Down to the reign of Elizabeth, the greater part of the houses in large towns had no chimneys; the fire was kindled against the wall, and the smoke found its way out as well as it could, by the roofs, the doors, or the window. The houses were mostly built of wattling plastered over with clay, the floors were of earth, strewn, in families of distinction, with rushes; and the beds were only straw pallets, with a log of wood for a pillow. A mixed kind of building was adopted, towards the close of the sixteenth century, by those who erected palaces. Perhaps the magnificent house of Elizabeth's celebrated secretary, Cecil, may be named as the finest specimen of the sort.

There existed now no difficulty in raising men for the military service. The pay and clothing allowed to recruits were such as might well tempt them to enlist, when the cheapness of living is considered. Every private man had three shillings paid to him weekly, without any deduction; besides which, twenty pence per week was laid out for him "in good apparell of different kinds, some for the summer and some for the wynter." The captain of each hundred men had twenty-eight shillings paid him every Saturday, the lieutenant fourteen, and the ensign seven. The serjeant, the surgeon, the drummer and the fifer, five shillings weekly. On sudden occasions, where speed was necessary, force was sometimes used; as when the Spaniards had taken Calais, an immediate demand of 1,000 men was made, by the queen, of the lord mayor of London, and they were obtained, almost in an instant, by the simple manœuvre of shutting up the doors of St. Paul's during divine service.

The most numerous force which Elizabeth ever mustered by land was in the autumn of 1588. They amounted to about 76,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, besides garrisons.

The first foundry for cannon in England had been formed in 1535, by one Owen; in 1547, Pierre Bandit, a foreigner, erected another near the metropolis.

The first lottery in England took place during the reign of queen Elizabeth; it was held at the west door of

St. Paul's Cathedral, and the drawing continued from 11th January till 6th May, 1569. It consisted of not less than 400,000 tickets, and was, in consequence, nearly two years in filling. The original printed scheme is in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, and is as follows:—
 "A proposal for a very rich lottery general, *without any blanks*, contayning a great number of good prizes, as well as of redy money, as of plate and certain sorts of merchandizes, having been valued and prised by the commandment of the queen's most excellent majestie's order, to the intent that such commodities as may chance to arise thereof, after the charges borne, may be converted towards the reparations of the havens and strength of the realme, and towards such other good works. The number of lotts shall be foure h. t., and no more; and every lott shall be the sum of tenne shillings sterling and no more. To be filled by the feast of St. Bartholemew. The shew of prizes are to be seen in Cheapside, at the sign of the Queen's Arms, the house of Mr. Dericke, goldsmith, servant to the Queen, 1567."

The first example of a newspaper in England, occurred in a publication established by queen Elizabeth, at a moment of great difficulty and danger, in order to communicate such intelligence as she considered necessary. Three printed numbers of this are preserved in the British Museum, the earliest, No. 50, dated July 23, 1588. It is entitled, "The English Mercurie, published by authoritie, for the contradiction of false reports," and is said, at the end, to be imprinted by Christopher Barker, her highness's printer.

SPECIMENS OF THE POETRY OF THE 16th CENTURY.

SPENSER (B. 1553—D. 1599).

SONNET.

MEN call you fair, and you do credit it,
 For that yourself ye daily such do see:
 But the true fair, that is, the gentle wit,
 And virtuous mind, is much more praised of me;

For all the rest, however fair it be,
 Shall turn to nought, and lose that glorious hue.
 But only that is permanent and free
 From frail corruption, that doth flesh ensue,
 That is true beauty : that doth argue you
 To be divine, and born of heavenly seed :
 Derived from that fair Spirit, from whom all true
 And perfect beauty did at first proceed :
 He only fair, and what He fair hath made ;
 All other fair, like flowers, untimely fade.

MAY.

Then came fair May, the fairest maid on ground,
 Deck'd all with dainties of her season's pride,
 And throwing flowers out of her lap around ;
 Upon two brethren's shoulders she did ride,
 The twins of Leda, which on either side,
 Supported her like to their sovereign queen :
 Lord ! how all creatures laught when her they spied,
 And leapt and danced as they had ravished been,
 And Cupid self about her flutter'd all in green.

GEORGE CHAPMAN (B. 1557—D. 1634).

INNOCENCE.

—Innocence, the sacred amulet

'Gainst all the poisons of infirmity,
 Of all misfortune, injury, and death :
 That makes a man in time still in himself ;
 Free from the hell to be his own accuser ;
 Ever in quiet, endless joy enjoying,
 No strife nor no sedition in his powers ;
 No motion in his will against his reason ;
 No thought 'gainst thought ; nor (as 'twere in the confines
 Of wishing and repenting) both possess
 Only a wayward and tumultuous peace ;
 But, all parts in him friendly and secure,
 Fruitful of all best things in all worst seasons,
 He can with every wish be in their plenty :
 When the infectious guilt of one foul crime
 Destroys the free content of all our time.

RESOLUTION.

Give me a spirit that on life's rough sea
 Loves to have his sails fill'd with a lusty wind,
 Even till his sail-yards tremble, his masts crack,
 And his rapt ship run on her side so low
 That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air.

There is no danger to a man that knows
 What life and death is: there's not any law
 Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful
 That he should stoop to any other law:
 He goes before them, and commands them all,
 That to himself is a law rational.

SHAKSPEARE (B. 1564—D. 1616).

SONNET.

That time of year thou may'st in me behold,
 When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
 Upon those boughs, which shake against the cold,
 Bare ruin'd quires, where late the sweet birds sang.
 In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
 As after sunset fadeth in the west;
 Which, by and by, black night doth take away,
 Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.
 In me thou seest the glowing of such fire,
 That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
 As the death-bed whereon it must expire,
 Consum'd with that which it was nourish'd by.
 This thou perceiv'st, which makes thy love more strong
 To love that well which thou must leave ere long.

MUSIC OF THE SPHERES.

Sit, Jessica. Look how the floor of heaven
 Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold!
 There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
 But in his motion like an angel sings,
 Still quiring to the young-eyed Cherubim:
 Such harmony is in immortal souls,
 But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay
 Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

GENERAL DESTRUCTION.

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
 The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
 Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
 And, like an insubstantial pageant faded,
 Leave not a rack behind! We are such stuff
 As dreams are made of, and our little life
 Is rounded with a sleep.

LIFE.

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps, in this petty pace, from day to day,

To the last syllable of recorded time ;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle !
Life's but a walking shadow ; a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more ! it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing !

BEN JONSON.

ATTRACTION.

Still to be neat, still to be drest
As you were going to a feast,
Still to be powder'd, still perfumed,
Lady, it is to be presumed,
Though art's hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all not sound.
Give me a look, give me a face
That makes simplicity a grace ;
Robes loosely flowing, hair as free :
Such sweet neglect more taketh me
Than all th' adulteries of art ;
They strike mine eyes, but not my heart.

IMPROVEMENT.

It is not growing, like a tree,
In bulk, doth make man better be ;
Or standing long, an oak, three hundred years,
To fall a log, at last, dry, bald, and sear.
A lily of a day
Is fairer far, in May ;
Although it fall and die that night,
It was the plant and flower of light.
In small proportions we just beauties see,
And in that measure life may perfect be.

LIFE AND DEATH.

The parts of death are sin ; of life, good deeds :
Through which our merit leads us to our meeds.
How wilful blind is he, then, that should stray,
And hath it in his power to make his way !
This world death's region is, the other, life's :
And here it should be one of our first strifes,
So to front death, as man might judge us past it ;
For good men but see death, the wicked taste it.

JOHN FLETCHER (B. 1585—D. 1625).

CONSTANCY.

'Tis not the white or red
 Inhabits in your cheek, that thus can wed
 My mind to adoration; nor your eye,
 Though it be full and fair, your forehead high,
 And smooth as Pelops' shoulder: not the smile,
 Lies watching in those dimples to beguile
 The easy soul; your hands and fingers long,
 With veins enamel'd richly; nor your tongue,
 Though it spoke sweeter than Arion's harp;
 Your hair, wove into many a curious warp,
 Able in endless error to enfold
 The wand'ring soul; nor the true perfect model
 Of all your body, which as pure doth show
 In maiden whiteness as the Alpsian snow:
 All these, were but your constancy away,
 Would please me less than a black, stormy day
 The wretched seaman toiling through the deep.

SHIRLEY.

DEATH'S FINAL CONQUEST.

The glories of our mortal state
 Are shadows, not substantial things;
 There is no armour against fate:
 Death lays his icy hand on kings,
 Sceptre and crown
 Must tumble down,
 And in the dust be equal made
 With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

 Some men with swords may reap the field,
 And plant fresh laurels where they kill:
 But their strong nerves at last must yield;
 They tame but one another still:
 Early or late,
 They stoop to fate,
 And must give up their murmuring breath,
 When they, pale captives, creep to death.

 The garlands wither on your brow;
 Then boast no more your mighty deeds;
 Upon death's purple altar now,
 See! where the victor victim bleeds:
 Your heads must come
 To the cold tomb.
 Only the actions of the just
 Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, ETC.,
DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

- 1516.—Corpus Christi College at Oxford, founded by Bishop Winton.
- Martin Luther's writings began to appear.
- 1517.—Commencement of the African Slave-trade.
- 1519.—Magellan's first Voyage round the World.
- 1521.—Muskets first employed in the reign of Francis I.
- Ladrones and Philippine Islands discovered.
- 1525.—Hops brought into England from the Netherlands.
- 1528.—Chocolate brought into Europe by the Spaniards, from Mexico.
- 1530.—Currant trees first planted in England.
- Thermometer invented by Sanctorious: it was brought into England in 1640, and improved by Fahrenheit in 1714.
- 1536.—Padlocks first manufactured at Nuremberg.
- 1543.—Silk stockings from Spain. The first silk stockings worn in Europe by Henry II. of France. Henry VIII. wore cloth stockings.
- 1559.—English East India Company established.
- 1563.—Knives first made in London by Thomas Matthews, of Fleet-street.
- 1564.—First stockings knit in England from woollen yarn.
- 1565.—Tobacco introduced into England by Sir John Hawkins, though generally attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1578. It came into common use in 1631.
- 1569.—Book-keeping by double entry.
- 1586.—Potatoes introduced into England from America by Sir Francis Drake.
- 1588.—First newspaper printed in England.—Diving-bell first used by the English to raise the treasures supposed to have been sunk in that part of the Spanish Armada wrecked on the Western coast of Scotland. It was invented and exhibited before Charles V. at Toledo in 1508.
- 1589.—Silk stockings first wove in England.
- 1597.—Watches first brought from Germany into England.

*Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Seventeenth Century
ending at the death*

A.D.	GREAT BRITAIN.		FRANCE.	HOLLAND.	GERMANY.	ROME.
1603	James I.		Henry IV.	Maurice Barnevelt.	Rodolph II.	Clement V
1604						
1605						Leo XI. Paul V.
1606						
1610			Louis XIII.	....	....	....
1611						
1612					Matthias.	....
1613						
1617						
1619					Ferdinand II.	....
1621						Gregory X
1622						
1623						Urban VI
1625	Charles I.		....	Henry Frederick Tromp.	....	....
1637					Ferdinand III.	....
1640						
1643			Louis XIV.	....	....	....
1644						Innocent
1645						
1647				William II.	....	....
1648						
1649	Interregnum.		....	....	....	....
1653	Oliver Cromwell (Protector).		....	....	....	....
1654						
1655						Alex ^{and} VI
1656						
1658					Leopold I.	....
1660	Charles II.		....	....	....	....
1665						
1667						Clement
1670						Clement
1672				William III. afterwards king of England.	....	....
1676						Innocent
1682						
1683						
1685	James II.		....	....	....	....
1687						
1689	Mary and William III.		....	....	....	Alex ^{and} VI
1690						
1691						Innocent
1694	William III.		....	....	....	....
1697						
1699						
1700						Clement

mmencing from the Accession of James I. in 1603, and William III. in 1702.

SPAIN.	PORTUGAL.	TURKEY.	RUSSIA.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	PRUSSIA.
Philip III.		Mahomet III.	Boris Godunow.	Christian IV.	Sigismund.	....
....		Achmet I.	....	....	Charles IX.	....
....			The Impostor Dmitri.	....	....	....
....			Wasilej Schuiskoi.	....	....	....
....			Interregnum	....	....	....
....			Another Impostor Dmitri.	....	Gustavus Adolphus.	....
....			Anarchy.	....	....	....
....			Michael Fedrowitsch.	....	....	....
....		{ Mustapha, deposed Osman I.	....	....	....	....
Philip IV.						
....		Mustapha re-established.	....	....	....	....
....		Amurath IV.	....	....	....	....
....					Christina.	....
....						
....	John IV.	Ibrahim.	....	....	....	....
....						
....			Alexis.	....	....	....
....						
....		Mahomet IV.	....	Frederick III.	....	....
....						
....						
....					Charles X.	....
....						
....	Alphonso IV.	....	....	....	Charles XI.	....
....						
Charles II.						
....				Christian V.	....	....
....						
....						
....			Feodore II.	....	....	....
....	Peter II.	....	Ivan Alex.	....	....	....
....						
....		Soliman III.	....	....	....	....
....			Peter the Great.	....	....	....
....		Achmet II.	....	....	....	....
....						
....						
....					Charles XII.	....
....		Mustapha II.	....	Frederick IV	....	....
Philip V.	Philip V.	....	....	....	....	Frederick I.

READING XXXVII.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH the exception of Henry IV., who still occupied the throne of France, the monarchs that, at the commencement of this century, swayed the sceptres of Europe, cannot but suffer from a comparison with those who ruled at the beginning of the sixteenth.

If we look at our own country, James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, who succeeded to queen Elizabeth, was of a character but little suited to the eventful period in which he ascended the British throne, and still less to the peculiar and trying circumstances in which England was placed at his accession. As to his personal appearance, he inherited none of those graces either of form or feature for which both his unfortunate parents had been so conspicuous; while weakness, approaching to cowardice, disgusting familiarity, and ridiculous pedantry, counterbalanced the few good mental qualities of which he could boast, and rendered him alike incapable of gaining the attachment, or commanding the respect, of his subjects. This deficiency, as well of high moral worth as of superior talents, proved the more unfortunate for James, by the parallel which his people did not fail to draw between him and the powerfully minded Elizabeth.

The capacity of James and of his ministers, in negotiation, was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Besides ministers from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate, Henry Frederick of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt, the Pensionary (*prime minister*) of Holland, was ambassador from the States of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by archduke Albert; and Taxis was shortly expected from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit, and that of his master, was the marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France. The principal object of this nobleman's mission was to engage

James to enter into a treaty for the purpose of aiding the Dutch States in their opposition to Spain; and in this he completely succeeded, for, although a peace was, in the next year, concluded between Philip II. and James, the latter reserved to himself, by a secret article, the power of affording assistance to the United Provinces.

Conscious that the republic of Holland had become powerful, and the people rich, in spite of every effort to enslave and oppress them, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, transferred to his daughter Isabella, who was contracted in marriage to the archduke Albert, the sovereignty of the Low Countries.

Philip II. died before the celebration of the nuptials; but his son Philip III., a virtuous though a weak prince, punctually performed the contract; and Albert, after taking possession of the sovereignty, wrote to the States of the United Provinces, entreating them not to refuse submission to their natural princes. To this letter no answer was returned, and, in consequence, the war was recommenced with fresh vigour; but Spain was no longer as powerful as it had been under the energetic administration of its two preceding sovereigns; it was now only formidable from the recollection of its former greatness.

France still continued under the paternal sway of her best of kings, Henry IV., who was now occupied in rebuilding the churches and public edifices, improving his navy, correcting abuses of every description, redeeming the crown jewels, but more especially in making preparations for the execution of his grand design of humbling the House of Austria. This enterprise was undertaken by way of retaliating upon the court of Spain, for the continued attempts, both open and secret, made by that power to disturb the peace of his kingdom, and shake the stability of his throne.

In the year 1603, Venice became involved in a serious contest with the pope, Paul V., a prelate who, actuated by the most ambitious spirit, was desirous of reviving, by

every means in his power, all the extravagant claims of his predecessors to universal supremacy. Two decrees which had recently been promulgated by the senate, forbidding any new church endowments to be made, or any ecclesiastical edifices to be erected without the consent of the government, called forth all the indignation of His Holiness—indignation which was shortly converted into fury, upon the senate's ordering one of the canons of Vicenza, and the abbot of Nervesa, who had been guilty of some delinquencies, to be imprisoned. Paul, considering these measures as an invasion of the rights of the church, expedited a brief (*ecclesiastical mandate*) to the doge of Venice, Marino Grimani, threatening the State with excommunication and interdict if it did not immediately repeal this decree, and deliver up the prisoners to the nuncio Mattei. The doge Grimani dying the same day that the brief was delivered, was succeeded by Leonardo Donato, who, with the senate, resolved to support the measures which had been taken, and upon the pope issuing a monitory (*notice*) declaring the State under an excommunication, the senate commanded the clergy to perform divine service as usual, under pain of death. After recalling their ambassador from Rome, the Venetians proceeded to expel the Jesuits from their territory; but a reconciliation was at length effected through the instrumentality of Cardinal Joyeux, deputed for that purpose by Henry IV.

READING XXXVIII.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (CONCLUDED).

GERMANY was at this time under the sway of Rodolph II., who had succeeded his father, Maximilian II., in 1576. He was a prince of a pacific disposition, and although more occupied about celestial than terrestrial affairs, being devoted to the study of astronomy and astrology, in both which sciences he was instructed by the celebrated Tycho Brahe, the empire during his reign enjoyed an extraordinary degree of tranquillity, the equity of his administra-

tion compensating for its weakness. The chief difficulties which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias. The Turks having invaded Hungary, Matthias was successful in opposing their progress; and a peace was concluded in 1606 with Achmet, the successor of Mohammed II. The Hungarians, jealous of their religious rights, conferred their crown upon Matthias, their deliverer, who granted them full liberty of conscience, with every other privilege they could desire. He afterwards became master of Austria and Moravia on the same conditions: and Rodolph, to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him those usurpations, together with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root.

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they, in 1609, entered into a new confederacy, called the Evangelical Union. This association was opposed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League.

The attention both of Portugal and Spain was, about this time, much occupied with the appearance of a person at Venice, who gave himself out to be the identical Don Sebastian of Portugal, who had suffered the fatal defeat at Alcaçarquiver in 1578, and who was reported to have been there killed. He affirmed that he had saved his life and liberty by concealing himself among the slain; that after wandering in disguise for some time in Africa, he returned with two of his friends into the kingdom of Algarve. This person underwent twenty-eight examinations before a committee of noble and impartial individuals, in which he entered into so minute a detail of the transactions that had passed between him and the republic of Venice, that the commissioners were perfectly astonished, and showed no disposition to declare him an impostor. He was at length delivered up to the Spaniards, and being shipped on board a galley, was carried to San Lucar, whence he was transferred to a castle in the heart of Seville, and was heard of no more.

In the north of Europe, Sigismund, son of John III. of Sweden, had, in 1587, been elected by one party king

of Poland, while another chose Maximilian, brother of Rodolphus II. The victory declared in favour of the former, who would no doubt have remained firmly seated on the throne to which he had thus been elected, but for the vacancy which occurred in that of Sweden. The intrigues of his uncle, duke Charles, who aspired to the crown of his nephew, proved at last successful, and Sigismund was deposed about the commencement of the seventeenth century.

Sigismund strenuously exerted himself for the recovery of the Swedish crown ; but his attempts were frustrated by the vigour and policy of his uncle. He retook, however, those towns and fortresses which the Swedes had reduced in Livonia, where also an obstinate battle occurred, in which the valour of the Poles, directed by the skill and judgment of Chotkiewitz, gratified Sigismund with a complete victory. He then directed his attention towards Russia, which was in a state of disorder and confusion.

The grand duke or czar, John Basilowitz II., dying in 1584, left only two sons, of whom one was an infant. The incapacity of Theodore, the elder of the surviving princes, had induced John to select three of his boyars (*noblemen*) for the administration of the public affairs in the name of the youth ; but Boris, brother-in-law to the new czar, gradually seized the whole power of the State, and acted in many instances with inhuman violence : he even murdered Dmitri, the brother of Theodore, and perhaps hastened the death of the czar himself, who died in 1598. Boris took this opportunity of mounting the throne, to which he had paved his way by some popular acts. He continued to govern with a mixture of vigour and lenity, and his name was not unknown among the sovereigns of Europe, when his government was disturbed by the boldness of an ambitious monk, who, happening to resemble the unfortunate Dmitri, pretended that he had escaped the snares of the usurper, by the substitution of another youth. The adventurer was encouraged by Sigismund, who promised to assist him in procuring the Russian diadem ; and being furnished with an army, he defeated the troops of Boris, who, in a moment of despair, poisoned himself, or, as others say, was thrown by a transport of passion into an apoplectic fit. The usurper's son was now placed on the throne, but was

quickly driven from it by the impostor in 1605, who was proclaimed czar with the general consent of the people, many of whom believed him to be the true Dmitri. He was killed in a tumult at Moscow in 1606.

Turning our view towards the East, we find that in 1595, a Dutch merchant of the name of Cornelius Houtman, who had resided a considerable time at Lisbon, having proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and there acquired the necessary information for prosecuting his voyage still further eastward, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to establish a settlement in the island of Java. Admiral Van Neck, who was sent on that important expedition with eight ships, having succeeded in obtaining the desired permission to trade, sent home four vessels laden with spices and other Indian commodities. The success of the expedition gave rise to the formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602.

The English East India Company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet consisting of five stout ships was fitted out the year following, under the command of John Lancaster, who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he concluded a commercial treaty.

But our countrymen had to struggle with many serious obstacles from the power and intrigues of the Dutch and Portuguese; they, however, ultimately succeeded in not only establishing factories, but in erecting fortifications in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda.

READING XXXIX.

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH IN THE EAST INDIES.

1610.

THE successful voyages to the East Indies, of Drake, Stephens, Cavendish, and others, induced several of the principal merchants of London to form a company in 1600. They obtained an exclusive privilege to trade with India, for the space of fifteen years, with the proviso that if this

privilege should be found prejudicial to the State, it should be abolished, and the company broken up, two years' previous notice of such intention being given to the partners.

The funds of this company were, at first, but very inconsiderable. The equipment of four vessels, which set sail in the beginning of the year 1601, absorbed a great portion of them, and the remainder was expended in merchandise of various kinds.

John Lancaster, who conducted the expedition, arrived the following year at the port of Achen, then a very celebrated mart. The intelligence of the recent naval victories of England (over the Armada) had prepared for that officer the most flattering reception. The king treated him, in every respect, as his equal, and as a great proof of his condescension, ordered his wives, richly dressed, to play before him upon their musical instruments. This mark of favour was followed by every facility being afforded him for the establishment of a sure and advantageous commerce. The English admiral was afterwards equally well received at Bontam; and a vessel which he had despatched to the Moluccas, returned heavily laden with cloves and nutmegs. With these valuable spices, and the peppers he had procured at Java and Sumatra, he arrived safely in Europe.

The company, which had entrusted its interests to this able man, were determined by this first success to form establishments in the Peninsula of India, but only with the consent of the natives. They were averse from commencing conquests, and resolved that their expeditions should be those of humane and upright merchants only. They thus made themselves beloved, it is true, but this attachment did not put them into a situation to compete with the former settlers, who made themselves feared.

The Portuguese and the Dutch possessed extensive provinces, places well fortified, and good ports—advantages which secured their trade, not only against the natives but against all interlopers, facilitated their returns to Europe, afforded them the means of getting rid of the goods they carried into Asia, and of obtaining, upon advantageous terms, such as they wished to purchase. The English, on the contrary, dependent upon the uncertainty of the seasons, and the caprice of the people, without power, or even a place of refuge, and entirely re-

lying upon England for pecuniary resources, were totally incapacitated, according to the then received opinions, from prosecuting an advantageous commerce. It was thought that great riches were only to be acquired by great crimes, and that to surpass or even rival their competitors, it was necessary to imitate their example.

Amid such difficulties, the establishment of a permanent and profitable commerce appeared almost chimerical; but the company flattered itself that it would be protected, because it was useful. Its hopes were delusive ones. It could obtain nothing from James I., a weak and pedantic monarch, better calculated for the rector of a university than the sovereign of a mighty empire. The assistance denied it by its sovereign was, however, amply compensated for by the activity, perseverance, and discretion of the company. They built forts, and founded colonies in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda, and thus shared with the Dutch the rich spice trade, which will ever be the most permanent one of the East, since it is founded upon the real wants of mankind.

The Dutch, however, had not expelled the Portuguese from the spice islands, for the purpose of allowing the establishment of another nation there, whose great maritime power, character, and government, rendered the rivalry still more formidable. They possessed numberless advantages over their competitors—powerful colonies, a well-disciplined navy, well cemented alliances, the knowledge of the country, and a perfect acquaintance with the theory as well as practice of commerce, all of which the English were deficient in.

After several fierce combats, of which the Indian Ocean was the theatre, the two companies signed, in 1619, a treaty by which it was agreed that the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the two nations; that the English should have one-third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce, the price of which should be fixed; that each party should contribute, in proportion to their interest, to the defence of these islands; that a council, composed of persons belonging to each nation, duly qualified, should regulate, at Batavia, all affairs connected with commerce; that this treaty, guaranteed by the respective sovereigns, should remain in force twenty years; and that if, in the interim, any dis-

pute should arise which could not be settled by the two companies, they should be decided by the king of Great Britain, and the States-general of the United Provinces.

The English, in the mean time, had not been idle in another part of the Indian Peninsula. They had formed stores and magazines at Masulipatam, Calicut, in several other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richest mart of those countries, tempted their cupidity in 1611. The natives were well disposed to receive them, but the Portuguese threatened, that if they permitted establishments to be made by that nation, they would burn all the towns along the coast, and seize every Indian vessel. This menace had the desired effect for a time.

The following year, however, captain Thomas Best arrived with a force better calculated to command respect, and was received at Surat without the least difficulty. The commercial agents whom he had brought with him had scarcely commenced their operations, when a powerful armament made its appearance, having sailed from Goa. The English admiral determined, notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, to try the fortune of war. Twice he attacked the Portuguese, and twice he was victorious: but, notwithstanding this success, the advantages which the vanquished derived from their position, harbours, and fortresses, still rendered the navigation of the English in Guzurat very difficult, and it was only by continued combats with a bold enemy whom defeat did not discourage, that some degree of tranquillity was at length secured.

READING XL.

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., BY RAVAILLAC.

1610.

IN a former reading was given a short account of the murder of this good and illustrious prince. It is a subject, however, of so much interest, as justifies being treated at greater length. During the winter and in the spring of 1610, Henry actively employed himself in putting the finishing hand to all his preparations for the

campaign. The army he raised amounted to forty thousand men, commanded by officers of great experience, exclusive of six thousand Swiss, who were sent to join them on the frontiers, and four thousand of the nobility, who were to attend the king to the army, which was to assemble at Chalons about the middle of May. The negotiations requisite for the general league were conducted with so much silence, that the first circumstance of them that transpired to the public was their conclusion. Monsieur de Lesdiguières was chosen to treat with his old antagonist the duke of Savoy, and upon his proposing the conquest of the duchy of Milan, upon condition that France should enjoy Savoy, the duke made no difficulty of entering into the king's views. The princes of Germany held an assembly in spite of the emperor, in which they approved the king's proposal of restoring the liberty of the empire. In England his minister met with no less success; and the Italian princes showed a strong inclination to accept the offers that were made them, to concur in his design.

As the season of action drew nearer, the king spent a great part of his time in conferences with the duke of Sully at the arsenal, where all was arranged that regarded this great expedition, or the settlement of the administration in the king's absence: but with these there was intermixed another affair that gave the king infinite concern and embarrassment. This was the earnest desire of the queen to be solemnly crowned. Whence this desire arose cannot, with any certainty, be determined; it is, however, well known, that nothing equalled the king's disquiet, more especially when, in consequence of the queen's importunity, he had given orders, and had fixed the day for the ceremony. It is certain that Henry was more distressed and disordered with the thoughts of this coronation, than with anything that had happened to him through his whole life. He went so far as to presage that he should not survive it, that he should never live to get out of Paris, where he thought himself less safe than at the head of his army; and yet he could not bring himself to countermand the orders he had given, or resolve not to take a share in that idle pomp, of which he had such a dread. The duke of Sully mentions as a fact, that the king expressly declared to him,

he had been forewarned that he should be killed in some public ceremony in a coach, and that it was this circumstance that made him abhor the thoughts of this hated coronation; this was the reason of his starting and being so much alarmed even at the slightest jolting of the coach, though he had the greatest steadiness and presence of mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers.

On the 12th May, proclamation was made that the next day, which was Thursday, the queen would be publicly crowned at St. Denis; the ceremony was accordingly performed by Cardinal Joyeux, with all possible order and magnificence; the queen appearing extremely gay and well pleased. The Sunday following was fixed for her public entry into Paris, for which vast preparations were made, and many triumphal arches erected, with all those circumstances of parade which Henry always despised, and in which the queen delighted. Next morning, which was Friday, the 14th, the king was observed to pray longer than usual; when he came out of his closet, he sent for the duke of Sully, to desire he would come and speak with him in the gardens of the Tuileries, but being informed that the duke was ill, and that the person he had sent had found him in the bath, he sent him another message to come to him next morning, but in his night-gown and cap, that he might not catch cold. He conferred in the morning with Villeroi, Nerestan, and d'Escoures, who had been sent to reconnoitre the passes into the duchy of Juliers, and who assured him that they were much better than they had been represented; which intelligence the king seemed to receive with great satisfaction. He went next to hear mass at the Feuillans (*a church in Paris*), followed by Ravailac, who confessed his intention to have stabbed him there, but said he was hindered by the Duke de Vendôme. After dinner, the king conversed with the president Jeanin, and Monsieur Arnaud, controller of the finances, about the reformatiions he intended to make after the war was over, the reduction of the officers employed in the revenue, and the repealing such taxes as were most burdensome to the people. After they left him, he grew extremely uneasy, went to a window, and leaning his head upon his arm, was heard to say in an under tone, "My God, what is this within me, that will not suffer me to be quiet!"

About four o'clock he ordered his coach, in which having seated himself, he placed the Duke d'Espernon next him, on the right hand, at the boot on that side sat Messieurs de Ravardin and Roquelar, opposite to them sat the Duke de Montbazon and the Marquis de la Force, Monsieur de Laincourt and the Marquis de Mirabeau sat forwards. The coachman asking whither he was to go, the king answered, "Drive me from hence." Ravailac followed the coach, intending to have struck him between the two gates, but was hindered by finding the Duke d'Espernon where the king used to sit.

When the coach was without the court of the king's palace, Henry cried, "Drive me to the cross of Tiroy." When it arrived at that place, he said, "To St. Innocents' churchyard;" turning into the Rue de la Ferronière, which was then a very narrow street, by reason of the shops built against the wall of St. Innocents' churchyard, there was a stop occasioned by two carts, one loaded with wine, the other with hay. The king had before sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry, intending afterwards to have driven to the arsenal, to discourse with the duke of Sully on the intelligence he had received from d'Escoures. The pages who followed the coach went round by the churchyard, except two, one who went before to clear the way, and the other stopped behind to garter up his stockings. Ravailac took this opportunity, mounted on the wheel, and, with a long knife which cut with both sides, struck the king over the Duke d'Espernon's shoulder, while that monarch was listening to a letter the duke was reading. The king, as most writers affirm, said, "I am wounded;" upon which the assassin struck him again with greater force, so that the knife, penetrating into the chest, divided one of the principal arteries, and immediately deprived him of life. Some say that he made a third stroke, and that one of the lords caught it on his arm, but this is liable to great doubt. They were, on the contrary, so little acquainted with how the thing was done, that they did not so much as see the murderer; so that, if he had thrown the knife under the coach, he might have passed on; but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the knife bloody in his hand; till a gentleman who followed the coach came up

and seized him, and was going to put him to death, when the Duke d'Espernon prevented him, crying out, "Save him, on your life." He then directed that the coach windows should be drawn up, and ordered the coachman to drive back to the Louvre, giving out that the king was wounded, but not dangerously.

As soon as the coach came to the palace, the king was carried into his cabinet, and laid upon a bed, where, if we may believe the French historian Mezeray, he was quickly left by the great, so that those who had a mind to see him met with no interruption, only Monsieur le Grand Bassompierre and the Duke de Guise, instead of going to pay their court, went to weep over their dead master, the Duke de Guise embracing him passionately. When his body was opened, it appeared that he had two wounds, one slight, the other mortal, but there is some doubt which was the first or second. All the surgeons and physicians gave it as their opinion, from the soundness of the vital parts, that the king might have lived many years. His entrails were immediately sent to St. Denis, and buried without ceremony; his heart was delivered to the Jesuits, and deposited, according to his desire, in their college at la Flèche, which he had founded, and his body, after being embalmed, was interred with great pomp at St. Denis, on the 29th June, amid the deepest sorrow of the people, and the universal regrets of those foreign nations who wished well to the liberties of Europe and the Protestant interest.

READING XLI.

EXPULSION OF THE MOORS FROM SPAIN.

1610.

NOTWITHSTANDING the example of the bad effects of persecution which Philip III. of Spain had before him, in the expulsion of the Flemish Protestants by his father, he was either too blinded by bigotry, or too ignorant of sound policy, to profit by it.

Although the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain took place in 1610, the persecutions which they underwent at an earlier period form so interesting a subject in

the history of Spain, that a detail of the leading circumstances will not fail to amuse and instruct the reader.

It is well known that when the city of Granada was taken by king Ferdinand of Aragon, and queen Isabella of Castile, in the year 1492, the Moorish Government in Spain, which had lasted seven hundred years, terminated; and yet the Moors did not immediately leave the country. The body of the people, not only of the kingdom of Granada, but also of Valencia, though conquered by the Christians in 1236, and of Murcia, conquered by them in 1265, belonged to that race; and besides these, others were dispersed in great numbers over Castile, Estramadura, Aragon, Catalonia, etc. All these Moors maintained their separation from the Spaniards, by an obstinate adherence, not only to the language, habits, and customs of their ancestors, but to their religion likewise, which was the Mahometan; few or none of them, in a long series of years, having been converted to the Christian faith, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spanish friars for that purpose. The Spanish princes, apprised of the danger that was likely to result from the connexion which, in all probability, existed between the Moors of Barbary and those of their own country, so nearly situated with respect to each other, made every attempt to dissolve their natural attachment, cemented by similarity of religious profession; and with this view they employed the ecclesiastics in vigorous measures for converting them to Christianity. The friars, failing in their endeavours for accomplishing the object entrusted to them, represented the Moors as an obstinate and hardened race of people, who were not to be convinced by arguments, or any other means, unaccompanied by violence. They accordingly advised the princes either to banish the Moors or to make them all slaves, if they refused to become Christians; or, at least, to take all their children from them, and baptize them, so that the next generation might become Christians. The council of Toledo, however, expressly prohibited the compulsion of infidels to be baptized; and Thomas Aquinas, and most of their other divines, declared it to be unlawful to baptize the children of infidels without the consent of their parents; and, consequently, the means recommended by the friars were not adopted; more especially as the Moors, when

they possessed the dominion of the country, had never forced any of their Christian subjects to change their religion, and king Ferdinand, upon the surrender of Granada, had engaged himself, by oath, if the Moriscoes wished to remain in Spain, not to molest them on account of their religion. The Jews, however, not having been protected by any such engagement, were ordered, by a royal edict within three months after the capture of Granada, if they would not be baptized, to depart with their families, in the course of four months, on pain of death; upon which many of them removed, and those who remained, after the expiration of the stipulated term, were stripped by the king of all their property, and sold to his subjects for slaves. It is said, that above 800,000 men, women, and children were driven out of Spain at this time. As to the Moors, it was found that, in the year 1499, few of those inhabiting Granada had been converted to Christianity; and therefore Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, was charged to adopt some course for converting the Moors to the Christian faith. The archbishop, determined to succeed in every measure he undertook, began by mild treatment to engage in his interest the chief men among the Moors; some of these became converts, but others were found alike insensible either to bribes or promises. The prelate therefore changed his plan, and had recourse to severe methods of conversion, ordering the irreclaimable to be loaded with chains, thrown into dungeons, and treated as the most notorious malefactors. Irritated by this cruel and unjust treatment, the Moors took up arms; but their insurrection being suppressed, 50,000 of them, inhabitants of the city of Granada, purchased their lives by consenting to be baptized; and the archbishop so far triumphed in his success, as, on his departure, not to have left one professed Mahometan in the city. The Moors of the country were alarmed, and fortified themselves among the mountains, resolving to die Mahometans with swords in their hands, rather than submit to be baptized by compulsion, as their countrymen had been in the city; but though many of them, with their wives and children, were put to the sword, others collected together in a formidable body, which called forth the interposition of the king in person, who, being joined by a powerful host, very rapidly reduced all the Moorish

towns that were in arms; obliging all the inhabitants to purchase their lives by consenting to be baptized. The Moors that were still in arms among the fastnesses of the mountains petitioned the king to allow them to transport themselves to Barbary, offering to pay ten dollars per head for every one that embarked; the king's want of money permitted those who could pay their ransom to depart, and those who were under the necessity of remaining were compelled to be baptized. In a few months, above 200,000 men, women, and children were converted by the king and the archbishop of Toledo, from the Mahometan to the Christian profession, though it is said that scarcely one in that large number was a sincere convert. The Inquisition, regarding these forced baptisms as good and valid, exercised its usual cruelties on those Moors who were convicted of having afterwards returned to Mahometanism. Not fewer than 100,000, living and dead, had been condemned for apostasy by the Inquisition of Seville in less than forty years; of which number 400 were burned, and 30,000 were reconciled, the rest having made their escape into Barbary. During the remaining part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the whole reign of Charles V., we hear little more of the Granada Moriscoes, than that they universally continued to be Mahometans, and manifested an extraordinary aversion to Christianity, which aversion was increased by the fiery zeal of the Inquisition. Thus the friars went on preaching, and the inquisitors went on burning the Moriscoes, until the year 1568, when Philip II., by advice of his council and ecclesiastics, published certain laws, which were framed with a view of extinguishing in the Moriscoes the memory of their being descended of the Moors; the remembrance of which was thought to contribute not a little to their obstinacy in the matter of religion. These laws were as follows:—

1. That it should not be lawful for any person in the kingdom of Granada to wear the Moorish habit.
2. That it should not be lawful for any person in the kingdom of Granada to observe any Moorish customs.
3. That it should not be lawful for any one in that kingdom to speak Arabic, or to teach that language to their children.

The rigorous execution of these laws induced the Moriscoes to seek relief from the Grand Seignior and the Moors in Barbary, who sent eight hundred Turks, with a great quantity of arms and ammunition, into the kingdom of Granada, where they were joined by the Moors from all parts, who took up arms and renounced the profession of the Christian religion. Against these the king ordered his troops to march; but in the course of eighteen months, he was able neither to conquer them nor to starve them among the mountains. At length, however, they were totally subdued, and compelled to leave the kingdom of Granada. From this time they were dispersed over the kingdom of Castile and some other inland provinces, in which they and their posterity continued until the time of their general expulsion in the year 1610. Notwithstanding all the diligence and cruelties which were used to reconcile these Moriscoes to Christianity, they and their posterity still continued as much Mahometans in their hearts as ever they had been.

This was also the case with regard to the Moriscoes of the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon, who continued professed Mahometans for three hundred years after they were conquered by the Christians. The Spanish historians are not agreed as to the number of the Moriscoes that were driven from Spain in 1610. Some say they were a million, others that they were 900,000, but the greater number of writers concur in asserting that there were 600,000 men, women, and children, besides those that were slain or detained. The expulsion of them was a blow which Spain has not, to this day, recovered. Soon after that disastrous event, the bad effects of it began to be felt, so much so that the duke of Lerma, the chief adviser of the measure, was exiled from court and deprived of all his offices; his chief confidant and counsellor, don Rodrigo Calderon, was committed to prison, and afterwards put to death. Philip III. himself, who died soon after, is said to have had his conscience, when on his death-bed, overwhelmed with horrors, at the recollection of having, in violation of all the laws of religion and humanity, plunged more than 100,000 families into distress and misery.

READING XLII.

JOURNEY OF PRINCE CHARLES, AFTERWARDS CHARLES I.,
TO MADRID.

1623.

WITH a view of restoring the Palatinate, James I. was anxious to marry his son Charles to the Infanta of Spain, not doubting but that through the powerful assistance of the Spanish monarch he should succeed in his wish. The prince, on the other hand, at the recommendation of the duke of Buckingham, was anxious to throw an air of romance over his courtship by making his personal suit to the princess, and at length, after much difficulty, both he and the duke obtained James's consent to their journey.

The prince and Buckingham, attended by Sir Francis Cottington, Endymion Porter, and Sir Richard Graham, accordingly set off. They passed disguised and undiscovered through France, and even ventured into a court ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived in Madrid.

Philip IV. was at this time seated upon the Spanish throne, and the Infanta was his sister. This princess, who, from religious scruples, was determined rather to take the veil than to marry a heretic, had resolved never to become the wife of Charles, insisted upon the duke of Olivarez, then prime minister, breaking off the match. For this purpose that nobleman had drawn up a paper in which he endeavoured to persuade His Majesty of the ineligibility of the intended match, and it was only a few days after he had laid this document before the king, that the chief subject of it arrived in the capital of Castile.

Great was the surprise of the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at Madrid, at seeing the son of his sovereign suddenly alight at his hotel. The cause of his visit, however, that of seeing the princess whom he was to espouse, being a very natural one, the surprise which it at first occasioned quickly wore off.

At the first news of the prince's arrival, all the English who were in Madrid hastened to pay their court to him, and afterwards accompanied the Earl of Bristol to the prime minister's, in order to inform him of the circumstance. The ambassador found the duke of Olivarez seated at his table, and the latter, smiling, said to him as he entered the room, "To what unforeseen occurrence am I indebted for your lordship's visit at so unusual an hour? From the air of satisfaction which appears upon your countenance, one would suppose that the king your master had just arrived at Madrid." "I know not," replied the ambassador, "if the king of England be in your capital, but of this I am certain, that the prince his son has this moment alighted at my hotel, of which circumstance I am come to inform your grace." The duke was thunderstruck at the intelligence, foreseeing what difficulty it opposed to the breaking off of the marriage.

No sooner had the ambassador left the apartment, than Olivarez hastened to the palace to communicate the intelligence to the monarch, who was not less surprised than himself; but after a few moments' reflection, judging that the prince's journey could have no other object than to remove all the obstacles which delayed his marriage, Philip knelt down before a crucifix which stood by his bedside, and prayed aloud thus: "O my God, I swear by the mysterious union of the divine and human natures of my Saviour, who was sacrificed for me, and whom I adore, that the arrival of the prince of Wales shall not only never induce me to do aught to the prejudice of the Catholic religion, but that even should I lose all the kingdoms which I hold of his divine goodness, I will never consent that my sister shall become his consort until he abjure his errors." Then turning to his prime minister, he ordered him to spare nothing in order to entertain, with due magnificence, so great a prince, during the whole time he should remain at his court.

The duke of Olivarez having returned home, wrote out with his own hand the same night, the regulations to be followed touching the honours and ceremonial to be observed towards the prince of Wales, naming the noblemen who were to accompany him, and the officers who were to wait upon him.

In consequence of this regulation, he himself went the next morning to visit the duke of Buckingham, and after having paid him many compliments, he took him in his coach, and conducted him to an audience of the king, by whom he was received and treated with all the marks of esteem and attachment which that nobleman could desire.

The same evening he went in great state and magnificence to visit the prince of Wales, in the name of his majesty, and to congratulate him on his arrival. The following day the king, accompanied by all his court, repaired to the Earl of Bristol's and notified his wish to see the prince, who sent the duke of Buckingham to his majesty, to entreat that he would be pleased to dispense with doing him that honour in public, as he wished to preserve his incognito, in order to live with less restraint in Madrid; but that if his majesty were pleased he would see him elsewhere than at the residence of the ambassador of the king his father; this was immediately arranged, and the interview took place in a house adjoining that of the Earl of Bristol.

Philip, by the most studious civilities, showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He presented him with a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours; he took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles, for there, he said, the prince was at home. Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain on their coronation; the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself, and Olivarez, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence. All the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if an event the most honourable and most fortunate had happened to the monarch. The Infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict as not to allow of any further intercourse until a dispensation, allowing the marriage of a Catholic princess with a Protestant prince, should arrive from the pope.

Independently of his enthusiastic gallantry towards

the Infanta, and the unparelled confidence which he had placed in the honour of the Spanish nation by his romantic journey to Madrid, the decent deportment of Charles endeared him to that grave and formal people, and inspired them with the most favourable ideas of his character; while the bold manner, the unrestrained freedom of discourse, the sallies of passion, the levity and the licentiousness of Buckingham, entailed upon him the odium of the whole court. He grossly insulted, and publicly quarrelled with the duke of Olivarez; a circumstance that rendered him still more obnoxious to the Spanish courtiers, who contemplated with horror the Infanta's future condition, in being exposed to the approaches of so brutal a character.

Sensible how much he was hated by the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the court of Madrid would acquire in England, in consequence of the projected marriage, Buckingham resolved to poison the mind of the prince, and, if possible, to prevent the nuptials from taking place; and he effected his purpose. But history has not informed us by what arguments he induced Charles to offer so mortal an affront to the Spanish nation, after such generous treatment, as well as to the Infanta, whom he had gone so far to visit, and for whom he had hitherto expressed the warmest attachment.

Charles now applied to his father for permission to return, and no time was lost in preparing for his departure, while Philip graced it with all the circumstances of that elaborate civility and respect which had attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendship, and the prince, with every outward demonstration of attachment, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero.

READING XLIII.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

1625.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM ASSASSINATED BY FELTON.

1628.

JAMES I. expired on the 27th March, 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles. The three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Louis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves and of their kingdoms to their creatures and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. The important parts which all these three statesmen played on the political theatre of the world, will render it necessary to present the reader with a short biographical sketch of each.

George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and remarkable in English history for having been the favourite of two kings, was born August 20, 1592, at Brookesby, in Leicestershire, and was the son of Sir George Villiers by a second wife, of the ancient family of Beaumont. At an early age he was sent to a private school in that county, but never having manifested any disposition for classical learning, more regard was had in the course of his education to the accomplishments of a gentleman than those of a scholar. When about eighteen, he travelled in France, where he acquired the French tongue and all the exercises at that time fashionable among the nobility—such as fencing and dancing, in which last he particularly excelled. Soon after his return to England, which was at the end of three years, his mother, who was a shrewd and enterprising woman, introduced him at court; concluding probably, and not without good reason, that a young gentleman of his fine person and accomplishments could not fail of making his fortune under such a monarch as James I. The king, about March, 1614-15, went, according to his custom, to take his hunting pleasures at Newmarket, and the Cambridge scholars, who knew James's humour, invited him to a play, called "Ignoramus." At this entertainment it was arranged that Villiers should appear with every advantage of dress and person; and the king no

sooner beheld him than he was struck with admiration ; for, says Lord Clarendon, "though he was a prince of more learning and knowledge than any other of that age, and really delighted more in books and in the conversation of learned men, yet, of all wise men living, he was the most delighted and taken with handsome persons and fine clothes."

The king now began to be tired of his former favourite the Earl of Somerset ; and many of the courtiers were sufficiently angry with, and incensed against him, for having acquired a situation which they themselves had been ambitious of. The introduction, therefore, of a new favourite was by no means displeasing to them ; and, anxious for the removal of Somerset, they used their utmost efforts to forward the elevation of Villiers. The king's inclinations seconding their efforts, Villiers, after a few days' appearance at court, was made his Majesty's cupbearer. The queen is said to have been hostile to the introduction of this new favourite ; but archbishop Abbott, anxious to ruin Somerset, succeeded in removing her objections to his appointment. Villiers soon after, in 1615, was knighted, and made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, with a pension of £1000 a year. In a short time, indeed very short for so great a rise, he was made a baron, an earl, and a marquis ; was created lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque-ports, and master of the horse ; and became the channel through which all court and royal favours and honours were dispensed. This privilege he used to the advancement of his family and connexions, for he was a warm and firm friend, on all occasions adopting the interests of those he esteemed as he did his own ; but in the like degree he was a violent and rancorous enemy. "He was," according to Lord Clarendon, "of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him, and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige." He was, however, haughty and overbearing to such as thwarted him, and of too impetuous a temper to conceal his feelings.

In 1620, Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, married one of the most wealthy heiresses of whom England could boast, the only daughter of the Earl of Rutland, and in

1623, having by his arrogance towards the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., hazarded the loss of his esteem, he, in order to recover the good opinion of this heir to the monarchy, projected and succeeded in putting into execution that journey to Madrid, of which a detailed account has been given in the preceding Reading.

James died in 1625, and the power of the duke of Buckingham became still farther increased by the influence he had acquired over the mind of his youthful sovereign. He was honoured with a mission to France, for the purpose of conducting into England the royal bride Henrietta Maria. When in that country, where he displayed the utmost taste and magnificence, he exhibited an instance of arrogance and impudence scarcely credible but for the high authority of the historian who relates it. "He had the ambition," says Lord Clarendon, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of very sublime quality, Anne of Austria, queen of Louis XIII., and to pursue it with most importunate addresses; insomuch as when the king had brought the queen his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the duke, to be by him conducted into England, the duke in his journey, after the departure of that court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception; and if he had pursued his attempt, he had been, without doubt, assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to avoid the danger. But he swore in the instant, that he would see and speak with that lady in spite of the strength and power of France." In fact, his haughty soul was so incensed at the contemptuous repulse he had received, that no lesser means of gratifying his revenge would content him than a war between the two countries. The fleet which had lately returned from Cadiz was in consequence repaired, and the army reinforced, for the invasion of France, and he entered into connexion with the French Huguenots, who were threatened by the court of France with an attack upon Rochelle, their principal place of strength. The Earl of Denbigh, Buckingham's brother-in-law, was despatched to the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by sea; but he returned without

effecting anything, and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation either of cowardice or incapacity.

In order to repair this dishonour, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army; and it was here that the national discontent, which had long been indulged against this unworthy favourite, being communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon produced an event which may be considered as remarkable, and of which the following account is given by a contemporary:—

“One Felton, who had been disgusted with Buckingham for not having promoted him according to his deserts, determined to avenge himself upon the duke for this fancied injustice. Accordingly he bought, at a cutler's shop on Tower-hill, a twopenny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt), and the sheaf thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made shift, partly it is said on horseback and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth; for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At Portsmouth, on Saturday, being the 23rd of August of that current year, he pressed, without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inner chamber, where the duke was at breakfast, in company with two gentlemen of quality and action, Monsieur de Soubise and Sir Thomas Fryer; and there, a little before the duke's rising from the table, he went and stood, expecting till he should pass through a kind of lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, somewhat darker than the chamber which he quitted, while the duke came with Sir Thomas Fryer close to his ear, in the very moment as the said knight withdrew himself from the duke, this assassin gave him, with a back blow, a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired. Within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living

creature in either of the chambers. The very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity. Thus died this great peer, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in a time of great recourse unto him and dependence upon him, the house and town full of servants and suitors; his duchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of bed; and the court at that time six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness."

In the midst of the confusion caused by this daring act, no one attempted to ascertain the perpetrator of the murder; Felton might have easily escaped, but he stood unconcerned by the fire in the kitchen of the house. When the gentlemen of Buckingham's suite cried out, "Where is the villain?" he boldly stepped forward, exclaiming, "If you mean the person who killed the duke, I am the man!" Felton expected that he should have been cut to pieces by the dependents of Buckingham, and he had therefore prepared a written statement of the cause of his undertaking the assassination of this powerful nobleman. This letter is now in good preservation; the writing is firm and clear, and the contents are as follows:—

"That man is cowardly, base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or souldier, that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his king, and his countrie. Let no man commend me for doeing of it, but rather discommend themselves as the cause of it, for if God had not taken away our hearts for our sins, he would not have gone so long unpunished.—J. FELTON."

Felton was executed at Tyburn, in 1628, and his body was hung in chains at Portsmouth.

READING XLIV.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU, DIED

1642.

ARMAND JEAN DUPLESSIS, better known as the Cardinal de Richelieu, was descended from a noble family of Poitou, being the son of Francis Duplessis, lord of

Richelieu. He was born at his father's chateau, at Richelieu, although some authors assert at Paris, on 5th September, 1585. He was at first intended for the military profession, and under the name of the Marquis du Chillon received an education fitted for that career; but one of his brothers, who was bishop of Lucon, having, in a fit of devotion, turned monk, the young Armand was persuaded to change his views and become a priest, in order to prevent the bishopric from going out of the family. Having been introduced early at court, he attached himself to the fortunes of Mary de Medicis, and upon that princess being banished from Paris, followed her into her retirement. The treaty of Angoulême having, however, again allowed Mary de Medicis to return, she immediately recalled Richelieu, whose first care was to ingratiate himself with the favourite, the duke de Luynes. In 1622, Mary, in order to testify her regard for Richelieu's devotion to her interests, obtained for him a cardinal's hat. The new prelate, after having received, in great pomp, his cap from the king, and returned him the accustomed thanks, went immediately and laid this new mark of dignity at the feet of Mary de Medicis. "This purple robe," said he, "for which I am indebted to your majesty, will always remind me of the solemn vow I have taken to shed my blood in your service." The Duke d'Espernon, hitherto Mary's favourite, soon perceived that his credit declined before that of Richelieu, and it is related by Voltaire, that as he was one day descending the staircase of the Louvre, he met the cardinal, who asked him what was the news. "The news is," replied he, "that you are going up, and I, down." The elevation of the cardinal to the ministry met with much opposition from Louis XIII., who had a great dislike to him: but the importunities and remonstrances of Mary de Medicis at length prevailed, and she succeeded in introducing into the council the man who, in the sequel, reigned with all the authority of a sovereign, and condemned her old age to the miseries of exile. Richelieu's policy proposed three principal objects. 1st. The concentration of the royal power at the expense of the oppressive privileges of a nobility impatient of the restraints of law. 2nd. The entire submission of the Protestants, who were now upon the point of raising an *imperium in imperio* (a formidable

power within the state). 3rd. The humbling of the house of Austria, which had not yet abandoned its views of universal monarchy. Such plans were worthy of a genius like Richelieu's, but he found many obstacles to the success of them, one of the greatest of which was the feeble character of the king. He was unshaken, however, in his resolves, and some idea of his decision may be formed from what he said of himself to one of his ecclesiastical brethren. "When I have a project in view, I overturn everything, level everything to the right and left, and then cover all with my cardinal's robe." Steady to his plan, Richelieu first proceeded to reduce to submission the Protestant party, which was strongly supported both by Germany and England. The siege of Rochelle was the consequence. This town was taken in 1628, under the superintendence of the cardinal himself, and the king made his triumphal entry into it, preceded by the cardinal, who was attended by an immense retinue of nobles. The streets were blocked up with the dead; many were wholly uninhabited: groups of citizens, who waited for the king's passing by, cried with a dying voice—"Long live the king: mercy!" Louis was much affected by this spectacle, and Richelieu himself appeared to be moved. The number of inhabitants, which the year before amounted to nearly 30,000, were now not more than 5,000, such havoc had been made amongst them by famine and the sword. The reduction of Rochelle put an end to religious wars in France. One of the great objects of Richelieu's policy being thus attained, his next was the still more difficult one of reducing to obedience the nobles of the state, always ready to enter into negotiations with Spain, and to revolt against the royal authority. The princes and the nobility, on the other hand, were fully aware of Richelieu's intentions, and consequently they were continually forming plots against his power and his life. Richelieu commenced the execution of his plans by imprisoning the Marshal Ornano, the confidant and favourite of the king's brother, the Duke of Orleans. The grand prior, the Duke de Vendôme, and the Count de Chalas were then arrested, and the latter was executed, with circumstances of great cruelty, on the 19th August, 1626. François de Montmorency, Duke de Boutteville, and the Count de Chapelles, were the next victims: they suffered

upon the scaffold for having broken the king's ordinance against duels. The differences between Richelieu and Mary de Medicis arose upon the former's return from Rochelle. Mary exerted all her influence with the king to procure the dismissal of the minister from his court and councils, and at length obtained from him the promise so to do. While this important event was daily expected, arrived the 11th of November, 1630, a day rendered famous in history by the appellation of *the day of dupes*. The ascendancy of the queen-mother appeared decided. The report of Richelieu's disgrace became publicly known. Mary even received the congratulations of the courtiers; and the foreign ambassadors had already informed their courts of the great change. Whilst Mary, intoxicated with her success, was receiving the homage of her flatterers, and disposing, in anticipation, of places and honours, Richelieu arrives at Versailles, and presents himself before the king, who already had begun to regret the resolution he had come to. "In you," said he to the cardinal, "I possess a faithful and attached servant; and I consider myself the more obliged to protect you, as I have witnessed your respect and gratitude for the queen my mother. Be assured of my support. I shall find means to destroy the cabal formed against you by your enemies, who take advantage of the too easy credulity of the queen my mother. Continue to serve me as you have hitherto done, with fidelity, and I will defend you against all those who have conspired your ruin." Some idea may be conceived of the vast change which took place in the conduct of the courtiers both towards the queen and Richelieu, when the news of the latter's restoration to favour became known, the Luxembourg (*the queen's palace*) was deserted by the sycophants, who hastened to overwhelm Richelieu with the basest servilities by way of atonement for their desertion of him. Now came the day of vengeance, nor was the best blood of France, then shed to glut the vindictive cardinal, sufficient to appease him: he stopped not until he had driven the queen-mother into banishment.

When he had thus signalized and established his power at home, and by the energy of his measures had made France respected abroad; when he had discovered the dangerous conspiracy formed against him by De Thou and

Cinq Mars, and caused them to expiate their treachery on the scaffold; when, in short, his ascendancy, both in and out of France, appeared no longer doubtful; when nothing now remained for him but to enjoy his triumphs and to make free use of unlimited and irresponsible power, death came to surprise him, and extinguished that genius which had astonished the world and confounded his enemies. Louis, informed of the cardinal's danger, paid him a visit on the 2nd of December, 1642. "Sire," said Richelieu to him, "receive my last farewell. In bidding adieu to your majesty, I have the consolation of leaving your kingdom more powerful than it has ever been, and all your enemies subdued. The only recompense I ask from you in return, is that you will continue your goodness and favour towards my nephews and other relatives; I shall give them my blessing upon one condition only—that they shall serve you always with inviolable fidelity. The council of your majesty is composed of persons competent to serve you with effect, and your majesty will therefore act wisely in retaining them near your sacred person." Richelieu fulfilled with great scrupulosity all the religious ceremonies enjoined by the church. On the 3rd, at daybreak, he expressed his wish to receive extreme unction. The curate of St. Eustache told him that a person of his rank might, with propriety, dispense with all the formalities which Christians of an inferior degree were expected to observe. Richelieu, convinced by nature of the nothingness of all human grandeur, and little affected in his last moments by any feelings of pride, repelled the flattery which pursued him even to his death-bed; he performed all the required ceremonies, and, in short, omitted nothing which religion, decency, and the spirit of that age required from a man of his character and profession. He died on the 4th of December, 1642, at the age of fifty-seven years.

READING XLV.

GASPARD DE GUZMAN, COUNT D'OLIVAREZ, PRIME
MINISTER OF PHILIP IV. OF SPAIN, DIED
1645.

THIS celebrated minister was born at Rome, in the year 1587, whilst his father, the second count of Olivarez, filled the office of Spanish ambassador, at the papal court of Sextus V. Upon quitting the university of Salamanca, where he had particularly distinguished himself by considerable talents, he was presented at the court of Philip III. Having thus made his first step, he applied himself most assiduously to gain the favour and good opinion of the Infant (*the eldest son of the king*), who was afterwards Philip IV. His efforts were so far crowned with success, that in the year 1621, upon the accession of Philip IV., who was only sixteen years of age when his father died, Olivarez was called to take upon himself the administration of the kingdom. He was then thirty-two years old, and one of his first acts was to dismiss the old duke of Lerma, who, after having governed Spain under Philip III., considered himself as the natural Mentor or director of his successor. Olivarez undeceived him; but he at first dissembled his ambition, by leaving the title of prime minister to Don Balthasar. This act of hypocrisy redoubled the friendship of Philip IV. for him, who expressed his satisfaction by bestowing on him the title of duke of San Lucar, and from that moment Olivarez was always addressed as the count-duke. His affected modesty lasted only three or four months, after which time he deprived his uncle of the reins of government, and manifested his presumption by giving the boy-king the title of "great," a title neither confirmed by his contemporaries nor by posterity.

Europe had at this period, amongst its other misfortunes, that of seeing three young kings governed by favourites—Buckingham in England, Olivarez in Spain, and Richelieu in France. All these three detested each other. The hatred of the first of the three was terminated by his death, as we have seen, in 1628. Richelieu's most anxious object was to humble the house of Austria; while the policy of Olivarez, on the contrary, was not only to secure

for it the dominion of entire Germany, but also to recover the United Provinces, which had separated themselves from Spain. One of the chief obstacles to the ambitious projects of the Spanish minister, was the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany; but the death of that gallant monarch giving him fresh energy, he despatched an army of twenty thousand men to the assistance of the emperor Ferdinand, in order to repair the disastrous battle of Lutzen; but this aid was given upon the condition that Austria in its turn should assist him in again reducing the United States beneath the Spanish yoke. Notwithstanding all these efforts, Holland, fortunately, preserved its independence. Unsuccessful in all his attempts against France, he became unpopular, and increased still more the general dissatisfaction as well as the hatred of the nobles, by the arrogance of his manners, and by the enormous sacrifices which he required from all ranks. The favourite exasperated the nation still further by the threat he had thrown out, of subjecting to one uniform and absolute government the different provinces of Spain. The Catalonians, jealous of their privileges, rose in arms against a detested minister, massacred their viceroy, and drove out the royal army. Olivarez carried his presumption so far as to congratulate himself upon a revolt which afforded him a pretext for avenging his own injuries, and accomplishing his plan of despotism. But a fresh army, raised at a great expense, was repulsed before Barcelona, to which it had laid siege. Philip IV. wished to march in person against the rebels; but the count-duke feared the freedom of the camp, and dissuaded the king from his purpose. He caused a third army, chiefly composed of Portuguese nobles and their vassals, to march against Catalonia. Portugal had, since the reign of Philip II., been subjected to the Spanish monarchy, but Vasconcellos, the son-in-law of Olivarez, having exasperated the people of Lisbon by his insolence and exactions, Dom John, duke of Bragança, mounted the throne of Portugal, an event which will be described in the subsequent pages. The manner in which Olivarez announced the loss of a kingdom to his master, is perhaps unexampled in history. "Sire," said he, "I bring you good news. The duke of Bragança has lost his senses; he has allowed himself to be proclaimed king of Portugal, and

the confiscation of his property will bring into your treasury at least twelve millions." The death of his rival Richelieu, which happened in 1642, was a consolation he was not fated long to enjoy. So many accumulated disasters excited loud cries of indignation against their author; the nobles and the people combined in working his downfall. But the hatred of an entire nation was as yet insufficient to overturn his power. He himself filled up the measure of his iniquities by marrying, in 1642, the daughter of one of the highest noblemen of Castile, to his illegitimate son, whom he had recalled from India in order to introduce at court. No greater insult could be offered to a haughty nobility. It was then that the count de Grana, the emperor's ambassador, seconded the public indignation by the entreaties and remonstrances of his master. At length, on the 15th January, 1643, Philip IV. resolved to banish his favourite to his estate at Luèches. But this indolent prince knew not how to wield his sceptre, and it is probable, that notwithstanding all the representations of the nobles, he would have again succumbed to the favourite's yoke, had not the pride of Olivarez happily come to the assistance of so much weakness. He published, under the title of *Antidoto contra las Calumnias* (an antidote against calumnies), a document so much in praise of himself, so insulting to all the grandees of the kingdom, and so indiscreet, by the disclosure of many state secrets, that the king at length could not but participate in the indignation of his people. The count-duke, banished to Toro, in the kingdom of Leon, died there in a state of despair, according to some writers three months, and to others three years, after his disgrace. His political inheritance had already passed into the hands of his nephew, Don Luis Guzman de Haro, who was his most mortal enemy. Olivarez had undoubtedly great talents, much activity, and considerable application, but he possessed not the valuable art of making a judicious choice of his agents, and was almost always betrayed by fortune, because he exacted too much from her. As to integrity, it is but justice to say that Olivarez did not become rich; he, however, constantly and systematically deceived his master, and, in a prime minister, political honesty is, of all virtues, the most necessary and indispensable.

READING XLVI.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, KING OF SWEDEN.

1632.

AMONG all the illustrious characters, whether statesmen, warriors, or churchmen, who have defended and furthered the great cause of Protestantism, few can equal, but none excel, the virtuous Gustavus Adolphus, who may be considered as having fallen a martyr in the cause of the reformed religion. Gustavus Adolphus was a minor by the law of Sweden, when he ascended the throne; but he was permitted by the states of the realm to assume the personal exercise of government. He soon signalized himself by his exploits against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown, and having concluded an advantageous truce of six years with Poland in 1629, he had more leisure to take part in the affairs of Germany, and to exhibit more fully those heroic qualities which will ever command the admiration of mankind.

The motives which chiefly induced Gustavus to take up arms against the head of the empire, were the love of glory, and zeal for the Protestant religion. These, however, did not transport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He imparted his design to the States of Sweden; and negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I., still desirous of the restoration of the Palatinate, agreed to send the king of Sweden six thousand men. The people were more forward than the king. The flower of Gustavus's army, and many of his best officers, by the time he entered Germany, consisted of Scottish and English adventurers, who thronged over to support the Protestant cause, and to seek renown under the champion of their religion; so that the conquests even of this illustrious hero may be partly ascribed to British valour and British talent.

Gustavus entered Pomerania, and soon after made himself master of Colberg, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and several other important places. The Protestant princes, however, were still backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the Imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance.

In order to put an end to this irresolution, Gustavus summoned the Elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days ; and on receiving an evasive answer, he marched immediately to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect ; the gates were thrown open, and the king was received as a friend.

He was soon after joined by the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony, who, being persecuted by the Catholic confederates, put themselves under his protection. He now marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly, the emperor's general, lay encamped. That experienced commander advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans. The king's army consisted of nearly an equal number of men ; but the Saxon auxiliaries, being raw and undisciplined, fled at the first onset, yet did Gustavus, by his superior conduct, and the extraordinary valour of the Swedes, obtain a complete victory over Tilly and the Imperialists.

This blow threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation ; and, if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is supposed that he could have made himself master of that capital. But it is impossible for human foresight to discern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great stroke of fortune. Hannibal wasted his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he might have led his victorious army to Rome ; and Gustavus Adolphus, instead of besieging Vienna, or ravaging the emperor's hereditary dominions, took a different route, and had the satisfaction of erecting a column on the opposite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate the progress of his arms.

The consequences of the battle of Leipsic, however, were great, nor did Gustavus fail to improve that victory which he had so gloriously earned. He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, whom his success had inspired with courage. The measures of the Catholic confederates were utterly disconcerted ; and the king of Sweden made himself master of the whole country, from the Elbe to the Rhine, a space of about ninety leagues, abounding with fortified towns.

The Elector of Saxony, in the mean time, entered

Bohemia, and took Prague. Count Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Leck (April 15th, 1632), and Gustavus, who, by that passage, gained immortal honour, soon after reduced Augsburg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He then marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. He entered the capital in triumph, and thus had an opportunity of displaying the liberality of his mind. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be described) which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdeburg, to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes—"No!" replied he; "let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights of conquest in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art."

During these transactions, the renowned Wallestein, who had been for some time in disgrace, but was restored to the chief command with unlimited powers, soon after the defeat at Leipsic, had recovered Prague and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremburg; but the cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king was repulsed in the attempt to force his entrenchments. The action lasted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack.

The king's person was in imminent danger; the Austrian cavalry, sallying out furiously from their entrenchments on the right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken; and a masterly retreat alone could have saved him from a total overthrow. That service was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at the assault. To him Gustavus applied in distress, seeing no officer of equal experience, at hand, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity of spirit. He was not deceived, Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment. "This," said he (and he persevered in his resolution), "is the last time that ever I will serve so ungrateful a prince!" Elate with the opportunity of gathering fresh laurels, and

of exalting himself in the eyes of a master by whom he thought himself injured, he rushed into the midst of the battle, delivered the orders of the king of Sweden to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the Imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance.

This severe check and happy escape from almost inevitable ruin, ought surely to have moderated the ardour of Gustavus, but unfortunately it had not that effect.

READING XLVII.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS OF SWEDEN.—BATTLE OF LUTZEN.
1632.

SOON after the king of Sweden arrived at Naumberg, he learned that Wallestein had moved his camp from Weissenfels to Lutzen; and although that movement freed him from all necessity of fighting, as it left open his way into Saxony, he nevertheless determined to risk a battle. He intended to have begun the action two hours before day, but the extreme darkness of the night rendered the execution of the latter part of his plan impracticable; and when morning began to dawn, November 16th, and the sun to dispel the thick fog that had obscured the sky, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Across the line, in which the Swedish left wing proposed to advance, was cut a deep ditch too difficult for the troops to pass; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army move to the right, in order to occupy the ground which lay between the ditch and the hostile camp.

This movement was not made without some trouble and a considerable loss of time. When he had completed it, Gustavus ordered two hymns to be sung; and, riding along the lines with a commanding air, harangued in spirit-stirring words his Swedish troops and German allies. Having then disposed his army in order of battle, the warlike monarch took upon himself, according to custom, the particular command of the right wing, attended by the duke of Saxe-Lawenberg, Crailtham,

grand-master of the household, a body of English and Scottish gentlemen, and a few domestics. The action soon became general, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. But the veteran Swedish brigades of the first line, though the finest troops in the world, and esteemed invincible, found the passing of certain ditches, which Wallestein had ordered to be hollowed and lined with musketeers, so exceedingly difficult that their ardour began to abate, and they seemed to pause, when their heroic prince flew to the dangerous station, and, dismounting, snatched a partisan (*pique*) from one of his officers, saying, in an austere tone, accompanied with a stern look :—

“If, after having passed so many rivers, scaled the walls of numberless fortresses, and conquered in various battles, your native intrepidity hath at last deserted you: stand firm, at least, for a few seconds; have yet the courage to behold your master die in a manner worthy of himself!” and he proceeded to cross the ditch.

“Stop, sire! for the sake of heaven,” cried all the soldiers; “spare your valuable life! Distrust us not, we will do our duty!”

Satisfied, after such an assurance, that his brave brigades in the centre would not deceive him, Gustavus returned to the head of the right wing, and making his horse spring boldly across the last ditch, set an example of gallantry to his officers and soldiers, which they thought themselves bound to imitate.

Having cast his eye over the enemy's left wing that opposed him, he observed three squadrons of Imperial cuirassiers, completely clad in steel, and, calling Colonel Stalhaus to him, said, “Stalhaus! charge home these black fellows; for they are the men that will otherwise undo us.”

The colonel executed the orders of his royal master with great intrepidity and effect. But in the mean time, about two hours after the commencement of the battle, Gustavus lost his life. He was then fighting, sword in hand, at the head of the Smalkand cavalry, which closed the right flank of the centre of his army, and is supposed to have outstripped, in his ardour, the invincible brigades that composed his main body. The Swedes fought like roused lions to revenge the death of their king; many

and vigorous were their struggles; and the approach of night alone prevented Kinphausen and the duke of Saxe-Weimar from gaining a decisive victory.

During nine hours did the battle rage with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with greater courage than the plain of Lutzen, where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force, and almost completed its destruction. Nor could the flight of the Saxons, or the arrival of Papenheim, one of the ablest generals in the Imperial service, with seven thousand fresh combatants, shake the unconquerable firmness of the Swedes. The death of Gustavus deserves more particular notice.

The king first received a ball in his left arm. This wound he disregarded for a time, still pressing on with intrepid valour. The soldiers, perceiving their leader to be wounded, expressed their sorrow on that account. "Courage, comrades!" exclaimed he, "the hurt is nothing; let us resume our ardour and maintain the charge." At length, however, when his voice and strength began to fail, he desired the duke of Saxe-Lawenberg to convey him to some place of safety.

In that instant, as his brave associates were preparing to conduct him out of the scene of action, an Imperial cavalier advanced unobserved, and crying aloud, "Long have I sought thee!" shot Gustavus through the body with a pistol ball. But this bold champion did not long enjoy the glory of his dastardly act, for the duke's master of the horse shot him dead while the vaunting words yet lingered on his lips.

Piccolimini's cuirassiers now made a furious attack upon the king's companions. Gustavus was held up on his saddle for some time; but his horse, having received a wound in the shoulder, made a frightful plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, threw themselves over their master's body; and one gentleman of the bedchamber, who lay on the ground, having cried out, in order to save his sovereign's life, that he was the king of Sweden, was instantly stabbed to the heart by an Imperial cuirassier.

Gustavus being afterwards asked who he was, replied with heroic firmness and magnanimity, "I am the king

of Sweden! and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany!" The Imperialists give him five wounds, and a bullet passed through his head: yet had he strength to exclaim, "My God! my God! Alas, my poor queen! alas, my poor queen!" His body was recovered by Stalhaus, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of Piccolimini, who strove to carry it off.

READING XLVIII.

TERMINATION OF THE SPANISH POWER IN PORTUGAL,
AND ELEVATION OF THE DUKE OF BRAGANÇA TO THE
THRONE OF THAT COUNTRY.

1640.

THE Portuguese, naturally disgusted with the tyrannical yoke of Spain, under which they had been reduced by Philip II., were with one consent anxious to be again under the dominion of native princes, and with this view cast their eyes on the duke of Bragança. This prince was in the flower of his age, and grandson to John duke of Bragança, who had been competitor to Philip. His father, Don Theodosius, had been a warm friend to his country, and having opposed the first insults of the Castilians with great dignity and spirit, had by this conduct endeared himself exceedingly to the people. It was not without great difficulty that the duke, who was of a gentle and quiet temper, and rather indolent than active, was prevailed upon to enter into the views of the revolutionists; but having been ordered to repair to the court of Madrid, where suspicions of his conduct had already been excited, it became necessary for him to act with decision, and therefore, after mature reflection, he thought it expedient to send for his secretary Antonio Paez Viegas, a person of great sagacity, and to lay before him the whole state of the matter. Instead of giving his opinion, the secretary asked him whether, if the associated lords, in imitation of the United Provinces, had resolved to set up a Republic, he would not have sacrificed his own rights to the welfare of his country? "Yes," replied the duke, "and my fortunes and my

life, if necessary, to her safety." "Why, then," said the secretary, "should you hesitate at receiving a crown which it is her interest to offer you, and to which you have a just title?" Having said this, he knelt and kissed his hand. The duke then communicated the secret to the duchess, who, after a little reflection, said, "My lord, a violent death certainly awaits you at Madrid, and it may be at Lisbon; there, you will die a miserable prisoner, but here, covered with glory, and a king. This is the worst that can happen; we ought rather to confide in the love of the people, your just claim, and the divine protection." The secretary, without speaking, knelt and kissed her hand likewise. The duke then sent for Mendoça, one of the associated lords, introduced him to the duchess, and then told him he might assure those who sent him that they might dispose of him as they thought fit, and that upon the day fixed he would cause himself to be proclaimed throughout all his own estates, and wherever he had any influence.

All these transactions were in the last five months of the year, and the first time mentioned for taking up arms was the month of March ensuing; but when they came to examine things more minutely, they found it impossible to put off the attempt so long. Mendoça again repaired to the duke to consult with him, and the latter afterwards sent for his confidant and master of his household, Juan Pinto Ribeiro, from Lisbon, whom he enjoined to acquaint the lords to keep punctual to Saturday, 1st December, which was the day they last appointed, and to direct all their efforts to the seizing of Lisbon, for they had some thoughts of attacking Évora, which he disapproved of. As the time drew nearer they were obliged to take some considerable citizens into their party, and a monk, one Father Nicholas de Maja, who brought the magistrates to concur with them; so that by this time the design was in the hands of at least five hundred persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, a circumstance which made the deferring it more dangerous than the execution. Yet even after this there fell out accidents that were very near compelling them to postpone it, and it certainly would have been put off, if the duke of Bragança had not constantly insisted he could no longer delay setting out for Madrid, and that he had

nothing to hope if he remained still a subject of Portugal. Pinto held all the associates closely united, and with the utmost hazard, and the most indefatigable industry, laboured to adjust everything, so as to have it ready by the time; Father Nicholas also was very useful in promoting, although cautiously, and in very ambiguous terms, that spirit it was so necessary to raise.

At length, Saturday, the 1st of December, came, when the confederates met early at the houses of Almeida and the other great men, where they were to arm themselves. In all their countenances appeared such confidence as gave hopes of victory. All being armed, they repaired to the palace by several ways, and most of them in litters, the better to conceal their number and arms; one party stopped in the hall of the German guard, another advanced as far as the vice-queen's apartments; some posted themselves opposite the castle-gates, and others proceeded to the port, in order to restrain the Spanish fleet and the troops aboard; the remainder separated themselves into two divisions, one of which posted itself opposite the Spanish body-guard, which was at the door of the royal palace, and the other near the apartments in the palace occupied by Vasconcellos the governor; independently of these, several other parties were dispersed throughout different parts of the city.

As soon as the clock struck nine, the report of a pistol was heard. This was the signal which had been agreed upon for the commencement of operations. Immediately those who had been destined to surprise the German guard having approached the racks upon which were hung the arms of the soldiers, who, suspecting nothing, were walking about their hall, seized their weapons so quickly that, with the exception of a single sentinel who was killed when wishing to make resistance, all the rest were incapacitated from opposing the attempt of the patriots. Those who had gone to the port were equally successful, having surprised the fleet and made prisoners all the Spaniards that were aboard; those who were destined to attack Vasconcellos and immolate him to the public hatred, forced open the doors of his apartment, and finding him hidden in a large clothes' press, dragged him forth, massacred him, and then threw the yet bleeding corpse to the populace, that they might glut their ven-

geance upon it. Then several of the conspirators having entered the apartment of the vice-queen, who had already been informed of the death of Vasconcellos, she told them that if the tumult and disorder which reigned throughout the palace had no other object than the particular punishment of Vasconcellos, they should put an end to the confusion, and quiet the sedition, assuring them, upon her word, that the king of Spain would grant them a full pardon for what they had just done; but they replied, that as they had avenged themselves for their past wrongs, upon the late unworthy minister, so had they taken measures to preserve their liberties in future, by choosing as their sovereign Dom Juan IV., late the duke of Bragança. At these words the vice-queen, enraged to the highest degree, called them traitors and rebels; and, with a countenance inflamed with anger, threatened to have them all hung; upon which one of the conspirators told her to moderate her fury, and to cease her menaces, for that it was impolitic in her to use such expressions towards those who had it in their power to do what might be displeasing to her. "And what could you do to me?" cried she. "Merely throw your highness out of the window." The vice-queen was then compelled to leave the palace, being, for greater security, conducted to the establishment devoted to the education of the Infants (*princes*) of Portugal. Thus was the revolution which placed the family of Bragança upon the throne of Portugal completed.

READING XLIX.

EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

1648.

AFTER the most resolute and able resistance, Charles was compelled to succumb to the power of the parliament, who, proceeding to the last extremity, subjected him to trial, and afterwards to decapitation. The following particulars of the execution of this unfortunate

monarch are extracted from the public papers of that period, and will be found replete with interest:—

“This day’s proceeding is intelligence enough to finish this week, for the king was brought from St. James’s to Whitehall, and after a short stay there, about twelve at noon, came through the banqueting-house, near which place the scaffold was erected for his execution. Being come to the scaffold, attended with Colonel Tomlinson and other officers, he made his last speech.

“He first said he would have chosen to have been silent, but that some might think that he did submit to the guilt as well as the punishment. He said that he never did begin a war with the two houses of parliament, which would be manifest, if the parliament commissions and his were produced and examined. That God’s judgments were just upon him for suffering an unjust sentence (that of Earl Stafford) to take effect. That he forgave all the world. That they (meaning the parliament and army) were out of the way, and he would put them in the way—to give each his due; the king his due, his successors theirs, and God his due, by calling a national synod (*assembly of divines*). That he was a martyr of the people,—and being minded by Dr. Juxon concerning religion, he said he died a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England. His speech done, the executioner cut off his head. After his execution, proclamation was made in these words, viz., ‘Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, being for the notorious treasons and murders committed in the late unnatural and cruel war condemned to death: it is enacted and ordained by this present parliament, that no person or persons whatsoever presume to declare, publish, or any way promote Charles Stuart, son of the said Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other person to be king or chief magistrate of England or Ireland, or any of the dominions belonging to them, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the people in parliament; upon pain to be condemned and judged as a traitor.’”—*Army’s Modest Intelligencer*, Jan. 30.

“The 30th January, 1648, was Charles, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, put to death by beheading, over against the banqueting-house of Whitehall, the

place where formerly King James had all the fencers in London encountered, in their school way, for content (*the amusement*) of the king of Denmark, who came out of his kingdom to visit him, the scaffold being made from the *same window*, and in the same manner, only larger. But to come to what passed between his sentence and execution: as he was passing, after sentence, to his lodgings, there was a cry of 'Execution!' upon which he, turning towards them, smiling, spake to one of his attendants, saying, 'Poor creatures, for sixpence they would say as much of their commanders.' Entering the house, one of his servants departed, weeping; which he seeing, said, 'You can forbid their attendance, not their tears.' That night he commanded his dogs should be taken away and sent to his wife, as not willing to have anything present that might take him off of serious consideration of himself.

"The bishop of London sat up with him all Saturday night. Sunday he dined and supped in his bed-chamber. Monday night he lay at St. James's: being told the next day was for his execution, he declared a great deal of readiness to come to it. He walked through the park, as his former use was, very fast, and called to his guard, in a pleasant manner, 'March apace,' that he might make haste. The scaffold was hung with baize, also the rails about it; the block, a little piece of wood, flat at bottom, about a foot and a half long. Having ended his speech, he prepared for death, putting on his cap, and off his doublet; and presently he laid his head over the block, which was at one blow struck off by one in disguise, and taken up by another in disguise also, who held up the head, but said nothing."—*Moderate Intelligencer*.

"No man could have come up with more confidence, and appearance of resolution than he did; viewing the block (with the axe lying upon it), and an iron staple in the scaffold to bind him down to the block, in case he had refused to submit himself freely, without being any ways daunted: yea, when the deputies of that grim tyrant, Death, appeared with a terrifying disguise, the king, with a pleasant countenance, said he freely forgave them."—*Perfect Weekly Account*.

"The king's body is embalmed, the head sewed on, and removed to St. James's. It is referred to a committee to

consider of the time, manner, and place of his burial. And in regard this is the last time mention will be made of him as a king, it will be pardoned to say something more than usual. He was the third son of his father, King James, born in Scotland, November 19, 1600, and was created Duke of York, at Whitehall, the 6th of January, 1604; and on the 4th November, 1616, he was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and began his reign over Great Britain the 27th March, 1625, and reigned twenty-three years."—*The Weekly Intelligencer*, February 3.

READING L.

THE MASKED EXECUTIONER OF CHARLES I.

It is a known fact that the person who performed the office of executioner upon the unfortunate Charles was disguised in a mask. Many surmises have been made as to the real party. The following accounts will throw some light upon it.

The first is from the "History of his Life and Times," by William Lily. "Many," says he, "have curiously inquired who it was that cut off his (the king's) head: I have no permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say, he that did it is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune." The consequence of this passage was Lily's examination at the restoration, before the first parliament of Charles II. in June, 1660, and which he describes thus:—

"At my first appearance, many of the young members affronted me highly, and demanded several scurrilous questions. Mr. Weston held a paper before his mouth and bade me answer nobody but Mr. Prinn. I obeyed his command, and saved myself much trouble thereby; and when Mr. Prinn put any difficult or doubtful query unto me, Mr. Weston prompted me with a fit answer. At last, after almost one hour's tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the person that cut

Charles the First's head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows, viz.—

"That the next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, secretary to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, at that time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peerson and several others along with him to dinner. That their principal discourse all dinner-time was only who it was that beheaded the king. One said it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others also were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took me by the hand and carried me to the south window: saith he, 'These are all mistaken; they have not named the man that did the fact; it was *Lieutenant-colonel Joice*. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work; stood behind him when he did it; when done, went in with him again. There is no man knows this but my master (viz., Cromwell), Commissary Ireton, and myself.' 'Doth not Mr. Rushworth know it?' saith I. 'No, he doth not know it,' saith Spavin. The same thing Spavin hath often related to me when we were alone."

The second relation concerning this mysterious executioner is taken from D'Arnaud's *Délassements de l'Homme sensible*. M. D'Arnaud protests that he received the particulars from a man of letters, of the strictest integrity, to whom it was related by an intimate friend of Lord Stair's.

This lord, says M. D'Arnaud, was the favourite of George II., and one of the generals of the English army at the battle of Dettingen. The dispositions of the Marshal de Noailles were made with so much judgment and ability that nothing but the impetuosity of a subaltern French officer saved the allied army from destruction, and even gave them an unexpected victory. The consequence was that Lord S., who was the only individual who appeared to be aware of the unskilful movements of the allies, but whose opinion and advice were disregarded, lost the favour of his sovereign, and retired from the army in disgust. On his arrival in London he proposed to reside on his estate in Scotland; but some days before his intended departure, he received a letter, written in a very extraordinary style, calculated

at once to create curiosity in a mind not easily daunted. The contents of this letter were to request an interview at a particular time and place, upon business of the utmost importance, and requiring him to come alone. His lordship, who did not pay immediate attention to the communication, received a second the next day, in a style still more energetic.

This second summons appeared too singular to be disregarded. Lord S. therefore proceeded, unaccompanied, as desired, but not unarmed, to the place of rendezvous. He felt something like fear, upon entering one of the bye places in the metropolis, which most commonly have for their inhabitants the victims of poverty or of crime. He ascended a dirty and broken staircase into a garret, where by the glimmering light, he perceived a man stretched upon a bed, apparently extremely old. "My lord," said this unexpected object, "I was impatient to see you: I have heard of your renown. Sit down, you can have no apprehensions from a man who is one hundred and twenty-five years old." Lord S. took a seat, expecting, with the greatest anxiety and impatience, the elucidation of this surprising adventure, while the aged man proceeded to inquire if his lordship had not occasion for certain papers which related to his family and fortune. His lordship, much affected, replied, "Yes, I am in want of certain documents, the absence of which keeps me still from the possession of a considerable part of my inheritance." "There," returned the old man, presenting him with the key of a small casket, "those writings are there deposited." "To whom," rejoined his lordship, "am I indebted for this inestimable treasure?" "Oh, my son," replied the old man, "come and embrace your great grandfather." "My great grandfather!" interrupted his lordship, with the greatest astonishment.

But how much was that astonishment increased, when this ancestor informed him that he was the masked executioner of King Charles I. "An insatiable thirst of vengeance," continued he, "impelled me to this abominable crime. I had been treated, as I imagined, with the greatest indignity by my sovereign. I suspected him of having seduced my daughter; I sacrificed every sense of loyalty and virtue to avenge this fancied injury; I entered into all the designs of Cromwell and his

associates; I paved the way to his usurpation; I even refined upon vengeance; I solicited Cromwell to allow me to be the executioner; and, to fill up the measure of my guilt, the unhappy king knew, before the fatal blow, the man that was to inflict it. From that day my soul has been a prey to distraction and remorse. I have been an exile, a voluntary outcast, in Europe and Asia near eighty years. Heaven, as if to punish me with greater severity, has prolonged my existence beyond the ordinary term of nature. This casket is the only remains of my fortune, and I have come here to end my miserable life. I had heard of your disgrace at court, so much the contrary to what your virtues merited, and I was desirous, before breathing my last, to contribute thus to your happiness. All I ask for in return is, that you abandon me to my wretched fate, and that you sometimes drop a tear to the memory of one whose long and sincere repentance has, I trust, at last expiated his crime."

Lord S. earnestly implored his aged ancestor to retire with him into Scotland, and there to live for the remainder of his days under a fictitious name. He long withstood all these importunities; but at length, wearied out with continued and reiterated entreaties, he consented, or rather appeared to acquiesce in his relative's wish. But the next day, upon his lordship's return to the house, he found that his great grandfather had quitted it, nor, although he made the most persevering inquiries after him, could he ever discover what had become of him.

READING LI.

MASSANIELLO, THE FISHERMAN OF NAPLES.

1648.

ONE of the most extraordinary instances in history, of a successful attempt upon the part of a populace to resist tyrannical power, occurred at Naples, in the same year which witnessed the death of our own Charles the First.

Tommaso Aniello, commonly called Massaniello, a remarkable leader of revolt, was the son of a fisherman of

Amalfi, where he was born about the year 1623. At the time of his birth, the kingdom of Naples was under the dominion of the house of Austria, and was governed by a viceroy. Although the Neapolitans had for some years evinced their attachment and liberality towards their masters by cheerfully bearing various onerous taxes; yet, upon the occasion, in the year 1646, of a new imposition in the shape of a tax upon fruit, the people, thus deprived of their ordinary and favourite article of food, determined to rid themselves not only of this, but of every other species of exaction. The viceroy, to whom petitions, as well as personal applications, had been addressed, promised to redress their grievances, but being assured by the farmers, that to remove the tax would not only prejudice their interests, but also render insolent a wretched mob, he retracted his word, and refused to take any measures to do away the evil complained of.

At this time Massaniello, who was twenty-four years of age, was living near the great market-place at Naples. He was stout, of a pleasing countenance, and in stature about the middle height. His dress consisted of linen trowsers and waistcoat, generally blue, with a sailor's scarlet cap; he wore neither shoes nor stockings. This man having noticed the complaints then prevalent throughout the lower orders, was returning home one day, much out of humour with the state of things, when he met a well-known bandit of the name of Perrone, who, together with his companion, had fled to a church by way of refuge or asylum. Being asked by them what had so ruffled his temper, he replied furiously, "May I be hanged if I do not see this city righted." "You right the city, indeed," exclaimed they, laughing; "you are a fine fellow, to be sure!" "Pray," rejoined Massaniello, "pray do not mock me. I take heaven to witness that if I could find only two or three more, determined like myself, the thing should be done. Will you join me?" "Willingly," replied they. "Give me your words, then." This done, he went his way. Shortly afterwards, when some of his fish had been seized by the officers, because he had not paid the tax, he determined to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people on account of the tax upon fruit. Proceeding, therefore, to the fruit shops which were in that part of the city, he advised the popu-

lace to come next day determined to tell the country fruiterers that they would purchase no more taxed fruit: but not succeeding according to his wishes in this first attempt, he formed another design to raise a tumult in the market-place on the festival of the Carmelites, usually celebrated about the middle of July, when, between five and six hundred youths entertained the people by a mock fight; one half of them in the character of Turks defending a wooden castle, which is attacked and stormed by the other half in the character of Christians. Massaniello being appointed captain of one of these parties, and Perrone of the other, they were, for several weeks before the festival, very diligent in reviewing and training their followers who were armed with sticks and canes; but a small and unforeseen accident tempted them to begin their enterprise without waiting for the festival.

On the 7th July, a disturbance happened in the market-place between the tax-gatherers and some gardeners of Pozzuolo, who had brought some figs into the city, whether the buyer or the seller should pay the duty; after the tumult had continued for some hours, Massaniello, who was present with his company, excited the mob to pillage the office built in the market for receiving the duty and to drive away the officers with stones. The respectable portion of the people present, who by deciding against the gardeners, had increased the tumult, ran to the palace, and informed the viceroy, but he, most imprudently, neglected all means of putting a stop to the commotion. Massaniello, in the mean time, being joined by great numbers of people, ordered his young troop to set fire to all the offices for the taxes throughout the city; which command being executed with despatch, he then conducted them directly to the palace, where the viceroy, instead of ordering the Spanish and German guards to disperse them, encouraged their insolence, by timidly granting their demands. As they rushed into the palace in a furious manner, he escaped by a private door, and endeavoured to save himself in the Castel del Ovo; but being overtaken by the rioters in the streets, he was trampled upon, and pulled by the hair and whiskers. However, by throwing some handfuls of gold among them, he again escaped and took sanctuary in a convent of Minims (*an order of monks*); where being joined by the archbishop of Naples,

Cardinal Filomarino, and several nobles, he signed an ordinance by which he abolished all taxes upon provisions. He likewise desired the cardinal to offer Massaniello a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns, but he generously rejected the bribe, declaring that if the viceroy would keep his word, he would find them obedient servants.

It was now expected that the tumult would cease ; but Massaniello, upon his return to the market-place, being joined by several malcontents, among whom were Gennino and Perrone, he was advised by them to order the houses of all concerned in raising the tax to be burned, which were accordingly in a few days reduced to ashes, with all their rich furniture. Massaniello, being now absolute master of the whole city, and joined by many persons of desperate fortunes, required the viceroy, who had retired to the Castel Nuovo, to abolish all the taxes, and to deliver up the writ of exemption granted by Charles V. This new demand greatly embarrassed the viceroy, but to appease the people, he drew up a false deed in letters of gold, and sent it to them by their favourite, the duke of Matalone, whom he now set at liberty. The fraud, however, being discovered, the duke was pulled from his horse, ill-treated by the mob, and at length committed as a prisoner to the custody of Perrone. This accident, to the great joy of the viceroy, enraged the people against the nobility, several of whom they killed, burnt the houses of others, and threatened to extirpate them all. Massaniello, in the mean time, tattered and half naked, commanded his followers, who were now well armed and reckoned about one hundred thousand men, with a most absolute sway. He ate and slept little, gave his orders with great precision and judgment ; appearing full of moderation, without ambition and interested views. But the duke of Matalone having procured his liberty by bribing Perrone, the viceroy imitated his example, and secretly corrupted Gennino to betray his chief. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against Massaniello by Matalone and Perrone ; the duke, who was equally exasperated against the viceroy, proposing, that after his death his brother D. Joseph should head the rebels.

Massaniello, in the mean time, through the cardinal archbishop, was negotiating a general peace and accom-

modation ; but while both parties were assembling in the convent of the Carmelites, the banditti hired by Matalone made an unsuccessful attempt upon Massaniello's life. His followers immediately killed a hundred and fifty of them. Perrone and D. Joseph, being discovered to be concerned in the conspiracy, were likewise put to death, and the duke escaped with difficulty. Massaniello, by this conspiracy, was rendered more suspicious and severe. He began to abuse his power by putting several persons to death upon slight pretences ; and, to force the viceroy to an accommodation, he cut off all communication with the castles, which were unprovided with provisions and ammunition. The viceroy, likewise, being afraid lest the French should take advantage of the commotion, earnestly desired to agree to a treaty, which was accordingly concluded, on the fifth day of the insurrection, by the mediation of the archbishop. By this treaty it was stipulated that all duties imposed since the time of Charles V. should be abolished, and that the writ of exemption granted by that emperor should be delivered to the people ; that, for the future, no new taxes should be imposed ; that the vote of the respectable part of the community should be equal to the votes of the nobility ; that an act of oblivion should be granted for all that had passed ; and that the people should continue in arms under Massaniello, till the ratification of the treaty by the king.

By this treaty no less than ten thousand persons, who fattened upon the blood of the public, were ruined. The people, when it was solemnly published, manifested extreme joy, believing they had now recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. Massaniello, at the desire of the viceroy, went to the palace to visit him, accompanied by the archbishop, who was obliged to threaten him with excommunication, before he would consent to lay aside his rags and assume a magnificent dress. He was received by the duke with the greatest demonstrations of respect and friendship, while the duchess entertained his wife, and presented her with a robe of cloth of silver and some jewels. The viceroy, to preserve some shadow of authority, appointed him captain-general, and, at his departure, made him a present of a gold chain of great value, which with difficulty he was prevailed upon to accept. Next day, in consequence of the commission granted him by the

viceroi, he began to exercise all the functions of sovereign authority. Having caused a scaffold and several gibbets to be erected in one of the streets, he judged all crimes, whether civil or military, in the last resort (*without appeal*), and ordered the guilty to be immediately put to death, that being the punishment he assigned to all offences. Though he neglected all forms of law, and even frequently judged by physiognomy, yet he is said not to have overlooked any criminal, or punished any innocent person.

His grandeur and prosperity were of very short continuance; for, becoming distracted and delirious for two or three days, he committed a great many mad and extravagant actions, and on the 18th of July was assassinated with the consent of the viceroy. Some attribute his madness to the sudden change of his fortune, and his excessive joy at restoring the liberty of his country; others, to the want of rest and too much wine; and some allege that it was the effect of poison, secretly administered to him by the Spaniards. The populace at first carried his head about the city on a pole, and treated his body with the greatest indignity, throwing it into the common sewer; but a few days after, upon the weight of bread being lessened, they began to regret the death of Massaniello, and having taken his body from its filthy receptacle, they attached the head to it, carried the corpse in solemn procession through all quarters of the city, and afterwards buried it with all the ceremonies of a royal funeral.

READING LII.

CROMWELL.

1649.

CONQUEST OF JAMAICA.

1655.

ON December 16, 1653, Cromwell was declared protector or, supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, and, certainly, thus much must be said in his praise, that not one of our legitimate monarchs ever made England more, if so much, respected by foreign powers as he did. One of the most considerable acquisitions which England made

under his administration was the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards.

Cromwell had wrong and narrow notions concerning the interests of Europe, and fell in with the vulgar way of thinking, that the gaining of treasure ought to be his great object; and as none was so ready as that of the Spanish West Indies, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But, by this time, the object of the English national jealousy ought to have been changed from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon, which last, under the administrations of the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, had been attempting, for many years, to lay the foundations of universal monarchy. Cromwell, not alive to this momentous consideration, was persuaded by Mazarin to fit out, from England, an armament for the conquest of Hispaniola. This expedition was the more to his liking, as it was extremely popular in England; and even many of the royal party who were disgusted at the treatment their king had received from the court of Madrid, embarked in it, as some say, to the number of two thousand. The command of the expedition was given to Colonel Venables and Admiral Penn; and they sailed from England with, at least, seven thousand land troops on board, a great part of whom was composed of Cromwell's veterans. This force was greatly augmented by the people of Barbadoes, and the other leeward islands; and on the 13th of April the fleet arrived at Hispaniola, in sight of the town of St. Domingo. The numbers who landed under Venables, who was suspected of being attached to the royal party, are said to have been seven thousand, besides a troop of horse: but by reason either of not having well concerted his measures, or from some other cause, they were repulsed; and Venables re-embarked his men. The shame of returning unsuccessful to England suggested to the English officers an expedition against Jamaica, which was instantaneously resolved upon, before the Spaniards there could have any intelligence of the miscarriage at Hispaniola.

On the 2nd of May, the English landed at Jamaica, and it being determined immediately to attack St. Jago, proclamation was made that every man should shoot his neighbour dead, if he should see him attempt to flee. The Spaniards at St. Jago, being in no condition to oppose the

force that was advancing against them, after a very slight resistance, proposed to capitulate, and to deliver up the city; and, in the mean time they furnished the English with fresh provisions. Venables has been blamed for suffering the people of St. Jago to amuse him with a negotiation, during which they secured, in the more inland parts, their best effects; so that when the English came to the possession of St. Jago, they found nothing but bare walls.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, they were in possession of the capital of the island, and in fact, of the island itself; for though the Spaniards, in parties, sometimes attempted to surprise them in the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at last found means to transport themselves and effects to Cuba. The reduction of Jamaica, with so little loss on the part of the invaders, astonished the Spanish government. The viceroy of Mexico, understanding that the Mulattoes and Negroes belonging to the Spaniards of Jamaica had taken refuge in the woods, sent orders to the governor of Cuba to supply the planters who had fled thither with whatever was necessary for taking re-possession of the island, and promised to support them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned to Jamaica, but lived, dispersed in the woods, in so miserable a manner, that the five hundred land troops who had been sent to their assistance refused to associate with them, and fortified themselves in the northern part of the island, at a place called St. Cherreras, where they soon received very considerable reinforcements. Meanwhile, the English had begun to plant the south and south-east parts of the island, of which Colonel Doyly was left governor, with three thousand men, and a large squadron of ships, commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, while Penn and Venables returned to England.

Their success at Jamaica did not appease Cromwell's resentment for their failure at Hispaniola, and it was greatly increased by being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no sooner landed than they were committed prisoners to the Tower of London, but from which they were soon delivered with abundance of honour and without trial. Venables afterwards became eminently instrumental in restoring Charles II. Cromwell resolving to trust no officer recommended by

Venables, sent over Major Sedgwick to supersede Doyly, with a reinforcement of a thousand men. The Spaniards who had fortified themselves at St. Chereras, had been reinforced by thirty companies, besides artillery and provisions, from Cuba and the continent, and had thrown up several formidable works at Rio Nuevo, in the precinct of St. Mary. Doyly attacked them in their entrenchments, from whence he drove them, in a few days, with considerable slaughter. They next attempted to make a stand at Point Pedro, from which they were likewise driven; and thus, the English, under Doyly, being far inferior in numbers to the Spaniards, re-established the character of their national valour, which had suffered at Hispaniola. The Spaniards, being beaten from place to place, were obliged at last to embark on board their ships, and return to Cuba, leaving the quiet possession of Jamaica to England.

The Spanish Negroes and Mulattoes, however, still kept the woods and mountains, where they subsisted by game and plunder. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned by the Spanish regular troops, murdered the governor who had been put over them, and chose one of their own number. All this while they were hunted and cut off by the English like so many wild beasts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they sent a deputation to Governor Doyly, who received them into favour, upon delivering up their arms; but another party of them still existed, and were headed by some of the old Spanish inhabitants. The submitting Negroes, much fonder of their new masters than they had been of their old ones, were very useful in clearing the island of those remains of the Spaniards, who were so entirely rooted out, that not above twenty or thirty of their Negroes, in a year's time, were left upon that island; but these knew the inland part of it so well that they could not be dislodged, and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the British settlers. Doyly, though a professed royalist, still kept command of the island, and acted with equal wisdom and resolution; Major Sedgwick having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving, beyond example, being well supplied from their mother country with every kind of necessaries, a spirit of mutiny, headed by one Colonel Raymond, and

Lieutenant-colonel Tyson, began to appear in the army. It is probable that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how disagreeable Doyly was to Cromwell; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were condemned to be shot to death, and this sentence was accordingly executed. Cromwell, by this time, sent orders to Colonel Brayne, in Scotland, to embark with a thousand men from Port Patrick, and to sail for Jamaica, where he was to supersede Doyly, in the government; but that gentleman likewise died soon after his arrival, and Doyly remained governor of the island at the time of the restoration.

As the first English planters of Jamaica were composed of men of various sects, parties, and opinions, but most of them accustomed to a military life, either by sea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform system of conduct. The example and authority of Doyly had, indeed, done wonders, and some of Cromwell's veterans, as well as the royalists, were become excellent planters: others, who never had been habituated to civil life, entered as cruisers and privateers against the Spaniards, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immense sums, which were all spent in Jamaica. This practice, together with the thriving state of the colony, raised its character in the West Indies so greatly, that several eminent planters repaired thither from Barbadoes. Colonel Doyly, about the time of the restoration, was succeeded by Lord Windsor, as governor of Jamaica, who, in 1663, was replaced by Sir Thomas Modiford. This gentleman having acquired a large estate at Barbadoes, removed to Jamaica to better it, as did several other wealthy planters. Jamaica had, by this time, increased its white inhabitants to the number of eighteen thousand; but its chief trade, as already hinted, consisted in their depredations upon the Spaniards, which, there is too much reason to believe, was connived at by the governor.

READING LIII.

MARSHAL TURENNE. :

1655.

WHILE England was in the height of power and grandeur, and the usurper Cromwell feared and courted by all the states in Europe, France was torn with civil dissensions. This induced Cardinal Mazarin, anxious for England's assistance against Spain, to conclude a treaty with Cromwell, in which the latter treated his most Christian Majesty upon a footing of equality, obliged him to acknowledge his title of protector, and to give notice to the fugitive king of England to quit the French territories.

In the mean time Turenne was pursuing his conquests. He had early in the campaign opened a way to the Spanish Netherlands, by obliging Landreci and Quesnoi to surrender; while the Duke de Vendôme, with an inferior force, defeated the Spanish fleet before Barcelona.

During the winter, several proposals of peace made by Spain were rejected by Cardinal Mazarin, highly elated with the successes of the former campaign, and full of expectation from the alliance contracted with Cromwell, who had already, as we have seen in the preceding Reading, effected the conquest of the island of Jamaica. Spain endeavoured to be revenged of the cardinal. Don Lewis de Haro dispersed writings throughout all the courts in Europe against Mazarin, accusing him of having violated all laws, divine and human, and sacrificed honour and religion by contracting an alliance with a murderer and a usurper, and driving out of the French dominions, king Charles the Second and his brother the duke of York, the grandchildren of Henry the Fourth and cousins of Louis the Fourteenth. But the cardinal answered the whole accusation by showing publicly the proposals made by Spain to the protector; though it must be acknowledged that Spain had not the same natural ties and obligation to countenance the fugitive princes.

Owing to want of money, it was the month of July before anything considerable was undertaken in the field; at length Turenne opened the campaign by laying siege to

Valenciennes, where he experienced the same turn of fortune that Condé had, the preceding year, before Arras. The Spanish army not being yet assembled, he marched expeditiously to Tournay, hoping to surprise this fortress, at that time defended only by a slender garrison. Finding, however, that several regiments of the enemy were encamped in the neighbourhood, he altered his purpose, and advanced straight to Valenciennes. This town was defended by only two thousand foot and two hundred horse of regular troops; but the inhabitants, to the number of ten thousand men, were armed. The very evening of his arrival, he invested the place, drove the enemy from two redoubts, and next morning began to draw lines of circumvallation. The Marshal de la Ferte, who had joined him a few days before, was posted with his army on the eminence to the right of the river towards the plain. By the third day the lines were sufficiently advanced to prevent any succours from being conveyed to St. Amand, while the viscount took post on the left towards the besieged. An attempt made by the enemy for this purpose was frustrated, and a great number of Spanish officers and soldiers were taken prisoners. On the sixth day the lines were completed, with a double ditch defended by palisadoes. But the Spaniards were not idle; they made use of several reservoirs, near Bonchain, to swell the river Scheldt, which divides the town into two parts, and to drown the country. The viscount's army was greatly incommoded by this expedient; but his indefatigable industry surmounted the difficulty. He caused the reservoirs to be drained, several channels to be dug, and turned the course of the water so as to inundate one quarter of the city. The prince of Condé, assisted by Don John of Austria, assembled his army with all expedition at Douai, and posted himself on an eminence, within half a cannon shot of the French lines. On his left he had the Scheldt, over which he threw six bridges. The Spanish army amounted to twenty thousand men; and, as it was nearly as strong as the viscount's, the latter foresaw, by their motions, they would attack him in his camp, and accordingly, turned his chief thoughts to the defence of his lines. As the Marshal de la Ferte's quarter was most exposed, it was fortified with double lines palisadoed, one of which was new, and the other old;

but the marshal, thinking the first sufficient, ordered the other to be levelled. On the 16th, advice was brought that the enemy had sent away their baggage, and were drawn off in order of battle. As they were so near as to reach the entrenchments in half an hour, the viscount sent repeated messages to the marshal, exhorting him to be on the watch; but his advice was slighted. In the beginning of the night he was attacked, and his lines forced with little difficulty. The marshal, finding the enemy had entered his quarters, flew with some squadrons to repulse them; but all was now in confusion, his personal bravery was exerted to no purpose, and all his endeavours to retrieve his mistake were ineffectual. Condé, with the Spanish infantry, having filled up the ditches, marched directly to the town, while the cavalry were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. La Ferte was taken prisoner with more than four hundred officers, and near four thousand soldiers. Marsin had, in the mean time, attacked Turenne's quarters, who had weakened himself to succour La Ferte, but he was repulsed with great loss. However, the viscount's success could not prevent the fatal consequences of the marshal's defeat, for by daybreak the shouts of joy in Valenciennes proclaimed that the town was relieved. It was now that Turenne stood in need of all his ability and genius to draw off the broken troops in the face of a victorious enemy. He sent immediately to the trenches, with orders for the troops to retire; but, they being about a league distant, his directions could not be executed without great loss. In a short time, however, he so retrieved matters, that after dismounting the cannon and levelling the lines, he marched off in such good order, with his artillery and baggage, that the enemy durst not attack him. As his march was directed to Quesnoi, it was thought he would have retired to the frontiers of France; and it is probable, indeed, he would have retreated to Picard, had he not been sensible that such a movement would have disturbed the court, and given new life to the king's enemies. He therefore halted at Quesnoi, and marched back with some regiments to meet the prince of Condé and Don John, who had come in pursuit of him. At the first approach of the enemy, the French began to move the baggage; but the viscount firing a pistol at a soldier busied in loading a cart,

commanded, on pain of death, that no one should quit his post. When the Spaniards came near enough to discover his camp, they were astonished at the air of resolution he maintained, with his tents standing and camp unfortified. This intrepidity obliged Condé to change his design, at the same time that it removed the apprehensions and panic in the French army, by showing so little precaution on so pressing an occasion.

The enemy directed their march with intention to lay siege to Condé; and Turenne, penetrating their design, sent a thousand horse, each with a sack of corn behind him, to victual the place. In a word, the conduct of the viscount, during the whole of this unfortunate affair, drew upon him the admiration of Europe, and was, perhaps, one of the most masterly of his exploits. All the French writers speak of it as something supernatural; and the king was so delighted with the stand made at Quesnoi, that he ordered Tellier, his secretary, to return his thanks to the viscount for retrieving the reputation of his arms, after so unfortunate a defeat. He could not, however, prevent the fate of the town of Condé, but he reduced Capelle while the enemy was in sight with a superior army. The prince of Condé and Don John, who had laid siege to St. Guillaine, abandoned that enterprise and hastened to the relief of Capelle. They advanced within a league of the French entrenchments; but the infantry being much fatigued with their march and the heavy rains which had fallen for the whole day, they continued, for two days, in sight of Turenne's camp without offering battle; while he battered the town so vigorously, that it was obliged to surrender. Immediately he repaired the breaches, left a good garrison in the place, and, by his expedition, threw succours into St. Guillaine, before the enemy had time to return. With this transaction, the campaign ended, both armies contenting themselves with observing each other's movements, and frustrating all the attempts of either side by judicious evolutions and dispositions.

READING LIV.

THE RESTORATION.—INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF CHARLES II.
—WAR WITH HOLLAND.—MAGNANIMITY OF THE PRINCE
OF ORANGE.

1660—1672.

No prince ever had it more in his power to render himself the favourite of his people, and that people great, flourishing, and happy, than Charles II. of England. But a short time only sufficed to exhibit him in his true colours, and to convince the nation that he was as insensible to gratitude, as he was deaf to the lessons of adversity. Intent only on the gratification of the most sensual appetites, he cared not how far he degraded himself and the nation, provided he could find funds necessary for indulging them, and he was consequently base enough to become the pensioner of England's greatest foe, Louis XIV. It was not long before the French monarch exacted the services of his royal dependent. Holland having presumed to prescribe limits to his conquests, he had resolved upon revenge, to effect which, he disdained not to stoop to pander to the passions of Charles, and by means of Madame Querouaille, afterwards the duchess of Portsmouth, he maintained the influence he had already acquired over the dissolute monarch by the treaty which had been negotiated by his sister the duchess of Orleans.

England was, therefore, at the dictation of the king of France, compelled to make preparations for war; and although these could not escape notice, yet it was not fully believed in Holland that they could be intended against the States. The declaration of war, however, bearing date March 17, 1672, removed all doubt, as Louis had affected to take offence at certain insolent speeches, and pretended insulting medals, and Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on its own coast, not striking the flag to an English yacht, mentioned certain abusive pictures as a cause of quarrel. The Dutch were at a loss for the meaning of this last article, until it was discovered that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the Pensionary, painted by order of the magistrates of Dordrecht, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house,

had given occasion to the complaint. In the background of that picture were drawn some ships on fire in a harbour, construed to be Chatham, near which port De Wit had really distinguished himself.

The French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected greater dignity. He condescended not to go into particulars; it was sufficient that the States should have incurred his displeasure to feel his vengeance. To effect this, he had engaged in the confederacy the kings of England and Sweden, the bishop of Münster, a warlike and rapacious prelate, and the elector of Cologne. The united fleets of France and England, exceeding a hundred sail, were ready to ravage the coasts; and a hundred and twenty thousand men, led by the ablest generals of the age, approached the frontiers of the republic.

The Dutch were in no condition to resist such a force, especially by land. Relying upon the peace of Westphalia, they had suffered their fortifications to fall into decay, while their small army was ill disciplined and worse commanded. The old officers, who were chiefly devoted to the house of Orange, had been dismissed during the triumph of the rigid republican party, and their places supplied by raw youths, the sons or kinsmen of burgomasters, by whose interest that party was supported.

The Pensionary, now sensible of his error in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to raise a respectable military force, for the defence of his country in this dangerous crisis. But every proposal which he made to that effect was counteracted by the partisans of the house of Orange, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the defenceless state of the republic; and their power, which had increased with the difficulties of the States, had become formidable by the popularity of the young prince William III., now in the twenty-second year of his age, who had already given strong indications of the great qualities which afterwards distinguished his active life.

In consequence of those virtues and talents, William was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. The

pensioner De Wit, still attending to the navy in preference to the army, hastened the equipment of the fleet, in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might be able to inspire courage into the dismayed States, as well as support his declining authority. Animated by the same hopes, De Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greatest naval officer of the age, put to sea with ninety large ships, and forty smaller vessels of war.

The English fleet, under the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by Count d'Estrées. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted. When De Ruyter came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of a hundred and twenty sail, lay at anchor in Southwold Bay (May 28). The Earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as savouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay, where the Dutch, by their fire-ships, might have destroyed the whole fleet of their adversaries. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van; and by his vigour and activity, gave the duke of York and D'Estrées time to disengage themselves. Rushing into battle, and presenting a front to every danger, he had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after a furious engagement; he sunk a man-of-war, and three fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple him. Though his own ship was so much shattered, and, of nine hundred men whom he had on board, two-thirds were killed or wounded, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until he was attacked by a fourth fire-ship more fortunate than the three others. The ruin of his ship was now inevitable; yet he refused to make his escape. So deep had the duke's sarcasm sunk into his mind, that a brave death, in those awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy, since his utmost efforts had not been attended with victory.

During this terrible conflict between Van Ghent's division and the Earl of Sandwich, the Duke of York and De Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the

Dutch admiral, and fought with such fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which the hoary veteran (De Ruyter) had been engaged, he declared that this was the most vigorously disputed. Night put a stop to the doubtful contest. The next morning the duke of York thought it prudent to retire. The Dutch, though much disabled, attempted to harass him in his retreat; he turned upon them and renewed the fight; and Sir Joseph Jordan, who had assumed the command of the van, having gained the weather-gage (*the advantage of the wind*) of the enemy, De Ruyter fled, from a sense of his danger, and was pursued by the duke to the coast of Holland. As the English hung close on his rear, fifteen of his disabled ships would not have been saved but for a sudden fog. The French took scarcely any share in this action; and, as backwardness is not their national characteristic, it was universally believed that they had received orders to remain at a distance, while the English and Dutch were weakening each other; an opinion which was confirmed by all the subsequent engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought the combined fleet with so little loss; but if they had even been victorious on this occasion, the mischiefs which threatened them by land would not, perhaps, have been prevented.

READING LV.

WAR WITH HOLLAND.—MAGNANIMITY OF THE PRINCE
OF ORANGE (CONTINUED).

1672.

THE king of France divided his numerous army into three bodies. The first he headed in person, assisted by the famous Turenne: the prince of Condé led the second; and Chamilli and Luxembourg commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Münster appeared on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States.

Too weak to defend their extensive frontier, the Dutch were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body appeared in the field; and yet a strong garrison was scarcely to be found in any fortress. Orsoy, Wesel, Rhinberg, and Burick were taken, almost as soon as invested by the French generals. Groll surrendered to the bishop of Münster; and Louis, to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced, in June, to the banks of the Rhine.

The passage of that river, so much celebrated by the flatterers of Louis, had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryness of the season, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminished the greatest rivers, and rendered many of them, in some places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, and protected by a furious discharge of artillery, threw themselves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to swim: the infantry, with the king at their head, passed quietly over a bridge of boats; and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other side, the peril was not very alarming.

The attempt, however, was bold, and its success augmented the glory of Louis and the terror of his arms. Several towns surrendered at the first summons, and the prince of Orange, unable to make head against the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland with his small and discouraged army. The progress of Louis, like an inundation, levelled everything before it. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within thirteen miles of Amsterdam, was reduced by the Marquis de Rochefort, and, if he had taken possession of Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to some of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magistrates when the moment of terror was over, Amsterdam itself must have fallen, and with it, perhaps, the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the States had leisure to recollect themselves; and the same ambitious vanity which had induced the French monarch to undertake the conquest of the United Provinces, proved the means of their preservation. Louis entered Utrecht in triumph, June 25, surrounded by a splendid court, and

followed by a gallant army, glittering with gold and silver; and in the course of a few weeks so many towns had submitted to his arms, that only the reduction of Holland and Zealand seemed necessary for the complete success of his enterprise. But he wasted in vain parade and empty show at Utrecht the season proper for that purpose.

The people of the remaining provinces, instead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became still more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They ascribed all their misfortunes to the unhappy De Wit, whose prudence and patriotism had formerly been the object of such general applause. Not only the bad state of the army, and the ill choice of governors, were imputed to him, but, as instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected; and his former connexions with France being remembered, the populace believed that he and his party had conspired to betray them to their ambitious enemy. Under this impression, and perhaps from a hope of disarming the resentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran strongly towards the prince of Orange, who was represented as the only person able to save the republic. The Pensionary and his partisans were, however, unwilling to relinquish their authority, and hence the distracted councils of the State continued to endanger the country.

Amsterdam alone, amid the general despondency, seemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep strict watch; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, armed and disciplined for the public defence. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea; and, as a last resource, the sluices were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water without any regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation. The whole province followed the example of the capital.

But the security derived from this expedient was not sufficient to infuse courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles and eleven towns voted to send ambassadors to the hostile kings in order to supplicate

for peace. They offered to surrender Maestricht, and all the frontier towns situated beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large sum towards the expenses of the war. Fortunately for the republic and for Europe, these conditions were rejected. Louis, in the absence of Turenne, listened to the violent counsels of Louvois, whose unreasonable demands threw the States into a despair which overcame their fears. Finding, moreover, that the terms demanded by Charles were equally galling, they became convinced that their only hope of safety consisted in vigorous exertion. At last the people rose at Dordrecht, an example followed by other towns; and, in the commencement of July, the prince of Orange was declared stadtholder.

This revolution, so favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the pensionary De Wit marked him out as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interposition of power. His brother Cornelius, who had so often served his country with his sword, was accused, by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poison the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magistrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature and put to the torture, in order to extort a confession of his crime. He bore with the most intrepid firmness all that cruelty could inflict; but he was deprived of his employments, and sentenced to banishment for life. The Pensionary, who had supported his brother through the whole prosecution, resolved not to desert him in his disgrace. He accordingly went to his prison, intending to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace; they broke open the prison doors, and having dragged forth the two brothers, wounded, mangled, and brutally tore them to pieces.

The massacre of these obnoxious citizens, by extinguishing for a time the animosities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the States. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the most implicit obedience to the prince of Orange:

and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was descended, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with scorn the humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and by his advice, the States put an end to negotiations, which had served only to depress the courage of the citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He showed them that, aided by the advantages of their situation, they would still be able, if they should not abandon themselves to despondency, to preserve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, sensible of their common danger, would come to their relief. And he professed himself willing to undertake their defence, provided they would second his efforts with the same manly fortitude which they had so often displayed under his illustrious predecessors.

The spirit of the young prince seemed to diffuse itself through the republic. The people, who had lately entertained only the thought of yielding their necks to subjection, now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor and to defend the remnant of their soil, of which neither the arms of Louis nor the inundation had yet bereaved them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife, but flying to their settlements in the East Indies, erect a new empire in the South of Asia, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy. They had already, indeed, concerted measures for executing this extraordinary resolution; and found that the ships in their harbours, adequate for such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or above two hundred thousand persons.

The reflections of Voltaire upon this subject are truly ingenious and striking:—"Amsterdam, the celebrated emporium and magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand inhabitants, would soon, in that event, have become one vast morass. All the adjacent lands, which require immense expense, and many thousands of men, to keep up their dikes, would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained,

leaving to Louis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry."

READING LVI.

MAGNANIMITY OF WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.—
RECALL OF THE FRENCH ARMY FROM HOLLAND
(CONCLUDED).

1673.

No sooner did the confederate kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland, to be enjoyed under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. But William, from motives of prudence, if not patriotism, rejected all such proposals. He was sensible that the season of extreme danger was over, and that the power which he had lately derived from the suffrages of his countrymen, was both more honourable, and less precarious, than that which must depend upon princes, who had already sacrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared that he would sooner retire, if all his endeavours should fail, and pass his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the trust reposed in him, by selling the liberties of his country. And when asked in a haughty tone if he did not see that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way by which I can be certain never to see the ruin of my country; and that is, to die in disputing the last ditch!"

The Dutch, however, were much disappointed in finding that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder had no influence on the measures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles persisted in his alliance with France. But other circumstances saved the republic. When the hostile fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an army on board commanded

by Count Schomberg, they were carried back to sea in so wonderful a manner, and afterwards prevented from landing the forces by such stormy weather, that Providence was believed to have interposed miraculously, to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders; and Louis, finding that his enemies gained courage behind their inundations, and that no further progress was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Versailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his success, which was pompously displayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other states of Europe began to discover, in 1673, a jealousy of the power of France. The emperor, though naturally slow, had put himself in motion; the elector of Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the States; the king of Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from the allies, a different face of affairs began to appear.

Charles still remained determined to persevere in his alliance with France, in the Dutch war, and consequently in all the secret designs which depended on such pernicious measures. With the money granted by parliament, he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to Prince Rupert; Sir Edward Spragge and the Earl of Ossory commanded under the prince.

The English fleet and a French squadron sailed towards the coast of Holland, where three indecisive actions were fought with the Dutch, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp. The third claims our attention on account of its obstinacy. Tromp fell alongside of Spragge, and both engaged with great spirit (Aug. 11). Tromp was compelled once to shift his flag, Spragge twice to quit his ship; and, unfortunately, as the English admiral was passing to a third ship, in order to hoist his flag and renew the contest, a shot struck his boat and he was drowned, to the great regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not pass unrevenge. Van Tromp, after the disaster of Spragge, was repulsed, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity of the Earl of Ossory.

In the mean time, a furious combat was maintained

between De Ruyter and Prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deserved honour; for his martial ability was no less conspicuous than his valour, which shone with distinguished lustre. When victory had long remained doubtful, the prince threw the Dutch into some confusion, and in order to increase it, sent two fire-ships among them. They at once took to flight, and had the French, who were masters of the wind (*had the wind in their favour*), and to whom a signal was made, borne down upon the foe, a decided advantage would have been gained; but they paid no regard to the signal. The English, seeing themselves neglected by their allies, gave over the pursuit; and De Ruyter, with little loss, made good his retreat. The victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides.

While the Dutch thus continued to defend themselves with vigour by sea, fortune was still more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maestricht, one of their strongest bulwarks, after a siege of twenty days, no other advantage was gained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the Imperialists, under Montecuculli, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and suddenly invested Bonne. The prince of Orange, by a conduct no less masterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne surrendered in the autumn, after a short siege. The greater part of the electorate was subdued by the Dutch and the Germans; and the communications between France and the United Provinces being thus cut off, Louis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conquests, with the utmost precipitation. The very monuments of his glory were not completed, when he returned in disgrace; the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfinished, after all cause for triumph had ceased.

A congress holden at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden, was attended with no success, and Holland succeeded in persuading Spain to issue a declaration of war against France. The operations of the ensuing campaign, 1674, now commenced, and Louis astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great

armies in the field this summer ; nothing, however, of importance occurred, except in Flanders, where the prince of Condé, with inferior forces, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter, and after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates when an opportunity offered in a defile near Senaffe, a village of Brabant, threw them into confusion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, less remarkable for preventing misfortune than for stopping its progress, rallied his disordered forces, led them back to the charge, pushed the veteran troops of France, and obliged the great Condé to exert more desperate efforts, and hazard his person more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and though he had been particularly distinguished in youth by the impetuosity of his courage. William did not expose his person less. Hence the generous and candid testimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour : " The prince of Orange has acted in everything like an old captain, except in venturing his life too much like a young soldier."

The engagement was several times renewed, and after sunset it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkness, at length, put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. Twelve thousand men lay dead upon the field, and the loss on each side was nearly equal. Before the close of the campaign the prince of Orange took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces.

The events of the next campaign, 1675, were chiefly distinguished by the death of the most consummate general of his age, the great Marshal Turenne : his loss was an irreparable one to Louis. Turenne was opposed, on the side of Germany, by the celebrated Montecuculli. The object of the latter was to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy ; that of the former, to guard the frontiers of France, and baffle all schemes of rival hostility. The greatest skill was displayed on both sides. Both had reduced war to a science, and each was enabled to discover the designs of the other, by judging what he himself would do under similar circumstances. Turenne, by posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, was enabled not only to prevent Mon-

tecuculli from passing that river, but to seize any opportunity that fortune might present. Such a happy moment he thought he had discerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it by bringing the Germans to a decisive engagement, and his own generalship and that of Montecuculli to a final trial, when a period was put to his life by a cannon ball, on the 27th July, as he was viewing the position of the enemy and taking measures for erecting a battery.

READING LVII.

THE BUCCANEERS.

1663.

AFTER the failure of the mines in Hispaniola, which were never very rich, and the conquest of the two extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greatest profusion, that valuable island was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flourishing cities were deserted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained sank into the most enervating indolence. It possessed, however, a very considerable portion of the necessaries, and not a few of the luxuries of life. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but especially the horned cattle, which had become, in a manner, wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by these conveniences, many French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers, or Freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortuga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. The dress of these adventurers consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain; a pair of trowsers, dirtier than the shirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a short sabre, and some Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it off; shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. They at first subsisted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate fresh, and part

they dried, like the savages, with smoke, in places called *buccans* by the natives, whence the name of Buccaneers. The hides of the beasts they killed they sold to the masters of such vessels as came upon the coast, who furnished them, in return, with clothes, liquors, firearms, powder and shot. But the wild cattle at length becoming scarce, the Buccaneers were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. Such as were more sober-minded than the rest, applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly requited their toil; while those of a bold and restless disposition associated themselves with pirates and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England were indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies.

Although the Buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised on the natives of the New World were a sufficient apology for any violence that could be committed against them. Accommodating their conscience to this belief, which, perhaps unknown to themselves, was rather dictated by the richness of the Spanish vessels than by any real sense of religion or equity, they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to heaven for its success; nor did they ever return loaded with booty without solemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune.

Before the distribution of the spoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and protested he had secreted nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury, a case which seldom occurred, he was punished in a manner that seems to deserve the imitation of better men. He was expelled from the community, and left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a wretch unworthy to live in society, even with the destroyers of their species.

The ships that sailed from Europe to America seldom tempted the avidity of the first Buccaneers, as the merchandise they carried could not readily have been sold in

the West Indies in those early times. But they eagerly watched the Spanish vessels on their return to Europe, knowing them to be partly laden with treasure. They usually followed the galleons and flota, employed in transporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama; and if, by any accident, a ship was separated from the fleet, they instantly beset her, and she rarely escaped them. They even ventured to attack several ships at once, for the Spaniards, who considered them as demons, and trembled at their approach, commonly surrendered, if they came to close quarters.

On finding themselves continually harassed by those ravagers, the Spaniards, almost reduced to despair, diminished the number of their ships; and the colonies relinquished their connexions with each other. These humiliating precautions, however, served but to increase the boldness of the Buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spanish settlements only to procure provisions; but no sooner did they find their captures decrease, than they determined to procure by land that wealth which the sea denied them.

Of all the Buccaneers, French or English, no one was so uniformly successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of Wales. This man sailed in 1668 from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello; and his measures were so well concerted that, soon after his landing, he attacked the sentinels, and made himself master of the town, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence.

In hopes of reducing, with the same facility, the fortress, into which the citizens had conveyed their most valuable property and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan thought of an expedient which discovers his knowledge of national character, as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the nuns and other women, and also the priests, whom he had made prisoners, to plant the scaling ladders against the walls of the fortress, from a persuasion that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would not suffer them to fire on the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himself entirely deceived in this flattering conjecture, for the Spanish governor, who was a resolute soldier, used his utmost efforts to destroy every one that approached the works.

Morgan and his English associates, however, carried the place by storm, in spite of all opposition ; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandise, bullion and specie, equivalent to £100,000 sterling.

The success of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders, served only to stimulate him to greater undertakings (1670). Having disposed of his booty at Port Royal, in Jamaica, he put to sea with a larger fleet and a more numerous body of adventurers ; and, after reducing the island of St. Catherine, where he procured a supply of naval and military stores, he steered for the river Chagre, the only grand object of his armament.

Having left the larger vessels under a guard, he sailed up that stream in boats to Crucés, and then proceeded by land to Panamá. On the Savannah, a spacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made several attempts to repel the ferocious invaders, but without effect : the Buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter. Foreseeing the overthrow of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods ; Morgan then took quiet possession of Panamá, and deliberately plundered it for some days.

Preparatory to their return, the booty was divided, and Morgan's share alone is said to have amounted to nearly £100,000 sterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprise.

The defection of Morgan, and of several other principal leaders, who sought and found an asylum in the bosom of that civil society whose laws they had so atrociously violated, with the total separation of the English and French Buccaneers (in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the revolution in 1688), broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain, being then in alliance with England, the latter stopped the piracies of her subjects in the West Indies (1690). The French Buccaneers continued their depredations with success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697 ; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjusted, a stop was everywhere put to hostilities, and not only the association, but the very name of this extraordinary set of men, soon became extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West Indies.

READING LVIII.

THE EXPEDITION OF HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF
ORANGE, AFTERWARDS WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

1688.

JAMES II. having, by his tyrannical conduct, as well as his openly expressed intention of restoring the Roman Catholic worship as the religion of the state, forfeited the allegiance of his subjects, overtures were made to William, prince of Orange, whose heroic deeds we have already described, and who had married James's daughter Mary, to ascend the English throne. The following letter, describing the expedition of that prince to England, will not fail to be read with considerable interest. It was written at the time by an eye-witness, and was addressed to a person of quality at court.

Sir,—Although the account you so earnestly desired of me, of the prince's expedition and invasion of England, is a task no one should have commanded from me but yourself; yet the ancient friendship between us makes nothing appear difficult in the way to serve you.

I shall not undertake to determine the legality of this great and bold attempt, but shall content myself with giving you a brief account of the prince's expedition.

And, first, you are to take notice that his highness set sail from Holland with fifty-one men-of-war, eighteen fire-ships, and about three hundred and thirty tenders, being ships hired of merchants, for the carriage of horse and foot, arms and ammunition, etc. The fleet stood out at sea to the northward, and met with horrid storms for two days and two nights together; in which bad weather there were lost above five hundred horse, and a vessel parted from the fleet wherein were four hundred foot, supposed to be lost, but now known to be arrived at the Texel, though grievously shattered and torn by the storm; two of the prince's principal men-of-war were forced to new rig at Helveltsluice.

The prince, immediately on his return back, informed the States of the condition of the fleet—which was not so damnified (*damaged*) as was represented by the vulgar and

ignorant—who, thereupon, in order to lull a great man (James II.) asleep (*to put him off his guard*), ordered that the Haerlem and Amsterdam Courantier (*newspaper*) should make a dismal story of it, by representing to the world that the prince returned with his fleet miserably shattered and torn, having lost nine men-of-war, and divers others of less concern (*value*); a thousand horse ruined; a calenture (*a kind of fever in which seamen imagine the ocean to be green fields*) among the sailors; the loss of Dr. Burnet, and the chief ministers under the prince; the ill opinion the States had of this expedition; in short, that one hundred thousand pounds would not repair the damage; and that it was almost impossible that the prince should be in a condition to pursue his design till the spring. And yet at the same time all hands were at work to repair the damaged ships, which were few in number; so that in eight days' time, they were all refitted. The signal being given by the discharge of a gun, all the fleet immediately weighed anchor and stood out to sea, steering their course northwards all that night; next day, upon tide of ebb (*ebb tide*), they made a stretch, and made a watch (*four hours*), about a league, and then stood westward, and lay all night in the same posture, not making two leagues a watch.

In the middle of the night, an advice boat brought us an account that the English fleet, consisting of thirty-three sail, lay to the westward of ours. Upon which the prince fired a gun, which caused a great consternation in the whole fleet; we having a brisk easterly wind, concluded ourselves to be all ruined; but the small advice boats cruising for a more certain account of the English fleet, brought us back word, that instead of the English fleet which the former advice had alarmed us with, it was Admiral Herbert with part of our fleet, that had been for some hours separated from the body of our fleet; upon whose arrival great rejoicing was among us all, and a signal of joy was given for it by the prince.

In the morning, about eight, the prince gave a signal that the admiral should come aboard him. Immediately after, the whole fleet was got into the North Foreland, upon which the prince gave the usual signal of danger (according to the printed book), and ordered that the fleet should all come up in a body, some fifteen or sixteen deep,

His Highness leading the van in the ship the Brill (in English, *Spectacles*); his flag was English colours, the motto impaled (*inscribed*) thereon was, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, and underneath, instead of *Dieu et mon droit*, was, AND I WILL MAINTAIN IT.

The council of war, from on board the prince, sent three small frigates into the mouth of the Thames, viz., the Porpus, Postilion, and Mercury; who, on their return, brought us word that the English fleet lay in the buoy of the Nore, consisting of thirty-four sail, and three more which lay in the Downs. The wind continuing at E. N. E.

The prince immediately thereupon gave another signal of stretching the whole fleet in a line from Dover to Calais, twenty-five deep; so that our fleet reached within a league of each place; the flanks and rear were guarded by our men-of-war. The sight would have ravished (*delighted*) the most curious eye of Europe. When our fleet was in the greatest splendour, the trumpets and drums played various tunes to rejoice our hearts. This continued for above three hours.

Immediately after the prince gave a signal to close, and sailed that night as far as Beach, and commanded us to follow the signal by lights he had hung out to us, viz., that all the small sail should come up to him by the morning.

By the morning we espied the Isle of Wight, and then the prince ordered the fleet to be drawn into the same position, as before related, yet not stretching above half channel over, in this place; about five in the morning, we made (*reached*) the Start, the wind chopping (*changing*) about to the westward; upon which we stood fair by Dartmouth, and so made for Torbay, where the prince again ordered the whole into the same position as at Dover and Calais. Upon his arrival at Torbay, the people on land, in great numbers, welcomed his highness with loud acclamations of joy.

Immediately after the prince gave two signals, that the admirals should come aboard him, which they did; and then ordered that the whole fleet should come to anchor and immediately land; and further ordered, that the admirals should stand out to sea, as a guard, as well as the smaller men-of-war to attend and guard their land-

ing ; and also ordered six men-of-war to run in to guard Torbay.

The prince then put out a red flag at the mizen yard-arm, and provided to land in sixty boats, laid ready for this purpose ; upon which the prince signified that General Mackay, with his six regiments of English and Scotch, should first land ; and also that the little Porpus, with eighteen guns, should run aground to secure their landing ; but there was no opposition, for the people bade us heartily welcome to England, and gave us all manner of provisions for our refreshment.

The fifth of November (a day never to be blotted out of the Englishman's heart) the prince caused to be landed above two thousand. On the sixth we landed as many horse and foot as we could possibly, and so continued the seventh : the country bringing in all manner of provision, both for man and horse, and were paid their price honestly for it.

The prince, the same day, commanded Captain M—— to search the Lady Cary's house, at Tor Abbey, for arms and horses ; and so all other houses belonging to Roman Catholics. The lady, entertaining them civilly, said her husband was gone to Plymouth ; they gave no further disturbance to the lady or her house. Nor shall it be forgotten, what was faithfully acted at this lady's house, immediately on our arrival at Torbay. There was a priest and some other folks with him, on a watch tower, to discover what our fleet was, whether French or Dutch ; at last they discovered the white flags on some of our men-of-war ; the ignorant priest concluded absolutely we were the French fleet, which, with great impatience, they had so long expected ; and having laid up great provisions for their entertainment, the priest ordered all to the chapel to sing *Te Deum* (a hymn of rejoicing) for the arrival of their supposed forces ; but, being soon undeceived on our landing, we found the benefit of their provisions ; and instead of *Votre serviteur, Monsieur* (your servant, Sir), they were entertained with *Yeen Mynheer?* (*Can you Dutch spraken?*)—upon which they all ran away from the house, except the lady and a few old servants.

The whole army, to the best of my knowledge, consisted of eighteen thousand horse, three thousand dragoons, and one thousand eight hundred foot, besides a thousand volun-

teer persons of quality, horse well equipped, and about five hundred horse for carriage.

November the eighth, the prince came from Chudleigh towards Exeter, with the greatest part of his army attending him, and, about one of the clock, entered at the west gate of the city, welcomed by the loud acclamations of the people.

READING LIX.

PROGRESS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—ABDICATION OF KING JAMES II.

ALL England was now in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire, the Earl of Danby seized York, the Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince, the Earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. Even those who took not the field against him, were able to embarrass and confound his counsels; a petition for a free parliament was signed by twenty-four bishops and peers of the greatest distinction, and was presented to the king. No one thought of opposing or resisting the invader.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection which, from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. The officers seemed all disposed to prefer the interests of their country and of their religion to those principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly esteemed the most sacred ties by men of that profession. Lord Colchester, son of the Earl of Rivers, was the first officer that deserted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner. Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, was more successful; he attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought

a considerable part of them to the prince's quarters. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not, in conscience, fight against the prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the king's favour; yet even he could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever reposed entire confidence in him. The following is his letter to James on this occasion:—

“Sir,—Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope, the great advantages I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligations to your majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and necessary concern of my religion (which no good man can oppose), and with which I am instructed, nothing ought to come in competition; heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy designs which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty's true interests and the Protestant religion. But as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them into effect, so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your majesty's due), endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, sir, your majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant.”

Lord Churchill carried with him the duke of Grafton,

natural son of the late king, Colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. This conduct was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and required, ever after, the most upright, disinterested, and public-spirited behaviour, to render it justifiable.

The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this fatal intelligence. That prince, though a severe enemy, had ever appeared a warm, steady, and sincere friend; and he was extremely shocked with this, as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. There remained none in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, he concluded it full of treachery; and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his service. During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London: a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke further treachery.

But Churchill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant (*influence*) over the family of prince George of Denmark (who had married the princess Anne, daughter of James II., and afterwards queen of England): and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy monarch, who was already staggering with the violent shocks which he had received. Andover was the first stage of James's retreat towards London; and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and some other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night time, and retired to the prince's camp. No sooner had this news reached London, than the princess Anne, pretending fear of the king's displeasure, withdrew herself in company with the bishop of London and Lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham; where the Earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the gentlemen of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection. When the first intelligence of this event was conveyed to James, and when he found himself abandoned in his utmost distress by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the most tender affection, he cried out, in the extremity of his

agony, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!" It is indeed singular that a prince, whose chief blame consisted in imprudence and misguided principles, should be exposed, from religious antipathy, to such treatment as even Nero, Domitian, or the most enormous tyrants that have disgraced the records of history, never met with from their friends and family.

So violent were the prejudices which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, upon her disappearing, to have put her to death; and it was fortunate that the truth was timely discovered, otherwise the populace, even the king's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and Catholics.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was not such as could gain him the esteem of his friends and adherents. Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it; but seemed in this emergency as much depressed with adversity, as he had before been vainly elated with prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent counsel, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them.

The queen observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment from which, she was told, the queens of England were not exempted. The popish courtiers, and, above all, the priests, were aware that they should be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment was the smallest penalty they must expect from national resentment. They were therefore desirous of carrying the king along with them; whose presence, they knew, would still be some resource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whose restoration, if it

ever happened, would again reinstate them in power and authority. The general defection of the Protestants made the king regard the Catholics as his only subjects on whose counsel he could rely, while the fatal catastrophe of his father afforded them a plausible reason for making him apprehend a like fate. The great difference of circumstances was not, during men's present distractions, sufficiently weighed. Even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles I. could not be deemed a national deed; it was perpetrated by a fanatical army, pushed on by a daring and enthusiastical leader, and the whole kingdom had ever entertained, and did still entertain, a violent abhorrence against that enormity. The situation of public affairs, therefore, no more resembled what it was forty years before, than the prince of Orange, either in birth, character, fortune, or connexions, could be supposed a parallel to Cromwell.

The emissaries of France, and among the rest, Barillon, the French ambassador, were busy about the king, entertaining a very false notion, which they instilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public sentiment, and beget universal confusion, than his deserting the kingdom. The prince of Orange had, with good reason, embraced a contrary opinion; and he deemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the nation, so long as the king kept possession of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he was determined to use every expedient which might intimidate the king, and make him quit that throne which he himself was alone enabled to fill. He declined a personal conference with James's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them; the terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; meanwhile he stopped not for a moment the march of his army towards London.

READING LX.

PROGRESS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—ABDICATION
OF JAMES II.

THE news which the king received from all quarters served to continue the panic into which he had fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Colonel Copel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himself master of that important fortress; and threw into prison Lord Langdale, the governor, a Catholic; together with Lord Montgomery, a nobleman of the same religion. The town of Newcastle received Lord Lumley, and declared for the prince of Orange, and a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged it in the same measure.

The king, every moment alarmed more and more by these proofs of a general disaffection, not daring to repose trust in any but those who were exposed to more danger than himself, precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; and sent off beforehand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of Count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. As if this measure had not been the most grateful to his enemies of any that he could adopt, he had carefully concealed his intention from all the world; and nothing could equal the surprise which seized the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve everything in confusion, the king ordered that no one who should, in his absence, exercise any part of the administration; he threw the great seal into the river; and recalled all those writs which had been issued for the election of the new parliament.

By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace were masters; and there was no disorder which during their present ferment might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult, and destroyed all the Roman Catholic chapels. They even attacked and rifled

the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassador, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jeffreys, the chancellor, that infamous judge whose cruelties are proverbial, had disguised himself, and was endeavouring to fly the kingdom, when being discovered by them, he was so maltreated by them, that he died soon after. Even the army, which should have suppressed these tumults, would, it was apprehended, serve rather to increase the general disorder. Feversham had no sooner heard of the king's flight, than he disbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country.

In this extremity, the bishops and peers who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the state, thought proper to assemble and to interpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the marquis of Halifax speaker: gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons; and made applications to the prince of Orange, whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they sincerely rejoiced at.

While every one from principle, interest, or animosity, turned his back on the unhappy king, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived, that he had been seized by the populace at Feversham, as he was making his escape in disguise; that he had been much insulted, until he was known, but that the gentry had then interposed and protected him, though they still refused to consent to his escape. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent Zuylestein with orders that the king should approach no nearer than Rochester, but the message came too late. He was already arrived in London, where the populace, moved by compassion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, had received him with shouts and acclamations.

During the king's abode at Whitehall, little attention was paid to him by the nobility or any person of distinction. They had, all of them, been previously disgusted on account of his blind partiality to the Catholics, and they knew that they were now become criminal in his

eyes, by their late public applications to the prince of Orange. He himself showed not any symptom of spirit, nor discovered any intention of resuming the reins of government, which he had once thrown aside. His authority had now plainly expired; and as he had exercised his power, while possessed of it, with very precipitate and haughty counsels, so he relinquished it by a despair equally rash and pusillanimous.

Nothing remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they should dispose of his person, and it was determined to force him to retire into France, a measure which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. The king, having sent Lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference for an accommodation in order to the public settlement, that nobleman was arrested, under pretence of his coming without a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where James then resided, and to displace the English ones. Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, brought a message from the prince, which they delivered to the king in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, a town near the sea coast. It was perceived that the artifice had taken effect, and that the king, terrified with this harsh treatment, had renewed his former resolution of leaving the kingdom.

He lingered, however, some days at Rochester, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed still desirous of an invitation to keep possession of the throne. He was undoubtedly sensible that, as he had at first trusted too much to his people's loyalty, and by confiding in their submission had offered the greatest violence to their principles and prejudices; so had he, at last, on finding his disappointment, gone too far in the other extreme, and hastily supposed them destitute of all sense of duty and allegiance. But observing that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him and leaving him to his own counsels, he submitted to his melancholy fate, and, being urged by earnest letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and arrived safely at Ambleteuse,

in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain's. Louis XIV. received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard; a conduct which, more than his most signal victories, contributes to the honour of that great monarch.

Thus ended the reign of a prince whom, if we consider his personal character rather than his public conduct, we may safely pronounce more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of those qualities which form a good citizen; even some of those which, had they not been wholly absorbed by bigotry and arbitrary principles, contribute to form a good sovereign. In domestic life his conduct was irreproachable, and entitled to our approbation—severe, but open in his enmities, steady in his counsels, diligent in his schemes, brave in his enterprises, faithful, sincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men; such was the character with which the duke of York mounted the throne. In that high station, his frugality of the public money was remarkable, his industry exemplary, his application to naval affairs successful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealousy of national honour laudable. What then was wanting to make him an excellent sovereign?—a due regard and affection to the religion and Constitution of his country. Had he been possessed of this essential quality, even his mediocre talents, aided by so many virtues, would have rendered his reign honourable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency which he possessed became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

READING LXI.

LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE.

Born 1638—Died 1715.

THE important part which Louis XIV. played upon the political theatre of the world, not less than the great influence he exerted for so many years over the concerns of our own country, renders it necessary to introduce him more particularly to the attention of our readers.

Louis XIV. was five years of age when he succeeded

his father Louis XIII., being born on the 16th September, 1638. The minority of this prince, like that of the preceding monarch, was disturbed by the efforts of different parties to obtain the regency. It was at length bestowed, by a decree of the parliament, upon the queen-mother, Anne of Austria; and to gratify her still more, all restrictions were removed, the council which had been established by the late king, as a check upon the regent, being dissolved. She commenced her regency by giving her confidence to persons of the greatest incapacity, but subsequently named for her prime-minister the Cardinal Mazarin. This person was an Italian by birth, and had risen as a creature of Richelieu's, who had become acquainted with him during the war in Italy, in 1630, and having witnessed his abilities, as a diplomatist, had given him office in France, as a man both able and disposed to forward his views.

Mazarin, on his first entrance into power, was extremely disliked, and was twice exiled by popular tumult; nor did he succeed in recovering his high employment (which he at last did, not by shedding, as Richelieu had done, the noblest blood of France upon the scaffold, but by able negotiations), until the year 1653, when he was recalled with great honour, the king himself going to meet him. The success of the French arms, under his ministry, procured for that nation the advantageous treaty of Munster, concluded on the 24th of October, 1648, between France and the empire; whilst the peace of the Pyrenees, which Mazarin negotiated in person with the prime-minister of Spain, secured for France the provinces of Roussillon and Artois, and restored to her Condé. But the most important articles were those which settled the marriage of Louis with Maria Theresa, the infanta of Spain, and secured to France the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy. This marriage was celebrated in 1660. This peace of the Pyrenees was the closing work of the cardinal; he died about two years after, at the end of the month of February, 1661. Before expiring he gave Louis XIV., whose character he had fully appreciated, the advice of governing by himself, and instead of a minister, left him only secretaries of state. The king put on mourning for the cardinal, a high mark of respect in a crowned head.

The government of the kingdom had been arranged two days before Mazarin's death, entirely according to his views and plans ; so that upon the cardinal's decease, when Harlai de Chauvalon, the president of the assembly of the clergy, came to inquire of his majesty with whom they should in future communicate upon the public business. "*With me,*" replied the king.

The following is the way in which Louis at this period disposed of his time. He invariably worked every day with his three secretaries, either altogether or separately. He rose about eight o' clock, heard prayers, dressed, read pamphlets or memorials, and took a hasty breakfast. He came out of his private apartments at ten and held a council, which was over at twelve, when he went to mass; the remaining time till dinner, he either appeared in public or spent with the two queens, his mother and his consort, in their apartments ; after his repast he frequently passed a considerable time with the royal family. He then resumed his work with some one of his secretaries, gave audiences, in which he listened very patiently to all the observations made to him, received petitions, and gave answers upon the days which had been appointed. The rest of the afternoon he passed in conversation with the queen, or at the Countess de Soisson's, at play or hazard, in taking a walk, or going to the theatre, as the season might be ; this routine was never changed except on hunting days, or on the occasion of some extraordinary festival. Supper was his favourite repast ; and he most commonly prolonged it to a late hour, following it with music and dancing. If the energy and capacity manifested by Louis from this period, at which he was only twenty-three years of age, prove that nature had endowed him royally with her gifts, his application to business, and the manner in which he performed his high functions, fully exonerate Mazarin from the reproach of having purposely neglected his education. He truly possessed what may be called the education of a king ; without being practically acquainted with literature or the arts, he felt them and appreciated them fully, and nothing escaped him that could contribute to the grandeur and magnificence of his reign.

Character is developed by circumstance. The king, naturally proud, and passionately fond of glory, soon discovered to what a degree he was determined to be respected

in foreign courts. In 1662, his ambassador at London, having been insulted by that of Spain, who disputed the precedence with him, Louis immediately threatened his father-in-law, Philip IV., with immediate hostilities, unless he made amends for the insult. The king of Spain had the prudence or weakness to yield, and an ambassador extraordinary, sent expressly upon the occasion to Louis, declared publicly that the ministers of Spain did not compete the precedence with those of France. Even pope Alexander VII. was compelled to humble himself before the young monarch. In consequence of a dispute, the papal troops had attacked the residence of the Marquis de Créquy, the French ambassador at Rome, and had killed some of his servants. Satisfaction was demanded, but the papal court wishing to gain time, Louis immediately seized Avignon; upon which, His Holiness sent his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, to ask pardon of his majesty, which was granted upon condition of the Corsican guard which had committed the insult being disbanded, and a column being erected in commemoration of the event. Louis was anxious for an opportunity of signalizing himself by bold and noble enterprises, and he was unfortunately but too fond of that kind of glory which costs humanity so many tears—the glory of a conqueror. This spirit soon manifested itself. Upon the death of Philip IV. in 1667, he found various pretexts for declaring war; and, after having established the necessary magazines for his troops, entered Flanders accompanied by the great Marshal Turenne, and in a single campaign rendered himself master of almost the whole of that country. This and other successes alarmed the other powers, and a coalition being formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, in favour of Spain, Louis thought it prudent to prevent the probable consequences of this triple alliance by offering peace to that country. It was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, Louis agreeing to restore Franche-comté; while he retained all his conquests in Flanders.

Excessively jealous of his glory, Louis never forgave the Dutch for crossing his designs; but he disdained to demand satisfaction of the States of Holland. Resolved to subjugate that country, he gained over to his views our profligate and infamous Charles II., and also succeeded in detaching Sweden from the triple alliance. All his measures

having been taken with as much energy as secrecy, war was declared and commenced in 1672. More than two hundred thousand men were destined to conquer a little state, which could scarcely assemble above twenty-five thousand soldiers in its defence. The king entered it, accompanied by his brother, the prince of Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, De Vauban, Louvois ; in short, by all his most renowned generals.

READING LXII.

LOUIS XIV. (CONTINUED.)

THE successes of this campaign were rapid. Three provinces and forty fortified places were conquered in a few months. Amsterdam beheld the French almost at its gates. The Dutch sued for peace, but the victorious Louis, proud of his conquests and listening only to adulation, was far from dreaming of those reverses which he was himself fated to experience within a short time, in this very country. The conditions which he proposed were such as no free people could accept ; and the Dutch, driven to despair, thought only of saving the republic, or of burying themselves amid its ruins. The dykes which prevented the encroachments of the ocean were removed, and everything was cheerfully sacrificed to the preservation of their liberties. These exertions have already been described in a former Reading.

In 1673 the emperor Leopold, the king of Spain, and the greater part of the princes of the empire, alarmed at the conquests of Louis XIV., united themselves to Holland in order to arrest a torrent which seemed to threaten entire Europe. The king of England was even forced by his parliament to make peace. Louis had the mortification of being compelled to abandon the three provinces which he had just, so rapidly, subjugated. The two succeeding years, however, found him more fortunate, excepting the death of the great Turenne ; and in 1678 the treaty of Nimeguen secured to him, on the part of Spain, Franche-comté and a great part of Flanders. Louis was now at the acme of his glory, and in France his courtiers gave him the surname of—Great.

Notwithstanding a violent quarrel which Louis had with the pope, Innocent XI., on account of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics, he was far from abandoning a religion which, more than any other, favours arbitrary authority; and he therefore still continued to signalize his zeal for Catholicism, of which he gave the greatest proof by his horrible persecution of the French Protestants, and to which has been given the name of *Dragonnades*, dragoons having been employed in executing the cruel and flagitious commands of the bigoted monarch.

The end of the triumphs of Louis now approached. This monarch, who had become devout, and was always vain, had given his unlimited confidence to a woman blinded by her zeal, and who, thinking to deliver her prince from the tyranny of the passions, precipitated him into that of bigotry. This was Madame de Maintenon. In the year 1685, nearly two years after the death of his queen, Louis privately married her at Fontainebleau: a marriage which, although not publicly announced, was sufficiently proclaimed by that atrocious edict, dictated by hypocritical and fanatical priests, revoking the famous edict of Nantz, the fruit of the sagacity of Henry IV., and which even the sanguinary Richelieu had respected. The consequence of this abominable persecution was, that in a few years France lost more than three millions of its citizens. This measure caused the French king's name to be execrated throughout Europe. Every tongue exclaimed against the violence of a tyrant, who, by one act of despotism, deprived thousands of families of their property, and forced them to seek for liberty and the means of subsistence far from their native land.

It was now that the haughtiness of Louis, his excessive power, his confiscations, and, above all, his religious proscriptions, had raised him as many enemies as there were princes in Europe. But the most dangerous of all, whether by his excessive ambition, or his profound policy, was William, prince of Orange, at this time despised by the French, on account of his want of good fortune in war. But he soon taught them of what his genius was capable. He had been the principal mover of the famous league of Augsburg in 1686, and which was concluded at Vienna the following year. The emperor and the greatest part of the empire, the king of Spain, Holland, the duke of

Saxony, and almost all Italy, united against France. Innocent XI., as haughty as Louis himself, seconded by his intrigues those of the Dutch prince; so that Europe saw with astonishment a pope and a Protestant prince working, with equal zeal, at the abasement of the most Christian king.

It was not, however, till the year 1689 that Louis began the war openly against England. In that year, James II., who had voluntarily abdicated the British throne, took refuge in France. Louis XIV. went to meet him with all his family, and an equipage consisting of one hundred carriages drawn by six horses each. He assigned to his new guests the chateau of St. Germain-en-Laye for their residence, where they were treated in a manner suitable to their rank. Holland and Spain declared themselves against James.

Germany, the Low Countries, and the frontiers of Spain and Italy, were at one and the same time the theatre of war; Marshals Luxembourg, Catinat, Lorges, and Noailles, gained, during the years 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, and 1694, the most brilliant victories, but they were productive of no results: affairs rested in nearly the same state. The slaughter of his species, the ruin of cities, the devastation of provinces, and the depopulation of nations, were the only consequences of the exploits of Louis the Great.

But, notwithstanding his victories, he appeared no longer invincible. In 1692, his navy had experienced a serious defeat off La Hogue, in which he lost fourteen large vessels. In 1695, king William retook Namur in the face of a French army of eighty thousand men, and the English fleets bombarded Dieppe, Havre, St. Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk. Louis, at length, having been made to feel the scourge of war, desired peace, and obtained it by the sacrifice of all the conquests he had made in Spain and Flanders, by the acknowledgment of William as the lawful king of England, and the abandonment of James II.

This peace was interrupted by the war of the Spanish succession. Charles II., king of Spain, died on the 1st of November, 1700; he nominated by will for his successor, the duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France, and though at first England and Holland and the duke

of Savoy appeared to recognise Philip V., these three powers soon armed against him. Upon the death of William III. of England, his successor, Queen Anne, continued the same policy and prosecuted the war with vigour, and on every side a dreadful storm appeared ready to burst over France. The results were fatal to the pride and ambition of Louis. The victories of prince Eugene and Marlborough forced that monarch to sue for peace, offering to recognise the Archduke as king of Spain, and to supply funds for dethroning his own grandson. At length, in 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed. Philip V. retained the throne of Spain, but renounced all claim to that of France. The duke of Savoy had Sicily with the title of king. Flemish Flanders was left to the emperor; and several towns were given to the Dutch by way of barriers. England kept Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; the French were compelled to demolish and fill up the port of Dunkirk, which had cost them immense sums. Such was the end of this war, which had reduced Louis XIV. to the last extremity, despoiled him of several provinces, and excluded his grandson from the succession to the throne of France.

The last years of the life of Louis XIV. were as melancholy as the first ones had been brilliant. Madame de Maintenon, wearied out with reiterated, but fruitless attempts to interest him by means of operas, full of fulsome adulation, at length exclaimed: "What a torment it is to try to entertain a man no longer capable of amusement!"

On his death-bed, although he could dissemble neither the indiscretions of his youth, nor the evils which his pride and ambition had caused, he yet preserved all the firmness of his character. Addressing the young prince, his successor, he said, "Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours; I have been too fond of war; imitate me neither in that nor in the foolish expenses in which I have indulged. Relieve the miseries of your people, and do what unfortunately I have not had the power of doing." He then bade adieu, in the most affecting manner, to all the princes and princesses, and to the officers of his household; then looking at Madame de Maintenon—"My consolation in quitting you," said he to her, "is the hope that we shall soon meet again in the world to come." She made no

reply to this adieu, which appeared to displease her much, but set off immediately for St. Cyr. Louis expired on the 1st of September, 1715, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the seventy-third of his reign.

READING LXIII.

LOUIS XIV. OF FRANCE (CONCLUDED).

IN order to complete our sketch of this celebrated monarch, the present Reading will consist of a description given of him, when in the fifty-second year of his age, by a person of quality at his court. It is contained in a letter, written in Italian, to a cardinal at Rome, who had desired a particular and minute account of the French monarch:—

Your eminence has requested me to give you a faithful portrait of the greatest monarch of Europe, and notwithstanding my temerity in undertaking to gratify your wish, the desire of obeying your commands is, with me, paramount to every other consideration. I shall not expatiate either upon the power of this monarch, or upon the good fortune which has invariably attended all his enterprises. [*This was written before the commencement of Louis's reverses.*] I shall find theme sufficient in his qualities, virtues, and personal accomplishments.

The king has entered upon his fifty-second year, is in good health, and extremely robust; but is sometimes subject to slight fits of the gout. His figure is very handsome and prepossessing, his complexion brown, his features open and manly, his forehead lofty, his eyes large and black, and his look that of sweetness tempered with severity. His physiognomy is commanding and warlike, his mien grave and majestic, his walk noble and imposing. His aspect is replete with a gentle majesty, which inspires both love and awe, and gains him the affections of every one, but more especially of such as have the happy and envied privilege of approaching him. He listens like a master, speaks as a father, and preserves such equanimity that neither sorrow, joy, nor anger have any empire over him.

Naturally inclined to clemency, which he justly regards as one of the greatest of royal virtues, he will allow himself to relent, but without any compromise of his firmness; and, while anxious for the due execution of justice, he is, notwithstanding, desirous of avoiding the shedding of blood.

Fortifications, architecture, hunting, billiards, walking, gardens and flowers, are his most ordinary amusements.

He is fond of history and of good books upon all kinds of subjects; but it is seldom that he has sufficient leisure to apply himself seriously to reading.

Admiring the fidelity of the canine species, he has great delight in fondling and playing with dogs. Never has there been any sovereign who has evinced more magnificence in furniture, dress, horses, equipages, hounds, jewels, and buildings.

His table is always splendid, and is distinguished as much by the abundance and delicacy of the dishes, as by the perfect order and judicious arrangement of the service.

If he has made a promise of any favour, he is sure to remember it, and bestows it only to forget it; and what appears particularly difficult to accomplish, he enhances the favour both by the manner and the occasion of giving it.

He lends a favourable ear to praise, because he is sensible of the worth of it, and he loves and cherishes glory, because his own deeds have deserved the immortality of renown.

Indefatigable both physically and morally, neither the heat of summer nor the cold of winter can suspend the prosecution of his enterprises.

He is as punctual in his attendance at the council board as he is exact in all his other appointments, and no prince has ever worked so hard for the good and aggrandizement of his dominions. Equally well acquainted with the theory of jurisprudence as with that of war, his answers, whether to a general or a judge, are characterized by a perfect knowledge of the subject.

An idea may be formed of his liberality as well as power, by the pensions he bestows both at home and abroad. It is said that after any illness, he always presents his physician and chief surgeon with one hundred and fifty thousand crowns each.

He sets a great value upon secrecy, and is very jealous of its being strictly observed. He considers himself

sufficiently remunerated for all the labour of application to the duties of a great monarch, by the success of his plans.

Always prompt to answer, he speaks with so much gentleness that his replies never disoblige, and no prince has ever better observed, than he, the laws of propriety and complaisance, nor preserved that affability of demeanour which is sure to please even those whose wishes it is impossible to gratify. In short, ever great in small things, he is never little in great ones.

When presiding in his council, he listens with so much condescension to the opinions and advice of the members composing it, that they are ever desirous of gratifying their monarch, by suggesting nothing but what may eminently contribute to the welfare and prosperity of his kingdom.

Ingratitude and treachery are held by him in such abhorrence that he cannot support the presence of such as have been guilty of them, whatever may be their rank or birth. Struck by that air of majesty which is natural to him, no one enters his presence without feeling a degree of respect approaching to awe; while no one retires from it, even when their petition has been refused, without a sentiment of admiration and delight.

He is fond of society, and would be less punctilious, were he not convinced that with the French nation familiarity and respect are incompatible.

He generally dresses and takes his meals in public, converses familiarly with the courtiers around him, makes observations upon everything, and with such quicksightedness, that when a new face presents itself, the monarch studies it, and having once known it, never forgets it.

Brave and incapable of fear, he too often exposes his person for his courage to be called in question; and such is the value he sets upon valour, virtue, and ability, that he seeks them out, and rewards them, even among foreigners.

As nothing better discovers the genius and inclinations of men than their private life, I shall add to this portrait a few circumstances of the life of this monarch, which appear to me worthy of being recorded.

About four years ago, being dangerously ill, a courtier proposed to him to change the air. "I will do so very

willingly," replied the king, "if you can point out to me any spot upon the earth where people never die."

On the first day that Namur was invested, in 1692, the ladies belonging to the chief families of the town sent a deputation to the king to ask him for passports; their request was refused upon the plea of its not being customary. They sent a second request, to which the same answer was returned. "Well then," said they, "go and tell the king that we feel ourselves much honoured in surrendering as prisoners of war;" and immediately they prepared to quit Namur with their children and female servants. Louis XIV. named one of the politest noblemen of his court to receive them with every attention, and to conduct them to some tents which had been pitched for them, and where they found all kinds of refreshment. The king's carriages were sent in the afternoon, and conveyed them to a neighbouring abbey, where they remained until the end of the siege.

Bontems, first valet-de-chambre, having one day asked the king for a favour in behalf of one of his friends, "When will you have done asking?" said Louis to him. Bontems was thunderstruck. But his confusion did not last long, the king adding, with a smile, "Asking for others and never for yourself.—The favour which you apply for, on behalf of your friend, I bestow upon your son."

As the king was one day washing his feet, a valet-de-chambre, who held the wax light, let fall some of the melted wax upon his right foot. Louis merely said, "You might just as well have let it fall upon the floor."

A short time before the battle of Denain, which saved France, the king sent for Marshal Villars, and thus addressed him: "You see our present situation; we must either conquer or die. Seek out the enemy, and give them battle." "But, sire," said Villars, "it is your last army." "That is of no consequence," rejoined the king. "I do not require you to beat the enemy, but you must attack them. If the battle be lost, you will write me word, but to me alone. I will then mount my horse, and go through the streets of Paris, with your letter in my hand. I know what Frenchmen are; I will bring you four hundred thousand men, and will bury myself with them under the ruins of the monarchy."

READING LXIV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ABOUT the middle of the sixteenth century, society had obtained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that period the Italian states began to decline; and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance to refinement. Among these the French took the lead; for although the Spanish nobility, during the reign of Charles V. and his immediate successors, were, perhaps, the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps, the great body of the nation then was, as it still continues, sunk in ignorance and superstition. The secluded condition of the women also, both in Spain and Italy, was a further barrier against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed in the Gallic kingdom by Francis I. Anne of Bretagne, wife of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII., had introduced the custom of the public appearance of ladies at the French court; Francis encouraged it, and by familiarizing the intercourse of the sexes, in many brilliant assemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe.

In this manner the influence of the fair sex went on increasing through succeeding reigns until that of Louis XIII., when it appears to have been at its height; almost all public matters being then conducted by women. A lady in her boudoir was the soul of the council. There she determined to fight, to negotiate, to embroil, or to accommodate matters with the court; and as love presided over all her consultations, secret aversions or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greatest events. A revolution in the heart of a woman, almost always announced a change in public affairs. The ladies, in fact, appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensign of their party, reviewed troops, and presided at councils of war.

But this excessive gallantry, which Anne of Austria had brought with her from Spain, and which was so con-

trary to the genius of the French nation, vanished with the other remains of barbarism, on the approach of the bright days of Louis XIV., when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language, literature, arts, and manners were perfected. Ease was then associated with elegance, taste with fashion, and grace with freedom. Men and women became reasonable beings, and the intercourse between the sexes a school of urbanity; where a mutual desire to please gave smoothness to the behaviour, and mutual esteem imparted delicacy to the mind and sensibility to the heart.

Nor were the improvements in manners, during the reign of Louis XIV., confined to the intercourse between the sexes, or to the habits of general politeness. Duels had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and sometimes authorized by the magistrates, for terminating doubtful questions; so that the best blood in Christendom had been wantonly spilled in these frivolous contests, which, towards the close of the sixteenth century, were scarcely less destructive than war itself. This practice became so discountenanced as at length to be brought within such bounds as are, in some respects, tolerable, for although duelling be alike pernicious and absurd, it has been attended by some beneficial effects. It has made men more respectful in their behaviour to each other, less ostentatious in conversation, and more tender of living characters, but especially of female reputation; and the gentleness of manners introduced by this restraint, while it has contributed to social happiness, has also rendered duels themselves less frequent, by removing the causes of offence.

The progress of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with that of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I., a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne were the fathers of French prose, while poetry was gradually polished by Marot, Ronsard, Malherbe, Voiture, and Balzac. The efforts of Richelieu to improve his language brought forward Corneille Molière, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, La Fontaine, and all the fine writers who shed a lustre over the reign of Louis XIV. The same good taste extended itself to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raised in the most correct style of architecture;

sculpture was perfected by Girardon, of whose skill the mausoleum of Cardinal Richelieu is a lasting monument : Poussin equalled Raphael in some branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke displayed the glories of the Flemish school ; and Lulli set to excellent music the simple and passionate operas of Quinault. France and the neighbouring provinces, towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of classic elegance.

Taste and politeness made a less rapid progress in other parts of Europe, during the period under review. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalcalde to the peace of Westphalia, were perpetual scenes either of religious wars or religious disputes. But these disputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and those wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect military science ; an advantage in itself by no means contemptible, inasmuch as that art is not only necessary to protect weakness against force, but is intimately connected with several others conducive to the happiness of mankind. All the powers of the soul were raised, and all the emotions of the heart called forth. Germany produced consummate generals, sound politicians, deep divines, and even acute philosophers, before she made any advances in the belles lettres.

In England, although the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. were distinguished by the immortal productions of Shakspeare, yet in many writers a good taste was scarcely discernible. A propensity to false wit and superfluous ornament infected the whole nation : the pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was perpetrated from the throne. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, however, Raleigh's History of the World, and the translation of the Bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language and of the progress of English prose.

If we except the translation of Tasso by Fairfax, and some of the tragic scenes of Fletcher, the style of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire approbation. Jonson, though born with a vein of genuine humour, perfectly acquainted with the ancient classics, and possessed of sufficient taste to relish their beauties, was a rude mechanical writer.

During the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taste began to gain ground. Charles himself was a competent judge of literature, a chaste writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was caressed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan those public edifices which do so much honour to his memory; whilst Lawes, and other eminent composers in the service of the king, set to manly music some of the finest English verses. But a spirit of fanaticism, which unfortunately incorporated and identified itself with patriotism, obstructed the progress of letters, and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they seemed to be hastening, or the manners from receiving the degree of polish which they must soon have acquired, in the brilliant assemblies and public festivals of two persons of such elegant accomplishments as were the king and his consort.

Some time after the restoration, the Royal Society was founded; and its members, in a few years, made many important discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy, in which Wilkins, Wallis, and Boyle had a great share: nor were the other branches of science neglected, for both Hobbes and Shaftesbury distinguished themselves by opposite systems of philosophy, which they separately supported with equal ability, ingenuity, and argumentative power.

READING LXV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (CONCLUDED).

It is in philosophy that the English have particularly had the mastery over every other nation. Newton, surpassing all former astronomers, surveyed more fully, and established by demonstration, that harmonious system of the universe which had been discovered, or rather reproduced, by Copernicus. Newton was the first who discovered and demonstrated the great law of nature by which every particle of matter tends towards the centre, and all the planets are retained in their proper course.

He was the first who truly beheld light; before him we knew not what it was.

Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night;
God said, "Let Newton be," and all was light.

His principles of the mathematics, which contain a system of natural philosophy entirely new and true, are founded on the discovery of what is called the calculation of infinities, or the infinitesimal calculus, discovered and executed by him at the age of twenty-four. This occasioned the observation of the learned Halley, "that it will never be permitted any mortal to approach nearer to the Deity."

"In Newton," says Hume, "this island may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius that ever rose for the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious in admitting no principles but such as were founded on experiment; but resolute to adopt every such principle, however new or unusual. From modesty, ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and hence less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions; more anxious to merit than to acquire fame, he was, from these causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation at last broke out with a lustre, which scarcely any writer, during his own lifetime, had ever before obtained."

Numberless good geometricians and natural philosophers were at once improved by his discoveries, and encouraged to pursue the track pointed out to them. Bradley at length went so far as to discover the parallax of the fixed stars, which are distant from our globe several billions of miles.

Locke was the first to give a clear explanation of the human understanding, and to prove to demonstration that all our ideas are acquired by sensation and reflection, and consequently that we brought none into the world with us.

If we cast our eyes towards the north of Europe, we find the town of Dantzic to have produced Helvetius, the first astronomer whose well-directed observations made him correctly acquainted with the motions of the moon. In Holstein, Mercator was the forerunner of Newton in geometry, while Switzerland justly boasted of the two Bernouilli.

The famous Leibnitz was born at Leipsic. He was, perhaps, a man of the most universal learning in Europe ; he was an historian, indefatigable in his inquiries ; a profound civilian, who enlightened the study of the law by philosophy ; a thorough metaphysician ; a good Latinist ; and lastly, so excellent a mathematician, as to dispute with the great Newton the invention of the infinitesimal calculus, and to make it for some time doubtful which of them could most justly claim the honour of that discovery.

This was, then, the golden age of geometry. Mathematicians sent frequent challenges to each other, that is, problems to solve. There never was a more universal correspondence kept up between philosophers than at this period, and Leibnitz contributed not a little to encourage it. A republic of letters was insensibly established in Europe, in the midst of the most obstinate war, and such a number of religious sects ; the arts and sciences, all of them, thus received mutual assistance from each other. Italy and Russia were united by the bonds of science, and natives of England, Germany, and France went to study at Leyden. The famous physician Boerhaave was consulted at the same time by the pope and the czar of Muscovy.

Italy may justly boast in this age of the productions of Cabrera, Zappi, Filicaia, Maffei, and Metastasio.

During the reign of James I. the manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government which prevailed ; high family pride was predominant, and it was by a dignity and stateliness of behaviour that the nobility and gentry distinguished themselves from the common people.

The expenses of the great consisted in pomp, show, and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and real pleasure. The Earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by five hundred persons.

London at this time was almost entirely built of wood, and in every respect was certainly, by no means, a handsome city. The Earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of brick buildings.

James was not negligent of his navy. In five years preceding 1623 he built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a year on the fleet, besides the value of

thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forests.

Nine-tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods. The silk manufacture had no footing in England; but by James's direction, mulberry trees were planted and silk worms introduced: the climate, however, proved unfavourable to the success of this project.

What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable is the commencement of the English colonies in America. Peopled gradually from England by the necessitous and indigent, who at home increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even multiplied the inhabitants of their mother country.

The commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the revolution to the republic. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and together with the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, which was effected during the reign of Charles II., extended the English empire in America.

We learn from Sir Josiah Child, that in 1688 there were on the 'Change more men worth ten thousand pounds than there were in 1650 worth a thousand; and that five hundred pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than two thousand in the former: that gentlewomen, in those earlier times, thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen in; and that, besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundredfold.

The duke of Buckingham introduced, from Venice, the manufacture of glass and crystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures: he himself being the inventor of etching.

The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662. The places of the turnpikes were Wadesmill, Caxton, and Stilton. In 1663 was passed the first law for allowing the exportation of foreign coin and bullion.

In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed.

The first match which took place in England was one

against time, which occurred in the year 1604, when John Lepton, a groom in the service of James I., undertook to ride five times between London and York, from Monday morning until Saturday night, and actually performed the task within five hours.

The earliest records of the turf, in this country, dated no further back than the reign of Charles II., who was extremely attached to this sport, and appointed regular races at Newmarket.

Coffee was first drunk in England by one Nathaniel Canopi^{us}, a native of Crete, and resident in Baliol College, Oxford, which he quitted in 1648.

James Farr, who kept the coffee-house, now the Rainbow, in Fleet-street, had a complaint laid against him in 1567 by the Inquest of St. Dustan's in the West, for making and selling a sort of liquor called *Coffee*, to the great nuisance and prejudice of the neighbourhood.

Tea, or Chaa, as it is called in some of the advertisements, *tcha* being the Chinese name, is supposed to have been brought into England from Holland, by Lord Arlington, in 1660; it was sold, at a still later date than the above, at 60s. per lb.

The first dye-house for scarlet in England was established in 1643, by a German named Kepler, at the village of Bow, near London.

The first museum in this country was formed towards the middle of the seventeenth century, by John Fradercant, who procured the objects of which it was composed from many parts of Europe, America, and the Levant.

The next one, in order of time, was Kemp's museum in the Haymarket, in the beginning of the eighteenth century: it was founded by Mr. John Conyers.

The splendid collection contained in the British Museum was formed in 1753, by Sir Hans Sloane, and was purchased by parliament for the national use, for £20,000.

In 1611, Baronets were first created in England by James I. The first colonial establishment of the English in North America was not completely carried into effect before the year 1616. All attempts which had been made before this time proved immature. The first settlement was that of Virginia. The colonization of New England began in 1612.

The first sedan chair seen in England was in the reign of James I. It was introduced by the duke of Buckingham, who was the first to use it, thereby incurring the great hatred of the people, who did not hesitate to affirm that he turned his fellow-creatures into beasts of burden.

Agriculture, for many centuries, was very imperfectly cultivated in Britain. The sudden transitions, so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the vast inequality of its value in different years, sufficiently prove that the produce depended on the seasons, and that art contributed very little to guard against the injuries of the heavens. Considerable improvements were introduced, but, notwithstanding these, the nation was still dependent on foreign markets for the staff of life. It is said, that not less than two millions sterling left this country at one time, to purchase corn. The exportation of corn from England was not legal until the fifth year of Elizabeth, and from that moment, observes Camden, new life and vigour were imparted to agriculture.

Previously to the civil wars, Charles I. was the great patron of all the fine arts, and the promoter of a correct taste. Of this the encouragement and protection he afforded Inigo Jones, Vandyke, and Rubens are a sufficient proof.

Copper halfpence and farthings began to be coined in the reign of James I. Most of the silver pennies having disappeared, tradesmen were obliged to carry on their retail business chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The coins of Cromwell exceed in beauty and workmanship any of that age.

In 1643, to supply the charges of the war, the first excise was imposed by parliament.

In 1662, the Royal Society was instituted, for the promotion of philosophical knowledge.

England acquired much more respect from foreign powers between the death of Charles I. and that of Cromwell, than she had experienced since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

During the interregnum, monopolies of all kinds were abolished, and liberty of conscience was granted to all sects.

SPECIMENS OF THE POETRY OF THE 17th CENTURY.

ROBERT HERRICK (B. 1591—D. 1660).

TO BLOSSOMS.

FAIR pledges of a fruitful tree,
Why do ye fall so fast?
Your date is not so past
But you may stay yet here awhile,
To blush and gently smile,
And go at last.

What! were ye born to be
An hour or half's delight,
And so to bid good night?
'Twere pity nature brought ye forth
Merely to show your worth,
And lose you quite!

But ye are lovely leaves, where we
May read how soon things have
Their end, though ne'er so brave;
And after they have shown their pride,
Like you, awhile, they glide
Into the grave.

TO DAFFODILS.

Fair daffodils, we weep to see
You haste away so soon;
As yet the early-rising sun
Has not attained his noon.

Stay, stay!
Until the hasting day
Has run

But to the even-song;
And having prayed together, we
Will go with you along.

We have short time to stay, as you;
We have as short a spring;
As quick a growth to meet decay,
As you, or anything:

We die
As your hours do, and dry

Away,
Like to the summer's rain;
Or as the pearls of morning dew,
Ne'er to be found again.

WALLER (B. 1605—D. 1687).

PASSIONS.

The seas are quiet when the winds give o'er ;
 So, calm are we when passions are no more,
 For then we know how vain it was to boast
 Of fleeting things, too certain to be lost.
 Clouds of affections, from our younger eyes
 Conceal that emptiness which age describes ;
 The soul's dark cottage batter'd and decay'd
 Lets in new light through chinks that time has made.
 Stronger by weakness, wiser men become
 As they draw near to their eternal home ;
 Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view,
 That stand upon the threshold of the new.

THE ROSE.

Go, lovely rose !
 Tell her that wastes her time and me
 That now she knows,
 When I resemble her to thee
 How sweet and fair she seems to be.

Tell her that's young
 And shuns to have her graces spied,
 That hadst thou sprung
 In deserts, where no men abide,
 Thou must have uncommended died.

Small in the worth
 Of beauty from the light retired :
 Bid her come forth,
 Suffer herself to be desired,
 And not blush so to be admired.

Then die ! that she
 The common fate of all things rare
 May read in thee,
 How small a part of time they share
 That are so wondrous sweet and fair.

MILTON (B. 1608—D. 1675).

MAY MORNING.

Now the bright morning-star, day's harbinger,
 Comes dancing from the East, and leads with her
 The flowery May, who, from her green lap, throws
 The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.

Hail, bounteous May, that dost inspire
 Mirth and youth, and warm desire ;
 Woods and groves are of thy dressing,
 Hill and dale doth boast thy blessing.
 Thus we salute thee with our early song,
 And welcome thee and wish thee long.

SONNET.

How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year !
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom show'th.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
 That I to manhood am arrived so near :
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endu'th.
 Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven :
 All is, if ever I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task-Master's eye.

BLINDNESS.

Thus with the year
 Seasons return : but not to me returns
 Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine ;
 But cloud instead and ever-during dark
 Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
 Cut off, and, for the book of knowledge fair,
 Presented with a universal blank
 Of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased ;
 And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.
 So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate ; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight.

BUTLER (B. 1612—D. 1680).

INNOCENCE.

Innocence is a defence
 For nothing else but patience ;
 'Twill not bear out the blows of Fate,
 Nor fence against the tricks of State ;

Nor from the oppression of the laws
 Protect the plain'st and justest cause;
 Nor keep unspotted a good name
 Against the obloquies of Fame:
 Feeble as Patience, and as soon,
 By being blown upon, undone.
 As beasts are hunted for their furs,
 Men for their virtues fare the worse.

OPINION.

Opinion governs all mankind,
 Like the blind's leading of the blind;
 For he that has no eyes in 's head,
 Must be by a dog glad to be led;
 And no beasts have so little in 'em
 As that inhuman brute—Opinion;
 'Tis an infectious pestilence,
 The tokens upon wit and sense,
 That with a venomous contagion
 Invades the sick imagination;
 And, when it seizes any part,
 It strikes the poison to the heart.
 This men of one another catch
 By contact, as the humours match;
 And nothing's so perverse in nature
 As a profound opiniator.

COWLEY (B. 1618—D. 1667).

EPITAPH ON THE LIVING AUTHOR.

Here, stranger! in this humble nest,
 Here Cowley sleeps; here lies,
 'Scaped all the toils that life molest,
 And its superfluous joys.
 Here, in no sordid poverty,
 And no inglorious ease,
 He braves the world, and can defy
 Its frowns and flatteries.
 The little earth, he asks, survey:
 Is he not dead, indeed?
 "Light lie that earth," good stranger, pray,
 "Nor thorn upon it breed!"
 With flowers, fit emblem of his fame,
 Compass your poet round;
 With flowers of every fragrant name,
 Be his warm ashes crown'd.

LIFE.

Oh, Life! thou Nothing's younger brother!
 So like, that one might take one for the other!
 What's somebody, or nobody?
 In all the cobwebs of the schoolmen's trade,
 We no such nice distinction woven see,
 As 'tis "to be" or "not to be."
 Dream of a shadow! a reflection made
 From the false glories of the gay reflected bow,
 Is a more solid thing than thou.
 Vain weak-built isthmus, which dost proudly rise
 Up betwixt two eternities!
 Yet canst nor wave nor wind sustain,
 But broken and o'erwhelmed, the endless oceans meet again.

 DRYDEN (B. 1631—D. 1700).

REASON COMPARED WITH RELIGION.

Dim as the borrow'd beams of moon and stars
 To lonely, weary, wand'ring travellers,
 Is reason to the soul; and, as on high,
 Those rolling fires discover but the sky,
 Not light us here; so Reason's glimmering ray
 Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
 But guide us upward to a better day;
 And as those nightly tapers disappear
 When day's bright Lord ascends our hemisphere,
 So pale grows Reason at Religion's sight,
 So dies and so dissolves in supernatural light.

CHANTICLEER.

A yard there was with pales inclosed about,
 Some high, some low, and a dry ditch without.
 Within this homestead lived, without a peer,
 For crowing loud, the noble Chanticleer;
 So hight this cock, whose singing did surpass
 The merry notes of organs at the mass.
 More certain was the crowing of the cock
 To number hours, than is an abbey clock;
 And sooner than the matin-bell was rung
 He clapped his wings, upon his roost, and sung:
 For when degrees fifteen ascended right,
 By sure instinct he knew 'twas one at night,
 High was his comb, and coral red withal
 In dents embattled like a castle wall;

His bill was raven black, and shone like jet;
 Blue were his legs, and orient were his feet;
 White were his nails, like silver to behold,
 His body glitt'ring like the burnish'd gold.

JOHN MARSTON (ABOUT 1633).

SLEEP.

I cannot sleep, my eyes' ill neighbouring lids
 Will hold no fellowship. O thou pale, sober night,
 Thou that in sluggish fumes all sense dost steep;
 Thou that giv'st all the world full leave to play,
 Unbend'st the feeble veins of sweaty labour:
 The galley-slave, that all the toilsome day
 Tugs at the oar against the stubborn wave,
 Straining his rugged veins, snores fast;
 The stooping scythe-man, that doth barb the field,
 Thou mak'st wink sure; in night all creatures sleep,
 Only the malcontent, that 'gainst his fate
 Repines and quarrels: alas, he's a Goodman Tell-clock:
 His sallow jaw-bones sink with wasting moan,
 Whilst others' beds are down, his pillow's stone.

THOMAS DECKER (D. 1638).

PATIENCE.

Patience! why, 'tis the soul of peace;
 Of all the virtues, 'tis nearest kin to heaven.
 It makes men look like gods. The best of men
 That e'er wore earth about him, was a sufferer,
 A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit;
 The first true gentleman that ever breathed.

DEFORMITY.

O fair Deformity, I muse all eyes
 Are not enamour'd of thee; thou didst never
 Murder men's hearts, or let them pine like wax
 Melting against the sun of thy destiny;
 Thou art a faithful nurse to chastity;
 Thy beauty is not like to Agrippyne's,
 For cares, and age, and sickness her's deface,
 But thine's eternal: O Deformity,
 Thy fairness is not like to Agrippyne's,
 For (dead) her beauty will no beauty have,
 But thy face looks most lovely in the grave.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, ETC.,
DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

- 1602.—Decimal Arithmetic invented at Bruges.
1604.—The French establish themselves in Canada.
1605.—Invention of Logarithms by Justus Byrge.
1607.—Hudson discovers the Eastern coast of Greenland, and the bay called after him.
1610.—Galileo discovers four of Jupiter's moons and the phases of Venus.
1613.—Invention of Logarithms by Napier.
1614.—Sir Hugh Myddelton brings the New river from Ware to London.
1615.—Kepler.
1621.—Commencement of the English American Colonies.
1625.—Carriages for hire first introduced in London.
1630.—Enamelling on Jewellery introduced.
1632.—Persecution of Galileo for asserting the truth of the Copernican system.
1637.—Cardinal Richelieu founds the French Academy.
1641.—Harvey discovers the circulation of the blood.
1655.—Huyghens discovers the ring and one of the Satellites of Saturn.
1660.—Establishment of the Royal Society of London.
1664.—Newton discovers the Infinite Series.
—— French East India Company established by Colbert.
—— Post-chaises invented in France.
1671.—The Monument of London erected by Sir Christopher Wren.
1686.—Revocation of the edict of Nantz, by Louis XIV., in consequence of which vast numbers of mechanics and manufacturers take refuge in England.
1692.—Bank of England established by William III.
1698.—The Czar Peter the Great visits Holland.

Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Eighteenth Century
at t

A.D.	GT. BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	HOLLAND.	GERMANY.	ROME.	SPAIN.
1702	Anne.	Louis XIV.	John William Frison.	Leopold I.	Clement XI.	Philip V
1703						
1704						
1705				Joseph I.	....	....
1706						
1709						
1711			William IV. Charles Henry Frison	Charles VI.	....	....
1713						
1714	George I.	....	....	....	....	....
1715		Louis XV.	....	....	....	....
1719						
1720						
1721					Innocent XIII.	....
1724					Benedict XIII.	....
1725						
1727	George II.	....	....	....	Clement XII.	....
1730						
1733						
1740					Benedict XIV.	....
1741						
1742				Charles VII. Francis I. and Maria Theresa.	....	....
1745						
1746						
1750						
1751						Ferdinand V
1754						
1757						
1758					Clement XIII.	....
1759						Charles II
1760	George III.	....	....	....	....	....
1762						
1764						
1765				Joseph II.	....	....
1766			William V.	....	....	....
1769					Clement XIV.	....
1771						
1772						
1774		Louis XVI.	....	....	....	....
1775					Pius VI.	....
1777						
1786						
1788						Charles IV
1789						
1790				Leopold II. Francis II.	....	....
1792		Republic.	....	....	....	....
1793						
1795			French Bata- vian Republic	....	....	....
1796						
1797						
1799						
1800					Pius VII.	....

commencing from the Accession of Anne, in 1702, and ending
near 1800.

PORTUGAL.	TURKEY.	RUSSIA.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	PRUSSIA.	POLAND.
Peter II.	Mustapha II.	Peter the Great.	Frederick IV.	Charles XII.	Frederick I.	Augustus II.
....	Achmet II.	....	....	....	....	....
....						Stanislaus Leczinski.
John V.						
....						Augustus II.
....						
....					Frederick William I.	....
....						
....				Ulrica	....	....
....				Eleanora.	....	....
....				Frederick.	....	....
....						
....						
....		Catherine I.	....	....	....	....
....		Peter II.	....	....	....	....
....	Mahomet V.	Anne.	Christian VI.	....	....	....
....		Ivan III.	....	....	Frederick II. the Great.	Augustus III
....		Elizabeth.	....	....	....	....
....						
....						
Joseph Emanuel.			Frederick V.	....	....	....
....						
....	Osman or Othman III.	....	....	....	....	....
....				Adolphus Frederick.	....	....
....	Mustapha III	....	....	....	....	....
....						
....		Peter III. (deposed)	....	....	....	....
....						Stanislaus Poniatousky.
....			Christian VII	....	....	....
....						
....				Gustavus III.	....	....
....						1st Partition.
....	Abdoub-Achmet IV.	....	....	....	....	....
....						
Maria.					Frederick William II.	....
....						
....	Selim III.	....	....	....	....	....
....						
....				Gustavus IV.	....	....
....						2d Partition.
....						3d Partition.
....		Paul I.	....	....	....	....
....					Frederick William III.	....
John VI.						
....						

READING LXVI.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Two events of great importance occupied the serious attention of England at the commencement of the eighteenth century—the settlement of the British Crown upon the princess Sophia and her Protestant heirs, and the adjustment of the question of the Spanish succession.

In consequence of the death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne, and the last male heir in the Protestant line, it became necessary (since by the former act of settlement Catholics were incapacitated from succeeding to the English crown) to revert to Protestant females; and as it was not probable that William or Anne would have any future issue, the eventual succession to the crown was settled in 1701, by the parliament, on Sophia, duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants. She was granddaughter of James I., by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine.

This settlement of the crown, however, was accompanied with certain limitations or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the revolution. The principal of these were, that all affairs relative to government, cognizable by the privy council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no royal pardon should be pleaded to an impeachment in parliament; that no person who should possess any office under the king, or receive a pension from the crown, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons; that the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries be ascertained and established; that, in the event of a devolution or transfer of the crown to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whoever

should come to the possession of the throne should join in communion with the Church of England.

By the second treaty of partition, which was privately signed by England, Holland, and France in 1700, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid, it was agreed, that in the event of the decease of Charles II. without issue, Spain and her American dominions should descend to Charles, son of Leopold I., emperor of Germany; that the Dauphin should have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and some other possessions, and that the duke of Lorraine ceding his territories to the Dauphin, should enjoy the sovereignty of the Milanese. To prevent the conjunction of Spain and the Imperial crown in the person of ONE prince, provision was made, that, in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles, if raised to that dignity, should not succeed to the Spanish throne. It was also stipulated that no dauphin or king of France should ever wear the crown of Spain.

Great, therefore, was the astonishment and alarm of all the free States of the continent, when, upon the death of Charles of Spain, it was found that he had made a will in favour of the house of Bourbon. Louis seemed at first to hesitate whether he should accept the will, or adhere to the treaty of partition already noticed in this Reading. Notwithstanding, however, the danger to which he would unavoidably expose himself by having the emperor, England, and Holland for his enemies, Louis's vanity predominated, and he resolved, at all risks, to place his grandson on the throne of Spain. The duke of Anjou was consequently, with the general consent of the Spanish nation, crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V. Hence arose the famous war of the Succession, which ended in the complete abasement of Louis.

Some idea may be formed of the awe in which France stood of William III., from the joy that diffused itself throughout that kingdom on the news of his decease. The person who first brought the intelligence to Calais was imprisoned by the governor, until his information was confirmed. The court of Versailles could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum; the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event; all propriety was laid aside at Rome, where this incident produced

such indecent raptures, that Cardinal Grimani, the Imperial minister, complained of them to the pope, as an insult on the emperor his master, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally.

In the north of Europe the young czar, Peter of Russia, had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks in 1696, and the taking of Azoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; to connect the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Don, by means of canals; and thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean. The port of Archangel, frozen up for the greater part of the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous passage, he did not think sufficiently commodious; he therefore resolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea which should become the magazine of the north, and the capital of his extensive empire. That city is the present St. Petersburg.

Charles XI. of Sweden died in 1697, leaving as his heir Charles XII., afterwards styled the Alexander of the north. Peter the Great, desirous, as has been already observed, of securing a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic, resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia, and had formerly been in the possession of his ancestors. With this view he entered into a league against Sweden, with Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobleski on the throne of Poland. The war was begun by Frederick IV., king of Denmark, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law to Charles XII.

In these ambitious projects the hostile princes were encouraged by the youth and inexperience of the king of Sweden, and by the little estimation in which he was held by foreign courts. Charles, however, suddenly undeceived public opinion, by discovering the greatest talents for war, accompanied by the most enterprising and heroic spirit. No sooner did the occasion call, than his bold genius began to show itself. Instead of being disconcerted at the intelligence of the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, he seemed

rather to rejoice at the opportunity which it would afford him of displaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the necessary preparations and precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland, and sent an army into Pomerania to be ready to support the duke of Holstein.

The attention of the German princes was, about this time, chiefly directed to the second partition treaty. Unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the resentment of the house of Austria, they were cautious and dilatory in their answers; while the Italian States, alarmed at the idea of seeing France in the possession of Naples and other districts in their country, showed a strong disinclination to the treaty. The duke of Savoy, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage, affected a mysterious neutrality. The Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees; and the emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposal should be made of the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the present possessor, and the States of the kingdom. He therefore refused to sign the treaty, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic Majesty on a transaction in which the interests of both were so deeply concerned.

Charles XII. having defeated Augustus, king of Poland, in a sanguinary battle near Clissaw, between Warsaw and Cracow, on the 20th of July, 1702, and afterwards on the 1st of May, 1703, at Pultausk, the throne was, on the 14th of February, 1704, declared to be vacant. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James, eldest son of the celebrated Sobieski; but that prince being taken prisoner with his brother Constantine by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother named Alexander, who rejected it, with a generosity perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortunes of his elder brother; and he entreated Charles XII. to employ his victorious arms in restoring liberty to the unhappy captive. Under these circumstances, Charles recommended to the choice of that diet, Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnania, who was immediately raised to the throne.

READING LXVII.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (CONCLUDED).

THE emperor Leopold having declared his second son, Charles, king of Spain, that young prince set out from Vienna to Holland, in 1703, and at Dusseldorf was visited by the duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. Charles received him with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of their conversation, taking off his sword, he presented it to the English general with a very gracious aspect, saying, in the French language, "I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince; I possess nothing but my cloak and sword, the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under, to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom."

It was at the commencement of this century, that is, in the year 1701, that Prussia, formerly only an electorate (that of Brandenburg), was erected into a kingdom by the son of Frederick III., who crowned himself with his own hands at Königsberg, on the 15th of January, and took the title of Frederick I. He pursued the policy of his father. His troops fought valiantly in defence of Austria and Germany against the Turks and the French. In his internal administration he worked with a praiseworthy zeal at the development of all his father's institutions; agriculture, trade, commerce, the sciences and the arts, were placed under the protection of the law, and of an enlightened toleration; while the liberty of thought, of education, and of the press, found an asylum in the university of Halle, which had been founded by him in 1694.

Germany at this time owed for its emperor Leopold I., whose death, however, took place in 1705. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph I., who maintained the political system which had been embraced by his father. His

character was more active and enterprising than that of his predecessor, free from the Italian spirit of intrigue, but rather fitted for prompt decision, than for the patient awaiting of the issue of events.

Don Pedro was at this time seated on the throne of Portugal, and governed his subjects with great justice and moderation. A little before the peace of Ryswick, he offered his mediation to Louis XIV., but received such an answer as showed plainly enough that France was resolved to reject it rather disdainfully. The Portuguese monarch thought fit to pass by the affront for the present, but it afterwards cost France dear. When Philip V., Louis's grandson, mounted the throne of Spain, the friendship of Portugal became not only expedient but necessary. Upon this occasion Louis was as obliging and civil as he had formerly shown himself haughty and proud; and though Don Pedro had already resolved on the part he was to take, yet considering how soon and how easily he might be crushed by the forces of the two crowns, he entered into an alliance with Philip, and this for various reasons: in the first place, it gained time, and delivered him from present danger; in the next, it gave an opportunity of gaining good terms, which might be of use to him on another occasion; and lastly, he obtained by it some present advantages, which were very beneficial to his subjects. But, as soon as the general confederacy was formed against France, and it clearly appeared that the allies meant to set up another king of Spain, the Portuguese monarch demanded of the French king, in fulfilment of a late treaty, a fleet of thirty sail of the line, and a large sum of money. He knew well enough that in the present circumstances those demands could not be complied with; but he wanted a pretext for violating that treaty, without breaking faith, and this answered his purpose very effectually; for, as soon as the fleet of the allies appeared upon his coast, he thought fit to declare himself neuter, and not long after made a treaty with Charles III. of Spain: but before any steps could be taken for prosecuting the war, he was removed by death, on the 9th of December, 1706, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign.

Christian V., king of Denmark, had, in the year 1696, on the death of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, advanced

two claims upon that family, which were for some time adjusted by the mediation of the emperor of Germany, and the kings of Great Britain and Sweden, William III. and Charles XII., whose sister the duke of Holstein had espoused. But in the last years of his life these disturbances broke out again, and things were on the point of coming to a rupture, when the king died, in the month of September, 1699.

His son and successor Frederick IV. acted precisely on his father's principles, and resolved to compel the dukes of Holstein to remain dependent on the kings of Denmark for the future ; for which purpose, he overran that country, and undertook the siege of Tönningen, which gave occasion to the long war in the north at the beginning of this century. The English and Dutch, as guarantees of the late peace, sent a powerful fleet into the Baltic, and the king of Sweden, at the same time, besieged Copenhagen ; so that the Danes were obliged to conclude the famous treaty of Travendahl, on the 18th of August, 1700. By this treaty it was stipulated that the house of Holstein should in future enjoy the same rights with other sovereigns ; and that the duke should be at liberty to raise troops and build forts in his own dominions, provided they were two miles distant from any fortress belonging to the Danes, and at least a mile from their frontiers. It was likewise agreed, that the crown of Denmark should pay the duke of Holstein two hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and that the Chapter of Lubec should be at liberty to elect a prince of Holstein for their bishop.

In consequence of the treaty of Ryswick, the emperor of Germany was enabled to make vigorous efforts against the Turks in Hungary, while the Venetians, although unsuccessful upon three several occasions in bringing the infidels to a naval engagement, still continued to proceed cheerfully with the war, as the Turkish empire was by this time greatly weakened by the successive defeats it had already suffered in Hungary, and intimidated by the prospect of what it had to expect from the power of the Muscovites, and the victorious arms of Leopold, now freed from the burden of the war with France. But the court of Vienna was now wholly intent upon the succession of Spain ; and the emperor, that he might be able to concentrate all his care upon this object, expressed

a desire of effecting an accommodation with the Turks. The king of England, William III., apprised of his inclinations, sent instructions to Lord Paget, his ambassador at Constantinople, to make overtures of peace to the vizier Cussein, to whom they were very agreeable.

After considerable negotiations, the peace or truce of twenty-five years was at length concluded at Carlowitz, betwixt the emperor Leopold and the grand signior Mus-tapha II., and also between the Poles and the said sultan. This treaty, which was highly honourable to the Venetians, since they were left in quiet possession of the Morea, with the islands of Ægina, Santa Maura, Castelnuovo, and Prisano, and the fortresses of Kuin, Sing, Citclut, and Gabella, in Dalmatia, was ratified by the senate on the 7th of February, 1699.

Upon the death of Charles II. of Spain, Europe, as we have before seen, was involved in fresh troubles; in consequence of which the new pope Clement IX. joined the Venetians in offering their mediation to prevent the horrors and calamities of such a war as was now on the point of being kindled; but all parties concerned were too much irritated and too confident of success to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. The French king, however, despatched the Cardinal d'Estrées to Venice, with a commission to form, if possible, an offensive and defensive league with the republic, but all his address was lost upon the senate, which wisely resolved to maintain the most scrupulous neutrality, while they took care to keep their forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing.

READING LXVIII.

QUEEN ANNE.

BATTLE OF HOCHSTET, OR BLENHEIM.

1704.

ON the death of William III., which took place on the 8th of March, 1701, being known at the Hague, all Holland was filled with consternation. The states immediately assembled, and for some time gazed at each other

in silent fear and astonishment. They sighed, wept, and interchanged embraces and vows that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. The express from England having brought the queen's (Anne) speech to her privy council, it was translated and published to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day the Pensionary, Fagel, read to the States of Holland a communication which he had received from the duke of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days the queen wrote a letter, in the French language, to the States, confirming these assurances; it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials, as envoy from England. Thus animated, the States resolved to prosecute vigorous measures; their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the duke of Marlborough, whom the queen had honoured with the Order of the Garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general; he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces at home and abroad.

Marlborough repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, in the beginning of July, 1702, and we find him returning from the Low Countries in the beginning of 1703, alike eminent for his conduct and success. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Hui and Leniburg, and made himself master of all the lower Rhine. Marshal Villeroi commanded in Flanders, where he had no better success against Marlborough than he had against prince Eugene. Marshal Boufflers, with a detachment of his army, had indeed gained a small advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch general Opdam; but an advantage which has no consequences is no advantage at all.

And now, had not the English general marched to the assistance of the emperor, the house of Austria was undone. The Elector of Bavaria was master of Passau. Thirty thousand French, under the command of Marshal Marsin, who had succeeded Villeroi, overspread the countries on the other side of the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria; Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Ragotski, at the head of the

Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money by the French and the Turks. In this situation of affairs, prince Eugene hastened from Italy to take the command of the armies in Germany, and had an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Heelbron. The English general, whose hands were at full liberty, being left too as he pleased by his queen and her allies the Dutch, marched with succours into the heart of the empire, taking with him, for the present, ten thousand English foot, and twenty-three squadrons of horse. He made forced marches, and arrived on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the Elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thousand French and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forced the lines at the head of three battalions of English, and routed the Bavarians and the French. It is said that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost five thousand himself. He then took Donawert, July 2nd, 1704, repassed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution. Marshal Villeroi, who attempted to follow him in his first marches, lost sight of him on a sudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert. Marshal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thousand men had marched by another route to oppose Marlborough, came and joined the Elector. At the same time prince Eugene arrived and united his forces to those of Marlborough.

At length, the two armies met within a short distance of Donawert, and nearly in the same plains where Marshal Villars had gained a victory the year before. It is well known that Villars, then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from an officer in Tallard's army, and written the night before the battle, acquainting him with the disposition of the two armies, and the manner in which Marshal Tallard intended to engage, wrote to his brother-in-law, the President de Maisons, telling him that if Marshal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that position, he must infallibly be beaten. This letter was shown to Louis XIV., and was afterwards made public.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, which made in all nearly sixty thousand men, the corps

being then not quite complete. The allies had sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons, in all not above fifty-two thousand men. This battle, that proved so bloody and decisive, deserves a particular attention. The French generals were accused of a number of errors; the chief one was, the having brought themselves into the predicament of accepting a battle, instead of letting the opposing army waste itself for want of forage and provisions, and giving time to Marshal Villeroi either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceless state, or to penetrate further into Germany. But it should be considered in reply to this accusation, that the French army, being somewhat stronger than that of the allies, might hope for the victory, which indeed would have infallibly dethroned the emperor. The Marquis de Feuquières reckons up no less than twelve capital faults committed by the Elector, Marsin, and Tallard, before and after the battle; one of the most considerable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having separated the two bodies of the army. Marshal Villars has often been heard to say, that this disposition was unpardonable.

Marshal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the Elector, with Marsin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and sprightly courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources. But this general laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequences to a military man; his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces from him. It has also been asserted, by those who were well acquainted with him, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverse of the duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind.

This was the first time that Marshal Marsin had commanded in chief. With much wit and a good understanding, he is said to have been rather a good general of division, than an able commander-in-chief.

As to the Elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not less as a great general, than as a valiant and amiable prince, the darling of his subjects, and who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle commenced between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough, with his English, having passed a small rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That general, a little before, had ridden towards the left wing to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps, from the beginning, to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the Elector and Marsin had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough had attacked the right of the French nearly an hour before Eugene could have come up to the Elector on the left of the French.

As soon as Marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately hastened thither, where he found a furious action begun; the French cavalry rallied three times, and were as often repulsed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons. This was a little detached army that kept a continual fire on Marlborough during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing. After giving his orders in this village, he hastened back to the place where the duke, with a body of horse and battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

He arrived in time only to see his cavalry routed before his face, and the victorious Marlborough forcing his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side; while, on the other, his officers had got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was thus separated from the corps posted in that village.

READING LXIX.

BATTLE OF HOCHSTET, OR BLENHEIM (CONCLUDED).

IN this cruel situation, Marshal Tallard flew to rally some of the broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops that were in the English pay. At the very instant that

the general was taken, prince Eugene, after having been three times repulsed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's division; every one fled with the utmost precipitation; and so great was the terror and confusion throughout that whole wing, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going. There was no general officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of saving those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, that were so unfortunately shut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At last Marshal Marsin ordered a retreat. The Count du Bourg, afterwards Marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet; but neither he, Marsin, nor any one else, thought of the corps shut up in Blenheim, waiting for orders which they never received. It consisted of eleven thousand veterans. There are many examples of less armies that have beaten others of fifty thousand men, or at least made a glorious retreat; but the nature of the position determines everything. It was impossible for them to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, and even with their own artillery, which had fallen into the victor's hands.

The general officer who commanded here was the Marquis of Clerembaut, son to the marshal of that name; he was hastening to find out Marshal Tallard, to receive orders from him, when he was told that he was taken prisoner; and seeing nothing but people running on all sides, he fled with them, and in fleeing was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivières, who was posted in this village, ventured upon a bold stroke; he called aloud to the officers of the regiments of Artois and Provence, to follow him. Several officers, even of other regiments, obeyed the summons, and, rushing out of the village, like those who make a sally from a town that is besieged, fell upon the enemy; but, after this sally, they were obliged to return back again. One of these officers, named Des Nouvilles, returned, some few moments afterwards, on horseback with the Earl of Orkney. As soon as he

entered the village, the rest of the officers flocked round him, inquiring if it was an English prisoner he had brought in. "No, gentlemen," replied he, "I am a prisoner myself, and am come to tell you that you have nothing left but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war. Here is the Earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms." At hearing this, the veterans shuddered with horror; the regiment of Navarre tore their colours in pieces, and buried them. But at length they were compelled to yield to necessity; and the whole corps laid down its arms without having struck a blow.

Such was this famous action, which in France was known by the name of the battle of Hochstet, and by the English and Germans by that of Blenheim, and which was fought on August 13, 1704. The victors had nearly five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded; the greatest part of which loss fell on the side of the prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely cut to pieces. Of sixty thousand men, not above twenty thousand could be collected after the engagement.

This fatal day was distinguished by the loss of twenty thousand men killed, and fourteen thousand made prisoners; all the cannon, a prodigious number of standards, colours, tents, and equipages, with the general of the army, and twelve hundred officers of note, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The runaways dispersed themselves on all sides, and upwards of a hundred leagues of country were lost in less than one month. The whole electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the severity of Austrian resentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious soldiery. The Elector in his way to Brussels, whither he was flying for refuge, met with his brother the Elector of Cologne, who, like him, was driven out of his dominions; they embraced each other with a flood of tears. The court of Versailles, accustomed to continual successes, was struck with astonishment and confusion at this reverse. The news of the defeat arrived in the midst of the rejoicings made on account of the birth of a great grandson of Louis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the king with the disagreeable truth. At length Madame de Maintenon undertook to let him know that he was no longer invincible.

Marlborough was rewarded by his sovereign and the

parliament with a splendid palace being built for him, and named Blenheim House, near Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, and with the thanks of the two houses of parliament, of the cities and towns, and the general acclamation of the people; while Addison celebrated him in a poem. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, and bestowed upon him the principality of Mindelsheim.

READING LXX.

BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

1709.

IN consequence of the reverses he had met with, Louis XIV. made proposals for peace in the year 1709. They were, however, rejected by the allies, and others substituted so humiliating that the French monarch determined to fight to the last extremity, rather than submit to them.

As soon as the conferences for the re-establishment of peace were broken off, the allied army, amounting to above one hundred thousand men, commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Lisle. Marshal Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the last support of his sinking country, occupied a strong post between Courière and the town of Bethune. Those places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of La Bassé and Pont-à-Vendin. By this position of his army, he covered the towns of Douay and Arras, the reduction of which would have opened a passage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp and viewing his situation, the generals of the confederates, not judging it prudent to attack him, suddenly drew off their troops, and sat down before Tournay, one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, constructed with all the skill of Vauban, was yet stronger than the town; but with so much vigour and address were both attacked, that the place itself was

taken in twenty-one days; while the chief fortress, into which the governor had retired with the remains of his garrison, was compelled to surrender at the end of a month.

The confederates no sooner found themselves masters of Tournay, which they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the design of besieging Mons. They accordingly pursued the necessary steps for that purpose; while Villars, having embraced the bold resolution of protecting or relieving the place, passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheldt. Disappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, the French general took possession of a strong camp, about a league from the invested city, and resolved to give all possible disturbance to the operations of the besiegers; his right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Saart; his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being secured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, surrounded with all their branches.

The generals of the confederates, much elated with past success, or persuaded that Mons could not be taken without dislodging the enemy, resolved to attack Villars in that strong position, although his army was little inferior to theirs, each amounting to nearly one hundred thousand combatants. Voltaire affirms that the army of Villars did not exceed eighty thousand fighting men, but perhaps the former number is the more correct, if it be considered that the marshal was joined by Boufflers, who stifled all rivalry out of regard to his country, and consented to act in an inferior capacity, though he was the senior commander. In consequence of the above determination, the allies advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themselves for action during the preceding night. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Marshal Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers. After an

awful pause of almost two hours, the engagement began ; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been so fierce and bloody, and none, since the improvement of the art of war by the invention of gunpowder, have been so well and so long contested.

The British troops, led on by the duke of Argyle, having passed a morass deemed impracticable, attacked with such great impetuosity the left of the enemy, stationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it ; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under Count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army, and, advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the space of an hour ; three times were they repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and three times were they again led on to the charge by their gallant commanders, who persisted in their efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity. Several French battalions being thrown into disorder, were rallied and confirmed in their station by Marshal Boufflers. Enraged at this unexpected obstinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving that Villars had weakened his centre in order to support his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in person, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of fresh troops, entered the enemy's line, outflanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Marshal Villars, in hastening to support his centre, was wounded and carried off the field : but Boufflers, notwithstanding this misfortune, continued obstinately to maintain the fight, and when he found that he could no longer sustain the united efforts of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who showed that they were determined to conquer or perish, made so masterly a retreat to Valenciennes, that pursuit was impossible.

The allies, after all their exertions, gained little besides the field of battle ; and that they purchased with the lives of twenty thousand men, while the French did not lose above half that number. It was indeed a victory, but one so bloody and dearly bought, as would have made a repetition of it fatal to the confederacy. So imposing,

however, is the mere name of victory, that the allies were suffered to invest Mons, and to carry on their operations without the smallest disturbance. The surrender of that important place put an end to the business of the campaign in Flanders.

READING LXXI.

THE PRETENDER, JAMES STUART.

Died 1765.

GEORGE I., elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of these realms in August, 1714. As one of the most interesting events of his reign is the attempt of the representative of the Stuart line, or the Pretender, to recover the power of which the nation had justly deprived his family, a concise account of this enterprise will not be found devoid of instruction and interest.

In consequence of the favourable disposition evinced by Harley, queen Anne's minister, and afterwards Earl of Oxford, for the cause of her brother, the Pretender, that prince was encouraged to write to her. He represented to her the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related, and recalled to her memory her repeated promises to their common parent. "To you," said he, "and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God, and of nature, is loud in your ear; the preservation of our family, the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity of our country, combine to require you to rescue me from affliction, and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation (George, elector of Hanover) we have in the world. Neither you nor the nation has received any injury at my hands; therefore, madam, as you tender your honour and happiness—as you love your family—as you revere the memory of your father—as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our

difference! The happiness of both depends upon your determination. You have it in your power to deliver me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate princes, and to render your own memory dear to posterity."

But all the efforts of the Pretender to alter the succession as established by law proved unavailing, and on the death of queen Anne, the elector of Hanover ascended the throne. The death of Louis XIV. further embarrassed the Pretender's affairs; for although the duke of Orleans, who, in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, was appointed by the parliament of Paris regent during the minority of Louis XV., affected privately to espouse the interests of the house of Stuart, yet the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority against the other princes of the blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to take, though with seeming reluctance, all the steps pointed out by the Earl of Stair, for defeating the designs of the Jacobites.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the indigent representative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquish his hopes of a crown; nor did his partisans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cause. The Highlanders, especially, were eager to take arms, and entreated the Pretender to place himself at their head, or at least to permit them to rise in vindication of his just rights.

The frequent wars among the different Highland clans, and the active life which these people led in time of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or herding their cattle, habituated them to the use of arms, and hardened them to the endurance of toil, without greatly wasting their bodily strength, or destroying their native agility. Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target, were a broadsword for cutting or thrusting at a distance; and a dirk or dagger, for stabbing in close fight. To these, when they became acquainted with the use of firearms, they added a musket, which was laid aside in battle after the first discharge. They occasionally carried also a pair of pistols, which were fired as soon as the musket was discharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude to the havoc

of the broadsword ; this formidable weapon was instantly brandished by every arm, gleaming like the coruscations of lightning, to infuse terror into the heart, and conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head or on the target of an antagonist with the shock of thunder. Want of perseverance and of union, however, generally rendered the efforts of the clans, as a body, abortive, notwithstanding their prowess in combat, and exposed them to the disgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

The dress of the Highlanders was well suited to their arms, to their moist, mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Instead of breeches, they wore a light woollen garment called the kilt, which came as low as the knee ; a thick cloth jacket ; a worsted plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped loosely round the body, the upper fold of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity, and their strokes with greater force. They fought, not in ranks, but in separate, condensed, and firm bands.

Such were the people who, under their numerous chieftains, had formed a regular confederacy, and were zealous for the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepossessed in favour of the hereditary descent of the crown, they could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of succession, from political considerations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingship, and even of clanship. They therefore thought themselves bound, by a sacred and indispensable obligation, to reinstate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to perish in the bold attempt.

The Pretender's southern friends were no less liberal in their professions of zeal in his cause. They pressed him to land in the west of England, where his person would be as safe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no decisive measures for a general insurrection ; though they still continued to represent arms and foreign troops as necessary to such a step, and were told that he was not only incapable of furnishing them with either, but assured that he could not

bring with him so many men as would be able to protect him against the peace-officers.

To compose the spirit of the Highlanders, who seemed to fear nothing so much as that the business of restoring their king should be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated to others, they were informed that the Pretender desired to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted that they might, in strict concert, assist each other; and that it was very much to be wished that all hostilities in Scotland could be suspended, until the English were ready to take arms. A memorial, drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already sent by Lord Bolingbroke to the Jacobites (*partisans of James, the father of the Pretender*) in England, representing the unreasonableness of desiring the Pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to support him. They were now requested to consider seriously whether they were yet in such a condition; and were assured that, as soon as an intimation to that purpose should be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the Pretender was ready to put himself at their head. They named as a landing-place the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and said they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive the king; but they offered no conjecture with respect to the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed on the persons who had engaged to rise.

This, as Lord Bolingbroke justly observes, was not the answer of men who knew what they were about. Greater precision was surely necessary in dictating a message that was expected to be followed by such important consequences. The duke of Ormond, however, set out from Paris, and the Pretender, from his temporary residence at Bar, on the frontiers of Lorraine, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were sent to the west, some to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that both were on their way. Their routes also were so directed, that Ormond was to sail from the coast of Normandy a few days before the Pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing, and of the prospect of success.

READING LXXII.

THE PRETENDER, JAMES STUART.

Died 1765.

BUT the Pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance of the English government, defeated the designs of his adherents in the west, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by priests and women, he had unwisely given, in the beginning of September, a secret order to the Earl of Mar, already appointed his commander-in-chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and to take up arms. Mar, who had been secretary of state for Scotland during the reign of queen Anne, and who had great influence in the Highlands, did not hesitate one moment to obey. He instantly left London, attended by Lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long served with distinction in Holland and Flanders, and as soon as he reached his own country, having assembled about three hundred of his friends and vassals, he proclaimed the Pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and set up his standard at Braemar, on September 9, 1715, summoning all good subjects to join him, in order to restore their rightful sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunswick, usurper of the British monarchy. In consequence of this, and a declaration by which it was followed, Mar was soon joined by the Marquesses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Mareschal and Southesk, and all the heads of the Jacobite clans. With their assistance, he was able in a few weeks to collect about nine thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his head-quarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland which lies beyond the Frith of Forth.

This was great and rapid success; but the duke of Argyle had already received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces of North Britain; and the Pretender's affairs had suffered, in the meantime, an irreparable injury in another quarter. The jealousy of government

being roused by the precipitate insurrection of Mar, the Lords Lansdowne and Duplin, the Earl of Jersey, Sir William Wyndham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raise the West of England, were taken into custody on suspicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was disconcerted: the gentry were intimidated, the people overawed, so that the duke of Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging in a country where he expected to head an army and re-establish a king. He returned to France with the discouraging intelligence; but, as soon as the vessel that carried him could be refitted, astonishing as it may seem, he made a second attempt to land in the same part of the island. What he could propose, by this second attempt, his best friends could never comprehend: and they were of opinion, that a storm, in which he was in danger of being cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a yet greater peril—that of perishing on the scaffold.

The Pretender's affairs wore a less unfavourable aspect, for a time, in the North of England. Mr. Foster, a gentleman of some influence in Northumberland, with the Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and assembled a considerable force. But as their troops consisted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the Earl of Mar to send them a reinforcement of infantry. This request was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintosh was ordered to join them with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the mean time, having failed in an attempt upon Newcastle, and being informed that Mackintosh had already crossed the Forth, they marched forward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horse, under the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the Viscount Kenmuir, and other persons of distinction. They passed the Tweed at Kelso; and when they had formed a junction with Mackintosh, a council of war was called, to deliberate on their future proceedings.

In this council little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately towards the west of Scotland, and press the duke of Argyle on one side, while the Earl of Mar attacked him on the other, seemed the most rational plan; as a victory over that

nobleman, which they could scarcely have failed to obtain, would have put the pretender at once in possession of all North Britain. Such a proposal was made by the Earl of Wintoun, and agreed to by all the Scottish leaders; but the English insisted on repassing the Tweed, and attacking General Carpenter, who had been sent with only nine hundred horse, to suppress the rebellion in Northumberland.

From an impatient spirit, mingled with natural jealousy, the rebels adopted neither of these plans, nor embraced any fixed resolution. The English insurgents persisted in their refusal to penetrate into Scotland. Many of the Highlanders, equally obstinate, attempted in disgust to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintosh and Foster, who entered England by the western border, leaving General Carpenter on the left.

These leaders proceeded by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they were in hopes of increasing their numbers by the rising of the Catholics of Lancashire. But before they could receive any considerable accession of strength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that General Wilkes was ready to invest it with six regiments of cavalry and one battalion of infantry. They now prepared themselves for resistance, and repelled the first attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Wilkes being joined the next day by three regiments of dragoons, under General Carpenter, the rebels lost all heart, and surrendered at discretion, November 14th. Several reduced officers, found to have been in arms against their sovereign, were immediately shot as deserters, the nobles and gentlemen were sent prisoners to London and committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the castle of Chester, and other secure places in the country.

The day before the rebellion in England was extinguished by the surrender of Foster and his associates at Preston, the rebels in Scotland received a severe shock from the royal troops. The Earl of Mar, after having wasted his time in forming his army, with unnecessary parade, at Perth, resolved to march into England and join his southern friends. With this view he advanced to

Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to cross the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the southern side of that river, instead of waiting to dispute the passage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Stirling, as soon as he was informed of their intention, and encamped within a few miles of the Earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriffmuir. His army scarcely exceeded a third part of the number of the rebel host; but he did not despair of success. On the approach of the enemy, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he altered the disposition and arrangements which he had previously made, and took possession of an eminence to the north-east of Dumblaine. In consequence of this movement, which was attended with some degree of confusion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, composed of the clans, headed by Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Campbell of Glenlyon, Gordon of Glenbucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders seemed at one time discouraged by the loss of one of their leaders, when Glengary, waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge! revenge!" they rushed up to the muzzles of the muskets of the king's troops, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and made great havoc with their broadswords. The left wing of the royal army was quickly broken and routed. Whetham, who commanded it, fled to Stirling, declaring that all was lost.

In the mean time the duke of Argyle, who conducted, in person, the right wing of the royal army, consisting chiefly of horse, had defeated the left of the rebels, and pursued them with great slaughter as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This pursuit, however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithstanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the shock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to resist, frequently made a stand, and endeavoured to renew the combat; and if the Earl of Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had possessed only a moderate share of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to revisit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered by

numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no such attempt being made, and the advantage gained over his left wing not being properly improved, the duke returned triumphant, to the scene of action ; and Mar, who had taken post on the top of a hill, with about five thousand of the flower of his army, not only forebore to molest the king's troops, but retired in the night, and hastened to Perth. In the morning, the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had saved him the trouble of dislodging them, drew off his army towards Stirling, carrying off the enemy's artillery, bread-waggons, and many persons of distinction.

This battle, though not in itself decisive, proved fatal in its consequences to the affairs of the Pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frazers, who seemed disposed to join the rebels, now declared for the established government, and seized the important port of Inverness, from which he drove Sir John Mackenzie ; while the Earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been overawed, appeared openly in the same cause. Against these noblemen, Mar detached the Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vassals. But the rebel chiefs, instead of coming to immediate action, suffered themselves to be amused with negotiations ; and both, after some hesitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The Marquis of Tullibardine also withdrew from the rebel army, in order to defend his own country against the friends of government ; and the clans, disgusted at their ill success, dispersed, on the approach of winter, with their usual want of perseverance.

The Pretender, who had hitherto resisted every solicitation to come over, took the unaccountable resolution, in this desperate state of his affairs, of landing in the north of Scotland. He accordingly set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, and arrived at Peterhead, December 22nd, attended only by six gentlemen. He was met at Fetterosse by the Earl of Mar, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone ; but he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony, by the approach of the duke of Argyle, who having been reinforced with six thousand

Dutch auxiliaries, advanced towards Perth, notwithstanding the rigour of the season.

As that town had no other fortification than a simple wall, and was otherwise unprovided for a siege, the king's troops took possession of it without resistance, 1716. Mar and the Pretender had retired to Montrose, and seeing no prospect of better fortune, they embarked for France with the Earl of Melfort and other men of rank. General Gordon and Earl Mareschal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march so rapid as to elude pursuit. Many who did not expect pardon embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly dismissed. The whole country submitted to the duke of Argyle.

READING LXXIII.

PETER THE GREAT, OF RUSSIA.

Born 1672—Died 1725.

THE history of Europe, perhaps of the world, cannot produce a more extraordinary character than the illustrious subject of the present Reading. The reputation of the conqueror, whose sole delight is to be the thunderbolt of war, lives only in the interested applause and admiration of his own age; while the memory of the father of his country is immortal.

Peter, deservedly surnamed the Great, was born on the 11th June, 1672, and was the youngest son of the czar Alexis Michaeloviche, and consequently grandson of the illustrious head of the Romanoff dynasty. Peter's infancy was beset with dangers.

When the mild Theodore died without offspring, Ivan and Peter, his two brothers, might properly be considered the two most natural candidates to the vacant throne. The former had attained his sixteenth year when the throne was thus left unoccupied. But a sickly constitution blasted the vigour both of his mind and body. His brother Peter, whose mother was Natalia, the second wife of his father Alexis, was yet an infant.

The constant illness of the elder prince urged the boyards (*noblemen*) to exalt Peter to the throne of his ancestors; to which arrangement the mild Ivan submitted without reluctance; but not so his eldest sister Sophia; who, enraged and disappointed at this election of her step-brother Peter, gained over the strelitzes (*Russian guards*), by whose means the injured Ivan was restored to his lost prerogative of birth.

Sophia and her favourite Gulitzin, emboldened by the support and protection of the strelitzes, whom they gorged with the spoils of those boyards who had espoused the cause of Peter, took possession of the sovereign authority, which they held until the year 1689.

At this period, Peter, now seventeen years of age, displayed the first dawnings of that undaunted firmness which characterized his maturer years; and his decision, not less than the exertions of his friends, ultimately succeeded in depriving Sophia of her unjust power. That princess, after vainly attempting to escape into Poland, was arrested and conducted to the Devitchee, a nunnery, where she ended her days, in all the misery consequent upon blighted ambition.

Our present object being to exhibit Peter rather in his private than public capacity, we shall pass over the chief political events of his reign, in order to consider him more at length in his domesticity.

The mansion in which he was accustomed to repose himself after he had laid the foundations of St. Petersburg, was a wooden cottage. This humble dwelling of a powerful prince has since been covered by a brick building standing on arches, in order to preserve it as a memorial of its illustrious occupant. The whole stock of royal moveables was confined to a bed, table, compass, a few books, and papers.

The royal table was always served at one; and in the choice of his dishes he was not less distinguished from the poorest of his subjects, than by the splendour of his attire. His ordinary food consisted of soup, with sour crout, which the Russians call *chtchi*, gruel, lampreys, cold roast meat seasoned, pickled cucumbers, or salted lemons, and pig with sour cream for sauce; while Linnibourg cheese was uncommonly agreeable to his plebeian appetite. But he compensated for this hasty and frugal dinner by such

copious draughts of French and Hungarian wines, and of the strong liquors of his country, that his guests might easily perceive that he was not very scrupulous in observing the laws of sobriety.

It was the invariable maxim of the czars to give their first audience to ambassadors with every circumstance of pomp which might display the greatness of the empire. The uncereemonious Peter presented himself to these representatives of their sovereigns, without the smallest attention to any of the rules prescribed by courtly etiquette. It was his constant saying that they were sent to be introduced to *him*, and not to his halls or palaces. One instance will be sufficient to show, that in this respect his actions perfectly corresponded with his words.

When the grand marshal and ambassador of the Prussian court, Printz, wished to present his credentials to the conqueror of the renowned Charles—to the ruler of an immense empire, he was conducted on board of an unfinished ship. Unaccustomed to such little ceremony, he demanded to be ushered into the presence of the Russian emperor. The attendants pointed to a man who was actively employed in attaching some ropes to the top of a mast. Peter, for such was the dexterous sailor, on recognising the ambassador, called on him to ascend the shrouds, but the astonished and stately Prussian pleaded his inability to perform so new and dangerous a task, upon which the alert monarch then instantly descended, and held a conference with him on deck.

The unlimited obedience which Peter exacted from his subjects, had so entirely excluded from his ears every word which militated against duty and homage, that he was accustomed to confound the independence of foreign ministers with the servility of his people, and to expect from their courtesy a similar acquiescence in his caprices. One day, this proficient in navigation proposed to them an aquatic excursion from St. Petersburg to Cronstadt. The ambassadors assembled in a Dutch packet-boat, which sailed along with its illustrious freight under the guidance of the scientific emperor. Before they had measured half their voyage, a strong wind blew from the west, a slight mist was perceived, and a black cloud gathered at a distance in the horizon. The experience of the royal pilot predicted the approach of a storm; and his nautical

judgment was not deceived. Its appearance presently became dreadful, while the livid glare of lightning, and the tremendous peals of thunder, did not serve to pacify the terrors of the diplomatic crew. One of them, whom we may suppose to be the least familiar with these terrific scenes, conjured the emperor, with every sign of fear, to hasten towards the land. "I beseech your majesty," exclaimed the angry and terrified ambassador, "to return to St. Petersburg or to Peterhoff, which is still nearer, and to remember that the object of my mission to Russia was not to be drowned: for if I perish here (and the present prospect shows me no other destiny), your majesty must be responsible to my master for the loss of his representative." "Sir," replied the emperor, with an unconsoling and mortifying pleasantry, "if you are drowned, we must all share the same fate, and then none will remain to account to your court for the untimely end of your excellency."

It cannot, however, be denied, that the czar was unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will: hence he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to identify their ease or happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to think that they were formed solely for his, not he for their, aggrandizement. His savage ferocity turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis (his only son by his first wife) having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilization, he compelled him to sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown; and afterwards assembled an extraordinary court, consisting of the principal Russian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death, but without describing the manner in which it should be inflicted. The event, however, took place, for Alexis was suddenly seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him; but whether in consequence of the agony occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain.

The death of the czarowitz (*eldest son of the czar*), whatever might be its cause, was soon followed by that of young Peter, his favourite son by Catherine, whom the

emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his subjects of all ranks and conditions to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, "by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy gospels, kissing the cross."

So great was his distress at this event, that, while it lasted, Russia remained without a sovereign, the senate without a magistrate, and the army without a chief, to execute the ordinary functions of the state. Catherine, although tenderly alive to the feelings of mother and wife, refused to indulge her grief at the expense of the public interest, and tried every gentle art to gain admittance to her husband. But finding all her former influence absorbed in the vortex of this domestic misfortune, as a last resource she applied to the sage and decisive councils of Dolgoroukof for assistance. The senator endeavoured to mitigate her grief, by the assurance that on the morrow she should enjoy the satisfaction of beholding the emperor again return to the various and important duties of his vast empire. At an early hour he repaired to the chamber of the disconsolate czar; several loud knocks announced his visit; but the silence which reigned around the forbidden apartment, might have tempted him to believe himself in the mansion of the dead, rather than in the imperial palace of Peterhoff. Determined to break in upon his privacy, he called on this terrible monarch, with an authoritative voice, to open the door; and on his refusal, he threatened to enter his chamber by force. "If," exclaimed the enraged monarch, "I do open it, my first command shall be for you to suffer death for this presumption." But when the door was thrown back, the dignified firmness of this patriotic subject struck a fear into him, which banished all thoughts of his tyrannical intention. "I come," said the intrepid nobleman, "to demand whom we shall nominate as emperor, since you affect to renounce all the duties attached to that exalted station." The conquered czar embraced his friend, and burst into tears. Dolgoroukof seized the favourable moment, conducted him to his joyful empress, and introduced the senate to him, who were graciously invited to dinner, every intention of retirement being henceforth banished from his mind.

The vigorous mind of Peter had invariably laboured to convince his subjects, that superstition does not open the passage to the seat of eternal happiness. He was, there-

fore, the decided and unforgiving foe to all those impositions, which were expressly designed to cajole and inflame the superstitious passions of the vulgar.

The same good sense of Peter, which endeavoured to defend the purity of the Gospel from the contagious breath of superstition, wisely resolved that her timid suggestions should never undermine the foundations of justice. It was the invariable and absurd custom of the ancient czars, whenever their greatness was humbled by the hand of sickness, to order the gates of the prisons to be thrown open to robbers and murderers sentenced to death, under the vain hope that their impious prayers might arrest the stroke of fate. The superstition of the criminal judge wished Peter to follow this example. "What," said the enlightened prince, in a faint but composed tone of voice, "if God turn a deaf ear to the supplications of my virtuous subjects, can you suppose that my malady will be abated by the liberation and prayers of these assassins? But depart, and let sentence be passed to-morrow on these malefactors; for if anything can incline heaven to avert the impending danger, it will be the execution of their just sentence."

The year 1725 witnessed the close of the life of this extraordinary monarch. Among the various festivals which the superstition of Russia celebrated with peculiar honour, the benediction of the waters may be classed among the most solemn and magnificent. As often as this important day returned, which it did in a season of the year little favourable to those who are afflicted with illness, the priests approached the river with all imaginable pomp, broke the ice, blessed the water, and baptized the infants. All the regiments in the capital paraded in silent order on the ice, nor did it unfrequently happen (such was the severity of the weather on this holy day) that the limbs of the soldiers were frozen. Custom prescribed the attendance of the monarch at this ancient and imposing ceremony. A violent cold was the consequence of Peter's visit, who already laboured under a severe and virulent disease. The heat of his fever increased the pain incidental to the malady which afflicted him; and after ten days it had acquired such a fatal ascendancy over his strength, as to baffle all the efforts of medical skill. He himself felt that the hour was rapidly

approaching when he must bid an everlasting adieu to that country, the promotion of whose fame and prosperity was the great incentive to all his labours.

The last broken words which he uttered intimated his wish to behold the princess Anne, the issue of his second marriage, to whom he intended to dictate his last commands. When his daughter arrived he was speechless, and his left side paralysed; and in the arms of Catherine, whose real or affected love was exemplary during his illness, he expired on the 28th January, 1725, at four o'clock in the morning, in the fifty-second year of his life, and in the forty-third of a most glorious and successful reign.

READING LXXIV.

CHARLES XII., KING OF SWEDEN.

Born 1682—Killed 1718.

The life of this warlike monarch may be considered as one of the most extraordinary presented in history. No prince, perhaps, ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities, as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command the admiration of mankind.

After the celebrated battle of Pultawa, which was fought between Charles and the czar, Peter the Great, the former having been completely defeated, arrived with difficulty, accompanied by only three hundred of his guards, at Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia. He immediately set about repairing his misfortune, and de-

spatched fourteen hundred men into Poland, intending to join them there himself, when sufficiently recovered from his wounds. This body was, however, attacked by the Russians, who made the whole of them prisoners. Charles's next plan was, with the assistance of France, to persuade Turkey to declare war against Russia; but all his attempts proved ineffectual, for the divan, wearied out with his importunities, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army, as a king whose cause the sultan intended to support, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to get rid of, attended by a sufficient guard. For this purpose, the sultan sent Charles (April 19, 1712) a letter, in which, after styling him a very powerful prince among the votaries of Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory, he peremptorily required his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the sultan, "to send our victorious army once more against the czar, we have found reason to change our resolution. To avoid the just resentment which we had expressed at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterwards renewed at our sublime Porte, that prince has surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Asoph; and endeavoured, through the mediation of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us. We have therefore granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, having first received his from their hands. We have given our inviolable orders to the khan of the Crimea and the pasha Ismael for your return to the North. You must, therefore, prepare to set out, under the protection of Providence, and with an honourable guard, on purpose to return to your dominions, taking care to pass through those of Poland in a peaceable manner."

When Ismael intimated this requisition to Charles, he replied that he could not commence his journey unless he had a sufficient sum for the payment of his debts. The pasha asked how much would be necessary? The king, at a venture, said a thousand purses. Ismael acquainted the Porte with his request; and the sultan readily acceded to it. "Our imperial munificence," says he, in a letter to the pasha, "hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to

Bender, to remain in your custody until the departure of the Swedish monarch; and then be given him, with two hundred purses more, as an additional mark of our imperial liberality."

Notwithstanding the strictness of these orders, Grothusen, the king's treasurer, found means to get the money from the pasha before the departure of his master, under pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey; and a few days after, to procure a further delay, Charles demanded another grant of a thousand purses. Confounded at this request, Ismael stood for a moment speechless, and was observed to drop a tear. "I shall lose my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty!" and he took his leave with a sorrowful countenance. He now wrote to the Porte in his own vindication, protesting that he only delivered the twelve hundred purses, upon a solemn promise from the Swedish minister that his master would instantly depart.

The governor's excuse was admitted, and the displeasure of the sultan fell wholly upon Charles. Having convoked an extraordinary divan, he spoke to the following purport, his eyes flashing with indignation:—"I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by his defeat at Pultawa, and the request he made to me for an asylum in my dominions; I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him. Nevertheless, without being influenced by any other motive than the hospitality of a true believer, directed by my natural generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the high as well as the low,—upon strangers, as well as my own subjects,—I have received, protected, and maintained that prince, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, according to the dignity of a king; and, for the space of three years and a half, have continued to load him with favours. I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to pay some debts, though I defray all his expenses; instead of a thousand, I granted him twelve hundred purses; and, having received these, he yet refuses to depart, until he shall obtain a thousand more, and a stronger guard, although that already appointed is more than sufficient. I therefore ask you, whether it would be a breach of the laws of

hospitality to send away this prince, and whether foreign powers can reasonably tax me with cruelty and injustice, if I should use force to expedite his departure?"

All the members of the divan answered, that such conduct would be consistent with strict justice. An order to that effect was accordingly sent to the pasha, who immediately informed Charles of it. "Obey your master, if you dare!" said the king; "and leave my presence instantly." The governor did not need this insult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands of his sovereign; and Charles, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, resolved, with his attendants, and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to oppose a numerous army of Turks and Tatars, having ordered regular entrenchments to be thrown up for that purpose. After some hesitation, occasioned by the uncommon nature of the service, the word of command was given, February 12. The Turks and their associates marched up to the Swedish fortifications, and the cannon began to play. The little camp was quickly forced, and all the soldiers were made prisoners.

Charles, who was then on horseback, between the camp and his house, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domestics. With these he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tatars; killed some of them, and bravely maintained his post, till the house was in flames, and one-half of the roof fell in. In this extremity, a sentinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe that the Chancery-house had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally forth and take possession of that house, and defend themselves to the last extremity. "There is a true Swede!" cried Charles, rushing out like a madman at the head of a few desperadoes. The Turks at first recoiled, from respect to the person of the king; but suddenly recollecting their orders, they surrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made prisoner, with all his attendants. Being in boots, as usual, he entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. A number of Janizaries sprang upon him. He threw his sword up into the air, to avoid the mortification of surrendering it, and some of the Janizaries, taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner to the tent of the pasha.

Ismael gave Charles his own apartments, and ordered him to be served as a king, but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of Janizaries at the door of the chamber. The next day, he was conducted toward Adrianople as a captive, in a chariot covered with scarlet.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that, although abandoned by all the world, deprived of a great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whose liberality he had abused, and now led captive, without knowing whither he was to be carried, he still reckoned on the favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would send him home, at the head of a hundred thousand men. This idea he continued to indulge during the whole time of his confinement. He was at first committed to the castle of Deniertash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, but was afterwards allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Mariza. There he renewed his intrigues; and a French adventurer, counterfeiting madness, had the boldness to present, in his name, a memorial to the grand seignior. This, however, as was to be expected, produced no change in the condition of Charles, who still remained a prisoner, and who, apprehending that the Turks might not be disposed to treat him with the respect due to his royal person, or might subject him to various degradations, resolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of sickness. This resolution he is said to have persisted in for ten months.

Roused, at length, from his affected sickness, by the intelligence that his ministers, who acted as his regents in Sweden, driven to despair by the exigencies of the state and the miseries of the people, had come to the resolution of no longer consulting him in regard to their proceedings, Charles signified to the vizier his desire of returning through Germany to his own dominions. The Turkish minister neglected nothing which might facilitate that event. In the mean time, the king, whose principles were perfectly despotic, wrote to the senate, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which they should receive his orders! And when the preparations for his



departure were completed, he set out with a convoy, consisting of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, he had the satisfaction to learn, that orders had been given for his being received in every part of the imperial dominions, with respect due to his rank. But he had no inclination to bear the fatigue of so much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkish convoy, as soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Transylvania; and, assembling his attendants, desired them to give themselves no further concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralsund. In disguise, and in company with only two officers, he reached that town after a fatiguing journey; and without considering the wretched state of his affairs, he immediately despatched orders to his generals, to renew the war against all his enemies, with fresh vigour.

Having in 1718 undertaken a second expedition into Norway, he invested Frederickshall in December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense that the soldiers on duty frequently dropped down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege, sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak! One night, December 11, 1718, as he was viewing the progress of the works by starlight, he was killed by a half-pound ball, from a cannon loaded with grape shot. Though he expired without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind.

READING LXXV.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON.

1755.

THE appalling events of which the following narrative presents a picture, are brought before the eyes of the reader with a force and simplicity which leave no doubt of the exact truth of the details.

"There never was a finer morning seen than the 1st of November ; the sun shone out in its full lustre ; the whole face of the sky was perfectly serene and clear ; and not the least signal or warning of that approaching event which has made this once flourishing, opulent, and populous city a scene of the utmost horror and desolation, except only such as served to alarm, but scarcely left a moment's time to fly from the general destruction.

"It was on the morning of this fatal day, between the hours of nine and ten, that I was sat down in my apartment, just finishing a letter, when the papers and table I was writing on began to tremble with a gentle motion, which rather surprised me, as I could not perceive a breath of wind stirring. Whilst I was reflecting with myself what this could be owing to, but without having the least apprehension of the real cause, the whole house began to shake from the very foundation ; which at first I imputed to the rattling of several coaches in the main street, which usually passed that way, at this time, from Belem to the palace ; but on hearkening more attentively I was soon undeceived, as I found it was owing to a strange, frightful kind of noise underground, resembling the hollow distant rumbling of thunder. All this passed in less than a minute, and I must confess I now began to be alarmed, as it naturally occurred to me that this noise might possibly be the forerunner of an earthquake, as one I remembered which had happened about six or seven years ago, in the island of Madeira, commenced in the same manner, though it did little or no damage.

"Upon this I threw down my pen, and started upon my feet, remaining a moment in suspense, whether I should stay in the apartment or run into the street, as the danger in both places seemed equal ; and still flattering myself that this tremor might produce no other effects than such inconsiderable ones as had been felt at Madeira : but in a moment I was roused from my dream, being instantly stunned with a most horrid crash, as every edifice in the city had tumbled down at once. The house I was in shook with such violence, that the upper stories immediately fell, and though my apartment (which was the first floor) did not then share the same fate, yet everything was thrown out of its place in such a manner, that it was with no small difficulty I kept my feet, and ex-

pected nothing less than to be soon crushed to death, as the walls continued rocking to and fro in the frightfullest manner, opening in several places; large stones falling down on every side from the cracks, and the ends of most of the rafters starting out from the roof. To add to this terrifying scene, the sky in a moment became so gloomy that I could now distinguish no particular object; it was an Egyptian darkness indeed, such as might be felt; owing, no doubt, to the prodigious clouds of dust and lime raised from so violent a concussion, and, as some reported, to sulphureous exhalations, but this I cannot affirm; however, it is certain I found myself almost choked for near ten minutes.

“I shall always look upon it as a particular providence, that I happened on this occasion to be undressed, for had I dressed myself, as I proposed, when I got out of bed, in order to breakfast with a friend, I should, in all probability, have run into the street at the beginning of the shock, as the rest of the people in the house did, and consequently have had my brains dashed out as every one of them had. However, the imminent danger I was in did not hinder me from considering that my present dress, only a gown and slippers, would render my getting over the ruins almost impracticable: I had, therefore, still presence of mind enough left to put on a pair of shoes and a coat, the first that came in my way, which was everything I saved, and in this dress I hurried down stairs, and made directly to that end of the street which opens to the Tagus.

“I had now a long narrow street to pass, with the houses on each side four or five stories high, all very old, the greater part already thrown down, or continually falling, and threatening the passengers with inevitable death at every step, numbers of whom lay killed before me, or what I thought far more deplorable—so bruised and wounded that they could not stir to help themselves. I proceeded on as fast as I conveniently could, though with the utmost caution, and having at length got clear of this horrid passage, I found myself safe, and unhurt, in the large open space before St. Paul’s Church, which had been thrown down a few minutes before, and buried a great part of the congregation, that was generally pretty numerous, this being reckoned one of the most

populous parishes in Lisbon. Here I stood some time, considering what I should do; and not thinking myself safe in this situation, I came to the resolution of climbing over the ruins of the west end of the church, in order to get to the river's side, that I might be removed as far as possible from the tottering houses, in case of a second shock.

"This, with some difficulty, I accomplished; and here I found a prodigious concourse of people of both sexes, and of all ranks and conditions, among whom I observed some of the principal canons of the patriarchal church, in their purple robes and rochets, as these all go in the habit of bishops; several priests who had run from the altars in their sacerdotal vestments in the midst of their celebrating mass; ladies half-dressed, and some without shoes; all these, whom their mutual dangers had here assembled as in a place of safety, were on their knees at prayers, with the terrors of death in their countenances, every one striking his breast and crying out incessantly, *Miserecordia meu Dios!* (*Mercy, O my God!*) I knelt down amongst them, and prayed as fervently as the rest, though to a much properer object, the only Being who could hear my prayers to afford me any succour. In the midst of our devotions the second great shock came on, little less violent than the first, and completed the ruin of those buildings which had already been much shattered. The consternation now became so universal, that the shrieks and cries of *Miserecordia* could be distinctly heard from the top of St. Catherine's Hill, at a considerable distance off, whither a vast number of people had likewise retreated; at the same time we could hear the fall of the parish church there, whereby many persons were killed on the spot, and others mortally wounded. You may judge of the force of this shock, when I inform you it was so violent that I could scarce keep on my knees, but it was attended with some circumstances still more dreadful than the former. On a sudden I heard a general outcry, 'The sea is coming in, we shall be all lost!' Upon this, turning my eyes towards the river, which in that place is near four miles broad, I could perceive it heaving and swelling in a most unaccountable manner, as no wind was stirring. In an instant there appeared, at some small distance, a large body of water,

rising, as it were, like a mountain. It came on foaming and roaring, and rushed towards the shore with such impetuosity, that we all immediately ran for our lives as fast as possible; many were actually swept away, and the rest above their waist in water at a good distance from the banks. For my own part, I had the narrowest escape, and should certainly have been lost, had I not grasped a large beam that lay on the ground, till the water returned to its channel, which it did almost at the same instant, with equal rapidity. As there now appeared at least as much danger from the sea as the land, and I scarce knew whither to retire for shelter, I took a sudden resolution of returning back, with my clothes all dripping, to the area of St. Paul's. Here I stood some time, and observed the ships tumbling and tossing about as in a violent storm; some had broken their cables and were carried to the other side of the Tagus; others were whirled round with incredible swiftness; several large boats were turned keel upwards; and all this without any wind, which seemed the more astonishing. It was at the time of which I am now speaking, that the fine new quay, built entirely of rough marble, at an immense expense, was wholly swallowed up, with all the people on it, who had fled thither for safety, and had reason to think themselves out of danger in such a place: at the same time a great number of boats and small vessels, anchored near it (all likewise full of people who had retired thither for the same purpose), were all swallowed up as in a whirlpool, and never more appeared."

READING LXXVI.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE OF LISBON (CONCLUDED).

"I HAD not been long in the area of St. Paul's, when I felt the third shock, which though somewhat less violent than the two former, the sea rushed in again, and retired with the same rapidity, and I remained up to my knees in water, though I had gotten upon a small eminence at

some distance from the river, with the ruins of several intervening houses to break its force. At this time I took notice the waters retired so impetuously, that some vessels, which rode in seven fathom water, were left quite dry; the river thus continued alternately rushing on and retiring several times together, in such sort, that it was justly dreaded Lisbon would now meet the same fate which had befallen the city of Lima in the year 1746; and no doubt had this place lain open to the sea, and the force of the waves not been somewhat broken by the winding of the bay, the lower part of it at least would have been totally destroyed.

“I was now in such a situation that I knew not which way to turn myself; if I remained there, I was in danger from the sea; if I retired further from the shore, the houses threatened certain destruction; but, at last, I resolved to go to the Mint, which, being a low and very strong building, had received no considerable damage, except in some of the apartments towards the river. The party of soldiers, which is every day set there on guard, had all deserted the place, and the only person that remained was the commanding officer, a nobleman’s son, of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, whom I found standing at the gate. As there was still a continued tremor of the earth, and the place where we now stood (being within twenty or thirty feet of the opposite houses, which were all tottering) appeared too dangerous, the court-yard likewise being full of water, we both retired inward to a hillock of stones and rubbish: here I entered into conversation with him, and having expressed my admiration that one so young should have the courage to keep his post, when every one of his soldiers had deserted theirs, the answer he made was, though he were sure the earth would open and swallow him up, he scorned to think of flying from his post.

“As I thought it would be the height of rashness to venture back through the same narrow street I had so providentially escaped from, I judged it safest to return over the ruins of St. Paul’s to the river-side, as the water now seemed little agitated. From hence I proceeded, with some hazard, to the large space before the Irish convent of Corpo Santo, which had been thrown down, and buried a great number of people who were hearing

mass, besides some of the friars; the rest of the community were standing in the area, looking with dejected countenances towards the ruins; from this place I took my way to the back street leading to the palace, having the ship-yard on one side, but found the further passage, opening into the principal street, stopped up by the ruins of the Opera-house, one of the solidest and most magnificent buildings of the kind in Europe, and just finished at a prodigious expense; a vast heap of stones, each of several tons weight, had entirely blocked up the front of Mr. Bristow's house, which was opposite to it, and Mr. Ward, his partner, told me the next day, that he was just that instant going out at the door, and had actually set one foot over the threshold, when the west end of the Opera-house fell down, and had he not in a moment started back, he should have been crushed into a thousand pieces.

"From hence I turned back, and attempted getting by the other way into the great square of the Palace, twice as large as Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, one side of which had been taken up by the noble quay I spoke of, now no more; but this passage was likewise obstructed by the stones fallen from the great arched gateway. This square was full of coaches, chariots, chaises, horses, and mules, deserted by their drivers and attendants, as well as their owners.

"The nobility, gentry, and clergy, who were assisting at divine service when the earthquake began, fled away with the utmost precipitation, every one where his fears carried him, leaving the splendid apparatus of the numerous altars to the mercy of the first comer: but this did not so much affect me, as the distress of the poor animals, who seemed sensible of their hard fate; some few were killed, others wounded, but the greater part, which had received no hurt, were left there to starve.

"From this square, the way led to my friend's lodgings, through a long, steep, and narrow street: the new scenes of horror I met with here exceed all description; nothing could be heard but sighs and groans. At length I arrived at the spot opposite to the house where my friend, for whom I was so anxious, resided; and finding this as well as the contiguous buildings thrown down (which made me give him over for lost), I now thought of nothing else

but saving my own life in the best manner I could, and in less than an hour got to a public-house, kept by one Morley, near the English burying-ground, about half a mile from the city, where I still remain, with a great number of my countrymen, as well as Portuguese, in the same wretched circumstances, having almost ever since lain on the ground, and never once within doors, with scarcely any covering to defend me from the inclemency of the night air, which, at this time, is exceeding sharp and piercing.

"Perhaps you may think the present doleful subject here concluded; but, alas! the horrors of the 1st of November are sufficient to fill a volume. As soon as it grew dark, another scene presented itself little less shocking than those already described—the whole city appeared in a blaze, which was so bright that I could easily see to read by it. It may be said without exaggeration, it was on fire at least in a hundred different places at once, and thus continued burning for six days together, without intermission, or the least attempt being made to stop its progress.

"I could never learn that this terrible fire was owing to any subterraneous eruption, as some reported, but to three causes, which, all concurring at the same time, will naturally account for the prodigious havoc it made. The 1st of November being All Saints' Day, a high festival among the Portuguese, every altar in every church and chapel (some of which have more than twenty) was illuminated with a number of wax tapers and lamps, as customary; these setting fire to the curtains and timber-work that fell with the shock, the conflagration soon spread to the neighbouring houses, and being there joined with the fires in the kitchen chimneys, increased to such a degree, that it might easily have destroyed the whole city, though no other cause had concurred, especially as it met with no interruption.

"With regard to the buildings, it was observed that the solidest in general fell the first. Every parish church, convent, nunnery, palace, and public edifice, with an infinite number of private houses, were either thrown down or so miserably shattered, that it was rendered dangerous to pass by them.

"The whole number of persons that perished, including

those who were burnt, or afterwards crushed to death, whilst digging in the ruins, is supposed, on the lowest calculation, to amount to more than sixty thousand ; and though the damage in other respects cannot be computed, yet you may form some idea of it, when I assure you that this extensive and opulent city is now nothing but a vast heap of ruins ; that the rich and poor are at present upon a level ; some thousands of families which but the day before had been easy in their circumstances, being now scattered about in the fields, wanting every conveniency of life, and finding none able to relieve them."

READING LXXVII.

FRENCH INVASION.—SIR EDWARD HAWKE'S GLORIOUS
VICTORY.

1759.

THE court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had, in the winter, projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions ; and in the beginning of this year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. A considerable fleet had been prepared in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and to have on board a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the Duc d'Aguillon, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this expedition were prepared in different parts on the coast of France ; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thuriot, who had in the course of the preceding year signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleisle, which had scoured the North Seas, taken a considerable number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to discontinue the combat, after having received considerable damage. This

man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain ; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in escaping from the pursuit of the British cruisers, which were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North Seas, as far as the Orkney Islands. The court of Versailles was not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government, being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who consider that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, and the East and West Indies. Thuriot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boys ; the port of Havre was guarded by Rear-admiral Rodney ; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon ; and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the summer, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers ; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

The French ministry, being thus opposed, forebore their attempt upon Britain ; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to turn their chief attention to their naval armament ; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour ; and they resolved, when all was ready, to try their fortune by disembarking a considerable body of troops in Ireland. Thuriot received orders to sail from Dunkirk the first opportunity, and direct his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effect

the disembarkation of his troops. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest, with a fleet of twenty-three large ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast, from Port L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron, commanded by Captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke, having gained intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the mean time the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex; all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those which had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep ahead of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the 20th

November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy of which they were in search. They were at that time in chase of Captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risk of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line abreast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle ahead, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous,—the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of sandbanks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors as they were familiar to the French navigators,—the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee shore,—it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion; but Sir Edward Hawke, steeled by the fortitude of his own brave heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country, in a great measure, depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risks in his endeavours to frustrate at once the boasted projects of the enemy. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal (*guns*), consequently M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle in the open sea, without any imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept the fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with

the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship, as she advanced, poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rest to those who came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the *Royal George*, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him alongside of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the *Soleil Royal*, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal, the veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." His wish was gratified, the *Royal George* ranged up with the French admiral. The *Thésée*, another large ship of the enemy, gallantly running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the *Soleil Royal*; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea, that entered her lower deck ports and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the *Formidable* struck her colours. The *Superbe* shared the fate of the *Thésée*. The *Héros* hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time daylight began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous position, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The *Soleil Royal* had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ahead to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately

made signal to the Essex to slip cable and pursue her ; and in obeying this order she ran, unfortunately, on a sand-bank, called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given ; but all their men and part of their stores were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach ; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Héros to ashes, on the Lefour, where she had been also stranded ; while the Juste, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them ; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood (*high tide*) and a more moderate gale, under land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some temporary batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels ; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives were lost, may be regarded as one of the most perilous and important that ever happened in any war between the two nations ; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, but gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking anything of consequence in the sequel.

READING LXXVIII.

GEORGE III.

NAVAL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS IN THE WEST
INDIES.

1762.

IN 1760, George III., grandson to George II., ascended the throne of Great Britain, and commenced the longest and most eventful reign to be found in the annals of our country.

The spirit with which Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) had carried on the French war, and the obligation under which the new ministers found themselves of declaring hostilities against Spain, made them sensible of the necessity of showing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wisdom of its councils, depended upon a single man. They, accordingly, made greater and more successful efforts than any under his administration, though the supplies fell short of those of the preceding year by one million; of these efforts, not the least were those made by the means of powerful armaments for the reduction of the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies.

One expedition, which had been prepared under the administration of Mr. Pitt, was destined against Martinique, the largest and best fortified of the French windward islands. It was composed of nine thousand soldiers, headed by General Monckton, and of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of Rear-admiral Rodney. The troops were disembarked, without the loss of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, the strongest place in the island; and by gaining, with incredible gallantry, possession of some eminences, named Tortenson and Garnier, by which it was commanded (and which were then ill fortified, but bravely defended), the invaders soon made the governor sensible of the necessity of surrendering the citadel, in order to save the town from being laid in ashes.

On the reduction of Fort Royal (which capitulated on

the 4th of February), M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the same side as the island. He there seemed determined to make a last stand; but, through the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preservation of their property, and envious of the prosperity which the planters of Guadaloupe enjoyed under the English government, he was prevailed upon to submit, and obtained terms of capitulation for the whole island before the place was invested. With Martinique fell Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen, though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Caribbee islands.

Before the success of this expedition was known in England, another armament was ready to sail. Its object was the Havannah, the principal seaport in the island of Cuba, the key of the Gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World. The conception of the enterprise was great, as it struck immediately at the very basis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates and sloops, and about one hundred and fifty transports, with ten thousand soldiers on board, who were to be joined by four thousand men from North America. The command of the fleet was entrusted to Admiral Pococke, who had before distinguished himself in the East Indies. The land forces were under the direction of the Earl of Albemarle, and the whole armament, which assembled off the north-west point of Hispaniola, and which was conducted for the sake of expedition, with uncommon nautical ability, through the old channel of Bahama, arrived on the 6th of June, in sight of those formidable fortifications that were to be stormed.

The Havannah stands near the end of a small bay, which forms one of the most secure and capacious harbours in the world. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, strongly fortified on each side. The mouth of that channel, when visited by the English fleet, under Pococke, was defended by two strong forts; on the east side by one named the Moro, and on the west by another, called the Puntal. The Moro had, towards the sea, two bastions, and on the land side two others,

with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, also surrounded by a ditch, cut in the same manner, was provided with casemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. That wall, which was not in the best repair, twenty-one bastions, not in a much better state, a dry ditch of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has, therefore, been thought by some military men, that the operations ought to have commenced with the attack of the town by land, especially as it was impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen ships of the line, three of which were afterwards sunk in the channel, and a boom (*bar*) laid across it.

But the Earl of Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro, which he deemed, perhaps justly, the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so weakened as to have been unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with extreme difficulty. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that the troops could not easily cover their approaches, and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged by the soldiers and sailors up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful labour, while parched with thirst beneath a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries disposed along a bridge on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed with great slaughter, in an attempt to destroy them;

and the besiegers flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy period to their toils, when their principal battery took fire, and a work which had employed six hundred men for sixteen days, was consumed in a few hours.

READING LXXIX.

NAVAL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS IN THE WEST
INDIES (CONCLUDED).—TAKING OF MANILLA.

1762.

THIS accident was peculiarly discouraging, as it happened at a crisis when the hardships of the siege, and the diseases of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the English army unfit for service. The seamen were not in a much better condition; yet both soldiers and sailors, animated by that active and persevering courage which so remarkably distinguishes the natives of Great Britain, applied themselves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately another battery took fire. The besiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, interest, and ambition, continued their efforts with unabated ardour. At length, after conquering numerous difficulties, they gained possession of the covered way; made a lodgment before the right bastion, and a mine being sprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was observed;—though small, the soldiers were ordered to storm it.

The attempt seemed desperate, as the Spanish garrison was still strong; and the brave defence it had made allowed the besiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and resolution of the commanders. But danger itself was only a stimulus to men who had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared for the assault with the utmost alacrity; and mounting the breach under the command of Lieutenant Forbes, supported by Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison (July 30). Four hundred of the Spaniards were cut to pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape by water to

the city; the rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The Marquis Gonzalez, the second in command, was killed in bravely endeavouring to stop the flight of his countrymen; and Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute men in an entrenchment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to haul down.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and the Puntal see the besiegers in possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile, the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. When this service was completed, the earl, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aide-de-camp with a flag of truce (August 10), to summon the governor to surrender, as unavoidable destruction would otherwise fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and that he would hold out to the last extremity.

The next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the Havannah, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government—the Puntal and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at near two millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise, belonging to the Catholic king, besides an immense quantity of arms, ammunition, and military stores.

This single blow, the greatest, perhaps, ever struck by any nation, tended to subvert the power of the Bourbon princes, by cutting off their resources. The marine of France was already ruined; her finances were low. Spain, with her principal fortress in the West

Indies, had lost a large fleet, and the conquest of the Havannah not only gave to England the absolute command of the Gulf of Mexico, but promised to put her in possession of all the islands belonging to the American Archipelago.

The navy of Great Britain was, at this time, superior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of supporting it in her immense commerce, which increased with her fleets; and both might almost be said to embrace the universe: for her conquests, during this season of glory, were not confined to the West Indies. The south of Asia also beheld her triumphs.

While the British forces were engaged in the siege of the Havannah, an armament sailed from Madras, under the direction of Rear-admiral Cornish, and Brigadier Draper, for the Philippine Isles. The chief object of this enterprise was the reduction of the city of Manilla, the capital of the island of Luçon, the seat of the Spanish government in those islands, and the centre of communication between South America and the East Indies.

The hostile fleet arrived in the bay of Manilla on the 23rd of September, before the governor had the least intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. He prepared, however, for a vigorous defence, and rejected, with disdain, the repeated summons of the British commanders. Necessary steps were consequently taken for landing the troops, consisting of two thousand three hundred men. The debarkation was safely effected; an important post was seized, and batteries were formed. But the operations of the besiegers were much retarded by incessant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempest, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army; and also by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who rushed up to the muzzles of the British muskets, in their wild ferocity, and even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded.

Meanwhile the invaders, in spite of every obstacle, advanced towards the accomplishment of their enterprise. They had silenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications towards the sea; when, as a last effort to raise the siege, a desperate sally was

made by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both, however, were repelled, after a sharp conflict. A practicable breach at length appeared in the works, and preparations were made for storming it.

In such circumstances, it might naturally have been expected that the governor, instead of remaining obstinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no proposal of that kind was presented. General Draper, therefore, took the most effectual measures for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies, about four o'clock in the morning (October 6), advanced to the breach at the signal of a general discharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick smoke, which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Russell led the way, at the head of sixty volunteers, from the different bodies of which the army was composed, supported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment. Colonel Morison and Major More followed with two other divisions; next came a battalion of seamen, and the troops of the India Company closed the rear.

The assailants behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were soon driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss. The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens: and the humanity and generosity of the British commanders saved the town from a general and justly-merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars only was demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated at the same time, that the other fortified places in Luçon, and in the islands dependent upon its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty. Thus the whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manilla.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Victorious by land and by sea, in both hemispheres, and in every quarter of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she should retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for

himself, or continue the war without further subsidies, and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present state of weakness. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of Tory counsels, at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the family compact, lately so alarming to Great Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

In the midst of our splendid conquests, however, to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonishment of every honest Englishman, a negotiation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the ministers of his Britannic majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manilla was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, which have generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France and Spain.

READING LXXX.

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND.

1764.

THE demise of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, who was of the family of Saxony, occurred a short time after the accession of Catherine II. to the throne of the Czars. At this period the empress had entered into a treaty of alliance for eight years with the king of Prussia; a treaty which obliged each party to assist the other in any war in which either of them might be engaged, with, at least, ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, and not to make peace except by mutual concurrence. This treaty made it the interest of Austria to have a Saxon prince on the throne of Poland, who might not be entirely dependent on Russia and Prussia. Saxony had

a party in that country ; but that of Russia, which was still more powerful, and especially the family of Czartorisky, favoured the pretensions of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who had acquired the confidence of the empress. His understanding and character were generally received in so favourable a light, that even his adversaries still wished that at least he might remain the second person in the state. A third party was formed, perhaps under the guidance of the Prussian monarch, by Zamoisky, which, from a professed regard to the interests of the country, seemed to wish to avoid all foreign interference with its concerns. The diet was tumultuous ; and this afforded a pretext to the empress Catherine, as a *neighbour* and *friend* of Poland, to send some troops to Warsaw. The party of Czartorisky had the best concerted system ; for whatever they wished to accomplish was proposed by others : they guided all the decisions, while in appearance they only accommodated themselves to the universal will ; and their language was so moderate and obliging, that any opposition to it had the appearance of rudeness and violence. The king of Prussia left these affairs to the empress of Russia.

On the day of election, General Mocronofsky interposed his vote against any transaction that should take place under such circumstances, but was compelled by the ill-treatment he met with to withdraw his opposition. Prince Adam Czartorisky, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, became marshal of the diet ; upon which the two generalissimos of the crown, the two Potockys, Prince Radzyvil, Poninsky, and four thousand of their adherents, quitted Warsaw, followed by the grand treasurer with the *vayvode* (*governor*) of Volhynia. But Branicky, who was regarded as the head of this party, was deprived of his dignity, as a man who had withdrawn from the service of his country and the duties of his office at so critical a moment. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, with thirty senators and sixty deputies, gave their free votes ; and some regiments refused to obey any new generalissimo. Branicky, however, who was an old man, and surrounded by hordes, as far from being unanimous as they were impatient of restraint, was unable to maintain his cause ; and Prince Radzyvil, Potocky of Kyow, and others, dispersed to their several fortresses. The diet now decided that the

new monarch must now be a Piast, a native of the country, possessed of estates in Poland, young, handsome, and friendly to the customs of his country: and Stanislaus was elected.

About the year 1766, being the second of the new monarch's reign, the friendship subsisting between the king, Stanislaus, and the Czartorisky, began already to cool. The latter seemed to wish to exercise the sovereignty under his name, and complained that he abandoned himself to favourites. The French politeness of his manners formed a striking contrast with the rough simplicity of the prevailing habits of the Poles. The tolerant principles of the king were condemned in the sermons and pastoral letters of the clergy, because he had assented to the demands of Russia and Prussia, which, supported by Great Britain and Denmark, required that the dissidents consisting of Christians of the Protestant and Greek churches should be re-established in their ancient and natural equality of rights. Those powers also demanded that the boundary between Russia and Poland should be more accurately determined, and that Poland should form an alliance with Prussia. Under pretence of imparting a greater degree of order and consistency to the constitution, they proposed that only a majority of votes, instead of unanimity, should be requisite at the elections; that the revenues should be augmented by bestowing on the king some new duties, and a fourth part of the income of the Storosties; and that these regulations, with respect to which the king was obliged to coincide with both the powers, should be executed by forty deputies, elected by a majority of votes.

All the great prelates, with the exception of the primate and two bishops, thirty senators, and one hundred and eighty county deputies, protested against these arrangements; and the king, at length, renounced the new duties, contenting himself with an indemnification of two hundred thousand florins, which he also promised to expend exclusively among the nobles, in the establishment of a guard of honour. This project, by means of which it was proposed to attach the nobles to his interest, was decried as tyrannical and of dangerous consequences to the country. As the ferment continued to increase, two thousand eight hundred Russians were

quartered on the estates of the bishop of Cracow: and one thousand five hundred on those of the bishop of Wilna; while four thousand were encamped around Warsaw. Many of the senators, however, were not yet discouraged, but resolved, as they said, rather to die than sacrifice the republic to him who had been elected for the purpose of maintaining it. "Speak, then," said the bishop of Moravia to the archbishop primate; "speak, wretch, for the religion by which thou art fattened, or retire into thy primitive nothingness." The same prelate also thus addressed bishop Paiaskofsky:—"Thy heart is capable of all manner of corruption—sell thyself, therefore, to the highest bidder." The popular indignation compelled the king to abandon all thoughts of introducing the proposed regulation. The dissidents were, indeed, allowed to exercise their religious duties in places where they already possessed churches; but this was only on condition that those buildings should not be enlarged; and the clergy of the Greek church were permitted the liberty of performing baptisms, marriages, and burials, on condition that the customary fees should be previously paid to their Catholic brethren.

From this period, the parties entered into confederations; in the first place at Slack, in the vayvodship of Novogorodek, situated in Black Russia, under Major-general Glabofsky; and afterwards at Thorn, under Lieutenant Goltz. The twenty-four confederations were formed in Lithuania, the professed object of which was resistance to the influence of foreign states; but they were, probably, as much directed against the dissidents. Prince Radzyvil, who was at the head of these Lithuanian confederations, procured, in 1767, the assembling of an extraordinary diet at Cracow.

The first sittings of this assembly were so tumultuous that it was impossible to collect the votes, upon which the Russians entered the town, seized Soltyk, the zealous bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kyow, the vayvode of Cracow, Count Rzovusky, and several of the senators, all of whom were sent as prisoners into Russia. The terror which this measure inspired served only to increase the tumult; and the diet separated, after having chosen sixty deputies, who were commissioned to treat with the Russian ambassador on the present state of affairs.

It was now agreed to grant the king one million five hundred thousand florins, and prince Radzyvil, to whom the republic owed three millions, six hundred thousand, as a first instalment in payment of his demand; to intrust all business, which had hitherto been conducted by the pope's nuncio, to a synod to which His Holiness should be pleased to give the permanent authority of a *legatus a latere* (*ambassador from the pope*); and faithfully to observe the alliance with Russia, according to the treaty concluded in the year 1686, and deposited in the archives of the country.

The partisans of this compromise were threatened by the nuncio with the anathema; and the pope himself wrote to the king that he ought rather to abandon his crown than countenance such scandalous proceedings. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the compact was confirmed by the diet, the public taxes were fixed at twenty-three millions, and a treaty of guarantee was renewed with Russia.

The dissidents were detested as the party which had given occasion to the injuries inflicted on the independence of the country, and were subjected to all possible oppressions. A confederation was formed against them at Bar, under Marshal Krazuisky; one at Halriz, under Potocky; and another at Lublin; which latter place was, on that account, set on fire by the Russian artillery. Civil war now arose in all its horrors; the Russians increased their force to a degree which could not be a matter of indifference to the Turks, and conquered Bar; seizing all the wealth of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine. Brazinsky and Potocky threw themselves into the Turkish fortress of Chotin. The terrors of this war of religion were augmented by the incessant incursions of the Haidamaks, who entered the country from the Russian viceroyalty of Elizabethgorod. On one occasion they burnt ten towns and one hundred and thirty villages; and on another, three of the former and fifty of the latter. The Jews were everywhere committed to massacre and the flames, and the roads were covered with dead bodies, until, at length, neither man nor beast was to be found alive within sixty miles of the borders. The Russians, in the mean time, were besieging Cracow, where the confederates, for a long time, held out against famine.

and pestilence. Martin Ludomitzky, in the utmost extremity, made a sally in which he lost one-half of his followers; but he made good his retreat with the rest through the midst of the enemy. The Russians extended themselves over all the *vayvodeships*, in order that the confederates might be prevented from forming a union in any part. That party, however, brought reinforcements out of Turkey, and the detestation inspired by their wanton cruelties, exceeded the terror of their first revenge. In the year 1769, the king proclaimed them rebels; and they declared his authority illegitimate. Thirteen contests took place in the course of one month, and the progress of the war was only arrested by the devastations of the pestilence. One hundred and fifty thousand men died within the space of a few weeks in Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia. Kawiniok was abandoned by its garrison; and all its inhabitants, together with the whole force of the confederates, crowded towards Great Poland.

READING LXXXI.

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND (CONCLUDED).

WHILE the Russians favoured the dissidents, the court of Vienna appeared to incline to the cause of the confederates. It refused, however, to take part in these disturbances; and even, in the beginning of the Turkish war occasioned by them, that court declared, that it would adhere to its neutrality; and only placed troops in a few districts immediately bordering on Hungary. But when the confederation of Bar earnestly entreated the empress Maria Theresa not to take any advantage of the disasters of a people who had been compelled to take up arms for the liberty of their country, and for the religious rights of their forefathers, she declared publicly that she was willing to protect those communities which only were not foreign to her as queen of Hungary, from the evils of this dreadful period; and gave verbal assurance that she was affected with the misfortunes of the confederates; and that, although the situation of political affairs did not allow her

to assist them with an armed force, they might nevertheless depend on her for all the favour it was in her power to show them.

This declaration was almost immediately succeeded by a movement of the Austrian army, which inspired the confederates with the most flattering hopes; but on the other side, a body of Prussian troops approached the frontiers, as if to form a cordon (*chain of troops*) against the pestilence which was now raging in Poland. Frederic, after exacting tribute, transplanted, by force, twelve thousand families to people his colonies in the Mark and in Pomerania. He then proceeded to strike gold and silver coins, under the title of the king and republic of Poland, of far less than their nominal value; and compelled all those from whom his subjects made purchases to take them in payment; in short, the oppression and distress of Great Poland rose to such a height that thousands of the inhabitants fled towards the forests of Lithuania and the frontiers of Austria.

These proceedings at length opened the eyes of the confederates, and Marshal Zuremba first offered his services to king Stanislaus, in order to effect a union between the conflicting parties for the preservation of their common country; but the king, in all probability, considered this proposal to be already too late.

At length, on the 26th of September, 1772, the ambassadors of Maria Theresa, of the empress and autocrat Catherine the Second, and of the king of Prussia, in the name of their respective courts, informed the king and republic of Poland, that the three powers, in order to prevent further bloodshed, and to restore peace to Poland, had agreed among themselves to insist upon their indisputable claims to some of the provinces of that country, and therefore demanded that a diet be held for the purpose of settling the new boundaries in concert with them.

This iniquitous scheme for the dismemberment of Poland is said to have originated in the mind of Frederic. Having added Silesia to the dominions which he inherited from his father, he professed to be greatly alarmed at the progress of the Russian arms, in wresting the province of Moldavia from the Turks. The emperor Joseph, of Austria, was equally apprehensive of danger, and there-

fore did not scruple to make advances to a prince with whom his mother (Maria Theresa) had long been at variance. He visited Frederic at Neiss, in Silesia, in 1769, and a confidential intercourse of sentiments took place between the monarchs. They pledged themselves to unite for the maintenance of the peace of Germany; and it was hinted by the Prussian monarch, that if the czarina could not easily be brought to reason, a three-fold partition of Poland might remove all difficulties. In the following year, the two crowned heads had another meeting; and prince Kaunitz had also long conferences with the king, to whose interests he promised to attend. Prince Henry, soon after visiting St. Petersburg on pretence of amusement, disclosed the project to Catherine, by whom it was not disapproved. As, however, she still insisted on extravagant terms of peace, Maria Theresa and her son ordered military preparations; and an armed party entering Poland, seized the lordship of Zips.

This invasion accelerated the adjustment of the treaty; Frederic drew the outlines of a plan; but Catherine, in the one proposed by her, demanded a far greater portion of the spoils than he was willing to allow, and exacted new terms of alliance, more favourable to herself than to her royal confederate. These requisitions delayed the settlement, and the various parties were busily employed in making out, each, his own preferable right to the spoliation. The king of Prussia could go back for several centuries, and demonstrate, by treaties, that certain provinces of the Polish territory had belonged to his ancestors, the electors of Brandenburg. A treaty had been concluded in 1657, by which the Poles assigned the sum of four hundred thousand dollars on the security of the city of Elbing, to the elector of Brandenburg, who was to deliver them from the Swedish arms; but the promise then made had never been fulfilled.

In satisfaction of these claims, Frederic now desired to be put in possession of Pomerellia, the districts on the Netze, the vayvodeship of Marienburg, the bishopric of Ermeland, the district of Michelan, and the bishopric and vavodeship of Culm. He agreed, it is true, to leave Poland in possession of Dantzic and Thorn, but insisted upon retaining the harbour of the former city, and of

collecting the customs and duties paid to it; alleging that Dantzic had only enjoyed by sufferance the use of that harbour, which was a monastic estate belonging to the abbey of Oliva, and had been made, by permission of that establishment, in the year 1647, because the Neufahrwassar was no longer capable of admitting ships.

All Polish Prussia, together with the district of the Netze, was therefore occupied; by which act, the state of Prussia became a continuous territory from Glatz to Memel, and acquired the fertile districts of Culm, Elbing, and Marienburg. The king became master of the cathedral of Wermeland; came into possession of an annual income of three hundred thousand dollars, and of the only mouths of the Vistula which yet remained navigable. All the inhabitants of these districts were compelled to take the oath of allegiance within fourteen days.

Austria alleging the transfers of two royal Polish fiefs of Zator and Auchwitz, by Casimir, the second king of Poland to his cousin Mscislaf, duke of Teschen, in Upper Silesia, which fiefs were, in the year 1289, transferred to Venceslaf, king of Bohemia, demanded as an equivalent two-thirds of Upper Poland, Pokulia, and some districts of Podolia and Volhynia, containing, on the whole, about two hundred and fifty cities and large towns, fifty smaller places, six thousand three hundred villages, and two millions five hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. So much for the conscience of Maria Theresa, and the pleas on which her claims were founded.

The empress of Russia took possession of an important part of the grand principality of Lithuania, and of the vayvodship of Minsk, Vitensk, and Mscilaf, with so little ceremony, that it did not even appear necessary to her to publish the grounds of her proceeding. She allowed the inhabitants three months to remove themselves.

The king and senate of Poland lamented this unhappy destiny of their country, attributed the origin of the party dissensions to the influence of foreigners, displayed the evidences of their rights, alleged the compacts and referred to the guarantee under which they had been concluded, appealed from the violence of the superior power and unjust arms of their enemies, and protested before the Almighty Governor of the Universe against this crying oppression.

The king of Prussia continued to raise the tolls collected in the harbour of Dantzic to an intolerable height, and the city was urged, by all possible means, to surrender itself voluntarily to his sway. He summoned a diet at Lissa, to counteract that of Warsaw, and confiscated the estates of all such nobles as refused to acknowledge their allegiance. The empress of Russia also took possession of the wealth of prince Charles Radyzvil, and of Constantine and Adam Czartorisky. When an offer of restoration was made to Radyzvil, he replied, "I am a free-born man; my ancestors were free; and, though in adversity, I will also die free." The countess Vielopolska died by her own hands; and all those who were worthy of their ancestors quitted their country, now subjected to a foreign yoke. But the complaints of the oppressed were not necessary to the judgment passed by all Europe on this transaction, a judgment which will be confirmed by the latest posterity.

The subjects of the republic were reduced from seven or eight to four millions, and its revenues were proportionally diminished. Instead of one hundred senators, only thirty-eight were assembled at the diet. The archbishop primate, the grand chancellor of Lithuania, the grand marshal, and their friends, absented themselves from the servile assembly and repaired to Cracow. The diet, although surrounded by an armed force, began with a protest by all the deputies of Podolia and Volhynia. The consequence was, that the foreign soldiers were quartered by hundreds upon all those nobles who were attached to the cause of independence. Eight days were allowed to the diet to conform to the wishes of the allied powers; and it was declared, that, in case of refusal, thirty thousand men should enter the city, at the expiration of that period, and that their obstinacy should be subdued by all possible means. On the seventh day a great number of the deputies left the city, and the remainder subscribed to the terms by which Poland was compelled, not only to renounce all claim to, and all connexion with, the districts of which she had been deprived, but to engage to protect the three confederated powers in the possession of the countries they had seized.

The latter now established a permanent council, which was dependent on themselves, and could easily be influ-

enced according to their pleasure. The king of Prussia declared, that if the republic did not place the council in actual existence on a certain day, he would consider its refusal or delay as a declaration of war; and he, at the same time, demanded possession of a district on the Netze, not usually bounded by the river, but which was occasionally covered by its waters during extraordinary floods. The Austrian commissioners drew a line from the mouth of one river to another, and demanded all the districts comprised within the windings of the streams, as the shores of those rivers. Instances frequently occurred in which a district was usurped, without assigning any reason whatever. The permanent council was established: it consisted of forty senators and noblemen, nominated by the diet, who were to continue in office until the succeeding session of that assembly, and transact all military and foreign affairs, as well as the business of the high police; it was empowered to expound the laws, but not to make them.

Prussia was, in some instances, obliged to abandon a part of the districts which it had seized; but before these temporary possessions were relinquished, the flocks were driven away, the forests cut down, the magazines emptied, even the most necessary implements taken away, and the taxes raised by anticipation.

READING LXXXII.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

1782.

THROUGHOUT the annals of the art of war, whether ancient or modern, it will be impossible to find an example of a more magnificent scene of military operations than was exhibited this year at Gibraltar. The siege of this place had been commenced by the Spaniards, in the summer of 1779. In the spring of 1780, the siege was so far advanced, that vast works were constructed before it, filled with artillery, tremendous for number and power, and employed in a cannonade and bombardment which entirely destroyed the town, but did little damage to the

fortifications. On the 13th March, the channel fleet, under Admiral Darby, sailed for the relief of the fortress, and fortunately that officer completely succeeded in effecting his purpose. Although each year of the siege had augmented the assailing force and the annoyance of the town and garrison, yet no real progress had been made towards the reduction of this formidable place. But it was now resolved to make trial of the utmost that skill and force could effect, in order to overcome the obstacles which both nature and art had lavished to render Gibraltar impregnable. The aid of twelve thousand French troops was procured, and the Duke de Crillon appointed captain-general.

No means were neglected, nor expense spared, to insure the success of this design. Spain found by experience, that all her attempts in the usual forms upon the place, whether by sea or by land, were totally ineffective; and that the cruel measure of destroying the town, odious as it was, went no farther than to the extermination of the inhabitants, without tending in the smallest degree to the reduction of the garrison. It sorely wounded her pride, that the utmost exertions of her power should, in the face of the world, be for so many years baffled, in the unavailing conflict of a vast and powerful empire with a handful of men shut up on a barren rock. The court was likewise greatly and particularly irritated, through the disgrace which attended the destruction of their works and batteries in the preceding year by the garrison. So that ambition, honour, pride, and revenge were all concurrent, in urging to the utmost exertions of power and of skill for the conquest of that place; and as all former exertions had failed, the invention and application of new means became a matter of necessity.

The Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of high note, seemed to be the hero destined to the fall of Gibraltar. His plan was so highly approved of, that the king himself is said to have taken a part in its modification, or adjustment; hoping to have borne away a royal share of the honour in this instance, as well as in that of Minorca. The plan had been proposed in the latter part of the preceding year; the preparations, though vast, and exceedingly expensive, were now nearly completed; and

the reduction of the place was not only deemed certain, but the powers to be used were so prodigious and terrible, that little less than the annihilation of the fortress was expected to be the consequence of any great obstinacy of defence in the garrison.

In the eagerness which prevailed at Madrid, for the carrying of this point, it had been proposed to bring a whole fleet to the direct battery and attack of the place, on all sides, by sea, while the army was to carry on a furious assault by land; and the sacrifice of from ten to twenty ships of war, as the occasion might require, was decreed to be the contented price of success.

The French engineer ridiculed this scheme as wild and incompetent. He showed that it would be attended with the certain destruction of the ships, without producing the smallest effect upon the fortress. His plan went to the construction of floating batteries, or ships, upon such a principle, that they could neither be sunk nor fired. The first of these properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; and which was to render them proof to all danger in that respect, whether from external or internal violence. The second danger was to be opposed, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between a large body of wet sand; the whole being of such a thickness and density, that no cannon-ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water was to keep the parts exposed to the action of fire always wet; and the cork was to act as a sponge in retaining the moisture.

For this purpose, ten great ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen (some of them said to be of fifty or sixty guns), were cut down to the state required by the plan; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber was, with infinite labour, worked into their construction. To protect them from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape, or descending shot, a hanging roof was contrived, which was to be worked up and down by springs, with ease, and at pleasure; the roof was composed of a strong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides, while its sloping position was

calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new brass cannon, of great weight; and something about half the number of spare guns, of the same kind, were kept ready in each ship, immediately to supply the place of those which might be over-heated, or otherwise disabled in action. To render the fire of these batteries the more rapid and instantaneous, and, consequently, the more dreadfully effective, the ingenious projector had contrived a kind of match, to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature as to emulate lightning in the quickness of its consumption, and the rapidity of its action; and by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together, as it had been only a single shot.

But, as the red-hot shot from the fortress was what the enemy most dreaded, the nicest part of this plan seems to have been the contrivance for communicating water in every direction to restrain its effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continued succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means, it was expected that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief: as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure its immediate extinction. So that these terrible machines, teeming with every source of outward destruction, seemed to be themselves invulnerable, and entirely secure from all danger.

The preparation in other respects was beyond all example. It was said, that no less than twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordinance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the almost numberless intended purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantity of powder, shot, shells, and of every kind of military stores and provisions, were so immense as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder alone was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gun-boats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb vessels with twelve-inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches, on the usual construction, were all

destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled, to afford such aid as they might be capable of; and three hundred large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which, with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during the action, and to land troops in the place, as soon as they had dismantled the fortress. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about fifty ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack : and could not but greatly heighten the terrors as well as the magnificence of the scene.

The preparations by land kept pace with those by sea. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. The Duke de Crillon was assisted by a number of the best officers of both countries, and particularly of the best engineers and artillerists of his own. The length and celebrity of the siege, now rendered more interesting by the fame of the present extraordinary preparations, had drawn volunteers from every part of Europe to the camp before Gibraltar; and not only the nobility of Spain, but many of that of other countries were assembled, either to display their valour, or gratify their curiosity by beholding such a spectacle, as, it was probable, had never been before exhibited. The arrival of two princes of the royal blood of France, served to increase the splendour and celebrity of the scene. The Count d'Artois, the French king's brother, and his cousin the Duke de Bourbon, seemed eager to immortalize their names, by partaking in the glory of so signal and illustrious an enterprise, as the recovery of Gibraltar to the crown of their kinsman and ally.

READING LXXXIII.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR (CONTINUED).

THE arrival of the French princes afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and the exercise of those humanized attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe have tended so much to divest war of many parts of its ancient savage barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having, on the way, fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, were, of course, transmitted to the court of Madrid, where they lay, at the time that the Count d'Artois arrived at that capital. The French prince, in that spirit of generosity which distinguishes his family as well as his country, considering this circumstance as affording a pleasing opportunity of introduction to a brave and generous enemy, obtained the packets from the king, and condescended to convey them, under his own care, to the camp.

In the mean time, unawed by the vast force with which he was on every side, by sea and land, surrounded, General Elliot did not hesitate, by new and unexpected insult and damage, to provoke his combined enemies to the attack. For, observing that their works on the land side were nearly completed, and some of them pretty far advanced towards the fortress, he determined to try (though dubious of the effect of the distance) how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment, with red-hot balls, carcasses, and shells, might operate to their destruction. A powerful and admirably directed firing commenced from the garrison at seven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of September, and was supported through the day, with the usual unrivalled skill and dexterity of the artillery officers. The effect far exceeded the general's expectation. By ten o'clock the Mahon battery, with another adjoining to it, were in flames; and by five in the evening were entirely consumed, together with their gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musketry,

was likewise destroyed, and a large battery near the bay so much damaged, having been repeatedly set on fire in several places, that the enemy were under a necessity of taking down one-half of it. They acknowledged, that their works were on fire in fifty places at the same instant. The emulation between the nations, as well as the presence of the French princes, urged the troops to expose themselves exceedingly in their efforts to prevent the progress of the flames; so that their loss in men, under so dreadful and well-directed a fire, could not but have been very considerable.

This fresh affront recalled the memory of the loss and disgrace suffered by the sally of the preceding year, and was resented so much by the allied commanders, that it seems to have contributed not a little to precipitate their measures. A new battery of sixty-four heavy cannon was opened by break of day on the following morning, which, with the cannon in their lines, and above sixty mortars, continued to pour their shot and shells, without intermission, upon the garrison, through the whole course of the day. At the same time, a squadron of seven Spanish and two French ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, dropped down from the Orange Grove, at the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the south bastion, and the ragged staff, continuing their cannonade until they had passed Europa Point, and got into the Mediterranean. They then formed a line to the eastward of the rock, and the admiral leading, came to the attack of the batteries on Europa Point, and, under a very slow sail, commenced a heavy fire with all their guns, which continued until they were entirely passed.

The small marine force at Gibraltar had, for some considerable time, been commanded by Captain Curtis, of the *Brilliant* frigate, who had been much distinguished in several spirited actions with the Spanish frigates and gun-boats, and had been particularly successful in rescuing the vessels that were coming in to the garrison, from their attacks in the bay. We have already seen that the seamen had held a distinguished part in the last sally; where, as they were attached to different garrison corps, this gentleman acted only as a volunteer. In the present

season of danger, when the superiority of the enemy shut them up from exertion on their proper element, it was thought necessary not to lose their services in the immediate defence of the place by land. They were accordingly formed into a distinct corps, under the name of the Marine Brigade, and Captain Curtis held the rank and title of brigadier, as their commander. To that officer, and his marine corps, was committed the defence of the works and batteries on Europa Point; a trust which they discharged so well, that having repeatedly struck the enemy in the first attack, they were afterwards glad to keep a more guarded distance; and two of the Spanish ships found it necessary to go to Algeziras to repair their damages.

The firing from the isthmus was renewed, and continued the succeeding days; while the enemy boasted that it should be supported on the same scale until the reduction of the place; that being at the rate of six thousand five hundred cannon shot, and one thousand and eighty shells, in every twenty-four hours. The ships likewise made repeated attacks upon Europa Point, but the batteries were so excellently served, and the guns so well pointed, that they did not approach near enough to produce much effect. As if it had been hoped at once to confound and overwhelm the garrison, by the multitudinous forms and variety of attack, and the enormous quantity of fire poured upon them, the gun and mortar boats were now added to all the other instruments of vengeance, and renewed with great fierceness their assaults both by day and by night upon the works. Indeed, the numerous volunteers and spectators had now an unusual opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, in beholding the operations of war diversified nearly into all the forms which it is capable of exhibiting, whether by land or by sea, in the attack or defence of a fortress.

It seems scarcely less than astonishing that these numerous attacks, accompanied by so prodigious a weight of fire, in all its most destructive modes of action, should have produced very little effect, either with respect to the loss of men in the garrison, or to the damage done to the works. But the arduous day was now fast approaching, when courage, skill, and ingenuity were to undergo their severest trial; and when all the united

powers of gunpowder and artillery, in their highest state of discovery and improvement, were to be called into action.

The combined fleet of twenty-seven Spanish and twelve French ships of the line, was now arrived at Algeziras from Cadiz, and with those already on the spot amounted either to forty-eight or forty-nine sail of the line, besides two or three fifties. The battering ships were likewise in readiness. Their batteries were covered with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon ; and they carried something less than half that number to be used as exchanges. The *Pastora*, the admiral's ship, had twenty-four guns mounted, and ten in reserve ; the prince of Nassau's ship, the *Paula*, was about the same force, and held a similar proportion. Thirty-six artillery men, and volunteers from the two armies, were allotted to the service of each gun ; and these being exclusive of the officers, and of the seamen who navigated the vessels, the whole number on board was estimated at between six and seven thousand men. The gun and mortar boats, with the floating battery and the bomb ketches, were to carry on their attacks in every possible direction, whilst the fire of the battering ships was directed against their destined objects. By this means, and by the fire of near three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the isthmus, it was intended, that every part of the works being attacked at the same instant, and every quarter presenting a similar face of danger, the garrison should be thrown into irretrievable dismay, or at least that their attention being called away to so many services, the resistance must become generally ineffective, and totally unequal to the accumulated weight and force of the grand attack.

READING LXXXIV.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR (CONCLUDED).

ABOUT seven o'clock on the morning of the 13th of September, 1782, the ten battering ships of the enemy, lying at the Puerta Maillora, near the head of the bay

of Gibraltar, and under the conduct of Admiral Don B. Moreno, were observed to be in motion ; and soon after getting under sail, to proceed to their stations for the attack of that fortress. Between nine and ten o'clock they came to an anchor, being moored in a line, at moderate distances, from the Old to the New Mole, lying parallel to the rock, and at about nine hundred yards' distance. The greatest spirit was displayed through this whole evolution ; and it is acknowledged on our side, that nothing could be more masterly than the performance. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the king's bastion ; and the others took their appointed places, successively, and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral. The surrounding hills were by this time covered with people, and it seemed as if all Spain had assembled to behold the spectacle.

The cannonade and bombardment, on all sides, and in all directions, from the isthmus, the sea, and the various works of the fortress, was not only tremendous, but beyond example. The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were, without intermission, thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land from the garrison, astonished the commander of the allied forces, who could not conceive the possibility that General Elliot, straitened as he was within the narrow limits of a garrison, should have been by any means able to construct or to manage such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary to the heating of the infinite quantity of shot then thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ships only received in the course of the day, was estimated in their own accounts at not less than four thousand. Nor were the mortar batteries in the fortress worse supported ; and while the battering ships appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were of apprehension to the garrison, the whole extent of the Peninsula seemed at the same time to be overwhelmed by the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it.

As the violence of the attacks corresponded with the fury of the defence, and that the means and powers of annoyance and destruction were prodigious on both sides, no imagination could conceive a scene more terrible than

this day and the succeeding night exhibited. All description would fail, in attempting to convey adequate ideas of such a scene; and the very actors in it could not be perfectly clear and distinct in their conceptions of what was passing, amidst the surrounding tumult and uproar.

The battering ships were found upon trial to be an enemy scarcely less formidable than had been represented. Besides maintaining a cannonade so prodigious through the greater part of the day as scarcely admitted any appearance of superiority on the side of the fortress, their construction was so admirably calculated for the purpose of withstanding the combined powers of fire and artillery, that, for several hours, the incessant showers of shells, and the hot shot, with which they were assailed, were not capable of making any visible impression upon them.

About two o'clock, however, some smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of the admiral's ship; and soon after, men were observed using fire engines, and pouring water into the shot holes. This fire, though kept under during the continuance of daylight, could never be thoroughly subdued; and in some time the ship commanded by the prince of Nassau, which was next in size and force to the admiral's, was perceived to be in the same condition. The disorder in these two commanding ships in the centre, affected the whole line of attack; and by the evening, the fire from the fortress had gained a decided superiority.

The fire was continued from the batteries in the fortress, with equal vigour, through the night; and by one o'clock in the morning, the two first ships were in flames, and several more visibly on fire. The confusion was now great and apparent; and the number of rockets continually thrown up from each of the ships, as signals to the fleet, was sufficiently expressive of their extreme distress and danger. These signals were immediately answered, and all means used by the fleet to afford the assistance which they required; but as it was deemed impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavours were only directed to bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and great intrepidity was displayed in the attempts for this purpose; the danger from the burning vessels, filled as they were with instru-

ments of destruction, appearing no less dreadful than the fire from the garrison, terrible as that was. The light thrown out on all sides by the flames, was such as afforded the utmost precision to the direction of the shot.

This state of things presented an opportunity for the exercise of the daring genius of Captain Curtis, in using the exertions of his gun-boats, to complete the general confusion and destruction. These were twelve in number, and each carrying an eighteen or twenty-four pounder, their low fire and fixed aim were not a little formidable. They were speedily manned by the marine brigade, who were equally eager to second the designs of their adventurous commander, whether by land or by sea. He drew these up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships, which were now equally overwhelmed, by the incessant direct fire from the garrison, and by that just at hand, raking the whole extent of their line, from the gun-boats. The scene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats dared no longer to approach; and were compelled to the hard necessity of abandoning their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity; and one in particular with fourscore men on board, who were all drowned, excepting an officer and twelve men who, having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison. The daylight now appearing, two Spanish feluccas, which had not escaped with the others, attempted to get out of the danger; but a shot from a gun-boat having killed several men on board one of them, they were both glad to surrender.

It seemed, that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the opening of daylight disclosed a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for pity and help; others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal, though less dreadful danger, from the opposite element. Even those in the ships where the fire had yet made a less progress, expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair, and were no less urgent in imploring assistance.

The generous humanity of the victors now, at least, equalled their extraordinary preceding exertions of valour, and was to them far more glorious. Nor were the exertions of humanity by any means attended with less danger, nor with circumstances less terrible in the appearance, than those of active hostility. The honour and danger, however, in this instance, lay entirely with the marine brigade, and with their intrepid commander. The firing both from the garrison and gun-boats instantly ceased, upon the first appearance of the dismal spectacle presented by the morning light; and every danger was encountered, in the endeavours to rescue the distressed enemy from surrounding destruction. In these efforts, the boats were equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became to a certain degree heated. It was indeed a noble exertion; and a more striking instance of the ardour and boldness with which it was supported needs not to be given, than that of an officer and twenty-nine private men, all severely, and some most dreadfully wounded, who were dragged out from among the slain in the holds of the burning ships, and most of whom recovered in the hospital at Gibraltar.

In these extraordinary efforts to save an enemy from perishing, though the most astonishing intrepidity was shown by all the officers and men, yet their gallant commander was peculiarly distinguished; and his life was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. Besides his being the first to rush on board the burning vessels, and to set the example of dragging with his own hands the terrified victims from the midst of the flames, his pinnace being close to one of the largest ships when she blew up, the wreck was spread all round to a vast extent, and every object being for a considerable time buried in a thick cloud of smoke, General Elliot and the garrison suffered the most poignant anguish and distress, considering the fate of their brave and generous friend, and of his bold companions, as inevitable. Indeed, their escape was little less than miraculous, though not quite complete; for the cockswain and some of the crew were killed, others wounded; and a large hole struck, by the falling timber, through the bottom of the pinnace; which

was only saved for the instant from going to the bottom, by the seamen stuffing the hole with their jackets, and by that means keeping her above water until other boats arrived to her assistance. Another gun-boat was sunk at the same instant, and a third so much damaged as to be with difficulty saved. Something near or about four hundred men were saved, by these exertions, from inevitable destruction; and it may be truly said (and highly to the honour of our national character), that the exercise of humanity to an enemy, under such circumstances of immediate action and impending peril, was never yet displayed with greater lustre than upon this occasion.

It was highly fortunate that much the greater part of the troops and seamen on board the ships had been removed, before the effective and admirably directed attack made by Captain Curtis with the gun-boats could have been attempted. Numbers, however, perished; and it is supposed, at a very moderate estimate, that the enemy could not have lost less than fifteen hundred men, including the prisoners and wounded, in the attack by sea. Admiral Don Moreno left his flag flying, when he abandoned his ship, in which state it continued, until it was consumed or blown up with the vessel. Eight more of the ships blew up successively, with dreadful explosions, in the course of the day. The tenth was burnt by the English, when they found she could not be brought off.

It does not appear that the Spanish gun and mortar-boats took any great share in this attack. They were intended to flank the English batteries, while they were attacked directly in front by the ships, and to throw their fire in such directions as it was thought, besides increasing the general confusion and disorder, would render it impossible for the men to stand to their guns. It seems probable that their spirit of adventure sank, under the dreadful fire from the garrison. The Spanish accounts only mention, that the rising of the wind, and a swell of the sea, prevented their producing the expected effect. Only two of the bomb ketches came forward; but these continued to throw shells without intermission into the fortress, during the whole day and night of the attack. Nor did the fleet perform the services which were expected or threatened, by making attacks on all practicable parts of the fortress, and thereby causing at least a diversion,

in favour of the battering ships. This failure has been attributed to an unfavourable wind.

The loss sustained by the enemy, under the astonishing fire which the garrison continued to throw upon the isthmus during the whole time of attack, cannot be ascertained; their own various and contradictory accounts being so evidently calculated to depreciate their loss both by sea and land, that the list of killed and wounded officers and of prisoners, which could not be concealed, seems almost necessary to their acknowledging that any was sustained. A letter from a French officer, dated on the evening of the 8th, giving an account of the attack upon the works on that day by the garrison, which was published in the foreign gazettes, contains the following pathetic passage, which may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar or greater fire on the 13th; viz.—“The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the sight and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes a man shudder; and I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this instant, leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind.”

The loss on the side of the garrison was less than could have been conceived, and was nearly confined to the artillery corps, and to the marine brigade. A few brave officers and men lost their lives, and a much greater number were wounded. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to sixty-five only; but the wounded were no less than three hundred and eighty-eight. Of commissioned officers, twelve were in that time wounded, of whom a captain and a lieutenant died. Nor was the damage done to the works so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension; or at all to hold any proportion with the violence of the attacks, and the excessive weight of fire they sustained.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory obtained by a comparatively handful of brave men, over the combined efforts and united powers, by sea and by land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who, sparing no expense, labour, or exertion of art, for the

attainment of a favourite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparations,—a victory which has shed a signal blaze of glory over the whole garrison, but which cannot fail particularly to immortalize the name of General Elliot, and to hand down to posterity, with distinguished honour, those of Lieutenant-general Boyd, and the other principal officers.

READING LXXXV.

ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III., KING OF SWEDEN,
BY ANKARSTRÖM.

1792.

CATHERINE II., of Russia, had long marked, with an attentive eye, the progress of the French revolution; and had stimulated Gustavus III., the king of Sweden, to take an open part against it. Gustavus, who possessed the most unbounded ardour for military glory, and felt a real commiseration for the fate of the unhappy Louis, entered with avidity into the scheme. Early in the summer of 1791, some plan of this description seems to have been devised between the two monarchs, but was postponed for further consideration, and probably from a hope of additional assistance during the remainder of the year. Spain, however, was said to have been considered as a party to the project. The following was the outline of the plan:—Gustavus, at the head of thirty-six thousand Swedes and Russians, was to have landed as near as possible to Paris, for the purpose of marching directly to that capital, and of thus creating a diversion, while the main armies of the other powers in alliance, penetrated the French frontiers; or, at least, with the design of seizing some important sea-port, and of waiting there the issue of a negotiation which was to be set on foot with the leaders of the French revolution. Besides the co-operation of her troops, Spain was expected to furnish, for the expenses of the expedition, a considerable sum of money.

But the acceptance of the constitution, by the king of

France, which occurred about this time, appeared to give a new turn to the affairs of that country. Spain began to recede from her original promises of assistance, and became principally studious of the preservation of peace.

In spite, however, of every obstacle, Gustavus persevered in his design; but, before his intended departure from his kingdom, he convened a diet for the purpose of re-establishing a more perfect order in his finances, which had been deranged by the late war. The diet assembled, and after having proceeded in the business of its meeting, with the utmost tranquillity, passing many resolutions that strengthened the royal prerogative, peaceably terminated its sittings.

The moment for his embarking on his long projected enterprise seemed now fast approaching, and every domestic arrangement, previously to his departure, was finally adjusted, when an unexpected catastrophe took place, which cut him off in the midst of his dreams of glory, and hurried him to an untimely grave. Among the order of the nobility he had many daring and inveterate enemies, who had become so in consequence of the recent revolution, which had deprived them of their power; these secretly wished for an opportunity to revenge themselves on their too popular sovereign. The diet, which had lately met, by its firm and full adherence to the royal cause, contributed to augment the hatred of his enemies, and rouse them to some immediate and desperate act of vengeance. A person named Ankarström, who was a gentleman by birth, and had been an officer in the guards, offered himself as a ready instrument for their bloody purpose. Exclusive of what he termed public motives for his conduct, this man professed to feel a private and personal resentment against the king, on account of a former prosecution for high treason.

The conspirators, among whom were some persons of high rank, formed several projects to effect this design, and made several attempts without success. Suspicions of some lurking treason began to be entertained; reports of plots and conspiracies alarmed the public mind; and the king was perpetually cautioned by his friends not to expose his person unnecessarily. To every request of this kind he unfortunately turned a deaf ear, remarking,

"That were he to listen to every idle rumour of plots, he should be afraid of drinking even a glass of water."

On the 16th of March, while supping with some persons of his household, before he went to a masquerade at the opera-house, he received an anonymous letter, which, although written in hostile language, advised him not to attend the masquerade that evening, as a conspiracy was formed for his assassination. Always confident and intrepid, he showed the letter to some of his friends then present, treated its contents with ridicule, and persisted, in spite of their earnest entreaties to the contrary, in his original intention of visiting the opera-house. He accordingly proceeded to the fatal spot, entering the room, arm-in-arm, with the Baron de Essen, his master of the horse; but had scarcely taken two or three turns there, before he suddenly found himself surrounded by a crowd, violently pressing upon him, and was shot by a person behind him in the left side. A cry of fire was instantly raised, and the confusion in the assembly became indescribable. Gustavus was not killed on the spot; but, falling on a bench near him, immediately called out for all the doors to be shut, and every person to be unmasked. He was afterwards led into an adjoining apartment. On the floor of the room were found a pistol and dagger, or rather a knife of a peculiar construction, both of which the assassin was supposed to have dropped after the perpetration of the horrid deed. Every person, as he left the room, was compelled to unmask, and give in his name. Ankarstrøm was the last person who left it; yet he left it without being discovered. He afterwards confessed that he had intended to have despatched the king, after the discharge of the pistol, with his dagger; but his hand trembling as he raised it, he involuntarily dropped it on the floor.

On the following morning, the arms which had been found were submitted to public examination, and were recognised by a gunsmith and cutler of the city; the former deposing that he had repaired the identical pistol for Captain Ankarstrøm, and the latter, that he had made the dagger, at the request of the same person. Upon these grounds, orders were issued for the immediate apprehension of Ankarstrøm, who, when the commander of the guards that were come to secure his person acquainted

him with his errand, surrendered his person, acknowledged himself guilty, and expressed his regret at not having succeeded to kill the king on the spot; to use his own words, "In liberating the world and his country from such a monster and tyrant." This free avowal being reported to the then sitting regency, further orders were given for the immediate inquest into this affair, and for the trial of Ankarstrøm, who, with others likewise apprehended upon suspicion, grounded on the former's confession, of being more or less concerned in this regicide, were brought before the high court of judicature; which court, on proceeding to the examination of Ankarstrøm, received the following, and without the least compulsion delivered confession, viz.—That he, Ankarstrøm and Count Horn, after having conceived and established a kind of reciprocal friendship and confidence, had to one another disclosed their minds and sentiments respecting the political situation of the kingdom, with which they were both discontented; and agreed that an assassination of the king was the only means and expedient for effecting a change in the present government:—That Ankarstrøm, prompted by personal revenge against the king, for an indictment of *crimen læsæ majestatis* (the crime of high treason) carried on, on behalf of the crown, against him, and in consequence of which he, the last year, had been condemned to twenty years' imprisonment, had offered himself to serve as an instrument for that purpose:—That after this, Horn and his associate conceived a plan for carrying off the king by force, during the night, when sleeping at his villa of Haga; but finding it too well guarded, and consequently too dangerous an enterprise, they entirely relinquished this scheme:—That Count Ribbing, who, by his friend Count Horn, was informed not only of all that had preceded, but likewise of Ankarstrøm's intention to assassinate the king, acceded to this association, and fixed a meeting with these two persons at the estate of Horn, situated at a small distance from Stockholm, called Hufvudstadt, where they agreed and resolved as follows:—That the king should be assassinated by Ankarstrøm, either with pistols or a dagger, at an opportunity when the murderer could find means to hide himself in a great crowd; and, for this reason, the play or the masquerade was chosen in preference to any other.

Agreeably to this, Horn and Ankarstrøm went to the play the 16th of January, where they had taken places near the box of the king, in order that the murderer (who was provided with two loaded pistols) might find an easy opportunity to fire at the king when he came through the covered walk, which he generally did when going to the play; and that Ankarstrøm, after having fired, might run down the back stairs and escape. But the king not going that evening through the above-mentioned walk to the play, Ankarstrøm found himself thwarted in his design; he resolved, therefore, to avail himself of the opportunity of the next play, which was to be given two days after, but was this time, by the same event as before, frustrated in his attempt.

READING LXXXVI.

ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III., KING OF SWEDEN,
BY ANKARSTRØM (CONCLUDED).

1792.

BAFFLED in their sanguine expectations, the conspirators met again, and agreed to try the next opportunity, which was a masquerade, to be given the night between the 19th and 20th of January, where Ankarstrøm went; but not finding a sufficient crowd of people there, he again deferred the execution of his criminal attempt. The following day Ankarstrøm and Ribbing set out for the diet at Gefle, where the former, intending to commit the murder, always carried a pair of loaded pistols about him, in hopes to meet the king, as he frequently did walking incognito. After the diet they returned to Stockholm, and it was again determined to make another trial on the 2nd of March, when another masquerade was to be given; but, by the same reasons as at the preceding, the assassin was prevented from the gratification of his purpose. A third masquerade, which was to have been given on the 9th, was put off till the 16th, on account of the rigour of the season during these days. Previously to the masquerade announced for the 16th, the conspirators assembled at

the chateau of Count Horn, where Count Ribbing imparted to them, that Liljehorn, lieutenant-colonel in the army, and major in the king's guards, had been informed by him of the whole, and that he had promised that the regiment under his command, as well as the battalions of artillery then at Stockholm, and the regiment of the late queen-dowager, should assist, in case a revolution could be brought about:—that the Count Ribbing also had imparted this secret to Major-general Pechlin, who had likewise promised his assistance in bringing about the intended revolution after the king's death. For these reasons, and that of fear, in particular, that the secret now imparted to so many might be betrayed, Count Ribbing further urged the necessity of the king's speedy assassination, in which they all agreed. The next day they met at Count Ribbing's lodgings, where they mentioned to one another the dresses each of them was to wear at the masquerade; and Ribbing promised to engage as many as he could get there, for the sake of enlarging the crowd. Pechlin, whom they met afterwards, promised the same.

Every measure was now taken that the attempt should not fail. Ankarstrøm, accompanied by Horn, went home to load his pistols (according to his own confession) with one round ball, one square ditto, eleven small shot, and seven nails. This being done, they both dressed and went together to the opera-house, the former armed with the above-mentioned pistols and dagger. The king had not then arrived, but entered the saloon some time after, holding his grand equerry, Baron Essen, by the arm, and walked forwards to the middle of the theatre, where he stopped. Ankarstrøm, observing when the king entered the room, slid between him and his company, and followed him at a small distance, and as soon as the king had stopped chose his station behind a scene, towards which the king turned his back, and discharged one of his pistols so near that the end of it touched the king's domino (*a masquerade cloak*). Having fired his pistol, and seeing that the monarch did not fall from the shot, Ankarstrøm drew his dagger, in order to stab the king, but was seized with a kind of trembling, which made him drop not only the pistol but also the dagger on the ground, after which he walked away to conceal himself amongst the crowd, crying that a fire was broke out, in which he was joined by several

voices. All now being performed, he sought for an opportunity to rid himself of the other pistol (the contents of which were intended for himself, but his courage failed him) without being perceived. In this he also succeeded before the general search came on; for as soon as the king was wounded, the doors were shut, so that nobody could get away, and everybody was obliged to unmask and to be searched, and to write his name before he went out. Ankarstrøm, after having undergone this ceremony, went quietly home, where he stayed the next morning, till he was taken into custody. After having, without any compunction soever, confessed his crime, and being by several convincing proofs found guilty, he was condemned to the highest and most ignominious punishment of his country—that of standing on the pillory for three days in three different squares, and to be publicly flogged by the scavenger's servant in every square, and after that to be carried out of the town, to have his right hand cut off by the scavenger, and, lastly, to be beheaded by the common executioner, and his body divided into four parts, put upon wheels, to remain till it was destroyed—the right hand to be put upon one wheel by itself.

As to the other persons, more or less concerned in the above-mentioned regicide, their names were—Bjeliki, baron; Ehrensward, baron; Hartmanstorff, major in the artillery; Jacob Von Engestrom, counsellor of the chancery; his brother, Jean Von Engestrom; and several others of less note.

Baron Bjeliki took poison upon seeing the guards arrive to arrest him, and died a short time after; Horn hanged himself when under arrest, and another poisoned himself.

Ankarstrøm, on the first day of his standing in the pillory, harangued the people, and bore the whipping with great fortitude. The succeeding whippings affected him very much. The clergyman who attended him declared that he expressed the deepest contrition for the horrible crime he had committed, and felt the keenest pangs of remorse, imploring the pardon of the sovereign and of the state, and deprecating the vengeance of the Almighty, which he had so justly incurred by the violation of one of the most sacred laws of God and of man.

The wound which the king received was not immediately declared likely to prove fatal. Although his sufferings from it must have been excruciating in the extreme, he bore them with unexampled courage and resignation. He summoned his friends around him, and even those who from their opposition to his measures had been ranked among his enemies; the latter of whom he addressed with that true magnanimity for which he was so remarkably distinguished. "Now," said he to them, "am I indeed consoled for my misfortune, since it again brings round me my old friends." For several days together he endured the torment of his wound with the greatest apparent tranquillity, without the utterance of a groan or a murmur. The end, however, of his sufferings at length arrived. On the 28th a mortification evidently took place; and, on the following morning, sensible of his danger, he confessed himself, according to the usage of his church, to his high almoner, with a sincere but calm and unostentatious devotion; after which, he observed to him:—"I doubt whether, in the eyes of my Maker, I have any great merit, but, at least, I have the consolation to reflect that, wilfully, I never injured any person." Having performed this solemn act of religion, it was his desire to receive the sacraments, and take leave of his queen, who had not been admitted to him while his fate remained undecided. The better to enable his mind to support with dignity and fortitude the discharge of these important and affecting duties, he prepared to take some repose, when immediately, after having bid adieu to the noblemen in waiting, he expired.

Previously to his death, he settled the regency of the kingdom, during the minority of his son; appointing his brother, the duke of Sudarmania, regent. To his brother he made it his dying request, that all the conspirators might be pardoned; and was with difficulty persuaded even to except the assassin himself from this liberal but undeserved act of clemency.

Thus miserably perished, in the forty-sixth year of his age, the heroic Gustavus III. of Sweden. After having nobly braved death in all its most hideous forms, both by sea and land, in a novel species of warfare, peculiarly marked by ferocity and blood; after having, by the most extraordinary exertions of courage and enterprise, though

left alone and shamefully deserted by his allies, extorted a safe and honourable peace from his dangerous and superior enemy ; after having retrieved and adorned with new glory, the ancient martial character and honour of his country ; after all these exploits, when returned home, crowned with laurels, and in the arms of peace, in the centre of his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, friends and courtiers, preparing, with a generous contempt of repeated warnings, to relax in those pleasures which he had well earned by his toils, he was destined to experience the hard fortune of falling by the vile hand of a traitorous assassin.

READING LXXXVII.

FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVI. TO VARENNES, AND HIS
RE-CAPTURE.

1792.

THE situation of Louis XVI. had long been such, that various plans were formed at different times to extricate him from it ; but whether he was unwilling to place himself at the mercy of foreigners, or whether he dreaded the ascendant which the Count d'Artois, if he should return at the head of a victorious emigration, would take in the government which he would have established, he chose rather to restore the monarchy by his own efforts. He had, in the Marquis de Bouillé, a partisan devoted and active, who equally condemned the emigration and the national assembly, and who promised him a refuge and support in his army. For some time a secret correspondence had been carried on between him and the king. Bouillé prepared everything for his reception. Under the pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, he established a camp at Montmédy ; he placed detachments upon the route the king was to follow, to serve as his escort ; and, as he must have a motive for these dispositions, he pretended that they were for protecting the military chest destined for the payment of the army. When the king had once resolved, he sought the

means of execution. All the preparations for departure were made with the profoundest secrecy; few persons were acquainted with them, and no circumstance betrayed them. Louis XVI. and his queen, on the contrary, did everything to remove suspicion; and on the 20th of June, in the night, at the moment fixed for departure, they quitted the château, one by one, in disguise. They escaped the vigilance of the guards, and met each other upon the boulevards, where a carriage being waiting for them, they instantly started on the road to Châlons and Montmédy.

The king and his family continued their journey without stopping, until they safely arrived within the limits of M. Bouillé's command; when the very precautions taken by that officer for their security, became their source of danger. Orders had been issued by him, under date of the 13th, 14th, and 15th of June, for different parties of hussars and dragoons to patrol at various places on the road from Paris, and escort two carriages which were said to be expected with treasure. The secret of the royal family being in the carriages was entrusted to the commanding officers alone, and they were to communicate it to the men, whenever they should judge it expedient. One party of hussars entered the little town of St. Menehould on the evening of the 20th; and departing the next morning towards Paris, was succeeded by a detachment of dragoons. The appearance of these troops alarmed the inhabitants. In the evening, between the hours of seven and eight, two carriages changed horses, and passed on without exciting any suspicion as to the personages who were in them; but they were scarcely gone, when some circumstances in the conduct of the commanding officer, who spoke with marked familiarity to one of the couriers attending the carriages, made the postmaster, M. Drouet, suspect some mystery; and he, in consequence, thought it his duty to inform the municipality. While the magistrates were debating on the subject, an express from Marne increased their fears; and they finally ordered M. Drouet, and another of the inhabitants named Guillaume, to follow and stop the carriages. At Clermont, the horses were ordered for Verdun, but the travellers turned off to Varennes, which was the more private road to Montmédy. Varennes not being a post

town, a relay had been there provided for the king, but unluckily at the further end of the town, and the postillions did not choose to pass the house at the entrance without baiting their horses. The king being eager to proceed, his three attendants, and even himself, offered the men a purse of a hundred louis d'or to go on; but the magnitude of the sum, which was meant to operate as a temptation, only gave an alarm; a dispute ensued; in the midst of which arrived M. Drouet and his companion. Their first care was to prevent the further progress of the carriages; and opportunely for their purpose, they found near the town bridge, over which the road lay, a cart loaded with furniture; this they overturned, so as completely to obstruct the way. Having secured this point, they called up the principal magistrates, the commandant of the national guards, and other persons in civil and military authority, who here, as at St. Menehould, had their suspicions excited by the mysterious movements of the troops during the two preceding days; the king having been, in truth, expected by M. Bouillé one day sooner. The passport of the travellers was then demanded and produced. Some thought it sufficient; others said it ought to have been signed by the president of the national assembly as well as by the king. Till it could be regularly examined at the town-hall, M. Sausse, the procureur (*common councilman*) of the commune, a tallow-chandler by trade, invited the travellers into his house. To avoid observation they accepted the offer. A loaf, some cheese, and a bottle of Burgundy were placed before them. Whether the king's appetite was more easy to please from long abstinence (for since his departure from Paris he had taken no refreshment but a morsel of bread, and two or three glasses of champagne, which they had brought with them in the carriage), or whether he merely wished to ingratiate himself with his host, he pronounced the wine to be some of the best he had ever tasted.

He then entered into familiar conversation on the circumstances, office, and views of M. Sausse, the general state of the town, and the sentiments of the adjacent country. Upon hearing that the mayor was gone to the national assembly, he is said, for the first time, to have betrayed some emotion. He asked if there was any club

at Varennes, and being told there was not, "So much the better," rejoined he; "these vile clubs have ruined France." During the whole discourse the queen said very little: the king showed much restless expectation, and, after some time, inquired with impatience about the different ways of pursuing his journey. Meanwhile M. Sausse endeavoured to amuse and detain his guests, but occasionally leaving the room, under pretence of appeasing the tumult at the door, or of giving orders to have the bridge cleared, sent the most pressing messages to the neighbouring districts for assistance.

A detachment of sixty hussars had been posted by M. Bouillé at Varennes, under the command of M. Rodwell, a lieutenant. This young man was not entrusted with the secret. He supposed only that he was to escort a military chest. In consequence he did not attempt to form his hussars, when the alarm was first given of some travellers having been stopped and detained; and the soldiers, mingling with the inhabitants of the town, caught the feelings and passions of the multitude. M. Raigecourt, and the youngest son of M. Bouillé, who had been sent that morning to provide for the king's safety, on hearing the tumult, hastened towards the house of the commandant, but found the street barricadoed. They had only time to mount their horses and rush through the armed crowds that opposed them to inform the general of the event. A second detachment of forty hussars belonging to the same regiment, now arrived from Pont Sommeville, under the command of M. Boudat, and with them M. Goglas and another officer of rank, both of whom had been long entrusted with the whole plan. They had been stationed at Pont Sommeville, for the purpose of giving such orders as might be necessary to the detachments at the different posts; and that they might have everything in readiness, they were to be made acquainted with the approach of the royal family by a courier despatched before with intelligence. Some accident, however, having happened to one of the royal carriages near Châlons, after waiting two hours beyond the appointed time, they marched the troops back towards Montmédy, and endeavouring, by a cross road, to avoid St. Menehould, lost their way, so as not to arrive at Varennes till almost an hour after the king. At the

entrance of the town, they were met by the national guards, with some cannon, and were obliged to dismount. M. Boudet then demanded to see the party of his regiment posted in the town. M. Rodwell came alone to him to receive his orders; and being told what was the quality of the travellers, was directed to do everything for their defence and relief; instead of which, he set off to inform the general at Stenay, leaving the command of his men to one of the quartermasters, who was very ill affected to the royal cause. Notwithstanding this loss of support from their comrades, the detachment from Pont Sommeville reached the house where the royal travellers were detained; and M. Goglas, addressing himself to M. Sausse, who still affected not to know the rank of his guests, desired admittance, which was granted. The king told him to remain quiet, refusing to owe his deliverance to force. M. Goglas then went out, and to try whether his men had been corrupted in his absence, asked them if they were for the king or the nation? upon which they cried out unanimously, "For the nation; for that we are, and ever will be." Immediately one of the national guards put himself at their head and was received as their commander.

At length, when M. Sausse perceived that a sufficient force was collected to secure his guests against a rescue, and from all that had passed no longer doubted of their quality, he resolved to inform them that they must return to Paris. After walking up and down the room two or three times with the king, he suddenly pointed to a picture, and said, "Sire, that is your picture." "Yes," cried Louis, finding all further concealment vain. "I am your king. Surrounded in the capital with daggers and bayonets, I am come to my faithful subjects of the provinces, in quest of that happiness and peace which every one of you enjoys. I and my family could not remain in Paris without danger of being murdered." He added many affecting entreaties and liberal promises; while the queen, taking the Dauphin in her arms, adjured M. Sausse, in the most pathetic manner, to save the king and the future hope of the nation. The procureur, however, remained inexorable, and even expressed himself with warmth. A man of the name of Chemin, sent from the magistrates of Clermont, now arrived, and insulted

the king with some sharp and indecent remonstrances, but Louis only told him he was an indiscreet man. Upon another (M. Nutal, formerly in the service of the Prince of Condé), who was beginning an impertinent harangue to him, he turned his back with contempt. At length he assumed a firm tone, and asserted his right of passing wherever he pleased within the kingdom; declaring that he meant only to go to Montmédy; and inviting the municipal officers, with the national guards of Varennes, to accompany him thither. In answer, the decree, fixing his residence within twenty leagues of the national assembly, was shown to him. "No," said he, indignantly, "that decree I never sanctioned."

M. Robœuf, an aide-de-camp of M. La Fayette, arriving about this period with the orders of the National Assembly, the king immediately knew him. "So then," he exclaimed, "M. La Fayette has made me his prisoner a second time, that he may establish his republic. He repeated the assurances which he had before given, of his not having had any intention to quit France; his destination, he insisted, was to Montmédy: he consented, however, to return."

READING LXXXVIII.

FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVI. TO VARENNES, AND HIS
RE-CAPTURE (CONCLUDED).

1792.

FROM the moment that the king had avowed himself, the alarm-bell had been ringing; national guards and armed peasants came flocking from all the neighbouring towns and villages. The morning was wasting, and some fresh detachments of cavalry appeared in the neighbourhood; one of which, advancing from the town of Dun, had in vain attempted to force a passage. The commanding officer, M. Deslong, then demanded leave to see the king, and to return unmolested. Being permitted, he asked the orders of his sovereign, and was answered, that he could give no orders, he was a prisoner. "I fear," con-

tinued Louis, "M. Bouillé can do me no service, but I know he will do whatever he can;" and being a second time asked for his orders, he repeated, "I am a prisoner; I can give no orders." After this interview, it was resolved immediately to hasten the king's departure; he was informed, about eight o'clock, that the carriages were ready to convey him and his family back to the capital. They submitted to their fortune; while, to leave them no doubt of their condition, the three gentlemen who had attended them in the habit of couriers, were placed on the coach-box, full in view, with their arms pinioned behind their backs. The escort perpetually increased as they passed along, so as to bid defiance to the detachments of cavalry. M. Bouillé himself, the moment that he heard of the arrest at Varennes, ordered out the royal German regiment under arms between four and five o'clock in the morning; but from different circumstances, their march was delayed nearly an hour. Three miles beyond Stenay, the general commanded the troops to halt; told them what had happened; that the king intended to come to Montmédy, and had chosen them for his body guard; asked if they would follow him; and all cheerfully answering that they would, distributed among them four hundred louis d'or. When he drew near to Varennes, he met with M. Deslong, who related to him his conversation with the king, and his subsequent miscarriage in trying to find a ford in the river. M. Bouillé, notwithstanding, endeavoured again, in different places, to pass the river, but without success. He saw no hope of succouring his sovereign. He perceived a force, much superior to his own, collecting from every quarter. He marched back his regiment, and, with his principal officers, fled from France.

The whole of that day at Paris was spent in listening to various reports, which were contradicted as fast as they were circulated, of the royal family having been stopped in their flight. The assembly, after despatching such common business as was before them, employed themselves in supplying whatever measures yet seemed to be wanting to the exigency of their situation. Particularly, they passed a new oath, to be taken by military men, omitting all mention of the king, and binding the army to defend the constitution against all enemies, domestic

as well as foreign, and to obey no orders but those of the assembly. They also took into consideration the draught of an address to the French people, which had been prepared by the committee appointed to answer the royal declaration. It was not above one-third as long as the paper to which it was opposed. It omitted all notice of many principal facts, put in issue by the king, especially the insults and outrages for ever heaped upon him and his family; and it met his observations on the nature of the government, and the usurpation of all power by the committees of the assembly, and the popular societies, not with argument, but rhetorical turns of sarcasm and sophistry, and sometimes with plain misrepresentation. What most deserved praise, and actually received it from Robespierre, was the care taken to impute nothing criminal directly to the person of the king, and even to introduce some conciliatory expressions of tenderness towards him. By a comparison of the cases, thus respectively on one side and the other, submitted to the world and posterity, the king and the nation must ultimately be judged.

After this address had been decreed, the assembly paused for an hour or two, when a cry resounded through the hall, "He is taken! he is taken!" M. Maugin, a surgeon of Varennes, appeared at the bar, with letters from the magistrates of that town; from St. Menehould, and from the administration of the district of Clermont and of Marne. The assembly immediately named three commissioners—M. La Tour Maubourg, M. Barnave, and M. Petion; one from each of the principal parties that formed the majority. Their charge was to protect the royal family, and, especially, to show and maintain the respect due to the royal dignity; to which end they had full powers given them over the whole military force of France.

The next day the national guards of Paris filed through the hall, holding up their right hands, and swearing, as they passed, to the words of the new oath; after whom followed a long train of volunteers, from the lowest of the populace, in their ordinary dresses, some with muskets, and some with pikes, filling the air with republican cries, while the band of the national guards, seated in the body of the assembly, was playing revolutionary tunes. The barriers of Paris, which had just been shut, were now

again thrown open, and travelling was once more free through all the interior of the kingdom, except within fifteen miles of the frontiers. A decree was also passed, which, after expressing much satisfaction at the tranquillity hitherto preserved in the capital, authorized the department, the municipality, and the commander-in-chief, to take whatever measures they might think fit for the safety of the royal person and family.

Four days were the king and his family on the road, exposed personally to all manner of insults, from the harangues of the magistrates, as they proceeded through every village, and from the cries of the armed multitude that surrounded the carriages. But they were doomed to witness a scene more afflicting to their feelings than any words. The Marquis Dampierre, learning that they were passing near his estate, mounted his horse, pierced through the crowd, approached the carriages, alighted, bowed, and respectfully kissed the hand of the captive sovereign, in which attitude he received in his body three musket balls, discharged at him from behind. He fell, and the king in vain stretched out to him the hand which he had just kissed; the wheels of the carriage went over him, and his last breath was uttered in a cry of loyalty.

When the three commissioners met the royal family near Epernay, the king seemed touched with the attention and respect expressed in the decree of the assembly. He made a short answer, and declared, as he did on every occasion, that he never meant to quit the kingdom. From that period till his arrival in the neighbourhood of Paris, the journey was a little more supportable; especially as from Dormans, where they slept that night, the commissioners, alarmed by increasing apprehensions of a rescue, quickened their motions, sent forward to have relays of horses ready, and took with them as a guard only such armed men as were on horseback. At Bondy, on the 25th, the Parisian guards took charge of their royal prisoners, and covered over with sweat and dust, breaking out into invectives as ferocious as their countenances, they struck the three captives on the coach-box with so much terror, that, having reason to fear the most refined barbarity of torture, these unfortunate men implored death as a favour. Some chosen grenadiers, however, marching on each side, so as to cover them, and the com-

missioners being placed so as to protect the king and queen with their own persons, all arrived at Paris in safety.

As they approached the capital, the multitude that flocked out to meet them retarded their progress. It was about seven in the evening when they entered the city. All the streets were lined with an immense concourse of spectators of all ages, all sexes, observing a profound silence, with their heads covered, having been forbidden by La Fayette, on pain of corporal punishment, to show any of the accustomed marks of respect. La Fayette himself rode before the king, commanding all to be covered. Behind the two carriages was seen an open chariot, adorned with laurels, in which the national guard, who first seized the royal family at Varennes, was drawn in triumph. When the king and the queen arrived at the Tuileries, and were going to alight, the populace there stationed burst into repeated shouts of "The law, the law." Instantly a tumult began around the royal carriages, and continued to thicken, till the horrible cries of blood reached the assembly, at that time deliberating on some indifferent subject; and commissioners were deputed, who happily succeeded in restoring tranquillity. The royal family entered their prison, and the iron gates were closed upon them.

Whatever could lead to any discovery was demanded from the king; the keys of his coach-seats, his pocket-books, everything: he was denied all communication with his wife, his sister, his children, and his servants, and confined under custody of the national guards, who had shown such evil dispositions towards him. Fifteen officers constantly watched in his apartment, and the door of his bed-chamber was left open during the night. The rest of the royal family were guarded in the same manner. All night long a sentinel took post in the arm-chair by the bedside of the queen, who dared not to undress herself; and at frequent intervals, the commanding officer undrew the curtains to see that she was there. At every window of her apartment, on the terrace over which it looked, was placed a soldier, and two on the outside of a door which led towards the room where her son was confined. It is said, that among those who were appointed to this duty, she recollected one man to have been a principal

actor in the horrible scenes at Versailles, in October, 1789, and that, applying to have him exchanged, she was refused that favour by M. La Fayette. But the most afflicting circumstance in the captivity of this unhappy family was the malignant art used to poison the mind of the Dauphin against his royal parents, from whom he was separated. He was taught by his guards, in ridicule of his father's misfortunes, to play at the arrest of the king. The treatment of our Charles I. to the last moment of his life, though not to be praised, was much less reprehensible. When some of the soldiers, at the instigation of their officers, cried "Justice," the multitude blessed him. He had no sentinels in his chamber. Colonel Hacker used to knock submissively at his door, nor ventured, without being ordered from within, to enter; and Colonel Tomlinson, in conducting him to the scaffold, walked by his side bareheaded.

READING LXXXIX.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN taking a retrospective view of the manners of Europe, during the eighteenth century, the two nations which most arrest attention are Russia and France.

The efforts which Peter the Great made to polish the manners of his barbarous subjects are well known. The means, however, which he adopted, were frequently but ill adapted to attain his object: that this was the case, the following anecdote will prove. Having remarked, during his travels, that the female sex softened the manners, and gave the tone to society among the civilized nations of Europe; and that the respect and deference shown to women in countries less enslaved than his own, were the origin and the scale of the urbanity by which their inhabitants were more or less distinguished, he was desirous of having parties, assemblies, and circles, in which the women might, contrary to all former custom, take a prominent part. In order, however, the better to main-

tain the due observance of the laws of politeness and etiquette, his despotic barbarity had conceived the idea of punishing any violation of them, by making the delinquent, of whichever sex, swallow a glass of brandy ; the natural consequence of which was, that the interesting party frequently broke up in a state of beastly intoxication. But, notwithstanding, in proportion as Russia became politically and commercially connected with France, Germany, and England, the manners of those nations were gradually introduced among the subjects of the czar, with beneficial effect.

While in the instance of Russia is seen a nation rising in the scale of politeness and civilization, it is lamentable to contemplate the change which took place in France about the same period, a change thus powerfully described by the eloquent Mr. Burke :—"Manners are of more importance than laws. In a great measure, the laws depend upon them. The law touches us but here and there, but now and then. Manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us, by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible operation, like that of the air we breathe in. According to their quality they aid morals, they supply them, or they totally destroy them. Of this the new French legislators were aware ; therefore, with the same method and under the same authority, they settled a system of manners the most licentious, prostitute, and abandoned ; and, at the same time, the most coarse, rude, savage, and ferocious. Nothing in the revolution—no, not a phrase or a gesture, not the fashion of a hat or a shoe, was left to accident. All was the result of design ; all was matter of institution. No mechanical means could be devised in favour of this incredible system of wickedness and vice, that has not been employed. The noblest passions, the love of glory, the love of country, were debauched into means of its preservation, and its propagation. All sorts of shows and exhibitions, calculated to inflame and vitiate the imagination, and pervert the moral sense, have been contrived. They have sometimes brought forth five or six hundred drunken women, calling at the bar of the assembly for the blood of their own children, as being royalists or constitutionalists. Sometimes they have got a body of wretches, calling themselves fathers, to demand

the murder of their sons ; boasting that Rome had but one Brutus, but that they could show five hundred. There were instances in which they inverted and retaliated the impiety, and produced sons who called for the execution of their parents."

With respect to our own country, a reference to the pages of the "Spectator" will give the most correct view of the manners of the English during the reign of queen Anne ; and as, fortunately, there is still taste enough remaining for that admirable work to be perused, it will be unnecessary to insist farther upon this topic.

That most bigoted and impolitic act of Louis XIV., the revocation of the edict of Nantes, caused immense numbers of French Protestants to seek an asylum in England, Holland, and other countries, where their religious principles might be enjoyed without molestation. They met with a hearty welcome in England, into which they introduced various manufactures, as of hats, silk, and linen ; the importation of which articles from France was soon after prohibited. The culture of raw flax was encouraged ; raw silk was imported from Italy and China ; beaver skins were procured from Hudson's Bay, where settlements had been formed, and where every description of furs was found in the greatest plenty and of the best quality.

From her colonies in North America, England procured timber, masts, and yards, tobacco, rice, tar, pitch, and turpentine. The rich produce of the West Indian islands, all transported in ships belonging to the mother country, afforded employment to a great number of seamen ; while the call for clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, and luxuries of every description, by giving an impetus to trade, promoted the most active intercourse, and produced reciprocal prosperity.

The vast power of the East India Company having awakened the jealousy of the court, it became a matter of consideration with the government whether its territories should not, from prudential motives, be taken under the jurisdiction of the crown. The affair, however, was compromised, upon consideration of the company paying to the state the annual sum of £400,000. In 1784, the board of control was appointed. To give some idea of the progress of the trade, it will be sufficient to state, that the annual sale of tea, piece-goods, saltpetre, spices, drugs,

and other articles imported from the East, which, for sixteen years prior to 1757, had scarcely exceeded the average of two millions sterling, amounted in 1805-6 to nine millions, the private trade being included.

In the year 1763 the balance of trade was highly favourable to this country; for the importations only amounted, in official value, to £12,568,927, while the exports exceeded £15,578,900. In 1800 the former branch rose to thirty millions and a half, and the latter to forty-three millions.

The year 1744 was rendered remarkable by the return of Commodore Anson from a voyage which had occupied no less time than three years and nine months, and in which he circumnavigated the globe. After undergoing innumerable hardships, privations, and dangers, and seeing many of his brave sailors perish by the scurvy, he took the *Acapulco* galleon, which contained treasure, goods, and different effects, to the value of £313,000. Having proceeded to Canton with this valuable prize, and other costly spoils, he returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, sailed, in 1773, to the northwards with the intention of discovering, if possible, either a north-east or north-west passage to India; his progress was, however, stopped when he reached $81\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude, by immense icebergs and fields of ice.

Not less than four voyages round the world were undertaken during the reign of George III. between the years 1764 and 1771. The first by Commodore Byron, the second by Wallis, the third by Cartaret, and the fourth by Cook.

In 1788, Charles Edward Stuart, more commonly known by the appellation of the Pretender, died at Rome. He was sixty-seven years of age, and was succeeded in his supposed claim by his brother, Cardinal York.

The French revolution broke out on the 14th of July, 1789.

SPECIMENS OF THE POETRY OF THE 18th CENTURY.

SWIFT (B. 1667—D. 1745).

TWELVE ARTICLES.

- I. LEST it may more quarrels breed,
I will never hear you read.
- II. By disputing, I will never,
To convince you, once endeavour.
- III. When a paradox you stick to,
I will never contradict you.
- IV. When I talk and you are heedless,
I will show no anger needless.
- V. When your speeches are absurd,
I will ne'er object a word.
- VI. When you, furious, argue wrong,
I will grieve and hold my tongue.
- VII. Not a jest or humorous story
Will I ever tell before ye,
To be chidden for explaining
When you quite mistake the meaning.
- VIII. Never more will I suppose
You can taste my verse or prose.
- IX. You no more at me shall fret,
While I teach and you forget.
- X. You shall never hear me thunder,
When you blunder on and blunder.
- XI. Show you poverty of spirit,
And in dress place all your merit ;
Give yourself ten thousand airs,
That with me shall break no squares.
- XII. Never will I give advice
Till you please to ask me thrice ;
Which if you in scorn reject,
'Twill be just as I expect :
Thus we both shall have our ends,
And continue special friends.

YOUNG (B. 1679—D. 1765).

DEATH.

Why start at Death? Where is he? Death arrived,
 Is past; not come, or gone; he's never here.
 Ere hope, sensation fails. Black-boding man
 Receives, not suffers, Death's tremendous blow.
 The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave;
 The deep, damp vault, the darkness, and the worm;
 These are the bugbears of a winter's eve,
 The terrors of the living, not the dead;
 Imagination's fool and Error's wretch,
 Man, makes a death which Nature never made,
 Then on the point of his own fancy falls,
 And feels a thousand deaths in fearing one.

RELIGION.

Religion's all. Descending from the skies
 To wretched man, the goddess in her left,
 Holds out this world, and in her right, the next.
 Religion! the sole voucher man is man;
 Supporter sole of man, above himself;
 E'en in this night of frailty, change, and death,
 She gives the soul a soul that acts a god.
 Religion! providence! an after state!
 Here is firm footing; here is solid rock;
 This can support us: all is sea besides;
 Sinks under us; bestorms, and then devours.
 His hand the good man fastens on the skies,
 And bids earth roll, nor feels her idle whirl.

POPE (B. 1688—D. 1744).

HAPPY IGNORANCE.

Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate,—
 All but the page prescribed, their present state;
 From brutes what men, from men what angels know,
 Or who could suffer being here below?
 The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
 Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
 Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food,
 And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.
 Oh, blindness to the future, kindly given,
 That each may fill the circle marked by Heaven,

Who sees, with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurl'd,
And now, a bubble burst, and now, a world.

DIVINE AND HUMAN LOVE.

God loves from whole to parts ; but human soul
Must rise from individual to the whole.
Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake :
The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds ;
Another still, and still another spreads :
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will entwine,
His country next, and next all human race.
Wide and more wide, the o'erflowings of the mind
Take every creature in, of every kind ;
Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty bless'd,
And Heaven beholds its image in his breast.

THOMSON (B. 1700—D. 1748).

ODE.

Tell me, thou soul of her I love,
Ah ! tell me, whither art thou fled,
To what delightful world above,
Appointed for the happy dead ?

Or dost thou, free, at pleasure roam,
And, sometimes, share thy lover's woe ?
Where, void of thee, his cheerless home
Can now, alas ! no comfort know.

Oh ! if thou hover round my walk,
While, under every well known tree,
I to thy fancied shadow talk,
And every tear is full of thee.

Should, then, the weary eye of grief,
Beside some sympathetic stream,
In slumber find a short relief,
Oh ! visit then my soothing dream !

GRAY (B. 1716—D. 1771).

ADVERSITY.

Daughter of Jove, relentless power,
 Thou tamer of the human breast,
 Whose iron scourge, and torturing hour,
 The bad affright, afflict the best!
 Bound in thy adamantine chain,
 The proud are taught to taste of pain,
 And purple tyrants vainly groan
 With pangs unfelt before, unpitied, and alone.

* * * * *

Oh, gently on thy suppliant's head,
 Dread goddess, lay thy chastening hand!
 Not in thy Gorgon terrors clad,
 Nor circled with the vengeful band,
 As by the impious thou art seen,
 With thundering voice, and threatening mien,
 With screaming horror's funeral cry,
 Despair, and fell disease, and ghastly poverty.

Thy form benign, O goddess, wear,
 Thy milder influence impart,
 Thy philosophic train be there,
 To soften, not to wound, my heart!
 The generous spark extinct revive,
 Teach me to love and to forgive,
 Exact my own defects to scan,
 What others are, to feel, and know myself a man.

COLLINS (B. 1720—D. 1756).

ODE.

How sleep the brave who sink to rest,
 By all their country's wishes blest!
 When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
 Returns to deck their hallow'd mould,
 She there shall dress a sweeter sod
 Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung,
 By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
 There honour comes, a pilgrim gray,
 To bless the earth that wraps their clay,
 And Freedom shall a while repair,
 To dwell, a weeping hermit, there.

AKENSIDE (B. 1721—D. 1770).

CREATION.

Ere the radiant sun
 Sprang from the East, or 'mid the vault of night
 The moon suspended her serener lamp;
 Ere mountains, woods, or streams adorn'd the globe,
 Or wisdom taught the sons of men her lore;
 Then lived the Almighty One; then, deep retired,
 In His unfathom'd essence, viewed the forms,
 The forms eternal of created things;
 The radiant sun, the moon's nocturnal lamp,
 The mountains, woods, and streams, the rolling globe,
 And wisdom's mien celestial. From the first
 Of days, on them His love divine He fixed,
 His admiration; till, in time complete,
 What He admired and loved, His vital smile
 Unfolded into being. Hence the breath
 Of life informing each organic frame,
 Hence the green earth, and wild resounding waves;
 Hence light and shade alternate; warmth and cold;
 And clear autumnal skies and vernal showers,
 And all the fair variety of things.

GOLDSMITH (B. 1728—D. 1774).

EVILS OF WEALTH.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
 Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
 Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,
 A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
 But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
 When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
 When every rood of ground maintained its man;
 For him light labour spread her wholesome store,
 Just gave what life required, but gave no more;
 His best companions, innocence and health;
 And his best riches, ignorance of wealth.

But times are altered; trade's unfeeling train
 Usurp the land, and dispossess the swain;
 Along the lawn, where scatter'd hamlets rose,
 Unwieldy wealth and cumbrous pomp repose;
 And every want to luxury allied,
 And every pang that folly pays to pride.

Those gentle hours that plenty bade to bloom,
 Those calm desires that ask but little room,
 Those healthful sports that graced the peaceful scene,
 Lived in each look, and brighten'd all the green;
 These, far departing, seek a kinder shore,
 And rural mirth and manners are no more.

SONG.

O memory ! thou fond deceiver,
 Still importunate and vain,
 To former joys recurring ever,
 And turning all the past to pain;
 Thou, like the world, the oppress'd oppressing,
 Thy smiles increase the wretch's woe !
 And he who wants each other blessing,
 In thee must ever find a foe.

COWPER (B. 1731—D. 1800).

A COMPARISON.

The lapse of time and rivers is the same,
 Both speed their journey with a restless stream :
 The silent pace, with which they steal away,
 No wealth can bribe, no prayer persuade to stay ;
 Alike irrevocable both when past,
 And a wide ocean swallows both at last.
 Though each resemble each in every part,
 A difference strikes at length the musing heart ;
 Streams never flow in vain : where streams abound,
 How laughs the land with various plenty crown'd ?
 But time, that should enrich the nobler mind,
 Neglected, leaves a dreary waste behind.

ODE,

ADDRESSED TO A YOUNG LADY.

Sweet stream that winds through yonder glade,
 Apt emblem of a virtuous maid—
 Silent and chaste she steals along,
 Far from the world's gay busy throng ;
 With gentle yet prevailing force,
 Intent upon her destined course ;
 Graceful and useful all she does,
 Blessing and blest where'er she goes,
 Pure-bosom'd as that watery glass,
 And heaven reflected in her face.

BEATTIE (B. 1735—D. 1803).

IMMORTALITY.

Shall I be left forgotten in the dust,
 When fate relenting, sees the flower revive;
 Shall nature's voice, to man alone unjust,
 Bid him, though doom'd to perish, hope to live?
 Is it for this fair Virtue oft must strive
 With disappointment, penury, and pain?
 No! Heaven's immortal spring shall yet arrive,
 And man's majestic beauty bloom again,
 Bright through th' eternal year of love's triumphant reign.

BURNS (B. 1759—D. 1796).

THE DEATH OF THE BRAVE.

Farewell, thou fair day, thou green earth, and ye skies,
 Now gay with the bright setting sun;
 Farewell, loves and friendships, ye dear tender ties—
 Our race of existence is run!

Thou grim king of terrors, thou life's gloomy foe,
 Go, frighten the coward and slave;
 Go, teach them to tremble, fell tyrant! but know,
 No terrors hast thou for the brave.

Thou strik'st the dull peasant, he sinks in the dark,
 Nor saves e'en the wreck of a name;
 Thou strik'st thy young hero—a glorious mark!
 He falls in the blaze of his fame.

In the field of proud honour—our swords in our hands,
 Our king and our country to save—
 While victory shines in life's last-ebbing sands,
 Oh! who would not rest with the brave!

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, ETC.,
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- 1703.—St. Petersburg founded by Peter the Great.
 1704.—Newton's discoveries respecting colours.
 1705.—First performance of Opera at Drury-lane Theatre.
 1707.—Union of England and Scotland, and meeting of the first United Parliament.
 1709.—The "Daily Courant," the first regular Newspaper published.
 1710.—St. Paul's Cathedral completed by Sir Christopher Wren (begun 1675).
 1711.—Addison begins the Publication of the "Spectator."
 1713.—Discovery of the Ruins of Herculaneum.
 1716.—The Sinking Fund first established by Sir R. Walpole.
 1717.—The Pianoforte invented.
 1721.—First experiments of Inoculation made upon seven condemned criminals at London.
 1728.—Behring discovers the Straits named after him.
 1730.—Stereotype printing practised by W. Ged, of Edinburgh.
 ——— London Porter introduced as a beverage.
 1731.—Origin of Methodism through the preaching of Wesley.
 1733.—The Blow-pipe invented by Von Swab, a Swede.
 1739.—Gas first evolved from Coal by Dr. Clayton.
 1740.—The first Circulating Library established in London.
 1743.—The Solar Microscope invented by Lieberkuhn.
 1746.—The Leyden Jar invented by Muschenbroek, and others.
 1751.—The Gregorian, or New Style introduced.
 1752.—Lightning Conductors invented by Franklin.
 1753.—The British Museum founded.
 ——— The Achromatic Telescope invented by Dollond.
 1756.—The Foundling Hospital, London, first opened.
 1761.—Bridgewater Canal completed by Brindley, the Engineer.

- 1764.—Suppression of the Jesuits by Royal Edict in France.
1765.—Opposition of the American Colonies to the Stamp Act.
1766.—Mesmerism promulgated by Mesmer.
1767.—The Spinning Jenny invented by Hargreaves.
1768.—Royal Academy of Painting established under Sir J. Reynolds.
—— Captain Cook's first Voyage.
1769.—The Letters of Junius published.
—— Watt's first Patent for the Steam Engine granted.
—— The Spinning Frame for Cotton invented by Arkwright.
1770.—Bruce discovers the Sources of the Nile.
1771.—Captain Cook's return after the discovery of New Zealand, etc.
1772.—Granville Sharp agitates the subject of Slavery.
1774.—Animal magnetism introduced at Vienna by Father Hehl, a Jesuit.
1775.—The sexual system of Plants discovered by Linnæus.
1776.—The revolted North American Provinces adopt the style of "The United States."
1778.—France recognises the Independence of the United States.
1780.—Manufacture of muslins introduced at Manchester.
1781.—Herschel discovers the planet Uranus, or Georgium Sidus.
—— First Sunday-school established by Raikes.
1782.—England recognises the Independence of the United States.
1783.—The Balloon invented by Montgolfier of Paris.
1784.—First Blind School established in Paris.
1785.—Life Boat invented by Lukin.
1787.—Wedgwood manufactures his imitations of Etruscan Vases.
1789.—Herschel discovers two new Satellites of Saturn.
1790.—Printing by Machinery projected by Nicholson.
1791.—Galvani discovers the phenomena named after him.
1792.—Gas first applied to the purposes of illumination.
1793.—The Telegraph invented by C. Chappe.
—— The Voltaic Battery invented by Volta.
1794.—The Slave-trade abolished by the French Convention.
1795.—La Grange discovers the libration of the Moon.
1796.—The Telegraph erected on the Admiralty, London.
1798.—Vaccination introduced by Dr. Jenner.
1799.—The first Savings' Bank established in England at Wendover.

Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Nineteenth

A.D.	GT. BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	HOLLAND.		GERMANY.	ROME.	SPAIN.	PORTUGAL.
1801	George III.	Republic.	Republic.		Francis II.	Pius VII.	Charles IV.	John VI.
1804		Napoleon, Emperor.	....		....	....	....	....
1806			Louis Napoleon.		AUSTRIA. Francis I.	....	....	....
1808							Ferdinand VII. Joseph Napoleon.	....
1809								
1811	Regency.	....	....		....	....	....	....
1813			Incorporated with the French Empire.		....	....	....	....
1814		Louis XVIII.	....		....	....	Ferdinand VII.	....
1815			William I.		....	....	....	....
1818								
1820	George IV.	....	....		....	....	....	....
1823						Leo XII.	....	....
1824		Charles X.	....		....	....	....	....
1825								
1826								Pedro IV. Maria di Gloria. Miguel.
1828								
1829						Pius VIII.	....	....
1830	William IV.	Louis Philippe.	....		....	....	....	....
			HOL- LAND.	BEL- GIUM.				
1831			Wil- liam I.	Leo- pold.	....	Gregory XVI.	....	....
1833			..	..			Isabella II.	Maria II. restored.
1835			..	..	Ferdinand I.	....	....	....
1837	Victoria.	....	..	..	....	....	....	....
1839			..	..				
1840			Willi- am II.	..	....	....	....	....
1844			..	..				
1846			..	..		Pius IX.	....	....
1848		Republic.	..	..	Francis Joseph.	....	....	....
1849			Willi- am III	..	....	....	....	....
1851			..	..				
1852		Napoleon III. Emperor.	..	..	....	....	....	....
1853			..	..				Pedro V.
1855			..	..				
1859			..	..				
1860	Victoria.	Napoleon III.	Willi- am III	Leo- pold.	Francis Joseph.	Pius IX.	Isabella II.	Pedro V.

Century, commencing with the year 1801.

TURKEY.	RUSSIA.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	PRUSSIA.	POLAND.	HANOVER.
Selim III.	Alexander.	Christian VII.	Gustavus IV.	William III.	3d Partition.	George III.
....						
....						
Mahmoud II.		Frederick VI.	....	....	....	....
....			Charles XIII.	....	....	....
....						Regency
....						
....						
....					Alexander.	....
....			Charles John XIV.	....	....	....
....						George IV.
....						
....	Nicholas I.	....	....	....	Nicholas.	....
....						
....						
....						William IV.
....						
....						
....						Ernest.
Abdoul Medjid.		Christian VIII.	....	....	....	....
....				Frederick William IV.	....	....
....			Oscar.	....	....	....
....		Frederick VII.	....	....	....	....
....						
....						Frederick.
....						
....	Alexander II.	....	....	....	Alexander II.	....
....			Charles XV.	....	....	....
Abdoul Medjid.	Alexander II.	Frederick VII.	Charles XV.	Frederick William IV.	Alexander II.	Frederick.

READING XC.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE commencement of the nineteenth century found almost all the hereditary thrones of Europe shaken to their foundations by the consequences of the French revolution.

France, after shedding upon the scaffold the blood of the mild and amiable Louis XVI., and after undergoing all the multiplied horrors of the wildest anarchy, at length settled for a short time in a republic; the consular power being vested in three persons, Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducos; of whom the first was nominated chief consul for ten years. A still more extraordinary event soon after took place, for in 1804, by a decree of the tribunate and of the senate, Napoleon Bonaparte was constituted emperor of the French, and the supreme dignity declared to be hereditary in his male descendants.

In England, a proclamation was issued at the commencement of this century, declaring it to be the pleasure of his Majesty, that in future the royal style, titles, and armorial ensigns of the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland, should be as follows:—"Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor." ("George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith.")

A proposal for the re-establishment of peace was made at the beginning of the year 1800, in a letter from the chief consul of France to the king of Great Britain. The overture, however, was rejected by the English ministry, as they did not imagine that sufficient security for the adherence to treaties could be afforded by a government so recently established. The papers relative to this proposal being laid before parliament, the conduct of the ministers was approved of by no less majorities than seventy-nine to six in the upper, and two hundred and sixty to sixty in the lower house of Parliament. But the financial concerns of the kingdom were in a most alarming state, there being a monstrous increase in the expenditure, the supplies necessary to meet the exigences of the State

being not less than £39,500,000, independent of a loan of £18,500,000. In this year also was completed the union of Great Britain and Ireland, the act of union having received the royal assent upon the 2nd of July.

In Italy, Bonaparte crossed the Alps on the 6th of May, and entered Milan and Pavia, and on the 16th of the ensuing month, fought the famous battle of Marengo. The consequence of this victory was an armistice granted to the Austrians, upon condition of a number of strong towns being put into the hands of the French, amongst which was Genoa.

The French arms were equally successful in Germany, where General Moreau, after crossing the Rhine, at the latter end of April, and advancing to Ulm, drove the Austrians from their entrenched camp. Serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Vienna, when the victorious general penetrated into Bavaria, and took possession of Munich. This success of the French arms induced the Austrians to solicit an armistice. But although this was acceded to by Moreau, and the preliminaries of peace were signed on the 28th of July, the new engagements entered into by the emperor with England prevented him from ratifying the preliminaries, and the war began again in November. A battle (the famous one of Hohenlinden) was fought on the 3rd of December, which, although hardly contested, terminated in the entire defeat of the Austrians. Another armistice proposed by the archduke Charles, the Austrian commander-in-chief, was now agreed upon, and was finally confirmed by the emperor.

The czar, Paul I., disappointed in his hope of obtaining Malta, expressed his dissatisfaction against this country by laying an embargo upon all British ships in his ports, and even sending their captains and crews as prisoners up the country; declaring that the embargo, as well as the sequestration of British property, should not be taken off until Russia was again in possession of Malta.

Bonaparte, upon quitting Egypt, for the purpose of forwarding his ambitious views in France, had invested General Kleber with the chief command. This officer finding his army so much reduced as to be incompetent to keep possession of Egypt, entered into and concluded a treaty for the evacuation of that country.

Anxious, however, to prevent the French armies, during their war with Austria, from having so considerable a reinforcement, the English minister refused to ratify the convention. Hostilities were again renewed, but after defeating the Turks with great loss, and suppressing a formidable insurrection at Cairo, the French general lost his life in the midst of his victories, by the knife of an Arabian fanatic. General Menou was appointed his successor.

A conclave, for the election of a new pope, being held at Venice, under the auspices of the emperor of Germany, Cardinal Chiaramonti was chosen on the 11th of March. Having taken the name of Pius VII., he was, in July, allowed to take possession of Rome, together with the greatest part of the dominions of the church.

READING XCI.

CONFLAGRATION OF MOSCOW.

1812.

ON the 19th of November, 1804, Bonaparte, the favoured child of the revolution, was crowned emperor of France in the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris, by the pope, who had been compelled to cross the Alps for that purpose.

In 1809 commenced the Peninsular war, in which the duke of Wellington gained immortal honour, and the British army maintained the high character which they had acquired by former victories. In 1810 occurred the marriage of Napoleon with the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. In 1812, upon the refusal of Russia to concur in his favourite scheme of excluding the British commerce from the whole European continent, Napoleon resolved to march against that empire, with all the disposable force of his dominions, and that of every state under his influence.

About the end of June, the French emperor entered the Russian territories at the head of at least three hundred thousand men. The plan of the Russians being to

retreat, no determined stand was made till he arrived before the city of Smolensko. An action was there fought on the 17th of August. After another most sanguinary battle, near the village of Mowska, not far from Moscow, the Russians again retreated.

Napoleon, impatient to get possession of the ancient capital of the Russian empire, pursued the enemy with his accustomed vigour, on the high road of Smolensko, while prince Poniatowski, at the head of the fifth corps, marched on the right, by way of Kaluga. The viceroy, commanding the fourth corps, continued on the left flank, and by the road of Zwenighorod, marched to Moscow, where the whole army was to assemble.

"We could judge," says an eye-witness, "of the consternation that reigned in this capital, by the terror with which we inspired the country people. Our arrival in Rouza (Sept. 9th), and the unmerciful manner in which we had treated the inhabitants, were no sooner known, than all the villages situated on the road to Moscow were instantly abandoned. Desolation was spread everywhere; and many of those who fled, in a fit of despair, burnt their houses, chateaus, grain, and forage, which was scarcely gathered in. All these unhappy beings, terrified by the fatal and useless resistance of the inhabitants of Rouza, threw down the pikes with which they had been armed, in order to facilitate their escape to the thick forests at a distance from the road, where they hid themselves with their wives and children.

"On approaching Moscow, we had entertained the hope that the attachment of property, so natural to the inhabitants of large towns, would have induced the country people not to quit their habitations. But the grounds about Moscow do not belong to the citizens of this large town; they are the property of the lords who had declared against us, and their peasants, equally submissive as the slaves of the Nieper and of the Volga, obeyed the orders of their masters. They had been enjoined, on pain of death, to fly on our approach, and to hide in the woods whatever might be of use to us.

"We perceived the execution of this fatal measure on entering the village of Apalchtchouina. The houses were deserted, the castle abandoned, the furniture dashed to pieces, and the provisions wasted. Everything presented

an image of the most frightful desolation. All these ravages showed us what excesses people can commit, when sufficiently magnanimous to prefer independence to riches.

“Near Karinskoë, a village half way to Zwenighorod, where we had to go, the Cossacks appeared. According to their custom, they made no stand against our advanced guard, but contented themselves with observing us on our left, by marching on an eminence parallel to the high road. On the summit of this height, thickly set with birch, rose the grey walls and the steeples of an ancient abbey. At the foot of the hill stood the little town of Zwenighorod, built on the banks of the Moskwa. On this point the Cossacks formed themselves into several bodies, and skirmished for some time with our light troops. Insensibly they were dislodged from their ambuscades, and we took post around Zwenighorod.

“The following morning (September 14th), desirous of getting to Moscow, we set off very early, and only met with deserted villages. There were some magnificent castles, situated on the shores of the Moskwa, on our right; but the Cossacks took care to pillage them, in order to deprive us of the only comforts those spots could afford us. The corn, ready for harvest, had either been trodden down, or eaten by the horses. The hay-stacks, which covered the country, were sacrificed to the flames, spreading all around an impenetrable smoke. When we at last reached the village Tscherepkova, our cavalry still marching, the viceroy went on an eminence on our right, to ascertain if Moscow could be seen, this being the object of all our wishes; for we considered it as the end of our fatigues, and the term of our expedition. Several hills hiding it still from our view, we perceived nothing but clouds of dust, which from being parallel with our road, indicated the march which the grand army had taken. A few cannon shots, fired at a distance, and with long intervals, made us think that our troops were approaching Moscow, without experiencing much resistance.

“When we descended from that eminence, we heard dreadful cries. A troop of Cossacks issuing from a neighbouring wood, had in their accustomed manner charged upon our chasseurs, endeavouring to stop the march of our van guard. But our brave fellows, far from being

intimidated by this unexpected attack, met courageously those vain efforts by which a powerless horde tried to impede our entrance into the capital. These were the last struggles of a desperate courage, and the Russians, beaten and dispersed, were obliged to fly towards the Kremlin, as they had before done on the shores of the Kologha.

"We distinguished, at a distance, and amidst the dust, long columns of Russian cavalry, all marching towards Moscow, but all retiring behind the town, the nearer we approached it. Whilst the fourth corps were constructing a bridge to cross the Moskwa, the staff went, about two o'clock, on a high hill, from whence we perceived a thousand round and gilded steeples, which, the rays of the sun shining on them, appeared at the distance as so many flaming globes. There was indeed a globe placed on the summit of a pillar, or an obelisk, which had quite the appearance of a balloon, suspended in the air. We felt the greatest delight at this beautiful sight, which was the more amusing to us, from the contrast it formed to the dismal objects which we had hitherto seen. Nor could any of us suppress our joy; and, actuated by a spontaneous feeling, we all exclaimed, *Moscow! Moscow!* At the sound of this wished-for name, crowds ran up the hill, discovering every instant new wonders. Some admired a magnificent castle on our left, which was built in an elegant oriental style; others directed their attention towards a palace or a temple; but all were equally struck with the greatness of the picture which this immense town presented to us. It is situated in the middle of a fertile plain; the Moskwa is seen running through rich meadows, and after having fertilized the fields, it takes its course through the middle of the town, separating an immense cluster of houses, built of wood, stone, and bricks, partly constructed in a gothic, and partly in a modern style, uniting the different species of architecture peculiar to each nation. The walls variously painted, and the domes covered with lead, gildings, and slates, presented the most pleasing variety; whilst the terraces before the palaces, the obelisks over the town-gates, but above all, the steeples, presented to our eyes the reality of one of those celebrated towns in Asia, which till now had appeared to us to exist only in the imagination of the Arabian poets.

“ On a nearer approach to the city, we saw that it had no walls, and that a simple parapet of earth was the only work which constituted the outer enclosure. Till now nothing indicated that the town was inhabited; and the side on which we arrived was so lonely, that we saw neither Russian nor even French soldiers. No cry, no noise was heard in the midst of this awful solitude; anxiety alone conducted our steps, and it doubly increased when we perceived a thick smoke, which in the form of a column arose in the centre of the town. It was at first believed that the Russians, agreeably to their custom, had, in retreating, set fire to some magazines. Greatly interested to know the cause of this fire, we in vain endeavoured to find somebody who could quiet our anxious curiosity, and the impossibility to satisfy it, by increasing our impatience, augmented our alarm.

“ We did not enter at the first barrier that presented itself, but, moving to the left, we continued to march round the town. At length, according to the orders of the viceroy, I put the troops of the fourth corps in position, to guard the high road to Petersburg. Thus the thirteenth and fifteenth divisions, encamped around the chateau of Peterskoë, the fourteenth established itself in the village between Moscow and this *chateau*, and the Bavarian light cavalry were a league in front of this village.

“ When these positions were taken, the viceroy entered Moscow, and took his lodgings in the palace of Prince Momonoff, in the fine street of St. Petersburg. This quarter, assigned to our corps, was one of the finest in the town. It was composed entirely of superb edifices, and of houses which, although of wood, appeared to us to be of surprising grandeur and riches. The magistrates having abandoned the town, their palaces were open to everybody: thus the subaltern officer was lodged in vast apartments, richly decorated, and of which he could fancy himself to be the master, since nobody appeared but an humble and submissive porter, who, with a trembling hand, delivered to him the keys of the house.”

READING XCII.

CONFLAGRATION OF MOSCOW (CONCLUDED).

“ALTHOUGH Moscow had been entered by some of our troops the preceding day, so extensive and so deserted was the town, that no soldier had yet penetrated into the quarter which we were to occupy. The most intrepid minds were moved by this loneliness; the streets were so long, that from one extremity to the other our horsemen could not recognise one another. They were seen advancing with caution; then struck with fear, took to flight, though they were all fighting under the same banners. In proportion as a new quarter of the town was taken possession of, reconnoitring parties went out to search the palaces and the churches. In the first were only found old men, children, and Russian officers, who had been wounded in the preceding battles; in the latter, the altars were decorated as if for a festival; a thousand lighted tapers, burning in honour to the saint protector of the country, attested that the pious Moscovites had not ceased to invoke him till the moment of their departure. This solemn and religious display contributed to make powerful and respectable a people whom we had conquered, and filled us with that terror which is the offspring of injustice. With cautious steps we proceeded in the midst of this awful solitude, often stopping to look behind us: sometimes also, struck with fear, we listened with the greatest attention; for the imagination, frightened at the magnitude of our conquest, made us apprehensive of snares in every place. At the least noise our troubled minds thought to hear the clashing of arms, and the cries of the wounded.

“However, on approaching towards the centre of the town, especially in the neighbourhood of the bazaar, we began to see some inhabitants assembled around the Kremlin. These deluded beings, deceived by a tradition, had thought this citadel inviolable, and had attempted the preceding day to defend it for an instant against our valiant legions. Dismayed by their defeat, they contemplated, in tears, those high towers, which till then they had considered as the safeguard of their town.

Proceeding further on, we saw a number of soldiers who publicly sold and bargained a vast quantity of objects which they had stolen; for it was only at the great magazines of provisions that the imperial guards had placed sentinels. Approaching nearer, the number of soldiers multiplied; they were seen in great bodies, carrying on their backs pieces of cloth, loaves of sugar, and whole bales of merchandise. We did not know to what to attribute this shocking disorder, when some fusileers of the guards informed us, at length, that the smoke which we had seen on entering the town proceeded from a vast building, full of goods, called the Exchange, and to which the Russians had set fire on their retreat. 'Yesterday,' said these soldiers, 'we entered the town about twelve o'clock, and towards five the fire manifested itself; we endeavoured at first to extinguish it, but we soon learnt that the governor had sent away the engines. It is also believed,' added they, 'that this fire, which cannot be subdued, has been kindled by the nobility, with an intention to destroy our conquests, and to ruin the merchants who opposed the abandonment of Moscow.'

"A natural curiosity made me proceed. The more I advanced towards the place on fire, the more its avenues were obstructed by soldiers and beggars carrying off goods of all sorts; despising the less precious they threw them away. Thus were the streets in a short time covered with merchandise of every description. I penetrated at length into the interior of the Exchange, but, alas! it was no more the building so renowned for its magnificence; it was rather a vast furnace with burning beams falling on all sides. Under the piazzas alone it was possible to go about; numerous warehouses were to be found there, in which the soldiers broke the chests, and divided the spoil, which exceeded all their expectations. No cry, no tumult was heard in this scene of horror; every one found wherewithal to satisfy his thirst for plunder. Nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, and the noise of the doors that were broken open; till, all at once, a dreadful crash was occasioned by the falling in of a vault. Cottons, muslins, in short the most costly productions of Europe and Asia, burnt with the greatest violence. In the cellars were accumulated sugar, oil, vitriol; all these objects, consumed at

once in subterraneous warehouses, sent forth torrents of flame through thick iron grates, presenting a grand but most terrific spectacle.

“The most heart-rending scene which my imagination could ever have conceived, now presented itself. A great part of the population of Moscow, frightened at our arrival, hid themselves in the interior of their houses; they were now leaving those asylums, when the fire penetrated them. These trembling wretches, without uttering the least imprecation, brought out from their hiding-places their most precious effects; others, of greater sensibility, entirely given up to the feelings of nature, saved nothing but their children, who were clasped in their arms; old people, borne down by grief rather than by age, could hardly follow their families, and many of them, lamenting the ruin of their country, expired near the houses in which they were born. The streets, public places, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people, who were lying on the remains of their furniture, suffering even without a murmur. Neither crying nor quarrelling was heard; both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened; the one from excess of fortune, the other from excess of misery.

“The fire, which continued its ravages, soon reached the finest parts of the town. All those palaces which we had admired for the elegance of their architecture, and the taste of their furniture, were buried in the flames; their magnificent fronts, ornamented with bas-reliefs and statues, losing their supports, fell with a dreadful crash on the fragments of their pillars; the churches, though covered with iron and lead, fell likewise, and with them those beautiful steeples, which we had seen the night before, resplendent like gold and silver; the hospitals, too, which contained more than twenty thousand wounded, soon began to burn. This occasioned a most revolting and dreadful scene; almost all those poor wretches perished, and a few who still lingered were seen crawling, half-burnt, amongst the smoking cinders; others, again, groaning under heaps of dead bodies, lifted up their heads with difficulty, endeavouring to catch a glimpse of light.

“But how shall I describe the tumultuous proceedings when permission was granted to pillage this immense

city? Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and abandoned women, were seen running through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, taking away everything which could gratify their avarice. Some were covering themselves with stuffs worked in gold and silk; others, without any discrimination, placed rich and costly furs upon their shoulders; several others dressed themselves in women's and children's pelisses, and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under splendid court-dresses; the rest crowded into the cellars, and forcing open the doors, drank the most costly wines, and carried off immense booty.

"Towards evening, when Napoleon did not think himself any longer safe in a town, the ruin of which seemed unavoidable, he left the Kremlin, and established himself, with his suite, in the castle at Petersköö.

"The generals having, likewise, received orders to quit Moscow, the utmost confusion began to prevail; every one attempting to carry off the spoils of war which he had acquired. Through a thick smoke, a long row of carriages were perceived, loaded with booty. Being too heavy, they were obliged to stop at every step, when we heard the cries of the conductors, who, fearing the flames, endeavoured to push forward, with dreadful howlings. Everywhere armed people were seen, who forced open the doors, even if they were leaving the place, for fear of having left one house untouched. Some, having coaches heavily laden, carried the rest of their booty on their backs. The fire, however, obstructing the thoroughfare of the principal streets, obliged them often to return from whence they came. Thus, wandering from one place to another through an immense town which they did not know, they sought, in vain, a favourable track which might lead them out of this labyrinth of fire. A great number removed from, instead of approaching towards the gates, through which they might have gone out; thus falling victims to their own rapacity. But, notwithstanding this extreme danger, the love of plunder induced them to brave it. The soldiers, stimulated by an ardent desire of pillage, ventured into the middle of burning vapours. They walked in blood, treading upon dead bodies, whilst fragments and burning coals fell on their murderous hands. They would probably all have

perished, if an insupportable heat had not forced them at last to withdraw into their camp.

“The fourth corps having received orders to leave Moscow, we proceeded (September 17th) towards Peter-skoë, where our divisions were encamped. At that moment, which seemed to be the dawn of day, I witnessed the most dreadful and the most affecting scenes possible; namely, the unhappy inhabitants dragging upon some mean vehicles all that they had saved from their burning houses. The soldiers having taken from them their horses, men and women were drawing those carts, which contained sometimes a sick mother, or a paralytic old man. Half-naked children followed these interesting groups. Affliction, to which their age is commonly a stranger, was impressed on their features, and, when soldiers came near them, they ran crying into the arms of their mothers. Alas! what habitation could we have offered them which would not constantly recall the object of their terror? Without either a shelter or any assistance, this unfortunate people wandered about in the fields, and fled into the woods; but, wherever they bent their steps, they met the conquerors of Moscow, who frequently ill-treated them, and sold before their eyes some of those goods which they had taken away from their own deserted habitations.”

READING XCIII.

ANECDOTES OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

1815.

AFTER Bonaparte's disastrous campaign of Moscow, a general European league was formed against him; the results of which were his abdication of the throne of France, and exile to the island of Elba. Still, however, impelled by his restless spirit, he again appeared on the French shores, and, being seconded by the military, marched to Paris, whence he drove the Bourbons. The allied armies once more took the field, and the never-to-

be-forgotten battle of Waterloo was fought on the 18th of June.

The following is the account given by Jean Baptiste La Coste, who served as guide to Bonaparte:—

About five in the morning he was taken prisoner, to serve as a guide, and conducted, with his hands tied behind him (that he might not escape, as a former man had done), to another house belonging to him, opposite to which Bonaparte had slept. Observing the French soldiers plundering and destroying this house, he cried. Bonaparte asked him what he cried for. "Because your soldiers are destroying all my property, and my family have nowhere to put their heads." Bonaparte said, "Do you not know that I am emperor, and that I can indemnify you a hundredfold?" He was placed on a horse, immediately between Bonaparte and his first aide-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him, that he might not escape. They proceeded to a little beyond La Belle Alliance, and Bonaparte took the ground on a small eminence on the opposite side; a sort of body-guard of twelve pieces of artillery, very light, surrounding them. From this spot he could command both lines. He first observed, "How steadily those troops take the ground; how beautifully those cavalry form!—*Regardez ces chevaux gris! Qui sont ces beaux cavaliers? Ce sont de braves troupes, mais dans une demiheure je les couperai en pièces.*—Look at those grey horses! (the Scotch Greys). What superb cavalry is that? They are fine troops, but in half an hour I shall cut them to pieces." Observing how the chasms in the British squadrons were filled up the instant they were made by his artillery, he exclaimed, "*Quelles braves troupes! comme ils se travaillent! ils travaillent bien, très bien!*—What brave fellows! how they fight! they fight well, admirably well!" He asked La Coste the particulars of every house, tree, wood, rising ground, etc., with which he seemed well informed, holding a map in his left hand, and intent upon the action all day; incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat pocket, in large pinches, of which he violently snuffed up about half, throwing the other from him with a violent exertion of the arm, thumb, and finger, as if from vexation; this was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours. He frequently placed

his left hand upon the back of La Coste's horse, to speak to the aide-de-camp on the other side of him. Seeing La Coste flinch at the shower of shot, he said, "Do not stir, my friend, a shot will kill you as well in the back as the front, or wound you more disgracefully." About half-past five, hearing the fire of the Prussians on the right of his rear-flank, leaning his hand on the neck of La Coste's horse, and seeing the British cavalry, from their right and left flanks, making a tremendous charge, that would have encircled his personal position, he exclaimed, "*Il faut que nous nous sauvons*,—we must make our escape;" retreating with all his staff. About forty yards along the road, and within about twenty yards of the house, La Belle Alliance, he halted, and putting the glass to his eye, and seeing the British cavalry intermingled pell-mell with and furiously cutting the French troops to pieces, he exclaimed, "*Qu'ils sont terribles, ces chevaux gris!*"—What terrible fellows are those grey horsemen!" meaning the Scots Greys (which had particularly during the day, and at that moment, attracted his attention). "*Il faut nous dépêcher: nous dépêcher!*"—We must make haste: make haste!" They and all the cavalry commenced a gallop till they got about 300 yards beyond Charleroi, where they halted and pitched a tent upon a grass-plot, about nine at night. A fire was kindled, and refreshments placed upon a chair, which Bonaparte partook of, for the first time since the morning, standing with his back to the fire, and his hands generally behind him, conversing with a circle of nine, whose horses La Coste had been ordered to hold. The party, about two in the morning, broke up, when each taking his horse, the servant of the last gave La Coste a Napoleon d'or, which he changed, after twenty-four hours' fast, to refresh himself and family.

A brave major of the forty-second Highlanders, preferring to fight on foot, in *front* of his men, had given his horse to hold to a little drummer-boy of the regiment. After some severe fighting with the French horse cuirassiers, and after receiving several severe wounds, he fell, from loss of blood, near a brave private, Donald Mackintosh, of his corps, who was mortally wounded at the same instant. The little drummer-lad had left the horse, to assist poor Donald: a lancer seeing the horse, thought him

a fair prize, and made a dash at him. This did not escape the watchful and keen eye of the dying Highlander, who, with all the provident spirit of his country ruling strong even in death, groaned out, "Hoot mon, ye munna tak that beast, 't belongs to oor captain here." The lancer, understanding little of his brogue, and respecting less his writhing gestures, seized upon the horse. Donald loaded his musket once more, shot him dead, and the next moment fell back and expired content. An officer of the cuirassiers, observing our poor major still bestirring himself, rode up, and, stooping from his charger, aimed to despatch him with his sword; our resolute major seized his leg, and still grappled with him so stoutly, that he pulled him off his horse upon him. Another lancer, observing the struggle, galloped up, and, to relieve his officer, attempted to spear the major, who, by a sudden jerk and desperate exertion, placed the Frenchman, in the nick of necessity, in his arms before him, who received the mortal thrust below his cuirass, and, in this condition, continued lying upon him, with his sword in his hand, for nearly ten minutes. The major, unconscious that his substitute had received a death-wound, expected all this time to receive his own at his hand. At last, the French officer raised himself, ran, or staggered a few yards, and then fell to rise no more. Another private of his regiment now came up, and asked his major what he could do to assist him? "Nothing, my good friend, but load your piece and finish me." "But your eye still looks lively," said the poor fellow; "if I could move you on to the ninety-second, fighting hard by, I think you would yet do well." With the aid of a fellow-soldier, he was moved as the man proposed, and being seen by an intimate friend, Colonel Cameron, commanding the ninety-second, he instantly ordered him every succour possible. A blanket being procured, four men carried him a little in the rear. While they were raising him, Colonel Cameron exclaimed, "God bless you; I must be off; the devils (meaning the lancers) are at us again,—I must stand up to them." He did so, and, in a few minutes, stretched dead on the bed of honour, finished his mortal career in the bold defence of his country.

The brave major survived for several years, though bearing about him the honourable scars of sixteen severe wounds received in that arduous conflict.

Colonel the Hon. F. C. Ponsonby, in heading gallantly the first charge of the twelfth dragoons, about eleven o'clock on the 18th, was disabled, successively, in both arms, by sabre wounds. The reins dropped from one hand, and his sword from the other; while in this situation, he was knocked off his horse by a violent blow on the head, which stunned him. He then lay for some time on the ground, in a state of insensibility. On recovering his senses, he opened his eyes, and raising his head to look about him, he observed a French lancer standing over him. The wretch, seeing him open his eyes, instantly exclaimed, "*Aha! brigand; tu n'es pas mort donc!*"—Ah! scoundrel, you are not dead yet!" and, thrusting his lance twice through his body, left him for dead. The weapon having passed through his lungs, he was immediately deprived of speech, so that on two foreign soldiers coming in succession to plunder him, he could only make a faint noise, to prove that he was still alive. They, however, pursued their object, and taking even his cigars, left him to his fate. At length, his situation was noticed by a French officer, who lay severely wounded at some distance, and who, creeping with great difficulty towards him, presented to his mouth, while he was in this exhausted state, a liquor flask. From this the colonel drank some sort of spirit, and to this act of humanity he attributes his strength to go through his sufferings. In this state, he remained with seven severe wounds, and suffering great agony, particularly from thirst, till late in the evening, when a private soldier of the fortieth regiment came up to him. By this time he had sufficiently recovered his voice to entreat the soldier to remain with him till the morning, being apprehensive that if he once left him, he would not be able to find him out again in the dark. The man begged leave to look for a sword; "and then, your honour," said he, "I'll engage the devil himself won't come near you." He soon picked up a French sabre, and then sat quietly down by the colonel till day-light, when he went in search of some men of the twelfth dragoons, who hastened to carry their gallant commander to a place of comparative comfort and safety.

Another version of La Coste's Narrative of what Bonaparte said and did on the 18th of June, 1815, during and after the Battle of Waterloo.

J. B. LA COSTE is aged about fifty-three. Before the invasion of Napoleon, he occupied a small ale-house, with about six acres of land. Upon the approach of the French army on the 17th June, he retired with his family, consisting of his wife and seven children, into the wood of the abbey D'Awyiers, where he passed the night, Saturday; at six o'clock on Sunday morning he went to church, and from thence to his brother's, who lived at Planchenoit. He met there three French generals, who inquired of him if he had lived in the country a long time, and if he was well acquainted with the environs? Upon his answering in the affirmative, one of them sent him to Bonaparte with a letter, and accompanied by a servant.

Bonaparte slept, on the 17th June, at a farm called the Caillou, and left it at six in the morning. La Coste found him at a farm called Rossum, where he (Bonaparte) had arrived at eight A.M. Here he was immediately presented to the emperor, who was standing in a room about twenty feet by sixteen, in the midst of a great number of officers of his staff. Bonaparte asked him if he was well acquainted with the local situation of the country, and if he would be his guide? La Coste having answered him satisfactorily, Bonaparte told him he should accompany him, adding, "*Speak frankly with me, my friend, as if you were with your children.*"

Rossum farm is near La Belle Alliance. The emperor remained there till near mid-day. During this time La Coste was closely watched in the farm-yard by one of the *garde*, who, whilst walking with him, informed him of the force of the French army, and told him, that upon passing the frontiers, they had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of which forty thousand were cavalry, among which were nine thousand cuirassiers, seven thousand of the young, and eight or nine thousand of the old guard. This soldier highly praised the bravery displayed by the British at Quatre Bras. He particularly admired the *sang froid* (coolness) of the Scotch Highlanders, who, he said in his military phrase, "*ne bougeaient*

que lors qu'on leur mettait la baïonnette au dos—did not stir till the bayonet entered their backs."

During this time, Bonaparte had La Coste called three different times, to obtain information as to the map of the country, and which he constantly consulted. He questioned him chiefly upon the distance of several towns of Brabant from the field of battle, and made him describe those he had seen in his youth. La Coste named fourteen, which appeared to please Bonaparte; he seemed very much satisfied to find that La Coste was Flemish, and that he spoke the same language; he advised him, above all, to give only well-authenticated information, and not to answer for things of which he was uncertain, shrugging his shoulders at the same time. He repeated these instructions frequently, adding, "that if he, Bonaparte, succeeded, his recompense should be a hundred times greater than he imagined." He dispensed with every particular mark of respect, telling him, that instead of taking off his cap, he need only put his hand to his forehead.

At mid-day, Bonaparte went out with his staff, and placed himself upon a bank on the side of the road, which commanded a view of the field of battle. Shortly afterwards, news arrived that the attack upon the farm and chateau of Hougoumont, which he had commenced at eleven o'clock, was unsuccessful.

At one, the battle became general; Bonaparte remained in his first station, with his staff, until five; he was on foot, and constantly walked backwards and forwards, with his thumbs in the pockets of a dark-coloured great coat; he had his eyes fixed upon the battle, and pulled out his watch and snuff-box alternately. La Coste, who was on horseback near him, observed his watch frequently. Bonaparte perceiving that La Coste took snuff, and that he had none, gave him several pinches.

When he found that his attempts to force the position of the chateau of Hougoumont had been made in vain, he took a horse, left the farm Rossum at five p.m., and riding foremost, halted opposite La Coste's house, about one hundred yards from La Belle Alliance. He remained there until seven. At that moment he, by means of a telescope, first perceived the Prussian advance, and communicated it to an aide-de-camp, who, upon turning his

telescope, saw them also. Some moments after, an officer came to announce that Bulow's corps approached. Bonaparte replied that he knew it well, and gave orders for his guard to attack the centre of the English army; and riding at full gallop, in advance, he placed himself with his staff in a hollow, by the road, half-way between La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte. This was his third and last position.

Bonaparte and his suite ran great risks to reach this hollow. A bullet struck the pommel of the saddle of one of his officers, without touching him or his horse. Bonaparte contented himself by coolly observing "*that they must remain in this hollow.*"

Here there was on each side of the road a battery, and perceiving that one of the cannons of the left battery did not play well, he dismounted, ascended the height of the road, advanced to the third piece, and rectified the error, whilst the batteries were hissing around him.

While in this situation, he saw eight battalions of his old guard, to whom he had given orders to force the centre of the English army, advancing upon La Haye Sainte. Three of these battalions were annihilated in his sight, while crossing the road, by the firing from the farm and batteries. Nevertheless, the French made themselves masters of the farm; and the Hanoverians who occupied it were obliged to surrender for want of ammunition.

To support the foot guards, Bonaparte made his horse guards, composed of eight or nine regiments, advance: he waited the result of this charge with the greatest anxiety, but he saw the flower of his army destroyed in an instant, while ascending the hill upon which La Haye Sainte is situate. This was his last trial; for, on seeing his old guard destroyed, he lost all hope, and, turning towards his officers, said, "*A présent, c'est fini; sauvons nous!*"—It's all over; let us be off!"

It was half-past eight o'clock, when without making any further exertions, or giving any orders, he, accompanied by his staff, rode off at full gallop to Genappe, taking all possible care to avoid the Prussians. In passing a battery of fourteen guns, that was near the observatory, he ordered that, before they abandoned it to the enemy, they should fire fourteen rounds.

When he arrived at Genappe, it was half-past nine

o'clock, P.M. The only street which forms the village was so encumbered with baggage-waggon and cannon, that it required a whole hour to pass them, alongside the houses; all the inhabitants had forsaken their dwellings. There was no other road to take, because the Prussians occupied the left, and there was no other bridge but that of Genappe, by which to pass the river that flowed there. From Genappe he advanced towards Quatre Bras, hastening his pace, always afraid that the Prussians would arrive before him; he was more tranquil when he had passed this last place; and when arrived at Gosselies, he even dismounted, and walked the remainder of the road to Charleroi, about one league. He traversed Charleroi on horseback, and stopped in a meadow called Marcenelle, at the other end of the town. There they made a large fire, and brought two glasses and two bottles of wine, which he drank with his officers. He took no other nourishment. They spread upon the ground a sack of oats, which his horses ate in their bridles. At a quarter before five o'clock, after having taken another guide (to whom he gave the horse that had served La Coste), he remounted, made a slight bow to La Coste, and rode off. Bertrand gave La Coste, for his services, a single Napoleon and disappeared, as did also the whole staff, leaving La Coste alone, who was obliged to return home on foot.

From the moment that Bonaparte began to retreat, until his arrival in the meadow of Marcenelle, he did not stop, nor did he speak to any one. He had taken no nourishment from the time he left the farm Rossum, and La Coste even thinks he had taken nothing from six in the morning.

The dangers of the battle did not seem to affect him. La Coste, who was greatly agitated through fear, lowered his head frequently on the neck of his horse, to avoid the balls which hissed over his head. Bonaparte appeared displeased at it, and told him that those motions made his officers believe that he was wounded, and also added, that he would not escape the balls more by stooping, than by holding himself upright.

Until half-past five P.M., he had the greatest hope of success, and repeated every moment, "*Tout va bien*,—All goes on well." His generals entertained the same hope. He was perfectly calm, and showed much *sang*

froid during the action, without appearing out of humour, and always spoke very mildly to his officers.

He was never in danger of being taken prisoner, being always well guarded; and in his third station, where he was nearest to the enemy, he had with him twelve pieces of cannon, and three thousand grenadiers of his guard.

He made no use of the observatory, which had been constructed six weeks before by the Dutch engineers.

READING XCIV.

FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830.—DECEASE OF GEORGE IV.
AND WILLIAM IV.—ACCESSION OF VICTORIA.

THE last year of the reign of George IV. was rendered memorable by the revolution which was effected in Paris, and by which Charles X. was forced to abandon the throne of France. His ministers had presented to him a long memorial, containing an exposé of the dangers to which they represented the monarchy as exposed, from the prevalence of democratic and anti-social tendencies. This state of things they showed to be owing to the licentiousness of the periodical press, and the arrangements of the elective system. The advice following this exposé, though in the utmost degree bold and dangerous, was instantly followed. On the 25th of July the king signed three ordinances, which superseded the constitution. By the first, the liberty of the press was suspended. The second dissolved the newly-elected chamber of deputies. The third introduced a new system of election, calculated to render the popular voice null and of no effect.

The first intelligence which the people of Paris received of the intended new system of government, was the appearance of the ordinances in the *Moniteur*, on the morning of Monday, the 26th of July, and the capital immediately began to exhibit symptoms of rising agitation.

On the morning of the 27th the gendarmerie and other agents of the police commenced seizing the types and breaking the presses of the offending journalists. Not

fewer than 30,000 persons, whose daily bread depended on the various branches of printing, and other arts connected with that occupation, were thrown out of employ.

Notwithstanding that immense crowds of exasperated and idle people inundated the streets and public places of Paris, the troops were not ordered under arms until four o'clock in the afternoon; but by their exertions, the streets were tolerably well cleared towards night, the mob being as yet unarmed.

On Thursday, the 28th, the populace, who had spent the previous night in making their preparations, recommenced their operations. The tri-coloured flag was raised, and the tumultuary insurrection assumed the garb of regular war. Indeed, so well ordered were their proceedings, that Marmont, the governor of Paris, despatched a note to the king in the following words:—"I had the honour last night of giving your majesty an account of the dispersion of the groups which disturbed the tranquillity of Paris. This morning they have again formed, more numerous and menacing than before. It is no longer a riot, but a revolution." Excited by the sound of the tocsin, the citizens inhabiting the quarters of St. Jacques, St. Germain, the Odéon and Gros Caillou, came forth in arms, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000 men, all shouting *Vive la Charte!* ("The Charter for ever!") They had to combat two regiments of the royal guards, posted in the courts of the Louvre, and in the garden of the Infants, and three strong detachments of lancers, cuirassiers, and foot grenadiers, occupying the Carousel, supported by a reserve of artillery planted in the garden of the Tuileries. The attack commenced in the garden of the Infants. The royal guards permitted the first assailants to approach, and there the contest ended almost as soon as it was begun, by the slaughter of the front rank. Almost at the same instant fresh assailants drove back the defenders of this important post. In the midst of a constantly rolling fire, the iron railings were broken down. This manœuvre, which in the end rendered the citizens masters of the Tuileries, was effected with extraordinary resolution and rapidity. Still, resistance was offered with bloody obstinacy on other points, particularly the Pavilion of Flora, from which a constant firing had been kept up from seven

in the morning upon the Pont Royal, and many were killed. Musket shots from the apartments of the Duchess d'Angoulême were fired without cessation. Therefore, as soon as the Pavilion of Flora was taken, every article of furniture, and thousands of scattered papers, among which were proclamations to the troops to stimulate them against the citizens, were thrown out of the windows. Twice the palace of the Tuileries was taken and abandoned, but at half-past one the citizens were finally victorious, and two tri-coloured flags were planted on the central pavilion. Except the destruction of the furniture above mentioned, little excess was committed. Arms alone were taken; those, of course, were eagerly seized wherever found, and the only trophy carried off by the victors was a very richly ornamented sword, said to belong to the duke of Ragusa.

A tremendous struggle took place on the same day between a party of the national troops and the Swiss of the royal guards, in the Rue St. Honoré, near the extremity of the Rue de Richelieu, and also in the Place du Palais Royal, the Swiss and royal guards having intrenched themselves in some of the houses. The result was in favour of the popular cause, but the slaughter was very great on both sides.

The contest was renewed on the 29th, and with the like success on the popular side. During the night of the 30th of July, the duke of Orleans came to Paris, and received, at half-past eight in the morning, the commissioners appointed to wait upon him by the meeting of the deputies. It was represented to his Royal Highness, that the most extreme danger would arise from delay; that agitators, as well as sincere enthusiasts, would proclaim the republic in the streets, and that the fruit of so just and dear a victory would become the prey of the most frightful anarchy. Two hours afterwards his Royal Highness issued his proclamation. It was received with transport and gratitude by the majority; but it was soon understood that on the preceding evening, a number of persons, excited by the success of the conflict in which they had been engaged, and fired by natural resentment, declared their distrust of both branches of the house of Bourbon, and exhorted General La Fayette to become the president of, at least, a provisional government; and

that portion of the population overpowered by their noise all the rest of the public, who were silent and willing to conform to the measures that might be adopted by the assembled deputies.

His Royal Highness's proclamation was expressed in a manner worthy of commendation, and was calculated to calm the most distrustful. However, the assembled deputies thought they might take upon themselves to draw up a proclamation also, and carry it in a body to the Palais Royal. The deputies passed through an immense crowd, and were greeted with the loudest applause. This first representation of a public authority appearing in the midst of disorder, brought with it hope and security.

Before the deputies the barricades fell. The prince received them with extreme affability, and with an expression of his sentiments which produced a marked effect on every one. When his Royal Highness signified his intention of proceeding on horseback to the Hotel de Ville, all the deputies consented to accompany him. The ride was long and wearisome, across the barricades, and in the scorching heat of the sun. But what a spectacle! what transports! what an immense concourse of people! *Vive la charte! Vive la liberté! Vive le Duc d'Orléans!* ("The charter for ever! Liberty for ever! The Duke of Orleans for ever!")—were the acclamations which resounded for nearly two hours, the time which the procession took in moving to the Hotel de Ville. On entering the grand hall, the prince embraced M. de la Fayette. During this time the scene changed at St. Cloud. The king quitted that residence about four o'clock in the morning, and went to breakfast at Trianon. The Dauphin remained, to endeavour to excite the troops who had returned to St. Cloud, in his favour. His efforts were in vain, and it is asserted that he treated the duke of Ragusa very harshly; reproaching him with betraying his new master as he had betrayed Napoleon. It is even said that he broke the marshal's sword. Finally, the Dauphin departed to join his family, who were to sleep that night at Chartres.

On Monday, August 9th, Philip, the duke of Orleans, was chosen king of the French, under the title of Philippe I.

George IV. breathed his last on the 26th June, 1830. For ten years before he mounted the throne as king, he had been at the head of the empire as regent, during the mental malady of his father. Into that period were crowded the most splendid triumphs of British history, so that the proudest boasts of this country will be for ever associated with his name as regent. He was succeeded by his next brother, William Henry, duke of Clarence, who was proclaimed king under the title of William, and whose name, if not rendered illustrious by the glory of military renown, will for ever be endeared to Englishmen, for the patriotic part he took in the "Reform Bill," and the aversion he always manifested for the judicial shedding of blood. The foreign event which most distinguished his reign, was the separation of the kingdom of the Netherlands into two distinct powers, Holland and Belgium. Prince Leopold, husband to the late princess Charlotte of Wales, was, after considerable time and dissension, chosen king by the Belgians.

In 1832, died Ferdinand VII. king of Spain, who, as if he had not sufficiently injured his country by his imbecility, bigotry, and tyranny, while living, plunged it, at his death, into a civil war, by abrogating the Salic Law (*the law which prohibits females from succeeding to the crown*), and nominating his infant daughter as his successor, to the exclusion of his brother Don Carlos, the heir presumptive.

The death of the kind-hearted William IV., which took place on the 28th of June, 1837, caused one universal feeling of regret and sorrow to his subjects, to whom he was endeared by the deep interest in their welfare which he invariably manifested, as well as by the many manly virtues which adorned and marked his character.

Upon the occurrence of this distressing event, her present Majesty was immediately proclaimed queen, by the title of Victoria I.

READING XCV.

THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN.

WAR can be contemplated with complacency, and victory with exultation, only when the former is undertaken in defence of right, and the latter is tempered with moderation and forbearance: for, although there has scarcely ever been a contest, the objects of which have not been rhetorically set forth as just and righteous by both the belligerent powers, the conduct of the victor has never failed to strip off the flimsy disguise, and to expose the real motive—lust of power, or thirst for vengeance, in all its native deformity.

In an age, therefore, like the present, when it may be hoped that the great principles of religion and morality have sunk deep into the human breast, and when, consequently, nothing short of self-preservation can justify an appeal to arms, or hallow their successful issue, it is gratifying to reflect that the unparalleled exertions of the British troops in the campaign about to be described, may be viewed with unmixed satisfaction, and that the laurels then gathered on the banks of the Sutlej are as pure as they are unfading.

The part of India in which this fierce struggle took place is called the Punjaub, a territory that, like the Egyptian Delta, forms an irregular triangle, with its base resting against the Himalaya mountains, and its apex turned southward in the direction of Scinde; bounded on the west by the Indus, and on the east by the Sutlej, and lying between the 30th and 34th degrees of north latitude, and the 70th and 77th degrees of east longitude. It is traversed from north to south by four other rivers,—the Beah, Ravee, Chenab, and Islam,—which afford facilities for upwards of two thousand miles of internal navigation. Beyond the Indus, the Sikhs possessed two provinces, the Derajat and the territory of the Peshawar. Kashmir also had long been theirs, as well as Ladak and Balti, two countries high up in the Himalaya mountains.

Lahore, the capital, stands on the right bank of the

Ravee, about 1000 miles from the mouth of the Indus, 1070 from Bombay, and 1360 from Calcutta. It is a city of considerable size, the circuit of its fortifications exceeding seven English miles, and can boast of possessing several splendid mosques, caravanseras, baths, pagodas, palaces, and gardens; but its streets, like those of Indian towns in general, are very narrow, and most disgusting and offensive from the filth suffered to accumulate in them. Lahore, which has a population of 80,000 souls, was the residence of the first Mohammedan conquerors, before they advanced further into the interior.

The word *Sikh*, by which the inhabitants of this part of India are known, implies a religious, as well as a geographical distinction; meaning not only a native of the country, like the words Englishman, Frenchman, German, etc., but also the member of a religious sect or community, as Christian, Jew, Mahommedan, etc. Their religion, called Nanekism, was founded by one Nanek, a native of Lahore, born in 1419, and may be considered as a mixture of Brahminism and Mahommedanism; its precepts are those of a pure deism. A religious persecution which the Sikhs suffered from the Mohammedans, about ninety-one years after the establishment of the former, converted them from a quiet inoffensive people into a military one; nor was it long before they found means to shake off the yoke of servitude, while by the asylum and protection which they offered to those who had, like themselves, been the victims of religious bigotry, their numbers were greatly increased.

The Sikhs cannot, however, be regarded as a compact and united people until the rise of the celebrated Runjeet Sing, they having been, previously to his time, split into many sections, each of which was governed by an independent chief. Runjeet's ambitious plans were nearly always successful, and under him the Sikhs first became a really formidable nation; but they could not cope with the British, for when Runjeet endeavoured to push his conquests to the mouth of the Sutlej, he was compelled to retire. Perceiving now the superiority of European discipline and tactics, he exerted himself to the utmost, in order that his troops might possess the same advantages, and having invited and obtained the assistance of many distinguished European officers, particularly Generals

Avitabile, Ventura, Allaud, and Court, he established his army upon a footing which rendered it more than a match for the native powers, his neighbours.

In personal appearance, the Sikhs are a very fine race of men, being tall, muscular, and full of vigour, with prominent features, high foreheads, and eyes capable of expressing the softest emotions, as well as the fiercest passions of their nature. They have the utmost aversion to any manual labour or servile industry, thinking the only honourable occupation to be that of arms, and would rather die of hunger than till the earth or practise commerce.

The Sikh soldier is paid very liberally, and receives a much larger allowance than did the Sepoy when in the service of the late East India Company. The dress of these troops is composed of a *chupkun*, or coat made of various stuffs and of any colour, well quilted, so as to resist sword cuts; and many have even withstood the point of a lance. The *pyjamas*, or pantaloons, are almost always yellow, loose about the hips, and from the knee downwards perfectly tight; the head-dress is either a turban or a steel helmet, fitting close to the head, with chains, etc. The arms of each are a matchlock, spear, dagger, pistols, sword, and shield. The costume of a Sikh chief is indeed magnificent: Rajah Soochet Sing, the brother of the famous minister of state Dheean Sing, is described as being thus splendidly equipped:—

“He wore a helmet or skull-cap of bright polished steel inlaid with gold, and a deep fringe of chain mail (*armour*) of the same material reaching to his shoulders; three plumes of black heron’s feathers waving on his crest, and three shawls of lilac, white, and scarlet, twisted very round and tight, interlaced with one another, and gathered round the edge of his helmet; a chelent or carcanet of rubies and diamonds on his forehead; back-piece, breast-plate, and gauntlets of steel richly embossed with gold and precious stones, worn over a rich thick-quilted jacket of bright yellow silk, with magnificent armlets of rubies and diamonds on each arm, a shield of the polished hide of the rhinoceros, embossed and ornamented with gold, a jewelled sabre, and a matchlock.”

The Sikh army, under Runjeet Sing, consisted of about 80,000 men of all arms, being 40,000 of irregular infantry,

9,000 regular infantry, 4,000 regular cavalry, 25,000 irregular cavalry of all classes, and 2,000 artillery. But he still further increased his military power by engaging in his service the wild and furious fakirs (*a kind of Moham-medan monks*) called Acalees; the genius of that able prince having convinced him that the same military discipline which has so frequently converted the raw and mindless peasant into a regular and obedient soldier, would produce a change equally marvellous in the ferocious character of these fanatics. India cannot produce a race of men who appear so extraordinary to Europeans as the roving Acalees. Acknowledging no superior save the Supreme Being, they have not only no respect for the prince whom they serve, but take every possible occasion to show their contempt of him, whenever he is the subject of their discourse. Even Runjeet Sing himself was compelled to submit to their insults.

The Acalees are constantly on the move, and are armed to the very teeth, it being by no means an uncommon circumstance to see them with a drawn sword in each hand, two more in their belt, a matchlock at their back, and three or four pair of quoits fastened round their turban. This last-mentioned weapon, which is their favourite one, consists of a steel ring, varying from six to nine inches in diameter, and about an inch in breadth, very thin, and the edges ground very sharp; this they hurl with such surprising precision and force, as to be able to sever a limb at sixty or eighty yards' distance. As they deem the destroying men of a different creed a meritorious action, no sooner have they, by means of their trenchant quoit, decapitated an enemy, than, kneeling down and muttering a prayer, they offer up the body of the slain as a sacrifice.

Such, and so formidable was the description of foe with whom our brave countrymen, aided by the Sepoys, were about to contend.

READING XCVI.

THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN (CONTINUED).—BATTLES OF
MOODKEE AND FEROZESHAH.

It was on the 13th December, 1845, that the governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge, received precise information that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, and was formed in great force on the left bank of the river, for the purpose of attacking Ferozepore, which was occupied by an English division of little more than five thousand men. A proclamation was immediately issued on the part of the British government, tantamount to a declaration of war. "The Sikh army," it is said, "has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories. The governor-general must, therefore, take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violators of treaties, and the disturbers of public peace."

Reinforced by the garrison of Laodiana, five thousand strong, with twenty-one guns, Sir Hugh Gough had already, on the 11th, begun his march for the purpose of relieving Ferozepore. On the 18th, the British force having moved up by double marches, on alternate days, reached, and, with the exception of two European and two native regiments, passed by, the village of Moodkee, and proceeded to bivouac in front of it. Both men and horses were dreadfully jaded. In seven days they had traversed, through roads of heavy sand, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles. They had found no water during the last day's march, and were without supplies at the end of it; for many had no provisions at all issued out to them, and others, who had been more favoured in this respect, had no convenience for cooking: but rest alone was a luxury to men in their condition. Scarcely, however, had they enjoyed it for two short hours, when the patrols came galloping in, and announced that the Sikhs were advancing. The bugles and trumpets now sounded to arms, the men fell into line, and the governor-general and the commander-in-chief rode from regiment to regiment encouraging them. Then, placing himself at the head of the cavalry and artillery, Sir Hugh

Gough moved forward, while the governor-general formed the infantry, and at the head of twelve battalions of undaunted heroes marched in support of the troopers in advance.

The field of action was a sandy plain covered with low brushwood, and broken by slight undulations, of which the enemy, forty thousand strong, with twenty-one guns, availed himself to screen his infantry and cavalry. The fire which the Sikhs now opened upon our advancing troops was very severe, but was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, and by two light field batteries; and the quick eye of the commander-in-chief no sooner perceived that the well-directed fire of our artillery had paralysed that of the enemy than he ordered the cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to make a flank movement on the enemy's left. Dashing forward with the utmost gallantry, our brave troops chased the Sikh cavalry from off the field, and sweeping along the rear of their line, silenced their guns and rode through their battalions. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon showed the Sikh army the description of foe they had aroused, and drove them headlong from position to position with great slaughter and the loss of seventeen pieces of cannon; our infantry employing that never-failing weapon the bayonet, whenever the enemy attempted to make a stand. Night only saved them from worse disasters, for this stout conflict was maintained during one hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which served to obscure, still more, every surrounding object.

As the next object of the commander-in-chief was the relief of Ferozepore, threatened according to the first reports received by the governor-general, by the Sikh army *en masse* (*in one body*), Sir John Littler was directed to join the main army as soon as possible with the Ferozepore force. After giving his men two days' rest, Sir Hugh Gough, quitting his camp at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st of December, found himself at the point of junction a little after noon, and was greeted, as he approached, with the sight of heavy clouds of dust, raised, as was almost immediately discovered, by Sir John Littler's division, 5,000 strong. From Laodiana every

man that could be spared had also been withdrawn, and these two reinforcements swelled the amount of troops in hand to between sixteen and seventeen thousand men.

The army advanced in four divisions: the right commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, the left by Sir John Littler, the centre by Major-general Gilbert, and the rear by Sir Harry Smith. At about two P.M. it came upon the enemy, who occupied several fortified positions on very strong ground. His numerous guns made great havoc among the advancing force, which had nothing to oppose to them but light horse artillery. General Gilbert, with the centre division, carried in the most brilliant style that part of the Sikh position which it fell to his lot to attack; but Sir John Littler was not so successful: his division having formed nearer to the enemy's works than General Gilbert's had done, attacked rather too soon, and suffered very severely, for there was no diversion in its favour, and the enemy were able to turn against it the whole volume of their fire. The calibre of the Sikh guns far exceeded that of ours, and our artillery consequently produced scarcely any effect upon the enemy, so that, notwithstanding the bravest efforts, our troops were compelled to retire, but quickly rallying and being re-formed, they made a splendid bayonet charge, the artillery at first covering their advance. This movement proved successful, although it cost many lives, the enemy's guns telling terribly, and the explosion of mines scattering fearful destruction around. Her Majesty's 3rd dragoons, who had dashed on in advance, carrying everything before them, found themselves unexpectedly in front of a very strong position, the tremendous fire from which so thinned their ranks, that they were compelled to retreat. Night, which had now come on, put a temporary stop to hostilities, and such a night was never, perhaps, passed by troops before. Side by side with the dying and the dead did the living lie down, while, all around and all above them, the horizon was illuminated with the flames from burning huts, exploding shells, tumbrils, ammunition waggons, and occasionally by the bursting of mines. Nor while the British troops prepared to snatch an hour or two's rest were the Sikhs idle, for they brought their cannon to bear upon that part of the field where the governor-general and commander-in-chief were resting with their staff: the 80th

and 1st Bengal European regiments were immediately ordered to charge with the bayonet, and after suffering severely, succeeded in driving off the assailants.

There was now a lull of an hour or two, which Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough employed in going about from corps to corps, animating the men, and impressing upon the officers that the only alternative on the morrow would be victory or death. The fight was renewed at daybreak by General Gilbert's division advancing to attack the positions which had not previously been carried. This battle of the 23rd December was, perhaps, the most obstinate and sanguinary of all, and it was on this day that the commander-in-chief performed an action which may vie with the most chivalrous deeds of our Henrys and our Edwards. Seeing a part of his line reel and stagger under the fire, it occurred to him that if he could divert even a portion of the cannonade for a few moments to another point, the crisis of the battle would be passed: he immediately rode forward, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and making himself prominently conspicuous to the Sikh gunners, moved slowly on one side, as if for the purpose of reconnoitring their entrenchments more particularly. In an instant, almost every gun in the battery was turned upon him: the shot ploughed up the dust about him, so as almost to hide both him and his horse from the enemy's view, yet not one took effect; and so complete was the diversion thus heroically produced, that the line of infantry, feeling as if redeemed from certain destruction, raised an animated shout and sprang forward: the next instant, the redoubt, with all the artillery it contained, was theirs. After the enemy had been thus driven from all his positions, he rallied and thrice returned to the attack, and was as often repulsed with great slaughter at the bayonet's point. Finally, the steady bravery of the British troops prevailed, and the enemy, broken and discomfited, precipitately retreated towards the Sutlej, abandoning his camp, and all his guns, except ten, which the want of cavalry compelled our troops to allow him to carry off. The commander-in-chief and the governor-general were repeatedly in the thickest of the fire, both of them leading in person some of the most brilliant charges made on the ever-memorable day of Ferozeshah.

READING XCVII.

THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN (CONCLUDED).—BATTLES OF
ALIWAL AND SOBRAON.

THE rout of the Sikhs at Ferozeshah was succeeded by nearly a month's interval, which was employed by both sides in making preparations offensive and defensive for further operations. About the end of that time, intelligence was received at head-quarters, that the Sirdar Runjoor Sing had crossed the Sutlej, threatening the British posts on that river, and especially Laodiana. That place was even taken and burnt; and then it was that Sir Harry Smith was sent towards Laodiana, taking possession of various posts on his road, Dhurrumkote, and others, which had fallen into the enemy's hands. Sir Harry Smith's objects in this expedition were—to give security to the post at Laodiana, which had been already reinforced; and to secure the communication in the rear by Busseean. Having executed this important duty with the utmost promptitude and success, and effected a junction with Generals Godby and Wheeler, he moved on to the new position which the Sikhs had taken up near Aliwal, and there, on the 28th, was fought that celebrated battle which elicited from the immortal Wellington the following panegyric: "I will say with regard to the movements of Sir Harry Smith, that I have read the accounts of many battles, but I never read an account of an affair in which more ability, energy, and discretion were manifested than in this case, or in which any officer has ever shown himself more capable than this officer did of commanding troops in the field; or in which every description of troops has been brought to bear with its arm in the position in which it was most capable of rendering service, or in which everything was carried on more perfectly—the nicest manœuvres being performed under the enemy's fire with the utmost precision: nor have I read of any battle, in any part of the world, in which at the same time energy and gallantry on the part of the troops were displayed to a degree that surpassed that exhibited in this engagement. I must say of this officer, that I never saw

any case of ability manifested more clearly than in this instance; it has been shown that Sir Harry Smith is an officer capable of rendering the most important services to his country."*

But the crowning victory was yet to come, for, notwithstanding their three defeats, the Sikhs, trusting to the great strength of their entrenched camp, resolved still to make a stand against the efforts of the English. This camp rested both its flanks upon the deep water, and communicated with the high grounds above Sobraon by a bridge with a good ford on either side of it. The works had been repeatedly surveyed. They consisted of formidable entrenchments, defended by not fewer than 30,000 men and 70 pieces of artillery. The fortifications had been most skilfully constructed under Colonel Don Hurbon de Alcantara, a Spanish engineer. There was a double line of batteries, arranged in semicircular form, high ramparts, and deep and wide ditches with holes and banks: a triple line of defences of earth and plank, such as a rifle ball could hardly enter, with fascines, redoubts, and epaulements, appeared to defy the efforts of our troops. Immediately within, they were, as in the camp at Ferozeshah, pierced with loaded mines, and everything arranged which skill could plan, or perseverance carry out, during the four weeks they had occupied their position. A considerable force remained on the other side, with guns so placed as to command and flank the position on this.

The arrangements in contemplation had been submitted to the governor-general by the commander-in-chief, and met his hearty approval. Two piquets in front of Koodeewallah and the little Sobraon, occupied by the enemy in force during the day only, were ordered to be taken possession of on the night of the 9th of February; and although some misconception and delay occurred, by daylight on the morning of the 10th they were in our hands. The battering and field artillery were placed in a semicircle, embracing within its fire the position of the Sikhs. The cannonade, which was meant to have commenced at daybreak, was delayed till the rays of the sun had dispelled the mist, which, hanging over the river and the

* Speech of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, April 2, 1846.

plain, rendered distant objects obscure. Two brigades under Sir R. Dick meanwhile waited on the margin of the Sutlej, to commence the attack on the enemy's right. The 7th or Stacy's brigade, comprising Her Majesty's 50th and 53rd, led on, supported at a distance of two hundred yards by the 6th, under Colonel Wilkinson: the 5th under Colonel Ashburnham, forming the reserve, was to advance from the entrenched village of Kooodeewallah, leaving one regiment behind for its defence. General Gilbert's division, constituting the centre, was either to attack or support, its right resting on the village of the little Sobraon, which it partly occupied. On the left, near the village of Guttah, with its right thrown out towards the river, was General Sir Harry Smith's division. The cavalry, under Colonel Cureton, feigned an attack on the ford at Hurreekkee, threatening the Sikh horse on the other side. In the rear, between General Gilbert's right and Sir H. Smith's left, Brigadier Campbell occupied a position capable of protecting both. Sir Joseph Thackwell, with Brigadier Scott, held the remainder of the cavalry in reserve on the left, ready to act as circumstances might demand. At three A.M. the troops advanced to their respective stations as above described. At day-break the light field batteries and a brigade of howitzers opened. By half-past six, the whole fire of our artillery was developed. Round shot, shells, and rockets followed each other with fearful celerity, and the frequent explosion of ammunition waggons in the enemy's camp showed with what precision they were aimed. At first a few horsemen showed themselves, reconnoitring and directing the removal of the baggage across the river by the bridge. Our infantry lay facing the works, within cannon range, but under cover. The enemy at first scarcely seemed aware of our position, the columns having taken up their ground under cover of the night, but were quickly seen lining the whole of their works as they saw them surrounded. In an instant every gun was opened upon us from a common centre, and the fire became tremendous. Our guns were of formidable calibre, were admirably served, and pointed with the utmost precision; but the Sikh position was so formidable, and their cannon so numerous, that it was feared that by cannonade alone it was vain to hope to carry the day in any reasonable time, and it was deter-

mined to bring the issue to the arbitrement of musket and bayonet. The attack in conformity with this determination was commenced at nine o'clock, when Colonel Stacy's brigade, supported by Colonel Lane's horse artillery, and Captains Horseford's and Fordyce's foot batteries, advanced steadily in line towards the enemy's works. The infantry under Stacy, supported by Wilkinson's brigade, moved on with equal coolness, halting when necessary to correct any imperfections in their line. About twelve hundred yards of deep sand had to be traversed. The artillery went on at a gallop, taking up a succession of positions until within three hundred yards of the enemy. The simultaneous roar of one hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance now resounded along the Sutlej; the slaughter was terrible; and so hot was the fire of the musketry, camel swivels, and cannon, that it seemed for a moment impossible that the entrenchments should be won. On our soldiers went, under a storm of grape and musketry, now opening on them from the opposite side and focus of the entrenched position. A shout, a run, and a fire had no effect; the heaviness of the ground over which they had passed had fagged the men. The Sikhs saw their danger, but, confident in the power of their guns and strength of their position, stood firm and fought bravely. The enemy's cavalry, ordered to the rescue, was now seen preparing for the charge. A square was formed: the gallant Sepoys coolly closed in on their own centre: the enemy's horse took warning and withdrew. In a moment the line was re-formed and the troops advancing, but not a man had as yet passed the entrenchments. The Sikhs showed signs of wavering as they saw our column slowly and undismayed move on. One frightful effort more, and the outworks were our own. Her Majesty's 10th foot, under Colonel Franks, charged without firing a shot till within the entrenchments of the enemy. The 53rd came next: the Sepoys of the 43rd and 59th emulated the Europeans in coolness and determination. The brigade of Colonel Ashburnham now came to the support of that of Colonel Stacy. Generals Gilbert and Sir H. Smith threw out their light troops, aided by the artillery, to threaten the other portions of the entrenchments. The Sikhs attempted to throw the whole force within their camp upon the two brigades which

had entered, and the battle raged with terrific fury all along from right to left. Our heavy guns had first been directed to the right, when their fire required to be gradually suspended. The Sikhs strove with indomitable valour to recover, sword in hand, the positions from which they had been driven at the bayonet's point; nor was it till the weight of the three divisions of infantry, and the fire of every piece of artillery belonging to our army, had been felt, and the cavalry under Sir Joseph Thackwell had, in single file, burst through the openings made by the sappers in the entrenchments, re-formed and charged on the other side, that the victory was won. The 3rd dragoons overcame every obstacle, galloped over and cut down the men still standing by their guns, and the victors pressed closely upon the enemy on every side. Now their fire first began to slacken, and then ceased. Regiment after regiment moved steadily down, and fearful volleys of musketry were poured in on the retiring foe. The few parties first retreating were followed by vast masses making for the bridge.

Thousands betook themselves to the river, which a sudden rise had just rendered unfordable. The bridge, meanwhile, had partially sunk, and was totally inadequate to the conveyance of the multitude pressing towards it. This battle had begun at six, it was over at eleven o'clock; the hand to hand combat commenced at nine, and scarcely lasted two hours. The river was full of sinking men. For two hours volley after volley was poured in upon the sinking mass; the stream became literally red with blood, and covered with the bodies of the slain. At last, the musket ammunition becoming exhausted, the infantry fell to the rear; the horse artillery plying grape till not a man was visible within range. No compassion was felt, or mercy shown: not only had our own loss been excessively severe, but the enemy during the earlier part of the day had mutilated or murdered every wounded man that fell into their hands. The coolness and order with which the enemy retired, notwithstanding the havoc made amongst their ranks, was remarkable. Their columns moved out of range of our fire on reaching the further bank of the river, and pitched their tents, which had been sent across at an early part of the action. The bridge was partly burnt, partly sunk, and latterly destroyed by

the engineers; the camp in several places set fire to by stragglers—increasing the horror of the scene of carnage. Of 35,000 men who had that day maintained so stout a resistance, more than one half must have been killed or wounded. Sixty-seven guns, with upwards of two hundred formidable camel swivels, numerous standards, and an immense quantity of munitions of war, fell into the victors' hands. The loss on the side of the British was:—13 European officers killed; 101 wounded; 303 rank and file killed; and 1,913 wounded. The governor-general was wherever the fire was hottest; his gallant conduct is thus borne testimony to by the "glorious veteran," in his despatch of the 13th February, 1846, detailing to Sir Henry Hardinge the battle of Sobraon:—

"I have now to make the attempt—difficult, nay impracticable though I deem it—of expressing in adequate terms my sense of obligation to those who especially aided me by their talents and self-devotion in the hard fought field of Sobraon.

"First, right honourable sir, you must permit me to speak of yourself.—Before the action, I had the satisfaction of submitting to you my plan of attack, and I cannot describe the support which I derived from the circumstance of its having in all its details met your approbation. Nor did your assistance stop here: though suffering severely from the effects of a fall, and unable to mount on horseback without assistance, your uncontrollable desire to see this army once more triumphant carried you into the hottest of the fire, filling all who witnessed your exposure to such peril at once with admiration of the intrepidity that prompted it, and anxiety for your personal safety, involving so deeply in itself the interests and happiness of British India."

READING XCVIII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848.

THREE revolutions have, within the last sixty years, convulsed society in France, and compromised, in a greater or less degree, the tranquillity of Europe: the first, in the year 1789, ended in a stern but dazzling military tyranny under Napoleon; the second drove the restored elder branch of the Bourbons into exile, and seated Louis Philippe, the king of the barricades, on what was called a constitutional throne; of the third, and which was thought to be the last, it can only be said, that for a time it expelled royalty, abolished all aristocratical distinctions, and proclaimed a republic. We leave to others the task of investigating the real causes of that convulsion, and of indicating its results; ours is simply that of giving a rapid sketch of the few eventful days, big with the fate of Philippe and of France.

After various changes in the French ministry, M. Guizot, who had been for a long time the virtual, became, by the retirement of Marshal Soult, the nominal head of the cabinet, and the right hand of the king, who grew daily bolder and more resolute in his advance towards absolutism.

The ostensible leaders of the opposition were MM. Odillon Barrot, Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, and Duvergier de Hauranne; but amongst the more active liberals were Generals Cavaignac, Bedeau, and Lamoricière, MM. Louis Blanc and Armand Marrast. Under the auspices of these gentlemen, a reform meeting, known by the name of the banquet of the Château Rouge, had been got up, and was quickly imitated throughout the provinces. At Autun, Compiègne, Bezières, Amiens, Montargis, and St. Denis, similar banquets took place, and at many of them, amongst the toasts drunk after dinner, the health of the king was pointedly omitted.

Such was the situation of affairs when the reform banquet of the twelfth arrondissement (*district*) of Paris, which had frequently been postponed, was at length finally announced for Tuesday, the 22nd of February; but

was again abandoned in consequence of a proclamation issued by the government on the Monday night previous, forbidding the assembly. The opposition members consoled themselves for the disappointment, by impeaching the ministers in the Chamber of Deputies. Every precaution of a civil and military description was taken by government for the maintenance of order.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather on the morning of the 22nd, the streets of Paris presented an animated spectacle at a very early hour. Groups of persons were seen assembling in every direction, and troops were everywhere in movement. About eleven o'clock, large masses filled the Place de la Madeleine, the Rue Royale, and the Place de la Concorde, etc. One of these mobs, headed by two national guards armed with sabres, proceeded to M. Guizot's official residence, shouting, "Down with the man of Ghent!—Down with Guizot!" Towards two o'clock, all the shops began to be closed, and at about three, the mob commenced making barricades in the Rues Rivoli, St. Honoré, etc.: this was chiefly effected by stopping omnibuses, cabs, carriages, etc., making the passengers alight, and then throwing the vehicles one upon the other, the paving stones having been previously removed; and it is remarkable that both these services were mostly performed by boys of from twelve to fifteen years of age. These barricades were defended by persons who had procured arms by forcing open the shops of gunsmiths, cutlers, and others, who sold weapons of offence.

At three o'clock the opposition members repaired to the Chamber of Deputies, and impeached the ministers: it is said that M. Guizot laughed very heartily when the document was handed to him by the president. Evening now approached, and, contrary to the general rule in such cases, everything became quiet. Pickets of soldiers were seen here and there, with piled arms, before their bivouac fires, while a few patrols of the national guard performed their nightly rounds in silence.

Wednesday morning discovered the preparations which had been actively made for the approaching struggle. Troops of the line were seen in all the public squares, or, as the French call them, *places*, and cannon brought from Vincennes were so disposed as to command various important points; while, on the other hand, the barricades

thrown up, on the preceding day, had been everywhere demolished, and every description of public carriage had been cleared from off the usual stands, in order to prevent the construction of new ones: notwithstanding, however, these precautions, the populace had succeeded in raising several of these formidable barriers in different places.

The second legion of national guards now mustered, but it was to express their disapprobation of the ministry, and to demand electoral reform; and so decided and resolute did they appear, that their colonel, M. Bagnères, repaired, at two o'clock, to the Duke de Nemours, and informed him, in the plainest terms, that unless the concessions were made, he could not answer for the fidelity of the troops. The third legion followed the example of their brethren, and loudly demanded the dismissal of the ministers, with cries of "Down with the ministry!—Reform for ever!—Down with Guizot!" The contagion now reached the troops of the line, who appeared disposed to side with the people, and everywhere the national guards were seen fraternizing both with the mob and the soldiers.

At three o'clock, the king dismissed the obnoxious ministry, and M. Molé accepted the *ministère de l'émeute* (the riot ministry)—but it was *too late*.

The tumult now appeared to be subsiding, when an unfortunate attack was made upon the mob assembled before the hotel, or official residence of the minister for foreign affairs, and fifty-two persons fell, either dead or wounded: the revolutionary storm again rose loud and violent; barricades were formed at the corner of almost every street, and not a tree on the whole line of the Boulevards but was felled for the purpose of making them. Late at night the king in great alarm sent for MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot; M. Molé having declined the task of forming a new ministry.

Thursday, the 24th, was the decisive day. The deplorable catastrophe which had occurred the preceding evening in front of the hotel of the minister for foreign affairs had exasperated the people to the utmost. All reforms, or any change of ministry now proposed, were useless; royalty in France was once more doomed to extinction, and the prince elected by the popular voice in 1830, was about to share the fate of Charles X.

From six o'clock in the morning, Paris was covered with barricades ; and thousands of citizens armed with guns, sabres, pikes, and pistols, proceeded in silence to take their stand behind them, the tricolor flag waving on their summit. The conflict, however, was happily avoided, except on a few scattered points. By ten o'clock, the national guard had fraternized with the people, and the regiments of the line with the national guard. Reports of what was occurring were every moment brought to the palace of the Tuileries, and it became evident that if something decisive was not done, the whole of the troops would desert the sovereign. At eleven o'clock orders signed by Thiers and Barrot were issued to the troops to suspend the firing. These orders were everywhere torn down, and a cry, "To the Tuileries!" was raised ; and from every part of the capital the insurgents marched upon that palace : by twelve o'clock it was invested, and the populace prepared to take it by storm. At one o'clock the following proclamation was posted at the Bourse (*the exchange*) and other public places :—

"Citizens of Paris !—The king has abdicated in favour of the Count de Paris, with the duchess of Orleans as regent.

"A general amnesty.

"Dissolution of the Chamber.

"Appeal to the country."

But it was again *too late*. The terrible cry of *à la potence Louis Philippe* (to the gallows with Louis Philippe) was now heard ; the attack on the royal palace commenced, and it was taken by storm, after a conflict which lasted nearly an hour. The carnage on both sides must have been great.

Shortly previous to the attack, Louis Philippe, accompanied by the Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, rode in front of the regiments and legions drawn up near the Tuileries ; but the shouts with which they were greeted were so equivocal, that they immediately re-entered the palace.

It was then that two officers approached the gates and demanded to be introduced to the Duke de Nemours. The commandant conducted them to the pavilion d'Horloge, where the duke was standing, in company with several general officers. Every countenance betrayed alarm and

apprehension. "Your Highness," said the commandant, "these citizens desire to suggest to you the means of avoiding the effusion of blood." "Speak, gentlemen," said the duke, in a faltering voice; "say, what must be done?" "Sir, the château must be evacuated, and given up to the national guard, or you are lost; the combat will be dreadful,—the palace is surrounded." The result was the order we have before mentioned for withdrawing the troops.

The following interesting account of the king's flight is given by M. Charles Maurice, editor of the *Courrier des Spectacles* :—

"About one o'clock in the afternoon, a young man in plain clothes, who turned out to be the son of Admiral Baudin, on horseback, trotted past at a quick pace, crying out that Louis Philippe had abdicated, and requesting that the news might be circulated. A few instants after, at the Pont Tournant, a troop of national guards on horseback were seen coming from the Tuileries, at a walking pace, and forming the head of a procession, and by gestures and cries inviting the citizens to abstain from every unfavourable demonstration. At this moment, the king Louis Philippe, his right arm passed under the left arm of the queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen to approach from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of the horsemen, and followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The king had on a black coat, with a common round hat, and wore no orders. The queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to depose the act of abdication. Cries of 'Vive la réforme!' 'Vive la France!' and even, by two or three persons, 'Vive le roi!' were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the obelisk, when the king, the queen, and the whole party, made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so pressed that they had no longer their freedom of motion. Louis Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. In fact, the spot fatally chosen by an effect of chance produced a strange feeling. A few paces off, a Bourbon king,

an innocent and resigned victim, would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis Philippe turned quickly round, let go the queen's arm, took off his hat, raised it in the air, and cried out something, which the noise prevented being heard; in fact, the cries and *pêle-mêle* were general. The queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the king's arm, and turned round with extreme haste, saying something which was also lost, and pushing back a hand which was extended near her, to urge her to proceed, she exclaimed, '*Laissez moi !*' (let me alone), with a most irritated accent, and seizing hold of the king's arm, they both turned their steps towards two small black carriages, with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The king took the left and the queen the right, and the children, with their faces close to the glass of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity; the coachman whipped his horse violently,—in fact, with so much rapidity did it take place, that the coach appeared rather carried than driven away; it passed, surrounded by the cavalry and national guards present, and cuirassiers and dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two ladies, followed the other at the same pace, and the escort, which amounted to about two hundred men, set off at a full gallop, taking the waterside, towards St. Cloud. The horse in the coach in which the king was could not have gone the whole way, so furiously did he gallop under the repeated lashes of the coachman, whilst the surrounding crowds vociferated that they were taking flight."

It now only remained for those who yet adhered to the monarchy to endeavour to establish the claim of the young Count of Paris to the throne.

For this purpose, a little after one o'clock on the 24th, the duchess of Orleans, with the two princes her sons, etc., accompanied by the dukes of Nemours and Montpensier, entered the Chamber of Deputies. After they had taken their seats, M. Dupin ascended the tribune, and said—"The king has abdicated; he has disposed of the crown in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris, and has constituted the duchess of Orleans regent." Considerable applause followed, mingled with cries of disapprobation, amid which a stentorian voice exclaimed—" *It is too late !*" An agitation which it is impossible to describe now arose,

and was quickly converted into a tumult by the forcible entrance into the chamber of a crowd of the lowest of the populace, some in blouses, with dragoons' helmets on their heads, others with cross-belts and infantry caps, others in ordinary clothes, but all armed with weapons of various kinds. Their conduct, as might be expected, was of the most violent and menacing description, so that the persons immediately around the duchess and her children now endeavoured to persuade her to quit the chamber, and in a few minutes she did so, accompanied by her sons and the dukes of Nemours and Montpensier.

About nine o'clock in the evening, the act proclaiming the Republic and constituting the provisional government was posted in all the public places of Paris; and thus, after a reign of seventeen years and a half, fell Louis Philippe of Orléans, first king of the French.

READING XCIX.

LOUIS NAPOLEON'S COUP D'ÉTAT OF DECEMBER 2, 1851.

ON the 11th of December, 1848, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoleon I., was elected President of the French Legislative Assembly, by a majority of 4,000,700 votes; and on the 2nd of December, 1851, executed the famous *Coup d'état* (*despotic measure of State*) which eventually placed him on the Imperial Throne.

This bold measure, contemplated, no doubt, long time before, would not perhaps have been carried so soon into effect but for certain proceedings in the Legislative Assembly, and more especially the introduction of a *projet de loi* (*a bill*) determining the responsibility of the ministers, as well as that of the chief of the State.

By Article 2 of Chapter I. of this *projet*, the President is declared liable to impeachment "if he be guilty of exciting to the violation of the 45th article of the Constitution" (which forbids the re-election of an existing president); and by Article 16 of Chapter III. it is provided, that "if the accusation be admitted, the National Assembly shall

issue a decree convoking the high court of justice, and nominating the commissioners charged to conduct the prosecution before the high court of justice. *The accused immediately ceases his functions.*"

The President, who saw that his views were suspected, and that the Assembly would never consent to become the pander to his ambition, determined, at once, to abrogate the laws he was unable to repeal, and to annihilate, by barefaced power, the Constitution he had sworn to defend. The extreme pecuniary embarrassment in which he is said to have been involved, was another powerful motive for this daring and unprincipled act.

On the morning of the 2nd December numerous copies of a decree (secretly printed the night before and posted on the walls) surprised the eyes of the Parisians. It was signed, "Louis Napoleon Bonaparte;" and countersigned, "De Morny, Minister of the Interior." After declaring the National Assembly and the Council of State dissolved, re-establishing universal suffrage, and convoking the French people in its elective colleges, from the 14th December to the 21st December following, it proceeded to accuse the Assembly of having become "a theatre of plots," and of its attacking the power held by the President from the people, to whom he then appeals to give him the means of saving the vessel of the State which is rushing into the abyss, by constituting him a responsible chief for ten years. The document concludes thus: "If I do not obtain the majority of the votes, I shall summon a new Assembly, and place in its hands the mission I have received from you. But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol, that is, France regenerated by the revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor, is still yours, proclaim it so by ratifying the powers I demand of you."

This decree was accompanied by a proclamation to the army, among the most striking passages of which are the following: "I make a loyal appeal to the people and the army, and I tell them—Either give me the means of insuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place."

"In 1830, as well as in 1848, you were treated as a vanquished army. After having branded your heroic disinterestedness, they disdained to consult your sympathies and wishes, and nevertheless, you are the *élite*

(*flower*) of the nation. To-day, at this solemn hour, I wish the voice of the army to be heard." "Vote, then, freely as citizens; but, as soldiers, do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the Government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the common soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare."

On the morning of the 2nd, before daybreak, some of the most distinguished men in France who were obnoxious to the President were suddenly arrested by commissaries, assisted by the military. The chief among them were Generals Changarnier, Bédau, Lamoricière, Cavaignac, who, after having been sent to Ham, were ultimately liberated, but compelled to exile themselves from the native soil. These arrests had been arranged between the prefect of police and the minister of war, and were to precede the arrival of the troops at their appointed posts. They were to be effected at a quarter past six o'clock, and the agents had orders to be at the doors of the persons designated at five minutes past six. A great number of carriages were stationed on the quays in the neighbourhood of the Prefecture, in such a manner as not to excite attention. Everything was carried into effect with a marvellous punctuality, and no arrest occupied more than twenty minutes.

When the representatives of the people learned, on waking on the morning of the 2nd of December, that several of their colleagues were arrested, they ran to the Assembly. The doors were guarded by the Chasseurs de Vincennes, who were stimulated by a donation of five francs distributed to every soldier on that day, and who, with much brutal violence, prevented the representatives from entering.

They re-assembled at the Mairie of the Tenth Arrondissement, and there passed a decree declaring, that as by Article 68 of the Constitution "any measure by which the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly, prorogues it, or places obstacles in the exercise of its powers, is a crime of high treason; and seeing that the National Assembly is prevented by violence from exercising its powers, it decrees as follow, viz.—

"Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is deprived of all authority as President of the Republic. The citizens are enjoined to withhold their allegiance."

Scarcely was this decree signed than a band of soldiers appeared at the door, without, however, daring to enter the apartment, until the arrival of two commissaries. Upon the latter summoning the Assembly to disperse, the President addressed them, and said: "*We* are, here, the lawful authority and sole representatives of law and of right. We will only leave this chamber under constraint. We will not disperse. Seize us, and convey us to prison." "All, all!" exclaimed the members of the Assembly. The commissaries then ordered the two presidents to be seized by the collar; upon which the whole body rose, and, arm in arm, two and two, followed the presidents who were led off. They were all taken to the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay, where most of them spent the night without fire and almost without food, stretched upon the bare boards. In the morning vans used in conveying *forçats* (*felons*) to the *bagne* (*the galleys*) were brought up. In these vehicles were shut up the men who had served and honoured their country, and transferred, like three bands of criminals, to three different prison fortresses: the public indignation, however, compelled the Government, two days afterwards, to release the greater number of them, but the rest were detained, unable to procure either their liberty, or their trial.

After the barricade at the Porte St. Denis (see the next Reading) had been carried, the insurrection was virtually at an end, and no serious attempts were made to prolong the resistance of the inhabitants to the stern rule of military power. On the evening of the 4th, General St. Arnaud issued an order to the troops, in which he said: "Soldiers,—you have to-day accomplished a great act of your military life. You have preserved the country from anarchy and pillage, and saved the Republic. You have shown yourselves what you will always be—brave, devoted, and indefatigable. France admires you, and thanks you. The President of the Republic will never forget your devotedness. Victory could not be doubtful. The true people, all honest men are with you. In all the garrisons of France your companions in arms are proud of you, and will, when called upon, follow your example."

On the 8th, Louis Napoleon addressed a proclamation to the French people, from which the following are extracts:—

“Frenchmen,—disturbances have disappeared. Whatever be the decision of the people, society is saved.

“The first part of my task is accomplished.

“The appeal to the nation to terminate the struggle of parties would occasion, I knew, no serious risk to public tranquillity.

“Why should the people rise against me?

“If I have not your confidence, if your ideas are changed, there is no necessity to shed precious blood: you have only to deposit in the urn a contrary vote.

“I always respect the decision of the nation, but till the nation has spoken, I shall not hesitate at any sacrifice to baffle the attempts of the factions.

“Let the people of Paris continue to aid the authorities, and the country will soon be able to perform in calmness the solemn act which is to inaugurate a new era for the Republic.”

True, as far as regarded the restoration of tranquillity in Paris, it might be said that disturbances were quelled, for the strong arm of an overwhelming military force had effectually crushed resistance; but, in the provinces, insurrectionary movements broke out, which at one time threatened to result in a general rising throughout France. But there was no lack of vigour in the Executive; and Louis Napoleon, taught by the miserable experience of Louis Philippe, showed that he was resolved to attempt no half measures, but would proceed in his course with ruthless determination. The departments where insurrectionary movements appeared were at once declared to be in a state of siege, and the firmness and discipline of the troops soon restored order and obedience. And as the acts of the insurgents were plainly those of men whose object was plunder and violence rather than the defence of outraged liberty, the nation at large sympathized with the army in its stern repression of the marauders.

READING C.

LOUIS NAPOLEON'S COUP D'ÉTAT OF DECEMBER 2, 1851
(CONCLUDED).—BARRICADES.

So sudden and unexpected was the blow struck by Louis Napoleon, and so skilfully had he taken his measures to overwhelm any resistance that might be offered to the execution of his scheme, that the inhabitants of Paris were paralysed, and gazed, at first, in an attitude of stupid wonder at what was going on, without attempting any demonstration; but on the morning of the 3rd symptoms of disturbances began to appear, and on the evening of that day some street skirmishes had already taken place. On the morning of the 4th the resistance assumed a somewhat serious appearance. Barricades were raised in various places by intrepid men, who are ever found ready, at a moment's warning, to risk their lives and all they hold most dear, for the public welfare.

The first barricade raised, that at the corner of the Rue St. Marguérite, was no sooner perceived by the police and the officers in command than a battalion of the 19th regiment of the line was ordered to force it. There was a profound silence; nothing was heard but the measured tramp of the troops advancing up the faubourg. On the barricade, ranged in a single line, stood Schoelcher, Baudin, Cournet, Sartin, Esquiros, and others; Baudin held in his hand a book—the Constitution—as the only weapon of defence; the muskets having, at the suggestion of Cournet, been lowered and hidden from view. The troops halted. Baudin raising his book, was in the act of calling upon the soldiers to respect the majesty of the law and to remember their oath, when the officer in command, somewhat uneasy at the evident hesitation of his men, made an angry gesture, and a volley from thirty muskets immediately followed. Baudin fell dead, two balls having gone through his brain, a workman who stood behind him shared the same fate, and several others were more or less wounded. The Reds now returned the fire, killing two of their opponents, one of them being the officer in command.

It was on the next day, the 5th, that the real battle was to be fought. The Reds formed themselves into groups of from fifteen to twenty persons, and proceeded towards the most populous quarters. Many of them took up a position in the Rue St. Denis, at the top of the Rue Thevenot. The spot was well chosen in order to repel the attack of the troops encamped at the Porte St. Denis. At noon, the barricade constructed with a mass of paving stones was truly formidable, and capable of resisting both grape and round shot.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the first howitzer shot was fired, literally cutting in two a poor woman who was standing on the threshold of her door. For one hour the Reds had remained on the defensive, and had succeeded in repulsing the infantry, when artillery was brought up against them.

It was now three o'clock, the fire was terrific, being kept up without intermission. The Reds replied by a well sustained fusillade. Almost every cannon ball passed above their heads, striking the upper stories of the houses, and causing very great damage. It was evident that nearly all the soldiers were intoxicated. At four o'clock the Reds were compelled, for want of ammunition, to slacken fire, and at nightfall, the infantry penetrated into the street. Overwhelmed by numbers, the Reds now retreated to the Quartier Montorgueil, where they found the streets bristling with barricades, but not a single defender. They then took up a new position, erecting a kind of fortification at the corner of the Rues St. Sauveur and Mandar, and still maintained a stout resistance until nine o'clock, when the troops, guided by the agents of police, attacked them on all sides. The night was dark, and the conflict, a hand to hand one, was truly dreadful; nor was it till after the most severe losses that the Reds, taking advantage of the darkness, sought safety in flight.

Whilst this struggle had been going on, from the Rue St. Denis to the Rue Mandar, other barricades had been simultaneously erected in the direction of the Rue and Faubourg St. Martin, along the canal, at the Rue du Temple, in short, as far as the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, and the Faubourg St. Antoine. For two hours the cannon thundered along the Boulevard des Italiens and that of Poissonnière, supported by an incessant fusillade.

Reybel and Canrobert, who commanded in this quarter, ordered the troops to fire at the balconies and windows of the houses, while the doors were smashed in by grape shot, and a passage opened for military assassins, who neither respected the feebleness of age, nor pitied the weakness of sex. The number of victims was never ascertained; it could not, however, have been less than three-fourths of the casual passers by, of persons attracted to the windows from curiosity upon hearing the first discharge of musketry, of tradesmen, whose blood besprinkled their thresholds, as they were endeavouring to close their doors, and, lastly, of poor inoffensive persons, who vainly sought for refuge from their pursuers in the interior of their dwellings. Long after the firing had ceased, no one was allowed to pass along the Boulevard, as it required several hours to remove the heaps of dead bodies and the pools of blood.

On the Boulevard Poissonnière, M. Lefilleul was occupied in closing his shop, early on the 4th of December, when a pistol-shot fired by a clerk residing in the neighbourhood, on a trumpeter of the line, dispersed the crowd around the house, and left an opening for the insurgent to rush into the shop. He was closely followed by the trumpeter, who succeeded in stretching him dead on the ground behind the counter, but fell himself on the corpse. Other soldiers came to his rescue, and wounded the unfortunate bookseller, who had not the least concern in the affray, but whom they took for an adversary. A dreadful struggle then took place between M. Lefilleul and a captain of the regiment. The former was again wounded in the thigh and arm, but the latter fell dead under the thrusts of the soldiers who were endeavouring to defend him. M. Lefilleul, who, notwithstanding his wounds, still retained his strength and his presence of mind, at length succeeded in making his escape, leaving behind him three dead bodies.

The following graphic description of what he *saw*, is given by Captain Jesse. He resided in the Boulevard Montmartre, and at the corner of the Rue Montmartre is an hotel, whence he could see all that was going on, from the Rue Richelieu to the farthest end of the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle:—

“Opposite my apartment is the Restaurant Bonnefoy,

and leaving this about half-past ten o'clock, a countryman on a cart-horse was pointed out to me, as having just had his waggon taken from him to help to form a barricade near the Porte St. Denis. The circulation of carriages in that direction very soon ceased, and at eleven the shopkeepers commenced putting up their shutters. Between this hour and one o'clock, I was at the Minister of the Interior's, Rue de Grenelle; and both going there and returning everything seemed quiet: there was no apparent movement amongst the troops within the iron railings of the Tuileries or on the Carousel; the shops, however, were closed in the Rue Richelieu. At two o'clock, when approaching the extremity of the Rue Vivienne, I observed the troops passing along the Boulevard, which they cleared, driving the people into the side streets, who ran down it, crying out, '*Sauvez-vous.*' I sought refuge with my wife in a shop, and subsequently reached my own house. At three o'clock, returning from the Place de la Bourse, it was with the greatest difficulty I got back again. The guns had been distinctly heard, for some time, in the direction of the Faubourg St. Denis, and the passage of troops that way continued for a quarter of an hour after I came back. Having written a note, I went to the balcony at which my wife was standing, and remained there watching the troops. The whole Boulevard, as far as the eye could reach, was crowded with them, principally infantry, in sub-divisions at quarter distance, with here and there a batch of twelve-pounders and howitzers, some of which occupied the rising ground on the Boulevard Poissonnière. The windows were crowded with people, principally women, tradesmen, servants, and children, or, like ourselves, the occupants of apartments. The mounted officers were smoking their cigars—a custom introduced into the army, as I have understood, by the princes of the Orléans family,—not a very soldierlike one, but, at such a moment, particularly re-assuring, as it forbade the idea that their services were likely to be called into immediate requisition. Of the Boulevard des Italiens I could see but little, on account of the angle I have mentioned, but in the direction of the Porte St. Denis, I could see distinctly as far as the end of the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle. Suddenly, and while I was intently looking with my glass at the troops in the

distance eastward, a few musket shots were fired at the head of the column, which consisted of about 3000 men. In a few moments it spread, and after hanging a little, came down the Boulevard in a waving sheet of flame. So regular, however, was the fire, that, at first, I thought it was a *feu-de-joie* for some barricade taken in advance, or to signal their position to some other division, and it was not till it came within fifty yards of me that I recognised the sharp ringing report of ball-cartridge; but even then I could scarcely believe the evidence of my ears, for as to my eyes, I could not discover any enemy to fire at, and I continued looking at the men until the company below me were actually raising their firelocks, and one vagabond, sharper than the rest—a mere lad, without either whisker or moustache—had covered me. In an instant I dashed my wife, who had just stepped back, against the pier between the windows, when a shot struck the ceiling immediately over our heads, and covered us with dust and plaster. In a second after I placed her upon the floor, and in another a volley came against the whole front of the house, the balcony and windows: one shot broke the mirror over the chimney-piece; another, the shade of the clock; every pane of glass but one was smashed; the curtains and window-frames cut; the room, in short, was riddled. The iron balcony, though rather low, was a great protection; still five balls entered the room, and in the pause for re-loading, I drew my wife to the door, and took refuge in the back room of the house. The rattle of musketry was incessant for more than a quarter of an hour after this, and in a very few minutes the guns were unlimbered and pointed at the *magasin* of M. Salandrouze, five houses on our right. What the object or meaning of all this might be, was a perfect enigma to every individual in the house, French or foreigner; some thought the troops had turned round and joined the Reds, others suggested that they must have been fired upon somewhere, though they certainly had not from our house or any other on the Boulevard Montmartre, or we must have seen it from the balcony. Besides which, in the temper in which the soldiers proved to be, they would never have waited for any signal from the head of the column eight hundred yards off. This wanton fusillade must have been the result of a panic,

lest the windows should have been lined with concealed enemies, and they wanted to secure their skins by the first fire, or it was a sanguinary impulse—either motive being equally discreditable to them as soldiers in the one case, or citizens in the other. As a military man, it is with the deepest regret that I feel compelled to entertain the latter opinion. The men, as I have already stated, fired volley upon volley for more than a quarter of an hour without any return; they shot down many of the unhappy individuals who remained on the boulevard and could not obtain an entrance into any house—some persons were killed close to our door, and their blood lay in the hollows round the trees the next morning, when we passed at twelve o'clock. The soldiers entered houses whence no shots ever came, and though *La Patrie*, the newspaper of the Elysée, pretended to specify them by name, it was in a subsequent number obliged to deny its own scandalous imputations. But let us admit that a few shots were fired from two or three houses on the other boulevard—that a few French soldiers were killed; was that a reason for this murderous onslaught on the houses and persons of their fellow-citizens, to the extent of nearly a mile of one of their most populous thoroughfares?

“The loss of innocent lives must have been great, very great, more than ever will be known.”

It is impossible to review the dreadful transaction above narrated without being convinced that no throne was ever established by more sanguinary means, means which Charles X. and Louis Philippe dared not, or would not, employ to preserve theirs, and that the same terrorism would undoubtedly be again resorted to whenever it might be deemed necessary to oppose the national will.

READING CI.

THE CRIMEA.—BATTLE OF THE ALMA.

1854.

THE Crimea, called by the ancients *Taurica Chersonesus*, and by the moderns, in later times, *Crim Tartary*, is a peninsula in the Euxine or Black Sea. It was colonized by the Greeks in 1550 B.C., and fell into the hands of the Mongols, under the famous Genghis Khan, A.D. 1237. Subsequently, the Venetians, and after them the Genoese, established valuable commercial stations there, from which they were ultimately expelled by the Ottoman emperor, Mahomet II., A.D. 1475. In 1774, Catherine II. assisted the inhabitants in recovering their independence; but, on the abdication of the Khan in 1783, that empress took possession of the country, which was secured to Russia, after a war with Turkey, by the treaty of peace of 1791. The Crimea, now Taurida, was divided into eight governments in 1802. In 1853, a dispute having arisen between the Greek and Latin churches as to the exclusive possession of the *Holy Places* in Palestine, and the French and Russian governments having taken different sides upon that occasion, the Porte advised the formation of a mixed commission, which decided in favour of the Greeks, and a firman (*Turkish decree*) was promulgated accordingly, March 9th, 1853: to this decision the French acceded, although dissatisfied. The Russians now made further claims, demanding nothing less than that the czar should have a protectorate over the Greek Christians in Turkey, a demand which the sultan rejected as inimical to his own authority. Upon this Prince Menschikoff, the Russian ambassador, quitted Constantinople on May 21st, and after various attempts to preserve peace, but without effect, war was declared by Turkey against Russia on October 5th, and by France and England, the allies of Turkey, March 27th and 28th, 1854.

The declaration of war was followed by large masses of troops being sent to the East, which, after remaining some time at Gallipoli, etc., sailed for Varna, where they disembarked, May 29th. The expedition against the Crimea having been determined upon, the allied British,

French, and Turkish forces, forming a well-appointed army, commanded by Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, sailed from Varna, September 3rd, and landed near Eupatoria, about thirty miles from Sebastopol. On the night of the 18th, Lord Raglan issued orders that the British army should strike tents at daybreak on the 19th, and prepare to march. The French marshal issued like orders to the troops under his command.

The march, which began in early morn, was, indeed, a grand sight. Stretching far and wide, presenting a martial front from east to west, and advancing in columns separated by small intervals, this army of more than 60,000 chosen men formed a gallant body. Here, the red coats of the line regiments, the bear-skin caps of the guards, the picturesque dress of the Highlanders, relieved by the sober darkness of the riflemen; there, the simple caps or shakos of the French, the bulky red trowsers of the Zouaves, the flowing costume of the other African regiments, and the nimble tirailleurs; further on, the Turks, Europeanized except as to the red fez (*cap*); and each—British, French and Turk—anxious to stand well in the eyes of the others.

The Russians, about 50,000 strong, including 6000 cavalry, and having 180 guns in position, had taken up the line of heights to the south of the Alma river: it was not, however, this possession of the higher ground which gave them a manifest advantage over the allies, for Prince Menschikoff, who commanded in the Crimea, had had a whole week since the allies landed in Eupatoria for his preparations. Making the best use of this time, he took possession of all the heights which commanded the gullies, the river, and the northern bank; planting formidable batteries at every salient position.

It was ten o'clock, on the morning of the 20th, before the British columns were seen pouring down the side of the hills. They had formed into order of march; the light and second divisions in advance; the first and third in the centre, and the fourth with the baggage and commissariat in the rear. Between the divisions was the artillery; and the rifles, in skirmishing order, protected, with the light cavalry, the left flank and front. The English halted as they came into line with their allies; the second division soon after deploying into four squares,

so as to meet the extreme left of the French. Both armies then moved forward in one united mass. The few Cossacks who had been stationed as Videttes (*mounted sentinels*) to the north of the Alma, now fell back.

The plan of the battle was formed so as to enable the French and a Turkish division, in the first instance, to turn the Russian left, and gain the plateau; and as soon as this operation was accomplished, the British troops and the French third division were to attack the right and centre. At half-past eight, General Bosquet's division moved forward, and crossed the river Alma near its mouth at half-past eleven. This movement was unopposed, for either the Russians did not regard it as one of importance, or they had no available batteries or battalions to bring to bear on that point. With inconceivable activity, the French climbed the cliff: the Zouaves being especially agile at this work—running, leaping, crawling on hands and knees, surmounting all obstacles of bush and gully. They gained the plateau, and then only did the Russians open upon them. The main body of the latter was collected round an artificial tumulus, upon which stood a half-built octagon tower, and thus partly protected they maintained their ground. To dislodge them, the Zouaves, who had now formed in considerable force, accompanied by some regiments of the line, charged with the bayonet. Lieutenant Portevin and a serjeant of the Zouaves reached the unfinished building, and both, as they triumphantly raised the French flag upon it, fell covered with wounds. It is a curious characteristic of these brave but eccentric troops, that the Zouave had a monkey upon his shoulder, which, dying, he bequeathed to his company, and which has since shared all their dangers. The Russians fiercely contested the vantage ground, and here took place the deadliest struggle between the French and the enemy. Around and within the unfinished tower were heaped the dead and the dying; but the Russians at length gave way before repeated and impetuous charges, and again fell back.

Nearly up to this time the British troops had remained immovable. Partly concealed from the enemy by the smoke of the burning village of Bourliouk, which had been fired by the Russians, and by the trees on the river bank; they halted, as had been agreed upon, waiting till

the French had gained the heights and had turned the Russian left; but Lord Raglan being now urgently pressed by Marshal St. Arnaud to advance without further delay, and no longer adhering to the original plan, gave the order to move forward. It was then that the Russian batteries on the slopes, which had hitherto remained silent, poured forth their deadly fire. This was answered by the British artillery, under cover of whose fire, Lord Raglan, at the head of his staff, plunged into the ford, and amidst a tempest of shot and shell gained unscathed the opposite bank, near the extreme left of the French. In the meanwhile the light division, under Sir George Brown, effected the passage of the Alma in his immediate front. The veteran commander saw his division cut down by fifties at a time; but he never wavered; he headed his men; he was unhorsed, but rose again, shouting, "Twenty-third, I'm all right!" Under shelter of the opposite bank they re-formed, and then advanced as rapidly as possible, over a thousand obstacles, up the hill. The battery now in front of them, and where the great struggle of the British took place, was an earthen redoubt whose face formed two sides of a triangle, with the apex pointing towards the little bridge over the Alma: it was also covered with an epaulment, that is, a thick low bank of earth, obtained, in this instance, from trenches dug between the spaces occupied by the guns. Urged on by Sir George Brown, the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd regiments (General Codrington's brigade) rushed up the slope in the teeth of the heavy guns placed in the earthwork: with unparalleled courage they drove the enemy before them, and, in spite of repeated volleys of grape which mowed down their ranks, made their way to the cannon's mouth. Some actually leaped into the battery, but were soon compelled to desert it by the heavy fire of the Russian battalions, which swept the slopes behind it. A column of the enemy descending the hill was mistaken for the French, and, for a moment our troops ceased firing. It soon declared itself by opening a volley upon the remains of the three regiments, which wavered and fell back, mingling together in complete confusion. The Russians, encouraged by this success, sprang over the earthen parapet upon the retreating crowd. For an instant the issue of this terrible combat

seemed doubtful. At this most critical moment, Sir Colin Campbell urged the immediate advance of the guards and of the brigade which had been formed into square. The advice was fortunately followed, and the guards again moved with steady step and irresistible courage up the steep ascent.

Sir Colin Campbell himself leading his gallant Highland brigade (the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd regiments), next made that flank movement which decided this part of the battle. The bagpipes sent forth their shrill notes, and the long line moved on with the slow and measured step of an ordinary parade, nor did they return the Russian fire until within a hundred yards, when, after discharging their pieces with terrible effect, they rushed with the bayonet upon the redoubt. The Russians recoiled before the charge, and seeing the Highland brigade on their flank, they hastily abandoned the earthwork, leaving, however, two guns as trophies in our hands.

The Russian reserves on the right, made a last effort by suddenly moving on our flank, to check the progress of the Highlanders, but in vain: a regiment faced about to receive them, and a single steady and well-directed volley sent them back in disorder. The French had driven the enemy from every part of the heights to the right, and their batteries opened relentlessly on the flying masses. A scene of terrible confusion ensued. The Russian soldiers throwing away their arms, boots, and knapsacks, and whatever else might impede them, left their ranks and sought safety in flight; the British horse artillery followed, pouring into them, again and again, as it came within range, its murderous fire. In vain the Russian cavalry, which had taken little or no part in the battle, attempted to check the pursuit, they could but cover the retreat of the panic-stricken crowd. But our artillery being unsupported was soon compelled to return, and about four o'clock the last gun re-echoed in the distance. In three hours—during two of which only, the British had been engaged—the allied armies had carried, by their irresistible courage and daring, a position which might well have been deemed impregnable.

The victory was complete, 7000 or 8000 Russians were killed and wounded, and the fugitives did not venture to halt till they had reached the villages on the banks of

the Katscha; here, however, a night alarm that the English were upon them caused them to resume their flight, and no further halt was made until a part reached Sebastopol, and the remainder, Baktchi Serai, where Prince Menschikoff endeavoured to rally and re-organize them.

Among other trophies, the carriage of Prince Menschikoff fell into the hands of the allies after the battle, and in it were found copies of dispatches addressed to the Russian government, stating that he could hold the position of the Alma against any force for three weeks. So certain did the Russians appear to have been of repulsing the attack, that a considerable number of ladies from Sebastopol are said to have been present, at a safe distance, to see the battle.

The loss of the English in the battle amounted to 26 officers, 19 serjeants, 2 drummers, 306 rank and file, killed; 73 officers, 95 serjeants, 17 drummers, 1427 rank and file, wounded; 2 drummers and 16 rank and file missing. The French loss was 4 officers and 132 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 61 officers and 1139 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded.

READING CII.

THE CRIMEA (CONTINUED).—BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA.

1854.

ABOUT the 20th of October, a movement had taken place among the Russian troops on the right bank of the Tchernaiia. On the 24th a considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was observed to have bivouacked at the mouth of a valley through which the high road from Simpheropol and Odessa debouches (*runs down*) into a small plain. Deserters declared that fresh *Corps d'armée* under General Liprandi had arrived from the principalities. The report was scarcely credited, until it was too fully verified on the morning of the 25th October. The object of the Russian general was to turn the position which, in consequence of the celebrated flank march after the battle of the Alma, the British army occupied to the

south of Sebastopol, and by placing us under two fires in front and rear, expose us to all but inevitable destruction. The ground occupied by our troops may be thus described.

A low undulating ridge runs across and divides the valley in which stands the village of Kadikeni, in front of Balaklava, into two parts; and upon this ridge were constructed four isolated redoubts, which may be distinguished as No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4. No. 4 was on the southern side of the valley, that is, on the left, looking towards Balaklava; the other three redoubts were on the northern side of the valley, along which they extended from east to west. These redoubts were occupied by Turkish troops, assisted only by four English artillerymen. The camps of the British cavalry, Highlanders, and Turks, were about a mile and a half in the rear.

Soon after sunrise on the 25th of October, the enemy opened their fire upon the foremost redoubts from a battery of heavy guns which had been brought, during the night, to the southern edge of the Tchernaiia ridge. It was immediately returned by the Turks, and by a French battery on the Sebastopol heights.

The firing from the batteries had continued for a short time, without much result on either side, when a movement was observed in the enemy's ranks. A large body of cavalry advanced steadily down the valley, while a column of infantry moved along the foot of the hill to the first redoubt, which was now the object of their attack. The Turks maintained a well-directed fire for about twenty minutes, when the Russian cavalry, under cover of the batteries on the Tchernaiia ridge, turning towards them, they were no longer able to persist, but retired in good order, although suffering considerable loss. The Russian infantry took possession of the redoubts and deserted guns. Those who held the two next redoubts, seeing their comrades retire, followed their example without attempting to maintain themselves, and their works were speedily occupied by the enemy, the guns having been spiked, though ineffectually, by the English artilleryman who had been placed in each. The fourth redoubt making a show of resistance, the Russian cavalry did not persist in attacking it, and the enemy soon afterwards abandoned the third.

The redoubts having been carried, the Russian cavalry,

supported by a considerable force of artillery, ascended the low ridge upon which the above works had been constructed, and divided themselves into two bodies; the smaller of the two, consisting of about 400 men, charged down the slope, but the 93rd Highlanders, who occupied a slightly rising plot of ground in front of redoubt No. 4, resolved to meet them half way, and rushing forward to the crest of the hill, fired and checked them. The cavalry then tried to outflank the regiment on the right, so as to separate it from its supports; but the Highlanders instantly wheeled round, presented a new front, fired again, and completely discomfited them, forcing them to retire.

The British heavy cavalry now entered the field, to confront the other and larger portion of Russian cavalry, regardless of disparity of numbers. As soon as the Russians were seen descending a hill, the Earl of Lucan ordered Brigadier-general Scarlett to attack them with the Scots Greys and the Enniskillen dragoons, supported in a second line by the 5th dragoon guards, and on the flank by the 4th. In a most determined manner, these troopers utterly defeated and routed thrice their number of Russian horsemen. The following animated description of this gallant feat of arms is given by an officer of the Enniskillen dragoons:—"Oh, such a charge! never think of the gallop and trot which you have often witnessed in the Phoenix Park, when you desire to form a notion of a genuine, blood-hot, all-mad charge, such as that I have come out of. From the moment we dashed at the enemy, I knew nothing but that I was impelled by some irresistible force onward, and by some invisible and imperceptible influence, to crush every obstacle which stumbled before my good sword and brave old charger. I never in my life experienced such a sublime sensation as in the moment of the charge. Some fellows speak of it as being 'demoniac.' I know this, that it was such as made me a match for any two ordinary men, and gave me such an amount of glorious indifference as to life, as I thought it impossible to be master of. Forward, dash, bang, clank, and there we were in the midst of such a smoke, cheer, and clatter, as never before stunned a mortal ear. It was glorious. I could not pause. It was all push, wheel, frenzy, strike, and down, down, down they went."

Up to this period, notwithstanding the loss of the redoubts, the English troops had been successful in repelling the attack, which the Russians do not appear to have been disposed to renew; but Lord Raglan believing that he could perceive symptoms on their part of an intention to retire, carrying off the captured guns, sent an order to the Earl of Lucan to follow them and try to retake the guns. Unfortunately this order was misunderstood as to command an attack on the Russians, who, so far from retreating, were drawn up as follows. The main body of Liprandi's corps d'armée was in order of battle at the bottom of the valley; considerably in advance of it, and crossing their fire, were the batteries in the first two redoubts and that on the Tchernaiia ridge: the steep sides of the hills were thickly covered with riflemen, supported by columns of infantry.

It was through this deadly approach, and in the face of an overwhelming mass of the enemy, that the Earl of Lucan, misunderstanding the order to advance,—for the Russians, instead of removing the captured guns, as Lord Raglan had anticipated, had turned them upon us,—directed, through Captain Nolan, the British light cavalry to charge. Lord Cardigan, its commander, ventured to ask a very natural question, "What his brigade was to charge?" The enemy, he was told, was before him, and the peremptory order was reiterated. Having, like a prudent man, remonstrated, he proceeded, like a brave one, to perform his duty. He led forward his squadrons in two lines, at a steady pace. Calmly and undismayed they advanced, whilst those who looked down upon the scene watched them, motionless and with bated breath, as men who were hurrying to sure destruction. The white smoke now burst forth before them and on either side. In front rode Captain Nolan, the bearer of the fatal order, waving his sword and urging his men to the charge. Suddenly his upraised arm remained motionless, and, as he uttered a cry of agony and despair, for he was struck on the breast by a shell, the glittering ranks passed on: a trooper held his horse, and he fell to the ground. Still the British cavalry did not quicken their speed until they could see each man in the lines before them. Then, amidst the smoke and roar of artillery, they rushed onwards. Soon reaching the gaping mouths of the guns, they

scattered and cut down those who stood round them. The heavy columns behind swerved and opened their ranks to the impetuous stream. When the men found themselves in the rear of the great body of the enemy's cavalry, and began fully to appreciate the peril of their position, they attempted to cut their way back again to the place whence they started. Here the destruction of this miniature force began in earnest. Wheeling round, and fighting their road through any gap offered, they encountered cavalry, infantry, and artillery — sabres, bayonets, bullets, balls—every horse and rider being a special mark for a whole host of opponents; and when a small remnant reached the allied position, the cheer which the men gave at the thought of having ridden over a Russian battery, and pierced through and through a phalanx of cavalry, was damped by the recollection of the comrades whom they had left behind them. Soon after this, General Canrobert sent some of his troops to aid the British. A charge by the Chasseurs d'Afrique made against a gun battery on the enemy's right, had the effect of drawing off some of the force that attacked the little band of British light cavalry, and of completing the final rout of the Russians. As evening closed in, the enemy retired behind the hills, and the battle ended—a battle in which the allies had acted throughout on the defensive, except in relation to the light cavalry charge. Our loss was about 40 cavalry and artillery officers killed or wounded, together with 400 non-commissioned officers and privates, and nearly as many horses. Menschikoff acknowledged a loss of 300 Russian infantry, without naming the numbers in cavalry.

READING CIII.

THE CRIMEA (CONTINUED).—BATTLE OF INKERMANN.

1854.

FROM the heights of Inkerman, Prince Menschikoff confidently wrote as follows to his Imperial Master: "A terrible calamity impends over the invaders of your dominions. In a few days they will perish by the

“sword, or will be driven into the sea. Let your Majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them untouched, the priceless treasure which your Majesty has entrusted to my keeping.” That this might prove no idle boast, the utmost exertions had been made to increase the strength of the army, and to occupy and fortify such positions as would “make assurance doubly sure.” In the mean time reinforcements had arrived at Sébastopol, from Bessarabia, *viâ* Perekop and Simpheropol. They were under the command of General Dannenberg, and formed a well-appointed army of 30,000 men.

To impart greater importance to this army and its mission, the emperor, anticipating the above suggestion of Menschikoff, had sent with it his third and fourth sons, the grand-dukes Michel and Nicholas—young men who, it was doubtless hoped, would, for the first time, witness a splendid victory gained by Russian troops. On the 3rd of November, at a council of war, it was determined that an attack should be made upon the allied forces two days after; the army was to advance towards Inkerman, take possession of the fortified works crowning the heights, and surround the plain or valley of the Tchernaiia; this accomplished, the eastern defence works of the allies on the plateau, and near Balaklava, were to be attacked; while, at a concerted time, a vigorous sortie was to be made from the south-west of Sébastopol upon the French siege-works. Menschikoff took upon himself the command of the town and the management of the sortie; while one of the Gortchakoffs was intrusted with the command of the army of operation in the field—the two grand-dukes being placed upon the staff.

Inkerman, where this terrific struggle was to take place, is properly the name of a village adjacent to numerous remarkable caves, in the face of a limestone rock nearly perpendicular, and many hundred feet in height; but the soldiers applied it indiscriminately to the village, the valley, and the heights on either side.

On the night of the 4th it had rained almost incessantly, and the early morning gave no promise of any cessation of the heavy showers which had fallen for the previous twenty-four hours. Towards dawn, a heavy fog settled down on the heights and on the valley of the Inkerman.

The pickets and men on outlying posts were thoroughly saturated, and their arms were wet, despite all their precautions; and it is scarcely to be wondered at, if there were some of them not quite so alert as sentries should be in the face of an enemy, for it must be remembered, that our small army was almost worn out by its incessant labours, and that men on picket are frequently men who have had but a short respite from work in the trenches or from regimental duties. The fog and vapours of drifting rain were so thick, as morning broke, that the soldier could scarcely see two yards before him. At four o'clock the bells of the churches in Sebastopol were heard ringing drearily through the cold night air, but the occurrence had been so usual that it did not attract particular attention. During the night, however, a sharp-eared serjeant on an outlying picket of the light division heard the sound of wheels in the valley below, as though they were approaching the foot of the hill. He reported the circumstance, but it was supposed that the sound arose from ammunition carts or arobas going into Sebastopol by the Inkerman road. No one suspected, for a moment, that enormous masses of Russians were creeping up the rugged sides of the heights over the valley of Inkerman, on the undefended flank of the 2nd division. As daylight broke, some of our people saw indistinctly through the mist, a party of Russians who appeared to be quite unarmed, on a hill above the western end of Sebastopol harbour, and in front of Sir De Lacy Evans's division. These men made the officer in front believe they were deserters anxious to surrender themselves, but as he advanced to receive them, he and his party of men were seized and made prisoners by a strong body of troops who had been lying in ambush behind some rocks. By this ingenious ruse the advantage of an alarm was lost, and the first Russian columns of attack, still partially concealed by the mist, were getting close on the English line before they were discovered by the inner pickets.

At the time the alarm was given, the Russians had possession of the heights, from whence their artillery at once opened a fearful fire upon the encampment, and had, moreover, established their infantry in every favourable position. They had now advanced to within about five hundred yards of the encampment, and the action com-

menced. The musketry was awful; the enemy, who had now guns upon every commanding point, hurled shells and round shot at our advancing lines. The enemy's columns continued to push forward, trying to overwhelm the British regiments with their superior numbers. And now commenced the deadliest struggle ever witnessed.

It is admitted that not sufficient attention had been paid to the defence of the position now attacked. Sir De Lacy Evans had repeatedly pointed out its unprotected state, but his sound views were not attended to. On a small spur of the steep hill overlooking the valley of Inkerman, was a little battery constructed of sand-bags and fascines; this memorable earthwork was merely a wall or rampart of earth about eight feet high, five thick, and thirty feet long: it had been pierced for two 18-pounder guns, but never armed with them. This unarmed battery was occupied by a picket of the 55th and 40th regiments, who, after a most vigorous resistance and a loss of nearly two-thirds of their number, were compelled to retreat before the advancing masses of the Russians.

Upon the first alarm being given by the pickets of the 2nd division, the guards fell in, and marched to the extreme right of that division—the grenadiers leading, and the fusileers following. Without waiting to measure numbers, they at once dashed at the Russians who had occupied the battery, and expelled them. Already seven hundred yards in advance of the general line of the British troops, the grenadiers were now in position, and had separated themselves into three parties, one of which occupied the battery that had been recaptured, while the others formed into right and left flanks nearly at right angles, so as to line the ridge of the long projecting tongue of land, at the extremity of which stood the sand-bag battery. The fusileers then advanced, and extended the left flank just formed by their comrades. The Russians poured up the slope in dense masses—now attacking the battery, now attempting to turn the right flank of the guards, now making a similar attempt on the left; but all in vain: the grenadiers and fusileers maintained an uninterrupted fire of rifles against the advancing columns; and as soon as the Coldstreams could reach the spot, they joined their brethren in this heroic defence. When the Russians were down below in the hollow, the

guards poured a destructive fire upon them ; when they ascended the slopes, they charged them with the bayonet : and thus did this band of heroes repel, for some hours, a force eight or ten times their own number. It was now half-past nine o'clock, and they were still unsupported ; their ammunition began also to fail, but they took what they could find from the pouches of the dead British and Russians lying around them, and thus continued the struggle, and maintained their position, meeting face to face the thousands of Russians who poured up the slope. At length other regiments came up, and enabled the exhausted guardsmen, now reduced to a force of scarcely more than one hundred strong, to obtain a little cessation.

The camp of the 2nd division was that which first met the fury of the Russian artillery, while the other regiments were engaged in the hand-to-hand struggle. Sir De Lacy Evans, general of that division, had, a week before, been so severely injured by a fall from his horse, as to have been carried on shipboard at Balaklava. No sooner, however, did this gallant man hear the sound of artillery, on the morning of the 5th, than he rose from his sick-bed, hastened across the plateau to Inkerman, joined his division, and assisted Pennefather, whom he had left as his substitute, with his advice, but without taking from him the command.

The 4th division, or rather the remains of it, for it could scarcely muster 2000 men, was now advanced to the front. Under the idea that he might make a strong impression by descending into the valley and taking the enemy in flank, General Sir George Cathcart marched rapidly forward. Taking advantage of this movement, the enemy endeavoured to gain possession of a portion of the hill in the rear of one flank of the British division, while a dense body of Russians appeared on an elevation in his rear. A shot was fated to deprive the division of their brave leader, before he could bring his men back to the heights : his body was afterwards found with a bullet wound in the head and three bayonet wounds in the body.

No sooner had the alarm spread through the camp than the veteran Sir George Brown collected together the regiments of the light division, and advancing through the

terrible gloom, confronted the enemy. Part of this division got so far a-head as to penetrate through the Russian columns; nor could it again emerge until after a most murderous conflict. Sir George Brown was carried off the field severely wounded.

About half-past nine o'clock, Lord Raglan and his staff were assembled on a knoll, in the vain hope of getting a glimpse of the battle which was raging below them. Here General Strangways of the artillery was mortally wounded. A shell came right in among the staff; it exploded on Captain Somerset's horse, ripping him open; a portion of the shell tore off the leather weralls of Captain Somerset's trowsers; it then struck down Captain Gordon's horse and killed him at once, and then blew away General Strangways' leg, so that it hung by a shred of flesh and a bit of cloth from the skin. The poor old general never moved a muscle of his face: he merely said in a gentle voice, "Will any one be kind enough to lift me off my horse?" He was taken down and laid upon the ground, while his life blood ebbed fast; he was afterwards carried to the rear, where he died in about two hours.

At ten o'clock a body of French troops (infantry) appeared on the right of the British—a joyful sight to our struggling regiments. The Zouaves came on at the *pas de charge*. The French artillery had already begun to play with deadly effect on the right wing of the Russians. Three battalions of the Chasseurs d'Orléans rushed by, accompanied by a battalion of Chasseurs Indigènes (*African troops*). Their trumpets sounded above the din of battle, and the fate of the day was decided when they attacked the right flank of the enemy. Assailed in front by our men, broken in several places by the impetuosity of the British charge renewed again and again, attacked by the French infantry on their right, and by artillery all along the line, the Russians began to retire, and at twelve o'clock they were driven pell-mell down the hill towards the valley, where pursuit would have been madness, as they were still covered by their artillery.

The Russians behaved with barbarous cruelty to our wounded,—every fallen man was bayoneted. It is said that Lieutenant-colonel Seymour was only wounded slightly, but unable to leave the spot with his men as they retired for a while overwhelmed. When our troops re-

covered the ground, they found him stabbed all over and stripped.

The total number of the English engaged did not exceed 8000, yet they succeeded for four hours in keeping at bay more than 40,000 Russians. The English loss amounted to 43 officers, 32 serjeants, 4 drummers, 380 rank and file—total, 459 killed; 102 officers, 121 serjeants, 17 drummers, 1694 rank and file—wounded; 1 officer, 6 serjeants, 191 rank and file—total, 198 missing. Total killed, wounded, and missing, 2591.

The Russian loss is stated officially at 42 officers and 2,969 men killed; 296 officers and 5,791 men wounded.

READING CIV.

THE CRIMEA (CONCLUDED).—TAKING OF THE MALAKHOFF.—REPULSE OF THE BRITISH.—EVACUATION OF SEBASTOPOL.

1854-5.

THE French lines of approach had now been advanced within a few yards of the Malakhoff, and the loss of life in the trenches was daily increasing to such an extent that it had become necessary either to take that formidable work, or to retire to a greater distance.

It was, therefore, determined that the assault should take place on the 8th of September, and the necessary arrangements were consequently made by the allied commanders for this crisis of the siege. General Pellissier collected 25,000 men in and near the Mamelon works, to form the attacking columns for the Malakhoff and Little Redan, and as reserves in support of those columns. With the French were associated the Sardinians, to the number of about 5000: General Simpson on his side similarly brought forward his available forces. It being known that the Russians were in the habit of retiring under shelter and taking their repast at noon, that hour was fixed for the commencement of the assault in order that the enemy might be taken at a disadvantage, and the event fully justified the expectation.

The French, then, were to storm the Malakhoff, which

was undoubtedly the key of the whole position, and when they had become masters of that formidable work, the English were to rush upon the Redan and take it by assault. To do this before the Malakhoff was in the hands of our allies would have been an act of insanity, for the guns of the Malakhoff completely commanded the Redan, and insured certain destruction to all who should attempt to attack the latter work, before those guns were silenced or in the possession of friends.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 8th, two mines, each containing 200 lbs. of powder, were sprung near the Central Bastion. The explosion took place in the middle of that work, and appeared to cause considerable confusion and disorder. At the same hour the French also fired, in advance of their approaches on the Malakhoff, three chambers, each having 1000 lbs. of powder: the result was terrific. Precisely at noon, our allies rushed forward on the Malakhoff from their advanced *places d'armes*. They crossed the ditches with surprising agility, and, climbing on the parapet, attacked the enemy to the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur*." The contest which had commenced with musket shots was continued with the bayonet, with the butt-ends of guns, and with stones. The Russian artillerymen made use of their rammers as weapons, but they were everywhere killed, taken prisoners or driven off, and in a quarter of an hour the French flag was floating on the conquered redoubt. The Redan of the Careening Port had also been carried after a very severe struggle, and the centre column had arrived as far as the second embrasure. The French General-in-chief then made the signal agreed upon for the attack of the Great Redan, and, in a short time after, for that of the town. But although the French had thus captured the Malakhoff, obstinate and sanguinary struggles still continued, for the Russians, well knowing its value, made furious attempts to retake it; but General Bosquet judiciously sent powerful reserves of Zouaves, Voltigeurs, and regiments of the line in support, and thus secured the conquest. Anything more wildly disordered than the interior of the Malakhoff during these dreadful encounters can hardly be imagined; the space within had been excavated in an extraordinary way by the Russians to form traverses, breastworks, bomb-proof chambers, and subterranean cells in which the soldiers might sleep at

night; the earth had become torn up by the violent bombardment; and every foot of the space became a rugged, frightful scene of bloody struggles, thousands of dead and wounded men being heaped up within this one fort alone. To the eye of an unwarlike spectator, the sight would have been most harrowing, but troops associated the idea of glory with these horrors, and regarded them with complacency.

Before we proceed to describe the attack made by the English on the Redan, and which was so lamentably unsuccessful, it will be but justice to remark that, owing to the rocky and difficult nature of the ground upon which our engineers had to make their approaches, the English lines were full two hundred yards distant from the salient angle of the Redan, at the time when the assault took place. It was necessary, therefore, to traverse that space exposed to the murderous fire of the Russian batteries and riflemen. Scarcely had a quarter of an hour elapsed from the commencement of the attack upon the Malakhoff, when the signal flag, so anxiously looked for from the English trenches, was hoisted, and the storming party of 800 men of the 62nd, 41st, 90th, and 97th regiments, with a detachment of the 3rd Buffs carrying ladders, and another of rifles, to keep down the fire from the ramparts, issued from the trenches. First went the rifles, and closely following them the ladder party, who had been posted in the most advanced trench, an unfinished one, about one hundred and fifty yards from the Redan. No sooner did the British emerge from their trenches, than the guns of the Redan opened a fierce fire on them, sweeping them down as they hastened over the intervening ground. Colonel Vinett of the 19th was one of the first officers to fall; he had "won the toss" for the post of honour with Colonel Windham, a few minutes before, and ended by a soldier's death. Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the ditch; it was a scramble down and a scramble up, many falling all the time under the shot of the enemy.

Wild and sanguinary was the scene within the assailed fort. The light and 2nd divisions had forced an entrance at different points, and Colonel Windham was among the first officers to enter; and when fairly within the parapet, he and his brother officers did all that men could do to

lead on the handful of troops to dislodge the Russians, but the latter not only maintained their position behind the inner line of defence in the Redan, but rapidly brought up reinforcements, and soon completely overpowered the few British, who saw they must either retire or remain to be shot down: Windham sent message after message to Codrington; begging him to send reinforcements; but the messengers were picked off, one by one, by the riflemen, as they endeavoured to traverse the space between the Redan and the trenches. Seeing the Russians increase their strength every moment, the gallant Windham made one last desperate effort to obtain reinforcements. He resolved to go himself. After saying to Captain Crealock, "Let it be known, in case I am killed, why I went away;" he scrambled out over parapet, ditch, and abatis, reached the trenches, and urgently demanded aid: but while still in conference with Codrington on this subject, Windham saw his men wildly leaping and rushing out of the gaps in the Redan, escaping to their trenches as best they could, and pursued by large bodies of Russians pouring out a murderous fire on them. The departure of the colonel, the killing and wounding of so many officers, and the augmentation in the number of the Russians, appear to have paralysed the men, who, seeing no supports from their own army, lost heart and retreated. The *place d'armes*, the parapet, the ditch, and the abatis, became a harrowing scene of death and wounds, the English troops falling at every step under the fire of the Russians, and lying in heaps at particular spots.

On the night before the assault, two considerable fires—one near Fort Nicholas, the result of shells from our thirteen-inch mortars, the other in the town—had burnt briskly, and the conflagration continued next day. These the garrison tried to stop. In the evening of the eighth the figures of many men might be seen darkly hovering on the roofs of a large building, where they were trying to extinguish the flames that lit up the whole interior, and burst from every window. But now their efforts were all for destruction. After every explosion, the fires augmented, till, towards morning, the whole city and its suburbs were in flames, sending one vast column of smoke upward, which leaned heavily towards the head of the

harbour, over which it hung in a vast canopy. Soon after daybreak, one terrific explosion, surpassing all the rest, pealed through the camp, and a cloud which seemed like the upheaving of the whole promontory, rose in earthy volumes, and hung as a blot upon the landscape, pierced murkily, here and there, by the rays of the rising sun. Fort Paul, veiled in smoke, but visible, remained standing on its jutting mole till afternoon, when a fire, in a building near it, communicated with its magazine, and it was hurled into the air. Now came a resistless outburst which blew up the Flagstaff battery; now another that reduced to a shapeless heap the Garden battery; now others that dispersed many of the smaller batteries and redoubts; while numerous unspent shells, left purposely or perhaps unavoidably near these spots, ignited, flew up wildly, burst in the air, and scattered the fragments around. The town thus in flames lighted up all the harbour, where the Russian vessels were disappearing, one after the other, beneath the waves. Meanwhile, as daylight approached, the bridge of boats was incessantly laden with living freight. Masses of infantry crossed over the great harbour, from the south side to the north, braving the deep waters beneath them, and the fires and explosions around, and lighted in their perilous passage by nothing but the glare of the burning city they were leaving. All the regular inhabitants still in the city, all the soldiers and engineers, all the seamen engaged on shore, the dead bodies of the killed, and the maimed ones of the wounded, passed in a continuous stream over this frail bridge, which, from whatever cause, remained intact by the besiegers all night. At seven in the morning, when the last battalion of infantry had passed over, the Russians broke the bridge, and thus placed the harbour definitively between them and their assailants.

So ended the great siege of Sebastopol, which had been in progress nearly one year; which had involved the construction of seventy miles of trenches, and the employment of 60,000 fascines, 80,000 gabions, and 1,000,000 sand-bags; and during which more than 1,500,000 shells and shot had been fired at or into the town.

The narrative of the proceedings of the Congress which met at Paris on the 25th of February, 1856, fills a blue book of considerable magnitude. This book contains

twenty-four protocols, each protocol being the record of one day's proceedings: hence there were twenty-four sittings on twenty-three days, between the 25th of February and the 16th of April.

The treaty of Paris was signed at Paris by the representatives of the seven powers, viz., England, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Turkey, and Sardinia, on the 30th of March, and the ratifications were exchanged in the above city on the 27th of April.

READING CV.

INDIA.—THE REVOLT OF THE SEPOYS, MEERUT, AND CAWNPORE.

At the beginning of the year 1857, rumours were prevalent as to the disaffected condition of the Bengal army. Here and there symptoms of mutiny had manifested themselves, but these had been promptly suppressed, and it was hoped that the flame of rebellion had been completely extinguished. The hope was, however, futile, as circumstances subsequently proved. A report was industriously circulated among the native troops that it was the intention of the English Government to Christianize India,—that Hindooism was to be overturned, and the Christian religion established in its place. How far the report was believed is not satisfactorily known; it was, at all events, made use of as a pretext for revolt. The cartridges served out for the men were also pronounced unfit for use. They were said to contain ingredients which would for ever destroy the *caste* of those Hindoos who employed them: beef and pork fat were declared to be mixed with them, the first of which was unclean to the Hindoos, and the last to the Mahommedans. This was the ostensible cause of the outbreak, which destroyed one of the finest armies in the world, and for months endangered the stability of our empire in India.

It has been supposed, but, for reasons to be hereafter mentioned, perhaps erroneously, that the mode by which the mutinous spirit was communicated from one native

corps to another was by means of chupatties ; the chupatty being a small cake of unleavened bread, about two inches in diameter, made of Indian corn meal, and forming part of the Sepoys' regular diet. Ever since the middle of the year 1856, ever since, indeed, the final arrangements for the annexation of Oude, these chupatties were known to have been passing from hand to hand. A messenger would come to a village, seek out the head man or village elder, give him six chupatties, and say—"These six cakes are sent to you ; you will make six others and send them on to the next village." Now, in the first place, it appears very extraordinary that if the chupatty movement had indeed been a treasonable one, the cakes should have been not only transmitted to the heads of villages who had not been concerned in the mutiny, but that many Sepoys who broke out in revolt had received no cakes at all ; two facts which are undisputed. But a still stronger doubt is thrown upon the supposition by the following official letter :—

"No. 68 of 1857.

"From Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner Saugor division, to C. B. Thornhill, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government, N. W. P., Agra.

"*Dated Jubbulpoor, March 5, 1857.*

"SIR,—Observing in the *Mofussilite* newspaper of the 27th ult., a notice of certain small baked cakes of atta (*coarse flour*) having been distributed through the chowkedars (*watchmen*) of certain districts in the north-west provinces, for some unknown purpose, I have the honour to report that the same signal has passed in the same way through the districts of Saugor, Dumah, Jubbulpoor, and Nursingpoor in my division.

"2. I first heard of it in Nursingpoor, and on making demi-official inquiries, found that it had extended to other districts, and although the deputy commissioners have used their best endeavours to find out the purport, nothing has yet been discovered beyond the fact of the spread of the cakes, and the general belief that such distribution passed on from village to village will prevent hail falling, and keep away sickness.

"3. I also understand that this practice is adopted by 'dyers' when their dye will not clear properly, and the

impression is, that these cakes originally came from Scindiah's or the Bhopal States.

"4. Certain it is that no attempts were made at concealment, several of the kotewars or chowkeydars having brought the cakes to the deputy commissioner.

"5. Inquiries are still being made, and should any further information on the subject be received, I will inform the Government.

"6. There appears to have been no harm intended, and I enclose one of the cakes in question.

"I have, etc.,

(Signed) "W. C. ERSKINE, Commissioner."

It is much more likely that the lotus was used as a symbol upon this occasion, for while the chupatty appears to have been distributed mostly among the villagers, the lotus passed from hand to hand among the military. It was, in fact, a common occurrence for a man to come to a cantonment with a lotus flower, and give it to a chief native officer of a regiment: the flower was circulated from hand to hand in the regiment; each man took it, looked at it, and passed it on, saying nothing; when the lotus came to the last man in the regiment, he disappeared for a time, and took it to the next military station. This strange process occurred throughout nearly all the military stations where regiments of the Bengal native army were cantoned.

Meerut, as a district, forms part of the Doab or Delta enclosed between the rivers Ganges and Jumna. It came into the possession of the British in 1836, and is now included in the territories of North-west Bengal. The town itself stands on the small river Katee-Nuddee, and is nearly nine hundred miles distant from Calcutta.

At the commencement of May, the native force at Meerut consisted of the 3rd light cavalry, and 11th and 20th regiments of infantry; while the European troops were the 60th (rifle) regiment, 1000 strong; the 6th dragoon guards or carabineers, 600 strong (but not fully mounted); a troop of horse artillery; and 500 artillery recruits—altogether about 2,200 men, fully officered.

Among the men of the cavalry corps the question of the greased cartridges, which had previously been mooted at Barrackpore and other stations, was freely agitated. The

result of the movement was, that eighty-five men of the regiment refusing to handle the cartridges found themselves, in the early days of the month, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour. On the 9th their sentences were read out, on parade, and the offenders were marched off to gaol. Up to this time disaffection had shown itself only through incendiary fires in the lines, hardly a night passing without one or more conflagrations. But on the 10th it appeared at once in all its suspected strength. Towards the evening of that day, while many of the Europeans were at church (for it was Sunday) the men of the two native infantry regiments, the 11th and 20th, as if by previous concert, assembled together in armed and tumultuous bodies upon the parade ground. What followed is vividly described in a letter from an officer, and dated Meerut, May 12th:—

“On Sunday, the 10th, between five and six o'clock in the evening, I was in my bungalow (*Indian house*), in rear of the lines of the 11th native infantry, where I have resided since my arrival at the station, when, as I was dressing preparatory to going out for a ride with Colonel Finnis, of the 11th native infantry, my attention was attracted to my servants and those in the neighbouring compounds (*space or garden surrounding a bungalow*) going down towards the front of our enclosures, and looking steadily into the lines of the 11th, whence a buzzing murmuring noise proceeded, such as I have often heard in cases of fire, or some such alarm. Of this I took little notice, but went down to my gate, still dressing, and the noise still increasing. I returned to the bungalow, put on my uniform, and again went out. I had scarcely got to the gate, when I heard the popping sound of firearms, which I knew at once were loaded with ball cartridge, and a European non-commissioned officer came running with others towards me from the 11th lines, saying, ‘For God’s sake, Sir, leave! come to your bungalow, change that dress and fly!’ I walked into my bungalow, and was doffing my uniform; the bullets by this time flying out of the 11th lines into my compound, when the havildar-major (*serjeant-major*) of the 11th rushed into the room, terrified and breathless, and exclaimed, ‘Fly, sahib (*master, sir*)—fly at once! the regiments are in open mutiny, and firing on

their officers, and Colonel Finnis has just been shot in my arms.' It was evidently becoming serious. I came out, and ordered my horse to be saddled and brought up, my servants still begging of me to fly for my life. I mounted. The line of the 6th dragoon guards (*carabineers*) lie to the north of my bungalow, separated by a rugged and barren plain, cut up by nullahs (*streamlets*) and ravines, upon which, riding out of the back part of my compound, I descended. A Briton does not like actually 'running away' under any circumstances, and I was riding slowly through the uneven ground, when the havildar-major before mentioned exclaimed, 'You, sahib, are mounted, and can make haste; ride to the European cavalry lines, and give the alarm.' Good; I galloped off, crossed the difficult ground all right, got into the cavalry lines, and made for the colonel's house, which he had just left, and found him in the barrack lines on horseback, ordering the dragoons to saddle, arm, and mount without a moment's delay. Here I shall leave the dragoons and myself, and return to the native infantry parade ground, and the commencement of the mutiny and massacres.

"About five o'clock, the 20th native infantry and the 3rd Light cavalry rushed from their lines, armed and furious; the former regiment firing off their muskets, approaching the 11th native infantry, and calling upon them to arm, come out, and join them. I believe the 11th hesitated at first—cause unknown; but presently they, too, armed and rushed out, and the mutinous fuel took flame. About this time Colonel Finnis and several other officers of the 11th native infantry came upon the parade, and commenced haranguing the Sepoys, and attempted to pacify them, and bring them to order, when the colonel's horse was wounded by a bullet fired by the 20th. On this he saw that the matter was more serious than he had wished to believe; and one of his officers asking him if he should ride off to the brigade-major, ask for aid, and give the alarm, he consented. This is the last time he was seen alive by European eyes; for immediately afterwards he was shot in the back by a Sepoy of the 20th, fell from his horse, and was actually riddled with balls. About this time the other officers of the 11th, seeing that their presence among the mutineers was perfectly useless, and the bullets flying about them in all directions, retreated

from the lines, and sought safety mostly in the direction of the carabineer lines ; to which I must now retransfer the narrative. It took us a long time, in my opinion, to get ready, and it was dark before the dragoons were prepared to start in a body ; while by this time flames began to ascend in all directions from the lines, and the officers' bungalows of the 3rd cavalry, and the 11th and 20th native infantry, from public buildings, messhouses, private residences, and, in fact, every edifice or thing that came within reach of the torch and the fury of the mutineers and of the bazaar *canaille*, who, in considerable numbers, I believe, joined in their terrific orgies. On all sides shot up into the heavens great pinnacles of waving fire, of all hues and colours, according to the nature of the fuel that fed them, huge volumes of smoke rolling sullenly off in the sultry night air, and the crackling and roar of the conflagration mingling {with the shouts and riot of the mutineers. The entire scene, of which these were but the most prominent external features, and which words cannot describe, I leave to your readers to imagine, if they are fond of the horrible and the tragic. When the carabineers were mounted we rode off at a brisk trot, through clouds of suffocating dust and darkness, in an easterly direction, and along a narrow road ; not advancing in the direction of the conflagration, but on the contrary, leaving it behind on our right rear. In this way we proceeded for some two or three miles, to my no small surprise ; when suddenly the 'halt' was sounded, and we faced about, retracing our steps, and verging off to our left approached the conflagration, and debouched on the left rear of the native infantry lines, which, of course, were all in a blaze. Skirting along behind these lines, we turned them at the western end, and, wheeling to the left, came upon the 11th parade ground, where, at a little distance, we found the horse artillery and Her Majesty's 60th rifles. It appears that the three regiments of mutineers had by this time commenced dropping off to the westward and towards the Delhi road, for here some firing took place between them and the rifles ; and presently the horse artillery, coming to the front and unlimbering (*removing the carriage attached to the fieldpiece*), opened upon a copse or wood, in which they had apparently found cover, with heavy discharges of grape and canister, which

tore and rattled among the trees, and all was silent again. The horse artillery now limbered up again (*attached the carriage again to the fieldpiece*), and wheeled round, and here I joined them, having lost the dragoons in the darkness. By this time, however, the moon arose. We 'blessed her useful light,' and the horse artillery column, with rifles at its head, moving across the parade ground, we entered the long street turning from the southward behind the light cavalry lines. There it was that the extent and particulars of the conflagration first became visible, and passing the burning bungalow of the adjutant of the 11th native infantry, we proceeded along the straight road or street, flanked on both sides with flaming and crushing houses in all stages of combustion and ruin, the rifles occasionally firing volleys as we proceeded. It was by this time past ten o'clock; and having made the entire circuit of the lines, we passed up to the eastward of them, and, joined by the dragoons and rifles, bivouacked for the night.

"I must now come to the particulars of the brutal outrages and assassinations that marked this infernal outbreak, premising, however, that a sense of delicacy and a regard for the harassed feelings of surviving friends and relatives prevent me from entering into details, the relation of which could only gratify a mind fond of horrors and atrocities. At the very commencement of the *emeute* (*mutiny*), the 3rd light cavalry saddling and mounting their horses, galloped off to the gaol, and of course, overpowering all resistance, liberated their 85 comrades; and all the other prisoners, to the number of about 1,300, apparently. Returning from this they joined the mutineers of the 20th native infantry, and the work of indiscriminate European massacre began, without regard to rank, age, sex, or employment, furious and merciless. Veterinary-surgeons Philipps and Dawson, of the 3rd light cavalry, and the wife of the latter, were massacred, and also Lieutenant M'Nab, of the same regiment, several others of the corps having miraculous escapes, but the surgeon, Christie, being wounded, I fear mortally. Of the officers of the 20th native infantry, Captain Taylor commanding, Captain Macdonald, with the wife of the latter, were savagely slain, with, as in the case of the cavalry officers, numerous narrow escapes. Of the 11th native infantry, poor Finnis was the only officer slain; but Mrs. Chambers, the

wife of the adjutant, was pitilessly slaughtered in her own bungalow, which, as I have told you above, we saw burning: and remember, as I have also said above, I refrain from describing details, merely giving the casualties. Among those not in the military employ of the Government who perished in this indiscriminate massacre, were Mr. Tregear, of the education department, Mrs. Courteney, the mistress of the hotel, and many women and girls whose names I do not know.

“After all this work was done, and the mutineers had retreated, the remainder of the night passed away in gloom and doubt, and the conflagration having nothing more to feed upon, was extinguished, as it were, by the rising beams and more powerful light of the sun. I mounted my horse and rode down from the carabineers’ lines towards my hospital and the native infantry lines, dubious as to the state of affairs, and came to the charred and blackened huts and bungalows, all naked and deserted. On my way down, a dhoolee (*a covered sedan or litter*) approached, and was passing me, when I stopped the bearers and asked what they carried? They answered, ‘The Colonel, sahib.’ It was poor Finnis’s body, which had just been found where he fell, and was being carried towards the churchyard. All sick, to the number of about forty, had fled from the hospital, which was deserted with the exception of two or three small-pox cases, too bad to move, and who appeared much surprised at my attending to them, as if nothing whatever had occurred. All day yesterday the station was under arms, and surrounded and traversed everywhere by patrols mounted and on foot, and the same precautions were of course observed last night; not unnecessarily either, for the carabines of the dragoons were heard constantly through the night, firing upon marauders and incendiaries, who came prowling towards the lines. In the midst of our own troubles, we are very anxious about the fate of the Europeans at Delhi, whither the mutineers have gone; and as the telegraph wires were cut at the commencement of the outbreak we know nothing of what is occurring elsewhere, nor of what is known about us.”

READING CVI.

INDIA (CONTINUED).—CAWNPORE.

CAWNPORE, the scene of atrocities, hitherto, perhaps, unexampled in the annals of the most barbarous nations, is the capital of the district of the same name, and stands upon the right bank of the Ganges, being about two hundred and seventy miles below Delhi, and between six and seven hundred distant from Calcutta.

Associated as Cawnpore must, in future, be with ideas of the most ruthless and revolting cruelty, its name, like that of Nena Sahib, will never be uttered by English lips without feelings of the deepest horror and fiercest indignation.

Dhundu Punt, or Dhoondhoopunt—better known by his oriental title of honour, Nena Sahib—having had a quarrel with the East India Company, on the subject of a pension, conceived a deadly hatred against the English in general. Concealing, however, with consummate art, the passion which rankled in his breast, he patiently awaited an opportunity of gratifying it, and, in the mean time, so cajoled the English who visited his court at Bithoor, that they formed the most favourable ideas of his views and character. No greater proof of this fatal confidence can be adduced, than that the wife of the magistrate of Cawnpore writes in the following words to a friend, on the 16th May, 1857: “Should the native troops here mutiny, we should either go into cantonments, or to a place called Bithoor, where the prishwa’s (*chief’s*) successor resides. He is a great friend of C——’s (her husband’s), and is a man of enormous wealth and influence; and he has assured C—— that we should be all quite safe there. I, myself, should prefer going to the cantonment, to be with the other ladies; but C—— thinks it would be better for me and our precious children to be at Bithoor.” On the 18th, the same lady again writes: “If there should be an outbreak here, dearest C—— has made all the necessary arrangements for me and the children to go to Bithoor. He will go there himself, and, with the aid of the rajah, to whose house we are going, he will collect and head a force of fifteen hundred fighting

men, and bring them into Cawnpore to take the insurgents by surprise. This is a plan of their own, and is quite a secret ; for the object of it is to come upon the mutineers unawares."

This confidence appears to have been shared by the governor himself, Sir Hugh Wheeler, for we find that he consented to the magistrates writing to the Nena, to request him to send a few of his Mahratta troops to the assistance of the English.

Although an outbreak was hourly expected, it, nevertheless, became highly necessary that no distrust of the native troops should be shown, and accordingly, the English officers were ordered to sleep at the cantonment; their wives and families, together with most of the civilians, remaining at night in the entrenchment, under the care of English soldiers. In consequence, on the first night of this arrangement, an immense number of ladies and gentlemen assembled in that fortification. "Nearly all the ladies in the station," writes an English officer, "were roused out of their houses, and hurried off to the barracks. The scene in the morning you can imagine. They were all huddled together in a small building, just as they had left their houses. On each side were the guns drawn up; the men had been kept standing by them all night through the rain, expecting an instant attack."

On the 5th of June, at two o'clock in the morning, the native troops having openly revolted, marched off towards Nawabgunge, which town they had no sooner reached, than the Nena came out to meet them, and placed himself at their head.

In the morning of the following day, about eight o'clock, the mutineers, headed by the Nena, with six hundred of his followers and four guns (having, it seems, previously made up their minds to destroy all the Christians, whether European or native), returned to Cawnpore, and halted about two miles to the west of the entrenchment, planted standards, and took up a position, with loud beating of drums. Immediately after, about fifty sowars (*troopers*) were despatched to the cantonments to slay all the Europeans, and fifty sowars to the town where the poorer people lived, to kill all the native converts and clerks. During this time the Nena Sahib hoisted two standards, one to the honour of Mahomet, and the other of Huna-

man; to the former some 2000 Mahommedans repaired, to the latter but a few Hindoos, none from the city, but some of the budmashes (*bad characters*). The main body of the insurgents first attacked the Nawab's palace, and having blown open the gate with their cannon, they entered the place and gutted it, and took the Nawab prisoner, the Nena Sahib being under the impression that the Nawab had concealed some Europeans. They then proceeded to the entrenchments, and from two o'clock commenced the attack with cannon, at first with two of the guns, and on the following day with six. It appears that the Europeans within the entrenchments were not well supplied with ammunition, as it is supposed they did not expect an assault with cannon, and thus were only able to reply with one gun to twenty of the enemy. For seventeen days continuously the mutineers used every effort now and then to make an assault with four or five thousand men from all quarters, with the view of carrying the entrenchment by storm, but were invariably repulsed with heavy loss. By this time the Nena's forces had increased, with the addition of budmashes and mutineers from other stations, to about twelve thousand men.

After enduring eighteen days of siege, and thirty-three of forced residence, as there was now no hope of succour, and as further resistance was deemed impossible, a convention was entered into with the Nena. Accounts differ as to how this was effected. Some state that the overtures were made by the arch-traitor himself, through the means of an agent, in order the better to cloak his sanguinary intentions. But an ayah (*native nurse*) declares that the Nena himself went to the entrenchments, and having there met General Wheeler, said to him, "Take away all the women and children to Allahabad; and if your men want to fight, come back and do so: we will keep faith with you." General Wheeler replied, "You take your solemn oath, according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, and will leave the entrenchments." The Nena said, "Our oath is, that whomsoever we take by the hand, and he relies on us, we never deceive; if we do, God will judge and punish us." The general rejoined, "If you intend to deceive me, kill me at once; I have no arms." The Nena replied, "I will not deceive you: rely on us, I will supply you with food, and convey you to

Allahabad." On this the general went inside the entrenchment and consulted with the soldiers. They said, "There's no reliance to be placed on natives." A few said, "Trust them; it is better to do so." On this the general returned, and said, "I agree to your terms; see us away as far as Futtehpoor, thence we can get easily to Allahabad." The reply was, "No; I will see you all safe to Allahabad."

The convention having been entered into, the Nena supplied his prisoners with food, and in the interim prepared boats for their departure. At the end of this time the Nena gave the Europeans his word in writing, and he, his officers, and head people, confirmed it with an oath. The Europeans then gave up their arms and the treasure in the entrenchments, amounting to about three lakhs, or £30,000, and were conveyed in Hindostanee gharees and hospital dhooles, most of the ladies being in the latter, under an escort of sowars to the ghat (*landing place*), where they embarked in seventeen boats out of nineteen that had been provided, with the exception of some thirty-two ladies with children.

As soon as the boats had pushed off from the ghat, the boatmen jumped overboard and swam on shore, and then the mutineers opened a fire on the boats from a masked battery of eight guns, which had been previously erected for the purpose. All the boats were sunk, and the people on board killed, with the exception of one boat that had passed down, and some twenty Europeans who had managed to swim to the shore.

This boat was pursued by 500 nujeebs with two guns, who came up with it on the second day and sunk the boat and destroyed every one on board off a place called Gossheen-ka-Seerajpore. The twenty and odd Europeans who swam on shore at Cawnpore were blown away from guns in the course of two or three days, some each day. The thirty-two ladies and children who were left behind were conveyed by the Nena into a house called the Subhadhur, and kept in custody by his people. What was the horrible fate reserved for these unfortunate prisoners remains now to be told. Certain spies, whether real or imaginary is not known, were brought to the Nena as being the bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British, at Allahabad, by the helpless females in

their captivity; and, with these letters, some of the inhabitants of the city were believed to be implicated. It was, therefore, decreed by Nena Sahib that the spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been spared, should be put to death. The native spies were first put to the sword; after them, the gentlemen who were brought from the outbuildings in which they had been confined, and shot with bullets. Then the poor females were ordered to come out; but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so closely that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers, therefore, brought muskets, and, after firing a great many shots through the doors, windows, etc., rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures in their agony fell down at the feet of their murderers, and begged them in the most pitiful manner to spare their lives; but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done deliberately and determinedly in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. From a little before sunset till dark was occupied in completing this dreadful massacre. The doors of the building were then locked for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some ten or fifteen females, with a few of the children, had managed to escape from death by hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow-prisoners. A fresh command was thereupon sent to murder them also; but the survivors, not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and seeing a well there, threw themselves headlong into it. The dead bodies of those murdered on the previous evening were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and jullads (*executioners*) were appointed to drag them away like dogs.

On the 17th of July, the immortal Havelock entered Cawnpore victoriously. Never, while life endures, will the English officers and soldiers forget the sight which then met their gaze. One officer writes to his friends: "I have seen the fearful slaughter-house; and I also saw one of the 1st native infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor, before being hanged. There were quantities of dresses, clogged thickly

with blood; children's frocks, frills, and ladies' under-clothing of all kinds; boys' trowsers, leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular, which seems to be strewed over the whole place, called 'Preparation for Death;' broken daguerreotypes; hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets all bloody; and one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper with the words on it, 'Ned's hair, with love;' and opened it, and found a little bit tied up with ribbon. The first troops that went in, I believe, saw the bodies with their arms and legs sticking out through the ground. They had all been thrown in a heap into the well. It is an actual and literal fact, that the floor of the inner room was several inches deep in blood all over; it came over the men's shoes as they stepped."

We will close our recital of these horrors with the following statement made at a public meeting by the Earl of Shaftesbury. "I have seen," his lordship said, "a copy of a letter written and sent to England by an officer of rank, who was one of the first that entered Cawnpore a few hours after the perpetration of the frightful massacre. To his unutterable dismay, he saw a number of European women, stripped and lying on their backs, fastened by the arms and legs; and there many of them had been lying four or five days exposed to a burning sun; others, again, had been actually hacked to pieces, and so recently, that the blood which streamed from their mangled bodies was still warm. He found children of ten, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen years of age treated in the same horrible manner at the corners of the streets, and in all parts of the town; attended by every circumstance of insult, the most awful and the most degrading, the most horrible and frightful to the conception, and the most revolting to the dignity and feelings of civilized men. Cawnpore was only a sample of what was perpetrated in various parts of that vast region, and that with a refinement of cruelty never before heard of. Women and children have been massacred before; but I don't believe there is any instance on record, where children have been reserved in cold blood to be most cruelly and anatomically tortured in the presence of their horrified parents before being finally put to death."

It was our intention to have given a concise account of the glorious achievements of Havelock and of his brave

companions in arms, but our space being limited, we must content ourselves with laying before our readers the following brief sketch of that hero's character.

Henry Havelock, who was born at Bishop-Wearmouth, Durham, was originally intended for the bar; but nature would not be contradicted, and, like the Overtons and Iretons before him, he doffed the legal gown, and adopted the profession of arms. There was, indeed, that about him which irresistibly reminded one of the finest and noblest officers of the commonwealth party. After entering the army, shortly after the battle of Waterloo, he remained eight years in "country quarters" at home. Anxious to see service, he then exchanged into a regiment destined for India, and it was during the Affghan war, and the others which arose out of it, that he became known to his commanders and comrades as a highly intelligent and valuable officer. Havelock's great characteristic was the deep religious feeling and conviction which animated and directed all his thoughts, emotions, and actions. Religion may thus be truly said to have formed the basis of his character. Such was the man who, for a few months back, has held nations watching his rapid course with breathless interest. With his small but gallant band he struck swift and home, as the lightning. Gathering and organizing his force as he advanced, he marched from victory to victory. Conqueror in three successive fights, he reached Cawnpore. Pausing there for a moment, he struck down the enemy at Bithoor. Crossing the Ganges he broke through every obstacle, till his waning numbers warned him to fall back upon reinforcements. Even while retreating he turned and dealt a deadly blow to the presumptuous enemy, who pursued too closely. The condition of the garrison at Lucknow allowed him no sleep. With a force barely sufficient he resumed his advance, and struggling on, through outnumbering foes, strongly entrenched, penetrated into the Residency. In the battle-field the missiles of death seemed to turn aside from him; but no mere mortal frame could endure the physical toil, the anxiety, the mental labour, crowded into the brief space of his closing moments. He sank under the consequences of his exertions; but not before he saw the garrison of Lucknow relieved, and those to save whom he had dared do so much, placed beyond the

reach of danger. That he died before he could learn with what a full heart his grateful country loved and revered him is our loss, not his. He was truly one of God's soldiers; and the consciousness that he had done his duty to the utmost of his power, that he had made the most of his talent, was enough for him.

READING CVII.

INDIA (CONCLUDED).—THE RESCUE OF THE LUCKNOW RESIDENCY BY HAVELOCK AND OUTRAM.

THE city of Lucknow is, as our readers doubtless know, the capital of the territory of Oude. It stands on the right bank of the river Goomtee, and is rather more than fifty miles distant from Cawnpore. By the term Residency must be understood not only the particular building, in which the resident for the time being resided, but also the whole of that part of the city in which were contained the offices and dwellings of the official English inhabitants. It may be described as an irregular quadrangle, a few hundred yards square, jutting out at the north corner, and indented or contracted at the west.

The disaffection of the native troops stationed in the Lucknow cantonment began to show itself as early as in the month of April, and daily grew more and more formidable, until in that of June the insurgents approached Lucknow with a hostile army; and it was on the 2nd of July that one of their shells mortally wounded Sir Henry Lawrence, who only survived till the 4th, when he died. This lamentable occurrence, which deprived the country of this inestimable officer, is thus feelingly described by Mr. Gubbins, the financial commissioner. "It has never," he says, "fallen to my lot to witness such a scene of sorrow. While we were clustered round Sir Henry's bed, the enemy were pouring a heavy musketry fire upon the place; and bullets were striking the outside of the pillars of the verandah in which we were collected. Sir Henry's attenuated frame, and the severe nature of

the injury, at once decided the medical men not to attempt amputation; but it was necessary to stay the bleeding by applying the tourniquet, and the agony which this caused was fearful to behold. It was impossible to avoid sobbing like a child. Sir Henry alluded to his having nominated Major Banks to be his successor; and then earnestly pointed out the worthlessness of all human distinction, recommending all to fix their thoughts upon a better world. He referred to his own success in life, and asked what was it worth then? He enjoined on us particularly to be careful of our ammunition, and often repeated—"Save the ladies." He afterwards continued in much suffering, and lingered until the morning of the 4th, when he expired. Upon his death-bed, Sir Henry referred to the disaster at Chinhut, and said that he had acted against his own judgment, from the fear of man. I have often inquired, but I have never learnt the name of any one who had counselled the step, which resulted in so severe a calamity. Thus passed from among us as noble a spirit as ever animated human clay. Unselfish, kind, frank, and affectionate, Sir Henry Lawrence possessed the art of attaching those with whom he came in contact. He was particularly beloved by the natives, and with good reason, for few Europeans treated them with more kindly consideration, and none made more just allowance for those weak points in which they differ from Europeans. On the other hand, from his habit of freely mixing with them, few succeeded better than himself in arriving at just conclusions, and in eliciting the truth. His presence at Lucknow had been of great benefit, and his great talents had been signally displayed in the precautions which he had early taken to lay in provisions, and to concentrate the military stores. To these wise precautions, indeed, our eventual success in defending the Residency position is, under Providence, mainly attributable. He was wounded in the room which he had refused to quit, about an hour before I saw him, by a fragment of an eight-inch shell, which entered the room by the window, and burst, wounding Sir Henry, and slightly injuring Captain T. F. Wilson, Deputy-assistant Adjutant-general, who was standing by his bed. His nephew, Mr. G. H. Lawrence, C. S., who was in the room at the time, escaped uninjured."

Sir Henry having made over the civil command of Lucknow to Major Banks, and the military command to Brigadier Inglis, the latter officer immediately entered upon his arduous duties, and for three long months successfully defended the Residency against all the infuriated attacks of his deadly foes: nothing but the most resolute determination, the most complete soldierly obedience, the most untiring watchfulness, the most gentle care of those who from sex or age were unable to defend themselves, the most thorough reliance upon himself and upon those around him, could have enabled that gallant man to bear up against the almost overwhelming difficulties which pressed upon him throughout the months of July, August, and September.

The details of the siege itself will be found faithfully and graphically described in a work* to which we are indebted for the following account of the domestic or personal life of the inmates of the Residency enclosure during the three weeks of September. That life was sad indeed. If the men toiled and watched in sultry dry weather, they were nearly overcome by heat and noisome odours; if they slept in the trenches in damp nights after great heat, they suffered terribly in their limbs and bones, for they had neither tents nor change of clothing. Such was the state to which the whole of the ground was brought by refuse of every kind, that a pool resulting from a shower of rain soon became an insupportable nuisance; sanitary cleansings were unattainable by a community who had neither surplus labour nor efficient drains at command. Half the officers were ill at one time from disease, over-fatigue, and insufficient diet; and when they were thus laid prostrate, they had neither medicines nor surgeons sufficient for their need. There was not a sound roof in the whole place. On one day a cannon ball entered at one end of the largest room in the hospital, traversed the whole length, and went out at the other; but, singular to relate, it did not hurt one human being in the whole crowded apartment. In the commissariat department, some of the bullocks yet remaining fell sick through privations, others were shot; thereby lessening the reserve store, and adding to the repulsive

* A chronicle of the Revolt in India, and of the transactions in China, in 1856-7, etc. W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London.

night duties of those, chiefly officers, who had to bury the carcasses at once. Of the few native servants still remaining, hardly one now could be retained; and the saving of their simple food was an inadequate counter-balance for the loss of their assistance in drudgery labours. The live stock, the rum, the porter, were all getting low; tea, sugar, coffee, and chocolate had long disappeared from the rations. Such officers and civilians as had money in their pockets, were willing to give almost any price for the few luxuries still remaining in private hands, in order that they might in some degree alleviate the sufferings of their wives and children. Forty shillings were eagerly given for a bottle of brandy; thirty-two for a bottle of curaçoa; forty for a small fowl; sixteen shillings per pound were offered, but offered in vain, for sugar; two shillings a pound for coarse flour; ten shillings a pound for half rancid butter; tobacco, four shillings a *leaf*; a bottle of pickles, forty shillings. The attire was reduced to the most piteous condition. Many of the officers had found much of their clothing burned nearly four months earlier, during the mutiny at the cantonment; and the troubles of June had prevented them from making purchases in the city before the arrival of the day when they were all alike to be shut up in the enclosure. As a consequence, their remaining clothes wore away to rags, or something worse. There was scarcely a vestige of a military uniform visible throughout the place. Officers worked and fought, dined and slept, in short trowsers and slippers; one made himself a coat out of a billiard-table-cloth; and another contrived a sort of shirt out of a piece of floor-cloth. When the trifling effects of one of the deceased officers came to be examined and sold, a little under-clothing was sought for with an eagerness which sumptuous garments would not have excited; four pounds sterling were given for a new flannel shirt, and twelve pounds for five others which had already rendered much service.

The 25th of September at length arrived, the day of deliverance! Prodigious agitation and alarm had marked the city all night; movements of men and horses, and all the indications of a city in commotion. At noon, the increasing sounds told that street-fighting was going on; those who were on the top of the Residency for a look-

out could see the smoke of musketry, but nothing else. As the afternoon advanced, the sounds came nearer and nearer; then was heard the sharp crack of rifles; then was gradually perceived the flash of musketry; and then the well-known uniforms of a friendly band. Outram and Havelock, when they had fought their way over the canal by Char Bagh Bridge, intended to have taken the straight road to the Residency; but this road had been blocked up by the enemy with guns, palisades, stoccades, barricades, concealed pits and trenches, and other obstacles. The two generals, therefore, diverged to the right, marched along a bye-road to the eastern part of the city, and there fought their way through a continuous line of streets to the Bailey guard entrance of the Residency enclosure, suffering terribly as they went. Great was the shout with which they were welcomed, and warm the grasp with which Inglis thanked his deliverers. "The immense enthusiasm," says Mr. Rees, "with which they were greeted defies description. As their hurrah and ours rang in my ears, I was nigh bursting with joy. As our deliverers poured in, they continued to greet us with loud hurrahs. We ran up to them, officers and men, without distinction, and shook them by the hands, how cordially, who can describe?" What the women felt on this day, a diary kept by one of them will tell us. "Never shall I forget the moment to the latest day I live. It was most overpowering. We had no idea they were so near, and were breathing air in the portico as usual at that hour, speculating when they might be in,—not expecting they could reach us for several days longer, when, suddenly, just at dark we heard a very sharp fire of musketry close by, and then a tremendous cheering. An instant after, the sound of bagpipes, then soldiers running up the road, our compound and verandah filled with our deliverers, and all of us shaking hands frantically and exchanging fervent 'God bless you's' with the gallant men and officers of the 78th Highlanders. Sir James Outram and staff were the next to come in, and the state of joyful confusion and excitement was above all description. The big, rough-bearded soldiers were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissing them with tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanking God they had come in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore.

We were all rushing about to give the poor fellows drinks of water, for they were perfectly exhausted; and tea was made down in the Tye Khana, of which a large party of tired, thirsty officers partook, without milk or sugar; we had nothing to give them to eat. Every one's tongue seemed going at once with so much to ask and to tell; and the faces of utter strangers beamed upon each other like those of dearest friends and brothers."

READING CVIII.

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.

THE classic land of Italy, the mother, in olden times, of so many illustrious characters, has, in our own days, produced a man whose love for his country, and disinterested devotion to her cause, not less than his military talents, have won for him the love and admiration of all who value the blessings of liberty and independence.

The life of Garibaldi is replete with the most stirring incidents and romantic adventures. Born at Nice, in the year 1807, of parents who were in circumstances sufficiently easy to give him a liberal education, Giuseppe, at a very early age, evinced so strong a predilection for a seafaring life, that he was entered, as an apprentice, on board a merchant vessel. After acquiring a competent knowledge of nautical affairs, he then passed into the royal navy; four years' probation in that service being required in every aspirant to the command of a Sardinian vessel. During the time Garibaldi was thus qualifying himself for his intended profession, a strong republican party had been formed in Italy, headed by Mazzini, and our hero, listening only to the calls of patriotism, joined that celebrated leader in 1834, and took part in the daring but unsuccessful attack upon Genoa. To escape the fate which befell so many of his comrades in that enterprise, he fled to the mountains, whence, after encountering great dangers, and enduring severe privations, he succeeded in reaching his father's abode at Nice. Tracked, however, by his enemies, and compelled to quit this natural asylum,

he fled to France, and engaged himself as mate on board a vessel trading to the Black Sea.

But this was an employment little suited to one of Garibaldi's active and daring spirit, so that bidding adieu to Europe he sailed for South America in the hope of finding a more congenial occupation. Arriving there, at the time of the war between the republic of Rio Grande and the Brazilian government, he followed his instincts by attaching himself to the patriotic party, and so valuable were the services he rendered, and so highly were they appreciated, that, in a short time, he rose to be second in command, and for eight years maintained the war with varying success. Here he became acquainted, and acted in concert, with one equally fearless and energetic as himself, the late Earl Dundonald, at that time Lord Cochrane; and many and extraordinary were the adventures which befell them in common. Monte Video being, at this time, engaged in a contest with Buenos Ayres, then under the tyrannical rule of the despot Rosas, Garibaldi transferred his services to that republic, the government of which immediately placed a corps of six hundred Italians under his command. As in Rio Grande, so in Monte Video, it was not long before he was entrusted with the supreme direction of the land and sea forces; and many obstinate and sanguinary battles were fought between him and Rosas during a period of four years, but at length the victory of Monte Cerro enabled him to indulge in a more tranquil kind of life, on a little farm he possessed on the banks of the Uruguay.

In 1848, the claims of his own country to freedom reached him across the wide Atlantic; and he lost no time in hastening to vindicate and enforce them. Landing at Genoa, in the month of July, with about a hundred of his tried and trusty Italians, he proceeded to Milan, whose municipality readily accepted his services; but, alas! Italy's freedom was yet to be deferred, for nothing could withstand the overwhelming force of the Austrian armies; defeat succeeded defeat, disaster followed disaster, and Milan being at last taken, the Italian patriots, with Garibaldi and Mazzini among them, were compelled to seek a refuge in Switzerland.

But, although the revolution had been suppressed in other parts of Italy, it still existed in Rome: the consti-

tution, however, which in 1848 had been promised by the pope, was not forthcoming; on the contrary, his holiness was no sooner assured of being supported by French (republican!) bayonets, than throwing off the mask, he bade defiance to the liberal portion of his subjects. The Roman republicans now prepared for resistance, and Garibaldi once more quitted his secure asylum, to defend the sacred cause of Italian freedom. In May, General Oudinot was reinforced by six thousand men and twelve pieces of cannon, and shortly after Rome, so venerable for the classic reminiscences associated with it, and for those immortal productions of genius of which it is the depository, was laid siege to by the army of a nation which assumes to be at the head of modern civilization. After a resistance of two months, the French took possession of the eternal city, while Garibaldi, having collected about four thousand of its defenders, made a rash attempt to cross Italy to the Adriatic, thus hoping to make his way back by sea to Venice, where the last ray of Italian liberty still lingered. He was quickly surrounded by Austrian troops from Florence, Bologna, and Ancona, and he reached with difficulty, with a portion of his forces, the little republic of San Marino. Shortly afterwards he embarked, together with about three hundred of his followers, during the night, on board some fishing boats, and made sail for Venice. As morning dawned, the wind fell, and two Austrian steamers were in sight. Some boats were taken, others sunk, and two only, it is believed, reached the shore, near Rimini. In one of these were Garibaldi and his wife, a lady whom he had married in South America, and whose ardent love and devoted attachment to him she had proved by sharing all the dangers and perils to which his daring spirit had exposed him. Garibaldi and his companions immediately separated from each other, as the only chance of escape: and now a misfortune befell him compared with which all he had hitherto endured was light as the rack driven by the wind. When near Chioggi, his beloved wife, overcome with fatigue and anxiety, was attacked with sudden illness, and died before assistance could be procured. Two months after this, Garibaldi arrived at Genoa, having passed through the midst of the Austrian forces in various disguises. His companions were hunted about, and most of them shot down like beasts of chase.

There now appearing no chance of any further attempt to expel the foreigner being attended with success, Garibaldi once more crossed the Atlantic, and, in the United States, obtained the command of an American merchant vessel called the "Commonwealth."

The inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne appear to have been the first in this country to express their admiration of Garibaldi's noble efforts in the cause of liberty, for when, on his passage from America to Genoa, he came into the river Tyne for the purpose of coaling, a public meeting was got up and subscriptions entered into sufficient to purchase a very elegant sword and telescope, which were presented to him with an appropriate address.

On the 1st of January, 1859, Napoleon III. made the abrupt, unexpected, and menacing declaration, to the Austrian ambassador, which led to the war, terminated by the peace of Villa Franca, July 12th. Garibaldi, who had been for some time settled as a farmer in the little island of Caprera, now offered his services to the king of Sardinia, whose territories had been invaded by the Austrians; and his offer having been accepted, he summoned the Lombards to arms, by the following energetic proclamation:—"You are called," said he, "to a new life, and I know that you will answer my appeal to your patriotism, as your fathers did, of old, at Ponsila and Legnane. The enemy is the same as he always was—ruthless, a cowardly assassin, and a robber. Your brethren of every province have sworn to conquer or die with you; it is our task to avenge the insults, the outrages, and the servitude of twenty generations. Victor Emmanuel, chosen by the national will for our supreme chief, sends me to organize you for this patriotic conflict. To arms, then, and bondage is no more! He who can wield a weapon and does not, is a coward or a traitor."

But all Garibaldi's exertions, great and heroic as they were, were for a time nullified by the battle of Solferino and the peace of Villa Franca; and once more he went into retirement. From this he was again summoned, by the outbreak in Sicily, the fullest justification of which is to be found in the following narrative, from the pen of the Rev. G. W. Bridges, of Beachley Parsonage, who was in Messina when the revolution broke out in 1848:—

"On the morning of the 17th of February, I was among

the foremost, and the only Englishman present, when the rush was made into the disclosed region of death (the prison). The facts were these :—Above forty of the sbirri had been captured by the revolutionists, treated by them with kindness, and placed in security until they could be sent to Naples—a friendly precaution to prevent their being murdered by the indignant mob which then broke into the police palace, and cast the books and furniture from the windows. A portion of the spacious building appeared, however, to be inaccessible ; windows and loopholes there were in it, but no opening to the entire wing of the dark prison-house. Presently, on removing one of the huge book-cases, a fresh plastered wall appeared concealed behind it : a passage was quickly broken through it, and the senses were almost overpowered by the steaming effluvia which issued from seven dark chambers, communicating with each other, where, upon clearing the loopholes, a secreted scene of horror was before us, such as wants the best testimony to be believed. There lay human bodies, and the mutilated remains of such, in every state of death and decay—bundles of rotten rags, mingled with bones, and limbs, and filth, filled the corners of the smaller rooms ; chains hung rivetted to the walls above, whence some of these remains had dropped as they died, some still holding in their iron grasp the arms or ankles of their famished victims. Skeletons, almost fleshless, were piled upon others which were quite so, and placed on stone shelves which had served as their beds while living ; naked bodies, black and pulpy, were hidden beneath others more recently dead, yet alive with maggots ; and, greater horror still, two human bodies in writhing attitudes were hanging crucified upon the wall of the larger chamber, the reeking, blood-stained stones of which held rusty spikes corresponding to the outstretched hands and feet of others which had been so suspended, and still retaining the stringy remains of muscles torn to shreds, from which the heavier portions had dropped, and lay in heaps of putridity beneath. Shrieks of indignant horror arose from the infuriate crowd, a portion of which rushed back to the prison, where the captured sbirri were secured, brought them out, and shot them down on the instant. Others remained, raking and searching among the bones and bodies,

examining minutely the putrid remains, of those they fancied might have been their fathers, brothers, or kindred, who had long been missing, but whose fate they knew not. One of the sbirri, whose life I in vain tried to save, endeavoured to persuade me that the suspended bodies were not crucified while alive, but nailed there to augment the tortures of the living prisoners."

To rescue his fellow-countrymen from the yoke of a government which could not only tolerate, but command such outrages upon humanity as described above, Garibaldi, at the head of about 12,000 well-armed men, sailed from the port of Genoa on the night of the 6th of May, 1860, and landed at Marsala, a small town on the north-west coast of Sicily, on the 11th of the same month. After gaining the important battle of Calatafini, and making the celebrated feigned retreat from Monreale, he attacked the city of Palermo with so much vigour that he entered it triumphantly on the 27th, and the next day received the first proposals of capitulation from the Neapolitan commander, who, with his troops, had retired into the citadel. Fresh and more reasonable propositions having been made by Brigadier General Colonna on the 5th, they were accepted, and the city then surrendered to the patriots. Garibaldi now aimed at a nobler quarry, not deeming his mission as completed while the throne of Naples was occupied by Francis II., that "vice of kings, that cutpurse of the empire and the rule." Crossing the strait of Messina, he landed, on August 17th, 1860, with 3,800 men, at Melito, a town in the Calabrian coast about twelve miles from Reggio, the fort of which latter town capitulated to him on the 24th of the same month. He next advanced to Naples, whence Francis II. fled to Gaeta; and so successful was the liberator's operations, that on November 7th, Victor Emmanuel made his entry into that capital, and on the 11th, Garibaldi, accompanied by the ministry, formally presented to the king the result of the voting. His majesty having received them in the throne-room, Signor Conforti, the minister, addressed the king in these words:—"Sire, the Neapolitan people, assembled in their electoral *comitia* (*meetings*), have proclaimed you king by an immense majority. Nine millions of Italians are uniting themselves to the other provinces which your Majesty governs with so much wisdom, verify-

ing your solemn promise that Italy should belong to the Italians." The king replied in a few expressive words; the deed of annexation was then drawn up, Garibaldi's dictatorship ceased, and the ministry resigned.

"The liberator of the Two Sicilies," says a private letter, "left this morning, never grander than in this last act of self-abnegation. For three days, the 'Washington' has been lying off with the baggage of Garibaldi on board. At three A.M. he embarked; and about six o'clock, as the 'Washington' steamed out, Garibaldi went to pay his last visit, the last he paid to any one, to Admiral Mundy, for whom I have heard him express the highest respect and attachment. With him he remained about a quarter of an hour, and invited him to visit the bay where Nelson lay. 'You shall see my cows,' said this truly great man, 'and drink fresh milk.' During the interview, he said not a word of himself, of his regrets and mortifications, but he spoke of Italy, declared that her prospects were good, and so he left Naples: and England may well be proud that the very last visit of this pure, high-minded man was paid to a British admiral. His departure is the grandest act in the history of his connection with the Italian revolution; but you should know Caprera, in order to appreciate Garibaldi's high-mindedness. It consists of two rocks, and is peopled only by his immediate followers or servants; and by the time you will receive this, the conqueror of the Two Sicilies, and the idol of many millions, will be seated on a rock, accompanied by a few faithful hearts, and the lord of a few cattle. His last adieu to his companions in arms, which is replete with bold and patriotic sentiments, intimates his intention of again unsheathing the glaive for the sake of liberty. 'Providence,' says he, 'has presented Italy with Victor Emmanuel. Every Italian should rally round him. Once more I repeat my battle cry—To arms, all, all of you! If March 1861 does not find a million of Italians in arms, then alas for liberty, alas for the life of Italy!'"

As the personal appearance of a hero is always a matter of much curiosity and interest, we shall conclude our account of this celebrated character with the following accurate description from the pen of an officer, entrusted with a secret mission to him:—

"Garibaldi was born in 1807, and is therefore fifty-two

years old. He has a bright, cheerful look, and the colour of his skin and hair betoken a sanguine temperament, but there is not the least approach to fierceness or wildness about the hero's countenance. He looks intelligent, earnest, benevolent, and affable in the extreme. He is somewhat narrow about the temples—round headed, square visaged. He has a fine head, but not very massive; a large, but by no means a broad face. The hair is brown-red, and has been rich and glossy. The eye struck me as light gray, but with a tint of the lion red in it. His voice is clear, ringing, silver-toned. Nothing can equal the gentleness, freedom, and ease of his address.—Truly, Garibaldi is one of nature's own kings and leaders of men. It was neither justice nor good taste to represent him as a truculent bandit, or as a theatrical hero. Loaded with stars and crosses by more than one monarch, he never wears any decoration or distinction whatever. His costume is, or rather was, picturesque, yet extremely simple, suited to the climate, where lay the scene of his earliest exploits, and common among the people who first trusted him with the supreme command. At rest from immediate action he shuns the gaze of applauding multitudes, and seeks humble employment in quiet retirement. He is the master of a merchant vessel, or the owner of a plantation in some solitary isle, the moment he ceases to be a guerilla chief or a general. He is a modest, gentle, independent character. He is strongly devoted to King Victor Emmanuel's interests, but I will venture to say he will never appear at the court of Turin, nor eat the bread of his well-earned general's pension."

READING CIX.

BATTLES OF MAGENTA AND SOLFERINO.

"I REGRET that our relations with your government are not so good as they have been hitherto: but I beg you to assure the emperor that my personal feelings towards him are not changed." Such were the words addressed by Napoleon III. to M. Hübner, the Austrian minister, on the 1st of January, 1859, at the reception of the foreign ambassadors,—words, the consequences of which, even up to the present time only, have far exceeded, in their importance, whatever the most experienced diplomatists could have predicted, being nothing less than the freeing of Central Italy from Austrian rule and influence; the loss to the pope of the greater part of his temporal dominions; the exposure of the internal weakness and mal-administration of the Austrian empire; the expulsion of Francis II. from the throne of the Two Sicilies, and its occupation by Victor Emmanuel. These words, moreover, are said to have been spoken with a much more emphatic tone of voice, and animated gesture than were usual with the Emperor: so much so, indeed, that the standers by were forcibly reminded of the rude remarks addressed by the first Napoleon to Lord Whitworth, the English minister at Paris in 1803, which immediately preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and were the ominous mutterings of the storm that burst over Europe, and convulsed it for twelve years.

Ever since the disastrous events of 1848-9, terminating in the battle of Novara, the relations of Piedmont and Austria had been of an unfriendly character, till at length the undisguised sympathy professed by the government of Victor Emmanuel for the cause of Italian independence in the north of Italy, which meant, in fact, nothing less than its emancipation from the Austrian yoke, led to the withdrawal of the Austrian minister from Turin. Such being the relations between Sardinia and Austria, the Emperor Napoleon was not long in determining to assist in relieving the Italian peninsula from the incubus by which it was oppressed, hoping, no doubt, that by his interference, he would reap solid advantages for France.

On the 3rd of May, the French emperor directed a communication to be made to the Corps Législatif, which was tantamount to a declaration of war; the following are some of its most striking passages:—"Austria, in causing her army to enter the territories of the king of Sardinia, our ally, declares war against us. She thus violates treaties and justice, and menaces our frontiers. What, it is asked, can be the reason of this sudden invasion? It is that Austria has brought matters to this pass, that either her rule must extend up to the Alps, or Italy must be free to the Adriatic. . . . The object of this war, then, is to restore Italy to herself, not to impose on her a change of masters; and we shall then have upon our frontiers a friendly people, who will be indebted to us for their independence. . . . We do not go into Italy to foment disorder, or disturb the power of the Holy Father, whom we have replaced upon his throne, but to remove from him this foreign pressure which weighs upon the whole peninsula, and to help to establish there order based upon legitimate, satisfied interests. . . . Courage, then, and union; our country is about to show the world that she has not degenerated. Providence will bless our efforts, for that cause is holy in the eyes of God, which rests on justice, humanity, patriotism, and the love of independence."

The French army destined to act in Italy was divided into five corps, consisting of infantry and cavalry, to which were added the imperial guard, and was set in motion on the 23rd of April. The 1st corps was commanded by Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers; the 2nd by General M'Mahon; the 3rd by Marshal Canrobert; the 4th by General Niel; the 5th by Prince Napoleon, and the imperial guard by General Saint Jean d'Angely. The 3rd and 4th corps received orders to enter Piedmont by the passes of the Alps; the 1st and 2nd corps, and the imperial guard, were conveyed by sea direct to Genoa.

On the 10th of May the Emperor Napoleon quitted Paris, and having reached Genoa, *viâ* Marseilles, on the 12th, immediately issued an order of the day to the army of Italy; in which stirring address he said:—"Soldiers, every step will remind you of a victory. In the *Viâ sacra* of ancient Rome, inscriptions were chiselled upon the marble, reminding the people of their heroic deeds. It

is the same to-day. In passing by Mondovi, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli, you will, in the midst of those glorious recollections, be marching in another Viâ sacra. . . . The new *armes de précision* are dangerous only at a distance. They will not prevent the bayonet from being what it has hitherto been—the terrible weapon of the French infantry. . . . The new army of Italy will be worthy of her elder sister.”

Actual hostilities commenced on the 20th of May, by a body of 12,000 or 15,000 Austrians marching from Stradella and attacking Casteggio, where a French division under General Forey had taken up its position on the day previously. The French were, at first, driven back with much loss, but a body of Piedmontese cavalry coming to their aid, the Austrians were compelled to retire. Then followed the battle of Montebello, which the French magnified into a great victory, but which was represented by the Austrians as being merely a *reconnaissance* upon a large scale.

On the 4th of June was fought the desperate battle of Magenta, in which the Austrians lost 7000 men taken prisoners, 20,000 *hors de combat* (killed wounded and missing), three pieces of cannon, and two flags: the French loss being 3000 men killed or wounded, and one cannon. It was at mid-day the emperor ordered the attack to take place at Magenta itself. The Austrians, in the mean time, had arrived there, but they were wearied by a long and rapid march, and had had no time to take their food: they, however, greatly outnumbered the divisions of the guard and the Zouaves, which, under the emperor in person, now rushed forward to carry the position at Magenta. They gained, with an impetuous rush, the high ground near a canal, but were there stopped by the masses of Austrians, and for four hours sustained an unequal combat with heroic bravery, losing great numbers of officers and men. It was then that General M'Mahon opportunely arrived, and seeing the moment had come for breaking the already disordered centre of the Austrians, rushed to the charge with an impetuosity never before witnessed. He was supported by General Durand's division, which stood in reserve, moving slowly beside him. The shock was terrible; dead and wounded were now falling by hundreds. The Austrians were routed, and the victory won. It is said that the scene of slaughter was

terrific, and that the assault of the Malakhoff (in the Crimean war) was nothing compared to it. The Zouaves lost about 700 men *hors de combat*, and a whole brigade of Marshal Canrobert's *corps d'armée* was almost destroyed in the charge. The emperor and the king were always in the thickest of the fight.

After the battle of Magenta, the Austrians experienced another defeat at Malegnano, a place half-way between Milan and Lodi, and which they intended to hold in order to protect the retreat of their main body across the Adda. This fresh reverse compelled them gradually to retreat from the revolted territory (of Lombardy), and to take up a position within the celebrated quadrilateral, guarded by the four fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, and Verona and Legnago on the Adige. These fortresses are of such importance as to require a short description.

Peschiera is a first-class fortress, which, in 1843, was able to withstand the attacks of the Sardinians for seven weeks, though ill provided, and abandoned to its fate by Radetsky. Since then it has been considerably strengthened, and is of great importance, commanding, as it does, the Lago del Garda.

Mantua is, perhaps, the strongest fortress in Italy. It stands on an island in the Mincio, and is surrounded by low marshy land. These marshes contribute greatly to its strength, as it would be almost impossible to encamp a besieging force under its walls. The narrow roads also by which the city is approached are defended by detached forts. Mantua has been called the key of Northern Italy.

Verona, on the banks of the Adige, was always a place of considerable strength; but within the last few years the Austrian engineers have constructed walls, bastions, and ramparts of colossal dimensions. Sluices are also formed on the Lago del Garda, by means of which the surrounding country could be laid under water.

Legnago, at the south-eastern angle of the irregular strategical quadrangle, is a small and, in itself, unimportant town; but the elder Napoleon saw the value of the position, and ordered the erection of the fortifications, which are of remarkable strength.

Within this district, thus guarded by four great fortresses, and equally strong in natural position, it was

supposed that the Austrians would await attack, but the advance of Garibaldi on one side, and the approach of 35,000 men under Prince Jerome on the other, threatened them with being outflanked, if not with having their communication with Germany altogether cut off. They accordingly deemed it prudent to re-cross the river (the Mincio), and attack the French at Solferino. The scene of the battle was a range of hillocks divided from each other by patches of level ground. The object of the Austrians in crossing the river, and offering battle in the positions which they had abandoned a few days before, would seem inexplicable to non-military readers; but it was a bold and able manoeuvre, which, had it been more skilfully executed, would have proved disastrous for the French and Piedmontese army. After the Austrians had, for the second time, abandoned Lonato and Castiglione, the Piedmontese army was ordered to move to the north, and invest Peschiera. The French army, on the other hand, made straight for the part of the Mincio which is equi-distant from Peschiera and Mantua—namely, towards Volta and Goito. The onward movement had already commenced, when in the night of the 23rd the Austrian army crossed the Mincio in forty different places by means of pontoon and other bridges, with a view of getting between the Sardinian and the French forces, and to try to deal with them separately. So little did the French expect a battle, that on the previous night a message from the King of Piedmont asking for supports in case he should be attacked, which he considered very likely, was met with a refusal on the ground that an attack of the Austrians was not probable. At daybreak, however, the corps of Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers came in sight of Solferino, and was immediately set upon by a large Austrian force, which rushed down the hill and fought with the greatest fury. The marshal resisted to the best of his power, and sent off aide-de-camp after aide-de-camp, for supports; but it was not till after three hours of frightful carnage that the corps of General Niel made its appearance. The Austrians were driven back, and every now and then there was a pause, and the French continued to gain ground, heaps of their own and the enemy's corpses marking the fluctuations of the fight. The Austrians were thus slowly driven out of Solferino;

but all of a sudden they made a tremendous burst forward, and the French were driven down the hill. Admirably supported by their artillery, however, they made a stand, and commenced once more to advance. It was like a hail-storm of bullets and balls, and whole files were mowed down by a single discharge. Meanwhile the right and left wing of the Austrians were getting decidedly the best of it. The Piedmontese were slowly driven back. General Canrobert's corps were also heavily punished; and had there been a skilful general in the Austrian army to collect and concentrate their force against the weak point of the enemy's line, matters would have turned out very differently. The French commander, to whom the credit of the day is entirely due, whether it be Niel, M'Mahon, or the emperor himself, sent forward the imperial guard, and a strong division of infantry of the line, against the Austrian centre, and succeeded for a time in breaking it. Instead of bringing up their forces to repel this formidable attack, the supporting columns were sent to the left and right wings, which did not need them. Desperate attempts were made to re-capture Solferino, but the French stoutly held it, and, after some desperate encounters, the bugles began to sound the general retreat, and the Austrians slowly fell back.

The emperor Napoleon was seen, at all times, directing the battle. Every one trembled for his safety; several horses of his staff and escort were killed or wounded, and his coolness and intrepidity, amid the most threatening perils, inspired his troops with irresistible ardour and confidence. One of the most remarkable episodes was a dreadful rain and thunder-storm, which is mentioned by an officer on the extreme right as having burst over the field when the fight was at its thickest; and under cover of the darkness the Austrians made a splendid burst, and then gradually fell back. An attempt was made by the cavalry to pursue them, or, at least, to get to Volta, and so turn the flank, which led to an encounter between French Chasseurs and Austrian Hulans, in which the former were rapidly sent to the right-about. Two whole days were consumed in seeking for the wounded, and the dead were interred pell-mell in large trenches dug at the spot where they fell. It is confidently reported that not less than 20,000 corpses

were buried, besides numbers that remained lying in the ditches and corn-fields. The retreat of the Austrians began late in the evening, just at the moment the position of Cavriana was assailed. The French from Solferino began shelling it at a short range, and it was no longer a fit place for the emperor and his staff. They retired, therefore, a little way in the rear; but Francis Joseph, who exhibited much courage, leaving his staff at a farm-yard on the road, turned back with a chosen few, and looked on while a last effort was made to fight for the possession of Cavriana. This last effort was made, but without success. Nearer and nearer fell the French shells, till one actually cracked over the head of the emperor, and another burst in the midst of his officers. The Austrians left behind them, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 50,000 men. The French loss was computed at 12,000.

READING CX.

THE CHINESE WAR.—PEACE OF PEKIN.

1860.

THERE is no denying the fact that the war which has recently terminated so favourably for this country, originally arose in a most unjustifiable attempt, on the part of the British authorities, to compel the Chinese government to permit the importation of opium into the imperial dominions; a proceeding the more objectionable, inasmuch as the opposition of the emperor proceeded from a conviction of the demoralizing effects that this drug would have upon his subjects. To this effect a proclamation was issued in January, 1839, by the local government of Canton, and addressed to all foreigners, in which was announced the approach of a special commissioner, to put a stop to the opium traffic, and it was required that the receiving ships on the outside should all be sent away under the penalty of hostile measures. The arrival of this high commissioner (whose name was Lin), was immediately preceded by a native opium

smuggler being suddenly brought down into the square in front of the foreign factories, and there publicly strangled.

Passing over the events which, from that time, rapidly succeeded each other, and which, although highly interesting, we have not space sufficient to record—such as the occupation of Chusan by the British, the cession to them of the island of Hong Kong, etc., etc., we come to the more immediate cause of the war, the triumphant issue of which has been so recently announced.

On the 8th of October, 1855, the Chinese authorities boarded a vessel called the "Arrow," trading under the protection of the British flag, and provided, according to the 17th article of the supplementary treaty of October 8, 1843, with a colonial register. All the crew, except two, the number in the "Arrow" being fourteen, and all Chinese, were seized, pinioned, and put on board a war boat: the reason alleged for the seizure being that one of the crew on board the "Arrow" was a native pirate, who had been actively engaged in a pirate fleet which had come into collision with a Chinese vessel of war. Notwithstanding that Sir John Bowring, the British plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, admitted in his despatch to Mr. Parkes, the British consul at Canton, that "it appears, on examination, that the 'Arrow' had no right to hoist the British flag, the license so to do having expired on the 27th of September, from which period she had not been entitled to protection;" the latter gentleman persisted in demanding reparation and a public apology for the insult offered to the British flag. Commissioner Yeh consented to surrender ten out of the twelve men who had been seized; but this was declined. He then sent back all the twelve, but demanded that two of them, who had been charged with piracy, should be at once returned in order to be dealt with according to Chinese law. As Mr. Parkes, however, had, in his original demand, required that the men should be sent back to the "Arrow" as publicly as they had been taken from it, and as no apology was tendered by Commissioner Yeh, he refused to receive them, and the men were again taken away by the Chinese. Sir John Bowring now resolved to make a further demand, and Mr. Parkes was instructed to write to the chief high commissioner, and require for all foreign representatives the same free access to the

authorities and city of Canton as were engaged by treaty at the other four ports, and denied at Canton alone. No answer having been returned to the consul's demand, Sir M. Seymour, commander-in-chief of the British fleet on the Chinese station, opened fire upon some government buildings at Canton, among which was Commissioner Yeh's residence; and on the 12th of November, Admiral Seymour sent a summons to the chief mandarin in command of the Bogue forts, requiring him to surrender them, and promising that they should remain uninjured and be given back when the present differences were brought to a satisfactory conclusion. This was also refused; the chief mandarin replying that he could not deliver up the forts, as, if he did so, he would lose his head, and must therefore fight. Sir M. Seymour immediately commenced the attack, and on that and the following day the whole of the Bogue forts were taken, with scarcely a casualty on our side, although the forts mounted upwards of four hundred guns. The avowed object was to compel Commissioner Yeh to concede to the British plenipotentiary the right to enter Canton, as was plainly declared by Mr. Parkes, at an interview he had with a deputation of Canton merchants, on the 15th of November, to whom he said, "that if simple reparation for outrage in the 'Arrow' case had been all that was required, the admiral would doubtless have been long ago satisfied with what had been done; but that a principle was at stake which could not be abandoned—that principle being access to the authorities at Canton."

The dispute was now greatly exacerbated by a most atrocious massacre perpetrated at the close of the year 1856, on board a small steamer, called the "Thistle," used for carrying the mails between Canton and Hong Kong. A party of Chinese soldiers went on board disguised as passengers, and as the vessel was proceeding down the river they attacked the Europeans on board, eleven in number, and murdered them all. They then ran the vessel aground, in a creek, abandoned her and set her on fire, escaping themselves with impunity.

Some idea may be formed of the vindictive spirit in which the Imperial Commissioner Yeh was disposed to carry on the contest, from a proclamation issued by him, and containing the following tariff of rewards promised to

those who should succeed in killing any of the "red-haired foreign dogs"—meaning the British and the French.

"1. Whoever catches an English or French rebel chief will receive a reward of 5000 dollars.

"2. Whoever cuts off the head of a rebel barbarian will receive a reward of 50 dollars.

"3. Whoever catches a rebel barbarian alive will receive a reward of 100 dollars.

"4. Whoever catches a traitor will, in producing satisfactory evidence, receive a reward of 20 dollars.

"5. Whoever can manage to burn or take a large war steamer will receive a reward of 10,000 dollars.

"Whoever can manage to burn or take a shallow water steamer will receive 2000 dollars, and be recommended for further reward.

"All those who are in the employ of the foreign dogs must leave their employment in one month, and after one month, if they still stay with the foreign dogs, and do not return to their native villages, the elders of the villages will hand over their families to the authorities to be punished, as if they were the red-head rebels."

Two very successful expeditions were undertaken in the month of May, 1857; the first under Commodore Elliott, and the second under Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, which ended in the complete destruction of the Chinese war-junks in the Canton waters. That under the admiral had to contend with difficulties of a most formidable description, for in one of the branches of the river which the forces had entered, was an island shaped like a leg of mutton, and placed lengthways in the river. The broad part of it was towards the British boats, and across the knuckle end twenty large junks lay moored to the shore and aground. The consequence of this position was, that to attack them the British boats were compelled to pass through one of two passages, both of which narrowed to a funnel, and upon that narrow neck of water the whole fire of the twenty junks was concentrated. One of those funnel passages had been staked and was impassable; and the other had not water sufficient to carry two boats abreast. At this perilous passage Commodore Elliott and his crew dashed, and, unfortunately, the three boom boats took the ground in attempting to follow. No

sooner did the boats appear in the narrow passage than twenty 32-pounders sent twenty round shot, and a hundred smaller guns sent their full charges of grape and canister, at a range of five hundred yards, right among them, with such terrific effect that the commodore was compelled to retire for a short time; but on the return of the tide he again advanced with the boats, and the Chinese fled in their junks towards the town of Fatshan through narrow and intricate channels. One after another, however, of the junks was deserted as the English pressed on during a chase of more than six miles, and all but three were taken and destroyed. The boats reached the walls of Fatshan before they stopped, and a volley of balls from the marines who were landed, drove back a body of Chinese soldiers, who had marched out of the town to destroy the "barbarians." Having thus successfully performed his task, Commodore Elliott retired.

About the end of autumn Lord Elgin, the British plenipotentiary, arrived at Hong Kong, and in October Baron Gros, the French plenipotentiary, entered the Canton River with a French squadron; but it was not until the beginning of December that Lord Elgin found himself in a position to be able to act effectively, and he then addressed to Commissioner Yeh a letter, in which, after stating that the English and French governments were united in their determination to seek, by vigorous and decisive action, reparation for the past and security against future wrongs, he announced that hostile operations would proceed against Canton until the following demands of the British government were absolutely and unreservedly conceded—namely, the complete execution at Canton of all treaty engagements, including the free admission of British subjects to the city; and compensation to British subjects and persons entitled to British protection, for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances. If these demands, and those preferred by the French plenipotentiary, were accepted by the Imperial commissioners within ten days, the blockade of the river would be raised, and commerce would be permitted to resume its course; but the English and French would retain the island of Honan, and the forts in the river, as a material guarantee until the terms of a treaty were agreed to and ratified by the sovereigns and their respective countries. As nothing

but a prolix and evasive reply to these demands was received from Commissioner Yeh, active operations commenced on the morning of Monday, the 28th, with the bombardment of the city by the naval forces, and a terrific fire was kept up without intermission until nine o'clock the following morning. The effects of it were soon apparent in the devoted city; vast conflagrations burst out in several places simultaneously, and raged during the day and through the night. The official residence of Yeh in the new city became a prey to the flames, and was almost totally destroyed.

It being intended that the assault should be made on the eastern end of the city, the principal fire was directed along the works on that side. Over each of the gateways were large pagoda-shaped buildings, and these were occupied as guard-rooms, and quarters for the troops forming the garrison; those on the south and east sides were soon reduced to ruin, and rendered quite untenable.

An hour before daylight of the 29th of December, the whole force fell in without noise or sound of bugle. The 59th regiment was directed to form in skirmishing order and cover the advance, and in a few minutes the whole regiment was within a hundred and fifty yards of the walls, the enemy keeping up a well-directed fire on the advancing troops. A number of houses close to the walls were occupied and loop-holed, and the embankments of the lotus and other fields were lined with the riflemen of the 59th, who kept up such a rapid and well-directed fire on the walls, that in a short time the parapet was cleared of the enemy.

On the 59th approaching the east gate, of which it was to take possession, a vast body of Chinese troops appeared, and a sharp skirmish ensued, but the enemy were driven from the gate by a charge of bayonets. So unexpected was this hostile visit, that many of the people were busy cooking their morning meal. The Chinese fought well, and defended every gate and guard-room with much more resolution than was expected, it being necessary to dislodge them by successive charges of the bayonet. By two o'clock the British were in possession of all the gates and ports as far as the Taenan, or small south gate. The French, in the mean time, had cleared the ramparts of the enemy to the north of the city, and occupied the five-

storied pagoda. The marines and naval brigade completed the defeat of the Chinese on the northern side, taking possession of the forts on that side of the city, and of the great northern gate. They then occupied some joss-houses close to the head quarters, near the five-storied pagoda, or were placed on the ramparts so as to secure our position, and keep open the communications.

Thus fell into the hands of the allies the celebrated city of Canton; and it is satisfactory to reflect, that considering the great results that had been achieved, the casualties were not numerous. The British had only four officers killed and seven wounded; and four men killed and sixty four wounded; and the French loss was still less: that of the Chinese, by the bombardment and the assault, must have been very great, but could never be correctly ascertained.

Lord Elgin entered Canton in state on the 1st of January, 1857, and on the 26th of June a treaty was signed at Tien-tsin, by which, among other concessions, the permanent establishment of a British minister and his suite at Peking was allowed: but on the English and French ambassadors, escorted by a naval force, arriving, on their way to the capital, off the island of Sha-lin-tien in the Gulf of Pechili, on the 17th of June, they found their further progress obstructed, and on attempting to force a passage met with so fierce an opposition, that after the most gallant and persevering attempts to force their way up the Peiho river, they were compelled to retreat with great loss in killed and wounded.

In consequence of this treacherous violation of a solemn treaty, a fresh expedition was undertaken against the Taku forts, and was conducted so successfully, that the Chinese were completely routed and the forts taken. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros then proceeded to Tien-tsin, where two Chinese high commissioners shortly afterwards arrived, being empowered by the emperor to enter upon negotiations for peace. It having been soon discovered that there was no real intention to treat, the object being merely that of gaining time, the command was given for a forward movement; and on the 12th of October everything was prepared for the assault, or the occupation of Peking, the unviolated capital of China. The siege guns and other artillery were in a position to bombard the

city, unless it surrendered by noon of the 13th. This menacing position of affairs had the desired effect, for just before the period given for surrender would expire, the Commisioner Hang-chu came out, and said that the demands of the allies would be complied with. Previously to this the emperor's summer palace had been taken and given up to plunder, a loot (*pillage*) which is thus described in a letter, dated the 9th of October, from the British camp :—"The public reception-hall, the state and private bed-rooms, ante-rooms, boudoirs, and every other apartment has been ransacked; articles of *vertu*, of native and foreign workmanship, taken, or broken if too large to be carried away; ornamental lattice-work, screens, jade-stone ornaments, jars, clocks, watches, and other pieces of mechanism, curtains and furniture—none have escaped from destruction. There were extensive wardrobes of every article of dress; coats richly embroidered in silk and gold thread, in the Imperial Dragon pattern; boots, head-dresses, fans, etc.; in fact, rooms all but filled with them. Store rooms of manufactured silk in rolls, such as may be bought in Canton at twenty or thirty dollars per piece. By a calculation made in the rooms, there must have been seventy or eighty thousand pieces. Hundreds were thrown and trampled on, and the floor covered thickly with them; men were throwing them at each other, and all taking as many as they could carry. They were used instead of ropes to secure the loading of carts filled with them. Throughout the French camp were hundreds of pieces, some heaped up, others used to make tents or beds and coverlets. In the afternoon yesterday, a party of French went through the apartments with sticks, breaking everything that remained—mirrors, screens, panels, etc. It is said that they did so in revenge for the barbarous treatment the released prisoners, their countrymen, had received. A treasury containing a large quantity of gold ingots and sycee silver is under charge of a guard, and is to be divided between the English and French. The total value of property destroyed would amount to a large instalment of the indemnity claimed. In one of the ante-rooms of the state bed-room at the summer palace, the treaty of Tien-tsin in English and Chinese, signed by Lord Elgin, was found. Much dissatisfaction has been expressed at the decision of the

commander-in-chief, that only those of the troops who marched from the last halting-place on the 6th are to participate in the prize money, all the rest, those at the depôt at Tung-chow and elsewhere, being excluded. The commander-in-chief and general officers have waived their right to share. A gold jug of great value was presented to the commander-in-chief by the army. Nearly all the articles were sold at very high prices, large enamelled and inlaid vases and ornaments realizing full Shanghai prices for such articles, the fact of their having been the property of Hien Fung adding an imaginary value to everything. The scene where the sale was held in the temple Lama-siri, occupied by head-quarters, was worthy the pencil of an artist. Had his Imperial Majesty handed over the whole of the contents of that palace, uninjured, it would have sold for an enormous amount, more than three-fourths having been destroyed or taken by the French."

But the satisfaction caused by this success was considerably diminished by the knowledge which was now acquired of the horrible fate that had befallen some English and French gentlemen, who, twelve in number, after the arrival of the allied forces at Tien-tsin, having been despatched to Tung-chow for the purpose of arranging the conditions of a pacific reception of the allied ministers in that town, were, in defiance of the flag of truce, under protection of which they were travelling, treacherously seized and conveyed to Peking.

Upon the allies taking possession of the northern gate of the capital, two of the English gentlemen who had been made prisoners, Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, were safely returned; immediately after which the remains also of the unfortunate prisoners, who had been barbarously murdered by the cruelties inflicted on them by the rude Mongolian troops, were given up. Messrs. Parkes and Loch had met with some ill-treatment, and endured the dread anxiety of being several times ordered out for execution; but they were comparatively fortunate in the captors into whose hands they fell, and latterly they were well treated in Peking, under the orders of Prince Kung. Next in comparative good fortune to them were Captain Brabazon, R.A., and the Abbé de Luc, who were simply beheaded by the orders of a Tartar general who was mortally wounded at the time. Mr. Bowlby, the *Times*

correspondent, Mr. de Normann, and Lieutenant Anderson, met a more horrible fate. Being tied up in the brutal manner in which the Mongols are accustomed to treat their prisoners, and most scantily supplied with food, they gradually sank beneath their sufferings, and finally expired. There is no reason to suppose that the Tartars actually intended to torture them to death, as they are always in the habit of so treating even prisoners whose lives they wish to preserve; but such was the fact, to all intents and purposes. The French officers who were murdered were the Abbé de Luc, Colonel Grandchamps, Intendent Debut, and M. Aden.

The retribution demanded for these cruel acts was certainly not a whit too severe, and it is to be regretted that some of the brutal perpetrators were not secured. As some of these dark deeds had been perpetrated at the Yuen-ming-yuen, that palace, together with the property it contained, and which was of immense value, was utterly destroyed, and 300,000 taels, or about £100,000, was exacted by Sir Hope Grant for the families of his murdered countrymen, and as an indemnity to the survivors for the sufferings which they had undergone, while 200,000 taels was exacted by the French general for a similar purpose.

On the 17th, the remains of Messrs. Bowlby, De Normann, and Anderson, were buried with great solemnity in the Russian cemetery outside the walls of Peking.

On the morning of the 24th, the day named for signing the convention, Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant entered the An-ting gate, accompanied by an escort of six hundred men and one hundred officers from the regiments at Peking. The commander-in-chief, surrounded by his personal staff, rode a little in front of Lord Elgin, who was carried in his state chair by sixteen Chinese, dressed in scarlet; his horse, saddled, was led behind him, and the members of the embassy rode on either side.

The 2nd division, under Sir Robert Napier, lined the streets, and as Lord Elgin passed followed at intervals, taking up strategical positions along the line of route, in case treachery was intended by the Chinese. Considerable crowds lined both sides of the road; they were extremely orderly, merely evincing great curiosity to get

a glimpse at the "Great Barbarian" by attempting to peep into his chair as he passed by.

The ceremony took place in the Hall of Ceremonies in Peking. At three P.M. the procession entered the An-ting gate in the following order:—100 cavalry (detachments of the King's Dragoon Guards, Probyn's and Fane's Horse), 400 infantry (detachments of the various regiments of foot), officers and others mounted, the general and staff. Lord Elgin in his green sedan chair, carried by sixteen Chinese coolies in scarlet livery, attended by a detachment of cavalry and infantry. The street from the gate was lined by detachments of infantry, amounting to 2000 men, who followed up the procession as it passed, forming altogether an armed force of about 3000 men marching through the capital. On reaching the Hall of Ceremonies the party passed through a gateway into a court-yard, when the horsemen dismounted, and the whole filed off on either side, leaving an avenue through which Her Majesty's envoy was conveyed to the steps of the raised floor of the hall, whilst a flourish of trumpets and the national anthem saluted him, the soldiers presenting arms. On descending from his sedan chair, his lordship was met by Prince Kung, the emperor's brother, who saluted in the usual manner of the Chinese, by extending the two arms forward with hands together, the earl raising his hat. His lordship then walked towards the further end of the hall, and took the seat of honour placed there for him, at the same time motioning the prince to take the lower seat, about fifteen feet on his right. Sir Hope Grant occupied a chair on Lord Elgin's left. A table covered with tawdry embroidered cloth stood before each. At and behind a row of similar tables running from the back to the front, staff and other officers and visitors sat or stood to witness the ceremony, and on the opposite side the princes of the council and mandarins of various buttons and feathers took up a similar position. Between the two stood the attachés of the embassy, interpreters, and others engaged in the ceremony, at a table whereon papers, despatch-boxes, etc., were placed. The examination of credentials and other papers occupied about half an hour, and at a quarter to five o'clock, the signatures of the high contracting parties were attached to the documents. Kung produced the emperor's signature in vermilion, with the

seal of the empire attached on yellow paper, authorizing him to sign the convention. Lord Elgin then sent a message through the interpreters to Kung, expressing his hope that the treaty now concluded would be lasting, to which the Tartar replied in true Asiatic words, he hoped it would last a thousand years, that affairs had been badly managed hitherto, but now that he had undertaken the control of them, he believed no misunderstandings would arise. On retiring, as Lord Elgin walked towards his sedan chair, Kung should have been at his side, but he lagged behind a little, and his lordship had to wait until he stepped forward. Throughout the ceremony the prince's expression was one of undisturbed sulkiness; he appeared to reply with churlishness to all that was said to him. He had on a purple damask silk long coat; the button on his hat was covered with red silk, like the tassal which hung from it. Lord Elgin was in ambassador's uniform. He assumed a cold and distant air, and doubtless felt the utmost disgust at having to treat with the minister of a false-hearted and perfidious master. A salute of twenty-one guns from a battery of royal artillery on the wall at the An-ting gate announced that peace was established. It had been intimated that the usual refreshments on such occasions would not be partaken of, therefore none were offered except the cup of tea, which is customary at all times.

Reports of intended treachery at the last moment were communicated through Catholic priests. They were not believed; but precautions were taken against them, by having a large force within the city, instead of an escort merely, as was first intended.

This Hall of Ceremonies is a common-looking chamber, entirely open in front, with large closed doors at the back, on which the usual picture of warriors, etc., are pasted. From the ceiling in front there was some tawdry silk hangings, the floor was partly covered with mats and pieces of carpet, and the whole scene was considerably inferior to the stage of a second-rate sing-song in the south.

On returning, the troops were formed into bodies at short intervals from the palace to the gate.

The same formalities were gone through with Baron Gros, the French plenipotentiary, on the 25th.

The following is a summary of the more important articles of the convention :—

In Article I. the emperor expresses his deep regret at the misunderstanding occasioned by the affair of Taku, in 1858.

Art. II. stipulates that a British minister shall reside at Peking.

Art. III. states the terms, etc., of the payment of an indemnity of 8,000,000 taels, being double the amount granted in the treaty of Tien-tsin, in 1858.

Art. IV. opens the port of Tien-tsin to trade and residence of British subjects.

Art. V. removes the interdict on emigration to British colonies, etc.

Art. VI. cedes part of Cowloon to the British crown, as a dependency of the colony of Hong Kong, etc., etc.

Among the dispatches brought by Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's secretary, and inserted in a supplement to the *London Gazette* of Friday, the 28th December, is Mr. Parkes's account of his captivity. This narrative is fraught with the greatest interest; it exhibits in the clearest point of view the craftiness and treachery of every one of the Chinese authorities, forming a strong contrast to the straightforward manliness of our countryman, whom not even the threats of torture, or of death itself, could terrify into a compromise of his duty, and whose generous refusal to accept of liberty unless shared by his companion in misfortune, is deserving of the highest praise and admiration.

On the above day, 28th December, 1860, a salute from the Park and Tower guns gave formal expression to the fact that England was at peace with China.

SPECIMENS OF THE POETRY OF THE 19th CENTURY.

CRABBE (B. 1754—D. 1832.)

LOVE.

My Damon was the first to wake
The gentle flame that cannot die ;
My Damon is the last to take
The faithful bosom's softest sigh :
The life between is nothing worth,
Oh ! cast it from thy thought away ;
Think of the day that gave it birth,
And this its sweet returning day.

Buried be all that has been done,
Or say that nought is done amiss ;
For who the dangerous path can shun
In such bewildering world as this ?
But love can every fault forgive,
Or with a tender look reprove ;
And now let nought in memory live,
But that we meet and that we love.

ROGERS (B. 1763—D. 1855).

THE BUTTERFLY.

Child of the sun ! pursue thy rapturous flight,
Mingling with her thou lovest in fields of light,
And where the flowers of paradise unfold,
Quaff fragrant nectar from their cups of gold ;
There shall thy wings, rich as an evening sky,
Expand and shut with silent ecstasy :
Yet wert thou once a worm—a thing that crept
On the bare earth, then wrought a tomb and slept.
And such is man—soon from his cell of clay,
To burst a seraph in the blaze of day.

WORDSWORTH (B. 1770—D. 1850).

SONNET.

Eve's lingering clouds extend in solid bars
 Through the grey west ; and lo ! these waters, steeled
 By breezeless air to smoothest polish, yield
 A vivid repetition of the stars ;
 Jove, Venus, and the ruddy crest of Mars
 Amid his fellows, beauteously revealed,
 At happy distance from earth's groaning field,
 Where ruthless mortals wage incessant wars.
 Is it a mirror ?—or the nether sphere
 Opening its vast abyss, while fancy feeds
 On the rich show !—But list ! a voice is near ;
 Great Pan himself low-whispering through the reeds,
 " Be thankful thou ; for, if unholy deeds
 Ravage the world, tranquillity is here !"

NATURE.

Nature never did betray
 The heart that loved her ; 'tis her privilege,
 Through all the years of this our life, to lead
 From joy to joy ; for she can so inform
 The mind that is within us, so impress
 With quietness and beauty, and so feed
 With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
 Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
 Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
 The dreary intercourse of daily life
 Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
 Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
 Is full of blessings.

WALTER SCOTT (B. 1771—D. 1832.)

LOVE OF FATHERLAND.

Breathes there a man, with soul so dead
 Who never to himself hath said,
 " This is my own, my native land !"
 Whose heart has ne'er within him burned,
 As home his footsteps he hath turned,
 From wandering on a foreign strand ?
 If such there be, go, mark him well :
 For him no minstrel raptures swell :

High though his titles, proud his name,
 Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
 Despite those titles, power and pelf,
 The wretch, concentrated all in self,
 Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
 And, doubly dying, shall go down
 To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
 Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.

COLERIDGE (B. 1772—D. 1834).

CLOUDLAND.

Oh! it is pleasant with a heart at ease
 Just after sunset, or by moonlight skies,
 To make the shifting clouds be what you please;
 Or let the easily persuaded eyes
 Own each gaunt likeness issuing from the mould
 Of a friend's fancy; or, with head bent low,
 And cheek aslant, see rivers flow of gold
 'Twixt crimson banks; and then, a traveller go,
 From mount to mount, through Cloudland, gorgeous land!
 Or listening to the tide, with closed sight
 Be that blind bard, who, on the Chian strand
 By those deep sounds possessed with inward light,
 Beheld the Iliad and the Odyssee
 Rise to the swelling of the voiceful sea.

SOUTHEY (B. 1774—D. 1843).

DANGERS OF THE DEEP.

'Tis pleasant by the cheerful hearth to^{*}hear
 Of tempests, and the dangers of the deep,
 And pause at times, and feel that we are safe;
 Then listen to the perilous tale again,
 And with an eager and suspended soul,
 Woo terror to delight us. But to hear
 The roaring of the raging elements,
 To know all human skill, all human strength
 Avail not,—to look around, and only see
 The mountain wave incumbent, with its weight
 Of bursting waters, o'er the reeling bark,—
 Ah, me! this is, indeed, a dreadful thing;

And he who hath endured the horror once
Of such an hour, doth never hear the storm
Howl round his home but he remembers it,
And thinks upon the suffering mariner.

CAMPBELL (B. 1777—D. 1844).

VICTORIA.

Victoria's sceptre o'er the deep
Has touched, and broken slavery's chain ;
Yet, strange magician ! she enslaves
Our hearts within her own domain.

Her spirit is devout, and burns
With thoughts averse to bigotry ;
Yet she herself, the idol, turns
Our thoughts into idolatry.

HOPE.

Friend of the brave ! in peril's darkest hour,
Intrepid virtue looks to thee for power ;
To thee the heart its trembling homage yields,
On stormy floods, and carnage coloured fields ;
When, front to front, the banner'd hosts combine,
Halt ere they close, and form the dreadful line.
When all is still on death's devoted soil,
The march-worn soldier mingles in the toil ;
As rings his glittering tube, he lifts on high
The dauntless brow, and spirit speaking eye,
Hails in his heart the triumph yet to come,
And hears thy stormy music in the drum.

* * * * *

Eternal hope ! when yonder spheres sublime
Peal'd their first notes to sound the march of time,
Thy joyous youth began—but not to fade,—
When all the sister planets have decayed ;
When wrapt in fire, the realms of ether glow,
And heaven's last thunder shakes the world below ;
Thou, undismay'd, shalt o'er the ruins smile,
And light thy torch at nature's funeral pile.

MOORE (B. 1779—D. 1852).

SACRED SONG.

Thy turf shall be my fragrant shrine ;
My temple, Lord ! that arch of thine ;
My censer's breath the mountain airs,
And silent thoughts my only prayers.

My choir shall be the moonlight waves,
When murmuring homeward to their caves,
Or when the stillness of the sea,
Ev'n more than music, breathes of thee.

* * * * *

There's nothing bright above, below,
From flowers that bloom, to stars that glow ;
But in its light my soul can see
Some feature of thy Deity.

There's nothing dark below, above,
But in its gloom I trace Thy love,
And meekly wait that moment, when
Thy touch shall turn all bright again.

THE LAST ROSE OF SUMMER.

'Tis the last rose of summer
Left blooming alone ;
All her lovely companions
Are faded and gone :
No flower of her kindred,
No rose-bud is nigh,
To reflect back her blushes,
Or give sigh for sigh.

I'll not leave thee, thou lone one !
To pine on the stem ;
Since the lovely are sleeping,
Go, sleep thou with them.
Thus kindly I scatter
Thy leaves o'er the bed
Where thy mates of the garden
Lie scentless and dead.

So, soon may I follow,
When Friendships decay,
And from Love's shining circle
The gems drop away ;

When true hearts lie wither'd,
 And fond ones are flown,
 Oh ! who would inhabit
 This bleak world alone?

HENRY KIRKE WHITE (B. 1785—D. 1806).

TO AN EARLY PRIMROSE.

Mild offspring of a dark and sullen sire !
 Whose modest form, so delicately fine,
 Was nursed in whirling storms,
 And cradled on the winds !

Thee, when young Spring first questioned Winter's sway,
 And dared the sturdy blusterer to the fight,
 Thee on this bank he threw
 To mark his victory.

In this lone vale, the promise of the year,
 Serene, thou openest to the nipping gale,
 Unnoticed and alone,
 Thy tender elegance.

So virtue blooms, brought forth amid the storms
 Of chill adversity ; in some lone walk
 Of life, that rears her head
 Obscure and unobserved ;

While every bleaching breeze that on her blows,
 Chastens her spotless purity of breast,
 And hardens her to bear,
 Serene, the ills of life.

BYRON (B. 1788—D. 1824).

EVENING.

Oh, Hesperus ! thou bringest all good things—
 Home to the weary, to the hungry cheer,
 To the young bird the parent's brooding wings,
 The welcomed stall to the o'er-laboured steer !
 Whate'er of peace about our hearthstone clings,
 Whate'er our household gods protect of dear,
 Are gathered round us by thy look of rest ;
 Thou bring'st the child, too, to the mother's breast.

Soft hour ! which wakes the wish and melts the heart,
Of those who sail the seas, on the first day
When they from their sweet friends are torn apart ;
Or fills with love the pilgrim on his way,
As the far bell of vesper makes him start,
Seeming to weep the dying day's decay ;
Is this a fancy which our reason scorns ?
Ah, surely nothing dies but something mourns.

THE WISH.

Oh ! that the desert were my dwelling place,
With one fair spirit for my minister,
That I might all forget the human race,
And, hating no one, love but only her !
Ye elements !—in whose ennobling stir
I feel myself exalted,—can ye not
Accord me such a being?—Do I err
In deeming such inhabit many a spot ?
Though with them to converse, can rarely be our lot.

There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is society, where none intrudes,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar ;
I love not man the less, but nature more,
For these our interviews, in which I steal
From all I may be, or have been before,
To mingle with the Universe, and feel
What I can ne'er express, but cannot all conceal.

SHELLEY (B. 1792—D. 1822).

MUTABILITY.

We are as clouds that veil the midnight moon :
How restlessly they speed, and gleam and quiver
Stretching the darkness radiantly !—yet soon
Night closes round, and they are lost for ever :

Or like forgotten lyres, whose dissonant strings
Give various response to each varying blast,
To whose frail frame no second motion brings
One mood or modulation like the last.

We rest—a dream has power to poison sleep ;
We rise—one wandering thought pollutes the day .
We feel, conceive or reason, laugh or weep ;
Embrace fond woe, or cast our cares away,

It is the same!—For, be it joy or sorrow,
 The path of its departure still is free;
 Man's yesterday may ne'er be like his morrow;
 Nought may endure but Mutability.

REMEMBRANCE OF THE DEAD.

Music, when soft voices die,
 Vibrates in the memory—
 Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
 Live within the sense they quicken.
 Rose leaves, when the rose is dead,
 Are heaped for the beloved's bed;
 And so thy thoughts, when thou art gone,
 Love itself shall slumber on.

KEATS (B. 1796—D. 1820).

SOLITUDE.

Oh, Solitude! if I must with thee dwell
 Let it not be among the jumbled heap
 Of murky buildings: climb with me the steep—
 Nature's observatory—whence the dell,
 In flowery slopes, its river's chrystal swell
 May seem a span; let me my vigils keep
 'Mongst boughs pavilion'd, where the deer's swift leaps
 Startles the wild bee from the fox glove bell.
 But though I'll gladly trace these scenes with thee,
 Yet the sweet converse of an innocent mind,
 Whose words are images of thoughts refined,
 Is my soul's pleasure; and it sure must be
 Almost the highest bliss of human kind
 When to thy haunts two kindred spirits flee.

POLLOCK (B. 1799—D. 1827).

THE MISER.

But there was one in folly further gone;
 With eye awry, incurable and wild,
 The laughing-stock of devils and of men,
 And by his guardian angel quite given up—
 The miser, who with dust inanimate
 Held wedded intercourse. Ill-guided wretch!
 Thou might'st have seen him at the midnight hour,

When good men slept, and in light-winged dreams
Ascended up to God,—in wasteful hall,
With vigilance and fasting worn to skin
And bone, and wrapt in most debasing rags,—
Thou might'st have seen him bending o'er his heaps,
And holding strange communication with his gold;
And as his thievish fancy seemed to hear
The robber's foot approach, starting alarmed,
And in his old, decrepit, withered hand
That palsy shook, grasping the yellow earth
To make it sure.

TENNYSON (B. 1810).

THE DESERTED HOUSE.

Life and thought have gone away
Side by side,
Leaving door and window wide;
Careless tenants they!

All within is dark as night;
In the windows is no light;
And no murmur at the door,
So frequent on its hinge before.

Close the door, the shutters close,
Or, through the windows, we shall see
The nakedness and vacancy
Of the dark deserted house.

Come away: no more of mirth
Is here, or merry-making sound.
The house was builded of the earth,
And shall fall again to ground.

Come away—for life and thought
Here no longer dwell;
But in a city glorious—
A great and distant city—have bought
A mansion incorruptible.
Would they could have stayed with us!

A FAREWELL.

Flow down, cold rivulet, to the sea,
Thy tribute wave deliver;
No more by thee my steps shall be
For ever and for ever.

Flow, softly flow, by lawn and lea,
 A rivulet, then a river;
 Nowhere by thee my steps shall be
 For ever and for ever.

But here will sigh thine alder tree,
 And here thine aspen shiver;
 And here by thee will hum the bee,
 For ever and for ever.

A thousand suns will stream on thee,
 A thousand moons will quiver;
 But not by thee my steps shall be
 For ever and for ever.

CIRCUMSTANCE.

Two children in two neighbour villages,
 Playing mad pranks along the heathy leas
 Two strangers meeting at a festival;
 Two lovers whispering by an orchard wall,
 Two lives bound fast in one with golden ease;
 Two graves, grass-green, beside a gray church-tower,
 Wash'd with still rains, and daisy blossomed;
 Two children in one hamlet born and bred:
 So runs the round of life from hour to hour.

LANDON (B. 1802—D. 1838).

REAL EXERCISE OF POWER.

Fall, fall, ye mighty temples, to the ground;
 Not in your sculptured rise
 Is the real exercise
 Of human nature's brightest power found.

'Tis in the lofty hope, the daily toil,
 'Tis in the gifted line,
 In each far thought divine,
 That brings down heaven to light our common soil.

'Tis in the great, the lovely, and the true,
 'Tis in the generous thought
 Of all that man has wrought,
 Of all that yet remains for man to do.

MACAULAY (B. 1800—D. 1860).

THE DEATH OF VIRGINIA.*

Straightway Virginius led the maid a little space aside,
To where the reeking shambles stood, piled up with horn and
hide,

Close to you dark archway, where, in a crimson flood,
Leaps down to the great sewer, the gurgling stream of blood.
Hard by, a flesher on a block had laid his whittle down;
Virginius caught the whittle up, and hid it in his gown;
And then his eyes grew dim, and his throat began to swell,
And in a hoarse, changed voice he spake: "Farewell, sweet child!
Farewell!

Oh! how I loved my darling! Though stern I sometimes be,
To thee, thou know'st, I was not so. Who could be so to thee?
And how my darling loved me! How glad she was to hear
My footstep on the threshold when I came back last year!
And how she danced with pleasure to see my civic crown,
And took my sword, and hung it up, and brought me forth my
gown!

Now, all those things are over—Yes, all thy pretty ways,
Thy needlework, thy prattle, thy snatches of old lays;
And none will grieve when I go forth, or smile when I return,
Or watch beside the old man's bed, or weep upon his arm.
The time is come. See how he (Appius Claudius) points his
eager hand this way!

See how his eyes gloat on thy grief, like a kite's upon the prey!
With all his wit, he little deems that, spurned, betrayed, bereft,
Thy father hath in his despair one fearful refuge left:
He little deems that in this hand I clutch what still can save
Thy gentle youth from taunts and blows, the portion of the slave;
Yea, and from nameless evil, that passeth taunt and blow,
Foul outrage which thou knowest not, which thou shalt never
know.

Then clasp me round the neck once more, and give me one more
kiss;

And now, mine own dear little girl, there is no way but this."
With that he lifted high the steel, and smote her in the side,
And in her blood she sank to earth, and with one sob she died.

* Lays of Ancient Rome: Virginia.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, ETC.,
FROM 1800 TO 1860.

- 1800.—Royal Institution founded. Sir Humphrey Davy, Professor of Chemistry.
- 1801.—First attempt to navigate a Steam-boat on the Thames.
- 1803.—Commencement of the military career of the Duke of Wellington.
- 1804.—The British and Foreign Bible Society founded.
- 1805.—British and Foreign School Society founded.
- 1807.—Gas-lights first exhibited in Pall Mall.
- The Act abolishing the Slave-trade passed.
- 1812.—Plymouth Breakwater commenced.
- 1814.—London lighted with Gas.
- 1815.—Liberation of Europe from the designs of Napoleon through his final overthrow at Waterloo.
- 1816.—The Elgin marbles deposited in the British Museum.
- 1817.—The Kaleidoscope invented by Sir D. Brewster.
- The Safety-lamp invented by Sir Humphrey Davy.
- 1818.—Chain Bridge over the Menai Straits begun by Telford.
- 1819.—Opening of the London Institution, Moorfields.
- 1820.—Quinine discovered by Pelletier and Caventou.
- Discovery of Electro-magnetism by Oersted.
- 1821.—Napoleon dies at St. Helena. His remains were removed to Paris, 1840.
- 1822.—Completion of the Caledonian Canal.
- 1823.—Cabriolets first introduced in London.
- London Mechanics' Institution founded.
- 1824.—Life-boat National Institution founded.
- 1825.—The Thames Tunnel commenced.
- 1826.—Charter of the London University granted.
- 1827.—Printing for the Blind introduced.
- The Society "for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge" formed.
- 1828.—Hydropathy introduced by Preissnitz.
- 1829.—Omnibuses introduced in London.

1829. New General Post Office, London, completed.
 — New Metropolitan Police established under Sir R. Peel's Act.
- 1830.—Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened.
- 1831.—Paraffin first obtained by Reichenbach.
 — Magneto-electricity discovered by Faraday.
- 1832.—First general Cemetery opened at Kensal Green, near London.
- 1833.—The Reform Bill passed.
 — Abolition of Colonial Slavery, £20,000,000 compensation paid to the Slaveholders.
 — London and Birmingham Railway (North-western) commenced.
- 1837.—First Electric Telegraph in England (by Wheatstone) applied to Railways.
- 1838.—London and Birmingham Railway (N.-western) opened.
 — War Steamers first built in England.
- 1839.—Daguerre invents his Photographic process.
 — The Temperance movement promoted by Father Mathew.
- 1840.—Penny Postage introduced; preceded in 1839 by a 4d. rate.
 — The Electrotpe process employed commercially in England.
- 1841.—Railways opened this year:—the Great Western, the Blackwall, and the London and Brighton.
 — Anti-Corn Law movement.
- 1842.—Steam Hammer patented by Nasmyth.
- 1843.—Thames Tunnel opened.
 — Vulcanized India-rubber introduced and applied.
- 1844.—Envelopes first made by machinery.
 — Erection of public baths and wash-houses.
- 1845.—Departure of Sir J. Franklin with the "Erebus" and "Terror."
 — The overland route from India devised by Lieutenant Waghorn.
- 1846.—Repeal of the Corn Laws.
 — Railway mania.
 — The Britannia Tubular Bridge over the Menai Straits commenced. Completed 1850.
 — Gun Cotton invented by Schonbein.
- 1847.—Total length of British Railways opened in 1847, 754 miles.
- 1848.—Great demonstrative meeting of the Chartists in London foiled, 150,000 individuals of all classes enrolling themselves as special constables.
- 1849.—First importation of Californian Gold.
 — The Aquarium introduced.

- 1850.—The discovery of a north-west passage completed under Sir R. M'Lure.
—— National indignation at the Pope's appointment of a Cardinal Archbishop (Wiseman) of Westminster.
- 1851.—Telegraphic communication between London and Paris perfected.
—— Decennial Census of the United Kingdom, population 27,452,262.
—— Extensive discoveries of Gold in Australia.
—— Great National Industrial Exhibition in Hyde Park.
- 1852.—A Public Funeral to the Duke of Wellington decreed. Present, a million and a half of spectators.
—— Reformatory Schools established.
- 1853.—Improvements in Photography, and formation of the Photographic Society.
- 1854.—Discovery of the remains of Sir J. Franklin and his crew by Dr. Rae.
- 1855.—Crystal Palace, Sydenham, opened. Re-constructed from the materials of the Hyde Park building, but much enlarged.
—— Invention of the Electric Loom for Weaving.
- 1856.—The order of the "Victoria Cross" instituted.
—— Great Naval Review at Spithead; 220 ships of war, mounting 3,168 guns.
—— Celebration of Peace with Russia.
- 1857.—The Indian Mutiny.
- 1858.—The Great Eastern Steam-ship launched. Constructed to carry 5000 persons.
—— Submarine Atlantic Telegraph laid, and messages exchanged between the Queen and the President of the United States.
- 1859.—The Victoria Tubular Bridge over the St. Lawrence completed.
—— The Armstrong Gun invented.
—— Bessemer's improvement in the Manufacture of Iron and Steel.
- 1860.—Formation of the Volunteer Rifle Corps.
—— Expedition of the Allied Forces of Great Britain and France against China.
—— The Armstrong gun, first used (with complete success); against the Taku Forts, Peiho River, China.
—— Taking of Peking, and submission of the Chinese Emperor.

THE END.

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From Mr. J. BUZZARD, of Smeeton Academy, near Leicester.

Your Hair-line Pointed Pens are decidedly the best I have ever used. My assistants and boys of the first forms invariably use them for fine writing and flourishing.

From Mr. CONQUEST, of Biggleswade.

I have to apologize to you for my delay in acknowledging your note.

I have now used your Hair-line Pens for many years with much satisfaction to myself, and with the entire approval of my pupils ; in fact, such is their preference for them, that in many instances I have had applications for them after they have left school.

From Dr. EMERTON, of Hanwell Collegiate School.

Dr. EMERTON wishes me to give you his opinion, and that of his Writing Master, in regard to the Pens of your manufacture.

I have, therefore, the pleasure of stating that they consider them superior to any which have come under their notice.

BENJAMIN KENT, *Secretary.*

From Mr. JOSEPH FLEET, of Belle House, Hayes.

I have used your Pens from the period of your introducing them to public notice, and consider that they are superior to all others.

From Mr. J. FRENCH, of the Grammar School, Thurlow,
near Newmarket.

I have used your graduated Hair-line Pointed Steel Pens in my School from your first introduction of them to the present time, and do not hesitate to say, that they are by far the best Steel Pens I have ever used: they require only to be more generally known to obtain the preference they deserve.

From Mr. S. GRIFFITHS, of Redlands, Bristol.

I have had ample experience of your Hair-line Pointed Pens, and do but justice to yourselves, and great pleasure to myself, in assuring you that I have not found elsewhere any other equally good with them for the purpose, and that they greatly facilitate the executing the best style of Penmanship.

From Mr. HARLEY, Prospect House Academy, Hythe.

Be-assured it affords me much pleasure to recommend the use of your very superior Steel Pens. I have tried those of innumerable other makers, but until I had the the good fortune to meet with yours, I never thought any sufficiently well adapted for school purposes to justify me in relinquishing the use of the quill. Your Hair-line Pointed Pens for small hand, the Medium for round, and the Broad Points for the larger hands, are, however, manufactured with so much care, and, in my estimation, answer the purpose so admirably, that "the cutting of quills" I can now view in no other light than as a totally unnecessary waste of time.

From Mr. KNIGHTON, of Caversham House, near Reading.

In answer to your inquiries, whether your Pens give satisfaction, I can only say my pupils will use no others for small hand; if they cannot have yours, they ask for quill pens. Your fine-pointed Pen is the only substitute I have found for the quill in my school.

From Mr. W. LANE, of Warwick Hall, Worthing.

I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the excellence of your Hair-line Pointed Pens. I find your Fine points quite equal to Gillot's 303's for the finer kind of writing; and for the general purposes of the school, I give yours the preference, in consequence of their greater firmness, and, therefore, being less liable to get out of condition.

From Mr. G. PALMER, of Hill House, Epping.

With regard to your Pens, I feel much pleasure in saying that, having used them in my establishment ever since you first brought them before the public, I cannot meet with any that give so much satisfaction as yours.

If any testimonial of mine can be of service to you in extending the sale of them, as a highly useful and valuable Pen, you are extremely welcome to make use of it.

From Mr REED, of Ottery St. Mary Schools, Devon.

I have much pleasure in forwarding you my opinion of your Hair-line Pointed Pen. Some time has now elapsed since you first sent them to me. I have exclusively used the Fine Points for small hand in my first and second classes from that time to the present, and I am confident they are equalled but by very few, and surpassed by none.

From Mr. W. F. SHAW, of Bath.

I have much pleasure in testifying to the superior quality of your Hair-line Pointed Pens. They are the best for School purposes that I have ever met with.

From Mr. J. SMITH, of Dane John Academy, Canterbury.

I feel much pleasure in saying, in reference to your Pens, labelled "Fine Points," that I know of none that I think so well adapted to the small hands.

From Mr. H. STOCKER, of Boughton School, Faversham.

Having used your Steel Pens since you first introduced them, I can say this in their favour:—from the time of trying them to the present, yours have been the only Pens in my school-room. The Fine Points are admirable; I can get nothing like them.

From Mr. J. SUGARS, Master of the Grammar School, Hitchin.

Having used your Hair-line Pointed Pens from the time of their first introduction, I beg to state that I have found none equal to them for flexibility and durability, and for producing a fine as well as a smooth stroke ; and I can recommend them with confidence to the principals of schools, being fully convinced that they can obtain none of so good a quality elsewhere.

From Mr. W. TRIGG, Fore Hill House, Ely.

I have found the " Hair-line Pointed Pens," with which you have for some time supplied me, admirably adapted for scholastic use ; and I consider them superior to any I have met with.

From Mr. J. WISEMAN, of Bridge House School, Chertsey.

I have used your Pens exclusively for the last two years, and so satisfied am I with their general excellence, that so long as they be manufactured with the care and attention hitherto bestowed upon them, I shall continue to use them myself, and employ all the means in my power to recommend their adoption by those who require a Pen possessing delicacy, elasticity, durability, and cheapness.

From Mr. W. WATSON, of Pilgrim's Hall, Brentwood.

I have used your Pens in my School for the last eight years, and have invariably found them better than any other description of Steel Pen known to me.

Your Pen, called the Extra Fine Point, is peculiarly fine, and adapted to the writing of small hand. I always use them for my pupils' holiday letters.

From Mr. R. WILKINSON, late of Cave House School, Uxbridge.

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I hesitate not to say that a series of Pens equally good, adapted to other styles of writing, would confer a great boon to the scholastic profession.

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Head.—1. Tête. 2. Source. 3. Écume. 4. Chapitre.
5. Pomme. 6. Hure. 7. Chevet. 8. Haut. 9. Pièce.
10. Chef. 11. Pointe. 12. Haut bout.

1. He has been seriously wounded in the head.

2. The head of the Nile was undiscovered by the ancients.

3. He pours out the beer so as to produce a head.

4. His discourse was classed under many heads.

5. A walking-stick with a gold head.

6. The boar's head makes an excellent dish.

7. The head of the bed.

8. You will find it at the head of the stairs.

9. How many head of game.

10. He is the head of his party.

11. Æolus pierced the mountain's side with the head of his spear.

12. Have the goodness to take the head of the table.

Il a reçu une blessure des plus graves à la tête.

La source du Nil était inconnue aux anciens.

Il verse la bière de manière à produire de l'écume.

Son discours était divisé en plusieurs chapitres.

Une canne à pomme d'or.

La hure du sanglier fait un excellent plat.

Le chevet du lit.

Vous le trouverez au haut de l'escalier.

Combien de pièces de gibier?

C'est le chef de son parti.

Eole perça la montagne de la pointe d'une lance.

Veuillez bien prendre le haut bout.

Bow.—1. Arc. 2. Nœud de ruban. 3. Archet.

1. Here is your bow, but I cannot find the arrows.

2. Her cap was literally covered with bows.

3. The violin is of no use to me without a bow.

Voici votre arc, mais je ne puis trouver les flèches.

Son bonnet était absolument couvert de nœuds de ruban.

Le violon ne me sert de rien sans l'archet.

To Call.—1. Appeler. 2. Nommer. 3. Passer.
4. Traiter de. 5. S'arrêter.

1. Have the goodness to call the servants.

2. What do they call that in French?

3. I will call at the bookseller's on my way.

4. He called me a thief.

5. Does the stage-coach call at this inn?

Ayez la bonté d'appeler les domestiques.

Comment est-ce qu'on nomme cela en Français?

Je passerai chez le libraire en allant.

Il m'a traité de voleur.

Est-ce que la diligence s'arrête à cette auberge?

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P R É F A C E.

IL y a longtemps que l'expérience est venue nous démontrer l'erreur de faire voir de suite aux jeunes gens dans l'enseignement d'une langue, des ouvrages entiers, et que la supériorité du système d'instruction par extraits et morceaux choisis, ce système puisé dans la nature et l'expérience, a été reconnu. Les avis de la plupart des écrivains, tant anciens que modernes, sont en faveur de ce système ; le célèbre Rollin dit, dans son *Traité des Etudes* : " Il ne s'agit pas pour lors de faire comprendre aux jeunes gens la suite d'un raisonnement long et obscur, ce qui est beaucoup au-dessus de leur âge, mais de les former à la pureté du langage et de leur donner de bons principes. Or des extraits faits avec soin, qui pourraient avoir une longueur raisonnable, seraient également propres pour ces deux vues, et n'auraient point les inconvénients qui sont inévitables quand on explique tout de suite des livres qui certainement

n'ont point été faits pour enseigner une langue à des jeunes gens," &c.

Des avis si judicieux, des vues si justes, ont fixé toute mon attention dans le choix des morceaux qui forment cet ouvrage ; le lecteur y trouvera plusieurs des plus beaux passages de Fénelon, de Pascal, de Bossuet, de Barthélemy, &c. &c., et une infinité de morceaux provenant de la plume des auteurs du dix-huitième et du dix-neuvième siècle, parmi lesquels on trouvera les noms de Ségur, de Mignet, de Bazin, de Jouy, de Dumas, &c. : parmi ces derniers on en trouvera quelques-uns dont les noms ne sont encore que fort peu connus ; mais cette considération ne m'a pas arrêté ; il m'a suffi que le morceau présenté au lecteur fut bien pensé et bien écrit.

J'ai exercé partout la plus scrupuleuse attention à rejeter ces idées immorales, philosophiques, anti-chrétiennes, qui ne se trouvent que trop parmi les ouvrages de plusieurs de nos écrivains contemporains : tout dans cet ouvrage est le fruit du génie ou du talent, et y respire la morale la plus pure. Il me reste à dire que l'orthographe de cet ouvrage est celle adoptée dans le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française.

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[SPECIMEN PAGES]

LE TARTUFE DE FRANCHISE.

PARMI les nombreuses variétés du Tartufe, l'espèce la plus dangereuse est celle de ces faux "bons hommes" dont Mérance est le modèle le plus achevé. Il est vrai que la nature l'a merveilleusement servi, et qu'il lui doit une partie de ses succès. Mérance est un gros homme, au front découvert, à la figure vermeille et arrondie ; son geste est brusque, ses manières sont ouvertes, quelquefois bourruës ; il court à vous du plus loin qu'il vous voit, vous prend la main et vous la secoue à vous démettre le poignet ; sur quelque chose que vous l'interrogiez, sa réponse commence toujours par ces mots : "A vous parler franchement." . . Avec lui jamais de compliments, jamais d'éloges à craindre ; c'est un vrai *quaker* : il déteste la flatterie ; et, quant à la politesse, il répète à tout propos que la véritable est dans le cœur. Si par hasard on a quelque intérêt à démêler avec lui, il s'en rapporte entièrement à vous, car il n'entend rien aux affaires ; et c'est pour cela qu'il vous renvoie à son avoué, le plus avide et le plus chicaneur de tous les hommes. Sa bourse est toujours au service de ses amis, ce qui fait qu'elle est ordinairement vide ; mais s'il ne peut vous obliger lui-même, du moins s'empresse-t-il de vous indiquer un honnête usurier, auquel il a recours lui-même au besoin.

Maintenant, comment se fait-il qu'avec un caractère de franchise si bien établi, Mérance n'ait pas un ami, pas une connaissance qui ne se plaigne d'avoir été sa dupe ! "A vous parler franchement," à mon tour, c'est que Mérance n'est rien moins que ce qu'il paraît ; sous ces dehors agrestes, sous ces perfides apparences d'un bourru bienfaisant, il cache une âme basse, un cœur sec, et un esprit rusé : c'est un Tartufe de franchise.

DE JOUY.

LA BATAILLE DE HASTINGS.

AU matin dans le camp Normand, l'évêque de Bayeux, fils de la mère du duc Guillaume et d'un bourgeois de Falaise, célébra la messe et bénit les troupes, armé d'un haubert sous son rochet ; puis il monta un grand coursier blanc, prit une lance et fit ranger sa brigade de cavaliers. Toute l'armée se divisa en trois colonnes d'attaque : à la première, étaient les gens d'armes venus du comté de Boulogne et du Ponthieu, avec la plupart des hommes engagés personnellement pour une solde ; à la seconde, se trouvaient les auxiliaires Bretons, Manceaux et Poitevins ; Guillaume en personne commandait la troisième, formée des recrues de Normandie. En tête de chaque corps de bataille, marchaient plusieurs rangs de fantassins à légère armure, vêtus d'une casaque matelassée et portant des arcs longs d'un corps d'homme ou des arbalètes d'acier.

Le duc montait un cheval Espagnol qu'un riche Normand lui avait amené, d'un pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques de Galice. Il tenait suspendues à son cou les plus révérees d'entre les reliques sur lesquelles Harold avait juré ; et l'étendard béni par le pape était porté à côté de lui par un jeune homme appelé Toustain le Blanc. Au moment où les troupes allaient se mettre en marche, le duc, élevant la voix, leur parla en ces termes :

“Pensez à bien combattre, et mettez tout à mort, car si nous les vainquons, nous serons tous riches. Ce que je gagnerai, vous le gagnerez ; si je conquiers, vous conquerrerez ; si je prends la terre, vous l'aurez. Sachez pourtant que je ne suis pas venu ici seulement pour prendre mon dû, mais pour venger notre nation entière des félonies, des parjures et des trahisons de ces Anglais. Ils ont mis à mort les Danois, hommes et femmes, dans la nuit de Saint-Brice. Ils ont décimé les compagnons d'Auvré, mon parent, et l'ont fait périr. Allons donc, avec l'aide de Dieu, les châtier de tous leurs méfaits.”

THIERRY.

(Continued.)

MIEUX QUE ÇA.

L'EMPEREUR JOSEPH II. n'aimait ni le faste ni le luxe de l'appareil. Un jour qu'il était allé, dans une calèche à deux places, faire une promenade aux environs de Vienne, il fut surpris par la pluie. Un piéton, qui regagnait aussi la capitale, fait signe au conducteur d'arrêter, ce que Joseph II. fait aussitôt.

"Monsieur," lui dit le militaire, (car c'était un sergent,) "y aurait-il de l'indiscrétion à vous demander une place à côté de vous? cela ménagerait mon uniforme que je mets aujourd'hui pour la première fois."

"Ménageons votre uniforme, mon brave," lui dit Joseph, "et mettez-vous là. D'où venez-vous?"

"Ah!" dit le sergent, "je viens de chez un garde-chasse de mes amis, où j'ai fait un fier déjeuner."

"Qu'avez-vous donc mangé de si bon?"

"Devinez."

"Que sais-je, moi, une soupe à la bière?"

"Ah! bien oui, une soupe; mieux que ça."

"De la choucroute?"

"Mieux que ça."

"Une langue de veau?"

"Mieux que ça, vous dit-on."

"Oh! ma foi, je ne puis plus deviner," dit Joseph.

"Un faisan, mon digne homme, un faisan tiré sur les plaisirs de Sa Majesté," dit le camarade en lui frappant sur la cuisse.

Comme on approchait de la ville, et que la pluie tombait toujours, Joseph demanda à son compagnon où il voulait qu'on le descendît.

"Monsieur, je craindrais d'abuser de"

"Non, non," dit Joseph, "votre rue?"

Le sergent, indiquant sa demeure, demanda à connaître celui dont il recevait tant d'honnêtetés.

"A votre tour," dit Joseph, "devinez."

"Monsieur est militaire, sans doute?"

"Comme dit monsieur."

"Lieutenant?"

"Ah! bien oui, lieutenant; mieux que ça."

"Capitaine?"

"Mieux que ça."

“ Colonel, peut-être ? ”

“ Mieux que ça, vous dit-on. ”

“ Comment diable, ” dit l’autre en se rencognant aussitôt dans la calèche, “ seriez-vous feld-maréchal ? ”

“ Mieux que ça. ”

“ Ah ! mon Dieu, c’est l’Empereur ! ”

Il n’y avait pas moyen de tomber à genoux dans la voiture ; l’invalides se confond en excuses, et supplie l’Empereur d’arrêter pour qu’il puisse descendre.

“ Non pas, ” lui dit Joseph ; “ après avoir mangé mon faisan, vous seriez trop heureux de vous débarrasser de moi aussi promptement ; j’entends bien que vous ne me quittiez qu’à votre porte. ” Et il l’y descendit.

LES CATACOMBES DE ROME.

UN jour j’étais allé visiter la fontaine Egérie : la nuit me surprit. Pour regagner la voie Appienne, je me dirigeai sur le tombeau de Cécilia Metella, chef-d’œuvre de grandeur et d’élégance. En traversant des champs abandonnés, j’aperçus plusieurs personnes qui se glissaient dans l’ombre, et qui toutes, s’arrêtant au même endroit, disparaissaient subitement. Poussé par la curiosité, je m’avance et j’entre hardiment dans la caverne où s’étaient plongés les mystérieux fantômes. Je vis s’allonger devant moi des galeries souterraines, qu’à peine éclairaient de loin à loin quelques lampes suspendues ; les murs des corridors funèbres étaient bordés d’un triple rang de cercueils, placés les uns au-dessus des autres. La lumière lugubre des lampes, rampant sur les parois des voûtes, et se mouvant avec lenteur le long des sépulcres, répandait une mobilité effrayante sur ces objets éternellement immobiles.

En vain, prêtant une oreille attentive, je cherche à saisir quelques sons pour me diriger à travers un abîme de silence ; je n’entends que le battement de mon cœur dans le repos absolu de ces lieux. Je voulus retourner en arrière, mais il n’était plus temps : je pris une fausse route, et, au lieu de sortir du dédale, je m’y enfonçai. De nouvelles avenues, qui s’ouvrent et se croisent de toutes parts, augmentent à chaque instant mes per-

plexités. Plus je m'efforce de trouver un chemin, plus je m'égare : tantôt je m'avance avec lenteur ; tantôt je passe avec vitesse. Alors, par un effet des échos qui répétaient le bruit de mes pas, je croyais entendre marcher précipitamment derrière moi.

Il y avait déjà longtemps que j'errais ainsi ; mes forces commençaient à s'épuiser : je m'assis à un carrefour solitaire de la cité des morts. Je regardais avec inquiétude la lumière des lampes presque consumée qui menaçait de s'éteindre. Tout à coup, une harmonie semblable au chœur lointain des esprits célestes sort du fond de ces demeures sépulcrales : ces divins accents expiraient et renaissaient tour à tour ; ils semblaient s'adoucir encore en s'égarant dans les routes tortueuses du souterrain. Je me lève, et je m'avance vers les lieux d'où s'échappent les magiques concerts ; je découvre une salle illuminée. Sur un tombeau paré de fleurs, Marcellin célébrait le mystère des Chrétiens : de jeunes filles, couvertes de voiles blancs, chantaient au pied de l'autel ; une nombreuse assemblée assistait au sacrifice. Je reconnais les Catacombes.

CHATEAUBRIAND.—*“ Les Martyrs. ”*

J. J. ROUSSEAU À UN JEUNE HOMME,

QUI DEMANDAIT À S'ÉTABLIR À MONTMORENCY, POUR Y PROFITER
DE SES LEÇONS.

Vous ignorez, monsieur, que vous écrivez à un pauvre homme accablé de maux, et de plus fort occupé, qui n'est guère en état de vous répondre, et qui le serait encore moins d'établir avec vous la société que vous lui proposez. Vous m'honorez, en pensant que je pourrais vous y être utile, et vous êtes louable du motif qui vous le fait désirer ; mais sur le motif même, je ne vois rien de moins nécessaire que de vous établir à Montmorency : vous n'avez pas besoin d'aller chercher si loin les principes de la morale.

Rentrez dans votre cœur, et vous les y trouverez ; et je ne pourrai rien vous dire à ce sujet, que ne vous dise encore mieux votre conscience, quand vous la

voudrez consulter. La vertu, monsieur, n'est pas une science qui s'apprend avec tant d'appareil : pour être vertueux, il suffit de vouloir l'être ; et, si vous avez bien cette volonté, tout est fait ; votre bonheur est décidé.

S'il n'appartenait de vous donner des conseils, le premier que je voudrais vous donner serait de ne point vous livrer à ce goût que vous dites avoir pour la vie contemplative, et qui n'est qu'une paresse de l'âme, condamnable à tout âge, et surtout au vôtre. L'homme n'est point fait pour méditer, mais pour agir ; la vie laborieuse que Dieu nous impose n'a rien que de doux au cœur de l'homme de bien qui s'y livre en vue de remplir son devoir, et la vigueur de la jeunesse ne vous a pas été donnée pour la perdre à d'oisives contemplations.

Travaillez donc, monsieur, dans l'état où vous ont placé vos parents et la Providence : voilà le premier précepte de la vertu que vous voulez suivre ; et si le séjour de Paris, joint à l'emploi que vous remplissez, vous paraît d'un trop difficile alliage avec elle, faites mieux, monsieur, retournez dans votre province ; allez vivre dans le sein de votre famille ; servez, soignez vos vertueux parents : c'est là que vous remplirez véritablement les soins que la vertu vous impose.

Une vie dure est plus facile à supporter en province que la fortune à poursuivre à Paris, surtout quand on sait, comme vous ne l'ignorez pas, que les plus indignes manéges de fripons y font plus de gueux que de parvenus. Vous ne devez point vous estimer malheureux de vivre comme fait monsieur votre père ; et il n'y a point de sort que le travail, la vigilance, l'innocence et le contentement de soi, ne rendent supportable, quand on s'y soumet en vue de remplir son devoir. Voilà, monsieur, des conseils qui valent tous ceux que vous pourriez venir prendre à Montmorency : peut-être ne seront-ils pas de votre goût, et je crains que vous ne preniez pas le parti de les suivre : mais je suis sûr que vous vous en repentirez un jour. Je vous souhaite un sort qui ne vous force jamais à vous en souvenir.

LA PROVIDENCE À L'HOMME.

Quoi ! le fils du néant a maudit l'existence !
Quoi ! tu peux m'accuser de mes propres bienfaits !
Tu peux fermer tes yeux à la magnificence
Des dons que je t'ai faits !

Tu n'étais pas encore, créature insensée,
Déjà de ton bonheur j'enfantais le dessein ;
Déjà, comme son fruit, l'éternelle pensée
Te portait dans son sein.

Oui, ton être futur vivait dans ma mémoire :
Je préparais les temps selon ma volonté.
Enfin ce jour parut ; je dis : Nais pour ma gloire
Et ta félicité !

Tu naquis : ma tendresse, invisible et présente,
Ne livra pas mon œuvre aux chances du hasard ;
J'échauffai de tes sens la sève languissante
Des feux de mon regard.

D'un lait mystérieux je remplis la mamelle,
Tu t'enivras sans peine à ces sources d'amour ;
J'affermis les reports, j'arrondis la prunelle
Où se peignit le jour.

Ton âme, quelque temps par les sens éclipée,
Comme tes yeux au jour, s'ouvrit à la raison :
Tu pensas ; la parole acheva ta pensée,
Et j'y gravai mon nom.

En quel éclatant caractère
Ce grand nom s'offrit à tes yeux !
Tu vis ma bonté sur la terre,
Tu lus ma grandeur dans les cieux !
L'ordre était mon intelligence ;
La nature, ma providence ;

LAMARTINE.

(Continued.)

LA MORT DE JEANNE D'ARC.

SILENCE au camp ! la vierge est prisonnière ;
Par un injuste arrêt Bedford croit la flétrir :
Jeune encore, elle touche à son heure dernière
Silence au camp ! la vierge va périr !

Des pontifes divins, vendus à la puissance,
Sous les subtilités des dogmes ténébreux
Ont accablé son innocence.
Les Anglais commandaient ce sacrifice affreux :
Un prêtre en cheveux blancs ordonna le supplice ;
Et c'est au nom d'un Dieu par lui calomnié,
D'un Dieu de vérité, d'amour et de justice,
Qu'un prêtre fut perfide, injuste et sans pitié.

A qui réserve-t-on ces apprêts meurtriers ?
Pour qui ces torches qu'on excite ?
L'airain sacré tremble et s'agite . .
D'où vient ce bruit lugubre ? où courent ces guerriers,
Dont la foule à longs flots roule et se précipite ?
La joie éclate sur leurs traits ;
Sans doute l'honneur les enflamme ;
Ils vont pour un assaut former leurs rangs épais ;
Non, ces guerriers sont des Anglais
Qui vont voir mourir une femme !

Qu'ils sont nobles dans leur courroux !
Qu'il est beau d'insulter au bras chargé d'entraves !
La voyant sans défense, ils s'écriaient, ces braves :
Qu'elle meure ; elle a contre nous
Des esprits infernaux suscité la magie . . .
Lâches ! que lui reprochez-vous ?
D'un courage inspiré la brûlante énergie,
L'amour du nom français, le mépris du danger,
Voilà sa magie et ses charmes ;
En faut-il d'autres que des armes
Pour combattre, pour vaincre et punir l'étranger ?

CASIMIR DELAVIGNE.

(Continued.)

SCÈNES DU MARIAGE FORCÉ, COMÉDIE.

[Les hommes sont quelquefois la dupe des conseils qu'ils demandent, parce qu'ils n'en veulent que de conformes à leurs propres sentiments.]

SGANARELLE, *parlant à ceux qui sont dans sa maison.*

JE suis de retour dans un moment. Que l'on ait bien soin du logis, et que tout aille comme il faut. Si l'on m'apporte de l'argent, que l'on me vienne querir vite chez le seigneur Geronimo ; et, si l'on vient m'en demander, qu'on dise que je suis sorti, et que je ne dois revenir de toute la journée.

[Scène suivante.]

SGANARELLE, GÉRONIMO.

Gér. [*ayant entendu les dernières paroles de Sganarelle.*] Voilà un ordre fort prudent.

Sgan. Ah ! seigneur Geronimo, je vous trouve à propos ; et j'allais chez vous, vous chercher.

Gér. Et pour quel sujet, s'il vous plaît ?

Sgan. Pour vous communiquer une affaire que j'ai en tête, et vous prier de m'en dire votre avis.

Gér. Très volontiers. Je suis bien aise de cette rencontre, et nous pouvons parler ici en toute liberté.

Sgan. Mettez donc dessus, s'il vous plaît. Il s'agit d'une chose de conséquence que l'on m'a proposée ; et il est bon de ne rien faire sans le conseil de ses amis.

Gér. Je vous suis obligé de m'avoir choisi pour cela. Vous n'avez qu'à me dire ce que c'est.

Sgan. Mais, auparavant, je vous conjure de ne me point flatter du tout, et de me dire nettement votre pensée.

Gér. Je le ferai, puisque vous le voulez.

Sgan. Je ne vois rien de plus condamnable qu'un ami qui ne nous parle pas franchement.

Gér. Vous avez raison.

Sgan. Et, dans ce siècle, on trouve peu d'amis sincères.

Gér. Cela est vrai.

Sgan. Promettez-moi donc, seigneur Geronimo, de me parler avec toute sorte de franchise.

MOLIERE.

(Continued.)

LE JARDIN DES PLANTES À PARIS.

(LA FOSSE AUX OURS.)

IL n'est aucun de nos lecteurs qui, en visitant le Jardin des Plantes, ne se soit mêlé, au moins quelques instants, à la foule de curieux continuellement pressée devant trois fosses profondes entourées de murs et de balcons en fer, le long de la grande allée des Marronniers, en montant vers le petit Labyrinthe. C'est Buffon qui, en 1740, fit creuser ces fosses. Si notre mémoire est fidèle, les premiers animaux qu'on y plaça furent des sangliers. Depuis, on y enferma des ours noirs d'Amérique, des ours bruns d'Europe, et de nombreux individus de cette espèce s'y sont succédé avec assez de rapidité et sans interruption.

Un arbre mort s'élève au milieu de la cour de chaque fosse pour servir aux exercices gymnastiques des animaux. À droite et à gauche sont des espèces de niches destinées à servir de logement aux ours pendant les nuits orageuses, et d'abri contre le soleil et la pluie pendant le jour. Ces loges sont munies de forts barreaux de fer et d'une solide porte à coulisse que les gardiens ferment à volonté de dessus les murs de séparation, sans être obligés d'entrer dans les fosses. Ils peuvent renfermer les ours et descendre sans danger pour nettoyer et faire les réparations nécessaires. Enfin les trois fosses communiquent ensemble au moyen de portes basses qui permettent de faire passer les animaux de l'une dans l'autre, quand on le trouve convenable.

On a vu pendant deux ans, dans la première fosse, un ours blanc fort beau, qui n'a pas pu résister à la chaleur de notre climat, malgré les bains fréquents qu'il prenait dans une grande auge de pierre où tombe constamment un filet d'eau fraîche. Quelque mauvaise que soit la réputation de ses pareils, cet ours ne paraissait ni plus farouche, ni plus féroce, ni plus carnassier que nos ours des Pyrénées. Un jour j'ai vu un curieux jeter un petit chat de deux ou trois mois dans sa fosse ; le pauvre chat courut se tapir dans un angle des murs,

(Continued.)

