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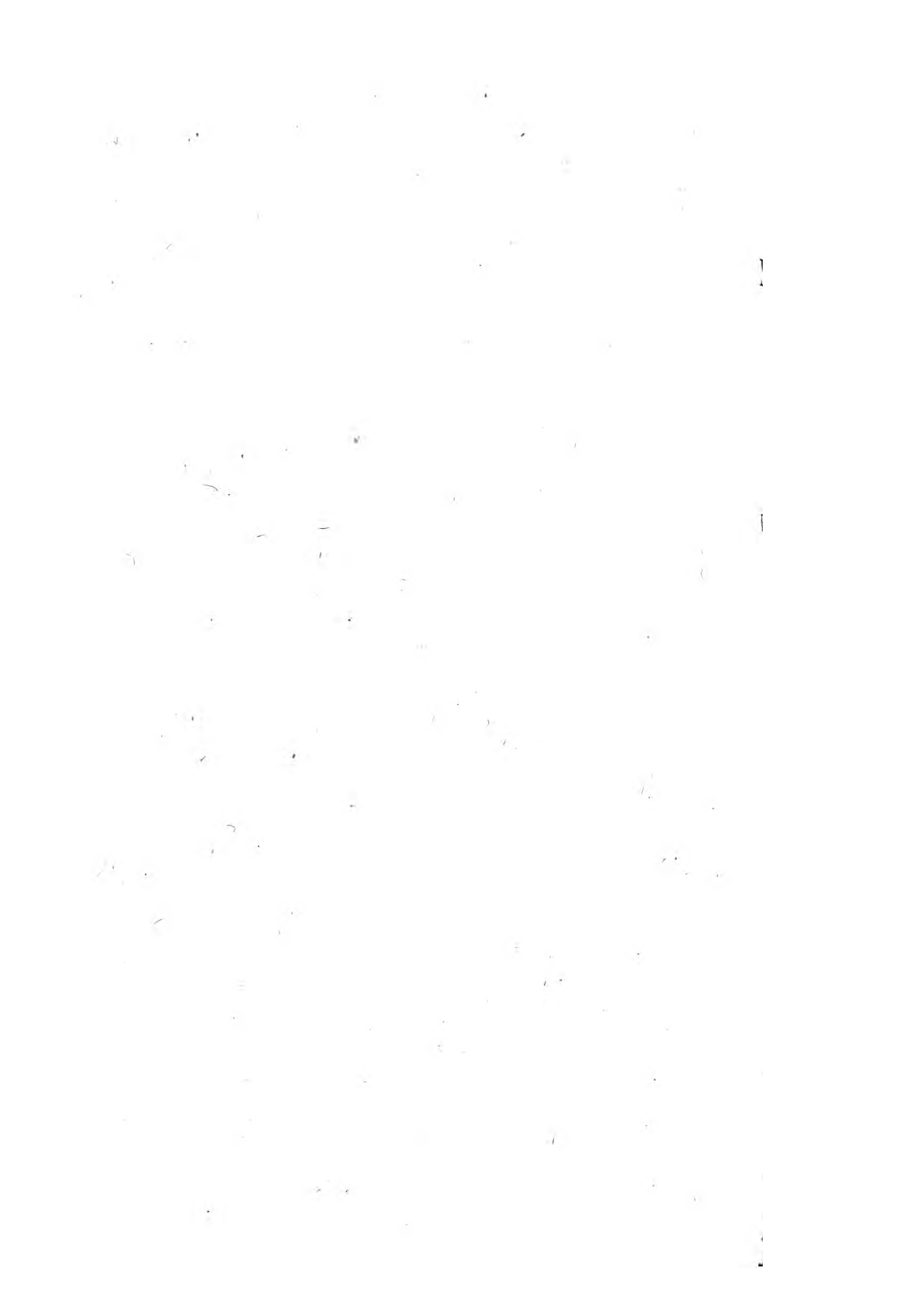
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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE:
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE;
AND A VIEW OF THE
PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,
FROM THE
RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS
TO THE
PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763;
IN A SERIES OF
LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.
A NEW EDITION,
WITH
A CONTINUATION,
TERMINATING AT THE PACIFICATION OF PARIS, IN 1815.

—◆—
IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE
OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.

LETTER XLIII.

*History of England, from the Death of Edward III. to the
Accession of Henry V., with some Account of the Affairs of
Scotland.*

AFTER seeing England victorious over France and Spain, you have seen her, my dear Philip, nearly ^{A. D. 1377.} stripped of all her possessions on the continent, and Edward III. expiring with much less glory than had distinguished the more early periods of his reign. His successor, Richard II., son of the Black Prince, was little able to recover what had been lost through the indisposition of his father, and the dotage of his grandfather. Happy would it have been for him, and for his people, if he could have ruled his own kingdom with judgement.

Richard was certainly a weak prince; but his weakness was not immediately perceived or felt by the nation. At his accession he was a boy of eleven years of age, from

whom consequently little could be expected. The habits of order and obedience, which the nobles had acquired under the sway of the third Edward, still influenced them; and the authority of Richard's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress for a time that turbulent spirit which the great barons were so ready to indulge during a weak reign. The different characters of those three princes rendered them also a counterpoise to each other; so that there appeared no new circumstance in the domestic situation of England which could endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.

But this flattering prospect proved delusive. Discontents and dissensions soon arose among all orders of men. The first tumult was of the popular kind. War had been carried on between France and England, after the death of Edward III.; but in so languid a manner as served only to exhaust the finances of both kingdoms. In order to repair the expenses of these fruitless armaments, the English parliament found it necessary to impose
A. D. 1381. a poll-tax, of three groats a-head, on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age. The inequality and injustice of this tax were obvious to the meanest capacity; and the rigorous manner in which it was levied made it yet more grievous. The great body of the people, many of whom were still in a state of slavery, became severely sensible of the unequal lot which fortune had assigned to them in the distribution of her favours. They looked up to the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal right to liberty, and to all the benefits of nature. Nor did they fail to reflect on the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and on the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandisement of a few individuals¹.

¹ Froissard, liv. ii.—Walsingham.—Knighton.

“ When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
“ Where was then the gentleman?”

was their favourite distich: and although these verses, when misapplied, strike at the foundation of all society, they contain a sentiment so flattering to the sense of primitive equality, engraven in the hearts of all men, as never to be repeated without some degree of approbation.

When the discontents of the populace were thus prepared, the insolence of a tax-gatherer, and the spirit of a Kentish blacksmith, blew them into a flame. While the smith was at work, the collector appeared, and demanded payment for his daughter. The father replied, that she was below the age prescribed by the statute: the tax-gatherer affirmed that she was a full-grown woman, and in proof of his assertion attempted an indecency, which incensed the smith to such a degree that he knocked the ruffian dead with his forge-hammer. The by-standers applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and assert their native rights. They flew to arms: the flame of sedition spread from county to county; and before the government had the least intimation of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond all control or opposition.

These mutinous peasants, who nearly amounted to the number of one hundred thousand, assembled on Blackheath under Wat Tyler the smith (or, as some say, a tiler) and Jack Straw; and sent a message to the king, who had taken refuge in the Tower, that they desired a conference with him. Richard passed down the river in a barge for that purpose; but, on approaching the shore, he discovered such symptoms of tumult and insolence, that he judged it prudent to return. Finding, however, that the Tower would be no security against the lawless multitude, and afflicted at the ravages and cruelties of the rioters, who had broken into the city of London, plundered the mer-

chants, and cut off the heads of all the gentlemen they could seize, the young king found it necessary to go out and ask their demands. They required a general pardon; the abolition of slavery; freedom of commerce in market-towns, without toll or impost; and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villanage. These requests were not unreasonable; but the behaviour of Wat Tyler, who, in making his demands, frequently brandished his sword in a menacing manner, so incensed William of Walworth, the mayor of London, that he lifted up his mace, or, as others say, his spear, and gave Tyler a violent blow which brought him to the ground, where he was instantly pierced through the body by another of the king's train. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared for revenge; and the king and his whole company must have perished on the spot, had not Richard discovered an extraordinary presence of mind in that extremity. He ordered his attendants to stop, advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and, accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, "What, my good people," said he, "is the meaning of this commotion?" "Be not concerned for the loss of your leader. I am your king: I will become your leader: follow me into the field, and you shall have whatever you desire." Overawed by the royal presence, they implicitly followed him: and he peaceably dismissed them, after the grant of their demands².

This conduct of a prince who was not fifteen years of age, raised great expectations in the nation; but, in proportion as the king advanced in years, they gradually vanished, and his want of capacity, or at least of solid judgement, appeared in every measure which he adopted.

A. D. 1385. His first expedition was against Scotland, into which he marched at the head of an army of

² Froissard, liv. ii.—Walsingham.—Knighton.—The grants, except that of pardon, were afterwards revoked.

sixty thousand men. The Scots did not venture to resist so great a force: they abandoned, without scruple, their rugged territory to be ravaged by the enemy, and made an incursion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty. Richard, however, wandered over a great part of the comparatively barren kingdom of Scotland, and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devastations³. His impatience to return and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements over-balanced every higher consideration, and made even revenge a motive too feeble to detain him.

Richard, like most weak princes, now resigned himself wholly to the direction of a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of dissolute manners, whom he loaded with riches, with titles, and with dignities. He first created him marquis of Dublin, and afterwards duke of Ireland, with a parliamentary grant of the sovereignty of that kingdom for life. The usual (and too often just) complaints of the insolence of favourites were soon loudly echoed and greedily received in all parts of England. A civil war was the consequence: the royalists were defeated; and Richard was obliged to resign the government into the hands of a council of fourteen, appointed by the parliament. The duke of Gloucester accusing five of the king's ministers of treason against the state, they were declared guilty; and as many of them as could be seized were executed. The duke of Ireland made his escape beyond sea, as did Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had discharged the office of chancellor. Both died abroad.

It might naturally be expected that Richard, thus reduced to a state of slavery by his subjects, and unable to defend his servants from the resentment of his uncles, would remain long in subjection, and never recover the royal power without the most violent struggles; but the

³ Walsingham.—Froissard.

event proved otherwise. In the following year he was apparently reconciled to his uncles, and exercised the regal authority in its full extent.

When these domestic disturbances had subsided, and the government had resumed its natural state, there passed an interval of eight years distinguished by no remarkable event; during which the king brought himself into the lowest degree of personal contempt, even while his government appeared in a great measure unexceptionable. Addicted to vulgar pleasures, he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity; and dissipated in idle show, or lavished upon favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in undertakings calculated for the public honour and advantage.

The duke of Gloucester soon perceived the opportunities, which this dissolute conduct of his nephew afforded him, of insinuating himself into the affections of the nation; and he now aimed at popularity as the ladder to the throne. He seldom appeared at court or in the council: he never declared his opinion but to testify his disapprobation of the measures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. Richard, suspecting his ambitious views, ordered him to be arrested, and carried over to Calais, where he was soon after murdered⁴. The royal vengeance fell also, though with different degrees of severity, on the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the supposed accomplices of the duke, and on the archbishop of Canterbury, Arundel's brother, who was banished. Arundel himself was beheaded, and Warwick was doomed to perpetual confinement in the Isle of Man⁵.

A. D. 1397. The ruin of the duke, and of the supporters of his party, was followed by a misunderstanding

⁴ Cotton's Abridgement.

⁵ Walsingham.—Froissard, lib. iv.—Rymer, vol. vii.

among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution; and the duke of Hereford, in particular, went so far as to accuse the duke of Norfolk in parliament of having spoken "many slanderous words of the king." Norfolk denied the charge, imputed wilful falsehood to Hereford, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of the combat were appointed, and the whole nation seemed anxious for the event. But when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the fight, the king interposed, to prevent both the present effusion of blood and the future consequences of the quarrel. He stopped the duel, by the advice of the parliamentary commissioners appointed to regulate the combat; and, by the same authority, he ordered both the peers to leave the kingdom⁶. Hereford was banished for ten years, and Norfolk for life.

This sentence seems to have been impartial; but it surely was not equitable, as both the dukes were condemned without being convicted of any crime. It was also unpopular. Richard's conduct in this affair was considered as a mark of the pusillanimity of his temper: and the weakness and fluctuation of his counsels, at least, appear on no occasion more evident. The duke of Hereford, being a man of great prudence and self-command, behaved with such humility after his condemnation, that the king promised to shorten the term of his exile by four years, and also granted him letters patent, empowering him, if any inheritance should accrue to him during the interval, to enter into immediate possession. But this nobleman, who was the eldest son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, had no sooner left the kingdom, than Richard's jealousy of the power and riches of that family revived; and he became sensible that by Gloucester's death he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now even formidable to the

⁶ Walsingham.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. i.

sovereign. He therefore took every method to sully abroad the reputation of the duke of Hereford, and to obstruct his alliances, by representing him as guilty of treasonable practices; and, when the father died, he revoked his letters patent to the son, and took possession of the family estate⁷.

These instances of rapacity and severity, and the circumstances with which they were accompanied, drew upon Richard the general odium of the people. Hereford, now duke of Lancaster, had acquired the esteem of the public by his valour and abilities. He was connected with the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; his misfortunes added double lustre to his merit; all men made his case their own; they entered into his resentment; and they turned their eyes towards him as the only person who could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or reform the abuses of government.

While the minds of men were thus disposed, Richard went over to quell an insurrection in Ireland, and thereby imprudently afforded his exiled cousin an opportunity of gratifying the wishes of the nation. The duke, landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, was joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England; and the mal-contents in all quarters flew to arms. He solemnly declared that he had no other purpose in this invasion than to recover the duchy of Lancaster; and he conjured his uncle, the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the kingdom, not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his patrimony. His entreaties had the desired effect. The regent embraced his cause; and he quickly found himself master of England.

Richard no sooner received intelligence of this invasion than he hastened from Ireland with twenty thousand men: but he could not confide even in these; and he was soon

⁷ Tyrrel, vol. iii. from the *Records*.

almost entirely deserted. In this extremity he fled to the isle of Anglesey, where he proposed to embark for France, and there wait the return of his subjects to a sense of their duty. But before he had an opportunity of carrying this scheme into execution, the earl of Northumberland waited upon him from the rebellious duke, with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and Richard was so credulous as to put himself in the power of his enemy. He was carried about in an abject manner, exposed to the insults of the populace; deposed, imprisoned, and murdered⁸. And the duke of Lancaster was proclaimed king, under the name of Henry IV. Sept. 30.

The beginning of the reign of Henry IV., as might be expected from the manner in which he obtained the throne, was stained by many acts of blood and violence. The opposers of his title were cruelly punished; and superstition was called in to swell by new crimes the catalogue of victims. While a subject, Henry was believed to have strongly imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, a secular priest educated at Oxford, who, during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., preached the doctrine of reformation; but finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, this politic prince thought superstition a necessary engine of public authority. There had hitherto been no penal laws enacted against heresy in England. Henry, therefore, who could easily sacrifice his principles to his interest, understanding that the clergy called loudly for the punishment of the disciples of Wickliffe, whose learning and genius had in some measure broken the fetters of prejudice, resolved to procure the favour of the church by the most effectual of all methods, by gratifying her vengeance on those who presumed to dis-

⁸ He died on the 6th of January, 1400. The Monk of Evesham says, that he was starved to death: but others, among whom we may mention the anonymous author of a curious manuscript in the library of the late king of France, affirm that he was killed by Exton and other ruffians with the stroke of a battle-axe.

A. D. 1401. pute her infallibility. A law was accordingly enacted, that any heretic who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, should be delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, and be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate, before the whole people⁹. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautrè, a clergyman in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury: his sentence was ratified by the house of peers: and the unhappy sectary suffered the punishment of fire, because he could not think as the church directed. — What a fatal prelude to future horrors, proceeding from the same source!

But all the prudence and precaution of Henry could not shield him from numerous alarms. He was threatened from France with an invasion, which was only prevented by the disorders in that kingdom; and the revolution in England was speedily followed by an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Glyndourdw, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to lord Grey; the Welsh took part with Glendour: a tedious and troublesome war was kindled, which Glendour long sustained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country and the untamed spirit of the inhabitants.

The Scots were tempted by these disorders to make incursions into England; and Henry, desirous of chastising

them, conducted an army as far to the northward as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned without effecting any thing of consequence. In the succeeding year, however, Archibald earl Douglas, who, at the head of twelve thousand men, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the earl of Northumberland on his return, at Homeldon on the borders of England, where a fierce battle ensued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the nobility and gentry¹⁰.

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent orders to the victorious earl not to ransom his prisoners; a privilege which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But by this selfish policy he gave great disgust to the family of Percy. The impatient spirit of the earl's son Henry, commonly known by the name of Hotspur, and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother to the powerful peer, inflamed his discontent; and the disputable title of Henry tempted these bold associates to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which they had contributed to establish. The earl entered into a correspondence with Glendour: he set earl Douglas at liberty, and formed an alliance with that martial chieftain. But, when war was ready to break out, he was seised with a sudden illness, at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury to join Glendour.

The king had happily a small army on foot with which he intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried

¹⁰ Walsingham.—*Chron.* Otterbourne.

down, to give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, consisting of about twelve thousand men each; and we scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible or more constant. Henry exposed his person to all the dangers of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant son, whose military achievements became afterwards so famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalised himself in a remarkable manner. Percy supported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amid the horror and confusion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible. He seemed determined that the king of England should fall that day by his arm. He sought him all over the field; and as Henry had accoutred several officers in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the sword of Douglas rendered that honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotspur, accomplished by an unknown hand, decided the victory. The royalists prevailed, with the slaughter of three thousand of their foes¹¹.

The earl of Northumberland had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son: but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to admit the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. The other rebels seem to have been treated with equal lenity, except

11 *Chron.* Otterbourne.—Walsingham.

the earl of Worcester, lord Kinderton, and sir Richard Vernon, who perished by the hands of the executioner¹².

The suppression of this rebellion did not deter Scrope, archbishop of York, lord Bardolf, and Mowbray, from concerting another; but the scheme was discovered before it was ripe for execution, and the arch-^{A. D. 1405.} bishop was beheaded. Northumberland also was concerned in these intrigues, but made his escape into Scot-^{A. D. 1408.} land; whence returning to commit new disorders, he was slain at Bramham, with lord Bardolf. The defeat of Glendour, and the submission of the Welsh, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his do-^{A. D. 1409.} mestic enemies: and a fortunate event which had thrown the heir of the Scottish crown into his hands rendered him also secure on that side.

Robert III. king of Scotland, was a prince of slender capacity, and extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing a sovereign of such a character. His brother the duke of Albany, a prince of a boisterous and violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and, not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of destroying the king's children, and of acquiring the crown for his own family. He threw into prison his nephew David, who there perished by hunger; and James, the brother of this prince, alone stood between the tyrant and the throne. Robert, aware of his son's danger, resolved to send him into France: but the vessel in which the youth embarked was taken by the English; and although there subsisted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry refused to restore him to his liberty¹³. But he made ample amends for this want of generosity by bestowing on James an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the

¹² Walsingham.—Rymer, vol. viii.

¹³ Buchan. lib. x.—*Scoti-chronicon*, lib. xv.

throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The remaining part of Henry's reign was chiefly spent in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; which he at length brought into good order, by his valour, prudence, and address. In his latter years, he began to turn his eyes towards those bright projects which his more fortunate son conducted so successfully against the French monarchy; but his declining health prevented him from attempting to put them in execution. Afflicted for some years with violent fits, which deprived him for a time of all sensation,

and threatened his existence, he was carried off Mar. 20, 1413. by one of them at Westminster, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his reign¹⁴. He was considered as a wise prince rather than a good man; and yet, if we reflect on the circumstances in which he was involved, we can hardly conceive that a person could carry his ambition to the same height, and transmit a throne to his posterity, with less violence to humanity.

We should now examine the affairs of France under Charles VI., as an introduction to the reign of Henry V. of England, who became sovereign of both kingdoms; but we must first carry forward the history of the empire and the church.

LETTER XLIV.

Of the German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Accession of Wenceslaus to the Death of Sigismund.

THE history of the German empire, my dear Philip, becomes always more important to us, in proportion as

we advance in the narration, though it seemed at this time to decline in dignity and consequence. We now approach two remarkable events in the history of the church; the great schism in the West, and the council of Constance.

Wenceslaus, at the age of seventeen, succeeded his father Charles IV. in the government of the empire, and on the throne of Bohemia, when the church was divided by one of those violent contests so disgraceful to Christianity. The Italians had raised to the pontificate Urban VI. who confirmed the election of the new emperor; and the French had chosen Clement VII. During this schism Wenceslaus appointed Jadoc, marquis of Moravia, his vicar-general in Italy; commanding him to inquire which was the true pope, to acknowledge and protect that pontiff whom he should find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himself into the chair. He also held a diet at Nuremberg, and afterward one at Frankfort; where, the affair of the popes being examined, Urban was acknowledged by the German prelates, and the princes of the empire engaged to protect him in the papacy¹.

After the diet of Frankfort, the emperor repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he resided some time, because the plague raged in Bohemia; and here he gave himself up to gross debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to such a degree, that the princes and towns of Germany were obliged to enter into associations for their mutual defence. At the same time Italy was torn in pieces by the schism in the church. Clement, who had taken Rome from his rival, was expelled in his turn by the citizens, and afterwards settled at Avignon, the former residence of the French pontiffs. Urban used his victory like a tyrant. But all priests in power, it has been said, are tyrants. The famous Joan, queen of Naples, of whom I have spoken in

¹ Du Puy, *Hist. Gen. du Schisme*, &c.—Maimbourg, *Hist. du grand Schisme de l'Occident*.

a former letter, first experienced the effects of Urban's vengeance.

This princess, who had imprudently espoused the cause of Clement, had been four times married, but had no children by any of her husbands; she therefore adopted Charles de Durazzo, the regular heir to her kingdom, and the only remaining descendant of the house of Anjou in Naples. But Durazzo, unwilling to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, associated himself with pope Urban, who crowned him king of A. D. 1380. Naples at Rome, on condition that he should bestow the principality of Capua on Francis Prignano, nephew to his holiness. Urban also deposed Joan, and declared her guilty of heresy and high treason.

These steps being taken, the pope and Durazzo marched towards Naples. The church plate and ecclesiastical lands were sold, in order to facilitate the conquest. A. D. 1382. Joan, on the other hand, was destitute both of money and troops. In this extremity, she invited to her assistance Louis of Anjou (brother to Charles V. of France), whom she had adopted in the room of the ungrateful Durazzo; but he arrived too late to defend his benefactress, or dispute the kingdom with his competitor. The pope and Durazzo entered Naples, after having defeated and taken prisoner Otho of Brunswick, the queen's husband. All resistance now appeared to be fruitless, and flight alone seemed practicable. But even in this the unfortunate Joan failed: she fell into the hands of the usurper, who, to give some colour to his barbarity, declared himself the avenger of the murder of her first husband. Louis king of Hungary was consulted in regard to the fate of the captive queen. He replied, that she deserved to suffer the same death which she had inflicted on Andrew; and Durazzo ordered her to be smothered between two mattresses². Thus perished A. D. 1383. the famous Joan I. queen of Naples, who was ce-

² Giannone, *Hist. di Nap.*

lebrated by Petrarch and Boccace; and whose life, character, and catastrophe, bear a striking resemblance to those of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland.

In the mean time Wenceslaus continued immersed in debauchery, and seemed industrious in acquiring the implacable hatred of his subjects by the extraordinary taxes he imposed, and the cruelties which he exercised upon people of all ranks. In order to familiarise himself to blood and carnage, he descended so low as to contract an intimacy with the public executioner, whom he distinguished by the appellation of his gossip; and in one of his fits of intoxication, he is said to have ordered his cook to be roasted alive³.

On account of these atrocities, and of the sale of the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany, the electors, assembled at Laenstein on the Rhine, justly de-
A. D. 1400.
 posed Wenceslaus, and raised Henry of Brunswick to the imperial dignity; but, he being basely murdered by count Waldeck before his coronation, they elected in his stead Rupert or Robert, count Palatine of the Rhine.

Wenceslaus was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that he is reported to have said, when he received the intelligence, “ I am pleased at being delivered from
 “ the burthen of the empire, because I shall have more
 “ leisure to apply myself to the government of my own
 “ kingdom:” and it must be owned that, during the eighteen years which he afterwards reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was much less exceptionable. But although this indolent prince was so unconcerned at the loss of the empire, he appears to have been sensibly affected by some of its probable consequences, though certainly of less moment; for he is said to have desired, as a last mark of the fidelity of the imperial cities, that they would send him
 “ some butts of their best wine⁴.”

The first expedition of the new emperor was against

³ Dubrav. lib. xxiii.—*Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

⁴ Barre, tome vii.

Galeazzo Visconti, whom Wenceslaus had created duke of Milan, and who, not content with this promotion, endeavoured by force of arms to obtain possession of Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and other towns and countries. To secure these territories, and recover the imperial authority in Italy, Rupert marched into the duchy of Milan; but Galeazzo was so well provided with troops and military stores, that the emperor was obliged to return to Germany without success⁵.

The retreat of Rupert left the field open to Galeazzo, who now projected nothing less than the complete conquest of Italy; and fortune at first seemed to second his views. He made himself master of the city of Bologna, and had almost reduced Florence, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which at once put an end to his life and his projects. As he left only one daughter, who was not of age, an opportunity was offered to Rupert of retrieving the affairs of the empire in Italy. But the German princes were so little pleased with his first expedition, that they would not grant him supplies for a second. He therefore employed himself in appeasing the troubles of Germany, and aggrandising his own electorate; to which he added several lordships of Alsace, purchased of the bishop of Strasburg⁶.

During the sway of this emperor, Bohemia was involved in disorder by the preaching of John Huss, a theologian of the university of Prague, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and was excommunicated by the pope. The publication of this sentence was followed by troubles and sedition. Wenceslaus shut himself up in the fortress of Visigrade, and John Huss retired to Hussenitz, the place of his birth; where he appealed from the judgement of the pope to the Holy Trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even at

⁵ Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

⁶ Barre, tome vii.

the hazard of fire, before the university of Prague, and in the presence of those who had attended his lectures and sermons⁷.

The Romish church not only suffered from these innovations, but also continued in a state of distraction from the schism which still remained, and which the emperor attempted in vain to cement. Gregory XII., who was acknowledged pope in Italy, convened a council at Aquileia, to which he invited Rupert, and other Christian princes, to heal the schism. Benedict XIII., who was owned in France, convoked a council at Perpignan: the cardinals held a similar meeting at Pisa, and the emperor appointed a diet for the same purpose at Frankfort; where, after long debates, the opinions of the assembly were divided between the two popes. The greater part of the archbishops, prelates, and princes, espoused the cause of the cardinals; but the emperor, the archbishop of Treves, the duke of Bavaria, and some others, declared for Gregory, who proposed that a council should be holden at Udina, in Friuli, under the direction of Rupert, by whose decision he promised to abide. The emperor therefore sent an archbishop, two bishops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambassadors to Pisa, to prove by learned arguments, that the cardinals ought not to depose Gregory. But these ambassadors, finding that they could make no converts to their opinion, and that the cardinals, attached to Wenceslaus, would not even acknowledge their master as emperor, appealed from the assembly at Pisa to an oecumenical council. The cardinals, however, proceeded to the deposition of the two popes, and raised to the apostolic chair a native of the island of Candia, who assumed the appellation of Alexander V. By this measure the schism was increased, as three popes ruled at the same time⁸.

Rupert died soon after this pious negotiation, May 18,
and before he was able to settle the affairs of the 1410.

⁷ Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. et Auct. cit. in loc.

⁸ Id. *ibid.*

Holy See. He was succeeded, after a disputed election, by Sigismund (brother to the deposed Wenceslaus), who had procured the Hungarian crown by a marriage with the daughter of king Louis. The new head of the empire was a prince of experience and abilities, whose first care was to heal the wounds of the church. For that purpose, he summoned a general council at Constance, with the concurrence of pope John XXIII., successor of Alexander V.

At this council, where Sigismund appeared in all his glory, were present a great number of cardinals, prelates, doctors; more than a hundred sovereign princes; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons; and twenty-seven ambassadors from different courts; who vied with each other in luxury and magnificence. There were also five hundred players on instruments, called in those times minstrels, and seven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magistrates⁹.

In the first session, it was maintained that nothing could so effectually contribute to re-establish the union of the church as the resignation of the competitors for the papacy. John, who presided in the council, assented to this opinion, and promised to renounce his title, if Gregory and Benedict would imitate him in that act of self-denial. This declaration was no sooner made than the emperor rose from his chair, and ran and embraced the feet of his holiness, applauding his Christian resignation. He was also solemnly thanked by the patriarch of Antioch, in the name of the whole council. But John afterwards repented of this condescension; and, by the aid of Frederic duke of Austria, fled from Constance in the night, disguised in the habit of a postilion¹⁰.

This unexpected retreat at first disconcerted the council, which John declared to be dissolved in consequence of his secession. But the members at length agreed, after many

⁹ *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

¹⁰ *Theod. Niem. Vit. Jo. XXIII.*

learned arguments, that a council was superior to the pope; confirmed the sentence of John's deposition; decreed that no other pope should be chosen without the consent of the council; and that the three competitors should be for ever excluded from the papacy. Finding them thus determined, John thought proper to yield to the torrent rather than incur the risque of worse fortune in attempting to oppose it. He acquiesced in the sentence of the council, and renounced the pontificate. Soon after this resignation, Gregory sent a legate to the emperor and council to renounce his title in the same manner; but the proud Spaniard, Peter de Luna, (Benedict XIII.) would not yield: he remained obstinate to the last¹¹.

The affair of John Huss formed the next subject of discussion. That reformer had found a docile pupil and an able associate in Jerome of Prague, who propagated the new doctrines with great warmth. Both had been summoned to appear before the court of Rome, but refused to obey the citation. They condescended, however, to attend the council of Constance; and Huss, being provided with a safe conduct from the emperor, resolved to defend the articles of his faith. The assembly seemed inclined to condemn him unheard; but Sigismund opposed that injustice. He was now questioned, and accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles. Some of these he denied, and some he offered to support by argument. But his voice was drowned by the clamours of bigotry; and, on refusing to abjure all the articles, he was declared a propagator of sedition, a hardened heretic, a disciple and defender of Wickliffe. He was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed in a lay dress. His hair was cut in the form of a cross: upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representation of three devils; and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and

11 Platin. *de Vitis Pontificum.*

July 16. his writings to the flames. He submitted to his cruel fate with great firmness and resolution¹².

After the execution of John Huss, the council resumed the affair of Peter de Luna, who still refused to quit his pretensions to the papacy. On this occasion Sigismund offered to solicit in person the mediation of Ferdinand king of Arragon, with whom Peter had taken refuge. On his arrival at Perpignan, he entered into a negotiation with Benedict, the result of which was sent to the council, though by no means answerable to his expectations. The obstinacy of the priest was insurmountable, and incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that assent which could not be procured by fair means. Benedict, in consequence of these menaces, retired to the fortress of Paniscola, where he resolved to preserve his pontifical dignity to his latest breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partisans. The king of Arragon, with all the princes and bishops of his party, sent deputies to the emperor at Narbonne; where it was agreed, that the council should invite all the former adherents of Benedict to come to Constance, and join their endeavours for re-establishing the peace of the church; and that, on their arrival, a new pope should be chosen¹³.

During the absence of Sigismund, the trial of Jerome of Prague engaged the attention of the council. This A. D. 1416. man had repaired to Constance, to assist John Huss in making his defence; but perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the assembled zealots, he resolved to retire without delay into Bohemia. Being apprehended, however, upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to Constance, where, in order to avoid the punishment of fire, he solemnly abjured the opinions

¹² Laur. Byzinii *Diarium Hussiticum*.—*Chron. Magdeb.*

¹³ Theod. Niem. ubi sup.—Heiss, lib. ii. cap. 30.

of Wickliffe and Huss. But, ashamed to survive his master, who had encountered death with so much firmness, or not deriving the advantages which he expected from his submission, he re-professed the same doctrines; was condemned to the flames, as a wicked apostate, and suffered with great fortitude¹⁴.

Poggio the Florentine, secretary to pope John, and one of the restorers of learning, who was present on this occasion, says he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to the judges. "He spoke," exclaims Poggio, "like Socrates; and walked to the stake with as much cheerfulness as that great philosopher drank the cup of hemlock!"

After the return of Sigismund, the council proceeded against Benedict for contumacy; and the definitive sentence of his deposition was pronounced. Their next care was the election of a new pope: and A. D. 1417. Otho Colonna, who possessed the accomplishments of a prince and the virtues of a prelate, was unanimously chosen on St. Martin's day, whence he took the name of Martin V. Never was the inauguration of any pontiff attended with greater pomp. He rode in procession to the cathedral, mounted on a white horse; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg, on foot, leading it by the reins. A numerous crowd of princes, the ambassadors of all the kings, and the fathers of the council, closed the train. When he entered the cathedral, the triple crown was placed upon his head, and he returned in the same august manner¹⁵.

The important affair of the schism being thus concluded, other points were regulated by the council, which broke up in its forty-fifth session. The disputes about religion, however, raged with great and redoubled violence. A. D. 1419. The Hussites in Prague were so much offended

¹⁴ Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii.—*Spond. Contin.* vol. ii.

¹⁵ Barre, tome vii.—*Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

at being debarred from the use of the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist (contrary, as they affirmed, to the express words of our Saviour, who says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you"), that they raised a furious tumult, forced the town-house, and murdered the magistrates who were concerned in publishing the order¹⁶.

The news of this massacre filled the court of Wenceslaus with the utmost consternation, and made so strong an impression on that pusillanimous prince, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. He was succeeded in the Bohemian royalty by his brother Sigmund, already emperor, and king of Hungary: yet this powerful prince was several times defeated by Ziska, then general of the Hussites, who revenged the death of their apostle by the most terrible outrages.

A particular account of the war between the emperor and the Hussites would interfere with more important matters, without answering any valuable purpose: I shall therefore only observe, that Ziska continued master of Bohemia till his death, when he ordered a drum to be made of his skin, which was long the symbol of victory. He was succeeded in the command by Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, because he had been a priest; who supported his party with no less valour than his predecessor.

A. D. 1433. He boldly defended their cause in the council of Basil, where many things were disputed which it is of little consequence to know: and although he was unsuccessful in that negotiation, and also in a battle with the catholics, in which he was mortally wounded, the

A. D. 1436. Hussites at length obtained a general amnesty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of using the cup in the communion; a concession which, to them, was a kind of triumph¹⁷.

¹⁶ *Byzinii Diarium Hussiticum*.—Mosheim, ubi supra.

¹⁷ Mosheim, ubi supra.

After this pacification, the emperor enlisted the Hussites in his army, and led them against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary, and were defeated with great slaughter by those hardy veterans. But ^{A. D. 1437.} although Sigismund had been so fortunate as to regain the affections of the Bohemians, he lost it by attempting again to tyrannise over their consciences; and his death alone saved him from a second revolt. He nominated ^{Dec. 8.} as his successor, in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Albert duke of Austria, his son-in-law, who was recognised by those states, and also invested with the government of the empire. The house of Austria, with the exception of the short reign of Charles VII., a Bavarian prince, has ever since filled the imperial throne.

Sigismund possessed some respectable qualities: but he was a narrow-minded bigot; and, contrary to the dictates of sound policy as well as of humanity, was guilty of the most detestable of all tyranny, that of violence on the will. His wife Barbara is said to have been a person of a more enlarged way of thinking, though not more to her honour. She denied a future state, and held the supreme good to consist in sensual delight.

We must now pass from the empire to other states of the continent.

LETTER XLV.

Of the Affairs of Poland, Russia, and the Scandinavian States, to the Commencement of the Reign of Margaret over the three northern Kingdoms.

[WHILE the German empire, under the sway of the fourth Henry, was convulsed with dissension by the influence and intrigues of a turbulent pontiff, the intestine disorders of Poland were aggravated and embittered by the

same arbitrary interference. After Ladislaus, however, had procured the sovereignty, the papal tyranny was less violently exercised in his dominions. That prince, though his natural disposition was mild and pacific, displayed his courage in some expeditions against the Prussians and Pomeranians. In the latter part of his life, he was cruelly harassed by his aspiring sons; but he defeated the partisans of one of them, and reclaimed the other. He died in the year 1103. The division of his territories produced a sanguinary contest. Sbigneus, his natural son, was assisted on this occasion by the Bohemians and Saxons; while Boleslaus procured the aid of the Hungarians and the Russians. The latter prevailed in several conflicts, and at length obtained the whole succession. He was afterwards at war with the emperor Henry IV., whose army he defeated. In another war, the Russians were his enemies; and, by a victory which they obtained over him, they are said to have hastened his death, in the year 1139. Four of his sons shared his dominions: but Ladislaus, the eldest, had the chief sway, under the title of duke of all Poland. The ambition of Christina, the wife of this prince, soon excited a civil war. Two of the brothers (Boleslaus and Henry) were driven from their territories by the duke's forces and the Russians; but they afterward totally defeated him; and, when they had reduced Cracow, they convoked a diet, by which, in 1146, the ducal dignity was transferred to Boleslaus, who gave up the province of Silesia to his deposed brother. The reign of the new duke was long, and by no means inactive. He repelled the attacks of the emperor Conrad III., and prevented Frederic Barbarossa from completing the subjugation of Poland. He invaded Prussia, and endeavoured to propagate Christianity among its idolatrous inhabitants; but his success on this occasion was very imperfect, and his troops were routed by the incensed pagans. His brother Mieczslaus, who ruled after him, was remarkable for the change of

character which followed his elevation to the sovereignty. He had hitherto appeared as an amiable and respectable prince; but he now became a rapacious and brutal tyrant. The people therefore renounced their allegiance to him; and Casimir the Just became their duke, under whom their chief grievances were redressed, and their territories augmented at the expense of the Russians. While his son Lech governed, the country was infested by the Tartars, whose devastations were followed by famine and pestilence. After the murder of Lech, in 1227, the Tartars renewed their irruptions with redoubled fury; and intestine war, at the same time, multiplied the miseries of the people. How calamitous, my dear son, must have been the condition of the inhabitants of the Polish provinces, harassed by the contests of ambitious nobles, and by the most ferocious of all barbarians¹!

After a long course of anarchy, or of government so irregular and convulsed as to be scarcely superior to anarchy, duke Premislaus assumed the title ^{A. D. 1295.} of king of Poland; but, the splendour of royalty not sufficiently overawing seditious spirits, he was assassinated by conspirators. Ladislaus the Cubit (so called from the shortness of his stature) seized the throne; but he was deposed in 1299, for having invaded the rights of the clergy. Wenceslaus III., king of Bohemia, was then invested with the Polish sovereignty; but he gave such disgust by his partiality to his countrymen, that if he had not died, in 1305, the adherents of Ladislaus would probably have expelled him. This prince now recovered his authority, and reigned with great reputation. His son Casimir acquired still higher fame, by extending his dominions, introducing written laws, restraining the tyranny of the nobles over the peasants, protecting the church, and encouraging the arts².

¹ Matth. Michov. lib. iii.—Guagnini.

² Matth. Michov. lib. iv.—Herb. de Fulst.

On the decease of Casimir, in 1370, the crown was transferred to his nephew Louis king of Hungary, but not before he had agreed to some restrictions of authority which had not been included in the *pacta conventa* between the nation and the princes of the house of Piast. Though Louis was not popular among the Polanders, they chose his daughter Hedwiga for his successor; and her reign was distinguished by the union of Lithuania with Poland, in 1386, in consequence of her marriage with Jagellon, sovereign of the former territory. This event greatly increased the power and the respectability of Poland.

With regard to the Russian principality, it appears to have declined in power and importance after the death of Jaroslaus or Yaroslaf, son of Vladimir or Wolodimir the Great, in 1054. Isiaslaf, son of the defunct prince, bore the chief sway; but his government was disturbed by the competition of his brothers, to whom distinct portions of territory had been assigned, and by the ambition of other princes of his family, who wished to rule in different provinces. He was dispossessed of his sovereignty; but recovered it by the aid of the Polanders; he again lost his power, and was again invested with it. He died in 1078, and was succeeded by Wosewolode or Vsevolod, whose administration was not more memorable than that of the next prince or grand duke, Michael Sviatopolk. Vladimir II., who acceded to the supremacy in 1114, was a prince of considerable merit; and the endeavours of his son Mieczslaus, or Mestislaf, were exerted with some effect for the benefit of the state and the improvement of the country. But contests for power, and sanguinary commotions, frequently arose under these and some of the following princes. At length, while George swayed the principality, the horrors of Tartarian devastation were added to the former turmoils of the state³.

The Tartars made their first appearance in Russia about

³ Muller, *Sammlung Russ. Gesch.* vol. 1.

the year 1223; and their fierce ravages, and barbarous mode of warfare, produced general consternation. In 1237 they attacked the city of Vladimir (then the Russian capital) under the conduct of Batu, the grandson of Genghiz Khan; took it by storm, and massacred the greater part of the inhabitants. The grand duke George, bravely defending the place, fell with his sword in his hand. Yaroslaff II. now assumed the sovereignty; and his son Alexander soon after distinguished himself by routing an army of Danish invaders on the banks of the Neva, whence he obtained the surname of Newski, or Nefski. These princes were content to govern as vassals of the khan of the Tartars; and the ignominious yoke continued, for a long period, to wound the pride and check the power and prosperity of the Russians.

The inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark, at this time, were less rude and unpolished, and better governed, than their Russian neighbours. Of the princes who swayed the former kingdom for two centuries from the decease of Alstan, in 1064, the most eminent may here be mentioned. Ingo IV. was a just and pious prince; Suercher an able governor. Eric X. established Christianity in Finland, and was an esteemed legislator. Charles VII., who united Gothland to the Swedish crown, was put to death by Canute, who afterwards reigned with ability and moderation. Eric XII., surnamed the Stammerer, acquired popularity by his courage and wisdom.

After some unimportant reigns in Denmark, the enterprising Waldemar, in 1157, put an end to a civil war and to the tyrannic government of Sweyn III., and became sole king. He waged a successful war against the Vandals; and subdued a great part of Norway, but could not complete the conquest of that realm. He died in 1182, with the fame of a great prince. His son, Canute VI., did not shine as a warrior; but he was not deficient in political talents. Waldemar II. extended his dominions by the sword, and enacted wise laws for the government of the realm.

Being inveigled into captivity by Henry, count of Schwerin, he was detained in confinement for three years, and could not procure his liberty without the surrender of some of his German territories. His death was followed by intestine disturbances. His son Eric was murdered, after a reign of eight years, by an inhuman brother, who fell, in his turn, by a violent death. The reign of Christopher I. abounded with faction, and with war both foreign and internal. His son, Eric VII., reigned twenty-seven years, chiefly under the guidance of his mother Margaret, a prudent and politic princess. He lost his life, in 1286, by the fury of conspirators. Eric the Pious was involved in a tedious war with the Norwegians: he was also embroiled with the Swedes, who had expelled the son of their illustrious king, Magnus II. In neither of these wars did he meet with great success. During his reign, the crowns of Sweden and Norway were united in the person of Magnus III., a weak and dissolute prince: but he afterwards resigned the latter to his son Haquin, and was deposed from the former sovereignty by his indignant subjects⁴.

Christopher II., king of Denmark, having violated the oath which he took at his coronation, was obliged by popular discontent to relinquish the throne. He recovered it in the sequel; but as he had not learned wisdom from adversity, he was again driven from it, and died of grief.

A. D. 1340. After a long *interregnum*, Waldemar III. obtained the crown; and his reign was, in some respects, not inglorious, though his character was a compound of inconsistencies. His chief merit consisted in reuniting to the crown the petty principalities and divided jurisdictions which distracted the country. At his death, in 1375, the crown of Norway was again joined to that of Denmark, young Olaus having pretensions to both. This prince dying at the age of twenty-two years, an opportu-

⁴ Pentani *Rerum Danic. Hist.*—Meurs.

nity of royal elevation was afforded to his mother Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar.

The talents and address of this celebrated woman raised her to the Danish throne, though the election of a female was an extraordinary measure. Not ^{A. D. 1387.} content with this dignity, she aimed at the possession of the crown of Norway, to which, from the authority of a regent, the transition was easy. Albert of Mecklenburg, king of Sweden, jealous of the power of Margaret, resolved to invade her dominions; but his principal subjects, far from supporting him in such a cause, offered their crown to this princess, that they might be relieved from his tyranny. He was defeated and made prisoner by the malcontents; and, though the war was continued by his partisans, he found himself ultimately unable to withstand a torrent which ran so strongly in favour of the Danish heroine, who thus became sovereign of ^{A. D. 1394.} the three Scandinavian realms⁵.

From this survey of the transactions of the North we will now return to the affairs of France.]

LETTER XLVI.

History of France, from the Death of Charles the Wise to the Invasion of that Kingdom by Henry V. of England.

THE death of Charles V. of France, and the youth of his son, put that kingdom in a similar situation ^{A. D. 1380.} with England. Both realms were under the government of minors: and the jealousies among the three uncles of Charles VI., the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, distracted the affairs of France even more than the rivalry of the three uncles of Richard II. disordered those of England. But a minute detail of these distrac-

⁵ Pontan. lib. ix.—Meurs.

tions would be inconsistent with my present purpose, which is only to delineate the great line of history, and make you acquainted with the more remarkable events, or such as have had a particular influence upon government and manners. In the reign of Charles VI. no very memorable enterprise was undertaken; and government and manners, properly speaking, were equally unknown. I shall, therefore, consider the history of France, during this distracted period, as only an introduction to the invasion of that kingdom by Henry V.

As Charles advanced in years, the factions were gradually composed. His uncle, the duke of Anjou died; and the king, assuming the reins of government, displayed symptoms of genius and spirit which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen. But this promising state of affairs was of short duration. Charles fell suddenly
 A. D. 1392. into a fit of phrensy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and although he partly recovered from that disorder, he was subject to such frequent relapses, that his judgement was gradually impaired, and he became incapable of pursuing any steady plan of government¹.

The king's first relapse is said to have been occasioned by the following accident. The queen having married one of
 A. D. 1393. her maids of honour to a person of distinction, the nuptials were intended to be celebrated with great pomp at the palace of the queen-dowager, relict of Philip of Valois. Among other amusements there was to be a masquerade—a circumstance which furnished five young noblemen with the extravagant idea of appearing as naked savages; and such was the indelicacy of the times, that the king made one of the party. Their dress, contrived to sit close to their bodies, was of linen impregnated with resin, which, while hot, had been covered with fur. And the secret was so well kept, that when they appeared, they

¹ *Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.*

were not known; but their whim was highly applauded. The duchess of Berri took hold of the king, seeing him robust and well-made, and told him she would not let him go till she knew who he was. Some of the party now began to dance; when the duke of Orléans, out of levity, making a feint of running a lighted torch against one of the savages, set his combustible habit on fire. The flame was quickly communicated to the rest; and this scene of wanton mirth was instantly changed into sorrow and distress. But in the midst of their torments the masks cried out continually, "Save the king! save the king!"—And the duchess of Berri, suddenly recollecting that he must be the mask that stood next to her, immediately threw her robes over him, and, wrapping them close about him, put out the fire.³³ One of the masks, by jumping into a cistern of water, saved his life; the other four were so terribly burned that they died in two days; and the king was so much affected with the fright, that it occasioned a return of his disorder, which afterwards generally attacked him four or five times in a year to the end of his life^e.

History scarcely affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and more miserable, than that of this unfortunate monarch and his subjects, in consequence of his infirmity. The administration fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orléans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any share in the government, and even from the shadow of authority. The case, however, was very different with regard to the duchess of Orléans. Young, beautiful, and insinuating, she acquired such an ascendant over the king, that she governed him at her pleasure. What is yet more extraordinary, it was she only that could govern him; for, in the time of his malady, he knew nobody else, not even the queen. Hence it was rumoured by the duchess of Burgundy, who envied the influence

² *Juv. des Urs.—Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.*

of the young duchess, that she had bewitched the king, and, to heighten the odium, it was insinuated that the duke of Orléans had bewitched the queen³. That both were under the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted; but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whose assiduities so often fascinate the susceptible heart, and, when unrestrained by principle or sentiment, lead it in the chains of loose desire⁴.

On the death of Philip duke of Burgundy, his son John A. D. 1404. disputed the administration with the duke of Orléans, and hoped to govern France as his father had done. Propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the latter; the former derived consequence from his superior power, the death of his mother having added the county of Flanders to his father's extensive dominions. The people were divided between these contending princes; and the king, now resuming and now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state from the final prevalence of either party.

But at length the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy, seemingly moved by the cries of the nation, and swayed by the A. D. 1407. interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and enter into a league of mutual amity. They swore before the altar to the sincerity of this friendship; the priest administered the sacrament to both; and they exchanged every pledge that could be deemed sacred among men. All this solemn preparation, however, appears to have been only a cover for the basest treachery, deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He had hired ruffians, who assassinated his rival in the streets of Paris⁵. The author of the crime was for

³ Juv. des Ursins.—Du Tillet.—Le Gendre.

⁴ Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France, and Valentina of Milan, duchess of Orléans, were remarkably handsome and accomplished; and the duke was in a high degree both amorous and ambitious.

⁵ Le Laboureur, liv. xxvii.—Monstrelet, chap. xxxix. The murder of the

some days unknown, as the assassins escaped, and the duke endeavoured to conceal the part which he had taken in it; but being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal, and more dangerous to society. He openly avowed and vindicated the action.

This cause was brought before the parliament of Paris; and that august tribunal of justice heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of assassination, which he denominated tyrannicide, without pronouncing any sentence of condemnation against the detestable doctrine. The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision in favour of the contrary opinion was obtained from those fathers of the church, the ministers of the Prince of Peace⁶.

But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the subsequent incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and seemed to cut off all the means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orléans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seised sometimes by one party, sometimes by another, transferred alternately to each the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were harassed by mutual depredations: frequent assassinations arose from the animosity of the several leaders; and executions were ordered, without any legal trial, by pretended courts of judicature.

duke of Orléans is said to have been occasioned chiefly by his own insolence and licentiousness. (Du Haillan.—Brantome.) Having succeeded in an amour with the duchess of Burgundy, he had the effrontery to introduce her husband into a cabinet furnished with representations of the women he had enjoyed, among which her portrait occupied a distinguished place. The duke of Burgundy concealed his emotion, but thirsted for revenge.

⁶ Bulay, *Hist. Acad. Parisiensis*, vol. v.—Mild as this censure was, pope Martin V. refused to ratify it, being afraid of displeasing the duke. The university of Paris, more just and less timid, boldly condemned the atrocious doctrine and its author.

The whole kingdom was divided into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; for so the adherents of the young duke of Orléans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence. The king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace: their ministers were butchered or imprisoned before their eyes; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst these enraged factions, to manifest a strict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this scene of general violence, there arose into some consideration a body of men, usually undistinguished in public transactions even during the most peaceful times; namely, the heads of the university of Paris, whose opinions were sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent contests in the university, had raised the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connexion between literature and religion had bestowed on the former a consequence which reason and knowledge had seldom been able to obtain among men. But there was another society, whose sentiments were still more decisive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers; who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance this power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters: the people ranged themselves on one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either faction⁷.

The advantage, which might be taken of these confusions, was easily perceived in England; and, according to

⁷ Bulay—Juv. des Ursins—P. Æmil.—Henault.

the maxims which generally prevail among nations, the court was inclined to seize so favourable an opportunity. Henry IV., who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; and Henry V., impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, resolved to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry war ^{A. D. 1415.} into the heart of France. But before I speak of the success of his great enterprise, I must say a few words of the earlier part of his reign.

LETTER XLVII.

Of the Affairs of England and France, from the Invasion of the latter Kingdom by Henry V. to the Death of Charles VI.

THE precarious situation of Henry IV., with whose character, my dear Philip, you are already acquainted, had so much infected his temper with jealousy, that he entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the loyalty of his eldest son: and during the latter years of his life, he excluded that prince from all share in public business. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out in extravagances of every kind. The riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, and the outrage of intoxication, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. Such a course of life naturally threw him among companions very unbecoming his rank, whose irregularities, if accompanied with gallantry and humour, he seconded and indulged. And he was detected in many sallies, which, to rigid eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his station¹.

¹ Walsingham.—Hall.—Holinshed,

But the nation in general considered the young prince with more indulgence. They observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they did not cease to hope for his amendment. And the first steps taken by the youth, after the death of his father, confirmed the prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions; acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to imitate his example; and strictly prohibited them, until they had given proofs of their amendment, from appearing any more in his presence: while the wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. They found that they had unknowingly been paying their court to him. The satisfaction of those who had feared an opposite conduct was augmented by their surprise; so that the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

A. D. 1413. Henry's first care was to banish, as much as possible, all party distinctions. The instruments of the violences of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancastrian interest, more than from their integrity or abilities, gave place to men of more honourable characters; and virtue and talents seemed to have a spacious field, in which they might display themselves to advantage. One party distinction, however, remained, which the popularity of Henry was not able to suppress. The Lollards, or disciples of Wickliffe, had extended their influence so as to become a formidable body which appeared dangerous to the church, and even to the civil power.

The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his military talents, and who had acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character, and zeal for the new sect, pointed him out to Arundel, arch-

bishop of Canterbury, as a proper victim of ecclesiastical severity. The primate accordingly applied to the king for permission to indict lord Cobham. The generous nature of Henry was averse from such sanguinary methods of conversion; but, after trying all gentle means in vain, and finding that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, he gave full reins to priestly vengeance against the inflexible sectary. Cobham was condemned to the flames, but made his escape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution. Provoked by persecution, and stimulated by zeal, he was now incited to attempt the treasonable measures which were before imputed to him. The king was informed of his schemes: many of his followers were put to death; and he himself, after a variety of distresses, was hung up by a chain as a traitor, and burned to death as a heretic². A. D. 1414.

When Henry had quelled the conspiracy of the Lollards, he had leisure to consider the dying injunction of his father, not to let the English remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions; by which the prince might acquire honour, the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person, and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. His natural disposition sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice; and the civil disorders of France, as you have already seen, opened a full career for his ambition. Having prepared a fleet and levied an army, he sailed from Southampton, and landed in Normandy, with six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, chiefly archers³. A. D. 1415.

The invaders immediately invested Harfleur, which was taken after a siege of five weeks. The fatigue of the siege, however, and the unusual heat of the season, had so much wasted and enfeebled the English army, that

² Walsingham.—Holinshed.

³ Chron. de Monstrelet.

Henry could enter on no other enterprise; and he even sent back a considerable part of his force to England. Fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, were already assembled in Normandy under the constable d'Albret; a force, rightly managed, sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small body, before they could finish a long or difficult march. Henry, therefore, prudently offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected by the French court, he determined to make his way by valour and policy through all the opposition of the enemy. And that he might not discourage his troops by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys⁴.

Notwithstanding these precautions, he was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and when he approached the Somme, he saw bodies of men on the opposite bank ready to obstruct his passage. His provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished under sickness and fatigue; and his situation seemed altogether desperate. In this extremity, he was so fortunate as to seize an unguarded ford, over which he safely carried his army, and bent his march towards Calais. But he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the French army, drawn up in the plains of Azincour, or Agincourt; and posted in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement.

Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which the safety and fortune of Henry now depended. The English army consisted of little more than one half of the number which had disembarked at Harfleur: and the troops laboured under every discouragement and necessity. The French host, at this time, exceeded sixty-five

⁴ Le Laboureur.—Walsingham.

thousand men, headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood, and plentifully supplied with provisions. Henry's situation resembled that of Edward III. at Cressy, and of the Black Prince at Poitiers; and the memory of the great victories obtained on those occasions inspired the English with courage, and made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king also observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by those illustrious commanders. He drew up his army on a narrow ground, between woods which guarded each flank; and in that posture he patiently waited the attack of the enemy.

Had the French general been able to reason justly on the circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he would have declined a combat, and have waited till necessity had obliged the English to advance, and relinquish the advantages of their situation; but the impetuous valour of the French nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, made him hazard an action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to his country. The French archers on horseback, and the men at arms, advanced precipitately on the Eng-^{Oct. 25.}lish archers, who had fixed palisades in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows that nothing could resist. The clayey soil, moistened by rain, proved another obstruction to the force of the French cavalry. The wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks; the narrow compass in which they were pent prevented them from recovering any order; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay; when Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unencumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They accordingly fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who were now incapable of either flying or defending them-

selves, and hewed them in pieces without obstruction. Seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. Every appearance of opposition being now over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; but having advanced to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, who still maintained the form of a line of battle. At the same time they heard an alarm from behind. Some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. On this alarm Henry began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death; but, discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and a great number of the captives were saved⁵.

Few victories were ever more honourable or more complete than this of Azincour. While the loss of the English did not exceed one thousand men, that of the French was enormous. The constable d'Albret and seven princes of the blood were slain: five princes were taken prisoners, with fourteen thousand persons of different ranks; and above ten thousand Frenchmen were left dead on the field of battle⁶. This signal victory, however, was more ostentatious than useful to the conquerors. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raise a fresh supply of men and money; and he found it expedient to agree to a cessation of hostilities.

In the mean time France was exposed to all the fury of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The duke of Burgundy, who had been worsted by his antagonists, attempted to re-instate himself in the possession of the government, as well

⁵ T. Liv. Foro-Jul. *Vit. Hen. V.*—Elmham.—Walsingham.

⁶ Le Fevre, *Hist. de Charles VI.*—Elmham.—T. Liv.—Walsingham.

as of the king's person; and some quarrels in the royal family enabled him to carry his scheme into execution. Louis Bois-Bourdon, favourite to queen Isabella, after the death of the elder duke of Orléans, having been accused by the count d'Armagnac of a commerce of gallantry with that princess, had been put to the torture, and afterwards thrown into the Seine, in consequence of his forced but indiscreet confession. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard. After suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy, though hitherto an enemy to that prince; and as her son Charles, the dauphin, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity even to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred⁷. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose in some measure effectual.

The duke of Burgundy over-ran France at the head of a great army of Flemings, and relieved the queen from her confinement. At the same time his partisans raised a commotion in Paris; the person of the king was seized; the dauphin made his escape with difficulty; great numbers of the Armagnac faction were murdered; the count himself, and many persons of note, were confined; and the populace, deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke open the prisons, and put to death that nobleman and his friends⁸.

While France was thus torn by civil dissensions, Henry, having again invaded the country, met with great success in the reduction of the towns of Normandy. When the pope's legate attempted to incline him towards peace, he replied, "Do you not see, that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign: I have just pretensions to that kingdom: every thing here is in the utmost confusion: no one thinks of resisting me. Can I

⁷ Le Fevre.—Monstrelet.

⁸ Le Fevre.

“ have a more sensible proof, that the Being, who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head⁹?”—Such has ever been the language of force; to which weakness, crawling in the dust, has too often listened with an ear of credulity. Hence conquerors, while living, have been considered as the sons of gods and the delegates of Heaven; and, after being consigned to that earth which they had desolated, have themselves been exalted into divinities.

But, although Henry seemed so fully assured of the conquest of France, he was induced by prudential motives to negotiate with his enemies. He made at the same time offers of peace to both the French parties; to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, on the one hand, who, having possession of the king’s person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the rightful heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by all men who paid any regard to the true interests of their country. These two parties also carried on
A. D. 1419. a continual negotiation with each other; and all things seemed settled to their mutual satisfaction, when the duke of Burgundy was murdered by the dauphin’s party, during an interview at Montereau¹⁰.

In consequence of this act of barbarity, and the progress of Henry’s arms, the queen, and the new duke of Burgundy, breathing vengeance for the murder of his
May 21, 1420. father, concluded the famous treaty of Troyes, by which the crown of France was transferred to the house of Lancaster. The principal articles were, that the king of England should espouse the princess Catharine; that her father should enjoy for life the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be declared heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the immediate administration of the government; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France, should swear, that they

9 Juv. des Ursins.

10 Monstrelet.—Elmham.

would adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; and that this prince should unite his arms to those of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the *pretended* dauphin¹¹.

Henry now espoused the French princess; conducted his father-in-law to Paris; put himself in possession of that capital; and obtained from the parliament and the three estates a ratification of the treaty of Troyes. He supported the Duke of Burgundy in procuring a sentence against the murderers of his father; and he turned his arms with success against the partisans of the dauphin; who, as soon as he heard of the late treaty, assumed the style and authority of Regent, and appealed to A. D. 1421. God and his sword for the maintenance of his title. But, notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his officers, young Charles saw himself unequal to his enemies in the field, and found it necessary to temporise, and avoid all hazardous action, with a rival who had acquired so manifest a superiority.

To crown the prosperity of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings not less pompous (if less sincere) at Paris than in London. The infant prince was regarded as the fortunate heir of both monarchies. But the glory of Henry, when near its height, was suddenly restrained by the hand of nature, and all his towering projects vanished into air. He was seized with a malady which the surgeons of that age wanted skill to treat with judgement, namely, a fistula, which proved mortal. When he found his end approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and other noblemen whom he had honoured with his confidence. Aug. 31, 1422. To them he delivered, in great composure, his last will with regard to the government of his

¹¹ Rymer, vol. ix.—Monstrelet.

kingdom and family. He left the regency of France to the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son to the earl of Warwick¹².

Henry V. possessed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were as conspicuous in the cabinet as in the field. The boldness of his plans, and his personal valour in carrying them into execution, were equally remarkable. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. His exterior figure and deportment were engaging; his stature exceeded the middle size; his countenance was beautiful, his form well proportioned, and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises.

In less than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. terminated his unhappy life. He had for many
Oct. 22. years possessed only the shadow of royalty; yet was this mere appearance of considerable advantage to the English: it divided the duty and affections of the French between the king and the dauphin, who was now crowned at Poitiers under the name of Charles VII., Rheims (the usual place of such ceremony) being then in the hands of his enemies.

Henry's widow, soon after his death, married Sir Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two sons; the elder of whom was created earl of Richmond, the younger earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, afterwards mounted, as we shall have occasion to see, the throne of England.

¹² Rymer.

LETTER XLVIII.

Continuation of the History of France and England, from the Accession of Charles VII. to the expulsion of the English from their Continental Territories, in 1453.

IN considering, with a superficial eye, the state of affairs between France and England at the accession of Charles VII., every advantage seems to lie on the side of the latter kingdom; and the total expulsion of Charles appears an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Henry VI. was indeed a mere infant; but the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, was entrusted with the administration. And the experience, prudence, valour, and generosity of the regent, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. But Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages which promised him success. As he was the lawful heir of the monarchy, all Frenchmen, who knew the interests or desired the independence of their native country, turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource; and Charles himself was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition; of easy and familiar manners; and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous, understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged from affection the services of his followers, even while his low fortune might have made it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon those sallies of discontent to which princes in his situation are naturally exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still

shone forth: and by exerting, at intervals, his courage and activity, he proved that his general remissness proceeded neither from the want of ambition, nor from a deficiency of personal valour¹.

Sensible of these advantages on the side of Charles, the duke of Bedford took care to strengthen the English interest by fresh alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne; and observing the ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, he persuaded the English council to release James, the heir of the crown, from his long captivity, and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a grand-daughter of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster. The alliance was accordingly formed: James was restored to the throne of his ancestors; and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever swayed the Scottish sceptre. His affections inclined to the party of France; but the English had never reason, while he reigned, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland. He was murdered by his traitorous kinsman the earl of Athol, in 1437.

Bedford, however, was not so much employed in negotiation as to neglect the operations of war. He reduced almost every fortress on this side of the Loire; and the battle of Verneuil, in which the French and Scots were defeated, threatened Charles with the total loss of his kingdom, when a succession of remarkable circumstances saved him on the brink of ruin, and disappointed the confident hopes of the English.

Instead of taking any possible advantage of the victory gained at Verneuil, or those which he wished, and could not fail to see, the duke was obliged to repair to England, in order to compose some dissensions among the ministry, and to endeavour to moderate the measures of the duke of Gloucester, who had inconsiderately kindled a war in the Low

1 P. Æmil.—Du Tillet.—Le Gendre.

Countries, and carried thither the troops destined for the reinforcement of the English army in France. The affections of the duke of Burgundy were alienated, and his forces diverted by the same war. The duke of Bretagne returned to his allegiance under Charles. The French had leisure to re-collect themselves, and gained some inconsiderable advantages. But the regent, soon after his return, retrieved the reputation of the English arms, by humbling the Breton duke, and resolved on an undertaking which he hoped would prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

The city of Orléans was so situated between the provinces of Henry and those of Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the south of France, it was necessary to begin with the siege of this place, now become the most important in the kingdom. The French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and the English left no method unemployed for reducing it. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards the scene of action, where it was reasonably supposed the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy and the rights of their sovereign. After numberless feats of valour, performed both by the besiegers and the besieged, the attack was so vigorously pushed by the English, although the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his troops in disgust, that Charles gave over the city for lost, and even entertained thoughts of retiring into Languedoc or Dauphiné with the remains of his force².

But it was fortunate for that gay prince, who lay entirely under the dominion of the softer sex, that the women whom he consulted on this occasion had the spirit to support his sinking resolution. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit and prudence, vehemently

² Monstrelet.—Hall.—Holinshed.

opposed such a measure, which she foresaw would discourage all his partisans, and serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in perfect amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, that she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse, in the breast of Charles, that courage which ambition had failed to excite. He resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; to perish with honour, in the midst of his friends, rather than yield ingloriously to his ill fortune³. And this resolution was no sooner formed than relief was unexpectedly brought to him by another female of a very different character.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a girl whose name was Joan d'Arc; who had filled the humble station of servant at an inn, and in that capacity had taken care of horses, and performed other offices which usually fall to the share of men. Inflamed by the frequent mention of the rencounters at the siege of Orléans, and affected with the distresses of her country, particularly with those of the youthful monarch, whose gallantry made him the idol of the whole sex, she was seized with a wild desire of procuring relief for her sovereign. Her inexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders. Having an uncommon intrepidity of spirit, she overlooked all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and the idea of her divine mission dispelled the bashfulness so natural to her sex, her years, and her low condition. She went to Vaucou-

³ Monstrelet.—Holinshed.

leurs, procured admission to Baudricourt the governor, and informed him of her inspirations and intentions. Baudricourt observed something extraordinary in the maid, or saw the use that might be made of such an engine, and sent her to the French court at Chinon⁴.

Joan was no sooner introduced to the king than she offered, in the name of Heaven, to raise the siege of Orléans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed: and she demanded as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which was kept in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give way to the illusion, the more they pretended to be doubtful and scrupulous. Grave and learned divines were ordered to examine Joan's mission; and they pronounced it divine and supernatural. The parliament also attested her inspirations; and a jury of matrons declared her an unspotted virgin. Her requests were now granted. She was armed *cap-à-piè*, mounted on horseback, and shown to the people in that martial array. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former station, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; her former occupation was even denied; she was converted into a shepherdess, an employment more agreeable to the imagination than that of an hostler-wench. Some years were subtracted from her age, in order to excite still greater admiration; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by persons of all ranks. A ray of hope began to break through that cloud of despair in which the minds of men were involved. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

The English at first affected to speak with derision of the Maid and her heavenly commission; but their imagination was secretly struck with the strong persuasion which prevailed around them. They found their courage daunted by

⁴ Hall.—Monstrelet.

degrees, and thence began to infer a divine vengeance hanging over them. A silent astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elate with victory, and so fierce for the combat. The Maid entered the city of Orléans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard. She was received as a celestial deliverer by the garrison and inhabitants; and by the instructions of count Dunois, commonly called the Bastard of Orléans, who commanded in the place, she ^{May 8.} actually obliged the English to raise the siege of that city, after driving them from their entrenchments, and defeating them in several desperate attacks⁵.

This success was one part of the Maid's promise to Charles; the crowning of him at Rheims was the other; and she now vehemently insisted, that he should set out immediately on that journey. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims was then in the power of victorious enemies; the whole road that led to it was occupied by their troops; and no imagination could have been so sanguine as to hope that such an attempt could be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the interest of the king of France to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess, and avail himself of the present consternation of the English. He accordingly set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men, and scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. Every place opened its gates to him: Rheims sent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is said to have brought from heaven to Clovis, on the first establishment of the French monarchy⁶.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects; and he seemed to

⁵ Monstrelet.—Hall.

⁶ Mezeray.—Hall.

derive, from a heavenly commission, a new title to their allegiance. Many places submitted to him immediately after his coronation; and the whole nation seemed disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of duty and affection.

The duke of Bedford, in this dangerous crisis, employed every resource which fortune had yet left him. He acted with such prudence and address as to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had been long wavering in his fidelity. He seemed present every where, by his vigilance and foresight; and although his supplies from England were very inconsiderable, he attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to face the enemy. But he chose his posts with so much caution as always to decline a combat, and to render it impossible for the French king to attack him. He still attended that prince in all his movements, covered his own towns and garrisons, and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudent act or false step of the enemy. He also endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs, by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vassals of the crown who lived within the provinces possessed by the English, again swore allegiance, and did homage to Henry VI.⁷ But this ceremony was cold and insipid, in comparison of the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected greater advantage from an incident which put into his hands the author of all his misfortunes.

The Maid of Orléans declared, after the coronation of Charles, that her mission was accomplished, and expressed her inclination to retire to the occupations and course of life which became her sex. But Dunois, sensible of the important benefit which might still be derived from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere till the final expulsion of the English. In pursuance of this ad-

⁷ Rymer, vol. x.

A. D. 1430. vice she threw herself into the town of Compeigne, at the time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The defenders on her appearance believed themselves invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The Maid was taken prisoner in a sally; and the duke of Bedford, resolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, and idolatry. She was found guilty, by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of these crimes, aggravated by the deep stain of heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and this admirable heroine was cruelly
 A. D. 1431. consigned to the flames, thus expiating by the punishment of fire the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and her native country⁸.

The English affairs, however, instead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, daily declined. The great abilities of the regent were insufficient to repress the strong inclination which had seized the French for returning under the obedience of their rightful sovereign. The duke of
 A. D. 1435. Burgundy deserted the English interest, and formed an alliance with the French king; the duke of Bedford died soon after; and the violent factions which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, prevented the nation from taking proper measures for repairing these signal losses.

The feeble character of young Henry was now fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most inoffensive and simple manners, but of the most slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would resemble a perpetual minority. When he reached the age of manhood, it was natural to think of choosing a queen for him; and the

⁸ Polyd. Virg.—Monstrelet.

leaders of each party earnestly wished to make him receive one from their hand, as it was probable that this circumstance would decide for ever the victory between them. The cardinal proved successful; and Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from a count of Anjou, who had left these magnificent titles to his posterity, without any real power or possessions in those kingdoms. She was the most accomplished princess of that age both in body and mind, and seemed to possess those qualities which would enable her to acquire an ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. The treaty of marriage was ratified in England; and Margaret on her arrival, connected herself with the cardinal and his party; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester⁹.

This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not suited, but possessing in an eminent degree the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which it was impossible a person of his spirit could ever forgive, although he had hitherto borne it without violating public peace. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates (Bolingbroke, a priest, and a reputed witch named Jourdain) melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by the like insensible degrees. The nature of this crime, as the philosophic Hume ingeniously observes, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence. The prisoners were pronounced guilty: the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual

9 Grafton's Chronicle.—Holinshed.

imprisonment; and her supposed accomplices were executed. But the people, contrary to their usual practice on such marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and ascribed these violent proceedings solely to the malice of the duke's enemies. The queen and the cardinal therefore thought it necessary to destroy a man whose popularity made him dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. He was accused of treason and thrown into prison, where he was soon after found dead in bed; and although his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted of his having fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies¹⁰.

While England was thus a prey to faction, the king of France employed himself, with great industry and judgement, in removing those numberless ills to which France had been so long exposed from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic. He restored the regular course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline among his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and in the course of a few years rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to his neighbours. The English were expelled from all their possessions on the continent, except Calais; and although no peace was yet concluded between the two nations, the war was in a manner at an end¹¹.—England, torn in pieces by civil dissensions, made but one more feeble effort for the recovery of Guienne; and Charles, occupied in regulating the government of his own kingdom, and fencing against the intrigues of his son Louis, scarcely ever attempted to avail himself of her intestine broils. The affairs of the two realms, therefore, became for a while distinct. But before I proceed with the history of either, we must take a view of the state of the German empire.

¹⁰ Grafton.—Holinshed.

¹¹ Monstrelet.—Henault.—Grafton.

LETTER XLIX.

Of the German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Election of Albert II. to that of Maximilian.

TO the long reign of Sigismund, my dear Philip, succeeded the short sway of Albert. The chief enterprise in which this prince engaged was an expedition against the Turks in Bulgaria, where he was seised with a violent and fatal dysentery. He was succeeded ^{Oct. 1439.} on the imperial throne by his cousin Frederic of Austria, the third (sometimes called the fourth) emperor of that name. The crowns of Hungary and Bohemia were assigned to Ladislaus, Albert's infant son, who was committed to the guardianship of Frederic; but the nobles of the former realm, opposing the will of the defunct prince, transferred the sovereignty to Ladislaus king of Poland.

The emperor's first care was to heal a new schism. With this view he set out for Basil, where a council continued to sit for "the reformation of the church universal ^{A. D. 1440.} both in its head and its members." This council had raised to the papacy Amadeus duke of Savoy, under the name of Felix V., in opposition to Eugenius IV. Frederic exhorted the fathers to concord, and an accommodation with Eugenius. He had also an interview with Felix, whom he refused to acknowledge for pope, though tempted by an offer of his daughter, a young princess of exquisite beauty, and two hundred thousand ducats as her portion. "This man," said Frederic to one of his courtiers, in a contemptuous tone, "would readily purchase holiness, if he could find a seller." The schism ^{A. D. 1449.} was at length closed, Felix being prevailed upon by the emperor to abdicate the apostolic chair on certain conditions, which were confirmed by Nicholas V. who had succeeded Eugenius¹.

¹ Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii.—Æn. Sylv. *Vit. Fred. III.*

The peace of the church being thus restored, and the affairs of Germany not disordered, Frederic began to turn his eyes towards Italy, where the imperial authority was at a low ebb. Alphonso of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the emperor, because he feared the power of the Venetians, who were masters of Ravenna, Bergamo, Brescia, and Cremona. Milan was in the hands of Francis Sforza, a peasant's son, but one of the greatest warriors of his age, and now become the most powerful man in Italy. He had married the natural daughter of Philip Maria Galeazzo duke of Milan, by whom he was adopted. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza: the Holy See had recovered Bologna; and all the other principalities belonged to different sovereigns, who had mastered them². In this situation were the affairs

A. D. 1451. of Italy, when the emperor resolved upon a journey to Rome, in order to be crowned by the pope, together with Eleonora, sister of the king of Portugal, to whom he was contracted in marriage.

As soon as Frederic had crossed the Alps, he was met by the Venetian ambassadors, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence. He thence repaired to Ferrara, where he found ambassadors from Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, inviting him to return by that city, where he should receive the iron crown; and here he also received deputies from Florence and Bologna, soliciting the honour of entertaining him at their respective cities, which he accordingly visited³. From Florence he took the route of Sienna, where he gave audience to the pope's legates, who represented to him, that, by ancient custom, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territorial patrimony of St. Peter, and requested that he would conform to the same usage.

Frederic, in this particular, complied with the desire of

² *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

³ Machiavel, *Hist. Flor.* lib. vi.

his holiness. The oath which he took was conceived in these terms: " I Frederic king of the Romans, promise
 " and swear, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the
 " wood of the vivifying cross, and by these reliques of
 " saints, that if, by permission of the Lord, I shall come
 " to Rome, I will exalt the holy Roman church, and his
 " holiness, who presides over it, to the utmost of my
 " power. Neither shall he lose life, limb, or honour, by
 " my counsel, consent, or exhortation. Nor will I, in the
 " city of Rome, make any law or decree touching those
 " things which belong to his holiness or the Romans, with-
 " out the advice of our most holy lord Nicholas. What-
 " ever part of St. Peter's Patrimony shall fall into our
 " hands, we will restore it to his holiness; and he, to
 " whom we shall commit the administration of our king-
 " dom of Italy, shall swear to assist his holiness in defend-
 " ing St. Peter's Patrimony to the utmost of his power.
 " So help me God, and his holy Evangelists⁴!"

The emperor now proceeded to Viterbo, where he was in danger of his life from a tumult of the populace; so indifferently attended was this successor of Charlemagne!—From Viterbo he repaired to Rome, where he was met by the whole college of cardinals; and as it had been customary for the late emperors, when they went thither to be crowned, to continue some time without the walls, Frederic ordered tents to be pitched, and there passed one night. Having made his public entry, he was crowned king of Lombardy. Three days after this ceremony, he was married to Eleonora, and, with her, received the imperial crown. He and the pope then ratified the *Concordata* of the German nation, touching the A. D. 1452. collation to prelaties and other benefices, which had some years before been adjusted by cardinal Carvajal, the legate of Nicholas at the imperial court⁵.

Having thus transacted matters at Rome, Frederic set out on his return to Germany; and, in his passage through

4 Fugger. lib. v.

5 Barre, tome vii.—Naucleri *Chron.*

Ferrara, was visited by Borsi marquis of Este, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of Modena and Reggio. On his arrival in Austria he found himself involved in various difficulties, out of which he was never able fully to extricate himself.

After the death of the king of Poland in 1444, the Hungarian nobles had entreated Frederic to send home Ladislaus, Albert's son (who, though now elected king, was still detained at the imperial court); and they had earnestly and repeatedly besought him to restore their crown and *regalia*, which were in his custody. But he found means, under various pretences, to postpone his compliance with these demands. The Austrians, joined by a number of Bohemians, and encouraged by several princes of the empire, also sent a deputation to expostulate with Frederic on the same subject; and as he amused them with fresh evasions, they had recourse to arms, and compelled him to sign an accommodation. It was agreed, that Ladislaus, being yet of too tender years to take upon himself the government of his kingdoms, should be put under the tuition of Ulric count Celley, his uncle by the mother's side, and that the dispute touching the wardship of the emperor should be determined at Vienna⁶.

Count Celley's ambition was elated by the power which he derived from being tutor to Ladislaus. He attempted to make himself absolute master in Austria: he secured the principal fortresses, by giving the command of them to his creatures; and he gradually removed Elsinger (a Bohemian gentleman, who had headed the insurrection), and the Austrian nobility, from all offices of importance. His friends and favourites only were trusted. The people were incensed at such proceedings; and Elsinger, profiting by their discontent, roused their resentment to such a degree, that the count was obliged to retire into Hungary, after having delivered up the person of Ladislaus, who consented to take the oath imposed upon him

A. D. 1453.

⁶ Æn. Syl. Hist. Boem.

by the Bohemians, and was crowned with great solemnity at Prague⁷.

During these contests the city of Constantinople was taken by the Turks, after they had subdued the rest of Greece; and by this blow the Roman empire in the East was entirely subverted, as will be related more at length in its proper place. Here it is only necessary to observe, that the progress of the Mohammedans alarmed all the princes of Christendom, and made them think of uniting, though too late, in order to oppose the common enemy. A diet being convoked at Ratisbon, the members unanimously agreed, that there was a necessity of taking some speedy measures to stop the progress of the infidels. But what these measures should be, was a consideration referred to another diet assembled at Frankfort; where, although there was a vast concourse of princes, and great zeal was displayed, very little was done for the common cause. Other diets discussed the same subject, with no greater effect; a backwardness which was chiefly ascribed to the timid and slothful disposition of the emperor, who would never heartily embark in the undertaking.

The German princes however, at the solicitation of the pope's legate, sent a body of troops to the assistance of John Huniades, a famous Hungarian general, who had long gallantly defended his country against the Turks, and gained several advantages over them. John, thus reinforced, marched to the relief of Belgrade, which was besieged by Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, and the terror of Christendom; and compelled the soltan, after an obstinate engagement, to raise the siege, and retreat with considerable loss⁸. But the death of Huniades, which happened a few days after the battle, prevented the Christian army from making any

⁷ Æn. Syl. *Hist. Boem.*

⁸ Æn. Sylv.—Platin. *Vit. Pontif.*

progress against the infidels. The fruits of their victory, and their future projects, perished with their illustrious leader.

Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, died two years after his illustrious general; and various competitors arose for those crowns, as well as for the dominions of Upper Austria, which belonged to that prince. A. D. 1458. The emperor was one of the claimants: he reaped, however, nothing but damage and disgrace from a civil war which desolated Germany for many years, but which was productive of no event that merits attention. His son Maximilian was more fortunate, and better deserved success: but he was unable to procure either of the disputed crowns; for the Hungarian royalty was conferred on Matthias, the brave and respectable son of John Huniades, while the Bohemians made choice of a nobleman named George Poggebrache, who favoured the propagation of the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss.

Maximilian, who was as active and enterprising as his father was indolent and timid, married at eighteen years of age, the only daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. She brought him Flanders, Franche-Comté, and all the Low Countries. Louis XI., who disputed some of these territories, and who, on the death of the duke, had seized Burgundy, Picardy, Ponthieu, and Artois, as fiefs of France, which could not be possessed by a woman, was defeated by Maximilian at Guinegaste; and Charles VIII., who renewed the same claims, was obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace. A. D. 1479.

After alternate scenes of peace and war, of tranquillity and dissension, Frederic died in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his reign. No emperor had ever reigned longer, and none less gloriously. Sept. 7, 1493.

The reign of Maximilian, already elected king of the Romans, introduces a more interesting period than that over which we have now traveled, and opens a vista into

some of the grandest scenes of history. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, must occupy your attention before I treat farther of the concerns of the empire.

LETTER L.

Of the Contest in England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, to its final Extinction in the Accession of the House of Tudor.

I HAVE already had occasion to notice the weakness of Henry VI. His incapacity appeared every day in a stronger light. The more he was known, the more his authority was despised; and when the war in France began to languish, men of restless and ambitious spirits took occasion to disturb his government, and tear with intestine commotions the bowels of their native country. A. D. 1450.

But the miseries of Henry and of England did not arise solely from these causes: a pretender to the crown appeared; and a title which had never been disputed during the prosperous reign of Henry V. was now called in question under his feeble successor. This competitor was Richard duke of York. He lineally traced his origin from the duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., and consequently stood in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, fourth son of that monarch.

Such a claim could not, in some respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands. The duke of York was a man of valour and abilities, which he had found frequent opportunities of displaying. In the right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood: he possessed an immense fortune; and was connected by

marriage and friendship with many of the most powerful nobles. He was generally beloved by the people; whose discontents, at this time, rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the throne.

The administration of the realm was now in the hands of the queen and William de la Pole duke of Suffolk, who had attracted universal odium. Margaret was still regarded as a French woman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom, who had betrayed the interest of England, in favour of her family and her country. Suffolk was considered as her accomplice; and the murder of the duke of Gloucester, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them yet more obnoxious to the nation.

The partisans of Richard took advantage of these causes of popular discontent to impeach the duke of Suffolk, in parliament, of various crimes and misdemeanours; and the king, in order to save his minister, banished him for five years. But his enemies, sensible that he still possessed the queen's confidence, and would be recalled on the first opportunity, employed a captain of a ship to intercept him in his passage to France. He was accordingly seized near Dover; his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea¹.

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the administration and credit with the queen: and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the people, who always judge by events, soon made him equally the object of their animosity. In consequence of these discontents, the house of commons present-

A. D. 1451. ed a petition to the king, praying him to remove the duke of Somerset for ever from his person and counsels. This application was unsuccessful; but when

A. D. 1454. Henry had contracted a disorder which increased his natural imbecility, the queen and the council,

¹ Hall.—Stow.—*Continuation of Hist. Croyland.*

unable to resist the popular party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with power to open and hold a session of parliament: and that assembly created him Protector during pleasure².

When the king had so far recovered from his indisposition as to be able to maintain the appearance of authority, his friends urged him to annul the regency of Richard, release Somerset, and commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. The duke of York, sensible of his danger, levied an army, in order to support his parliamentary commission, but without advancing any pretensions to the crown, though his title was generally acknowledged. A battle was risked near St. Alban's, where the Lancastrians were routed, and the duke of Somerset fell. The king himself was made prisoner by the duke of York, and, while he was treated with apparent kindness, was obliged to resign (what he valued little) the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival³.

Richard, however, did not yet claim the royalty in form: he was still content with the title of Protector; and an outward reconciliation took place between the parties. A solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, in order to make known this amity to the people. The duke of York led queen Margaret; and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the opposite. But a contest for a crown could not be thus peaceably accommodated. Each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and the smallest incident, without any formed design, was sufficient to dissolve the seeming harmony. Two servants of the rival houses quarreled; their companions took part in the fray; a fierce combat ensued; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms⁴.

² *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii.—Rymer, vol. xi.

³ Stow.—Hall.—Holinshed.

⁴ Fabian's *Chron.*—Grafton.

A battle was fought at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, where the royalists were defeated, and chased off the field with considerable loss. A. D. 1459. But this victory was not sufficient to decide the fate of England; and fortune soon shifted sides. When the two armies approached each other near Ludlow, and a general action was every hour expected, sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a choice body of veterans, deserted to the king; and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated without striking a blow⁵.

In this extremity the duke of York fled to Ireland, where he had formerly acquired great popularity; and his partisans in England kept themselves in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders. That requisition proceeded from the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, the most extraordinary man of his time; and, from the subsequent events, commonly known by the appellation of the *King-Maker*. He landed in Kent, where A. D. 1460. he was joined by several persons of distinction: and as the people bore him an unlimited affection, his army increased every day. He entered London amidst the acclamations of the populace: he advanced to meet the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him; and a battle ensued at Northampton, where the Lancastrians received a sanguinary defeat. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again made prisoner, and carried in triumph to his capital⁶. July 10.

A parliament was now summoned at Westminster, where the duke of York soon appeared from Ireland, and asserted his claim to the crown. He advanced towards the throne; and, addressing himself to the house of peers, pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. He gave them a deduction of his title by descent; mentioned the

⁵ Grafton.—Holinshed.

⁶ J. de Whethamstede.—Hall.

cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved its way to sovereign power; insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to return to the right path, by doing justice to the lineal heir; then respectfully left the house, as no one desired him to seat himself upon the throne.

Such a degree of moderation is not perhaps to be paralleled in history, and was little to be expected in those violent and licentious times, from a prince who had a victorious army at his command. The peers, on their part, discovered an equal share of firmness and composure. They called in some of the most considerable members among the commons to assist in their deliberations: and, after having heard, during six days, the reasons alleged by both parties, they declared the duke's title certain and indefeasible; but, as Henry had so long enjoyed the crown without dispute or controversy, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity of king during the remainder of his life: that the administration, in the mean while, should remain with Richard, and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquiesced in this decision; and Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not well oppose it⁷.

The duke of York had a very short enjoyment of the honour of this new settlement, and never attained the envied title of king. After the battle of Northampton, queen Margaret had fled with her son into Scotland; but soon returning, she applied to the northern barons of England, and employed every argument to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation, and address, aided by caresses and promises, wrought a powerful effect on all who approached her. The admiration of her great character was

⁷ *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii.—Cotton.—Grafton.—Holinshed.—This account is contradicted in some particulars by Whethamstede, the Abbot of St. Alban's: but a single authority, however respectable, is not sufficient to overthrow general testimony.

succeeded by compassion for her helpless state. The nobility of the north entered warmly into her cause; and she soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, collected with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

Richard now hastened northward with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection. He met the queen near Wakefield; and though he found himself so much outnumbered

by the enemy, his pride would not permit him to
Dec. 30. retreat before a woman. He gave battle, and was killed in the action. His body being found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's order, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, was taken prisoner, and barbarously murdered in cool blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of the death of his father, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's; and the captive earl of Salisbury was beheaded, with several other persons of distinction^s. This inhuman practice, thus begun, was continued by both parties, from a vindictive spirit, which affected to conceal its enormity under the pretence of retaliation.

Elate with this important victory, Margaret advanced towards London, where the earl of Warwick was left with the command of the Yorkists. On the approach of the Lancastrians, that nobleman led out his army, reinforced

by a strong body of Londoners, and gave battle
A. D. 1461. to the queen at St. Alban's. Margaret was again victorious, by the treachery of one Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, and withdrew from the combat. She had the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick fly before her, and of rescuing the king her husband from captivity.

But the queen's triumph, though glorious, was of short

^s Holinshed.—Grafton.—*Contin. Hist. Croyland.*

duration, and not altogether complete. Warwick was still in possession of London, on which she made an unsuccessful attempt; and Edward earl of March, eldest son of the late duke of York, having gained an advantage over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's cross, near Hereford, approached her from the other side, and was soon in a condition to give her battle with a superior force. She was sensible of her danger, in such a situation, and retreated with her army to the North; while Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party.

This young prince, who was remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so high in public favour, that, instead of confining himself within those narrow limits which had been found by experience so prejudicial to his father's cause, he determined to assume the name and dignity of king, to insist openly on his claim, and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But a national consent, or the appearance of it at least, seemed necessary to precede so bold a measure; and for this purpose, as it might have been hazardous to convene a parliament, the populace were assembled in St. John's Fields. When the bishop of Exeter had recommended the claim of Edward, and inveighed against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster, the people were asked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king. They in-^{March 1.}stantly exclaimed, "Edward of York!" This popular election was ratified by an assembly of nobles both spiritual and temporal; and the youth was proclaimed under the title of king Edward IV.⁹

Edward, who was then in his nineteenth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havock, and devastation, as was presented before him.

9 Whethamstede, — Hall. — Stow.

He was not only bold, active, and enterprising, but his hardness of heart, and severity of character, rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody designs upon his enemies. Hence the scaffold, as well as the field, during this reign, incessantly smoked with the noblest blood of England. The animosity between the contending families had now become implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different symbols of party. The adherents of the house of Lancaster chose, as their mark of distinction, the *Red Rose*; those of York assumed the *White*: and these civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the “*Quarrel between the Two Roses.*”

Queen Margaret, as I have observed, had retired to the North. There such multitudes flocked to her standard, that she was soon furnished with an army of sixty thousand men. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened with above forty thousand, to check her progress. The two armies met at Towton, and a fierce and bloody March 29. battle ensued. The bow, then commonly used, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which terminated in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and his routed enemies were pursued as far as Tadcaster, with great bloodshed and confusion. Above thirty-six thousand men are said to have fallen in the battle and pursuit. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland ¹⁰.

I must here say a few words of the state of that country. The Scots, notwithstanding the animosity between the two nations, had never made any vigorous attempts to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose from the

¹⁰ Whethamstede.—Hall.

competition for the crown. James I., who had been long a prisoner in England, and had received his education there (as I have had occasion to notice), avoided all hostilities with foreign nations. He was more laudably employed in civilising his subjects, and training them to the salutary restraints of law and justice. After the murder of this excellent prince, whose maxims and manners were too refined for the people whom he had to govern, the minority of his son James II., and the distractions with which it was attended, prevented the Scots from molesting England. But when the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster had become incurable, unless by the extinction of one of the parties, James, who had now risen to manhood, was tempted to make use of that opportunity, in the hope of recovering those places which the English had conquered from his ancestors. He invested the castle of Roxburgh, and had provided himself with some pieces of cannon in order to forward the siege; but one of them unhappily bursting, as he was firing it, put an end to his life. His son James III. was yet a minor; and the disturbances common to minorities ensued in the government. The queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency; the house of Douglas opposed her pretensions: so that the queen of England, when she arrived in Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction than those from whom she had fled.

The Scottish council, however, agreed to assist Margaret, on her offering to deliver up to them the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of their young king. With her northern auxiliaries and some succours from France, she A. D. 1464. ventured once more to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. But, at Hexham, she was attacked by lord Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, who totally routed her motley army. All the nobles who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold¹¹.

11 Hall.—Stow.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this overthrow, was equally singular and affecting. Margaret fled with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, but was beset during the darkness of the night by robbers, who despoiled her of her jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. She made her escape, however, while they were quarreling about the booty; and wandered some time with her son in the most unfrequented thickets, nearly exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and ready to sink beneath the load of terror and affliction. In this wretched condition she was met by a robber with his sword drawn; and seeing no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the bold resolution of trusting entirely to his faith and generosity. "Approach, my friend!"—cried she, presenting to him the young prince!—"to you I commit the safety of your king's son." Struck with the singularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence reposed in him, the robber became her protector. By his favour she was concealed in the forest till she found an opportunity of escaping into Flanders; whence she passed to her father in Lorraine, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement¹². Henry was less fortunate in finding the means of escape. He lay concealed during twelve months in Lancashire; but was at last discovered, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower¹³.
A. D. 1465.

The youthful monarch, having thus triumphed over his adversaries, resigned himself freely to those pleasures and amusements which his rank, his time of life, and his natural disposition, no less turned for love than war, invited him to enjoy. The cruel and unrelenting Edward lived in the most familiar and social manner with his subjects. He was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes; and the elegance of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which even in the humblest condition would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his appli-

¹² Monstrelet, vol. iii.

¹³ Id. *ibid.*—Stow.

cations for their favour. But it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within the bounds of prudence. The amorous and ardent spirit of Edward led him into a snare, which endangered his repose and the stability of his throne.

This prince, while in the height of dissipation, had resolved to marry, in order to secure his throne by issue, as well as by alliances: and he had cast his eyes on Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France. The negotiation was committed to the earl of Warwick; the proposals were accepted, and the treaty was concluded. Meanwhile the charms of Elizabeth, the widow of sir John Grey of Groby, had inflamed the amorous heart of Edward. Her husband had been slain, fighting on the side of the house of Lancaster, and his estate confiscated; and when the king came accidentally, after a hunting party, to the house of her father, sir Richard Wideville, she threw herself at his feet, and entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and helpless children.

The sight of so much beauty in distress strongly affected the susceptible Edward. Love insensibly stole into his heart, under the disguise of compassion. He raised the fair suppliant from the ground with assurances of favour; and as his passion was increased by the winning conversation of Elizabeth, he soon found himself reduced to that posture and style of solicitation which had been so lately hers. But all his entreaties were fruitless: she obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and the young and gallant monarch found for once a virtue which his fondest assiduities could not bend. Inflamed by opposition, and filled with veneration for such honourable sentiments, Edward lost sight of all but love. He offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person, and dignity of character, seemed so well to entitle her to both: and the marriage was privately celebrated at her father's seat in Northamptonshire¹⁴.

¹⁴ Hall—Grafton.

The earl of Warwick no sooner received intelligence of the king's marriage than he returned from France, inflamed with rage and indignation, at being employed in a deceitful treaty, and kept a stranger to the intentions of the prince, who owed every thing to his friendship. The king was sensible that the earl had been ill used; but his pride, or false shame, prevented him from making an apology, or attempting to soothe the incensed peer. The advancement of the queen's relatives to offices of power and trust, to the exclusion of those of Warwick, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy, heightened his discontent, and made him resolve to ruin the king he had made.

In order to effect his purpose, the earl drew over to his interest the king's brother George, duke of Clarence, by offering him in marriage his eldest daughter, co-heiress of his immense fortune. Many of the ancient nobility envied the sudden growth of the Widevilles. They associated themselves with Warwick; who finding his own name insufficient, and being chased into France, after some unsuccessful struggles, entered into a league with queen Margaret, formerly his most determined enemy. On
 A. D. 1470. his return to England, he was joined by the whole body of Lancastrians. Both parties now prepared for a general decision by arms; but Edward, finding himself betrayed by the marquis of Montacute, and suspicious of other noblemen, who pretended to support his title, suddenly abandoned his army, and fled to Holland. Henry VI. was taken from his confinement, and placed once more upon the English throne; and a parliament, called
 Oct. 6. ed under the influence of Warwick, declared Edward IV. an usurper¹⁵.

But this revolution was only the effect of the giddiness of faction. Warwick was no sooner at the helm of government than his popularity began to decline, though he appears to have been guilty of no unpopular act; so fugitive a thing is

¹⁵ Stow.—Hall.

public favour ! The young king was emboldened to return. He landed at Ravenspur, where Henry IV. had disembarked on a similar occasion ; and although ^{A. D. 1471.} he brought with him only two thousand men, he soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick. The gates of London being opened to him, he became at once master of his capital and of the person of his rival Henry, doomed to be the perpetual sport of fortune. Without waiting the return of queen Margaret, whose presence would have been of great service to her party, the earl of Warwick found himself obliged, by the rapid progress of Edward, whom the fickle Clarence had joined with twelve thousand men, to hazard a general engagement.

The battle was fought with great obstinacy on ^{April 14.} both sides. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon acts of valour, and the contest for victory remained long undecided ; but an accident threw at last the balance on the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognisance was a sun, that of Warwick was a star with rays ; and the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, a body of the Lancastrians were attacked by their friends, and driven off the field. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour, could suggest, to repair the mistake, but in vain. He had engaged on foot that day, contrary to his usual practice, in order to show his troops that he was resolved to share every danger with them ; and now, sensible that all was lost, unless a change of fortune could be wrought by some extraordinary effort, he rushed into the midst of the engagement, and fell covered with wounds. His brother the marquis underwent the same fate ; and a great slaughter attended the pursuit¹⁶.

Queen Margaret, and her son Edward, now in his eighteenth year, landed at Weymouth the same day on which that decisive battle was fought. She had hitherto sustained

¹⁶ Grafton.—*Contin. Hist. Croyland.*—*Mémoires de Phil. de Comines*, liv. iii.

the shocks of fortune with surprising fortitude; but when she received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage failed her, and she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beau-lieu. Encouraged, however, by the appearance of the earl of Pembroke, and several other noblemen, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to assert to the last her husband's claim to the crown. She accordingly put herself once more at the head of the army, which increased in every day's march; but the ardent and expeditious Edward overtook her at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancastrians were totally routed. Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, in an imperious tone, how he dared to invade his dominions? "I came hither," replied the undaunted youth, more mindful of his high birth than his present fortune, "to revenge my father's wrongs, "and rescue my just inheritance out of your hands." Incensed at his freedom, instead of admiring the boldness of his spirit, the ungenerous Edward barbarously struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Grey taking this blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince aside, and instantly dispatched him with their daggers¹⁷. Margaret was thrown into the Tower, where her husband Henry had recently expired. It was pretended that he died of grief; but there is little doubt of his having been murdered.

The hopes of the house of Lancaster being thus extinguished, by the death of every legitimate prince of that family, Edward, who had no longer any enemy that could give him anxiety or alarm, was encouraged to resume his habits of pleasure and amusement; and he recovered, by his gay humour and his easy familiar manners, that popularity which must have been in some degree impaired by

17 Hall.—Holinshed.

the cruelties exercised upon his enemies. The example also of his jovial festivity served to abate the acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. But although Edward was fond of pleasure, he was not deaf to the calls of ambition; and a projected invasion of France, in order to recover the dominions lost under his predecessor, tended to increase his popularity.

The project of a French war has always proved the sure means of uniting the people of England, and of making the members of parliament open their purses. Edward received a considerable supply, and passed over A. D. 1475. to Calais with fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers, besides other troops. He was attended by his chief nobility, who, animated by former successes, were eager to appear once more on the theatre of honour. But their ardour was damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that their king's ally, the duke of Burgundy, did not bring the smallest assistance. Transported by his fervid spirit, that prince had carried his troops to the frontier of Germany, where they were employed in hostilities against the duke of Lorrain. Louis XI., however, alarmed at the presence of so warlike and powerful a monarch as Edward, proposed an accommodation; and a treaty was concluded, by which he agreed to pay the king of England immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, and fifty thousand crowns a-year during their joint lives¹⁸.

This treaty reflected little honour on either of the monarchs. It discovered the imprudence of the one, and the pusillanimity of the other. But as Louis made interest the sole test of his honour, he thought he had over-reached Edward, by sending him out of France on such easy terms. The most honourable article on the side of Louis was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret. He paid fifty

¹⁸ Rymer, vol. xii.—Phil. de Comines, liv. iv.

thousand crowns for her ransom: and this princess, who, in active scenes of life, had experienced so remarkably the vicissitudes of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy. Margaret seems not to have possessed the virtues or to have been subject to the weaknesses of her sex; and she was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage, of the age in which she lived.

The dark and unrelenting disposition of Richard, duke of Gloucester, the future scourge of England, began more particularly to discover itself after Edward's return from France. The duke of Clarence, by his service in deserting Warwick, had not been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had also the misfortune to offend his brother Gloucester, who secretly conspired his ruin. Several of his friends were accused and put to death, under frivolous pretences, in hopes that his resentment would betray him into measures which might furnish a ground of impeachment. He fell into the snare. Instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, he was open and loud in asserting the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king ordered him to be committed to the Tower; and he was sentenced to die by the house of peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation, for arrainging public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature. The only favour which the king granted him was the choice of his death: and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey¹⁹; a whimsical choice, which leads us to suppose that he was passionately fond of that liquor.

The remaining part of Edward's reign was distinguished by no remarkable event. He relapsed into indolence and pleasure, from which he was again roused by the prospect of a French war. While he was making preparations with

¹⁹ Fabian.—Comines.—Holinshed.

that view, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died, in the forty-first year of his age. He ^{April 9, 1483.} was a prince of greater vigour than prudence, and consequently less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they had taken place. As a man he possessed many accomplishments: his virtues were few, his vices were numerous.

He left two sons; namely, Edward V. then in his thirteenth year; and Richard duke of York, in his ninth. The duke of Gloucester, their uncle, soon took them out of the hands of their reluctant mother, who seemed to forebode their unhappy fate. He easily procured the appointment of protector; and his eye was fixed upon the throne, though not only the sons of Edward, but those of the duke of Clarence, stood between him and that pre-eminence.

An attempt to exclude or destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable right may seem equally imprudent and impracticable. But a man like Richard, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was soon carried, by his predominant passion, beyond the reach of fear or precaution. He ordered earl Rivers the queen's brother, sir Richard Grey, her son by her former husband, and sir Thomas Vaughan, to be thrown into prison, and put to death without any form of trial. His next step was to draw into his views the duke of Buckingham and lord Hastings. With one he succeeded; but the other remained firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward. His death was therefore resolved upon; and for that purpose a council was summoned in the Tower, whither Hastings, suspecting no harm, repaired without hesitation.

Richard, on taking his place at the council-board, appeared in the easiest and most facetious humour imaginable; but making a pretence soon after to retire, as if called away by urgent business, he returned knitting his brows, grinding his teeth, and exhibiting, by frequent change of countenance, symptoms of inward perturbation. A general silence

ensued, every one dreading some terrible catastrophe, and all gazing with looks of doubt and anxiety upon each other. Richard at last relieved them from their awful suspense. "What punishment do they deserve," said he, "who have conspired against my life?"—"The death of traitors!" replied lord Hastings. "These traitors," cried Richard, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and that witch Shore, his mistress, with their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their spells and incantations!" uncovering his shriveled and decayed arm. The amazement of the council was increased, it being well known that this infirmity had attended him from his childhood; and lord Hastings, who since Edward's death had engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally alarmed at such an accusation. "Certainly, my lord," said he, with some hesitation, "if they are guilty of such a crime, they deserve punishment."—"And do you," exclaimed Richard, "reply to me with your *ifs*? You know their guilt: you are yourself a traitor, and the chief abettor of the witch Shore; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine until your head be brought to me!" He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal; Hastings was seised, and instantly beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the court-yard of the Tower²⁰.

The protector then ordered lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors of whom he was suspicious, to be committed to the Tower; and, to carry on the farce of accusations, he commanded the goods of Jane Shore to be seised, and summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as beauty was her only witchcraft, and conversation her most dangerous spell, no proofs were produced against her which could be received even in that ignorant age. Her persecution, however, did not end here. Though framed for virtue, she had proved unable to resist temptation, and left her husband,

²⁰ *Contin. Hist. Croyland.*—Sir T. More's *Hist. of Edward V.*

a goldsmith in Lombard-street, to live with Edward. But, while seduced from her fidelity by this gay and amorous monarch, she still made herself respectable by her remaining virtues. She never sold her influence. Her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, waited not the solicitation of presents or the hopes of reciprocal benefit; to protect the oppressed, and relieve the indigent, were her highest pleasures. Yet all her amiable qualities could not save her from the bitterness of shame, imposed upon her by a barbarous tyrant. Richard ordered her to be tried, in the spiritual court, for adultery. The charge was too notorious to be denied. She pleaded guilty, and was condemned to do public penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's, after walking bare-footed through the city. Her subsequent life was long and wretched. She experienced in old age and poverty the ingratitude of those courtiers whom she had raised into favour. Not one of the many whom she had obliged had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief. Her frailties as a woman, amidst a court inured to the most atrocious crimes, were thought sufficient to justify all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations; and she was permitted to languish out her days in solitude and want²¹.

So many acts of violence, exercised against the relatives and friends of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his defenceless children; and, after the murder of Hastings, Richard no longer concealed his intention of usurping the crown. As a colour to his pretensions, he not only maintained, that his two nephews were illegitimate, but also his two brothers, Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence: that his mother had admitted different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth; and that he alone of all her sons, as appeared by his features, was the true offspring of the

²¹ *Contin. Hist. Croyland.*—Sir T. More.

duke of York. The place chosen for promulgating this foul and impudent assertion was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in Richard's presence. Dr. Shaw, a sycophant entirely at his devotion, was appointed to preach in St. Paul's cathedral; and having chosen for his text, from Scripture, "Bastard slips shall not thrive!" he enlarged on every circumstance that could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the duke of Clarence, and their children. He then broke out into a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester, exclaiming, "It is he who carries in his face, in his soul, the image of virtue, and the marks of a true descent!" And it was expected, as soon as the doctor had pronounced these words, that the audience would cry out, "God save king Richard!"—a salutation which would immediately have been construed into a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation. But the audience kept a profound silence, and disappointed both the protector and his preacher²².

Richard, however, had gone too far to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. Another place was chosen for a popular harangue; a place where a popular speaker never fails to persuade, and where a voice may be obtained for any measure, however atrocious or absurd. The citizens of London, with the rabble at their heels, were assembled at Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham addressed them in an eloquent harangue, setting forth the title and virtues of the protector; and "God save king Richard!" was at last returned by the mob. The sentiments of the nation were now thought sufficiently declared. The voice of the people was the voice of God! Richard was prevailed upon, though with seeming reluctance, to accept the crown; but not before a party of the lords and commons had invited him to assume the sovereignty, on pretence of the illegality of his brother's marriage with

22 Sir T. More.

Elizabeth, as a former wife (lady Eleanor Butler) was at that time living, and of the incapacity to which the attainder of the duke of Clarence subjected his children.

This farce was soon followed by a scene truly tragical—the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but that gentleman refused to bear any part in the infamous office. The usurper then sent for sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience, and the government of the Tower was given him for one night. He chose three associates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber where the princes were sleeping. The ruffians smothered them with bolsters and pillows, and afterwards showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stair-case, under a heap of stones²³. These circumstances were confessed by the perpetrators in the following reign.

²³ Sir T. More's *Hist.*—A bold attempt has been made by an ingenious but whimsical writer, to invalidate the particulars of this relation, and even to bring into question the fact it tends to establish. But in answer to the *Historic Doubts* of Mr. Walpole, it will be sufficient to reply, in the words of the profound and sagacious Hume, that, from the singular magnanimity, probity, and judgement, of sir Thomas More, his narrative and evidence are beyond all exception; that the testimony of no historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight; that he may justly be esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes: for, although he was not five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the persons concerned in the principal transactions during the administration of Richard III. And it is plain from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from eye-witnesses themselves. This authority, therefore, is irresistible, and “sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts, and scruples, and objections.” (*Hist. of England*, vol. iii. note M.) All contemporary writers, both English and foreign, charge Richard, directly or indirectly, with the murder of his nephews. Comines openly accuses him of it (*Mem.* liv. vi. chap. ix.), and Fabian tells us that, as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, “King Edward V. and his brother, the duke of York, were put under surer keeping in the Tower, in such wise that they never after came abroad.” (*Chron.* 225.) Comines supports his accusation with a

Richard, after these cruelties, endeavoured to gain by favours those who, he thought, could give stability to his throne. Several noblemen received new honours; and lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. But Richard's danger arose from a quarter where he least expected it. The duke of Buckingham did not think himself sufficiently rewarded for his services in promoting the usurpation: he observed the general detestation of Richard; and, by the advice of Morton, bishop of Ely, he turned his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, then resident in Bretagne, as the only person capable of freeing the nation from the tyranny under which it groaned.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was grandson of sir Owen Tudor, and Catharine of France. By his mother he was descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and was the only remaining branch of that family which had so long contended for the crown. In order to strengthen his interest, a match was concerted between him and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Money was sent over to him, for the purpose of levying foreign troops; and the queen-dowager promised to join him, on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family.

But so extensive a conspiracy, though laid on the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, could not escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against him. The duke, unable to resist the force of Richard, was obliged to seek safety in retreat; he was discovered, condemned, and executed; and the other conspirators, who had taken arms in different parts of the kingdom, desisted from their attempts. The earl of Richmond appeared with an armament on the

strong circumstance. The court of France, he tells us, was so much struck with horror at Richard's treason and usurpation, that an audience was refused to his ambassador.

coast of England; but, hearing of the fate of Buckingham, and the dispersion of his friends, he quickly retired²⁴.

Richard, thus triumphant in every quarter, and fortified by an unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his multiplied crimes, and flagrant usurpation, had hitherto induced him to decline. The parliament had no choice left but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His son Edward was created prince of Wales: and the king passed some popular laws, in order to reconcile the nation to his government. A. D. 1484.

Richard's other measures tended to the same object. His queen being now dead, he proposed, by means of a papal dispensation, to marry the princess Elizabeth, the true heiress of the crown. And, strange as it may sound in the ears of civilised persons, the queen-dowager neither scrupled to agree to this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and regarded as incestuous, nor felt any horror at the thought of marrying her daughter to the murderer of her sons and of her brother. But the earl of Richmond, alarmed at an alliance which might prove fatal to all his hopes, and encouraged by the English exiles, resolved upon a new invasion. All men of probity and honour, he was assured, were desirous of preventing the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. In consequence of these representations, he set sail with about two thousand men, and landed at Milford Haven. The Welsh who considered him as their countryman, flocked to his standard; and his cause immediately wore a favourable aspect. A. D. 1485.

Richard was alarmed on this occasion, but not intimidated, though he must have been conscious of his great unpopularity. Scarcely any nobleman was sincerely attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; and those who professed the greatest loyalty, secretly resolved to be-

²⁴ Sir T. More.—*Contin. Hist. Croyland.*

tray and abandon him. Among these, was lord Stanley, who raised a numerous body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself, his son being in the tyrant's power. And although Henry had received private assurances of Stanley's friendly intentions, the troops on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour, when they met at Bosworth, in Leicestershire.

August 23. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure had a proportional effect upon both armies; it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw those of Richard into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, now sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye across the field; and, desecring his rival at no great distance, attempted to decide the victory by a blow. He killed with his own hand sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer; and he was within reach of Henry himself, who declined not the combat, when sir William Stanley broke in between them, and surrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he still maintained the combat; and at last sunk amidst heaps of slain²⁵.—A life so infamous, it has been said by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit so glorious a death: but every man surely merits what his talents enabled him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirsty tyrant; but he was brave, and he died as a brave man should, with his sword in his hand: he was brave to the last. It would indeed have been matter of regret had he died in his bed, after disturbing so cruelly the repose of his fellow-creatures: but his death was sufficiently violent to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

This battle was entirely decisive, the king not only being slain, but his whole army routed and dispersed. The victorious troops, in a transport of joy, bestowed on their

²⁵ *Contin. Hist. Croyland.*—Stow.—Fabian.

general the appellation of king; and “ Long live Henry “ the Seventh ! ” resounded from all quarters, and was continued with repeated acclamations. Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had filled the throne above three hundred and thirty years; and thus were the civil wars extinguished which had so long desolated the kingdom.

We must now return to the history of France.

LETTER LI.

Of the Affairs of France, from the Expulsion of the English by Charles VII. to the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494.

WHILE England, my dear Philip, was convulsed by civil wars, France was increasing both in power and dominion. Most of the great fiefs were re-united to the crown; the authority of the prince was raised to such a height, as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was established, and the finances were able to support it. The means by which these changes were effected require your particular attention.

Charles VII. no sooner found himself in quiet possession of France, by the expulsion of the English, than he devoted himself to the cares of government: he endeavoured to repair the ravages of war by promoting the arts of peace, and to secure the tranquillity and good order of his kingdom by wise regulations. He established a regular army, instead of the troops required from the vassals of the crown, and levied a tax for its support. Besides this army, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it was in consequence of this exemption, otherwise peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms.

These politic measures were followed by the most im-

portant consequences. A force always at command, gave vigour to the royal authority; the possessors of fiefs being no longer called upon, had no longer any pretence for arming their followers, to disturb the peace of the state; so that the feudal polity rapidly declined in France, and Charles beheld himself at the head of the largest and best-regulated kingdom in Europe.

But all the wisdom and generosity of this great monarch could not secure to him that happiness which he endeavoured to procure for his subjects. His son Louis revolted, and not only embittered his latter days with sorrow, but brought him to an untimely grave: for, being informed that this prince intended to take him off by poison, he long abstained from all food, and literally died of hunger, that his unnatural son might not be guilty of parricide¹.

Louis XI. so much celebrated as a politician, and despised as a man, now succeeded to that crown, which he had traitorously attempted to seize, in prejudice to the best of kings and fathers. His leading object was the aggrandisement of the monarchy, by depressing the power of the nobles, and re-uniting the great fiefs to the crown. And as he knew that men of honour and character would not be concerned in attempts upon the rights and property of others, he immediately dismissed the respectable ministers who had ably and faithfully served his father, and selected from the lower classes of the people men of a disposition similar to his own—subtle, deceitful, unfeeling, and cruel. But craft may sometimes over-shoot its aim, especially when accompanied with rapacity. The nobles were alarmed; they entered into an association, and took arms to humble their oppressor. The king also took arms, and prepared to face them. A battle was fought, which decided nothing; and as Louis was more inclined to negotiate than to fight, a peace was concluded on terms advantageous to

¹ Monstrelet.—Du Tillet.—Mezeray.

the rebels, but which the perfidious tyrant never intended to fulfil. He took into favour many of those whom he had formerly disgraced; he detached from the confederacy the dukes of Bourbon and Bretagne, and prevailed upon an assembly of the states to annul those articles of the treaty which were most detrimental to his interest².

But although Louis thus artfully defeated a conspiracy that seemed to endanger his throne, his rapacity soon brought him into new troubles: he became the dupe of his own artifice, and had almost perished in his own snare. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1467. was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Charles the Bold. Charles had an antipathy against Louis; and, what more alarmed that arch-politician, knew him better than any man in Europe. Both parties assembled forces, and the fate of one was expected to be decided; when the king, who hated coming to extremities, agreed to pay the duke thirty-six thousand crowns to defray his military expenses, and appointed a personal interview at Peronne, in Picardy, then in the possession of Charles. The proposal was agreed to; and Louis went to the place of meeting accompanied only by a few domestics. By such an act of confidence he hoped to throw Charles off his guard, and take advantage, during the conferences, of that friendly temper which he had inspired; and, to forward his negotiation, he even commanded some of his emissaries to enter Liege, and persuade the inhabitants to revolt from the duke. By these arts, he thought himself sure of concluding an advan-

² By exerting all his power and address in influencing the election of the representatives, by bribing or over-awing the members, and by various changes which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Louis acquired such entire direction of the national assemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient, in protecting the most odious measures of his reign. (Phil. de Comines.) He first taught other modern princes the fatal art of becoming arbitrary, by corrupting the fountain of public liberty.

tageous treaty. He was disappointed, however, in his aim. The duke indeed received him with exterior marks of friendship and respect, and seemed highly pleased at the confidence reposed in him by an adversary; but, when intelligence arrived that the people of Liege had broken out into open rebellion at the instigation of the French, and had cut the garrison in pieces, Charles, in the first transports of his rage, ordered the king to be shut up in the castle of Peronne, and made him thoroughly sensible that he was a prisoner, at the mercy of his vassal.

In this predicament Louis had continued three days, when he again attempted to set his crooked policy at work by distributing large sums among the duke's officers. The anger of Charles subsiding, he was induced to enter into a negotiation with his prisoner, or rather to prescribe such terms as he thought proper, to a prince whose life and liberty were in his power. The most mortifying condition proposed by him was, that the king should march with him against Liege, and be active in the reduction of that place, which had revolted at his A. D. 1468. own request. Liege was reduced; and Louis, having thus fulfilled the purpose of his vassal, was permitted to depart, before the duke set fire to the town³. This affair was treated with so much ridicule at Paris, that all the magpies and jays were taught to cry, "Peronne! Peronne!" a circumstance that proved fatal to many of them; for the king, after his return, issued an edict for destroying all those talkative birds, as unnecessary remembrancers of his disgrace⁴.

The subsequent part of the reign of this monarch was one continued scene of executions, wars, and negotiations. He and his infamous ministers divided the possessions of those whom his tyranny had caused to rebel: his ministers themselves conspired against him; and the bishop

³ Phil. de Com. liv. ii. chap. vii.—xiv.

⁴ J. Troyes, *Hist. Secreté de Louis XI.*

of Verdun, and cardinal Balue, men as wicked as himself, suffered those tortures which they had invented for others. His brother Charles, who had been always a thorn in his side, was taken off by poison; the constable de St. Paul, the count of Armagnac, the dukes of Alençon and Nemours, lost their heads on the scaffold⁵.

With the ignominious but politic treaty by which Louis purchased the retreat of Edward IV., you are already acquainted. He was always engaged, either in war or negotiations, with his natural enemy, the duke of Burgundy, till the death of that prince, who fell in an ambitious and unprovoked attempt upon the liberty of the Swiss. This was a fortunate event for

A. D. 1477.

Louis. As the duke's daughter Mary was the sole heiress of his extensive dominions, the king proposed a marriage between this princess and his son Charles, then only in his seventh year. In the mean time he seized Burgundy as a male fief, and made himself master of many of the late duke's towns and fortresses by atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty⁶. This was one mode of territorial acquisition, but surely not the most likely to promote a treaty of marriage; the rapacity of this arch-politician, notwithstanding all his penetration, once more betrayed him. The princess was filled with disgust, and her Flemish subjects with detestation. By their advice, she married the archduke Maximilian⁷, son of the emperor

⁵ At the execution of the last-mentioned nobleman, the king ordered his two sons, yet infants, to be placed beneath the scaffold, that their father's blood might fall on their heads.—*Mezeray*.

⁶ *Phil. de Com. liv. v.—Du Clos, Hist. de Louis XI.*

⁷ There is reason, however, to believe, that the heiress of Burgundy was influenced in her choice, by other motives than those of policy; for we are informed by *Philip de Comines*, that, while her marriage with the dauphin was under deliberation, madame Hallouin, first lady of the bedchamber to the princess, gave it as her opinion "That there was more need of a man than a boy!" Admitting this to be the case, and the marriage with the dauphin impracticable, Louis might still have prevented the dominions of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power, by favouring the suit of the count of Angouleme, (a prince of the blood royal of France,

Frederic III. ; and hence arose new wars, which long desolated the Low-Countries, and cherished an implacable animosity between the houses of France and Austria.

A. D. 1480. Louis, however, put a stop to hostilities by a truce; and though he could not boast of his success in arms, he retained Burgundy and some other provinces which he had seized. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar, were soon after left to him by Charles count of Maine, the last prince of the house of Anjou, who died without issue. He united to the crown Roussillon and Cerdagne, under pretence of mortgage, and the county of Boulogne by purchase. Thus, amidst all his crimes, and after all his struggles and all his blunders, he saw his kingdoms much enlarged, his subjects obedient, and his government firm. But he had only a glimpse of that agreeable prospect; for he was suddenly seized with a fit of apoplexy, which threw him into a lingering illness; and he expected death with all those horrors which a life of such complicated guilt deserved. It at last overtook him; but not before he had suffered more severe tortures than any criminal punished during his reign⁸.

and father of Francis I.) towards whom the princess Mary had indicated her good will. But the rapacious disposition and intriguing spirit of the French monarch, which obscured his naturally clear and sound understanding, with his jealous dread of so highly exalting a subject, made him discourage that alliance, and pursue a line of insidious policy, which contributed, eventually, to raise up in the house of Austria a rival power that thwarted the measures, opposed the arms, and checked, during two centuries, the progress of the successors of a prince, who first united the interior force of France, and established it on such a footing as to render it formidable to the rest of Europe.

8 Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap. xii.—Du Clos.—The picture drawn by these two writers, of the last scene of this monarch's life, in contrast with his cruelties, is deeply shaded with horror. He put to death, we are told, more than four thousand persons, by different kinds of tortures, and without any form of trial. He was frequently present at their execution, in beholding which he seemed to enjoy a barbarous satisfaction or triumph. Many of the nobility were, by his order, confined in iron cages, invented by the ministers of his tyranny, and carried about like wild beasts; while others were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, with a ring of a particular construction for the feet, called the *King's Nets*. In consequence of these barbarities,

The character of Louis XI. is one of the most complicated in history. He obtained the end which he proposed by his policy, but at the expense of his peace and reputation. His life was a jumble of crimes and contradictions. Absolute without dignity; popular (because he humbled the great), without generosity; unjust by system, yet zealous for the administration of justice; living in open violation of the first principles of morals, but resigning himself to the most ridiculous superstition; the tyrant of his subjects, and the timid slave of his physicians; he debased the royalty at the same time that he strengthened it. Yet this prince, who rendered religion contemptible and royalty disgraceful, assumed the title of *Majesty* and *Most Christian*, since given to his successors, and formerly not claimed by the kings of France.

He was succeeded by his son Charles VIII., a young prince ill educated, rash, and incapable of application. By a law of Charles the Wise, the French kings were of

and a dread of future punishment, he became greatly afraid of death; and, during his illness, suspicious of every one around him, not excepting his own son, his daughter, and his son-in-law, the lord Beaujeu, afterwards duke of Bourbon; though in the two last he reposed more confidence than in all the others. After often shifting his residence and his domestics, under pretence that nature delights in change, he took up his abode at the castle of Plessiz-les-Tours, which he ordered to be encompassed with large bars of iron, in the form of a grate, with four watch-towers of iron at the four corners of the building. The grates were without the wall, on the farther side of the ditch, and went to the bottom; spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the wall; and cross-bow men were placed in the ditches and in the watch towers, to shoot at any man who dared to approach the castle till the opening of the gate. The gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down, before eight in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter. Through the day the captains were ordered to guard their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town closely besieged. Nor was this all. Every secret of medicine, every allurements of sensuality, and every sacrifice of superstition, were exhausted in order to protract the tyrant's miserable existence, and set at a distance the ills he feared. The pope sent him the vest which St. Peter wore when he said mass; the sacred phial was brought from Rheims to re-anoïnt him: and he invited a holy hermit from Calabria, at whose feet he kneeled, and whose intercession with Heaven he attempted to purchase, by building him two convents. The most beautiful country girls were procured to dance around him to the sound of music: he paid his physician, whom he feared, the enormous sum of ten thousand crowns a month; and the blood of infants is said to have been spilled with a view of softening the acrimony of his scorbutic humours.

age at the beginning of their fourteenth year. The new king had reached that age; but he was a minor by nature, long after he ceased to be so by law. Louis had wisely entrusted the government, during the youth of the king, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of great spirit and capacity. The administration, however, was disputed by the duke of Orléans, first prince of the blood (afterwards the celebrated Louis XII.), who, proving unsuccessful in his intrigues, betook himself to arms, and entered into a league with the duke of Bretagne and the archduke Maximilian. The Bretons were defeated in the battle of St. Aubin, and the duke of Orléans was taken prisoner⁹.

A. D. 1488.

The death of the Breton duke, which happened soon after this defeat, threw the affairs of the duchy into the utmost confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with final subjection. It was the only great fief which now remained disunited from the crown of France; and as the duke had died without male heirs, some antiquated claims to its dominion were revived by Charles VIII. But force is the best claim between princes: of that Charles was possessed; and the conquest of the territory seemed inevitable, unless some foreign power should strenuously interpose.

The prince to whom the distressed Bretons looked up for aid was Henry VII. of England, who was highly interested in preventing the reduction of their country, as well as bound by ties of gratitude to return that protection to the young duchess which had been generously yielded to him by her father. But the parsimonious temper of Henry, which disinclined him to warlike enterprises and expeditions, prevented him from sending them any effectual support. They therefore applied to

⁹ Henault, tome i.—Could the duke of Orléans have flattered the passion of Anne of Beaujeu, he might, if we believe Brantome, not only have escaped this misfortune, but have shared the administration.

Maximilian of Austria, now king of the Romans, (whose wife, Mary of Burgundy, had lately died,) and offered him their duchess in marriage. The proposal was readily accepted; the nuptials were celebrated by proxy; and the duchess of Bretagne assumed the august title of queen of the Romans. But this honour was all she gained by her marriage; for Maximilian, destitute of money and troops, and embarrassed by the continual revolts of the Flemings, was not able to send any succours to his consort. The French made considerable progress; yet the conquest of the duchy seemed still so distant, and accompanied with so many difficulties, that the court of France changed its measures, and, by a master-stroke in policy, astonished all Europe.

Charles VIII. had been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. Though too young for the nuptial union, she had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Engagements so solemnly formed could not easily be set aside; but the marriage of Charles with the duchess of Bretagne seemed necessary to re-annex that important fief to the crown; and, as a yet stronger motive for such alliance, the union of Maximilian with this princess seemed destructive to the grandeur, and even to the security, of the French monarchy. It was at length concluded that all inconveniences would best be obviated by the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not consummated, and the espousal of the duchess to the king of France.

The measures by which the French ministry carried this delicate scheme into execution were wise and politic. While they pressed Bretagne with all the violence of war, they secretly negotiated with persons of the greatest influence in the duchy, representing to them that the happiest event, which in their present situation could befall the Bretons, would be a peace with France, though pur-

chased by a final subjection to that monarchy. These arguments had some weight with the barons; but the grand difficulty was, how to obtain the consent of the duchess, who had fixed her affections on Maximilian. In order to subdue her obstinacy, the duke of Orléans was set at liberty; and though formerly her suitor, and favoured with her smile, he now zealously employed all his interest in favour of the king. By his advice, Charles advanced with a powerful army to Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess. Finding herself without resource, she
 A. D. 1491. opened the gates of the city, and agreed to the proffered marriage; which was soon after solemnised, and was justly considered as a most fortunate event¹⁰.

The success of Charles in this negotiation, was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He was deprived of a considerable territory which he thought he had acquired, and of an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused: he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him, after she had been treated, during seven years, as queen of France; and he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and would have rendered the tie indissoluble. The king of England had also reason to accuse himself of misconduct, with regard to this important transaction; for, although the affair terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of a superior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution and narrow politics: and, as Henry valued himself on his extensive foresight and sound judgement, the triumph obtained over him by such a youth as Charles, roused his indignation, and prompted him to seek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage had become impracticable,

¹⁰ Mezeray.—Henault.—Bacon's *Hist. of Hen. VII.*

He accordingly entered into a league with the king of the Romans, and Ferdinand of Spain, who had also interested himself in this affair: he obtained liberal supplies from his parliament, and he landed in France with one of the largest and best-appointed armies that had ^{A. D. 1492.} ever been transported from England¹¹.

But Charles and his ministers found means to divert the impending storm, by dissolving the confederacy. They drew the Spanish prince into a separate treaty, ^{A. D. 1493.} by restoring the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne. As they knew that Henry's ruling passion was the love of money, he was bought off by the treaty of Estaples, which I shall have occasion to mention in the account of his reign; and the forbearance of Maximilian was procured by the restitution of Artois and other provinces which he had ceded as the dowry of his daughter.

The king's motives for purchasing peace at so high a price were not those of indolence or timidity, but of ambition and youthful ardour. He had determined to vindicate his title to the kingdom of Naples, supposed to descend to him from the second house of Anjou, which ended in the count of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights and possessions to the crown of France. This project had long engaged the mind of Charles; but, in order to carry it effectually into execution, it was necessary to ^{A. D. 1494.} be at peace with his neighbours; and that being now secured, he set out for Italy with as little concern as if it had been a mere journey of pleasure.

But, before I speak of the success of that expedition, and the wars in which it involved Europe, several important events merit your notice; particularly the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

¹¹ Bacon's *Hist. of Hen. VII.*

LETTER LII.

Of the Progress of the Turks, and the Fall of the Greek Empire.

YOU have already seen, my dear Philip, the weakness of the empire of Constantinople at the time of the crusades: you have seen the imperial city sacked, and the government seised, by the champions of the cross. The Greeks recovered their empire from the Franks in 1261, but in a mangled and impoverished condition. It continued in the same weak state. The monastic passion seemed to have obscured the rays of common sense. Andronicus, son of Michael Palæologus, who had restored the Greek empire, allowed himself to be persuaded, that, as God was his protector, all military force was unnecessary; and the superstitious Greeks, regardless of danger, employed themselves in disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ, when they should have been studying the art of war, and training themselves to military discipline. One half of the empire pretended, that the light upon Mount Tabor had been from all eternity; and the other half affirmed, that it was produced by God only for the purpose of transfiguration.

In the mean time, the Turks, whose force had been broken by the Mogul Tartars, were strengthening themselves near the sea of Marmora, and soon over-ran Thrace. Othman, from whom the present soltans are descended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its establishment, erected a principality in Asia Minor, in the year 1300; and, having taken Prusa in Bithynia, near the close of his reign, he there fixed the early seat of the Turkish empire. His son Orkhan extended his territories at the expense of the Greeks, who were exposed to constant danger from the progress of the barbarian infidels. The emperor John Palæologus, after having in vain implored succours in Italy, and hum-

bled himself at the feet of the pope, was obliged to conclude a shameful treaty with Amurath or Morad, the son of Or-khan, whose tributary he consented to become. The Turkish army had entered Europe, taken the city of Adrianople, and marched into the heart of Thrace, before the return of the emperor from Italy¹.

Morad first gave to the janisaries that form under which they at present subsist. In order to create a body of devoted troops that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity, the soltan commanded his officers to seise annually, as the imperial property, the third part of the young males taken in war. After being instructed in the Mohammedan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and trained to warlike exercise, these youths were formed into regular bands, distinguished by the name of *janisaries* (*yenghi-sheri*) or new soldiers. And, as every sentiment which enthusiasm could inspire, and every mark of honour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a sense of their own pre-eminence, the janisaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies. By their valour, Morad defeated, on the plains of Cassova, the united forces of the Walachians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, and Triballians, under the conduct of Lascaris, prince of Servia; but, walking carelessly over the field of victory, he was assassinated by a Christian soldier, who had concealed himself among the slain. He was succeeded by his son Bajazet or Ba-yezid, surnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, on account of the rapidity of his conquests².

The Greeks, though surrounded by such dangerous enemies, and though their empire was almost reduced to the boundaries of Constantinople, were not more united among themselves than formerly. Discord even reigned in the imperial family. John Palæologus had condemned his son An-

¹ Chalcond. *Annal. Turc.*

² Cantemir, *Hist. Oth. Emp.*

dronicus to lose his eyes: Andronicus revolted, and, by the assistance of the Genoese, who were masters of the commerce, and even part of the suburbs, of Constantinople, he threw his father and uncle into prison. The latter recovered his liberty, seized the throne, and built a citadel in order to obstruct the designs of the Turks; but the fierce and arbitrary Ba-yezid ordered him to demolish his works—and the works were demolished³!—What but destruction could be expected to befall a people, whose timidity induced them to overturn the very column of their security?

In the mean time, the progress of the Turks in Europe alarming the Christian princes, the flower of the French nobility took arms at the time when Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, had the chief sway in France, and followed the call of his son John the Fearless, count of Nevers. The main army (which consisted of about eighty thousand men, of different nations) was commanded by Sigismund, king of Hungary, afterwards emperor of Germany. The Christians besieged Nicopolis, upon the Danube. Ba-yezid came to relieve it. He examined the disposition of his enemies: he tried their spirit by skirmishes, and found that they had courage, but wanted conduct: he drew them into an ambuscade, and gained a complete victory over them.

A. D. 1396.

He has been justly blamed for massacring his prisoners; but it ought to be remembered that the French had shown him the example, by putting to death all the Turks whom they had seized before the battle⁴.

Constantinople was immediately threatened by the conqueror. But Manuel Palæologus purchased a seeming peace, by submitting to an annual tribute of six hundred pieces of gold; by obliging himself to build a mosque, and receive into the city a *cadi*, or judge, to decide the differences among the Mohammedans who had settled there on account of trade. Perceiving, however, a new storm arising, he withdrew, and went to several of the European courts,

3 Ducas.

4 Cantemir, *Hist. Oth. Emp.*

to seek assistance; but he could procure none. Few princes indeed were in a condition to defend him, almost all Christendom being involved in civil wars. The Turks, meanwhile, had laid siege to Constantinople, and its ruin seemed inevitable; when the fatal blow was diverted for a time, by one of those great events that fill the world with confusion.

The dominions of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghiz Khan and his immediate successors, extended (as we have had occasion to see) from the frontiers of Russia to India and China. Timour, commonly called Tamerlane, one of the princes of those Tartars, and a descendant of Genghiz Khan by the female line, though born without dominions (in the ancient Sogdiana, at present the country of the Usbecs), subdued almost as great an extent of territory as his victorious ancestor; and, in the sweep of his conquests, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. He had subjected Great Tartary, Persia, India, and Syria, when the Greek emperor, and five Moslem princes whom the soltan had stripped of their dominions, invited him into Asia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Ba-yezid.

Timour was pleased with the opportunity of extending his conquests and his renown: but, as he had still some respect for the laws of nations, he sent ambassadors to the Turkish despot before he commenced hostilities; requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to those princes whom he had deprived of their territories. The haughty soltan received these proposals with the highest rage and indignation. He relinquished his enterprise, and prepared to face his rival. Timour continued his march, denouncing vengeance. They met near June 23,
Ancyra; and a great and terrible battle ensued. 1402.
The dispute was long and obstinate; but fortune at length declared for Timour. Ba-yezid himself was taken prisoner, and had the affliction to see one of his sons fall by his side, and the mortification to find another the companion of his

chains. They were treated with great humanity by the victor, notwithstanding the vulgar story of the iron cage, in which the captive soltan is said to have been confined⁵.

The Tartarian conqueror now took Prusa, pillaged Nice, ravaged all the country as far as the Thracian Bosphorus, and took Smyrna by assault, after one of the most memorable sieges recorded in history. Every place either yielded to the terror of his name or the force of his arms. He soon, however, abandoned his acquisitions in Asia Minor, which he found it would be difficult to preserve against so brave a people as the Turks, and went to secure those conquests which were more likely to prove durable.

Manuel Palæologus, thinking the Turkish power entirely broken, destroyed the mosque in Constantinople, and retook several places in its neighbourhood. The civil wars which arose between the sons of Ba-yezid, after the death of their father, encouraged Manuel in his ill-founded security. But the Greeks were in time made sensible of their mistake. On the death of Mohammed I. (who had de-throned and put to death his brother Mousa) his
A. D. 1421. son Morad II. invested Constantinople. He raised the siege, to quell the revolt of his brother Mustapha; he took Thessalonica, and returned to the imperial city, which was in greater danger than ever. The emperor Manuel had died in the habit of a monk; and his successor, John VII., threw himself into the arms of the Latins. He hoped to procure assistance from the West, by uniting the Greek and Roman churches; but he only gained by this scheme the hatred of his subjects. They considered him, and the bishops of his train, who had assisted at
A. D. 1439. the council of Florence, as no better than infidels. The bishops were obliged to retract their opinions; and John was much less zealous for the proposed union, when he found that it would not answer his purpose⁶.

⁵ Sherifeddin, *Hist. de Timur-Bec.*—Cantemir, *Hist. Oth. Emp.*

⁶ *Æn. Sylv. Europ.*—Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii.—Besides acknowledging

The Turks, in the mean time, were happily diverted from Constantinople by their wars in Hungary; where Morad found an antagonist worthy of himself, in the celebrated John Huniades, vaivode of Transylvania, of whose exploits I have already taken notice. This great commander, having met with success over the soltan, had constrained him to sue for peace. Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, accordingly concluded with him a solemn truce of ten years; to which the one swore upon the Koran, the other upon the Gospels: and the soltan, weary of the toils of empire, resigned the sceptre to his son. But an atrocious perfidy, disgraceful to the Christian name, obliged him to resume it, to the confusion of his enemies.

The majority of the Ottoman troops, reposing on the faith of the treaty, which they religiously observed, had retired into Asia. This seemed a very favourable opportunity to attack their countrymen in Europe: and cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man of a violent and deceitful character, who had distinguished himself in a crusade against the Hussites, persuaded Ladislaus that the treaty with the Turks was not obligatory, as it had been concluded without the consent of his holiness; and that it not only might, but ought to be violated. The pope confirmed this opinion; ordered the truce to be broken, and released Ladislaus from his oath. He thus followed the established usage of the church of Rome, and acted in conformity with the maxim, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," and consequently not with infidels: one of the most pernicious doctrines ever devised by superstition; a doctrine which not only contradicts the first principles of reason and conscience, but which, if carried

that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church, the Greek emperor and his bishops were obliged to admit, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father, and that departed souls are purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their introduction to the presence, or participation of the vision, of the Deity.

into practice, must destroy all moral and political order. It would authorise enemies to sport even with oaths; put an end to public faith; dissolve the links of society; and substitute robbery and bloodshed for the laws of nations and the ties of duty.

The arguments of the pope and his legate, however, prevailed. All the Polish and Hungarian chiefs, except the brave Huniades, suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent; and Ladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and influenced by false principles, invaded the soltan's territories. The Turks, enraged at such a breach of faith, breathed nothing but vengeance. The janisaries went in a body to urge Morad to quit his retreat, and put himself at their head, his son being yet young and inexperienced. He consented, and marched in quest of the Christian army, which he found encamped near Nov. 10. Varna, in Moldavia. He had provided himself with a copy of the treaty which had been so solemnly sworn to, and so shamefully violated: he held it up in the height of the engagement, when he found the vigour of his troops beginning to slacken, appealing to God, as a witness of the perjury of the Christians, and beseeching him to avenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. Perjury for once received its just reward. The Christians were defeated with great slaughter, after an obstinate resistance. Ladislaus fell, with his sword in his hand, covered with wounds: cardinal Julian sunk by his side; and ten thousand of his subjects, who guarded their monarch, covered with their dead bodies nearly the same ground on which they were drawn up⁷. Morad, thus victorious, resigned once more the rod of empire—what a rare example of philosophy in a Turk!—and was again induced to resume it.

The person who drew him a second time from his retreat was George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, the son of a

⁷ Mat. Michov. lib. iv.—Fulstin. lib. xiv.—Cantemir.

prince of Albania or Epirus. This young hero had been delivered as a hostage on the subjection of his father's kingdom; had been educated in the Turkish court, and had risen into favour with Morad by his valour and talents. But he still cherished the idea of becoming one day the deliverer of his country: and an opportunity at last presented itself. He had been sent into Servia with a military force, when he heard of his father's death; and as he understood that a secretary of the Ottoman court was to pass near his camp, he caused him to be loaded with chains, and compelled him to sign and put the soltan's signet to an order, requiring the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, to deliver up to him the town and citadel. This false order had the desired effect. The place was given up, and Scanderbeg massacred the Turkish garrison. The Albanians crowded to his standard; and he made so good an use of the mountainous situation of his country, as to defy all the efforts of the soltan's power⁸.

Morad was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Mohammed II., justly surnamed the Great, who had been formerly crowned, and obeyed as emperor, A D. 1451. but had resigned to his parent the reins of government, on account of the exigencies of the times—an example of moderation no less extraordinary than the philosophy of the father in retiring from the honours of empire in the hour of victory, especially as the son was of a fiery and ambitious temper. The character of this prince has been very differently represented by historians. Voltaire is his professed panegyrist; and in order to free him from the imputation of certain cruel and ferocious actions, has combated the most incontestable facts. Other writers have gone equal lengths to degrade him: he has been pronounced a rude and ignorant barbarian, as well as a scholar and a patron of the liberal arts. But they who would do justice to his character must trace it by other

⁸ Cantemir.—Sir Paul Ricaut.

lineaments. He was both a scholar and a barbarian: he combined the knowledge of the one with the ferocity of the other. He was enlightened but not civilised. With some taste for the liberal arts, or at least some sense of the value of their productions, he entertained a general contempt for their professors: the Turk always predominated. He was a warrior and a politician, in the most extensive meaning of the words: as such he was truly great: and whether we consider the conception or the execution of his enterprises, we shall find reason to admire the extent of his understanding and the vigour of his spirit. His first enterprise was against Constantinople, which had so long been the object of the ambition of his ancestors.

The Greek emperor, John VII., had been succeeded in 1445 by his son Constantine. This prince possessed courage, but little capacity. He took care, however, to strengthen the fortifications of his capital, as soon as he was apprised of the design of Mohammed; and he made many advances to the soltan, to induce him to lay aside his project; but nothing could divert him from his purpose. If he sometimes seemed to listen to terms of accommodation, it was only that he might lull his enemies into security, while he carried on his military preparations with unremitting assiduity. At last, he cut off all communication with the city, both by sea and land, and laid siege to it in
A. D. 1453. form. Though the garrison was but small, the walls were defended with great gallantry on the land side, the Greeks being actuated by the courage of despair; and the Turks were incapable of annoying them from the sea, by reason of large chains and booms which secured the mouth of the harbour. But nothing is impossible to human genius, when aided by the necessary force. In order to overcome this difficulty, the besiegers dug a passage of near two leagues over land, in the form of a ship's cradle, lined with planks; and with the aid of engines, they drew up, in the space of one night, eighty

galleys, and seventy vessels of smaller size, out of the water, upon these planks, and launched them all into the harbour⁹. What must have been the surprise of the besieged, in the morning, to behold a large fleet riding in their port, and yet all their booms secure!

The city was now assailed on all sides. Mohammed caused a bridge of boats to be built across the harbour, upon which he raised a battery of cannon. And here I cannot help remarking, that the artillery of the Greeks must have been very indifferent, or very ill served; otherwise this bridge could never have been built. The cannon employed by the Turks are said to have been of an enormous size, some of them carrying balls of one hundred pounds weight. With these great guns they beat down the walls faster than the besieged could repair them: a body of janisaries entered the breach, with their prince at their head, while another broke in at a sally-port. Constantine, whose valour merited a more distinguished fate, was slain among the crowd, and his capital became a prey to the conqueror. For the honour of Mohammed II. I must observe, that few of the garrison were put to the sword. He arrested the fury of the troops, and granted conditions to the inhabitants, who had sent deputies to implore his clemency¹⁰. They were allowed to retain a magistrate for the decision of their civil differences, a patriarch, and the public exercise of their religion. These indulgences the Greeks still enjoy, under certain limitations.

Here I might remark, as has been remarked by graver historians, that Constantinople (built by the first Christian emperor, whose name it bears) submitted to the Turks under a Constantine, and Rome to the Barbarians under an Augustus!—but such an accidental coincidence of names and of circumstances is more worthy of the notice of a monkish chronologist than an observer of human nature.

Mohammed continued to push his conquests on all sides,

9 Ducas.—Cantemir.

10 Cantemir.—Ricaud.

and with unvaried fortune, till he received a check
 A. D. 1456. from John Huniades, who obliged him to raise the
 siege of Belgrade. The knights of Rhodes opposed him in
 their island with like success. But he subdued Albania,
 after the death of Scanderbeg; and Trebisond, where the
 family of Comnenus had preserved an image of the Greek
 empire. He carried his arms on the other side as far as
 Trieste; took Otranto, and fixed the Mohammedan power
 in the heart of Calabria¹¹. He threatened Venice, and
 Rome itself, with subjection; hoping to make himself
 master of Italy, as well as of Greece; and then the tri-
 umph of barbarism would have been complete. All Europe
 trembled at his motions; and not without cause; for Europe,
 unless united, must have sunk beneath his sword. But

May 4, 1481. death freed Christendom from this terrible con-
 queror, at an age when he might have executed
 the greatest enterprises, being only in his fifty-second year.
 His descendants still possess the finest country in our quar-
 ter of the globe. Greece, where civil liberty was first known,
 and where arts and letters were first brought to perfection,
 continues to be the seat of ignorance, barbarism, and des-
 potism.

LETTER LIII.

*History of Spain, from the Death of Peter the Cruel, in 1369,
 to the Conquest of Granada, by Ferdinand and Isabella,
 in 1492.*

PETER the Cruel, my dear Philip, after being deserted
 by the Black Prince, on account of his perfidy, was sub-
 A. D. 1369. dued and slain, as you have already seen, by
 his illegitimate brother Henry, who succeeded to
 the throne of Castile. Nothing very remarkable occur-
 red during the reign of this prince, or under his descend-

¹¹ Cantemir.—Ricaut.

ants, for almost a century. They were engaged in frequent wars with their neighbours, the kings of Portugal and Arragon. But these wars were seldom decisive; so that Spain continued in nearly the same situation, from the death of Peter till the reign of Henry IV. of Castile, whose debaucheries roused the resentment of his nobles, and produced a most singular insurrection, which led to the aggrandisement of the Spanish monarchy.

This prince, who was surnamed the Impotent, A. D. 1454. was totally enervated by his pleasures; and every thing in his court conspired to set the Castilians an example of the most depraved manners and most abandoned licentiousness. The queen, a daughter of Portugal, lived as openly with her parasites and her gallants as the king did with his minions and his mistresses. Pleasure was the only object, and effeminacy the only recommendation to favour. When the affairs of the state had at length fallen into the greatest disorder, the nobles, with the archbishop of Toledo at their head, formed a combination against the weak and flagitious government of Henry, and arrogated to themselves, as one of the privileges of their order, the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign, which they executed in a manner unprecedented in history.

The mal-content nobility met at Avila. A spacious theatre was erected in a plain near the June 5, 1465. town; an image, representing the king, was seated on the throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against Henry was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced, in presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the figure; at the close of the second, the condè de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the condè de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; and Lopez de Zuniga,

when the last article had been adduced, gave the image a blow which hurled it from the throne. At the same moment, Alphonso, Henry's brother, a boy about twelve years of age, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon¹.

This extraordinary proceeding was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease till some time after the death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party then continued to carry on war in the name of Isabella, the king's sister; and Henry could not extricate himself out of these troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, till he had signed one of the most humiliating treaties ever extorted from a sovereign. He acknowledged Isabella as the only lawful heiress of his kingdom, in prejudice to the rights of his reputed daughter Joan, whom the mal-contents affirmed to be the offspring of an adulterous commerce between the queen and Bertrand de la Cueva². At such a price did this weak prince purchase from his subjects the empty title of king!

The grand object of the mal-content party now was, the marriage of the infanta Isabella; upon which, it was evident, the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must in a great measure depend. The alliance was sought by several princes. The king of Portugal offered her his hand; the king of France demanded her for his brother, and the king of Arragon for his son Ferdinand. A. D. 1469. The mal-contents wisely preferred the Arragonian prince, and Isabella prudently made the same choice. Articles were drawn up; and the ceremony of marriage was privately performed by the archbishop of Toledo³.

Henry was enraged at this alliance, which he foresaw would utterly ruin his authority, by furnishing his rebellious subjects with the support of a powerful neighbouring prince. He disinherited his sister, and established the right of his daughter. A furious civil war desolated the king-

¹ Mariana, lib. xxiii.—Diego Henriquez del Castillo.

² Rod. Sanctii *Hist. Hisp.—Chron. del Rey Don Henric.*

³ Zurit. *Annal. Arrag.*—Mariana, ubi sup.

dom ; but peace was at length restored. Henry was reconciled to his sister and to Ferdinand, though it does not appear that he ever renewed Isabella's right to the succession ; for he affirmed, in his last moments, that he believed Joan to be his own daughter. The queen swore to the same effect ; and Henry left a testamentary deed, transmitting the crown to this princess, who was proclaimed queen of Castile, at Placentia. But the superior fortune, and superior arms of Ferdinand and Isabella prevailed : the king of Portugal was obliged to abandon his niece and intended bride, after many ineffectual struggles and several years of war. Joan sunk into a convent, when she hoped to ascend a throne ; and the death of Ferdinand's father, which happened about this time, added the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily to those of Leon and Castile⁴.

Ferdinand and Isabella were persons of great prudence, and, as sovereigns, highly worthy of imitation ; but they do not seem to have merited all the praises bestowed upon them by the Spanish historians. They did not live like man and wife, having all things in common under the direction of the husband, but like two princes in close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other ; were seldom in company together ; had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of one another in the administration. But they were inseparably united in their common interests ; always acting upon the same principles, and forwarding the same ends. Their first object was the regulation of their government, which the civil wars had thrown into extreme disorder. Rapine, outrage, and murder, had become so common, as not only to interrupt commerce, but in a great measure to suspend all intercourse between one place and another. These evils the joint-sovereigns suppressed by their wise policy, at the same time that they extended the royal prerogative.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the cities

⁴ *Zurit. Annal. Arrag.*—Marian. lib. xxiv.

in the kingdom of Arragon, and, after their example, those in Castile, had formed themselves into an association, distinguished by the appellation of the *Santa Hermandad*, or the Holy Brotherhood. They exacted a certain contribution from each of the associated towns: they levied a considerable body of troops, in order to protect travellers, and pursue criminals; and they appointed judges, who opened courts in various parts of the kingdom. All who were guilty of murder, robbery, or any act that violated the public peace, and were seized by the troops of the Brotherhood, were carried before the judges, who, without paying any regard to the exclusive jurisdiction which the lord of the place might claim, who was generally the author or abettor of the injustice, tried and condemned the criminals. The nobles often murmured against this salutary institution; they complained of it as an encroachment on one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to procure its abolition. But Ferdinand and Isabella, sensible of the beneficial effects of the Brotherhood, not only in regard to the policy of their kingdoms, but in its tendency to abridge, and by degrees to annihilate, the territorial jurisdiction of the nobility, countenanced the institution upon every occasion, and supported it with the whole force of royal authority. By these means the prompt and impartial administration of justice was restored, and with it tranquillity and order returned⁵.

But, while their *Catholic Majesties* (for such was the title conferred on them by the pope) were giving vigour to civil government, and securing their subjects from violence and oppression, an intemperate zeal led them
A. D. 1480. to establish an ecclesiastical tribunal, equally contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and the mild spirit of the Gospel—I mean the court of Inquisition; which decides upon the honour, fortune, and even life of the unhappy wretch who happens to fall under the suspicion of heresy, or a contempt of any

⁵ Zurita.—Mariana.

thing prescribed by the church, without his being confronted with his accusers, or enjoying the privileges of defence or appeal. Six thousand persons are said to have been burned by order of this infamous tribunal, within four years after the appointment of Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general; and upwards of one hundred thousand felt its fury. The same zeal, however, which led to the depopulation, and the barbarising of Castile and Arragon, led also to their aggrandisement.

The kingdom of Granada now alone remained, of all the Mohammedan possessions in Spain. Princes equally zealous and ambitious, like Ferdinand and Isabella, were naturally disposed to turn their eyes on that fertile territory, and to think of increasing their dominions by expelling the enemies of Christianity, and extending its doctrines. Every thing conspired to favour their project. The Moorish kingdom was a prey to civil wars, when Ferdinand, having obtained a papal bull authorising a crusade, put himself at the head of his troops, and entered Granada. He continued the war A. D. 1483. with rapid success. Isabella attended him in several expeditions; and they were both in great danger at the siege of Malaga, an important city, which was defended with great courage, and taken in 1487. Baça was reduced in 1489, after the loss of twenty thousand men by disease and the sword. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up by the Moorish king Al-Zagal, who had at first dethroned his brother Aboul-Hassan, and had afterwards been chased from his capital by his nephew Abou-Abdallah. That prince, so blind or so base, as to confound the ruin of his country with the humiliation of his rival, engaged in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, after reducing every other place of eminence, undertook the siege of Granada. Abou-Abdallah made a gallant defence; but all communication with the country being cut off, and all hopes of relief at an end, he capitulated, after a siege of

A. D. 1492. eight months, on condition that he should enjoy the revenue of certain places in the fertile mountains of Alpujarras; that the inhabitants should retain the undisturbed possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances; the use of their laws, and the free exercise of their religion⁶.

Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after it had continued above seven hundred and seventy-seven years. They introduced the arts and sciences into Europe, at a time when it was lost in darkness; they possessed many of the luxuries of life, when they were not even known among the neighbouring nations; and they seem to have given birth to that romantic gallantry which so eminently prevailed in the ages of chivalry, and which, blending itself with the veneration of the Gothic nations for the softer sex, still particularly distinguishes modern from ancient manners. But the Moors, notwithstanding these advantages, and the eulogies bestowed upon them by Voltaire and other writers, appear to have been always destitute of the essential qualities of a polished people—humanity, generosity, and mutual sympathy.

The conquest of Granada was followed by the expulsion, or rather the pillage and banishment, of the Jews, who had engrossed the wealth and commerce of Spain. The inquisition exhausted its rage against these unhappy people, many of whom pretended to embrace Christianity, in order to preserve their property. About the same time, their catholic majesties concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter Joan with his son Philip, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands. About this time also the contract was concluded with Christopher Columbus, for the discovery of *new* countries; and the territories of Roussillon and Cerdagne were agreed to be restored by Charles VIII. of France, before his expedition into Italy.

⁶ Cardonne, tome iii.—Fran. Bermud. de Pedraza, *Antiq. Excel. de Granad.*—Mariana, lib. xxv.

But the consequences of these measures, and the interest which Ferdinand took in the Italian wars, must form the subject of future Letters.

I should now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of European history; but, for the sake of perspicuity, I shall first make you acquainted with the affairs of England under Henry VII., as his son Henry VIII. had a considerable share in the continental transactions, and derived his importance chiefly from the prudent policy of his father.

LETTER LIV.

View of the Reign of Henry VII.

HENRY VII., the first prince of the house of Tudor, ascended the throne of England in consequence of the victory at Bosworth, and the death of Richard III. His title was confirmed by the parliament: his ^{A. D. 1485.} merit was known; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, and seemed to give great satisfaction to the public. He had therefore every reason to promise himself peace and security.

But Henry, although in many respects a prudent and politic prince, had unhappily imbibed a violent antipathy to the adherents of the house of York, which no time or experience could ever efface. Instead of embracing the present opportunity of abolishing party distinctions, by bestowing his smile indiscriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities that belong to the head of a faction. To exalt the Lancastrian party, and depress the retainers of the house of York, were still the favourite ideas of his mind. The house of York was generally beloved by the nation; and, for that very reason, it became every day more the object of Henry's hatred and aversion: hence his amiable consort was treated

with contempt, his government grew unpopular, and his reign was filled with plots and insurrections.

The first insurrection was headed by the viscount Lovel, sir Humphry Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, who had all fought in the cause of Richard, and against whom, among many others, the parliament, at Henry's instigation, had passed an act of attainder; though it is not conceivable, how men could be guilty of treason for supporting the king in possession, against the earl of Richmond, to whom they had never sworn allegiance, and who had not then assumed even the title of king. Enraged at such an

instance of severity, they left their sanctuary at A. D. 1486. Colchester, and flew to arms. The king sent the duke of Bedford against them with a chosen body of troops, and a promise of pardon to such as would return to their duty. Lovel, doubting the fidelity of his followers, privately withdrew, and fled to Flanders. His army submitted to the king's clemency. The two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but, as it was found that this church had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn, the younger obtained a pardon¹.

This rebellion was immediately followed by another, of a more dangerous nature, as it took firmer hold of the public discontents. Henry's jealousy had confined in the Tower Edward earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence. This unhappy prince had been formerly imprisoned in Yorkshire by the tyranny of his uncle Richard. A comparison was drawn between Henry and that cruel usurper; and as the Tower was the place where Edward's children had been murdered, a fate not more gentle was feared for Warwick. While the compassion of the nation was thus turned towards youth and innocence, exposed to oppression, a report was spread that Warwick had made his escape. As a general joy communicated itself from face to face, and many seemed desirous of joining him,

¹ Polyd. Virg. *Hist. Angl.* lib. xxvi.—Bacon's *Hist. of Henry VII.*

such an opportunity was not neglected by the enemies of Henry's government.

One Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, and a zealous partisan of the house of York, endeavoured to gratify the popular wish by holding up an impostor to the nation. For this purpose, he cast his eyes upon Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who, being endowed with understanding beyond his years, and address above his condition, seemed well calculated to personate a prince of royal extraction. Simnel was taught to assume the name and character of the earl of Warwick; and he soon appeared so perfect in many private particulars relative to that unfortunate prince, to the court of king Edward, and the royal family, that the queen-dowager was supposed to have given him a lesson. But how apt soever father Simon might find his pupil, or whatever means he might take to procure him instruction, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; he therefore determined to make trial of it first in Ireland.

That island was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of the duke of Clarence, who had resided there as lord lieutenant: and Henry had been so impolitic as to allow its government to remain in the same state in which he found it. All the officers appointed by his predecessor still retained their authority; so that Simnel no sooner presented himself to the earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman believed his tale, and embraced his cause. Other persons of rank were no less sanguine in their zeal and belief: the story diffused itself among the people of inferior condition, naturally more violent and credulous, who listened to it with still greater ardour: the pretended prince was lodged in the castle of Dublin, crowned with a diadem taken from a statue of the blessed Virgin, and publicly proclaimed king, under the appellation of Edward VI.²

² Polyd. Virg. lib. xxvi,

The king was seriously alarmed, when he received intelligence of this revolt. Though determined always to face his enemies, he scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy had been framed, and where he knew many persons of all ranks were disposed to give it countenance. After frequent consultations with his ministers, he ordered the queen-dowager to be apprehended, and confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey for life. He then caused the earl of Warwick to be taken from the Tower, led in procession through the streets of London, and exposed in St. Paul's church to public view. This expedient had its full effect in England; but in Ireland the people persisted in their revolt: and Henry had reason to think, that the attempt to disturb his government was not laid on such slight foundations as the means employed seemed to indicate.

John earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., was engaged to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, alarmed at the king's jealousy of all eminent persons of the York party, and more especially at his rigour towards Warwick, had retired into Flanders, where lord Lovel had arrived before him. He resided some time in the court of his aunt Margaret, duchess-dowager of Burgundy, who, enraged against the oppressor of her family, hired A. D. 1487. two thousand German veterans, under Martin Schwart, and sent them over, with these noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland.

The courage of the Irish was so elevated by this accession of military force, and the countenance of persons of such high rank, that they formed the bold resolution of invading England, where they believed the spirit of disaffection to be no less prevalent than in Ireland. They accordingly landed in Lancashire, and were joined by sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in that county; but the people in general, unwilling to associate with Irish and German invaders, convinced of Simnel's imposture, and kept in awe by

the king's reputation in arms, either remained inactive or gave assistance to the royal army, which was advancing against the enemy. The earl of Lincoln now found it necessary to bring the contest to a speedy decision; and Henry, emboldened by his native courage, no less than by the superiority of his numbers, intrepidly hastened to the combat. The two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, where, after an obstinate battle, the royalists fully prevailed. Lincoln, Broughton, ^{June 16.} and Schwart, perished in the field, with four thousand of their followers. Lovel is supposed to have undergone the same fate, as he was never more heard of. Simnel and his tutor were taken prisoners. Simon was committed to close custody for life: and his sacred character only could have saved him from a more severe fate. Simnel was too contemptible either to excite apprehension or resentment in Henry: he was therefore pardoned, and employed as a scullion, from which condition he was afterwards advanced to the rank of one of his majesty's falconers ³.

Henry having thus restored tranquillity to his kingdom, and security to his government, had leisure not only to regulate his domestic affairs, but also to look abroad. From Scotland, the most contiguous state, he had nothing to fear. There reigned James III., a prince of little industry and narrow genius. With him Henry concluded a treaty, when he might have demanded his crown: so truly pacific was the disposition of this monarch!—Of the continental governments I have already spoken. They were hastening to that situation in which they remained, without any very material alteration, nearly for three centuries. The balance of power began to be understood. Spain had rendered herself formidable by the union of the crowns of Arragon and Castile, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella; and these princes were employed in wresting Granada from the Moors. France, during the last fifty years, had greatly

³ Polyd. Virg.—Bacon's *Hist.*

increased in power and dominion; and she was now attempting to swallow up Bretagne. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interests, to support the independence of that duchy: the most dangerous opposition was therefore expected from this quarter. But Henry's parsimonious temper and narrow politics, as I have had occasion to mention in the history of France, prevented him from affording any effectual support to the Bretons; and, as Maximilian, to whom they afterwards applied, was unable to protect them, they were obliged to submit to the arms of Charles VIII., who prudently married the heiress of the duchy, in order to conciliate their affections.

Henry, who saw the importance of Bretagne to France, was mortified and incensed at his disappointment, and talked loudly of vengeance. The conquest of France, in his language, was an easy matter: and he set out on
 A. D. 1492. that enterprise at the head of a splendid army. The nobility, who had credulously swallowed his idle boasts, were seised with a thirst of military glory; they fondly hoped to carry their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and put the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Henry, in the mean time, had nothing less at heart than war; the gratification of his ruling passion was the only purpose of this great armament—avarice being in him a more powerful motive than either revenge or glory. Secret advances had been made toward peace, before his invasion, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. His demands were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Bretagne an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals of the invader. He engaged, by the treaty of Estaples, concluded
 Nov. 3. about a month after the English landed in France, to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thou-

sand crowns; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to the duchess of Bretagne, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV.; and he stipulated a yearly pension, to Henry and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns⁴.

Thus, as lord Bacon observes, the English monarch made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. But although the treaty of Estaples contributed to fill the coffers of Henry, it did very little honour to England; as it put a shameful seal to the subjection of Bretagne, which, properly supported, would have been a continual thorn in the side of France, and might have prevented that monarchy from ever becoming formidable to the liberties of Europe. The people however agreed, that the king had fulfilled the promise which he made to the parliament, when he said that he would make the war maintain itself; and all ranks of men seemed now to be satisfied with his government. He therefore flattered himself with the hope of durable peace and tranquillity. His authority was fully established at home, and his reputation for policy was great abroad: the hopes of all pretendérs to the throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue which it had brought him: yet, at this height of his prosperity, his indefatigable enemies raised against him an adversary, who long gave him inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The old duchess of Burgundy, not discouraged by the ill success of the former conspiracy, resolved to play off another impostor upon Henry. With that view she caused a report to be propagated, that her nephew, Richard duke of York, had made his escape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered, and that he was still alive. This rumour being greedily received, her next care was to provide a young man proper to personate the unfortunate prince: and for that purpose she fixed upon Perkin Warbeck, the son of an obscure Fleming. The youth was born in England, and, by

⁴ Polyd. Virg.—Bacon's *Hist.*

some, believed to be the son of Edward IV. on account of the resemblance observable between him and that amorous monarch. A few years after his birth, he was taken by his real father to Tournay ; where he did not long remain, but, by different accidents, was carried from place to place ; so that his parentage and past life became thereby unknown and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius ; and he seemed to be well qualified to assume any character. In this light he had been represented to Edward's intriguing sister, who immediately desired to see him, and found that he exceeded her most sanguine expectations ; so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of dignity in his whole demeanour, and good sense in his conversation !

A young man of such quick apprehension soon imbibed the necessary instructions for personating the duke of York ; but, as some time was required, before every thing requisite could be prepared for this enterprise, Margaret sent him into Portugal, where he remained a year in obscurity. He then repaired to Ireland, and, assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, found many partisans among the ignorant and credulous inhabitants. The news of this phenomenon reached France ; and Charles VIII., prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, sent Perkin an invitation to visit him at Paris. The impostor repaired to the court of France, where he was received with all the marks of respect due to the duke of York. The whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. From France, the tide of admiration and credulity diffused itself into England ; and sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and many other gentlemen, went over to Paris, to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes⁵.

⁵ Bacon's *Hist.*

Perkin, however, was dismissed from France, in consequence of the peace of Estaples. He now retired to the duchess of Burgundy, craving her protection, and offering to exhibit before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. Margaret affected ignorance of his pretensions, and publicly desired to learn his reasons for assuming the name which he bore. She put many particular questions to him, seemed astonished at his answers, and at last burst into joy and admiration of his wonderful deliverance, embracing him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She assigned him an equipage suitable to his pretended birth, appointed him a guard, engaged every one to pay court to him, and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of *The White Rose of England*.

A. D. 1493.

The Flemings, swayed by Margaret's authority, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent; and, in England, not only the populace, ever fond of novelty and desirous of change, but men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at the severity of Henry's government, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant. Their passions and prejudices inclined them to give credit to Perkin's pretensions: a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the Flemish and English mal-contents⁶.

Henry proceeded resolutely, though deliberately, in counter-working the designs of his enemies. His first object was, to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, which he was in a great measure able to do, two of the persons concerned in the murder being yet alive, and agreeing in the same story. But he found it more difficult to discover who the extraordinary person was that so boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. For this purpose, he dispersed his spies over all Flanders and England: he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced

⁶ Polyd. Virg.—Bacon's *Hist.*

Perkin's party: he bribed the young man's servants, and even his confessor. By these means he at length traced the whole plan of the conspiracy, and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation, of the pretended duke of York.

The impostor's story was immediately published, for the satisfaction of the nation; and as soon as Henry's projects were matured, he made the conspirators feel the weight of his resentment. Lord Fitzwalter and sir Simon Montfort were arrested, convicted of treason for promising to aid Perkin, and quickly beheaded. Sir William Stanley, the high chamberlain, was also apprehended; but great and more solemn preparations were thought necessary for the trial of a man whose authority in the nation, and whose domestic intimacy with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Henry, however, was determined to take vengeance on all his enemies. He therefore persuaded sir Robert Clifford, who had learned the youth's secrets, to accuse Stanley of abetting the schemes of the conspirators; and, after the lapse of six weeks (a delay which was interposed in order to show the king's lenity and coolness), the chamberlain was brought to his trial, condemned, and put to death⁷.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the minds of the people, and struck Perkin's adherents with the deepest dismay, as they found that all their secrets were betrayed. The jealous and severe temper of the king kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. A general distrust took place: all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among particular friends. Henry, not very eager to dispel those terrors, or gain the affections of the nation, continued to indulge his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice, in order to extort fines and compositions from his subjects. His government was in itself highly oppres-

⁷ Polyd. Virg.—Bacon's *Hist.*

sive; but it was so much the less burthensome, as he took care, like Louis XI., to restrain the tyranny of the nobles, and permitted nobody to be guilty of injustice or oppression but himself.

Perkin, finding his correspondence with the nobility cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity, and the king's authority daily gaining ground among the people, resolved to attempt something which might revive the drooping hopes of his party. With this view he collected a band of outlaws and pirates, put to sea, and appeared off the coast of Kent; but, as the inhabitants were hostile to his cause, he returned to Flanders, and afterwards made a descent upon Ireland. The affairs of that country, however, were now in so good a posture, that he there met with little success; and being weary of skulking among the wild natives, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then reigned in that kingdom. Perkin had been recommended to this prince by the king of France; and James, pleased with the address of the youth, gave him the hand of lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a young lady eminent both for beauty and virtue.

The jealousy which then subsisted between the courts of England and Scotland was a new recommendation to Perkin; so that James, who had resolved to make an inroad into England, took the impostor with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. But in this expectation he was disappointed; and, after repeated incursions, he found it expedient to conclude a truce with Henry, Perkin being privately ordered to quit the kingdom⁸.

Ireland once more afforded a retreat to the impostor; but, after a short concealment, he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish mal-contented, who had lately risen

⁸ Bacon's *Hist.*—Polyd. Virg.

in rebellion on account of an oppressive tax, and whose mutinous disposition still subsisted, notwithstanding the lenity that had been shown to them. As soon as he appeared at Bodmin he was joined by three thousand men; and, elate with this appearance of success, assumed for the first time the appellation of Richard IV. king of England. That the expectations of his followers might not be suffered to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and, as the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place.

Henry was happy to hear that the impostor was in England, and prepared with alacrity to attack him; for, as he usually said, he desired only to see his enemies. The intimidated youth immediately raised the siege of Exeter; and although his followers now amounted to the number of seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and retired to the sanctuary of Beaulieu. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf: a few of their chiefs excepted, they were dismissed with impunity. Henry was more at a loss how to proceed with regard to Perkin himself. Some advised him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state; to drag the impostor from the sanctuary, and inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity. But Henry did not think the evil so dangerous as to require such a violent remedy. He therefore employed some sagacious persons to persuade Perkin to deliver himself into the king's hands, under promise of pardon. He did so, and Henry conducted him, in a kind of mock triumph, to London.

Although the impostor's life was granted him, he was detained in custody. He escaped from his keepers, but, being retaken, was confined in the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, and en-

gaged that unfortunate prince to embrace a project for his escape, which Perkin offered to conduct, by murdering the lieutenant of the Tower. The conspiracy did not escape the king's vigilance; and Perkin, having thus rendered himself unworthy of mercy, was arraigned, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. The earl also was brought to trial and beheaded⁹.

A. D. 1499.

This violent act of tyranny, by which Henry destroyed the last prince of the male line of Plantagenet, produced great discontent among the people. They saw, with concern, an unhappy prince, to whom the privileges of his birth had long been denied, and who had even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he laboured. But these domestic discontents did not weaken the king's government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now perfectly secure, paid him greater deference and attention.

The prince whose alliance Henry valued most was Ferdinand of Spain, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. And the king of England had at last the satisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and ne-

A. D. 1501.

gotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales, and Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Arthur dying in a few months after the

A. D. 1502.

celebration of the nuptials, the king, desirous of continuing his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, obliged his second son Henry to be betrothed to the Infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth under twelve years of age could be supposed capable; but, as his father persisted in his resolution, the marriage was concluded be-

A. D. 1503.

tween the parties. It was productive of the most important consequences.

⁹ Bacon's *Hist.*—Polyd. Virg.

Another marriage was celebrated in the same year, which in the next century gave birth to great events—the union of Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, with James IV. of Scotland. When this alliance was discussed in the English council, some objected that England might, in consequence of such marriage, fall under the dominion of Scotland. “No!” replied Henry; “though Scotland should give an heir to the English crown, that kingdom will only become an accession to England:” and the event proved the justice of the observation.

The situation of Henry's affairs was now in every respect fortunate; and, uncontrolled by apprehension or opposition, he was at liberty to give full scope to his avarice, which, being increased by age, and encouraged by absolute authority, broke through all restraints of shame or justice. He found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and arbitrary views, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These vile instruments of tyranny, by their knowledge of law, were enabled to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and he supported them in all their iniquities¹⁰.

But, while Henry was enriching himself with the spoils of his oppressed people, he did not neglect the political interests of the nation. Philip, archduke of Austria, and his wife Joan, heiress of Castile, being thrown upon the English coast, on their passage to Spain, Henry entertained them with a magnificence suitable to his dignity, and at an expense by no means agreeable to his temper. But, notwithstanding so much seeming cordiality, interest in this, as in all other things, was the chief rule of his conduct. He resolved to draw some advantage from the involuntary visit paid him by his royal guests; and while he seemed only intent on displaying his hospitality, and furnishing the means of amusement, he concluded a treaty of commerce highly beneficial to England¹¹.

Henry's views did not terminate here: from the interests

¹⁰ Bacon's *Hist.*

¹¹ Rymer, vol. xiii.

of the nation he turned them to his own. Edmund, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV., being an object of royal jealousy, had retired to Flanders in disgust. The king did not neglect the present opportunity of complaining to the archduke of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied Philip, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence: but, to give you satisfaction, I will banish him from my territories."—"I expect that you will carry your complaint farther," said Henry: "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend on his submission and obedience."—"That measure," observed Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." "Then," replied Henry, "the matter is settled. I will take that dishonour upon myself, and your honour will then be safe." Philip found himself under the necessity of complying: but he first exacted a promise from Henry, that he would spare the earl's life¹².

Henry survived these transactions about three years; but nothing memorable occurred in the remaining part of his reign. His declining health made him turn his thoughts towards that future state of existence which the severities of his government had rendered a very dismal prospect to him. In order to allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured to procure a reconciliation with Heaven by distributing alms and founding religious houses. Remorse even seized him at times for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley, though not to such a degree as to induce him to stop the rapacious hands of those oppressors, until death, by its nearer approaches, appalled him with new terrors; and then he ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all

¹² Bacon's *Hist.*

those whom he had injured¹³. He died of a consumption at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the fifty-third year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was a prince of great talents, both civil and military. He put an end to the civil wars with which the English nation had long been harassed; maintained the most perfect order in the state; repressed the exorbitant power of the barons; and indirectly increased the consequence of the commons, by enabling the nobility to break their ancient entails, as the prodigal were thereby encouraged to dissipate their fortunes and dismember their estates, which were thus transferred to men who had acquired money by trade or industry. And while he possessed the friendship of some foreign princes, he commanded the respect of all. Hence his son, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, became the arbiter of Europe. In the mean time we must take a view of transactions in which England had no share, and which introduced the most important æra in the history of modern Europe.

LETTER LV.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. to the League of Cambray, in 1508.

I HAVE hitherto, my dear Philip, generally given you a separate history of the principal European states, because each state depended chiefly on itself, and was in a great measure distinct from every other in its political interests. But that method will, in future, often be impracticable, by reason of the new system of policy which was adopted about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in consequence of which an union of interests became necessary in order to form a balance of power. This system took its rise from the political state of Europe at that time, and was

13 Holinshed.—Polyd. Virg.

perfected by the Italian wars, which commenced with the expedition of Charles VIII. in support ^{A. D. 1494.} of his claim to the kingdom of Naples.

The army with which Charles undertook this great enterprise did not exceed twenty thousand men: yet with these he was able to over-run all Italy. The Italians, who, amid continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament but a scene of blood: they were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk on its approach. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible. Pope Alexander VI., of infamous memory, the Venetians, and Ludovico Sforza (surnamed the Moor) duke of Milan, alarmed at the king's progress, which was equally unwished and unexpected, endeavoured to throw obstacles in his way almost as soon as he had crossed the Alps.

All opposition, however, was fruitless. Charles entered in triumph the city of Florence, where the family of Medici still held the chief authority. He delivered Sienna and Pisa from the Tuscan yoke: he prescribed such terms to the Florentines as their situation obliged them to accept: he marched to Rome, where Alexander had ineffectively intrigued against him: and he took possession of that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo: but no sooner did he see the French cannon pointed against its feeble ramparts, than he offered to capitulate; and it cost him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The president Brissonet, who from a lawyer had become an archbishop, persuaded Charles to this accommodation. In reward for his services, he obtained the purple¹. The king's confessor was likewise in the secret; and Charles, whose interest it was to have deposed the pope, forgave him, and afterwards repented of his lenity.

¹ G. Flor. *de Bel. Ital.*—Phil. de Com. liv. vii. chap. xii.

No pontiff surely ever more deserved the indignation of a Christian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkish emperor, Ba-yezid II., son and successor of Mohammed II., to assist them in driving the French monarch out of Italy. It is also asserted, that the pope had sent one Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the court of Constantinople, and that the alliance between his holiness and the soltan was purchased by one of those inhuman crimes which are not committed without horror even within the walls of the seraglio.

Alexander, by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his possession the person of Zizim, brother to the Turkish potentate. This prince, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Ba-yezid, and was defeated. Fortune prevailed over the prayers of the people; and this unhappy son of Mohammed II., the terror of the Christian name, had recourse in his distress to the knights of Rhodes. They at first received him as a prince to whom they were bound to afford protection by the laws of hospitality, and who might one day be of use to them in their wars against the infidels; but they soon after treated him as a prisoner, and the soltan agreed to pay them forty thousand sequins annually, on condition that they should not suffer Zizim to return into Turkey. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanders at Poictou in France; and Charles VIII. received, at the same time, an ambassador from Ba-yezid and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII., Alexander's predecessor, relative to this valuable captive. The soltan claimed him as his subject, and the pope desired to have possession of his person, as a pledge for the safety of Italy against the attempts of the Turks. Charles sent him to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the splendour and magnificence which the sovereign of Rome could show to the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople; and Paul Jovius says, that Alexander sold Zizim's life in

a treaty which he negotiated with Ba-yezid. Be that as it may, the king of France, full of his vast projects, and certain of the conquest of Naples, now wished to become formidable to the soltan, by having the person of this unfortunate prince in his power. The pope delivered him to Charles, but poisoned, as is supposed. It is at least certain that he died soon after; and the character ^{A. D. 1495.} of Alexander renders it probable, that three hundred thousand ducats, said to have been offered by Ba-yezid, were esteemed an equivalent for such a crime².

Matters being thus settled between the king and the pope, who took an oath not to disturb Charles in his conquests, Alexander was set at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public consistory, the French monarch came to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who might certainly have been better employed elsewhere than at such a ceremony. Charles now kissed the feet of the person whom, two days before, he would have condemned as a criminal; and, to complete the ludicrous scene, he served his holiness at high mass³.

Charle-magne, as we have seen, caused himself to be declared emperor of the West, at Rome: Charles VIII. was, in the same city, declared emperor of the East; but after a very different manner. One Palæologus, nephew to the prince who lost Constantinople and his life, made an empty cession, in favour of Charles and his successors, of an empire which could not be recovered⁴.

After this ceremony, Charles continued his progress towards Naples; where Alphonso II., filled with terror at his approach, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and pusillanimity. He fled privately to Sicily, and took refuge in a cloister; while Ferdinand his son, who became king by his abdication, finding himself unable to

² Phil. de Comin.—Paul. Jov.—Arn. Feron.

³ G. Flor.—Guicciardini.

⁴ Phil. de Comin.

retrieve the public affairs, released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the island of Ischia. Charles, thus left master of his favourite object, the kingdom of Naples, after having marched thither from the bottom of the Alps with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the throne, and intimidated, or gave law to, every power in Italy⁵.

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of this expedition, which must be considered as the first great exertion of those new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exercise. Its effects were no less considerable than its success had been astonishing. The Italians, unable to resist the force of Charles, permitted him to proceed undisturbed. But they quickly perceived, that although no single power which they could rouse to action was a match for such an enemy, yet a confederacy might accomplish what the separate members durst not attempt. To this expedient, therefore, they had recourse—the only one that remained, to deliver or preserve them from the French yoke; and while Charles inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples, in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, to the empire of which he now aspired, they formed against him a powerful combination of almost all the Italian princes and states; the heads of which were the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, supported by the emperor Maximilian (who had lately succeeded his father, Frederic III.) and by their catholic majesties⁶.

The union of so many powers, who suspended or forgot their particular animosities that they might act with concert against an enemy who had become formidable to them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtless security; and he saw no prospect of safety but in returning to France.

⁵ And. de la Vig. *Conq. de Nap.*—Phil. de Comin.

⁶ Phil. de Comin.—Mariana.

The confederates had assembled an army of thirty thousand men; in order to obstruct his march. He had only nine thousand men with him. The two armies met in the valley of Fornova; and though the French, with a daring courage, which more than compensated their inferiority of number, broke the army of the allies, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a safe passage into his own territories, he was stripped of all his conquests in Italy in as short a time as he had gained them. Ferdinand, by the help of Gonsalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, whom their catholic majesties had sent to his assistance, speedily recovered the whole kingdom of Naples. He died soon after, leaving his uncle Frederic in full possession of the throne; and the political system of Italy resumed the same appearance as before the French invasion.

A. D. 1496.

Charles, after his return to France, gave himself up to those pastimes and pleasures which had been the bane of his Italian expedition. In the mean time his health decayed, and he died without issue in the ^{April 7, 1498.} twenty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign; “a man of small body and short stature (says Comines); “but so good that it was not possible to see a better creature; and so sweet and gentle in disposition, that it was “not known that he ever either gave or took offence in his “life.” He was succeeded by the duke of Orléans, under the title of Louis XII., to which was afterward added the most glorious of all appellations, that of *Father of his People*.

Louis was in his thirty-sixth year when he ascended the throne; and from that moment he forgot all his personal resentments. When some of his courtiers reminded him, that certain persons who had formerly been his enemies were now in his power, he made this memorable reply:— “The king of France revenges not the injuries of the duke “of Orléans.” It is one thing, however, to deliver a fine

maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct: Louis did both. But his wild ambition of reigning in Italy brought many misfortunes upon himself and his kingdom, notwithstanding his general prudence and paternal affection for his subjects.

His claim to Naples was the same with that of Charles, and he demanded the duchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti, who had stipulated, in the marriage-contract of his daughter Valentina, that, on the failure of heirs male in the family of Visconti, the duchy should descend to the posterity of that princess and the duke of Orléans. This event took place. The family of Visconti became extinct in 1447; but the house of Orléans had hitherto been prevented, by various accidents, from making good their claim; and the duchy of Milan was still enjoyed by the descendants of Francis Sforza, a soldier of fortune, who, having married the natural daughter of the last legal duke, raised himself by his valour and talents to the ducal throne. Louis now prepared to assert his right with ardour, and he succeeded. But before I relate the particulars of that conquest, it will be necessary to say a few words of pope Alexander and his son Cæsar Borgia, on account of their alliance with the king of France, and the share which they had in the wars of Italy; remarking by the way, that Ludovico Sforza, having murdered his nephew, and taken possession of the duchy of Milan, had been confirmed in it, in 1494, by the investiture of the emperor Maximilian, who married his daughter⁸.

Alexander was at that time engaged in two great designs: one was, to recover for the Patrimony of St. Peter the many territories of which it was said to have been deprived; and the other, the exaltation of his son. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not impair his authority. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister, whom he took away from three husbands successively; and

⁸ Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* vol. iii.

he caused the last to be assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Estè. The nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican with the most shameless diversions that debauch had ever invented for the confusion of modesty. The duke of Gandia, and Cæsar Borgia, at that time cardinal, are said to have publicly disputed the favours of their sister Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated at Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was the supposed author of the murder⁹. The personal estates of the cardinals, at their decease, belong to the pope: and Alexander was strongly suspected of hastening the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become possessed of their treasures. But, notwithstanding these enormities, the people of Rome obeyed this pontiff without murmuring, and his friendship was courted by all the potentates in Europe.

Louis had several reasons for courting the friendship of Alexander. He wished to be divorced from his wife Joan, the daughter of Louis XI., who was crooked and ugly, and with whom he had lived in wedlock above twenty-two years, without having any children. No law, but the law of nature, could authorise such a separation; and yet disgust and policy rendered it necessary. The king disliked his wife, and was desirous of posterity. Anne of Bretagne, the queen-dowager, still retained that tenderness which she had felt for him when duke of Orléans. His passion for her was not yet extinguished; and unless he married her, or at least if she married another, the province would be for ever dismembered from the French monarchy.

These were powerful motives; but the authority of the holy see was necessary to give a sanction to them. It had long been customary to apply to the pope for permission to marry a relative or put away a wife: Louis applied to

9 Paul. Jov.--Arn. Feron.

Alexander, who never scrupled any indulgence in which he could find his interest. The bull of divorce was issued; and Cæsar Borgia was sent with it into France, with power to negotiate with the king on the subject of his Italian claims. But this son of the church, in a double sense, did not leave Rome till he was assured of the duchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a pension of twenty thousand livres. All these Louis not only agreed to, but also promised to procure for him the sister of the king of Navarre. The ambitious Borgia now changed his ecclesiastical character for a secular one; and the pope granted, at the same instant, a dispensation for his son to
 A. D. 1499. quit the church, and for the king of France to quit his wife¹⁰. Affairs were quickly settled between Louis and the queen dowager; and the French prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy.

In this enterprise Louis had the Venetians on his side, who were to participate in the spoils of the Milanese. Maximilian, whose business it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, was not at that time in a condition to assist him. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had entirely freed themselves from the Austrian dominion: he therefore acted upon this occasion, the feigned part of indifference.

The French monarch amicably terminated some disputes which he had with the archduke Philip, who did homage to him for the counties of Flanders and Artois. Louis also renewed the treaty concluded by Charles VIII. with England; and being now secure on all sides, he led his army over the Alps. He soon made himself master of the duchy of Milan, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona. Arrayed in ducal robes he entered the city of Milan in triumph; and the duke, Ludovico Sforza,
 A. D. 1500. being betrayed soon after by the Swiss in his pay,

¹⁰ Du Clos.—Guicciardini.

was sent prisoner into France, and shut up in the castle of Loches, where he lay unpitied during the remainder of his days¹¹.

Could Louis here have set bounds to his ambition, satisfied with the conquest of Milan and with his authority in Genoa (which he had also reduced under his yoke), he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and states, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of recovering the kingdom of Naples engaged him in new projects; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand of Spain, who had formerly expelled the French from that country, and who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic king of Naples, he endeavoured by offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were never deaf, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. A plan was accordingly settled for the expulsion of Frederic, and the partition of his dominions. Frederic, unable to resist the force of the com-
A. D. 1501.
 bined monarchs, each of whom was far his superior in power, resigned his sceptre. But he had the satisfaction to see Naples prove a source of contention to his conquerors. Louis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the division of it. From allies they became enemies; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by the exertion of
A. D. 1503.
 those military talents which gave him a just title to the appellation of the Great Captain, bestowed on him by his countrymen, partly by such shameless and frequent violations of the most solemn engagements, as leave an indelible stain upon his memory, stripped the French of all they possessed in the Neapolitan dominions, and secured the entire possession of the disputed kingdom to his no less perfidious master¹².

In the mean time pope Alexander subdued the fiefs in

¹¹ Brantome.—Guicciardini.

¹² Paul. Jov.—Guicciardini.—Mezeray.

Romagna by the arms of Cæsar Borgia. There is not one act of oppression, subtle artifice, heroic courage, or atrocious villany, which his son left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen who stood in his way, than Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Genghiz Khan, or Timour, had employed to subdue the most extensive regions of the globe. Every thing seemed to conspire to his aggrandisement. His father was armed with the spiritual, and he with the temporal power of the church. But his good fortune was of short duration: he laboured, without knowing it, for the patrimony of St. Peter.

Alexander VI. died in 1503, and left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe than Nero or Caligula had done in the Roman empire; the sanctity of his station adding a double tinge to his guilt. The papacy, however, was indebted to him for an accession to its temporal dominions. Cæsar Borgia lost all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Most of the cities which he had conquered chose another master, on the death of his father: and pope Julius II. obliged him to deliver up the rest.

Abandoned by friends, allies, and relations, Borgia, in a short time, had nothing left of all his wicked greatness; and, to complete his miserable catastrophe, he who had betrayed so many, was at last betrayed. Gonsalvo de Cordova, with whom he had trusted his person, sent him prisoner into Spain. Louis took from him the duchy of Valentinois and his pension. All the world forsook him. Having found means, however, to escape from prison, he sought refuge in Navarre; and courage, which is not properly a virtue, but a happy qualification, common alike to the wicked and the virtuous, did not desert him in his distresses. While in this asylum, he still maintained every part of his character. He carried on intrigues, and he commanded in

person the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law, during a war into which that prince entered, by the persuasion of Borgia, against one of his vassals. He was slain fighting¹³: “A glorious end!” says Voltaire; but it is surely only glorious to fall in a good cause, and Borgia’s was confessedly a bad one. We have no occasion, therefore, to think his fall too favourable. He wrought his own ruin, after having completed his disgrace; a lesson more striking than if he had suffered by the hands of the public executioner.

Louis made a new attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, and was again disappointed. This disap-
pointment was occasioned by the ambition of his
minister, the cardinal d’Amboise (who sold his master’s
interest for a promise of the papacy), by the policy of Fer-
dinand, and by the bravery of the Great Captain. The
king was now sincerely desirous of peace; and,
willing to secure the possession of Milan, he en-
gaged by the treaty of Blois to pay Maximilian a large
sum for the investiture of that duchy. By this treaty
also, he promised his daughter in marriage to Charles of
Austria (grandson of Maximilian and Ferdinand by Philip
and Joan), with Bretagne, Burgundy, and all his Italian
dominions, as her dowry, in case of his dying without
heirs male. But this stipulation was wisely op-
posed by the states of France¹⁴: and the prin-
cess Anne was given in marriage to the count of Angou-
lême, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to
the crown, afterwards Francis I. Thus Bretagne, which
had been twice annexed to the French monarchy, and
twice near being severed from it, was incorporated with
it; and Burgundy also was preserved.

During these transactions, Isabella, queen of Castile,

¹³ Paul. Jov.—Guicciardini.—Mezeray.

¹⁴ Mezeray, tome iv.—Henault, tome i.

died, and the archduke Philip went to take possession of that kingdom, as heir to his mother-in-law. He also died in a short time; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, left the king of France governor to his son Charles.

The balance of power was now happily adjusted among the principal European states, and might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of an ambitious pontiff excited anew the flames of war and discord among them. But the cause of that discord, and its consequences, must be investigated in a future Letter.

LETTER LVI.

A View of Europe, from the League of Cambray to the Death of Louis XII.

JULIUS II., to whom the popes are particularly indebted for their temporal dominion, had formed the project of expelling all foreigners from Italy. But he was A. D. 1508. desirous, in the first place, of humbling the Venetians, who had not only declined entering into his views, but had refused to restore the places which they had dismembered from the territory of the church. The league of Cambray was the consequence of their refusal.

Let us take a view of that republic, which so far excited the jealousy of the European princes and states, as to produce this famous confederacy.

Venice, my dear Philip, took its rise, as I have had occasion to notice, during the inroads of the Barbarians, in the fifth century. The little islands of the Adriatic Gulf afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who originally lived by fishing, and afterwards became rich and powerful by commerce. They again got footing on the

Terra Firma; and Venice now extended her dominion from the Lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had deprived her of what she had taken from the Christian emperors in Greece; but she still retained the large island of Candia, and soon gained possession of Cyprus.

The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; and the republic, during the same course of time, had conducted its affairs with an uniform and vigorous spirit of policy, which gave it great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed with the form of their government, or with the persons by whom it was administered. But the constitution of this republic had one striking fault; it wanted a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and did not offer proper encouragement to the common people. No private citizen of Venice could rise to the rank of a senator, or occupy any considerable employment in the state.

Such a partial aristocracy, which commits all power to a few members of the community, is naturally jealous. The Venetian nobles distrusted their own subjects, and were afraid of allowing them the use of arms; the military force of the republic, therefore, consisted wholly of foreign mercenaries. Nor was the command of these ever trusted to noble Venetians, lest they should acquire such influence as might endanger public liberty. A soldier of fortune was placed at the head of the armies of the commonwealth; and to obtain that honour was the great object of the Italian *condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who made a trade of war, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and hired out troops to different princes and states¹.

A republic that disarmed its subjects, and excluded

¹ Sandi *Storia Civil. Venexiana*.

its nobles from military command, must have carried on warlike enterprises at great disadvantage; but its commerce was an inexhaustible source of opulence. All the nations in Europe depended upon the Venetians, not only for the precious commodities of the East, which they imported by the way of Egypt, but for various manufactures fabricated by them alone, or finished with a dexterity and elegance unknown in other countries. From this extensive commerce, the state derived such immense supplies as concealed the vices in its constitution, and enabled it to keep on foot such armies as were an over-match for the force which any of its neighbours could bring into the field. Venice became an object of terror to the Italian states. Her wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could not vie with her private citizens in the magnificence of their buildings, in the richness of their dress and furniture, or in splendour and elegance of living. And Julius II., whose ambition and abilities were equal to those of any priest who had ever filled the papal throne, by working upon the fears of the Italians, and upon the avarice of the princes beyond the Alps, prompted them to form against this proud republic one of the most extensive confederacies that Europe had ever beheld.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded; the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a state which they deemed to be devoted to inevitable destruction. The Venetians might have diverted this storm, or have broken its force; but with a presumptuous rashness, to which there is nothing similar in the course of their history, they waited its approach. The fury of French courage rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the safety of the republic; and the

battle of Aignadel, fought near the river Adda, A. D. 1509.
ruined the army on which they relied for defence.

Julius seized all the towns which they held in the ecclesiastical territories; and Ferdinand re-annexed to the kingdom of Naples the places which they had taken on the Calabrian coast. Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice on one side; the French pushed their conquests on the other; and the Venetians, surrounded by so many enemies, and left without one ally, sunk from the height of presumption to the depth of despair. They abandoned their territories on the continent, and shut themselves up in their capital, as their last refuge².

Julius having thus, in the humiliation of the Venetians, attained his first object, began to think of the second, more worthy of his enterprising genius—the expulsion of every foreign power out of Italy. For this purpose it was necessary to dissolve the league of Cambray, and sow dissensions among those princes whom he had formerly united. He absolved the Venetians, on their ceding to him the places claimed by the holy see, from that anathema which had been pronounced against them; and he concluded an alliance with the republic against those very French whom he had invited to oppress it. Their imperious behaviour had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Italians; and Julius, who was a native of Genoa, was greatly desirous of revenging upon Louis the triumphant ostentation with which he had punished the revolt of that city, whose records he caused to be burned, and whose principal citizens he obliged to kneel at the foot of his throne, while he pronounced their sentence; which, after all, was only to pay a trifling fine. On Louis, therefore, the haughty pontiff was determined that the tempest first should fall; and in order to pave the way for this bold project, he at once

² Guicciardini.—Mezeray.—*Hist. de la Ligue faite à Cambray*, par M. l'Abbé du Bos.

sought a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of foreign princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of the French; he solicited the favour of Henry VIII. of England, by sending him a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with holy oil: he detached Ferdinand from the league, and drew him over to his party, by granting him the full investiture of the kingdom of Naples; and, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss, whose subsidy Louis had refused to augment, and whom he had offended by some contumelious expressions³.

The confederacy of Cambray being thus dissolved, affairs soon began to wear a very different aspect in Italy. The Venetians, recovering from their consternation, were able to make head against the emperor, and even to regain part of the territory which they had lost. The pope and his allies made war upon the duke of Ferrara. They were compelled by the French to raise the siege of Bologna; but they afterwards formed that of Mirandola, where Julius appeared in person, visited the trenches, hastened the operations, and entered the breach, with all the ardour of a young soldier in pursuit of military glory⁴.

Louis was now at a loss how to act: overawed by his veneration for the vicar of Christ, he was afraid to let his generals take those advantages which fortune threw in their way. He therefore wished to divest Julius of that sacred character, which chiefly rendered him formidable. With this view, in conjunction with Maximilian, who was himself ambitious of the papacy, and by the authority of some disgusted cardinals, he summoned a general council at Pisa, in order to reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the sovereign power. But he was as irresolute in supporting the council, as in instructing his generals. Julius saw his timidity, and availed himself of it. He sum-

³ Mezeray.—Platin.

⁴ Guicciardini.

moned a council at the Lateran: he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places that should give shelter to the schismatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them⁵.

Ambition is ready to seize the slightest pretences to accomplish its designs. The crafty Ferdinand, who, while he bore the surname of the Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion solely as a cover to his selfish politics, made this anathema of Julius a pretext for robbing the king of Navarre of his dominions, as an abettor of the council of Pisa. The method which he took to effect this conquest was not less remarkable than the measure itself. Henry VIII., his son-in-law, naturally sincere and sanguine in temper, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from that oppression to which he believed him exposed from the French monarch. Eager also to acquire that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; he was, therefore, induced to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed against Louis. Ferdinand saw his intemperate ardour, and made him the instrument of his own base ambition.

This artful prince, who considered his close connexion with Henry only as the means of taking advantage of his inexperience, advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to forward this

⁵ Spelm. *Concil.*

conquest by the junction of a Spanish army: and so zealous did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But the marquis of Dorset, who commanded this army, had no sooner landed in Guipuscoa, than Ferdinand suggested the necessity of first subduing the kingdom of Navarre.

The marquis refused to take any part in that enterprise, and therefore remained at Fontarabia. But so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that the English army, even while it lay in that situation, was almost as serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French in awe, and prevented them from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that the duke of Alva, having full leisure to conduct his operations, not only subdued the smaller towns, but reduced Pampeluna, the capital, and obliged John d'Albert, the sovereign, to take refuge in France. Dorset was obliged to return to England, with an army diminished by want and sickness, without being able to effect any thing for the interests of his master; and Henry, enraged at his ill success, was with difficulty made sensible of the fraudulent conduct of the Spanish prince⁶.

These incidents were far from being unimportant; but events of still greater moment occurred in Italy. Though the war which England waged against France brought no advantage to the former kingdom, it was of much prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Louis to withdraw his forces from Italy, deprived him of the superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had acquired in that country. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces; and, at the age of twenty-three, exhibited, in a few months, such feats of military skill and valour as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest general. His career terminated

⁶ Lord Herbert's *Hist. of Hen. VIII.*—Polyd. Virg.

with the famous battle of Ravenna; which, after a most obstinate dispute, he gained over the ^{April 11.} Spanish and papal armies. He perished when his victory was complete, and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had now rendered themselves formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the duchy of Milan with a numerous army, and encouraged its inconstant inhabitants to revolt from the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of that duchy; and Louis quickly lost his Italian conquests. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico, was reinstated in the possession of Milan; and the Genoese recovered their independence⁷.

The expulsion of the French gave great pleasure to the pope, the more particularly as he owed it to the Swiss, whom he had honoured with the title of *Defenders of the Holy See*, and whose councils he hoped always to govern. He did not, however, long enjoy this satisfaction. He died suddenly, at an advanced age, and was ^{A. D. 1513.} succeeded in the pontificate by John of Medicis, son of the celebrated Lorenzo, who had governed Tuscany with high reputation, and obtained the appellation of *Father of the Muses*. John took the name of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious pontiffs that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, liberal, affable, the patron of art and genius, he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor; and he was more delicate in employing means for the execution of them. By the negotiations of Leo, who adhered to the political system of Julius, Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry VIII., notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Louis⁸.

To prevent disturbance from Scotland, while the English arms should be employed on the continent, Henry

⁷ Guicciardini.

⁸ Guicciardini.—Herbert.

dispatched an ambassador to James IV. his brother-in-law, with instructions to adjust all disputes which had arisen between the two kingdoms. But the projected invasion of France roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland was esteemed the most sacred bond of connexion, and believed by the Scots to be essential to the preservation of their independence against a people so superior as the English. Henry's ambassador therefore easily foresaw, though James still made professions of maintaining neutrality, that a war with Scotland would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surry to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected inroad of the enemy⁹.

Thirsting for military fame, Henry invaded France by the way of Calais. But of all the allies, whose assistance he expected, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Maximilian, among others, failed to perform his; although he had received, in advance, a subsidy of a hundred thousand crowns. That he might make some atonement, however, for this breach of faith, he appeared in person in the Low-Countries, and joined the English army with a small body of Germans and Flemings, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-levied forces. The emperor carried his condescension yet farther. He did not pretend, with so few men, to act as an auxiliary, but enlisted himself in the service of the English monarch, wore the cross of St. George, and received a hundred crowns a day for the use of his table¹⁰.

An emperor of Germany, serving under a king of England, and living by his bounty, was surely a spectacle truly extraordinary; but Henry treated him with the highest respect, and he really directed all the operations of the war. The first enterprise which they undertook was the

⁹ Buchanan.—Drummond.—Herbert. ¹⁰ Herbert.

siege of Terouenne, a town situated on the borders of Picardy. During the attack of this place was fought the battle of Guinegate, where the cavalry of France fled at the first onset, and the duke of Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is commonly called the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French, on that occasion, made greater use of their spurs than of their military weapons¹¹.

After so considerable an advantage, Henry might have made incursions to the gates of Paris; but, instead of pushing his victory, he returned to the siege. Terouenne was soon reduced; and the anxieties of the French were renewed with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army; and the catholic king, though he had made a truce with Louis, seemed disposed to seize every advantage which fortune should present to him.

While France was thus endangered, Louis knew not what course to follow, or where to place his safety: his troops were dismayed, and his people intimidated. But he profited by the blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, without inquiring whether he had any powers to treat; and that nobleman, who knew that his stipulations would be disavowed by his master, agreed to whatever they were pleased to demand, happy to free the realm from such dangerous invaders at the expense of a little money and many empty promises. Henry discovered no less ignorance in the conduct of war than the Swiss in negotiation. By the interested counsel of Maximilian, he laid siege to Tournay, which then belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Soon after the reduction of this place, which was of no benefit to

11 *Hist. du Chev. Bayard.—Mem. de Bellai.*

Henry, he was informed of the retreat of the Swiss; and as the season was now far advanced, he thought proper to return to England with the greater part of his army. Such, my dear Philip, was the issue of a campaign much boasted of by the English monarch; but which, all circumstances considered, was unprofitable, if not inglorious.

The success which attended the English arms in North-Britain was more decisive. James had crossed the Tweed with fifty thousand men; but, instead of making a vigorous campaign, he wasted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became dissatisfied, and began to be harassed by hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble amongst the Scots, and military discipline extremely lax, many of them retired from the camp. The earl of Surry, having collected a body of twenty-six thousand men, advanced to the hills of Cheviot; drew the Scots from their high station, by feigning to enter their country;

and defeated them in the field of Flodden, where Sept. 9. their king and the flower of his nobility were slain¹².—Henry, on this occasion, discovered a mind truly great and generous. Though an inviting opportunity was now offered him of extending his dominion over A. D. 1514. the whole island, he took compassion on the helpless condition of his sister Margaret, and her infant son; and readily granted peace to Scotland, as soon as it was solicited.

A general accommodation soon followed. Louis, dreading the event of another campaign, sued for peace. He renounced the council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyons; and Leo granted him absolution. Ferdinand the Catholic renewed the truce with France; and he and Maximilian entered into a treaty with Louis for the marriage of his daughter Renée to Charles, prince of Spain. Louis himself espoused the princess Mary of England, and agreed to pay

¹² Buchanan.—Drummond.—Herbert,

her brother Henry a million of crowns. These two monarchs also entered into an alliance for their mutual defence¹³.

The French king, thus rescued from his numerous difficulties, had the happiness of beholding once more his affairs in good order, and all Europe in tranquillity. But he enjoyed this happiness only for a short time. Enchanted with the beauty and elegant accomplishments of his young queen, he forgot in her arms his advanced age, and was seduced into such a round of gaiety and pleasure as proved very unsuitable to his declining health¹⁴. He died about three months after the marriage, in Jan. 1, 1515. his fifty-third year, and when he was meditating anew the conquest of Milan—which was left to immortalise the name, and swell the misfortunes, of his successor.

There is no perfection in human beings, my dear Philip, and consequently not in kings, whatever their flatterers may tell them; but few men, either princes or subjects, seem to have possessed more social and benevolent virtues than fell to the share of Louis XII. He was universally beloved by the French: the populace and the nobility equally adored him, and unanimously called him their Father; a title with which he was particularly pleased, and which he made it the study of his life to deserve. He began his reign with abolishing many taxes; and at the time of his death, notwithstanding his wars and disasters, he had diminished, by one half, the public burthens. His very misfortunes, or, in a political sense, his errors, endeared him to his subjects; for it was well known, that he might have maintained his conquests in Italy, if he would

¹³ Du Tillet.

¹⁴ Brantome.—*Eloge de Louis XII.*—“The good king,” says another writer, “for the sake of his wife, totally altered his manner of living. Whereas *before* he used to *dine at eight o'clock in the morning*, he *now* did not *dine till noon*. “He had also been *accustomed to go to bed at six in the evening*, and he *now frequently sat up till midnight.*” (*Hist. du Chev. Bayard.*) Nothing can mark, more strongly than this passage, the difference between the mode of living in that and the present age.

have levied larger sums upon his people. But his heart would not permit him to distress them : he esteemed any loss trivial, compared with that of their affections. His moderation was no less remarkable than his humanity. When informed that some of his courtiers smiled at his œconomy, which they considered as too rigid, and that certain authors had taken the liberty to ridicule it in their writings, he was by no means displeased. “ I would rather,” replied he magnanimously, “ that my people should laugh at my parsimony, than weep at their own oppressions ¹⁵.”

LETTER LVII.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Francis I. to the Death of the Emperor Maximilian; including the Rise of the Reformation in Germany.

LOUIS XII. was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis count of Angoulême, whose military genius, it was fore-
 A. D. 1515. seen, would soon disturb the peace of Europe. Young, brave, ambitious, and enterprising, he immediately turned his eyes towards Italy, as the scene of glory and of conquest. His first object was the recovery of Milan. But before he commenced that expedition, he renewed the treaty which his predecessor had concluded with England; and having nothing to fear from Spain, where Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, he marched towards the Alps, under pretence of defending his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. Informed of his real views, that warlike people had taken arms, at the instigation of the pope, in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan. They took possession of all those

passes in the Alps, through which they thought the French would enter Italy; and when they learned that Francis had made his way into Piedmont by a secret route, they descended undismayed into the plain, and gallantly opposed themselves on foot to the heavy-armed cavalry of France. The two armies met at Marignan, near Milan, where ensued one of the most furious and Sept. 13. obstinate battles mentioned in the history of modern times. The action began towards evening: night parted the combatants: but, the next morning, the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour, and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the shock. The Swiss, though at last disordered by the cavalry, and galled by the cannon, long kept their ground, and did not retire till they had lost upwards of twelve thousand of their best troops, about one half of their whole number. The loss of the French was very considerable: twenty thousand men are said to have fallen on both sides; and the old marshal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, used to declare, that in comparison of the battle of Marignan every other engagement he had seen was but *the play of children*, but that this was *a combat of heroes*¹.

The surrender of the city of Milan, and the conquest of the whole duchy, were the consequences of this victory. Maximilian Sforza resigned his claim, in consideration of a pension; and Francis, having concluded a treaty with the pope and with the Swiss, returned into France, leaving to Charles duke of Bourbon the government of his Italian dominions².

The success and glory of the young monarch began to excite jealousy in the breast of the old emperor Maximilian; nor was the rapid progress of Francis, though in so distant a country, regarded with indifference even by the king of

¹ *Mem. de Fleuranges.*

² Guicciardini.—Mezeray.

England. Henry dispatched a minister to the court of Vienna, with secret orders to propose certain payments to the emperor; and Maximilian, who was ever ready to embrace any overture to excite fresh troubles, and always necessitous, immediately invaded Italy with a considerable army. But being repulsed before Milan by the French garrison, and hearing that twelve thousand Swiss were advancing to its relief, he retired hastily into Germany; made peace with France and with Venice; ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money; and thus excluded himself in some measure from future access into Italy³.

This peace, which restored universal tranquillity to Europe, was preceded by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions; an event which had long been looked for, and from which the most important consequences were expected. Charles, who had hitherto resided in the Low-Countries, which he governed as heir of the house of Burgundy, was now near the full age of sixteen, and possessed a recollection and sedateness much above his years; but his genius had yet given no indications of that superiority which its maturer state displayed. That capacious and decisive judgement, which afterwards directed so ably the affairs of a vast empire, was left to be discovered by those great events to which it gave birth, and those occasions which rendered it necessary. At present there was little call for it.

Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, had been appointed sole regent of Castile till the arrival of Charles. This prelate, who united the abilities of a great statesman with the abject devotion of a superstitious monk, and the magnificence of a prime-minister with the austerity of a mendicant, maintained order and tranquillity in Spain, notwithstanding the discontents of turbulent and high-spi-

³ Guicciardini.

rited nobles. When they disputed his right to the regency, he coolly showed them the testament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles; but these not satisfying them, and arguments proving ineffectual, he led them insensibly towards a balcony, whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," said the cardinal, raising his voice, and extending his arm, "the powers which I have received from his catholic majesty: by these I govern Castile, and will govern it, till the king, your master and mine, shall come and take possession of his realm." A declaration so bold and determined silenced all opposition⁴.

A. D. 1517.

The fate of this minister merits our attention, though not immediately connected with the line of general history. The young king was received with universal acclamations of joy; but Ximenes found little cause to rejoice. He was seized with a violent disorder, supposed to be the effect of poison; and when he recovered, Charles, prejudiced against him by the Spanish grandees and his Flemish courtiers, slighted his advice, and meanly suffered him to sink into neglect. The cardinal did not bear this treatment with his usual firmness of spirit. He expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom far more flourishing than it had been in any former age, and authority more extensive and better established than the most illustrious of his ancestors had ever possessed. Conscious of his own integrity and merit, he could not refrain from giving vent, at times, to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be exposed from the insolence, the rapacity, and the ignorance of strangers. These feelings agitated the soul of Ximenes, when he received a letter from the king, dismissing him from his councils, under

⁴ Flechier, *Vie de Ximen.*

pretence of relieving his age from that burthen which he had so long and so ably sustained. This epistle proved fatal to the minister. His haughty mind could not endure disgrace, nor his generous heart the stings of ingratitude: he expired a few hours after he had perused the letter ⁵.

While Charles was taking possession of the throne of Spain, in consequence of the death of one grandfather, another was endeavouring to obtain for him the imperial crown. With this view, Maximilian assembled a diet at A.D. 1518. Augsburg, where he strove to gain the favour of the electors by many acts of beneficence, in order to engage them to choose that young prince as his successor. But Maximilian himself, having never been crowned by the pope (a ceremony deemed essential in that age, as well as in the preceding), was considered only as king of the Romans, or emperor *elect*; and no example occurring in history of any person being chosen successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, ever tenacious of their forms, obstinately refused to confer upon Charles a dignity which was unknown to their constitution ⁶.

But the diet of Augsburg had other employment. Thither was summoned Martin Luther, for “propagating new and dangerous opinions.” These opinions, my dear Philip, were the first principles of the Reformation, which soon diffused themselves through Germany, which were afterwards embraced by so many nations, and which separated one half of Europe from the Romish church. Of the origin of this great schism some account will be necessary; for, although I would by no means engage you in theological disputes, you ought to know the grounds of a controversy, which produced so remarkable a revolution in the creeds and ceremonies of Christians, that you may be the better enabled to judge of its effects upon society, upon industry, literature, policy, and morals. In that light only I

⁵ Marsollier, *Vie de Ximen*.—Baudier, *Hist. de Ximen*.

⁶ Barre, tome vi.

mean to consider it: the road to heaven I leave to heavenly directors.

In the course of these Letters I have had occasion to observe the rise of the pope's spiritual power, as well as of his temporal dominion; to trace the progress, and to remark the abuses of each. A repetition here would therefore be unnecessary. The spiritual despotism of Gregory VII.—the temporal tyranny of Alexander VI.—and the bloody ambition of Julius II.—make too strong an impression on the mind to be soon effaced. After that enormous privilege which the Roman pontiffs assumed, of disposing of crowns, and releasing nations from their oaths of allegiance, the most pernicious to society was that of absolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the successor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the spiritual treasury of the church, supposed to contain the superabundant good works of the saints, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ. Out of this inexhaustible storehouse, his holiness might retail, at pleasure, particular portions to those who were deficient. He assumed, in short, and directly exercised, the right of pardoning sins; which was, in other words, granting a permission to commit them; for, if it is known, as had long been the case in the Romish church, at what price the punishment of any crime may be bought off, the encouragement to vice is the same as if a dispensation had been granted beforehand; and even that was frequently allowed.

The influence of such indulgences upon morals may easily be imagined; especially in ages when superstition had silenced the voice of conscience, and reason was bewildered in Gothic darkness; when the church had provided numerous sanctuaries, which not only screened from the arm of the civil magistrate persons guilty of the greatest enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence. Yet that great historian and profound philosopher, Mr. Hume, has

endeavoured to prove, that the protestant writers err in supposing that a dissolution of morals should ensue, “because a man could purchase for a shilling an *indulgence* for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes⁷!” But you, I hope, will think otherwise, when you have duly weighed the foregoing considerations.

Mr. Hume seems here to have forgotten that all men are not philosophers; or, blinded by the love of paradox, to have lost sight of common sense. He seems even to have lost sight of his argument; for he adds, that “after these indulgences, there still remained hell-fire, the civil magistrate, and the remorse of conscience,” to awe mankind to their duty. Now the first assertion is literally false; for the very words of an indulgence imported, that it restored the individual “to that innocence and purity which he possessed at baptism:” and, according to the doctrine of the Roman church, the infant is then fit for heaven. But the indulgence did not stop here: it concluded thus; “so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened⁸.” The terror of the civil magistrate could be very small, when, as I have already observed, the church afforded shelter to every criminal that sought her sanctuaries, and took into her bosom the whole body of the clergy. Conscience, indeed—so often represented by this doubting sage as an erring guide, as a principle superinduced and local—could not be banished from the human breast; but its voice, if not entirely silenced by superstition, was too feeble to be heard by the self-deluding and headstrong passions of man, when flattered by the hope, or encouraged by the assurance, of a papal indulgence.

These indulgences, or plenary pardons, of which I have been led insensibly to speak, and which not only served as a remission of sins to the living, but as a release to the dead

⁷ *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. note A.

⁸ Seckend, *Comment.* lib. i.—Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book ii.

from the pains of purgatory, were first invented by Urban II. as a recompense for those who engaged in the wild expeditions to the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to such as contributed money for that or any other pious purpose: and the sums so raised were frequently diverted to other uses. They were employed to swell the state, to furnish the luxuries, or accomplish the ambitious enterprises, of the popes. John XXII. reduced this spiritual traffic into a system: and Leo X., the great patron of arts and letters, having exhausted the papal treasury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and expensive pleasures, thought that he might attempt, without danger, those pious frauds which had been so successfully practised by the most ignorant of his predecessors: Leo published a general sale of *indulgences*.

If any thing could apologise for a religious cheat that tends to the subversion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in the completion of that superb temple, St. Peter's church, founded by his predecessor; and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occasion to forge pretences for this extension of papal authority. But Leo, though a polite scholar, and a fine gentleman, was a pitiful pope. Liberal-minded himself, and surrounded by men of liberal minds, he did not foresee that the lamp of knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of Superstition; would show them her errors, her impostures, her usurpations, and their own slavish condition. He did not reflect, that impositions employed with success in one age may prove dangerous experiments in another. But he had soon occasion to remember it.

The abuse of the sale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in ale-houses, and where the produce of every district was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or custom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, professor of

theology in the university of Wittenberg. Luther was also incensed, it is said, because the privilege of vending this spiritual merchandise had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. Be that as it may, he wrote and preached against indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his discourses were listened to with admiration. He appealed to reason and Scripture, for the truth of his arguments, not to the decision of councils or of popes. A corner of the veil was now happily lifted. The people, ever fond of judging for themselves (and in matters which concern themselves only, they have an undoubted right), flattered by this appeal, began to call in question that authority which they had formerly revered, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by success, extended his views and ventured to declaim against other abuses. From abuses he proceeded to usurpations; from usurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romish church began to totter.

Alarmed at the progress of this daring innovator, Leo had summoned him to answer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the intercession of Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cause was ordered to be tried in Germany, by Cardinal Caietan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and the pope's legate at the imperial court. For this purpose, among others, Caietan attended the diet at Augsburg; and thither Luther repaired without hesitation, after having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen from among his avowed adversaries. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured, at first, to gain him by gentle treatment; but finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was invested, to retract his errors (without showing that they

were such), and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, who had flattered himself with a hearing, and hoped to distinguish himself in a dispute with so able a prelate, was mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding; but his native intrepidity of mind did not forsake him. He boldly replied, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; but offered to submit the whole controversy to the judgement of the learned, naming several universities. This offer was rejected by Caietan, who still insisted upon a simple recantation; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, secretly withdrew from Augsburg, and returned into Saxony⁹. The progress of this extraordinary man, and of that reformation to which he gave birth, I shall afterwards have occasion to trace.

The diet of Augsburg was soon followed by the death of Maximilian. This event was, in itself, of little moment, as that prince had, for some years, ^{Jan. 12, 1519.} ceased to be of any consequence; but, as it left vacant the first station among Christian princes, of which two great monarchs were equally ambitious, it became memorable by its effects. It gave rise to a competition, and awakened a jealousy, which threw all Europe into agitation: it broke that profound peace which then reigned in Christendom, and excited wars more general, and more mischievously durable, than any which modern times had beheld.—But, before we enter on that interesting æra, I must carry forward the Progress of Society; notice the improvements in arts and in letters; and exhibit some account of those great naval discoveries which produced so important a revolution in the commercial world, and gave to Europe a new continent, while religion and ambition were depopulating the old. Meanwhile it will be proper to remark, that, during the reign of Maximilian, Germany was di-

⁹ Sleid. *Hist. Reform.*—Robertson, ubi sup.

vided into circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established, to supply the place of a public and common tribunal. In this reign also was instituted the Imperial Chamber, composed of judges nominated partly by the emperor, partly by the several states, and invested with authority for the final decision of all differences among the members of the Germanic body. The Aulic Council too, which takes cognisance of all feudal cases, and such as belong to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, received under this prince a new form¹⁰. By these regulations, order was given to that confused government, and some degree of vigour restored to the imperial authority.

LETTER LVIII.

Of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the beginning of the Fourteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century, with a retrospective View of the Revival of Letters.

WE have already, my dear Philip, traced the progress of society to the beginning of the fourteenth century. We have seen corporation charters granted; civil communities formed; and the great body of the people, released from that servitude under which they had so long groaned, applying themselves to trade and industry. We have also seen universities generally established; the study of the Roman law introducing a more perfect system of jurisprudence; an acquaintance with the learned languages awakening an ambition of literary merit; manners taking a more liberal turn; and commerce beginning to circulate the conveniences of life. But society had still many advances to make, before it reached that state of refinement in which we now behold it, or which it had attained under the pontificate of Leo X.

¹⁰ Dutt. *De Pace Publica Imperii.*

These advances it is now our business to trace. By the way, however, I must remind you, that, in the course of the general narrative, I have taken occasion to notice the progress of society with respect to the command of national force; the vigour which government acquired, by the increase of the royal authority; the alterations which took place in the art of war, in consequence of the invention of gunpowder; the establishment of standing armies, and the supplies necessary for the support of such a body of men. I have also had occasion to mention the new system adopted by princes, for national defence and safety, by maintaining a balance of political power, and the means by which that system was perfected. I shall, therefore, devote this letter solely to such objects as cannot come within the line of general history; the progress of manners, of arts, and of polite literature. The sciences, as since cultivated, were not yet known. True philosophy belongs to a more modern æra.

Mankind are no sooner in possession of the conveniences of life, than they begin to aim at its elegances. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, such a taste became general in Europe. The Italian cities, which had early acquired liberty, and obtained municipal charters, carried on at that time a flourishing trade with India, through the ports of the Red Sea. They introduced into their own country manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. In the manufacture of silk, in particular, they made so rapid a progress, that about the middle of that century, a thousand citizens of Genoa appeared in one procession, clad in silk robes. They attempted new arts; among which may be numbered, the art of taking impressions from engravings on plates of copper, the manufacture of crystal glass for mirrors, of paper from linen rags, and of earthen ware in imitation of porcelain. And they imported from warmer climates the art of raising several natural productions (formerly unknown in Europe), which now furnish the mate-

rials of a lucrative and extended commerce; particularly the culture of silk, and the plantation of the sugar cane. Originally the produce of Asia, and esteemed peculiar to the East, the sugar cane was transplanted from the Greek islands into Sicily, thence into Italy, afterwards into Spain and Portugal, and at length into the newly discovered islands in the Western Ocean¹.

The discovery of those islands, and also of the American continent, was the effect of another modern invention, namely, the mariner's compass; which, by rendering navigation at once more secure and more adventurous, facilitated the intercourse between remote nations, and may be said to have brought them nearer to each other.

But the progress of navigation, and the discoveries to which it gave birth, demand a particular letter. Yet here I must observe, that commerce, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was by no means confined to the Italian states. Flanders had long been as famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths, as Italy was for that of silk. All the wool of England, before the reign of Edward III., except a small quantity wrought into coarse cloths for home consumption, was sold to the Flemings or Lombards, but chiefly to the former, and manufactured by them; and it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century (so slow were our ancestors in availing themselves of their natural commercial advantages!) that the English were capable of fabricating cloth for foreign markets. Bruges was at once the staple for English wool, for the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the naval stores and other bulky commodities of the North, and for the precious commodities of the East, as well as domestic productions, carried thither by the Italian states². It was the greatest emporium in Europe.

Nothing so much advances society as an intercourse with strangers. In proportion as commerce made its way into

¹ Guicciardini, *Descrit. de' Paesi Bassi*.

² *Ibid.*—Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. 2.

the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects, and adopted those manners, which occupy and distinguish polished nations. Accordingly we find the Italians and Flemings taking the lead in the liberal as well as in the commercial arts, and exhibiting the first examples of cultivated life.

Painting and architecture revived in Italy toward the close of the thirteenth century. They continued to make rapid progress under different masters, and were both carried to perfection during the period under review. Tapestry, then in high estimation, had long been manufactured with the greatest ingenuity in the Low Countries; and the Flemings, in their turn, became painters and architects, before the rest of Europe were furnished with the necessary arts. Ghent and Bruges, Venice and Genoa, were splendid cities, adorned with stately buildings, while the inhabitants of London and Paris lived in wretched cottages, without even a chimney to carry up the smoke. The fire was made on the ground in the middle of the apartment, and all the family sat round it, like the Laplanders in their huts³. This rude method of building and living continued to be common in considerable towns, both in France and England, as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Learning and politeness are supposed to keep pace with each other. But this observation seems to have been made without due attention, to have been formed into a maxim by some dogmatist, and implicitly adopted by succeeding writers; for, if it be applied to the abstract sciences, it seems equally void of foundation, whether we consider the fact itself, the nature of those sciences, or the manners of the *literati* in different ages. Politeness arises from the habits of social life, and the intercourse of men and of nations; it is therefore more likely to accompany commerce than learning. But it must be allowed, that manners received their last polish from works of imagination and sentiment, which soften the mind by pictures of natural and

³ Erasmus.—Holinshed.

moral beauty, and dispose it to tenderness and social affection.

These reflections, my dear Philip, naturally lead us to the most curious and interesting inquiries—the revival of letters, and the progress of genius and manners. The method in which you now study history does not permit me to treat those subjects so fully as their importance may seem to require; yet I will take care to omit nothing essential for a gentleman to know, while I studiously avoid every thing that belongs to the mere antiquary. An attempt to trace with critical minuteness, through dark and ignorant ages, the obscure sources of refinement, is like traveling over barren mountains and uninhabited deserts in search of the remote fountain of the Nile, instead of contemplating the accumulated majesty of that river, when, greatly bountiful, its mysterious waters shed health and plenty over an extensive kingdom, and furnish the means of an enriching commerce, which feeds and employs millions, and calls forth every power of the mind, and cherishes every virtue of the heart.

The first permanent step towards the revival of literature in Europe was the erection of schools under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charle-magne, those early luminaries of the modern world, had shed a temporary lustre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and some gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promising dawn did not arrive at perfect day. The schools erected by these great monarchs were confined to the churches and monasteries, and monks were almost the only instructors of youth. The contracted ideas of such men, partly arising from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, rendered them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again sunk in the gloom of superstition. A long night of ignorance succeeded. Learning was considered as dangerous to true piety,

and darkness was necessary to hide the usurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themselves on the ruins of the civil power. The ancient poets and orators were represented as seducers to the path of destruction. Virgil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiously elate with the talent of heathenish reasoning. Aristotle's logic alone was recommended, because it was found capable of involving the simplest arguments, and perplexing the plainest truths. It became the universal science: and Europe, for two centuries, produced no composition that can afford pleasure to a classical reader. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of Scripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period. But the gloom at last began to disappear, and the sceptre of Knowledge was wrested from the hand of Superstition. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterward in those of France, England, and Germany. Instruction was communicated in a more rational manner: more numerous and more useful branches of science were taught; a taste for ancient literature revived; and some Latin poems were written, before the close of the twelfth century, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire⁴.

The human soul during this period seems to have roused itself as from a lethargy. The same enthusiasm which prompted one set of men to signalise their valour in the Holy Land, inspired another with the ardour of transmitting to posterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of those pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures of former Christian heroes. These performances were composed in verse; and several of them with much elegance, and no small degree of imagi-

⁴ Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i.

nation. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taste of the age was too rude to relish the beauties of classical composition: the Latin language, in which science was conveyed, was imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the scarcity of parchment, together with the expense of transcribing, rendered books so extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few. Learning, however, continued to advance, in spite of every obstruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, rendered knowledge so general in less than a century after, that Italy began to compare, in arts and in letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar.

In the mean time, an extraordinary revolution had taken place in the empire of Genius, introduced by one no less remarkable in the system of manners. Women, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic convenience. They were devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity, had few attentions offered them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation as in the general commerce of life. But the Gothic nations had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient genius, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought with them that respectful gallantry which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity; and they introduced into the West of Europe a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance towards the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by

the institution of chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its *primum mobile*. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant of some lady, who was generally the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour: for her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he shed his blood. Courage, animated by so powerful a motive, lost sight of every thing but enterprise. Incredible toils were cheerfully endured; incredible actions were performed; and the boldest inventions of fiction were more than realised. The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroism they had inspired; they were not to be approached but by the high-minded and the brave: and men, in those gallant times, could only hope to be admitted to the bosoms of the chaste fair, after having proved their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril.

A similar change took place in the operations of war. The perfect hero of antiquity was superior to fear; but he made use of every artifice to annoy his enemy: impelled by animosity and hostile passion, like the savage in the American woods, he was only anxious of attaining his end, without regard whether fraud or force were the means. But the true knight or modern hero of the middle ages, who seemed to have had, in all his rencounters, his eye fixed on the judicial combat, or Judgement of God, despised stratagem as much as he courted danger. He disdained to take advantage of his enemy; he desired only to see him, and to combat him upon equal terms, trusting that Heaven would interpose in behalf of the just: and as he professed only to vindicate the cause of religion, of injured beauty, or oppressed innocence, he was confirmed in this enthusiastic opinion by his own heated imagination. Strongly persuaded that the decision must be in his fa-

vour, he fought as if under the influence of divine inspiration rather than of military ardour⁵. Thus the system of chivalry blended the heroic and sanctified characters, united devotion and valour, zeal and gallantry.

From these new manners arose a new species of composition; namely, the romance, or modern heroic fable. It was originally written in verse, and, by giving a new direction to genius, banished for a time that vein of ancient poetry which had been cultivated with success during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Modern poetry, however, lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgement been so early established, imagination must have suffered: truth and reason, as an ingenious writer observes, would have chased before their time those visions of illusive fancy which delight to hover on the gloom of superstition, and which form so considerable a part of our polite literature. We should still have been strangers to the beautiful extravagances of romantic fabling.

This new species of composition took its rise in the thirteenth century, among the Troubadours or minstrels of Provence: and was originally written in the Provençal dialect, then the most polished and prevalent of any modern tongue. These Troubadours, who seem to have been the lineal successors of the scalds or bards, had followed in crowds to the Holy Land the princes and nobles by whom they were patronised. They had seen the riches and splendour of oriental cities, and the pomp of oriental princes; they had beheld the greatest scene of war that modern times had yet exhibited. They had seen the combined armies of Europe and of Asia encamp in the plains of Palestine: they had also seen them engage. Their imagination was enflamed by the sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial insignia, and grand pavilions, in which the champions of the cross strove to excel each other; but still more by the enthusiastic valour of the combatants. They had seen many wonderful things,

⁵ *Mém. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, par M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

and heard many marvellous tales; and they gave to the whole, on their return, the colouring of poetic fancy, heightened by all the exaggerations of Asiatic imagery, and filled with all the extravagances of Asiatic fiction⁶.

The ignorance and credulity of the age, the superstitious veneration paid to the heroes of the crusades, the dreadful ideas formed of the infidels, and the distance of country, made the wildest conceptions of the poet be received with all the avidity of truth. The romantic became the favourite mode of composition; and as every kingdom in Europe had its valorous knights, every kingdom soon had its romances: and every romance was nearly the same. Whether the scene was laid in ancient or in modern times, in Spain or in Syria, the same set of ideal beings were introduced, the same kind of plot was pursued, and the same manners were painted. A lady miraculously fair and chaste, and a knight more than humanly brave and constant, encountering monsters, and resisting the allurements of enchantresses, formed the ground-work of all those unnatural compositions.

Modern poetry, however, did not long remain in this rude state. The romance, which had its rise in the manners of chivalry, and which rendered them still more romantic, fell into disrepute as soon as those manners began to decline. It was succeeded by the allegorical tale; in which, the virtues and vices, appetites and passions, took the place of human beings, and were made subservient to the design of the poet. The shadowy production was followed by the Italian epic; which, like the heroic poem of the Greeks, consists of a compound of mortal, immortal, and allegorical personages. Dantè, Ariosto, and Tasso, are supposed to have carried it to perfection.

Dantè, the father of Italian poetry, flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. His *Inferno*, though

⁶ Among these may be numbered dwarfs, giants, dragons, and necromancers; but I am unwilling to give up to the East, with a certain learned critic, the honour of the beautiful invention of fairies. See Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i.

full of extravagances, is one of the greatest efforts of human genius. No poem, ancient or modern, affords more striking instances of the true sublime, and true pathetic⁷. He was succeeded by Petrarca and Boccaccio, who perfected the Italian language.

Petrarca was the first modern poet who wrote with classical elegance and purity. He appears to have been intimately acquainted with the beauties of the ancients, and to have studied their graces. His *Canzoni*, or lyric pieces, have often all the ease of Horace, and all the delicacy of Tibullus. In many of them, however, we discover a degree of that puerile conceit or affectation of wit, that perpetual effort to say something brilliant, which seems inseparable from Italian poetry; and the Platonic ideas with which all his passionate writings abound, though admired by his countrymen as a decent veil to love, give to his celebrated sonnets to Laura too much the air of hymns to a divinity, to interest the human heart. His elegy on the death of that lady, whose story is well known, has been deservedly admired. It partakes of the faults and of the beauties of all his compositions, as will appear from the following lines, translated by sir William Jones in the true spirit of the original:

7 Since the first publication of this work, Mr. Hayley has given to the world an *Essay on Epic Poetry*; a performance which abounds with good sense and sound criticism. And I am happy to find my opinion of the higher Italian poets supported by the suffrage of an author, who possesses so large a share of public favour. He thus concludes the character of Dantè, after judiciously observing, that he *raised to epic pomp his native tongue*:

“ Unequal spirit! in thy various strain,
 “ With all their influence, light and darkness reign;
 “ In thy strange verse and wayward theme, alike,
 “ New forms of beauty and disorder strike;
 “ Extremes of harmony and discord dwell,
 “ The seraph’s music and the dæmon’s yell!
 “ The patient reader, to thy merit just,
 “ With transport glows, and shudders with disgust.
 “ Thy failings spring from thy disastrous time;
 “ Thy stronger beauties from a soul sublime,
 “ Whose vigour bursts, like the volcano’s flame,
 “ From central darkness to the sphere of fame.”

Essay on Epic Poetry, Epist. ii.

" Go, plaintive breeze, to Laura's flow'ry bier
 " Heave the warm sigh, and shed the tender tear,
 " There to the awful shade due homage pay,
 " And softly thus address the sacred clay:
 " Say, envied earth, that dost those charms enfold,
 " Where are those cheeks, and where those locks of gold?
 " Where are those eyes, which oft the muse has sung?
 " Where those sweet lips, and that enchanting tongue?
 " Ye radiant tresses, and thou nectar'd smile,
 " Ye looks that might the melting skies beguile,
 " You robb'd my soul of rest, my eyes of sleep,
 " You taught me how to love, and how to weep!"

Boccaccio has great and various merit. He is chiefly known as a prose writer; and his prose compositions are superior, in purity of diction, to those of any other Italian author. But if his modesty had not led him to commit to the flames his poetical performances, from an apprehension of their inferiority to those of his master Petrarcha, he might possibly have appeared no less considerable as a poet. One piece, which paternal tenderness preserved, and three more that escaped the general ruin, give reason for this opinion. The favourite piece is entitled the *Theseid*; and although, like all the poems of that age, it confounds ancient and modern manners, time, and ceremonies, it possesses so many native beauties as to leave criticism only room for admiration. It is of the heroic kind; and the fable is better constructed, and filled with more interesting incidents, than that of any other Italian poem of the same period⁸. It has been rendered into English, with alterations and additions by Chaucer, under the name of the *Knight's Tale*; and, as modernised by Dryden, is perhaps the most animated and

8 " The gay Boccaccio tempts the Italian muse,
 " More varied notes and diff'rent themes to choose;
 " Themes which her voice had dar'd not yet to sound,
 " Valour's heroic feats by beauty crown'd."

Essay on Epic Poetry, Epist. iii.

truly harmonious piece of versification, of the same extent, in our language.

The reputation of Boccaccio, however, with the world in general, is chiefly founded on his *Decameron*, which is truly an enchanting work. It contains a greater number of good tales, of the gay and humorous kind, than had ever before appeared. The most celebrated moderns, in that walk, have borrowed from it their best pieces. Chaucer and Fontaine, though they lived at the distance of almost three hundred years from each other, are equally indebted to the *Decameron*. Those tales of Boccaccio, which may be considered as the most early gleanings of popular anecdote, are the first modern compositions that give us any just idea of the manners of domestic life; and both the style in which they are related, and the subjects which they unfold, prove that civilisation was then in an advanced state in Italy.

But Italy was not the only country where civilisation had made advances. The English court was, in that age, the most splendid in Europe, and one of the most polished. Thither many accomplished foreigners resorted, to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty of the third Edward. The spoils of France swelled the pomp of England in his reign; while a captive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilised its manners, by accustoming his haughty and insolent barons to the exercise of mutual complaisance. Edward himself, and the Black Prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courtesy. They were the patrons and the mirrors of chivalry. The stately castle of Windsor, built in this illustrious reign, saw the round table of king Arthur restored, and the order of the Garter instituted; that glorious tribute to gallantry, and sacred badge of honour. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were constantly exhibited, and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

The ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crowded to such spectacles, arrayed in the richest habits, were the judges in those peaceful, though not always blood-

less combats; and the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his prowess, became desirous of exciting other passions beside that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aspired at an interest in the seat of the affections. Instead of the cold consent of virtue, he sought the warm return of love; instead of acquiescence, he demanded sensibility. Female pride was roused at such a request: assiduities and attentions were employed to soothe it: and nature and custom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breast of woman. During this sentimental struggle, which had its rise in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened a greater freedom of intercourse, and terminated in our present familiar manners, the two sexes polished each other; the men acquired more softness and address, the women more knowledge and graces.

In a reign of so much heroism and gallantry, the Muses were not likely to sleep. Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, was the brightest ornament of Edward's court. He added, to a lively genius and a learned education, a thorough knowledge of life and manners. He was perfectly a man of the world; had frequently visited France and Italy, and sometimes with the advantage of a public character. He had studied the Italian and Provençal poets, was intimately acquainted with both languages, and attempted with success all the kinds of poetry then in use. Beside the *Theseid*, he translated, and greatly improved, the allegorical poem called the *Romance of the Rose*, written by William of Lorris and John of Meun, two celebrated French poets of those times: and he composed the *Canterbury Tales* after the model of the *Decameron*. They abound with true humour and pleasantry; and, though chiefly borrowed, entitle their author to a distinguished rank among the writers of his age. The Prologues, in particular, which are wholly his own, contain a vein of moral satire that has not hitherto been exceeded.

This eminent poet had several disadvantages to struggle with, particularly that which depended on language. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the English tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be used in all public writings, and taught in all public schools. It was also the dialect of the court. That badge of slavery had remained almost three hundred years, before it was abolished by Edward III. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at least to form, a new dialect. This circumstance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard, as it alone can account for the great disparity observable, after all his diligence, between the progress of English manners and of the English language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's style would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakspeare.

But this bright dawn of English literature and English refinement was deeply obscured by the civil wars that followed, and which continued, with little interruption, till the accession of Henry VII. During that long period of anarchy, genius went to decay; and the animosities of faction had rendered the manners of the people almost altogether savage. The severity of Henry's temper and government was little calculated to promote either letters or politeness; and the religious disputes which took place under the reign of his son, were a new obstacle to civilisation. Chaucer had no successor worthy of himself till the days of Elizabeth.

Similar circumstances obstructed the progress of literature in France till the reign of Francis I., who is deservedly styled the Father of the French Muses. *Chants Royaux*, *Balades*, *Rondeaux*, and *Pastorales*, had taken place of the Provençal poetry about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but Froissart, who cultivated with success this *New Poetry*, as it was called, cannot be considered equal to William of Lorris or John of Meun. The *Romance of the Rose* was still the finest French poem.

Genius, in the mean time, continued to advance, with giant strides, in Italy. A succession of great poets followed Dantè in the highest walk of the Muse: at length appeared Ariosto and Tasso, the glory of the sixteenth century, and whose celebrated works are supposed to contain all that is excellent in poetry. The *Orlando* of Ariosto is a wonderful production. It is formed upon the Gothic plan, if it can be said to have any, and consequently is wild and extravagant; but it comprehends so many and such various beauties, that whether considered as a whole or in parts, it commands our fondest admiration⁹. The *Jerusalem* of Tasso is a more classical performance. It is constructed after the Grecian model; and adds, to an interesting and happily conducted fable, a number of striking and well-drawn characters, all operating to one end, together with a profusion of beautiful machinery, affecting situations, sublime images, and bold descriptions¹⁰. Voltaire prefers the first to the *Odyssey*, and

- 9 " High in mid air, between the moon and earth,
 " The bard of pathos now, and now of mirth,
 " Pois'd with his lyre between a griffin's wings,
 " Her sportive darling, Ariosto sings.
 " As the light cloud, whose varying vapours fly,
 " Driv'n by the zephyr of the evening sky,
 " Fixes and charms the never-wearied view,
 " By taking ev'ry shape and ev'ry hue;
 " So, by Variety's supreme control,
 " His changeful numbers seise the willing soul."

Hayley's *Essay on Epic Poetry*, Epist. iii.

10 After having characterized Ariosto, Mr. Hayley proceeds thus, in perfect conformity with the text:

- " Of chaster fire a rival name succeeds,
 " Whose bold and glowing hand religion leads;
 " In solemn accent and in sacred state,
 " With classic lore and Christian zeal elate,
 " Sweetly pathetic and sublimely strong,
 " Tasso begins his more majestic song;
 " The Muse of Sion, not implor'd in vain,
 " Guides to th' impassion'd soul his heavenly strain."

Hayley's *Essay on Epic Poetry*, Epist. iii.

the second to the *Iliad* of Homer ; but you, I hope, have a juster taste of solid elegance, and of what is truly great in nature and in poetry, than to be swayed by such an opinion.

The progress of genius in Italy, however, during this period, was not confined to poetry, and still less to one species of it. Petrarca and Boccaccio had their successors, as well as Dantè. The dramatic talent began to disclose itself. Both tragedy and comedy were attempted with success before the middle of the sixteenth century ; but that musical drama, which has long been so general in Italy, and which, in excluding too often nature and probability, has enlarged the bounds of harmony, was then in its infancy.

Music is one of the first sciences that are cultivated, and one of the last which are perfected in any country. The rude tale of the bard is accompanied with the wild notes of his voice and harp, to atone for his want of ideas, and engage attention ; but, as fable becomes more extensive and rich, the legendary poet disdains to court the ear with any thing but the harmony of his numbers. He relies for interest solely on the powers of imagination and sentiment ; and these, without any adventitious aid, produce their effect upon a people civilised, but not corrupted. The dramatic writer, in like manner, obtains his end, for a time, by the happy disposition of plot, the force of dialogue, and the strength and variety of his characters. But, in proportion as mankind become more refined, they become more effeminate, and the luxury of harmony is found necessary to give to theatrical representation its proper influence. Then, and not till then, does the musical science attain perfection ; and then poetry begins to decline. Every thing is sung ; every thing is composed to be warbled through the eunuch's throat, and sense is sacrificed to sound.

A similar observation may be extended to history. The deeds of the hero are the first objects of human curiosity : yet mankind, in almost every country, have ceased to act with dignity before their actions have been properly record-

ed. Truth appears cold and insipid to a people inclined to wonder, and wonder is the predominant passion of all uncivilised nations. Fiction is called in to gratify it; and fable is for a time received as history. But when men are more employed in political objects, they become more desirous of being informed than amazed: they wish to know the real actions of their ancestors, and the causes and the consequences of such actions. The historian takes advantage of this disposition of mind to procure admission to his labours; but, as it is more difficult to ascertain facts than to assume them, and easier to assign motives of action, and deduce incidents ingeniously from them, than to trace the motives of men in their actions, and give to truth such a degree of colouring as will make it interesting, without rendering its validity suspected, history has every where been later in attaining perfection than the highest works of imagination.

Italy had at last her historians, and excellent ones. Machiavel successfully courted the comic muse, unfolded the principles of a dark and pernicious policy, and digested the annals of his native country with all the discernment of Tacitus; while Guicciardini, a more amiable writer, related the transactions of his own times with the elegance and exactness of Thucydides.

Philosophy only was requisite in the sixteenth century, to bring Italy within the line of comparison with ancient Greece, when Greece was in her glory. A number of independent and free states vied with each other in all the elegant and commercial arts; in wealth and in luxury, in manners and in talents, in pomp and in power. Proud of her privileges, and of her liberal acquisitions, she looked down with contempt upon every other country, and branded all other nations with the name of barbarians. Two great monarchs, like those of Persia and Macedon, were contending who should be her master. She wanted only the lights of philosophy to render the parallel complete. Bewildered in the mazes of scholastic reasoning, or lost in

the dreams of perverted Platonism, her sages were still alike ignorant of the system of man and of the universe. And before they could know either, it was necessary that the veil of superstition should be rent; that mankind, beholding the puppet to which they had kneeled, and by which they had been overawed, might fearlessly look through the range of nature, and contemplate its physical and moral order.

LETTER LIX.

Of the Progress of Navigation, particularly among the Portuguese; the Discoveries and Settlements of that Nation on the Coast of Africa, and in the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope; the Discovery of America by the Spaniards, the Settlement of the West Indies, and the Conquest of Mexico and Peru; with some Reflections on the moral and political Consequences of those great Events.

FROM the arts that polish nations, my dear son, let us turn our eyes more particularly towards those that aggrandise them; which supply the wants of one people with the superfluities of another, and make all things common to all. Such are navigation and commerce. By these, and the arts to which they gave birth, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians crowded with cities their barren shores, and attained the first rank among ancient nations: by these, in later times, the Venetians and Dutch, struggling from dirt and sea-weed, crowned with palaces their lakes and marshes, and became, at different æras, the most opulent and powerful people in modern Europe: by these Britain now governs the ocean, while she wafts from pole to pole the luxuries and conveniences of life.

The navigation of Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though much improved since the age of Charlemagne, was chiefly confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic

seas, and was little more than what is now called *coasting*. Flanders was the great theatre of commerce. Thither the Italian states conveyed, from the ports of Egypt, the precious commodities of the East: and thither the Hanseatic merchants carried, from the shores of the Baltic, the naval stores and other rude merchandise of the North. To this common mart all European nations resorted. Here they sold or exchanged the produce of their several countries, and supplied all their wants without dreaming of new ports, or suspecting that the system of commerce could be altered. Dantzic, Lisbon, and Alexandria, continued to mark the limits of practical navigation; when the enlightened and enterprising genius of Don Henry of Portugal extended the views of the mariner, and emboldened him to pilot the Atlantic or great Western Ocean. But before I speak of that prince, and the discoveries which he accomplished, I must say a few words of his country, which I have hitherto considered only as an appendage of Spain.

Portugal had no existence as a separate state till towards the close of the eleventh century. About that time Alphonso VI. king of Castile and Leon, having wrested from the Moors the northern provinces of the present kingdom of Portugal, bestowed them, with his natural daughter, upon Henry of Burgundy, a noble volunteer, who had assisted him in his wars. Henry took only the title of count; but his son Alphonso, having recovered other provinces from the Moors, assumed the regal dignity in 1139. The kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, long spent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connexion with the rest of Europe. A detail of those barbarous wars would be equally void of instruction and amusement. I shall therefore only observe, that the succession continued uninterrupted in the line of Burgundy till the death of Ferdinand, in 1383; when John of Castile, who had married the infanta of Portugal, claimed the crown, as the king had left no male issue. A. D. 1385. But the states of Portugal, after an interregnum of

eighteen months, gave it to John, brother of their deceased sovereign, and at that time regent of the kingdom¹.

This John, surnamed the Bastard, no less politic than enterprising, proved worthy of his new dignity. He was the first European prince who formed a respectable navy; which he employed, with equal success, in annoying his enemies and in protecting his subjects. He took Ceuta from the Moors, and overawed the states of Barbary A. D. 1414. during his whole reign. He had several sons, who all signalised themselves by their valour and abilities; but more especially the third, Don Henry, whose bold heart and intelligent mind, influenced by the reports of travellers, led him to project discoveries in the Western Ocean.

This amiable prince, who joined the virtues of a hero and a patriot to the knowledge of a philosopher, turned to use that astronomy which the Arabs had preserved. He had a considerable share in the invention of the astrolabe, and first perceived the advantage that might be derived from the direction of the magnetic needle to the North; which, though already known in Europe, had not hitherto been employed effectually in navigation. He established an observatory at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where many persons were instructed in astronomy and the art of sailing. The pilots formed under his eye not only doubled Cape Non, long supposed an insurmountable barrier, but advanced as far as Cape Bajador, and in their return discovered the island of Madeira. Other pilots, yet more bold, were sent out. They doubled Cape Bajador, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at last Cape Sierra Leone, within eight degrees of the line, A. D. 1463. before the death of Don Henry. In the course of these voyages, the Azores and Cape Verd islands had been discovered, and the vine and the sugar-cane introduced into the island of Madeira, and there cultivated with success.

¹ Neufville, *Hist. Gen. de Portugal*.

In the reign of John II. a prince of profound sagacity and extensive views, who first made Lisbon a free port, the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries with equal ardour and success. The river Zara, on the other side of the line, conducted them to the kingdom of Congo, in the less known part of Africa, where they made easy conquests, and established an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz passed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*: but the king, who saw more fully the importance of that discovery, styled it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Emmanuel pursued the great projects of his predecessors. He sent out a fleet of four ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, in order to complete the passage to India by sea. This admiral possessed all the knowledge and talents necessary for such an expedition. After being assailed by tempests, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and ranging through unknown seas, happily arrived at the city of Calicut on the coast of Malabar².

Calicut was at that time the emporium of India. Thither the Arabs resorted for all the rich products and precious manufactures of the East. These they carried in ships to the ports of the Red Sea, and sold at Alexandria to the Italian merchants. This information Gama had received at Melinda, on the coast of Zanguebar; and he there engaged a pilot, who conducted him into the harbour of Calicut, when the trade was at its height. Here he fortunately met with a native of Barbary, named Monzaida, who understood the Portuguese language, and whose admiration of that people overbalanced the prejudices of religion and country. This admiration determined Monzaida to do every thing in his power to serve strangers who unbosomed themselves to him without reserve. He procured Gama an audience of the samorin or emperor, who received him very favourably; and a treaty of com-

² *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome i.

merce was set on foot in the name of the king of Portugal. But this negotiation, when almost completed, was broken off by the jealousy of the Arabs. They represented so strongly the danger of such an alliance, and the ambition of the Portuguese, that the samorin took the ungenerous resolution of putting to death those bold navigators, whom he had lately treated with kindness, and whose friendship he seemed to desire. Informed of his danger by the faithful Monzaida, Gama sent his brother on board of the fleet. "Should you hear," said he, "of my death or imprisonment, I prohibit you, as your commander, from attempting to release me or to avenge my fate. Set sail immediately, and inform the king of the success of our voyage. I am happy in having performed his orders, and discovered a passage to India for Portugal³." Fortunately, however, matters were not pushed to that extremity. Gama lived to carry to Portugal the news of his own success. The samorin permitted him to join his fleet, and he departed soon after for Europe.

No language can express the joy of the Portuguese on the return of Gama to Lisbon. They saw themselves, by one daring enterprise, in possession of the richest commerce in the world; and, no less superstitious than avaricious, they flattered themselves with the prospect of extending their religion with their dominion.

The pope farther encouraged this hope. Glad of an occasion of asserting his universal sovereignty, he granted to the Portuguese all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover, in the East, on condition that they should there plant the catholic faith. The whole nation was seized with the enthusiasm of conversion and of conquest.

A. D. 1500. They presented themselves in crowds to man the new fleet destined for India; and thirteen ships sailed, as soon as the season would permit, from the Tagus to Calicut, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral.

³ Faria y Sousa, *Port. Asia*, vol. i.

This admiral in his passage keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the calms on the coast of Africa, and the storms which had been met with in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, discovered the rich country now called Brasil, to which he gave the name of the *Land of the Holy Cross*. He took possession of it in the name of the king his master, and proceeded on his voyage. When he arrived at the coast of Malabar, the samorin made him an offer of friendship, and invited him to Calicut, where he had an audience of that Indian prince, and was permitted to open a magazine of commerce. But this good understanding was of short duration. The Arabs again found means to poison the mind of the samorin: the admiral did not behave with the greatest discretion: mutual jealousies and fears arose, and mutual injuries followed. At last the inhabitants of Calicut murdered fifty Portuguese, and burned their magazine. This act of hostility did not escape unpunished. Cabral, in revenge of such a breach of faith, and such undermining perfidy, destroyed all the Arabian vessels in the port, beat down great part of the city, and left it in flames †.

After this second rupture with the samorin, the measures of the Portuguese in India were totally changed. The peaceful system of Gama was laid aside: the maxims of mutual advantage gave place to those of violence, and commerce was established by the sword. Cabral, leaving Calicut, entered into a negotiation with the kings of Cochin, Cananor, Onor, and other princes, who were tributaries of the samorin, and desirous of independence. This love of freedom procured the Portuguese the sovereignty of Malabar, and the trade of India. Cabral promised support to those deluded princes, and carried their ambassadors to the court of Lisbon, where such politic steps were taken as rendered success infallible. A force was sent out sufficient to combat the samorin. But no prince could obtain the protection of Portugal

A. D. 1501.

A. D. 1502.

† Maffei *Hist. Indic.* lib. ii. cap. iv.

without first acknowledging himself its vassal, permitting a fortress to be erected in his capital, and selling his commodities to its subjects at their own price. No foreign merchant might take a cargo, till the Portuguese were served; nor any mariner cruise in those seas, but with their passports. They were the terror and admiration of the East, the wonder and envy of the West. All European merchants soon resorted to Lisbon for Indian commodities; because they could there purchase them at a much lower rate than at Venice, or any other mart to which they were brought by the way of Egypt. And, happily for Portugal, the Venetians were then sinking under the pressure of the league of Cambray.

A. D. 1508.

In order to secure and render perpetual these momentous advantages, the chief command in India was given to Alphonso Albuquerque, a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, and distinguished by his talents both for war and politics. He was no sooner invested with the government, than he began to form grand projects, which he executed with astonishing facility. The Arabs settled in India, and their associates, he had long been sensible, were the only power in the East that the Portuguese had to fear. These traders had secretly entered into a league with the samorin, the soltan of Egypt, and the Venetians, who were gainers by their commerce, and whose interest it was to destroy the trade of Portugal. The furnishers of the caravans, and navigators of the Red Sea, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape. Albuquerque saw it early, while a private commander. He had therefore done every thing in his power to ruin their settlements on the coast of Arabia, and their united naval force had received a signal overthrow in the Indian Ocean. He now extended his views, and projected the conquest of Ormus in the Persian Gulf, and of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, where Portuguese squadrons stationed, might command the trade of Persia and of Egypt.

The immediate execution of these projects would at once have proved fatal to the commerce of the Arabs and their allies; but Albuquerque, upon mature de-
 liberation, perceived the expediency of estab-
 A. D. 1509.
 lishing the Portuguese more fully on the coast of Malabar, before he divided his forces. He accordingly destroyed Calicut; and, observing that the Portuguese had yet no good port in a wholesome air, where they might refit their ships and recruit their seamen after the fatigues of the voyage from Europe, he resolved to procure one. He found that Lisbon had need of Goa.

Goa, which rises to view in the form of an amphitheatre, is situated towards the middle of the coast of Malabar, in an island detached from the continent by two branches of a river that throws itself into the sea at some distance from the city, after having formed beneath its walls one of the finest harbours in the world. It properly belonged to the king of Decan; but a Moor, to whom the government of it had been entrusted, had rendered himself its sovereign. While this usurper was occupied on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the city, and carried it
 A. D. 1510.
 by assault⁵. It was afterwards recovered, but soon retaken; and it became the capital of the Portuguese empire in India.

Albuquerque, whose ambition was boundless, attempted next to establish the Portuguese on the coast of Coromandel. With this view he made an attack upon Ma-
 A. D. 1511.
 lacca, situated near the strait of Sincapore, one of the richest cities in India, and the best adapted for commerce. It was the centre of the trade between Japan, China, the Spice-Islands, and the other Indian ports. When Albuquerque appeared before Malacca, he found it in a posture of defence: and a new obstacle conspired to retard his progress. His friend Araujo was there a prisoner, and was threatened with death the moment the city

⁵ Lafitau *Hist. des Conq. des Port.*—*Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome i.

should be besieged. Deliberating how to act, while the sentiments of friendship and ambition, perhaps of duty, struggled in his breast, he received the following billet from Araujo: "Think only of the glory and advantage of Portugal: if I cannot be an instrument of your victory, let me not retard it." The place was carried by storm, after an obstinate defence and several changes of fortune. The Portuguese found in it an immense booty, both in treasure and valuable commodities. Albuquerque, whose heart was superior to the charms of gold, erected a citadel to secure his conquest, and returned to Goa.

The friendship of the Portuguese was now courted by the most powerful Indian princes, who offered to permit fortresses to be built, and factories to be established in any part of their dominions. Albuquerque did not fail to profit by these offers; and judging that the season was now arrived for giving the final blow to the Arabian commerce in the East, he commenced the execution of his schemes for the conquest of Aden and of Ormus. In his attempt upon

A. D. 1513. Aden, he miscarried: but he committed so many ravages on the coasts of the Red Sea, and in the straits of Babelmandel, as ruined the commerce of the Arabs and Egyptians. He was more successful in his expedition against Ormus, at that time the most opulent and splendid city in the East. It appears to have been nearly equal to ancient Tyre in wealth and in splendour; and, like Tyre, it was seated in a barren isle. Like Tyre, it seemed only to have been disjointed from the land, that it might become queen of the sea. It was one of the greatest marts

A. D. 1515. in the universe. But its voluptuous inhabitants were little able to withstand the impetuous and hardy valour of the Portuguese. Albuquerque soon made himself master of the place, and had the honour of there receiving an embassy from the king of Persia⁶.

The reduction of Ormus, with the possession of Goa and

⁶ Guyon, *Hist. des Ind. Orient.* tome i.—*Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome i.

Malacca, gave perfect security to the Portuguese commerce in India. The successors of Albuquerque extended it to China and Japan; but it was never more respectable than under him. Yet this founder of his country's greatness died in disgrace, and of a broken heart. That dauntless spirit which had encountered so many enemies, and surmounted so many dangers, could not support the frown of his prince. Emmanuel, jealous of his glory, had listened to the insinuations of his enemies; had appointed another governor in his stead; and promoted those whom he sent home as criminals. When Albuquerque received this intelligence, he sighed and said, "Can these things be true?—I incurred the hatred of men by my love for the king, and am disgraced by him through his prepossession for other men: to the grave, unhappy old man! to the grave!—thy actions will speak for themselves and for thee."

While the Portuguese were thus employed in making acquisitions in the East, and appropriating to themselves the most lucrative commerce in the known world, the Spaniards had discovered a new continent toward the West. They had called into existence, as it were, another world; had opened new sources of trade; expanded new theatres of dominion; and displayed new scenes of ambition, of avarice, and of blood.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese navigator, who resided at Lisbon, and who had devoted himself to the study of astronomy, first conceived the idea of this new continent. Perfectly acquainted with the figure of the earth, the notion of the Antipodes, considered by reason as a chimera, and by religion as impiety, appeared to him an incontestable fact. But, if he had not added the stout heart of a hero to the enlightened mind and persevering spirit of a philosopher, the world might still have been ignorant of his discoveries. The Genoese, whom he pro-

posed to put in possession of another hemisphere, treated him as a dreamer. He also unfolded his project, the grandest that human genius ever formed, to the court of Portugal, without success. He then communicated it to the court of Spain; where he long suffered all that supercilious neglect which unsupported merit so often meets with from men in office, who are too apt to despise what they do not understand.

Ferdinand and Isabella were then engaged in the conquest of Granada, and the Spanish treasury was nearly exhausted. But no sooner were the Moors subdued, than the ambitious mind of Isabella seemed to sympathize with the bold spirit of Columbus. She offered to pledge her jewels, in order to furnish him with a fleet. Three small vessels were fitted out by other means; and Columbus set sail from the port of Palos, in Andalusia, on the third of August, 1492, in quest of a western continent, with the title of Admiral and Viceroy of the Isles and Lands which he should discover⁸.

Transcendent genius and superlative courage, experience almost equal difficulty in carrying their designs into execution, when they depend on the assistance of others. Columbus possessed both—he exerted both; and the concurrence of other heads and other hearts were necessary to give success to either; he had indolence and cowardice to encounter, as well as ignorance and prejudice. He had formerly been ridiculed as a visionary enthusiast; he was now pitied as a desperado. The Portuguese navigators, in accomplishing their first discoveries, had always some reference to the coast; cape had pointed them to cape: but Columbus, with no land-mark but the heavens, nor any guide but the compass, boldly launched into the ocean, without knowing what shore should receive him, or where he could find rest for the sole of his foot. His crew murmured—they mutinied; they proposed to commit him to those waves with which he so wantonly sported, and return to Spain⁹.

⁸ *Life of Columbus*, written by his son, chap. xv.

⁹ Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, lib. iii.

This was a severe trial to the courage of Columbus; but the enthusiasm of genius added strength to his natural fortitude. Cool and unconcerned himself about every thing but his great object, he had recourse to the softest language. He encouraged his men by fair promises; he deceived his officers by false reckonings. But these expedients proving at last ineffectual, he demanded an indulgence of three days; at the end of which, if he did not discover land, he promised to abandon his project. His request was granted; and on the morning of the second day, being the twelfth of October, to his inexpressible joy, he descried one of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador¹⁰. He soon after fell in with several other small islands, to one of which he gave the appellation of Isabella, and to another that of Ferdinand. These he rightly judged to belong to that western continent which he sought, and which he conjectured must reach to the Portuguese settlements in India: hence arose the name of *West Indies*. At length he arrived at the island of Cuba, where he entered into some correspondence with the natives, and particularly with the women, from whom he learned, that the gold ornaments which they wore came from Bohio, a large island to the south-east. Thither Columbus steered: what heart does not pant for gold? He soon reached Bohio, or Hayti, as it was called by the natives, to which he gave the name of Espagnola, altered by us to Hispaniola. Here he erected a fort, and planted a little colony; after which, having taken a general survey of the island, and settled a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, he set out on his return to Spain, carrying with him a sufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his discoveries, and some of those new people, to complete the astonishment of Europe.

The natives of Hispaniola, and indeed of all the islands which Columbus had visited, were an easy, indolent, harm-

¹⁰ *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxiii.

less race. They were of a copper colour. The men and the girls went entirely naked: the women had a mat of cotton wrapped about their loins. They had no hair on any part of their body but the head; a distinction which also is common to the natives of the American continent. They considered the Spaniards as divinities, and the discharge of the artillery as their thunder: they fell on their faces at the sound. The women, however, seem very early to have had less awful apprehensions of their new guests: for they no sooner saw them than they offered their favours, and courted their embraces as men¹¹. Some wicked wit may indeed say, that women from the beginning have been fond of superior beings; and, if we credit ancient story, they have often good reason for such fondness. Be that as it may, it is certain that the women of Hispaniola were fonder of the Spaniards than of their husbands. Their husbands were not jealous of them. And in the arms of those wantons the companions of Columbus are said to have caught that fatal malady which has strewed with new thorns the paths of love; and which, if human-happiness is to be computed by the balance of pain and pleasure, will be found to be more than a counterpoise to all the gold of Mexico, the silver of Peru, and the diamonds of Brazil.

But let not this misfortune be adduced as a charge against the great navigator. He could not know that the new hemisphere contained new maladies; he could not foresee, that he should import into Europe a distemper that would poison the springs of life: which would propagate disease from generation to generation, emasculate the vigour of nations, and alarmingly multiply the miseries of mankind!—And, happily for him, his enemies were ignorant of it at his return. He re-entered the port of Palos, on the fifteenth of March, 1493, and was received with universal acclamations of joy. Those who had ridiculed his project were the most ready to pay court to him. In the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella, he was desired to

¹¹ Herrera, dec. i.

sit covered like a grandee of Spain; and, while royal favour beamed upon him, the church loaded him with its benedictions. Superstition lent its sanction to those discoveries, which had been made in its defiance. Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull, granting to the sovereigns of Spain all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores. A fleet of seventeen sail was fitted out in a few months; and Columbus, invested with yet more extensive powers, and furnished with every thing necessary for discovery, colonisation, or conquest, again committed himself to the waves in quest of a Western Continent¹².

Great things were expected from this second voyage; and many new islands were discovered: yet it ended in general disappointment, misfortune, and disgust. When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, with a multitude of missionaries, soldiers, and settlers, he found the fortresses utterly ruined, and the garrison all massacred. They had drawn upon themselves this untimely fate by their arrogance, licentiousness, and tyranny. These particulars he learned from the natives, accompanied with such marking circumstances, as left him no room to disbelieve them. He therefore entered once more into friendly correspondence with those artless people, established a new colony, and built the town of Isabella—afterwards abandoned for that of St. Domingo, which became the capital of the island. His next care was to discover the mines; near which he erected forts, and left garrisons to protect the labourers. But neither the wisdom nor the humanity of this great man were sufficient to preserve order among his followers, or to teach them fellow-feeling. They roused anew, by their barbarities, the gentle spirit of the natives; they quarreled among themselves; they rose against their commander. Mortified by so many untoward circumstances, Columbus committed the government of the

¹² *Life of Columbus*, chap. xlii. xliii.

island to his brother Bartholomew, and returned to Spain in 1496, with some samples of gold dust and ore, pearls, and other precious products¹³.

Bartholomew Columbus suffered many hardships, and was on the point of sinking under the mutineers, before he received any assistance from the court of Spain; and although the great Christopher was able to clear himself of all the aspersions of his enemies, some years elapsed before he could obtain a third appointment for the prosecution of his favourite project. At last a small fleet was granted him, and he discovered the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Oronoco, on the first of August, 1498. He carried off six of the natives, and returned to Hispaniola, convinced that he had now reached the great object of his ambition.

But while Columbus was employed in reducing to obedience the mutineers in that island, another navigator unjustly took from him the honour of the discovery of the Western Continent. The merchants of Seville having obtained permission to attempt discoveries, as private adventurers, sent out four ships in 1499, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, assisted by Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, skilled in the science of navigation. This fleet touched on the part of the western continent already discovered by Columbus, whose course Ojeda followed; and Americus, who was a man of great address, as well as of considerable literary talents, by publishing the first voyages on the subject, and other artful means, gave his name to the New World, in prejudice to the illustrious Genoese¹⁴. Mankind are now become sensible of the imposture, but time has sanctified the error; and the great Western Continent, or fourth division of the globe, so long unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, and Africa, still continues to be distinguished by the name of AMERICA.

¹³ Herrera, dec. i. lib. iiii.

¹⁴ Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv.

This, however, was but a small misfortune in comparison of what Columbus was doomed to suffer. His enemies having prevailed at the court of Madrid, a new governor was sent out to Hispaniola. The great discoverer and his brother were loaded with irons, and sent home in that condition, in different ships. Touched with sentiments of veneration and pity, Valejo, captain of the vessel on board of which the admiral was confined, approached his prisoner with profound respect, as soon as he was clear of the island, and offered to strike off the fetters with which he was unjustly bound. "No, Valejo!"—replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear these fetters in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this, as to all their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty¹⁵."

The Spanish ministry were ashamed of the severity of their creature, Bovadilla: Columbus was set at liberty on his arrival, and a fourth command granted him in 1502, for the prosecution of farther discoveries. But this expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former; for, although Columbus touched at several parts of the American continent, where he exchanged trinkets for gold and pearls, to a considerable amount, he failed in an attempt to establish a colony on the river Yebra or Belem, in the province of Veragua, and lost every thing in his course home. He was shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica: his followers mutinied; and, after being alternately in danger of perishing by hunger or by violence, he arrived in Spain, in 1505, to experience a more severe fate than either. Queen Isabella was dead at his return. With her all his hopes of future favour perished. The court received him coldly. His services were too great for humility; his proud heart disdained to sue, and his high spirit could not submit to

15 *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxxiii.

neglect. He retired to Valladolid, where he died, in 1506, a martyr to the ingratitude of that monarch to whom he had given the West Indies, and for whom he had opened a passage into a richer and more extensive empire than was ever subdued by the Roman arms¹⁶.

There is something in true genius which seems to be essentially connected with humanity. Don Henry, Gama, and Columbus, prosecuted their discoveries upon the most liberal principles, those of mutual advantage; they sought to benefit, not to destroy, their species. After the death of Columbus, the maxims of Spain, like those of Portugal, became altogether bloody. Religion, avarice, and violence, walked hand in hand. The cross was held up as an object of worship to those who had never heard of the name of Jesus: and millions were deliberately butchered, for not embracing tenets which they could not understand, not delivering treasures which they did not possess, or not suffering oppressions which man was never born to bear, and which his nature cannot sustain¹⁷.

The leader who pursued these new maxims with the least violence to humanity, and the greatest advantage to his country, was Fernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Before the discovery of that rich and powerful empire, the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, were in a flourishing condition: frequent expeditions had been made to the continent, and settlements established in Castilla del Oro and on the Isthmus of Darien. At last a descent was made in the Gulph of Mexico, and information received of the opulence and grandeur of
 A. D. 1518. the emperor Montezuma and his capital. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, immediately resolved upon the conquest of Mexico, and committed to Cortez the execution of the enterprise; and that gallant soldier is said to have accomplished, what appears too bold even for

¹⁶ *Life of Columbus.*—Herrera.

¹⁷ Bart. de las Casas, *Relat. de la Dest. de las Indias.*

fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could send millions into the field, with so small a force as five hundred men¹⁸.

A success so unexampled, in an unknown country, must have been accompanied with many favourable circumstances, independent of the ability of the general, the courage of the troops, and even the superiority of weapons. Some of these we know. When Cortez landed A. D. 1519. with his little army on the coast of Mexico, he met with a Spanish captive, who understood the dialect of the country, and whose ransom he obtained. He also formed an intimacy with a fair American named Mariana, who soon learned the Castilian language, and became both his mistress and counsellor. Her attachment communicated itself to all the Mexican women, who were generally neglected by their husbands for the most abominable of all debaucheries. While the men opposed their naked breasts to the weapons of the Spaniards, fell by their blows, or fled from their fury, the women every where flew to their embrace, and rendered them all the services in their power.

To these fortunate occurrences may be added, the arrival of the ambassadors of Montezuma, who endeavoured, by presents, to engage the invaders to re-embark. The delay which this negotiation produced was of infinite service to Cortez. An army, instead of an embassy, on his first landing, might have ruined him. He replied, that he was only an ambassador himself, and, as such, could not depart without an audience of the emperor. This answer put the ambassadors of Montezuma to a stand. They reported it to the emperor. He was alarmed at the request. They redoubled their presents: they employed persuasions, but to no purpose. Cortez was inflexible. At last they had recourse to threats, according to their instructions, and talked loudly of the forces and treasures of their country,

¹⁸ De Solis, lib. ii.—Herrera, dec. ii.

“These,” said Cortez, turning to his companions, “these are what we seek; great perils, and great riches.” Stronger motives could not have been offered to indigent adventurers, burning with the spirit of chivalry and the lust of plunder. Their leader saw conquest in their looks; and having now received the necessary information, and prepared himself against all hazards, he boldly marched toward the seat of empire¹⁹.

The Spanish general, however, though so little diffident of his own strength, prudently negotiated with such princes and states as he found to be enemies of the Mexicans. Among these the most powerful was the republic of Tlascalala. Cortez proposed an alliance to the senate; but that assembly resolved, not only to withhold assistance from the Spaniards, but to oppose them. This resolution had almost proved fatal to Cortez and his enterprise. The Tlascalans were a brave people, and brought a formidable army into the field; but by the help of musquetry, artillery, and cavalry, to these republicans above all things tremendous, the Spaniards, after repeated struggles, were enabled to humble them. They saw their mistake; entered into a treaty with Cortez, and were highly serviceable in his future operations.

The invaders now advanced without interruption to the gates of Mexico. Montezuma was full of irresolution and terror. 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. Instead of making use of force, he had recourse to perfidy. While he professed friendship to the Spanish general, he

¹⁹ Herrera, dec. ii.—De Solis, lib. iii. iv.

sent an army to attack the Spanish colony, newly settled at Vera Cruz, and yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received 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 to punishment the officer who had acted by his orders, and publicly acknowledge himself, in the seat of his power, the vassal of the king of Spain^{co}.

In the height of these successes, Cortez was informed that a new general, sent by the governor of Cuba, had arrived with a superior force to supplant him in the command, and reap the fruits of his victories. He A. D. 1520. marched against his rival: he defeated him; he took him prisoner; and the vanquished troops, won by the magnanimity and confidence of the victor, ranged themselves under his standard. Thus reinforced, by an occurrence which threatened the extinction of his hopes, he returned with rapidity to the city of Mexico, where he found full occasion for this accession of strength.

The Mexicans were all in arms, and had surrounded the party which Cortez had left to guard the emperor. This insurrection was occasioned by the avarice and intemperate zeal of the Spaniards; who, on a solemn festival in honour of the gods of the country, had massacred two thousand of the Mexican nobles, under pretence of a secret conspiracy, and stripped them of their precious ornaments. The spirit of the people was roused; they were incensed at the confinement of their prince; they were filled with holy indignation at the insult offered to the gods, and they longed to revenge the fate of their nobility. Cortez found it difficult to resist their fury. They permitted him, however, to join his detachment,

though not from motives of friendship or generosity: they hoped to involve the whole body of the Spaniards in promiscuous ruin. "We have discovered," said they, "that you are not immortal: and although the death of every Spaniard should cost us a thousand lives, we are determined to complete your destruction. After so great a slaughter, there will still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory²¹."

The Mexicans now fiercely attacked the Spanish quarters. They were several times repulsed, and as often returned to the charge with undiminished ardour. They devoted themselves cheerfully to death; boldly advanced in the face of the artillery; threw themselves in crowds upon the musquetry, and fearlessly grappled the mouths of the guns in attempting to ascend the fortifications. Montezuma considered this as a favourable conjuncture 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 robes, 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 arm, at once deprived Montezuma of the empire and his life²².

That accident gave sincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The successor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, and 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

²¹ De Solis, lib. iv.—Herrera, dec. ii.

²² Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii.—De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xiv. xv.

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 charge, 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 seised, and the consequence proved as Cortez had expected: the Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation and terror²³.

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. The new emperor Guatimozin was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape out of his capital, in order to rouse to arms the distant A. D. 1521. provinces of his dominions. The metropolis surrendered, and the whole empire submitted to the Spaniards.

The city of Mexico is represented as one of the most striking monuments of human grandeur. Its spacious squares, its sumptuous palaces, its magnificent temples, are pompously displayed by the Spanish historians; but we must not give entire credit to those splendid descriptions. The mechanical arts could not be carried to great perfection in a country where the use of iron was unknown; nor could the sciences or liberal arts be cultivated with

²³ De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xx.

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 symbols or signs; and without a facile method of recording past transactions, and of preserving our own thoughts and those of others, society can never make any considerable progress. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of their barbarity; for although we frequently find absurd ceremonies prevail among polished nations, we rarely, if ever, meet with those that are cruel. Civilised man has a feeling for man. Human blood was profusely shed upon the altars of the Mexican gods: and, if we believe the most respectable Spanish historians, human flesh (though only that of enemies) was greedily devoured both by the priests and the people. Enormous superstition and excessive despotism always go hand in hand. When the mind is enslaved, it is easy to enslave the body. Montezuma was the most absolute sovereign upon earth, and his subjects the most abject slaves.

The conquest of Mexico was followed by that of Peru, another country in the New World, abounding yet more in precious metals.

Peru had long been governed by a race of emperors, under the name of Incas, who were supposed to be the descendants of the Sun. The name of the Spanish invader was Pizarro, and that of the Inca in possession of the crown, Atahualpa. Alarmed at the ravages of the Spaniards, this prince agreed to an interview with their general, in order to settle the conditions of a peace. Though Pizarro solicited the conference, he had no thoughts but of war. The Inca, it is said, was not more sincere in his professions. He came to the place of meeting carried upon a throne of gold, and attended by upwards of ten thousand men; twenty thousand more are reported to have waited his signal; but for this re-

port, or the insincerity of the Inca, there seems to have been no foundation in fact. All the Peruvians were richly dressed, and their arms glittered with gold and precious stones. The avarice of the Spaniards was inflamed. Pizarro disposed his followers, who did not exceed two hundred, in the most advantageous order, while Valverdè, a Dominican friar, advanced towards Atahualpa, with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other. He addressed to the Inca, by the help of an interpreter, a long discourse, unfolding the principles of the Christian faith, and pressing him to embrace that religion, and submit himself to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru. Atahualpa, who had listened with patience, replied thus to his pious admonisher; “How extravagant is it in the pope, to give away so liberally that which doth not belong to him!—He is inferior, you own, to God the Father, to God the Son, and to God the Holy Ghost: these are all your gods: and the gods only can dispose of kingdoms. I am willing to be a friend to the king of Spain, who has sufficiently displayed his power by sending armies to such distant countries; but I will not be his vassal. I owe tribute to no mortal prince: I know no superior upon earth. The religion of my ancestors I venerate: and to renounce it would be absurd and impious, until you have convinced me that it is false, and that yours, which you would have me embrace, is true. You adore a god, who died upon a gibbet; I worship the Sun, who never dies.”

“Vengeance!”—cried Valverdè, turning towards the Spaniards;—“Vengeance! my friends;—kill these dogs, who despise the religion of the cross.”

The word of command was given; the artillery played; the musquetry fired; the cavalry spread confusion and terror; while Pizarro advanced, at the head of a chosen band, and seised the person of the Inca. The slaughter was dreadful, and the pillage immense. The blow was

final: Peru ceased to be an empire. The descendants of the Sun, who united in their person both regal and pontifical dignity, sunk under a set of banditti that knew not their birth. After draining Atahualpa of his treasure, under pretence of a ransom for his liberty, Pizarro condemned him to the flames, as an obstinate idolater. But through the mediation of father Valverdè, blessed intercessor! the Inca's sentence was changed into strangling, on condition that he should die in the Christian faith²⁴!

The conquest of Mexico and Peru put the Spaniards in possession of more specie than all the other nations of Europe. Yet Spain from that æra has continued to decline. It has declined in population, industry, and vigour. The vices attendant upon riches have corrupted all ranks of men, and enervated the national spirit. From being the first kingdom in Europe, it has become one of the less considerable. Portugal has experienced a like fate, since the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlement of Brasil; and from the same cause, a too great and sudden influx of wealth.

These reflections lead us to inquire, "How far the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards have been advantageous to Europe, or beneficial to mankind?" The subject is complicated, and will best be illustrated by the sequel of events, and the ideas suggested by such a train of particulars. Meanwhile I shall observe, that authors do not judge rightly when they ascribe to those discoveries our present improvements in commerce and civilisation. Commerce and civilisation were fast advancing in Europe before the beginning of the sixteenth century; and this quarter of the globe would have been nearly in the state in which we now find it, though no such discoveries had been made. We should not indeed have had so much

²⁴ Benzoni, *Hist. Nov. Orb.* lib. iii.—Herrera, dec. iii.—Zaret, lib. iii.—Garçilasso, lib. i.

specie, but we should have had less occasion for it; the price of labour would have been lower, and would have borne the same proportion to the price of provisions, which would have answered the purpose of a larger quantity of circulating money. Our resources in war would have been fewer; but our real strength might perhaps have been greater, as we should not have had occasion to colonise and combat at both extremities of the globe.

It must, however, be owned, that the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, in the first instance, has been of singular service to the general commerce of Europe. Our trade with India was formerly conducted by means of the Arabs, who, consequently, had a share in the profits: it is now entirely carried on by Europeans. European ships and European sailors import the commodities of the East into our harbours. But to counterbalance this advantage, the new passage, by being open to every nation, has increased the taste for Indian commodities, and whetted the avarice of man. It has prompted the nations of Europe to massacre one another in the south of Asia, and rob and murder the industrious natives, without feeling or remorse; while it has hurt the European manufacturer, by furnishing foreign fabrics of superior quality, at a lower price than he can afford to sell. It has encouraged a losing trade: for such, in general, that with India must be accounted;—a trade which continues to drain Europe of its bullion and cash, the commodities of the East being chiefly purchased with gold and silver.

The mines of Mexico and Peru are necessary to supply that drain. So far the discovery of America must be accounted a good, or at least the palliation of an evil. Besides, the colonies established on the continent, and in the islands of America, depend chiefly upon Europe for their manufactures, and furnish an honest and comfortable maintenance to millions of our people, who must otherwise have wanted bread, or have lived in the lowest state

of wretchedness. In this view, America is favourable both to industry and population. These are solid advantages; and the superabundance of the precious metals alone could make Spain and Portugal overlook them. They are poor amidst their treasures; while other nations, profiting by their indolence, grow wealthy by supplying their wants. The labour of a people is the only desirable source of their riches, and the only certain road to their felicity; though mankind, in general, are so ignorant as to suppose, that they should be happier without toil.

The discovery of America has increased the labour of Europe, and consequently its happiness, collectively considered. It has also augmented the number of the civilised part of the human species, by opening a boundless region for the planting of European colonies; which have greatly flourished in many parts, and supplied the inhabitants of the mother-countries with a variety of commodities, formerly unknown, that contribute to the more comfortable enjoyment of life, and to the extension of trade. But the violent means by which those colonies were generally established, and the outrages which continue to be exercised against the injured natives, as often as they attempt to recover their original rights, together with the brutal slavery to which another race of men are condemned, in order to cultivate the lands so unjustly seized and possessed, are circumstances over which humanity must ever mourn, and which, the heart of every lover of his species will tell him, no commercial, no political, motives can authorise or vindicate.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general history, and enter upon that important æra, when all the great powers on the European continent made a trial of their strength in Italy; when religion united with ambition to give new energy to the sword; when creeds, no less than kingdoms, became the source of war; and fire and faggot were employed to enforce human belief.

LETTER LX.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Election of Charles V. in 1519, to the Peace of Cambray, in 1529; including the Progress of the Reformation.

THOUGH Maximilian could not prevail upon the German electors to choose his grandson of Spain king of the Romans, he had disposed their minds in favour of that prince: and other circumstances, on the death of the emperor, conspired to the exaltation of ^{A. D. 1519.} Charles. The imperial crown had so long continued in the Austrian line, that it began to be considered as hereditary in that family; and Germany, torn by religious disputes, stood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preserve its own internal tranquillity, but also to protect it against the victorious arms of the Turks, who, under Selim I., threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce and rapid conqueror had already subdued the Mamelukes, a barbarous militia that had dismembered the empire of the Arabs, and made themselves masters of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared necessary to oppose that of Selim. The extensive dominions of the house of Austria, which gave him an interest in the preservation of Germany: the rich sovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; the entire possession of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily; all united to hold him up to the first dignity among Christian princes: and the new world seemed only to be called into existence, that its treasures might enable him to defend Christendom against the Infidels.—Such was the language of his partisans:

Francis I., however, no sooner received intelligence of the death of Maximilian than he declared himself a candidate for the empire, and with no less confidence of success than

Charles. He trusted to his superior years and experience, and to his great reputation in arms, acquired by the victory at Marignan, and the conquest of Milan. And it was farther urged in his favour, that the impetuosity of the French cavalry, added to the firmness of the German infantry, would prove irresistible; and not only be sufficient, under a warlike emperor, to set limits to the ambition of Selim, but to break entirely the Ottoman power, and prevent it from ever becoming dangerous again to Germany.

Both claims were plausible. The dominions of Francis were less extensive but more united than those of Charles. His subjects were numerous, active, brave, lovers of glory, and lovers of their king. These were strong arguments in favour of his power, so necessary at this juncture; but he had no natural interest in the Germanic body: and the electors hearing so much of military force on each side, became more alarmed for their own privileges than the common safety. They determined to reject both candidates, and offered the imperial crown to Frederic the Wise, duke of Saxony. But he, undazzled by the splendour of an object courted with so much eagerness by two great monarchs, rejected it with admirable magnanimity.

“In times of tranquillity,” said Frederic, “we wish for an emperor who has no power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish armies, led by a warlike and victorious prince, are now assembling: they are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. The imperial sceptre must be committed to some hand more powerful than mine, or that of any other German prince. We possess neither dominions, nor revenues, nor authority, which enable us to encounter such a formidable enemy. Recourse must be had, in this exigency, to one of the rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the field forces sufficient for our defence. But as the king of

“ Spain is of German extraction, as he is a member and
“ prince of the empire by the territories which descend to
“ him from his grandfather, and as his dominions stretch
“ along that frontier which lies most exposed to the enemy,
“ his claim, in my opinion, is preferable to that of a stranger
“ to our language, to our blood, and to our country¹.”
Charles was elected in consequence of this speech.

The two candidates had hitherto conducted their rivalry with emulation, but without enmity. They had even softened their competition by many expressions of friendship and regard. Francis in particular declared, with his usual vivacity, that his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly suitors to the same mistress: “ The most assiduous
“ and fortunate,” added he, “ will win her; and the other
“ must rest contented².” But although a generous and high-minded prince, while animated by the hope of success, might be capable of forming such a philosophic resolution, it soon appeared that he had promised a moderation too refined for humanity, and which he was little able to practise. The preference was no sooner given to his rival than Francis discovered all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. He could not suppress his chagrin and indignation at being baffled in his favourite purpose, and rejected in the face of all Europe, for a youth yet unknown to fame. The spirit of Charles resented such contempt: and from this jealousy, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those great princes, which involved them in frequent hostilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

When princes or private persons are resolved to quarrel, it is easy to find a brand of discord. Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy; and, beside these obvious sources of contention and competition, the latter thought himself bound in honour to restore the king of Navarre to

¹ Scard. *Rer. Germ. Script.*—Seckend. *Comment.*—Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book i.

² Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

his dominions, unjustly seized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negotiate; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendship was eagerly courted by each of the rivals. He was the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe. Sensible of the consequence which his situation gave him, and proud of his pre-eminence, Henry knew it to be his interest to keep the balance even between the contending powers, and to restrain both, by not joining constantly with either. But he was seldom able to reduce his ideas to practice; he was governed by caprice more than by principle: the passions of the man were an over-match for the maxims of the king. Vanity and resentment were the great springs of his actions; and his neighbours, by touching these, found an easy way to draw him into their measures.

All the impolitic steps in Henry's government, however, must not be imputed to himself: many of them were occasioned by the ambition and avarice of his prime-minister and favourite, cardinal Wolsey. This man, who, by his talents and accomplishments, had risen from one of the lowest conditions in life to the highest employments both in church and state, and who lived with regal splendour, governed the haughty, presumptuous, and intractable spirit of Henry with absolute ascendancy. Equally rapacious and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth; vain and ostentatious, he was greedy of adulation; of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration, divine and human; and whoever sought to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary also to sacrifice liberally to them.

Francis was well acquainted with the character of Henry and of his minister. He had successfully flattered Wolsey's pride, by honouring him with particular marks of his confidence, and bestowing upon him the appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor; and he had obtained the re-

stitution of Tournay, by adding a pension to these respectful titles. He now solicited an interview with the king of England near Calais, in hopes of being ^{A. D. 1520.} able, by familiar conversation, to attach him to his friendship and interest, while he gratified the cardinal's vanity, by affording him an opportunity of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations his influence over their monarchs.

Politically though young, Charles dreaded the effects of this projected interview between two gallant princes, whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were capable of inspiring it. Finding it impossible, however, to prevent a visit, in which the vanity of all parties seemed to be so much concerned, he endeavoured to defeat its purpose, and to pre-occupy the favour of the English monarch, and of his minister, by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Relying wholly upon Henry's generosity for his safety, he landed at Dover, in his way from Spain to the Low-Countries. The king of England, who was on his way to France, charmed with such an instance of confidence, hastened to receive his royal guest; and Charles, during his short stay, had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interests of Francis. The tiara had attracted the eye of that ambitious prelate; and as the emperor knew that the papacy was the sole point of elevation, beyond his present greatness, to which he could aspire, he made him an offer of his interest on the first vacancy³.

The interview between Henry and Francis was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres; where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, as procured it the name of the *Field of Cloth of Gold*. Here Henry

³ Polyd. Virg.—Holinshed.—Herbert's *Hist. of Henry VIII.*—Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey*.

erected a spacious house of wood and canvass, framed in London, on which, under the figure of an English archer, was inscribed the following motto: "He prevails whom I favour!" alluding to his political situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power between the emperor and French monarch. Feats of chivalry however, parties of gallantry, and such exercises as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied the two courts during the time they continued together, which was eighteen days. And here I cannot help noticing a circumstance that strongly marks the manners of those times, and their contrast to ours, if not their comparative rusticity. After the French and English wrestlers had exercised their strength and agility, which, according to the phrase of the historian, afforded *excellent pastime*, the kings of France and England, says Fleuranges, retired to a tent, where they drank together; and the king of England, seising the king of France by the collar, said, "My brother, I must wrestle with you!" and attempted once or twice to *trip up his heels*; but Francis, who was *an excellent wrestler*, twisted him round, and threw him on the ground with great violence. Henry endeavoured to renew the struggle, but was prevented⁴.

After taking leave of this scene of dissipation, the king of England paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go with him to Calais; where the artful Charles completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He renewed his assurances of assisting Wolsey in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues of the sees of Badajoz and Palencia. He flattered Henry's pride, by convincing him of his importance, and the justness of the motto which he had chosen; offering to sub-

⁴ *Mem. de Fleuranges.*

mit to his sole arbitration any difference that might arise between him and Francis ⁵.

This important point being secured, Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was solemnly invested with the crown and sceptre of Charle-magne, in presence of a more splendid and numerous assembly than had appeared on any former inauguration. About the same time Solyman the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and warlike of the Turkish princes, and a constant and formidable rival of the German emperor, ascended the Ottoman throne, in consequence of the death of Selim.

The first act of Charles's administration was the appointment of a diet at Worms, to concert with the princes of the empire proper measures for checking the progress of "those new and dangerous opinions which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors." The opinions propagated by Luther and his followers were here meant. That bold innovator, after the diet at Augsbourg, and the death of Maximilian, had freely promulgated his opinions, under the protection of the elector of Saxony, to whom the vicariate of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws was committed, during the interregnum that preceded the election of Charles V. And these opinions were suffered to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. Leo X., though little skilled in such controversies, was now alarmed at Luther's progress; and, convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, he issued a bull of excommunication against him. His books were ordered to be burned, and he himself was delivered over to Satan, as an obstinate heretic, if he should not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors.

This sentence did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to a general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication, and boldly declared the pope to be the Man of Sin, or Anti-

christ, whose appearance is foretold in the Revelation of St. John; declaimed against the tyranny and usurpations of the court of Rome with greater vehemence than ever, exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke, and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the rights of religion, and the mental liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his contempt of the papal power to words alone. He assembled all the professors and students of the university of Wittenberg, and with great pomp, and before a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, with the bull of excommunication, into the flames: and his example was imitated in several other cities⁶.

While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus furiously shaken in Germany, an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them in Switzerland. The Franciscans being entrusted with the sale of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same unblushing rapacity which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Saxony. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich, where they received a mortal blow from Ulric Zuinglius, a man of extensive learning, uncommon sagacity, and heroic intrepidity of spirit. Animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince, and perhaps a remnant of original prejudice, imposed upon the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion; and the pope's supremacy was soon denied in the greater part of Switzerland⁷.

Such was the state of the Reformation, when Charles V. arrived in Germany. No secular prince had yet embraced the new opinions; no change in the established forms of

6 Seckend. *Comment.*—Luth. *Oper.* vol. ii.

7 Ruchart. *Hist. de la Reformat, en Suisse*, liv. i.

worship had been introduced, nor any encroachments made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy: a deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered, which produced the conflagration that afterwards spread over Europe. Charles saw the flames gathering; and, as he found it necessary to secure the friendship of Leo X. he cited Luther to appear before the diet at Worms. Luther did not hesitate a moment about yielding obedience: he accompanied the herald who brought the emperor's letter and safe-conduct. "I am lawfully called to appear in that city," said he to some of his friends, who were anxious for his safety; "and thither I will go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as tiles upon the houses were assembled against me⁸."

Had vanity and the love of applause, from which no human heart is free, been the sole principles by which Luther was influenced, his reception at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward for all his labours. Vast crowds assembled to see him whenever he walked abroad; and his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, who treated him with all the respect that is due to superior merit, but which is more particularly commanded by those who possess the power of directing the understanding and the sentiments of others. Rank or birth can receive no homage so flattering; for they can receive none so sincere, or which has so immediate a reference to those qualities which men call their own. Luther was not, however, intoxicated: he behaved before the diet with decency and firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings; but he refused to retract his opinions while unconvinced of their falsehood, or consent to their being tried by any other standard than the Scripture. Neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him

⁸ Luth. *Oper.* vol. ii.

to depart from this resolution. Some of the fathers, therefore, proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and commit to the flames the author of this pestilent heresy; but the members of the diet refusing to agree to such a violation of public faith, and Charles not being disposed to bring a stain on the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious measure, Luther was permitted to depart in safety⁹. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was issued in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour him, and requiring all to concur in seising his person as soon as the term of his safe-conduct should expire. But the elector of Saxony, his faithful patron, took him again, though secretly, under protection. Luther, in solitude, propagated his opinions; and Charles, for a time, found other matters to engage his attention.

The Spaniards, displeased at the departure of their sovereign, whose election to the empire they foresaw would interfere with the administration of his own kingdom, and incensed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom the direction of public affairs had been committed since the death of cardinal Ximenes, broke out into open rebellion. This seemed, to Francis, a favourable conjuncture for reinstating the family of John d'Albret in the kingdom of Navarre. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions, and the troops usually stationed there had been recalled to quell the commotions in Spain. A French army under Andrew de Foix, speedily conquered Navarre; but that young and inexperienced nobleman, dazzled with success, and pushed on by military ardour, ventured to enter Castile. Though divided among themselves, the Spaniards united against a foreign enemy; routed his forces, took him prisoner, and recovered Navarre in a shorter time than he had spent in subduing it.

The hostilities between the rival monarchs soon spread to another quarter. The king of France encouraged the

⁹ F. Paul.—Seckend.

duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor, and invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France, but was repelled and worsted before Mezieres, by the famous chevalier de Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The knight without fear and without reproach*, who united the talents of a consummate general to the punctilious honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry. Francis rushed into the Low Countries; where, by an excess of caution, an error not natural to him, he lost an opportunity of cutting off the whole imperial army; and, what was still greater misconduct, he disgusted the constable de Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon¹⁰.

During these operations in the field, an unsuccessful congress took place at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII. It served only to exasperate those whom it was intended to reconcile. And a league was soon after concluded at Bruges, through the intrigues of Wolsey, between the pope, Henry, and Charles, against France. Leo had already entered into a separate league with the emperor; and the French were rapidly losing ground in Italy¹¹.

The insolence and exactions of Lautrec, governor of Milan, had totally alienated the affections of the people from France. They resolved to expel the troops of that nation, and put themselves under the government of Francis Sforza, brother of Maximilian their late duke. In this resolution they were encouraged by the pope, who excommunicated Lautrec, and took into his pay a considerable body of Swiss. The papal army, commanded by Prosper Colonna, an experienced general, was joined by reinforcements from Germany and Naples; while Lautrec, neglected by his court, and deserted by the Swiss in its pay, was unable to make head against the enemy. The city of Milan was betrayed by the inhabitants to the con-

10 *Œuvr. de Brantome*, tome vi.—*Mem. de Bellay*.

11 Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xiii.—Herbert's *Hist. of Henry VIII.*

federates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state; and of the conquests of the French in Lombardy, only Cremona, the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts, remained in their power¹².

Leo received the account of this success with such transports of joy as are said to have brought on a fever which occasioned his death. The spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended, by that event. The Swiss were recalled: some other mercenaries were disbanded for want of pay: so that only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's service, remained to defend the duchy of Milan. But Lautrec, who, with the remnant of his army, had taken shelter in the Venetian territories, destitute both of men and money, was unable to improve this opportunity. All his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and activity of Colonna and his associates.

Meantime high discord prevailed in the conclave. Wolsey's name, notwithstanding the emperor's magnificent promises, was scarcely mentioned in the assembly. Julio of Medicis, Leo's nephew, thought himself sure of the election; when, by an unexpected turn of fortune, A. D. 1522. cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, who at that time governed Spain in the character of viceroy, was raised to the papacy, to the great disgust of the Italians.

Francis, roused by the rising consequence of his rival, resolved to exert himself with fresh vigour, in order to wrest from him his late conquests in Lombardy. Lautrec received a supply of money, and a recruit of ten thousand Swiss infantry. With this reinforcement he was enabled once more to act offensively, and even to advance within a few miles of the city of Milan; when money again failing him, and the Swiss growing mutinous, he was obliged to attack the Imperialists in their camp at Bicocca, where he was repulsed with great slaughter, having lost his

12 Guicciardini, lib. xiv.—*Mem. de Bellay*.

bravest officers and best troops. The Swiss who survived immediately set out for their own country; and Lautrec, despairing of being able to keep the field, retired into France. Genoa was soon after taken by Colonna; and the authority of the emperor was established in all parts of Italy. The citadel of Cremona was the sole fortress that remained in the hands of the French¹³.

The affliction of Francis, for such a succession of misfortunes, was augmented by the unexpected arrival of an English herald, who, in the name of his sovereign, declared war against France. The courage of this high-spirited prince, however, did not forsake him. Though his treasury was exhausted by expensive pleasures no less than by hostile enterprises, he assembled a considerable army, and put his kingdom in a posture for resisting his new enemy, without abandoning any of the schemes which he was forming against the emperor. He was surprised, but not alarmed, at such a denunciation.

Willing to derive as much advantage as possible from his powerful ally, Charles paid a second visit to the court of England; and his success exceeded his expectations. He not only gained the entire friendship of Henry, who publicly ratified the treaty of Bruges, but disarmed the resentment of Wolsey, by assuring him of the papacy on Adrian's death; an event seemingly not distant, by reason of his age and infirmities. In consequence of these negotiations, an English army invaded France, under the command of the earl of Surry; who was obliged, however, at the close of the campaign, to retire with diminished forces, without being able to obtain possession of one place within the French frontier.

While the Christian princes were wasting each other's strength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary, and made himself master of Belgrade, reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish power. Encou-

13 Guicciardini, ubi sup.

raged by this success, he turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, then the seat of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and, although every prince in that warlike age acknowledged Rhodes to be the principal bulwark of Christendom in the Levant, so violent was their mutual animosity, that they suffered Solyman without disturbance to carry on his operations against that city and island. L'isle Adam, the grand master, made a gallant defence; but, after incredible efforts of courage, patience, and military skill, during a siege of six months, he was obliged to surrender the place, having obtained an honourable capitulation from the soltan, who admired his heroic qualities¹⁴. Charles and Francis were equally ashamed of having occasioned, through their contests, such a loss to the Christian world; and the emperor, by way of reparation, granted to the knights of St. John the small island of Malta, where they fixed their residence.

Adrian VI., though the creature of the emperor, and devoted to his interest, endeavoured to assume the impartiality which became the common father of Christendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league against Solyman, whose conquest of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe. The Italian states were no less desirous of peace than the pope: and so much regard was paid by the hostile powers to the exhortations of his holiness, and to a bull which he issued, requiring all Christian princes to consent to a truce for three years, that the Imperial, French, and English ambassadors at Rome, were empowered to treat of that matter. But while they wasted their time in fruitless negotiations, their masters were continuing their preparations for war.

The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to the French interest, formed engagements with the emperor
A. D. 1523. for securing Francis Sforza in the possession of the duchy of Milan; and the pope, from a persuasion that

¹⁴ Fontan. *de Bell. Rhod.*—Barre, *Hist. d' Allemagne*, tome viii.

the ambition of the French monarch was the only obstacle to peace, acceded to the same alliance. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and other Italian powers, followed this example. Francis was left without an ally to resist the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whose armies every where threatened, and whose territories encompassed, his dominions. The emperor, at the head of a Spanish army, menaced France on the side of Guienne; the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy; and a numerous body of Germans prepared to ravage Burgundy¹⁵.

The dread of so many and such powerful adversaries, it was thought, would have obliged Francis to stand wholly on the defensive, or at least have prevented him from entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the characteristic of this prince, who was too apt to become negligent on ordinary occasions, to rouse himself at the approach of imminent danger, and not only to encounter it with spirit and intrepidity, but to provide against it with diligence and industry. Before his enemies were able to strike a blow, he had assembled a powerful army, with which he hoped to disconcert all the emperor's schemes, by leading it in person into Italy: and this bold measure could scarcely have failed of the desired effect, had it been immediately carried into execution. But the discovery of a domestic conspiracy, of a very alarming nature, detained him in his kingdom.

Charles duke of Bourbon, high constable of France, was a prince of the most shining talents. His great abilities equally fitted him for the council or the field, while his eminent services to the crown entitled him to its first favour. But, unhappily, Louisa duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion against the house of Bourbon; and had taught her son, over whom she had acquired an absolute ascendant, to view the duke's conduct with a jealous eye. After re-

15 Guicciardini, lib. xv.

peated affronts he retired from court, and began to listen to the advances of the emperor's ministers. Meantime the duchess of Bourbon died; and, as the constable was no less handsome than accomplished, the duchess of Angoulême, still susceptible of the tender passions, formed the scheme of marrying him. But Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aspire, from the doting fondness of a woman who governed her son and the kingdom, incapable of imitating Louisa in her sudden transition from hatred to love, or of meanly counterfeiting a passion for one who had so long pursued him with unprovoked malice, treated the proposal with disdain, and even turned it into ridicule. At once refused and insulted by the man whom love only could have made her cease to persecute, Louisa was filled with all the rage of disappointed woman. She resolved to ruin the duke, and for this purpose commenced an iniquitous suit against him; and by the chicanery of chancellor du Prat, he was deprived of his whole family estate. Driven to despair by this treatment, he had recourse to measures which despair only could have dictated. He entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England; and he proposed, as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, and introduce foreign troops into the heart of France¹⁶.

Happily, Francis gained some intimation of this conspiracy before he left the kingdom. But not being sufficiently convinced of the constable's guilt, he suffered that dangerous enemy to escape; and Bourbon, entering into the emperor's service, employed the great resources of his enterprising genius, and his military skill, to the prejudice of his sovereign and his native country. He took a severe revenge for all his wrongs.

Francis now relinquished his intention of leading his army into Italy. He did not know how far the infection

16 Thuan. *Hist.* lib. i. cap. ii.—*Mem. de Bellay*, liv. ii.

had spread among his subjects, and was afraid that his absence might encourage them to make some desperate attack in favour of a man so much beloved. He did not, however, abandon his design on the duchy of Milan; but sent, in order to subdue it, an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of that duchy, was in no condition to resist such a force; and the city of Milan must have fallen into the hands of the French, had not Bonnivet wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, till the inhabitants recovered from their consternation. The imperial army was reinforced. Colonna died, and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, succeeded him in the command. But the military operations were chiefly conducted by the duke of Bourbon and the marquis de ^{A. D. 1524.} Pescara, the two greatest generals of their age. Bonnivet, destitute of the talents necessary to oppose such able commanders, was reduced, after various movements and encounters, to the necessity of attempting a retreat into France. He was pursued by the imperial generals, and routed at Biagrassa.

Here fell the chevalier Bayard, whose contempt of the arts of courts prevented him from ever rising to the chief command, but who was always called, in times of real danger, to the posts of difficulty and importance. Bonnivet being wounded, the conduct of the rear was committed to Bayard. He put himself at the head of the heavy-armed cavalry, and, animating them by his presence and example to sustain the whole shock of the imperial army, he gained time for the body of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in that service he received a mortal wound; and being unable to continue on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, where he calmly waited the approach of death. In this situation he was found by Bourbon, who led the van of the Imperialists, and expressed much sorrow for his fate. "Pity

“not me!” cried the high-minded chevalier: “I die, as a man of honour ought—in the discharge of my duty; but pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath¹⁷.”

The emperor and his allies were less successful in their operations on the frontier of France. They were baffled on all sides. And Francis, though stripped of his Italian dominions, might still have enjoyed in safety the glory of having defended his native kingdom against one half of Europe, and have bidden defiance to all his enemies, could he have moderated his military ardour. But understanding that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for invading Picardy, his rage for the conquest of Milan returned; and he determined, notwithstanding the approach of winter, to march into Italy.

The French army no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than the whole duchy of Milan was thrown into consternation. The capital opened its gates. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi: and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they must have abandoned that post, and been totally dispersed. But his evil genius led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every thing known to the engineers of that age, or which could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in vain by the French monarch against this important place. Confident of success, he had detached a considerable part of his army to invade the kingdom of Naples: and the main body was much wasted by the fatigues of the siege and the rigour of the season. The imperial generals had not hitherto molested him, but they were not idle. Pescara and Lannoy had assembled forces from all quarters; and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, had gone into Germany,

¹⁷ *Mem. de Bellay, ubi sup.—Œuvr. de Brantome, tome vi.*

and levied at his own expense a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets. The united army advanced to the relief of Pavia, now reduced to extremity for want of ammunition and provisions. Prudence, and the advice of his most experienced officers, dictated to Francis the propriety of a retreat; but his own romantic notions of honour, and the opinion of Bonnivet, unhappily determined him to keep his post. Having said that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, he thought it ignominious to depart from his resolution; and he anxiously waited the approach of the enemy.

The imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched, that they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them. But the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own troops, obliged them at last to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour; never were men more strongly animated with personal emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. The first efforts of the French valour made the firmest battalions of the Imperialists give ground; but the fortune of the day was soon changed. The Swiss troops in the service of France, unmindful of their national honour, shamefully deserted their post. Pescara fell upon the French cavalry with the imperial horse, and broke that formidable body by a mode of attack with which they were wholly unacquainted¹⁸; while Leyva, sallying out with his garrison during the heat of action, made a furious assault on the enemy's rear, and threw every thing into confusion. The rout became general. But Francis himself, surrounded by gallant nobles, many of whom fell by his side, long sustained the combat. His horse being killed under him, he fought on foot, undistinguished but by his valour, and killed seven men with

¹⁸ Pescara had intermingled with the imperial horse a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy musquets then in use. Guicciardini, lib. xv.

his own hand. At last he was observed by Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had followed the fortunes of Bourbon, and who now saved the life of his sovereign, ready to sink beneath an enraged soldiery. By his persuasion Francis was prevailed upon to surrender; yet he obstinately refused, imminent as the danger was, to deliver up his sword to Bourbon. Lannoy received it. But the duke had the cruel satisfaction of exulting over his sovereign's distress, and of repaying, from revenge, the insults offered by jealousy¹⁹.

This great victory, and the captivity of Francis, filled Europe with alarm. Almost the whole French army was cut off; Milan was immediately abandoned; and in a few weeks not a Frenchman was left in Italy. The power of the emperor, and still more his ambition, became the object of universal terror; and resolutions were every where taken to set bounds to it. Meanwhile Francis, deeply impressed with a sense of his misfortune, wrote to his mother Louisa, whom he had left regent of the kingdom, the following short but expressive letter: "All is lost, but "honour!"

Charles received the news of the signal and unexpected success which had crowned his arms with the most hypocritical moderation. He would not suffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of it; and said, he only valued it, as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom. Louisa, however, did not trust to those appearances. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman remarkable for maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight, and exerted all the activity, of a consummate politician. She took every possible measure for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, while she employed all her address to appease the resentment and to gain the friendship of²⁰ Eng-

19 Brantome.—Guicciardini.

20 *Mém. de Bellay.*—Brantome.—Guicciardini.

land; and a ray of comfort from that quarter soon broke in upon the French affairs.

Though Henry had not entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, he had always retained some imperfect idea of that balance of power necessary to be maintained between Charles and Francis. By his alliance with the emperor he hoped to recover some part of those territories on the continent which had belonged to his ancestors; and in that hope he willingly contributed to give Charles the ascendancy above his rival. But having never dreamed of any event so apparently decisive as the victory of Pavia, he now became sensible of his own danger, as well as of that of Europe in general, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage of the distressed condition of France, he therefore determined to assist her in her present calamities. Other causes conspired to enforce this resolution.

The elevation of the cardinal of Medicis (Clement VII.) to St. Peter's chair, on the death of Adrian VI., had made the English minister sensible of the insincerity of the emperor's promises, while it extinguished all his hopes of the papacy; and Wolsey resolved on revenge. His master too had ground of complaint. Charles had so ill supported the appearance of moderation which he assumed when first informed of his good fortune, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin," he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles." Influenced by all these considerations, together with the glory of raising a fallen enemy, Henry listened to the flattering submissions of Louisa; entered into a defensive alliance with her, as regent of France; and engaged to use his best offices in order to procure a deliverance of her son from a state of captivity²¹.

21 Herbert.—Mezeray.—Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey*.

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, cried, "It were better that a king should die thus!" But flattering himself, when he grew cool, that such propositions could not come directly from Charles, he desired that he might be removed into Spain, where the emperor then resided. His request was complied with; but he languished long before he could obtain a sight of his conqueror. At last he was favoured with a visit; and the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, or that Francis, if driven to despair, might, as he threatened, resign his crown to the dauphin, agreed to abate somewhat of his former demands. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Madrid, in consequence of which Francis obtained his liberty.—The chief articles were, that Burgundy should be restored to Charles as the rightful inheritance of his ancestors, and that the king's two eldest sons should be delivered up as hostages for the performance of the stipulated conditions. The exchange of the captive monarch for his children was made on the frontiers of France and Spain. And the moment that Francis entered his own dominions, he mounted a Turkish horse, and, putting it to its speed, waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king²²!"

The reputation of the French monarch, however, would have stood in a fairer light had he died a captive; for the unhappy situation of his affairs, delicate as his notions of honour appear to have been, led him henceforth to act a part very disadvantageous to his moral character. He never intended to execute the treaty of Madrid: he had even left a protest in the hands of notaries, before he signed it, that his consent should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void²³. Accordingly, as soon as he arrived in France, he assembled the states of Burgundy, who protested against the article rela-

22 Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

23 *Recueil de Traités*, tome ii.

tive to their province; and when the imperial ambassadors urged the immediate execution of the treaty, the king replied, that he would rigorously perform the articles relative to himself, but in those which affected the French monarchy he must be directed by the sense of the nation. He made the highest acknowledgements to the king of England for his friendly interposition, and offered to be entirely guided by his counsels.

Charles and his ministers now saw that they were overreached in those very arts of negotiation in which they so much excelled, while the Italian states observed with pleasure that Francis was resolved to evade the execution of a treaty which they considered as dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Clement VII. absolved him from the oath which he had taken at Madrid; and the kings of France and England, the pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines and the Milanese, entered into an alliance, to which they gave the name of the Holy League, because his holiness was at the head of it, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up the two sons of Francis on the payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in the quiet possession of the duchy of Milan²⁴.

In consequence of this league, the confederate army took the field, and Italy became once more the scene of war. But Francis, who, it was expected, would infuse spirit and vigour into the whole body, had gone through such a scene of distress, that he was become diffident of his talents, and distrustful of his fortune. He had flattered himself, that the dread alone of such a confederacy would induce Charles to listen to what was equitable, and therefore neglected to send sufficient reinforcements to his allies in Italy. In the mean time, the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the Imperialists, over-ran the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promised him the investiture; and his troops beginning to mutiny for want of pay, he boldly led them to Rome, in May 6, 1527.

²⁴ Goldast. *Polit. Imperial.*

spite of every obstacle, by offering to their avidity the rich spoils of that ancient capital. Nor did he deceive them; for although he himself was slain, while encouraging their efforts by his brave example, in planting with his own hands a scaling-ladder against the walls, they, more enraged than discouraged by that misfortune, mounted to the assault with the greatest ardour; and, entering the city sword in hand, pillaged it for many days, and made it a scene of horrid carnage and abominable lust.

Never did Rome experience in any age so many calamities, even from the barbarians by whom she was successively subdued—from the followers of Alaric, Genseric, or Odoacer—as now from the subjects of a Christian and Catholic monarch. Whatever was respectable in modesty or sacred in religion seemed only the more to provoke the rage of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their mothers, and upon those altars to which they had fled for safety. Venerable prelates, after being exposed to every indignity, and enduring every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel deaths, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures. 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 see²⁵.

Charles received the news of this extraordinary event with equal surprise and pleasure; but, to conceal his joy from his Spanish subjects, who were filled with horror at the insult offered to the sovereign pontiff, and to lessen the indignation of the other powers of Europe, he expressed the deepest sorrow for the success of his arms. He put himself and his whole court into mourning; stopped the

²⁵ Onuphr. *Vit. Clem. VII.*—*Mem. de Bellay.*—Guicciardini, lib. xviii.

rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and ordered prayers to be offered in all the churches of Spain for the liberation of the pope, which he could immediately have procured by a letter to his generals²⁶.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis, for the calamity of their ally, was more sincere. Alarmed at the progress of the imperial arms, they had, even before the assault upon Rome, entered into a closer alliance, and proposed to invade the Low Countries with a powerful army; but no sooner did they hear of Clement's captivity than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war, from the Netherlands to Italy, and resolved to take the most vigorous measures for the release of his holiness. Henry, however, contributed only money. A French army crossed the Alps, under the command of Lautrec; Clement obtained his freedom; and war was, for a time, carried on by the confederates with success. But the death of Lautrec, and the revolt of Andrew Doria, a celebrated Genoese admiral, at that A. D. 1528. time in the service of France, changed the face of affairs. He obliged the French garrison in Genoa to surrender, and restored the liberties of his country. The French army was ruined before Naples; and Francis, discouraged by unsuccessful enterprises, began at length to think of peace.

At the same time, Charles, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, had many reasons to wish for an accommodation. Solyman, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories with a formidable army; and the progress of the Reformation in Germany endangered the tranquillity of that country. In consequence of this situation of affairs, while pride made both parties conceal or dissemble their real sentiments, two ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles, and

26 Muroc. *Hist. Venet.* lib. iii.

Louisa, the mother of Francis, met at Cambray, and
A. D. 1529. settled the terms of pacification between the
French king and the emperor. Francis agreed to
pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons;
to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and forego
all his Italian claims; and Charles ceased to demand the
restitution of Burgundy²⁷.

All the steps of this negotiation had been communicated
to the king of England; and Henry was, on that occasion,
so generous to Francis, that he sent him an acquittal
nearly of six hundred thousand crowns, in order to enable
him to fulfil his agreement with Charles. But the Italian
confederates of the French king were less satisfied with
the treaty of Cambray. They were almost wholly aban-
doned to the will of the emperor, and seemed to have no
other means of security than his equity and moderation.
Of these, from his past conduct, they had not formed the
most advantageous idea. But Charles's present circum-
stances, particularly with regard to the Turks, obliged
him to behave with a generosity inconsistent with his cha-
racter. The Florentines alone, whom he reduced under
the dominion of the family of Medicis, had reason to com-
plain of his severity. Sforza obtained the investiture of
the duchy of Milan and his pardon: and every other
power experienced the lenity of the victor.

Charles, who, during this full tide of his fortune, having
A. D. 1530. appeased all the discontents in Spain, had ap-
peared in Italy with the pomp and power of a
conqueror, and received the imperial crown from the
hands of the pope, now prepared to revisit Germany,
where his presence was highly necessary; for, although
the conduct and valour of his brother Ferdinand, to whom
he had transferred the hereditary dominions of the house
of Austria, and who had been elected king of Hungary,
had obliged Solyman to withdraw his forces, his return

²⁷ Sandov. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.*—Robertson, book v.

was to be feared, and the disorders of religion were daily increasing. But these disorders, and the future exploits of the emperor, must form the subject of another letter.

LETTER LXI.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, and of the Progress of the Reformation on the Continent, from the Peace of Cambray to that of Crespi, in 1544.

THE Reformation, my dear Philip, had made a great progress in Germany, during that interval of tranquillity which the absence of the emperor, the contests between him and the pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded to its promoters. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the papal see; and its dominion, even in that part which had not yet shaken off the yoke of Rome, was considerably weakened by the example of the neighbouring states, or by the secret progress of those doctrines which had undermined it among them.

Whatever satisfaction the emperor, while at open enmity with the pope, might have felt in those events which tended to mortify and embarrass his holiness, he was sensible that the religious divisions in Germany would, in the end, prove injurious to the imperial authority. Accordingly the prospect of an accommodation with Clement no sooner offered itself, than Charles convoked a diet of the empire at Spire, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. The diet, ^{A. D. 1529.} after much dispute, issued a decree confirming the edict published against Luther at Worms, and prohibiting any

farther innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the mass, before the meeting of a general council. Against this decree, as unjust and impious, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Lunenburg, and the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest. On that account they were called PROTESTANTS¹; an appellation which has since become common to all the sects, of whatever denomination, that have revolted from the church of Rome.

Such was the state of religious affairs when Charles returned to Germany. He assisted in person at the diet of Augsburg; where the Protestants presented their system of opinions, composed by Melancthon, the most learned and moderate of all the reformers. This system, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg*, from the place where it was presented, was publicly read in the diet. Some popish divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadversions; a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his disciples; and, as in most cases of that kind, nothing was determined. Every one continued in his own way of thinking. From the Protestant divines, Charles turned to the princes, their patrons, but with no better success; they refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for any earthly advantage. Coercive measures were resolved upon. A decree was issued, condemning most of the tenets broached by the Protestants, and withholding all toleration from those who taught them.

In consequence of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, the Protestant princes assembled at Smalcalde, and concluded a league of mutual defence; and the emperor's ambition, which led him to procure for his brother the dignity of the king of the Romans, in order to continue the imperial crown in

1 Sleidan.—Seckend.

his family, furnished the confederates with a decent pretence for courting the alliance of foreign princes. The kings of France and England secretly agreed to support them. Meanwhile many circumstances and reflections convinced Charles, that this was not a proper season to attempt the extirpation of heresy by the sword. He saw Solyman ready to enter Hungary with a prodigious force, in order to wipe off the disgrace which his arms had sustained in a former campaign: he felt the necessity of union, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. The peace with France was precarious; and he was afraid that the followers of Luther, if treated with severity, might forget that they were Christians, and join the infidels. Policy induced him to drop the mask of zeal. By a treaty concluded at Nuremberg, and solemnly ratified in the diet at Ratisbon, he granted the Protestants liberty of conscience until the meeting of a general council: and they agreed, on their part, to assist him powerfully against the Turks².

This treaty was no sooner signed than Charles received information that Solyman had entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men. The imperial army, consisting of eighty thousand disciplined foot, and above twenty thousand horse, besides a multitude of irregulars, immediately assembled in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Of this vast body the emperor, for the first time, took the personal command; and Europe waited, in anxious suspense, the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest potentates in the universe. But, each dreading the other's power and good fortune, both conducted their operations with so much caution, that a campaign, from which the most important consequences had been expected, was closed without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to take advantage of an

² Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tome iv.

enemy always on his guard, marched back to Constantinople; and Charles, freed from so dangerous an invader, set out for Spain³.

During the emperor's absence, great disorders prevailed in Germany, occasioned by the fanaticism of a sect of reformers distinguished by the name of Anabaptists, because they contended, that the sacrament of baptism should be administered only to adults, and performed not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it. This tenet was at least harmless; but they held others of a more enthusiastic, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained, that, among Christians, who have the precepts of the Gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistrate is unnecessary, and an encroachment on spiritual liberty; that all distinctions of birth or rank ought to be abolished; that a community of goods should be established, and that every man may lawfully marry as many wives as he thinks proper.

Tenets so flattering to human weakness and human pride produced a number of converts, especially among the lower classes. The peasants greedily embraced opinions which promised to place them on a level with their imperious masters. They assembled in great bodies, and spread devastation wherever they came. But being destitute of a skilful leader, they were soon dispersed; and Muncer, the first Anabaptist prophet, perished on a scaffold at Mulhausen in 1526. Several of his followers, however, lurked in different places, and secretly propagated the opinions of their sect. At last two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman tailor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city in Westphalia; and, privately assembling their associates from the neighbouring country, made themselves masters of the town, and expelled the inhabitants.

³ Sandov. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.* vol. ii.—Robertson, book v.

Here the Anabaptists formed a singular kind of republic, over which Matthias assumed absolute authority, and wrote to his brethren in the Low-Countries, inviting them to assemble at Mount Sion (so he termed Munster), that they might thence set out in a body to reduce all nations under their dominion. Meanwhile the bishop of Munster, having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out, at the head of a chosen band, forced his camp, and returned to the city loaded with glory and spoil. But his success proved fatal to him. Thinking nothing now impossible for the favourites of Heaven, he went out to meet the enemy, accompanied by no more than thirty of his followers; boasting, that, like Gideon, he would smite the host of the ungodly with a handful of men. The prophet and his thirty associates were slain.

The Anabaptists, however, did not despair: John of Leyden, their other light, still remained. This man, less bold, but more ambitious than Matthias, assumed the title of king: and being young, and of a complexion equally amorous and enthusiastic, he exercised, in their utmost latitude, those principles of his sect which favoured sensual gratification. He took, in a short time, fourteen wives. His example was followed by his brethren: no man remained satisfied with a single wife. The houses were searched; and young women were instantly seized, and compelled to marry. Notwithstanding this sensuality, Munster made a gallant defence; but the bishop's army being reinforced, and the besieged greatly distressed for want of provisions, one of their own body deserted, and betrayed them. The city was taken by surprise: most of the Anabaptists were slain; and their king was put to death by the most exquisite and lingering tortures, which he bore with astonishing fortitude⁴.—So wonderful are the effects of enthusiasm in communicating courage, even to

⁴ Ant. Lamb. Hortens. *Tumult. Anabaptist.*—Jo. Bapt. Ottii *Annal. Anabaptist.*—Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. v

minds naturally the most timid and feeble! and so difficult is it, in such cases, to distinguish between the martyr and the visionary!

During these transactions in Germany, Charles undertook an expedition against the pirates of Africa. Barbarossa, a bold adventurer, had succeeded his brother in the sovereignty of Algiers, which he formerly assisted him to usurp. He regulated with prudence the interior police of his kingdom, and carried on his piracies with great vigour; but perceiving that the natives submitted to his government with impatience, and fearing that his continual depredations might draw upon him a general combination of the Christian powers, he put his dominions under the protection of the Turkish emperor. Solyman, flattered by such an act of submission, and charmed with the spirit of the man, offered him the command of the Ottoman fleet. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and made use of his influence with the soltan to extend his own dominions. Partly by force, partly by treachery, he usurped the kingdom of Tunis; and being now possessed of greater power, he carried on his depredations against the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever.

Daily complaints of the piracies and ravages committed by the galleys of Barbarossa were brought to the emperor by his subjects, both in Spain and Italy; and all Christendom seemed to look up to Charles, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, for relief from this odious and degrading species of oppression. At the same time Muley-Hassan, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the African princes able or willing to support him in recovering his throne, applied to the victorious Charles for assistance against the usurper. Equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa, of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate prince, and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age to every expedition against the Moham-

medans, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with Muley, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament.

The Goletta, a strong fortress on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of the capital, planted with three hundred pieces of cannon, was taken by storm, together with all Barbarossa's fleet. He was defeated in a pitched battle; and ten thousand Christian slaves having knocked off their fetters, and made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis offered to surrender at discretion. But while Charles was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his troops, fearing that they might be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke suddenly into the town, and pillaged and massacred without distinction. Thirty thousand persons perished by the sword, and ten thousand were made prisoners. The sceptre drenched in blood, was restored to Muley-Hassan, on condition that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified sea-ports in the kingdom of Tunis, and pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the Goletta. These points being settled, and twenty thousand Christian slaves freed from bondage, either by arms or by treaty, Charles returned to Europe; but Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, soon recruited his strength, and again became the tyrant of the ocean⁵.

The king of France took advantage of the emperor's absence, to revive his claims in Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered up, but not extinguished, the flames of discord. Francis in particular, who waited only for an opportunity of recovering the territories and reputation which he had lost, continued to negotiate against his rival with different courts. But all his negotiations were disconcerted by unforeseen accidents. The death of Clement VII. (whom he had fixed in his interest by marrying his son, the duke of Orléans, afterwards Henry II., to Catharine of Medicis,

⁵ Sandov. vol. ii.—Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* book v.

the niece of that pontiff) deprived him of all the support which he hoped to receive from the court of Rome. The king of England, occupied with domestic cares and projects, declined engaging in the affairs of the continent; and the princes of the league of Smalcalde, to whom Francis had applied, being filled with indignation and resentment at the cruelty with which some of their reformed brethren had been treated in France, refused to have any connexion with the enemy of their religion.

The particulars of this persecution it will be proper to relate, as they serve to illustrate the manners of the times. Francis was neither cruel nor bigoted. His levity and love of pleasure allowed him little leisure to concern himself about religious disputes; but his principles becoming suspected, at a time when the emperor was gaining immortal glory by his expedition against the Infidels, he resolved to vindicate himself by an extraordinary demonstration of reverence for the established faith. The indiscreet zeal of some Protestant converts furnished him with the occasion. They had fixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the rites of the Romish church. Six of the persons concerned in this rash action were seised; and the king pretending to be struck with horror at their blasphemies, appointed a solemn procession, in order to avert the wrath of Heaven. The host was carried through the city of Paris in great pomp: Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles walked behind. In presence of this numerous assembly, the king declared, that if one of his hands should be infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other: "and I would sacrifice," added he, "even my own children, if found guilty of that crime." As an awful proof of his sincerity, the six unhappy persons who had been seised were publicly burned before the procession was finished,

and in the most cruel manner. They were fixed upon a machine which descended into the flames and retired alternately, until they expired⁶.—Can we wonder that the Protestant princes were incensed at such barbarity?

But Francis, though unsupported by any ally, commanded his army to advance toward the frontier of Italy, under pretence of chastising the duke of Milan for a breach of the law of nations, in putting to death his ambassador. The operations of war, however, soon took a new direction. Instead of marching directly to the duchy of Milan, Francis commenced hostilities against the duke of Savoy, with whom he had cause to be dissatisfied, and on whom he had some claims; and before the end of the campaign, that feeble prince saw himself stripped of all his dominions, except the province of Piedmont. To complete his misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, and where the reformed religion was already established, threw off his yoke: and its revolt was attended with the loss of the adjacent territory. Geneva was then an imperial city, and now became the capital of an independent republic.

In this extremity the duke of Savoy saw no resource but in the emperor's protection; and as his misfortunes were chiefly occasioned by his attachment to the imperial interest, he had a claim to immediate assistance. But Charles, who had recently returned from his African expedition, was not able to lend him the necessary support. His treasury was entirely drained, and he was obliged to disband his army, until he could raise new supplies. So wasting is the continued practice, even of successful war, to the most opulent princes and states!

Meantime the death of the duke of Milan changed the nature of the war, and afforded the emperor full leisure to prepare for action. The French monarch's pretext for taking up arms was at once cut off; but as the duke had died with-

⁶ Belcarii *Comment. Rer. Gallic.*—Sleid. *Hist. Reformat.*

out issue, all the rights of Francis to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his descendants, returned to him in full force. He accordingly renewed his claim to it; and if he had ordered his army immediately to advance, he might have made himself master of it. But he unfortunately wasted his time in fruitless negotiations, while his more politic rival took possession of the long-disputed territory, as a vacant fief of the empire. And although Charles seemed still to admit the equity of the claim of Francis, he delayed granting the investiture under various pretences, and was secretly taking every possible measure to prevent the success of that prince in Italy.

During the time gained in this manner, Charles had recruited his finances, and of course his armies; and finding himself in a condition for war, he at last threw off the mask, under which he had so long concealed his designs from the court of France. Entering Rome with great A. D. 1536. pomp, he pronounced, before the pope and cardinals assembled in full consistory, a violent invective against Francis, by way of reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan. Yet the French king, by an unaccountable fatality, continued to negotiate, as if it had still been possible to terminate their differences in an amicable manner; and Charles finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and, by seeming to listen to his proposals, gained yet more time for the execution of his own ambitious projects⁷.

If misfortune had rendered Francis too diffident, success had made Charles too confident. He even presumed on the subversion of the French monarchy, and seemed to consider it as an infallible event. Having chased the forces of his rival out of Piedmont and Savoy, he pushed forward at the head of fifty thousand men, against the advice of his most experienced ministers and generals, to invade

⁷ *Mem. de Bellay.*

the southern provinces of France; while two other armies were ordered to enter that kingdom, one on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne. He thought it impossible for Francis to resist so many attacks; but he was too sanguine in his expectations.

The French monarch fixed upon the most effectual plan for defeating the invasion; and he prudently persevered in following it, though it was contrary to his natural temper and to the genius of his people. He determined to remain altogether upon the defensive, and to deprive his enemies of subsistence, by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan was committed to the marechal de Montmorency, its author, a man happily fitted for such service, by the inflexible severity of his disposition. He made choice of a strong camp, near the walls of Avignon, where he assembled a considerable army; while the king, with another body, encamped at Valence. Marseilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend; and each of these he furnished with a numerous garrison of his best troops. The inhabitants of the other towns were compelled to abandon their habitations; the fortifications of such places as might have afforded shelter to the enemy were thrown down; corn, forage, and provisions of every kind, were carried off or destroyed; the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled or rendered useless.

This devastation extended from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to the confines of Dauphiné; so that the emperor, when he arrived with the van of his army on the borders of Provence, instead of that rich and populous country which he expected to enter, beheld nothing but one vast solitude. He did not, however, despair of success; and, as an encouragement to his officers to continue the invasion, he held out the prospect of lands and honours in France. But all the land which any of them obtained was a grave; and their master lost much honour by this rash enterprise. After unsuccessfully investing Marseilles

and Arles; after attempting in vain to draw Montmorency from his camp, and not daring to attack it; Charles, having spent two inglorious months in Provence, and lost one half of his troops by famine or disease, was under the necessity of ordering a retreat;—and although he was some time in motion before the enemy suspected his intention, his retreat was conducted with such precipitation and disorder as to deserve the name of a flight, the light troops of France having turned his march into a rout. The invasion of Picardy was not more effectual; the imperial forces were obliged to retire without achieving any conquest of importance⁸.

Francis now gave himself up to that vain resentment which had formerly disgraced the prosperity of his rival. They had frequently, in the course of their quarrels, given each other the lie, and mutual challenges had been sent; which, though productive of no serious consequences between the parties, had a powerful tendency to encourage the pernicious practice of duelling. Charles, in his invective pronounced at Rome, had publicly accused Francis of perfidy and breach of faith: Francis now exceeded Charles in the indecency of his accusations. The dauphin A. D. 1537. dying suddenly, his death was imputed to poison; Montecuculi, his cup-bearer, was put to the rack: and that unhappy nobleman, in the agonies of torture, accused the emperor's generals, Gonzaga and de Leyva, of instigating him to the detestable act. The emperor himself was suspected: this extorted confession, and some obscure hints, were even considered by many as proofs of his guilt; though it was evident that neither Charles nor his generals could have any inducement to perpetrate such a crime, as Francis was still in the vigour of life himself, and had two sons besides the dauphin⁹.

But the incensed monarch's resentment did not stop here. He was not satisfied with endeavouring to blacken the cha-

⁸ Sandov. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.*—Robertson, book vi.

⁹ Sandoval.

racter of his rival by an ambiguous testimony, which led to the most injurious suspicions, and upon which the most cruel constructions had been put: he was willing to add rebellion to murder. For this purpose he went to the parliament of Paris; where, when he was seated with the usual solemnities, the advocate-general appeared, and accused Charles of Austria (so he affected to call the emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was freed from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; adding, that this treaty being now void, he was still to be considered as a vassal of France, and consequently had been guilty of rebellion, in taking arms against his sovereign. The charge was sustained by the court, and Charles was summoned to appear before the parliament. On his non-appearance at the appointed time, the court gave judgement that he had forfeited those counties by rebellion and contumacy¹⁰.

Francis, after this vain display of his animosity, marched into the Low-Countries, as if he had intended to seize the forfeited provinces. But a suspension of arms soon took place, through the interposition of the queens of France and Hungary; and it was followed by a regular A. D. 1538. truce, concluded at Nice, through the mediation of the reigning pontiff, Paul III. of the family of Farnesè, a man of venerable character and pacific disposition.

Each of these rival princes had strong reasons for being desirous of peace. The finances of both were exhausted; and the emperor, the more powerful of the two, was deeply impressed with the dread of the Turkish arms, which Francis had drawn upon him by a league with Solyman. In consequence of this league, Barbarossa, with a great fleet, appeared on the coast of Naples; filled that kingdom with consternation; obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender; plundered the adjacent country, and was taking measures for securing and extending his conquest, when

¹⁰ *Mem. de Ribier.*

the sudden arrival of Doria with a respectable fleet induced him to retire. The soltan's forces also invaded Hungary, where, after gaining several inferior advantages, they defeated the Germans in a great battle at Essek, on the Drave.

Happily for Charles and for Europe, it was not in the power of Francis, at this juncture, either to join the Turks, or to assemble an army strong enough to penetrate into the duchy of Milan. The emperor, however, was sensible that he could not long resist the efforts of two such potent confederates, nor expect that the same fortunate circumstances would concur a second time in his favour. He, therefore, thought it necessary, both for his safety and reputation, to give his consent to a truce: and Francis chose rather to incur the risque of disobliging his Ottoman ally, than draw on himself the indignation, and perhaps the arms, of all Christendom, by obstinately obstructing the re-establishment of tranquillity, and contributing to the aggrandisement of the Infidels¹¹.

These considerations inclined the contending monarchs to listen to the arguments of the pope: but his holiness found it impossible to bring about a final accommodation between them, each inflexibly persisting in the assertion of his own claims. Nor could he prevail on them to see one another, though both came to the place of rendezvous, so great were the remains of distrust and rancour, or such the difficulty of adjusting the ceremonial! Yet, improbable as it may seem, a few days after signing the truce, the emperor in his passage to Barcelona being driven on the coast of Provence, Francis invited him to come on shore; frankly visited him in his galley, and was received and entertained with exterior marks of esteem and affection. Charles, with an equal degree of confidence, paid the king a visit at Aigues-mortes; where these two hostile rivals, and vindictive enemies, who had accused each other of every kind of baseness, seemed to vie

11 Jovii *Hist.* lib, xxxv.

in expressions of respect and friendship¹²!—Such sudden transitions from enmity to affection, and from suspicion to confidence, can only be accounted for from that spirit of chivalry, with which the manners of both princes were strongly tinged.

Besides the glory of having restored tranquillity to Europe, Paul III. secured a point of much consequence to his family: he obtained in marriage, for his grandson, the emperor's natural daughter, formerly wife to Alexander de Medicis, whom Charles had raised to the supreme power in Florence. Lorenzo de Medicis, the kinsman and intimate companion of Alexander had assassinated him by one of the blackest treasons recorded in history. Under pretence of having secured him an assignation with a lady of great beauty, and of the highest rank, he drew him into a secret apartment of his palace, and there stabbed him, as he lay carelessly on a couch, expecting the presence of the lovely fair, whom he had often solicited in vain. Lorenzo, however, did not reap the fruits of his crimes; for, although some of his countrymen extolled him as a third Brutus, and endeavoured to seize this occasion for recovering their liberties, the government of Florence passed into the hands of Cosmo II. another kinsman of Alexander¹³. Cosmo was desirous of marrying the widow of his predecessor; but the emperor chose rather to oblige the pope, by bestowing his daughter upon Octavio Farnese, son of the duke of Parma, and grandson of his holiness.

Charles had soon farther cause to be sensible of his obligations to Paul for negotiating the truce of Nice. His troops mutinied for want of pay; and the ability of his generals only could have prevented a total revolt. He had depended upon the subsidies which he expected from his Castilian subjects for discharging the arrears of his army. He accordingly assembled the Cortès of Castile

12 Sand. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.*

13 *Lett. di Princip.*

A. D. 1539. at Toledo; and having represented to them the great expense of his military operations, he proposed to levy such supplies as the present state of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards, who already felt themselves oppressed with a load of taxes unknown to their ancestors, and who had often complained, that their country was drained of its wealth and its inhabitants, in order to prosecute quarrels in which they had no interest, determined not to add voluntarily to their own burthens. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the measure proposed, as it would encroach on the most valuable and distinguished privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. After employing arguments and promises in vain, Charles dismissed the assembly with indignation; and from that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to the cortès, on pretence that such as pay no part of the public taxes should not claim a vote in imposing them. These assemblies have since consisted merely of the procurators or representatives of eighteen cities, two from each; in all thirty-six members, who are absolutely at the devotion of the crown ¹⁴.

The citizens of Ghent, still more bold, broke out into open rebellion against the emperor's government, on account of a tax which they judged contrary to their ancient privileges, and a decision of the council of Mechlin in favour of the imperial authority. Enraged at an unjust imposition, and rendered desperate on seeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, they flew to arms, seised several of the emperor's officers, and expelled such of the nobility as resided among them. Sensible, however, of their inability to support what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and desirous of securing a protector against the formidable force by which they might expect soon to be attacked,

¹⁴ *La Science de Gouv.* par M. de St. Real.—Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* book vi.

they offered to acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign; to put him into immediate possession of their city, and to assist him in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to his crown. True policy directed Francis to comply with this proposal. The counties of Flanders and Artois were more valuable than the duchy of Milan, for which he had so long contended; and their situation in regard to France made it more easy to conquer or to defend them. But we are apt to estimate the value of things by the trouble which they have cost us. Francis, computing in this manner, over-rated the territory of Milan. He had lived in friendship with the emperor, ever since their interview at Aigues-mortes, and Charles had promised him the investiture of that duchy. Forgetting, therefore, all his past injuries, and the deceitful promises by which he had been so often duped, the credulous, generous, but unprincipled Francis, not only rejected the propositions of the citizens of Ghent, but communicated to the emperor his whole negotiation with the mal-contents¹⁵.

Judging of Charles's heart by his own, Francis hoped, by this seemingly disinterested proceeding, to obtain at once the investiture of Milan: and the emperor, well acquainted with the weakness of his rival, flattered him in this hope, for his own selfish purposes. His presence being necessary in the Netherlands, he demanded a passage through France. It was immediately granted him; and Charles, to whom every moment was precious, set out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his council, and the fears of his Spanish subjects, with a small but splendid train of a hundred persons. He was met on the frontiers of France by the dauphin and the duke of Orléans, who offered to go into Spain, and remain there as hostages, till he should reach his own dominions; but Charles replied, that the king's honour was sufficient for

¹⁵ Sandoval.—*Mem. de Bellay*.

his safety, and prosecuted his journey without any other security. The king entertained him with the utmost magnificence at Paris, and the two young princes did not take leave of him till he entered the Low-Countries; yet he still found means to evade his promise, and Francis continued to believe his professions sincere¹⁶.

The inhabitants of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of the emperor, who was joined in the Netherlands
A. D. 1540. by three armies, sent ambassadors to implore his mercy, and offered to throw open their gates. Charles only condescended to reply, that he would appear among them, as a "sovereign and a judge, with the sceptre and the sword." He accordingly entered the place of his nativity, on the anniversary of his birth; and, instead of that lenity which might have been expected, exhibited an awful example of his severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number were banished; the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges; a new system of political administration was prescribed; and a large fine was imposed on the inhabitants, in order to defray the expense of erecting a citadel, together with an annual tax for the support of a garrison. They were not only despoiled of their ancient immunities, but obliged to pay, like conquered people, for the means of perpetuating their own slavery¹⁷.

Having thus re-established his authority in the Low-Countries, and being now under no necessity of continuing that scene of falsehood and dissimulation with which he had amused the French monarch, Charles began gradually to throw aside the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with respect to the duchy of Milan, and at last peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy, by diminishing his own power. He even denied, that he had ever made any promise which

¹⁶ *Mem. de Ribier.*—Thuan. lib. i.

¹⁷ Haræi *Annal. Brabantia.*

could bind him to an action so unnecessary, and so contrary to his own interest¹⁸.

This transaction exposed the king of France to as much scorn as it did the emperor to censure. The blind credulity of Francis, after he had experienced so often the duplicity and artifices of his rival, seemed to merit no other return. He remonstrated, however, and exclaimed, as if this had been the first instance in which the emperor had deceived him. The insult offered to his understanding affected him even more sensibly than the injury done to his interest; and he discovered such resentment as made it obvious that he would seize the first opportunity of revenge, and that a new war would soon desolate the European continent.

Charles, in the mean time, was obliged to turn his attention towards the affairs of Germany. The Protestants having in vain demanded a general council, pressed him earnestly to appoint a conference between a select number of divines of each party, in order to examine the points in dispute. For this purpose a diet was assembled at Ratisbon: and such a conference, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, was maintained with great solemnity in the presence of the emperor. But the divines chosen to manage the controversy, though men A. D. 1541. of learning and moderation, were only able to settle a few speculative opinions, all points relative to worship and jurisdiction serving only to inflame the minds of the disputants. Finding his conciliatory endeavours ineffectual, Charles prevailed on a majority of the members to approve the following edict of recess: That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed, should be treated as points decided; that those about which they had differed should be referred to the determination of a general council, or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod; and, should it prove impracticable to assemble a synod of

¹⁸ *Mem. de Bellay.*

Germany, that a general diet of the empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give final judgement on the whole controversy; and that, in the mean time, no innovations should be made, nor any means employed to gain proselytes¹⁹.

This edict gave great offence to the pope. The bare mention of allowing a diet, composed chiefly of laymen, to pass judgement in regard to articles of faith, appeared to him no less criminal and profane than the worst of those heresies which the emperor seemed so zealous to suppress. The Protestants also were dissatisfied with it, as it considerably abridged the liberty which they at that time enjoyed. They murmured loudly against it; and Charles, unwilling to leave any seeds of discontent in the empire, granted them a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppressive in the edict of recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all their former privileges.

The situation of the emperor's affairs at this juncture made these extraordinary concessions necessary. He foresaw a rupture with France, and was alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom. John Zapol Scæpius, by the assistance of Solyman, had wrested from the king of the Romans a considerable part of the country. John died, and left an infant son. Ferdinand attempted to take advantage of the minority, in order to repossess himself of the whole kingdom; but his ambition was disappointed by the activity and address of George Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, who shared the regency with the queen. Sensible that he was unable to oppose the king of the Romans in the field, Martinuzzi satisfied himself with holding out the fortified towns; and he sent ambassadors to Solyman, beseeching him to extend toward the son that protection by which he had so generously maintained

19 Seckend, lib. iii.—Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tome iv.

the father on the throne. Ferdinand used his utmost endeavours to thwart this negotiation, and even meanly offered to hold the Hungarian crown on the same ignominious conditions by which John had obtained it, that of paying tribute to the Porte. But the soltan saw such advantages in espousing the interest of the young king, that he instantly marched into Hungary; and the Germans, having formed the siege of Buda, were defeated with great slaughter before that city. Solyman, however, instead of becoming the protector of the infant sovereign whom he had relieved, made use of this success to extend his own dominions: he sent the young prince into Transylvania, and added the greater part of Hungary to the Ottoman empire²⁰.

Charles had received intelligence of this revolution before the close of the diet at Ratisbon; and, in consequence of his concessions to the Protestants, he obtained liberal supplies, both of men and money. He now hastened to join his fleet and army in Italy, with a view of executing a great and favourite enterprise which he had concerted against Algiers; though it would certainly have been more consistent with his dignity to have conducted the forces of the empire against Solyman, the common enemy of Christendom, who was preparing to enter the Austrian dominions.

Algiers, from the time that Barbarossa commanded the Turkish fleet, had been governed by Hassan, a renegado eunuch, who, if possible, out-did his master in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his galleys; and such frequent alarms were given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity for erecting watch-towers at certain distances, and keeping a guard constantly employed, in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the rapacious ruffians by whom they were manned.

Charles was extremely eager to humble this daring cor-

²⁰ Istuanhaffi, *Hist. Reg. Hung.* lib. xiv.

sair, and to exterminate the lawless crew who had so long infested the ocean; and although the autumn was now far advanced, he obstinately persisted in his purpose, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expose his armament to the hazard of destruction, by venturing, at so late a season, to approach the stormy coast of Algiers. Doria's words proved prophetic.

No sooner had the emperor landed in Barbary, than a hurricane dispersed and shattered his fleet; while he and his land forces were exposed to all the fury of the elements, in an enemy's country, without a hut or a tent to shelter them, or even a spot of firm ground on which they could rest their wearied bodies. In this calamitous situation they continued for several days, harassed at the same time by the attacks of the Algerines. At last, Doria being able to assemble the remains of the fleet, Charles was glad to re-embark, after having lost the greater part of his army, by the inclemency of the weather, famine, or the sword of the enemy. And the men who yet survived were doomed to encounter new miseries in their return, the fleet being scattered by a fresh storm²¹.

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of the emperor's pompous expedition against Algiers, the most unfortunate enterprise of his reign, and that on which he built the highest hopes. But if he failed to acquire the glory which ever attends success, he secured that which is more essentially connected with merit. He never appeared greater than amidst his misfortunes. His firmness and constancy of spirit, his magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion were eminently conspicuous. He endured as severe hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person to whatever danger appeared; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example²². He paid dearly for his obstinacy and

²¹ Nic Villag. *Expedit. Car. V. ad Argiriam.*—Sandov. vol. ii.—Robertson, book vi.

²² Id. *ibid.*

presumption : but he made mankind sensible, that he possessed some valuable qualities, which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him little opportunity of showing.

The loss which the emperor suffered in this calamitous enterprise encouraged the king of France to begin hostilities, an action dishonourable to civil society having furnished him with a pretence for taking arms. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the duchy of Milan, had gained intelligence of the motions and destination of two ambassadors whom Francis had dispatched to the Porte and to the Venetian state; and knowing how much his master wished to discover the intentions of the French monarch, and of what consequence it was to retard the execution of his measures, he employed some soldiers to lie in wait for these envoys as they sailed down the Po. The ambassadors and most of their attendants were murdered, and their papers seized²³.

Francis immediately demanded reparation for that barbarous violence; and as Charles endeavoured to amuse him with an evasive answer, he appealed to all the courts of Europe, setting forth the heinousness of the injury, the iniquity of the emperor in disregarding his just request, and the necessity of vengeance. But Charles, who was a more profound negotiator, defeated in a great measure the effects of these spirited representations. He secured the fidelity of the Protestant princes in Germany, by gratifying them with new concessions; and engaged the king of England to espouse his cause, under pretence of defending Europe against the Infidels; while Francis was only able to form an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and to renew his treaty with Solyman, which drew on him the indignation of Christendom.

But the activity of Francis supplied all the defects in his

²³ *Mem. de Bellay.*

negotiation. Five armies were soon ready to take the field, under different generals, and with different destinations. Nor was Charles slow or negligent in his preparations. He and Henry, a second time, made an ideal division of the kingdom of France. But as the hostilities that ensued were followed by no important consequence, nor distinguished by any memorable event, except the battle of Cerisoles, gained by the count d'Enghien over the Imperialists, of whom nearly ten thousand fell, I shall not enter into particulars. It will be sufficient to observe, that, after France, Spain, Piedmont, and the Low-Countries, had been alternately, or at once, the scenes of war; after the Turkish fleet, under Barbarossa, had ravaged the coasts of Italy, and the lilies of France and the crescent of Mohammed had appeared in conjunc-

A. D. 1544. tion before Nice, where the cross of Savoy was displayed, Francis and Charles concluded at Crespi a treaty of peace, in which the king of England was not mentioned; and, from being implacable enemies, became once more, in appearance, cordial friends, and even allies by the ties of blood²⁴.

The chief articles of this treaty were, that all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice should be restored; that the emperor should give in marriage to the duke of Orléans, either his eldest daughter, with the Low-Countries, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the investiture of the duchy of Milan; that Francis should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as well as to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles resign his claim to the duchy of Burgundy; and that both should unite in making war against the Turks²⁵.

The emperor was chiefly induced to grant conditions so advantageous to France, by a desire of humbling the Pro-

²⁴ *Mem. de Bellay.*

²⁵ *Recueil des Traités, tome i.*

testant princes in Germany. With the papal jurisdiction, he foresaw they would endeavour to throw off the imperial authority; and he had determined to make his zeal for the former a pretence for enforcing and extending the latter. But before I speak of the wars in which that resolution involved him, I must carry forward the domestic history of England, the knowledge of which will throw light on many foreign transactions.

Meanwhile I shall observe, for the sake of perspicuity, that the death of the duke of Orléans, before the consummation of his marriage, released the emperor from the most unpleasing stipulation in the treaty of Crespi; and that the French monarch, being still engaged in hostilities with England, was unable to obtain any reparation for the loss which he suffered by this unforeseen event. These hostilities, like those between Charles and Francis, terminated in nothing decisive. Equally weary of a struggle, attended with no glory or advantage to either, the contending parties concluded at Campe, near Ardres, a treaty of peace, in which it was stipulated, that France should pay the arrears due by former treaties to England. But these arrears did not amount to more than one third of the sum expended by Henry on his military operations; and Francis being in no condition to discharge them, Boulogne (a chargeable pledge) was left in the hands of the English monarch as a security for the debt²⁶. Such was the result of a war which had considerably diminished the wealth and impaired the strength of both kingdoms.

²⁶ Herbert.—Stow.

LETTER LXII.

The domestic History of England during the Reign of Henry VIII. with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Rise of the Reformation in both Kingdoms.

NO prince ever ascended the throne of England with greater advantages than Henry VIII. You have already had occasion, my dear Philip, to observe his fortunate situation with respect to the great powers of the continent: he was no less happy in regard to the internal state of his kingdom, and other domestic circumstances. His title to the crown was undisputed; his treasury was full; his subjects were in tranquillity; and the vigour and comeliness of his person, his freedom of manners, his love of show, and his dexterity in every manly exercise, rendered his accession highly popular, while his proficiency in literature, and his reputation for talents, made his character respectable. Every thing seemed to prognosticate a happy and prosperous reign.

The first act of Henry's administration confirmed the public hopes: it was the prosecution of Empson and Dudley, the unfeeling ministers whom his father had employed in his extortions. They insisted, and perhaps justly, that they had acted solely by royal authority: but the jury gave a verdict against them; and Henry, at the earnest desire of the people, granted a warrant for their execution¹.

Having punished the instruments of past oppression, the king's next concern was to fulfil his former engagements. He had been long betrothed to his brother's widow; and notwithstanding some scruples, he now agreed that the nuptials should be celebrated. We shall afterwards have occasion to observe the extraordinary effects of this marriage, and of the king's remorse, either real or pretended.

Some princes have been their own ministers; but almost every one has either had a minister or a favourite: Wolsey,

¹ Holinshed's *Chron.*

whose character has already been delineated, was both to Henry. Being admitted to the youthful monarch's pleasures, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted, notwithstanding his religious habit, all that frolic and gaiety, which he found to be agreeable to the age and inclinations of the king. During the intervals of amusement, he introduced politics, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should pursue². By these means he insensibly acquired that absolute ascendant over Henry, which distinguished his administration: and the people saw with concern very frequent instances of his uncontrolled authority.

The duke of Buckingham, high constable of England, the first nobleman in the kingdom both in family and fortune, having wantonly given disgust to Wolsey, soon found reason to repent his imprudence. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III. and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he consulted a Carthusian friar, named Hopkins, who flattered him with the hope of ascending the English throne. He had even been so unguarded as to utter some expressions against the king's life. The cardinal made these the grounds of an impeachment; and although the duke's threats seem to have proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed³. The office of high constable, which A. D. 1521. this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, being forfeited by his attainder, was never afterwards revived in England.

The next memorable event in the domestic history of this reign, was the divorce of queen Catharine. The king's scruples in regard to the lawfulness of his marriage increased with the decay of the queen's beauty. She had borne him several children; but they were all dead except the princess Mary; and Henry was passionately desirous of male issue. He consulted his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, on the

² *Life of Wolsey, by Cavendish.*

³ *Herbert.*

legality of marrying a brother's widow, and found that prelate possessed with some doubts and difficulties. He next proceeded to examine the question by his own learning and study, being himself a great divine and casuist; and having had recourse to the works of his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, he discovered that this celebrated doctor had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The archbishop of Canterbury was now applied to, and desired to consult his brethren. All the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, declared, under their hands and seals, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful⁴. Wolsey also fortified his master's scruples; and the bright eyes of Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, carried home every argument to the heart of Henry, more forcibly than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

This young lady was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by Henry in several embassies. She had been carried over to Paris in early youth, by the king's sister, when espoused to Louis XII. of France; and the graces of her mind, no less than the beauty of her person, had distinguished her even in that polished court. The time at which she returned to England is not certainly known; but it appears to have been after the king had entertained doubts of the lawfulness of his marriage. She immediately caught the roving and amorous eye of Henry; and as her virtue and modesty left him no hope of licentious indulgence, he resolved to raise her to the throne, which her accomplishments, both natural and acquired, seemed equally fitted to adorn.

But some obstacles were yet in the way of Henry's wishes. It was necessary to obtain a divorce from the pope, as well as a revocation of the bull which had been granted for his marriage with Catharine, before he could marry Anne: and he had to combat all the interest of the emperor, whose aunt he was going to degrade. He did not, however, despair of

⁴ Burnet's *Hist. Reformat.* book i.

success. He was in high favour with the court of Rome, and he deserved to be so. He had not only opposed the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him, but he had even written a book against them; a performance in itself not contemptible, and which gave so much pleasure to Leo X., that he conferred upon Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Sensible therefore of his importance, as one of the chief pillars of the church, at a time when it stood in much need of support, he confidently applied to Clement VII. for a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine.

The pope seemed at first favourable to Henry's inclinations; but his dread of displeasing the emperor, whose prisoner he had lately been, prevented him from coming to any fixed determination. He at last, however, empowered Campeggio and Wolsey, his two legates in England, to try the validity of the king's marriage. They accordingly opened their court at London, and proceeded A. D. 1529. to the examination of the affair. The first point which came before them, and that which Henry chiefly endeavoured to establish, was Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catharine; and although the queen protested that her virgin honour was yet untainted, when the king married her, and even appealed to his Grace (the title then borne by our kings) for the truth of her asseveration, stronger proofs than were produced could not be expected of such a fact, after so long an interval. But when the business seemed drawing to a close, and while Henry was in anxious expectation of a sentence in his favour, all his hopes were suddenly blasted. Campeggio, on the most frivolous pretences, prorogued the court: and Clement, at the request of the emperor, evoked the cause soon after to Rome⁵.

This finesse occasioned the fall of Wolsey. Anne Boleyn imputed to him the failure of her expectations; and Henry,

⁵ Herbert.—Burnet.

who entertained the highest opinion of the cardinal's capacity, ascribed his miscarriage in the present undertaking not to misfortune or mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of that minister. The great seal was taken from him, and given to sir Thomas More, a man of learning, virtue, and capacity. He was indicted in the Star-Chamber; his lands and goods were declared to be forfeited; his houses and furniture were seized; and he was pronounced to be out of the protection of the laws⁶. The king's heart, however, relented, and the prosecution was carried no farther; but the cardinal was ordered to remove from court, and his final ruin was hanging over him.

The parliament seized the present opportunity to pass several bills, restraining the impositions of the clergy; and Henry was not displeased, that the pope and his whole militia should be made sensible of their dependence upon him, and of the willingness of his subjects, if he was so disposed, to reduce the power and privileges of ecclesiastics. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with Rome: and Anne Boleyn used every insinuation, to induce him to take that bold step, both as the readiest and surest means of her exaltation to the royal dignity, and of spreading the new doctrines, in which she had been initiated under the duchess of Alençon, a warm friend to the Reformation. But Henry, having been educated in a superstitious veneration for the holy see, dreaded the reproach of heresy; and he abhorred all alliance with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power, because Luther, their apostle, had handled him roughly, in an answer to his book in defence of the Romish communion.

While Henry was fluctuating between contrary opinions, two of his courtiers accidentally met with Dr. Thomas

⁶ Strype:—Cavendish.—The richness of Wolsey's furniture was such as must astonish even the present age. The principal apartments of his palace were lined with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver; he had a side-board of plate of massy gold; and every other article for domestic use or ornament was proportionably sumptuous.

Cranmer, fellow of Jesus college, in Cambridge, a man distinguished by his learning, but still more by his candour; and as the affair of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed, that the best way, either to quiet the king's conscience or obtain the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities in Europe with regard to that controverted point. When Henry was informed of this proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore with great vehemence, "By God! Cranmer has got the right sow by the ear." The doctor was immediately sent for, and taken into favour; the universities were consulted, according to his advice; and all of them declared the king's marriage invalid⁷.

Clement, however, being still under the influence of the emperor, continued inflexible; and as Henry was sensible that the extremities to which he was proceeding, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, must be disagreeable to Wolsey, whose opposition he dreaded, he renewed the prosecution against his ancient favourite.

The cardinal, after his disgrace, had remained for some time at Richmond; but being ordered to remove to his see of York, he took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hospitality. In this retreat he lived, when the earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and conduct him to London, as a prelude to his trial. On his journey he was seized with a disorder, which turned into a dysentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester-abbey. "I am come to lay my bones among you," said Wolsey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him; and he immediately retired to bed, whence he never rose more. "O had I but served my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have

⁷ Herbert.—Burnet.

“deserted me in my grey hairs⁸.” His treason, indeed, seems rather to have been against the people than the prince, or even the state; for, although the violence and obstinacy of Henry’s character may serve as apologies for many of the cardinal’s public measures, his iniquitous extortions, in what he called his legatine court, admit of no alleviation.

Thus freed from a person whom he considered as an obstacle to his views, and supported by the opinion of the learned in the step which he intended to take, Henry
 A. D. 1531. ordered a parliament and convocation to meet, in which he was acknowledged “the Protector and “supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.” And having now satisfied his mind on the subject, without
 A. D. 1532. dreading the consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke.

Cranmer, who had been promoted to the see of Canterbury, annulled, soon after, the king’s marriage with Catharine (a step which ought to have preceded his second nuptials), and ratified that with Anne, who was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to such a ceremony. And, to complete the satisfaction of Henry on the conclusion of this troublesome business, the
 A. D. 1533. queen was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and whom we shall afterwards see swaying the English sceptre with equal glory to herself and happiness to her people.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, the pope was urged by the cardinals of the imperial faction to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement was still unwilling to proceed to extremities; he only declared Cranmer’s sentence null, and threatened the king with excommunication, if he would not restore things to their former condition, before a day named. In the mean time Henry was prevailed upon, by the media-

tion of the king of France, to submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The pope consented; and promised, that if the king would sign an agreement to this purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. But on what slight incidents often depend the greatest events! The courier appointed to carry the king's written promise was detained beyond the day fixed; news arrived at Rome, that a libel had been published in London against the holy see, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the apostolic body⁹. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with rage; the marriage between Henry and Catharine was pronounced valid; the king was declared excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it, and the rupture with England was rendered final.

The English parliament, soon after this decision of the court of Rome, conferred on the king the title of
 “The *only supreme* HEAD of the Church of Eng- A. D. 1534.
 “land *upon earth*,” as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it; a measure of the utmost consequence to the kingdom, whether considered in a civil or ecclesiastical view, and which forms a memorable æra in our constitution. The legislature, by thus acknowledging the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and uniting the spiritual with the civil power, introduced greater simplicity into government, and prevented all future disputes about the limits of contending jurisdictions. A door was also opened for checking the exorbitancies of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which human reason, policy, and industry, had so long been circumscribed; for, as an able historian has justly observed, the prince being head of the religious, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes be tempted to employ the former as an engine of government, could have no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in encouraging its usurpations¹⁰.

9 Paolo Sarpi, lib. i.

10 Hume's *Hist. Eng.* chap. xxx.

But England, though thus happily released from the oppressive jurisdiction of the pope, was far from enjoying religious freedom. Liberty of conscience was, if possible, more confined than ever. Henry not only retained his aversion against Luther and his doctrines; but so many of his early prejudices hung about him, that the idea of heresy still filled him with horror. Separate as he stood from the Catholic church, he continued to value himself on maintaining its dogmas, and on guarding with fire and sword the imaginary purity of his speculative opinions. All who denied the king's supremacy, or the legitimacy of his daughter Elizabeth, or who embraced the tenets of the reformers, were equally the objects of his vengeance. Among the latter were many unhappy persons, who had greedily imbibed the Lutheran doctrines, during Henry's quarrel with Rome, in hopes of a total change of worship; and who, having gone too far to recede, fell martyrs to their new faith. Among the former were the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More, who died upon the scaffold with heroic constancy. More retained to A. D. 1535. the last moment his facetious humour. When he laid his head on the block, and saw the executioner ready with his weapon, "Stay, friend," said he, "till I put aside my beard; for," added he, "it never committed treason¹¹." What pity, and what an instance of the inconsistency of human nature, that the man who could make a jest of death, should make a matter of conscience of the pope's supremacy!

Although Henry thus punished both Protestants and Catholics, his most dangerous enemies, he was sensible, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, and more especially the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended that their own ruin would be the consequence of the abolition of his authority in England. The king therefore determined to suppress the monasteries, as so many nurseries of rebellion,

11 Herbert.

as well as of idleness, superstition, and folly, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues. In order to effectuate this robbery with some colour of justice, he appointed commissioners to visit all religious houses; and these men, acquainted with the king's design, brought reports, whether true or false, of such frightful disorders, lewdness, ignorance, priest-craft, and unnatural lusts, as filled the nation with horror against institutions which had long been objects of profound veneration. The smaller monasteries, said to have been the most corrupted, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, were at once suppressed by parliament; and their revenues, goods, chattels, and plate, were granted to the king¹². A. D. 1536.

The convocation, at this time, passed a vote for a new translation of the Bible, none being yet published, by authority, in the English language; and the Reformation seemed to gain ground rapidly in the kingdom, though the king still declared himself its enemy, when its promoters, Cranmer, Latimer, and others, met with a severe mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes, in the untimely fate of their patroness, Anne Boleyn.

This lady now began to experience the decay of the king's affections, and the capriciousness of his temper. That heart, whose allegiance she had withdrawn from another, revolted at last against herself. Henry's passion, which had subsisted in full force during the prosecution of the divorce, and seemed only to increase under difficulties, had scarcely attained possession of its object, when it sunk into languor, succeeded by disgust. His love was suddenly transferred to a new mistress. The charms of Jane Seymour, a young lady of exquisite beauty, had entirely captivated him; and as he appears to have had little idea of any other connexion than that of marriage, he thought of nothing but how to raise her to his bed and throne.

12 Burnet.—Stow.

This peculiarity in Henry's disposition, proceeding from an indolence of temper, or an aversion against the vice of gallantry, involved him in crimes of a blacker dye, and in greater anxieties, than those which he sought to avoid by forming a legal connexion. Before he could marry Jane, it was necessary to remove his once beloved Anne, now a bar in the way of his felicity. The heart is not more ingenious in suggesting apologies for its deviations, than courtiers in finding expedients to gratify the inclinations of their prince. The queen's popish enemies, sensible of the alienation of the king's affections from her, accomplished her ruin by flattering his new passion. They represented that freedom of manner which Anne had acquired in France as a dissolute levity; they directly accused her of a criminal correspondence with several gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and even with her own brother! and they extolled the virtues of Jane Seymour. Henry believed all, because he wished to be convinced. The queen was committed to the Tower; impeached; brought to trial; condemned without evidence, and executed without remorse. History affords us no reason to call her innocence in question; and the king, by marrying her known rival the day after her execution, made the motives of his conduct sufficiently evident, and left the world in little doubt about the iniquity of the sentence¹³.

If farther argument, my dear Philip, should be thought necessary in support of the innocence of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, her serenity, and even cheerfulness, while under confinement and sentence of death, ought to have its weight, as it is perhaps unexampled in a woman, and could not well be the associate of guilt. "Never prince," says she, in a letter to Henry, "had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your

¹³ Burnet.

“ grace’s pleasure, had been so pleased : neither did I at
“ any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or re-
“ ceived queenship, but that I always looked for such an
“ alteration as I now find ; for the ground of my prefer-
“ ment being on no surer foundation than your grace’s
“ fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to
“ draw that fancy to some other object.” In another letter
to the king she says “ you have raised me from a private
“ gentlewoman to a marchioness ; from a marchioness to a
“ queen ; and since you can exalt me no higher in this
“ world, you are resolved to send me to heaven, that I may
“ become a saint.” This gaiety continued to the last. On
the morning of her catastrophe, while she was calmly con-
versing with the lieutenant of the Tower on what she was
going to suffer, he endeavoured to comfort her by the short-
ness of its duration. “ The executioner indeed,” replied
she, “ I am told, is very expert ; and I have but a slender
“ neck ;” grasping it with her hand, and smiling¹⁴. The
queen’s brother, and three gentlemen of the bed-chamber,
also fell victims to the king’s suspicions, or rather were
sacrificed to hallow his nuptials with Jane Seymour.

The Catholics, who had been the chief instruments of
these tragical events, did not reap so much advantage
from the fall of Anne as they expected. The friends of
the Reformation still maintained their credit with the
king ; and articles of faith were drawn up by the convoca-
tion under Henry’s eye, more favourable to the new than
the old religion, but still more conformable to the ideas of
the royal theologian than agreeable to the partisans of
either. Prudence, however, taught the Protestants to be
silent, and to rest satisfied with the ground which they had
gained. The disappointed Catholics were less quiet. The
late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller
monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the
rest were exposed, had bred discontents among the people.

14 Strype.—Burnet.

The Romish religion, suited to vulgar capacity, took hold of the multitude by powerful motives: they were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which they believed must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, encouraged these prejudices, to rouse the populace to rebellion; and they assembled in large bodies, in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Lincolnshire and the northern counties. But by the prudent conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king's forces, and who secretly favoured the cause of the rebels, though he disapproved their rebellious measures, tranquillity was restored to the kingdom with little effusion of blood¹⁵.

The suppression of these insurrections was followed by an event which completed Henry's domestic felicity; the birth of a son, who was baptised under the name of Edward. But this happiness was not without alloy; the queen died two days after. A son, however, had been so long and so ardently desired by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, the two princesses being declared illegitimate, that the king's sorrow was drowned in his joy. And his authority being thus confirmed at home, and his consideration increased abroad, he carried into execution a measure on which he had been long resolved, the utter destruction of the monasteries.

The better to reconcile the minds of the people to this great innovation, the impostures of the monks were zealously brought to light. Among the sacred repositories of convents were found the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the blessed Virgin, shown in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; and part of the

shirt of St. Thomas Becket, much revered by pregnant women. Some impostures of a more artificial nature also were discovered; particularly a miraculous crucifix, which had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*, the eyes, lips, and head of which moved on the approach of its votaries. The crucifix was publicly broken at St. Paul's Cross, and the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved were shown to the people. The shrine of Becket was likewise destroyed, much to the regret of the populace. So superstitious was the veneration for this saint, that it appeared in one year, not a penny had been offered at God's altar; at the Virgin's only four pounds one shilling and eight-pence; but at that of St. Thomas, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence¹⁶.

The exposure of such enormous absurdities and impieties took off much of the odium from a measure in itself rapacious, violent, and unjust. The acquiescence of the nobility and gentry was farther procured by grants of the revenues of convents, or leases of them at a reduced rent: and the minds of the people were quieted by being told, that the king would have no future occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, during war as well as peace, to defray from the abbey lands the whole expense of government¹⁷. Henry also settled pensions on the ejected monks, and erected six new bishoprics; which silenced the murmurs of such of the secular clergy as were not altogether wedded to the Romish communion.

After renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, the spirit of opposition, it was thought, would lead the king to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of the church of Rome. But although Henry, since he came to the years of maturity, had been gradually changing the tenets of that theologi-

¹⁶ Burnet.—Stow.

¹⁷ Coke's *Inst.* fol. 44.

cal system in which he had been educated, he was no less dogmatical in the few which yet remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been preserved entire; and so great was his scholastic arrogance, though he stood alone in his belief, that he thought himself entitled to regulate by his own particular standard the religious faith of the nation.

A. D. 1539. The chancellor was therefore ordered to state to the parliament, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion. A bill, consisting of six articles, called by the Protestants the *Bloody Bill*, was drawn up according to the king's ideas; and, having passed through both houses, received the royal assent. This statute tended to establish the doctrine of the real presence, or transubstantiation; the communion in one kind, or with bread only; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the utility of private masses; the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The violation of any one of these articles was made punishable with death; and a denial of the real presence, to the disgrace of common sense, could not be atoned for by the most humble recantation¹⁸—an instance of severity unknown even to the inquisition!

The affairs of religion being thus settled, the king began to think of a new wife; and as the duke of Cleves had great interest with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, whose alliance was considered as advantageous to England, Henry solicited the hand of Anne, daughter of that duke. A flattering picture of this princess, drawn by Hans Holbein, cooperated with these political motives to determine the king in his choice; and Anne was sent over to England. But Henry, though fond of large women, no sooner saw her, than (so devoid was she of beauty and grace) he swore she was a great Flanders mare, and declared he never could bear

¹⁸ Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. cap. xiv.

her any affection. He resolved, however, to consummate his marriage, notwithstanding his dislike, sensible that a contrary conduct would be highly resented by her friends and family. He therefore told Cromwell, his minister since the death of Wolsey, and who had been instrumental in forming the match, that, “as mat-
A. D. 1540.
“ters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke.”

But although political considerations had induced Henry to consummate, at least in appearance, his marriage with Anne of Cleves, they could not save him from disgust. His aversion increased every day; and Cromwell, though still seemingly in favour, saw his own ruin, and the queen's disgrace, hastily approaching. An unforeseen cause accelerated both. The king had fixed his affections on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, as usual, he determined to gratify his passion, by making her his royal consort. The duke, who had long been at enmity with Cromwell, made use of his niece's insinuations against that minister, who was a promoter of the Reformation, as he formerly had of those of Anne Boleyn against Wolsey. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason, committed to the Tower, condemned and executed¹⁹.— He was a man of low birth, but worthy, by his integrity and abilities, of the high station to which he was raised; worthy of a better master and a better fate.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried forward at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. Henry pleaded, that when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent; and that, notwithstanding the near approach he had made, he had not thought proper to *consummate* the marriage. The convocation sustained these reasons, and solemnly annulled the engagements between the king and queen.

¹⁹ Burnet, vol. i.

The parliament, ever obsequious to Henry's will, ratified the decision of the church.

The marriage of the king with Catharine Howard, which quickly followed his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was regarded as a favourable incident by the Catholic party; and the subsequent events corresponded with their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by the duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner, a furious persecution arose against the Protestants. The *Law of the Six Articles*, which Cromwell had, on all occasions, taken care to soften, was executed with rigour; and Dr. Barnes, and several other clergymen, were prosecuted, and brought to the stake.

But Henry's attention was soon turned to prosecutions of a different kind, and to a subject which affected him still more sensibly than even the violation of his favourite theological statute. He had thought himself extremely happy in his new consort. The elegant person and agreeable manners of Catharine had captivated his heart; and he had publicly, in his chapel, returned thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him. This happiness, however, was of short duration. It disappeared like a gaudy meteor, almost as soon as it was perceived; and its loss keenly afflicted the king. The queen had led a dissolute life before marriage: the proofs of her licentiousness were positive; and there was reason to believe, notwithstanding her declaration to the contrary, that she had not been faithful to the king.

When the proofs of her incontinence were communicated to him, he was so deeply affected, that he remained for some moments speechless, and at last burst into tears. The natural ferocity of his temper, however, soon returned; and he assembled a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny, in order to satiate his

vengeance. A bill of attainder was voted against the queen and the viscountess of Rochford, who had conducted her criminal amours. A singular bill was also passed at the same time, making it treason in any person to conceal the incontinence of a queen of England; and farther enacting, that if a king of England should marry any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she likewise should be deemed guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her shame to him.—And the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower hill, though their guilt had preceded the framing of that statute²¹.

Henry now reverted to the concerns of religion; altering the national creed, according to his own capricious humour. And he afterwards turned his arms against James V. of Scotland, because that prince had refused to imitate his conduct, in throwing off the jurisdiction of the pope.

The principles of the Reformation had already found their way into Scotland. Several persons there had fallen martyrs to the new faith: and the nobility, invited by the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the ecclesiastical revenues; hoping, if a change in religion should take place, to enrich themselves with the plunder of the church. But the king, though very poor, not superstitious, and somewhat inclined to magnificence, fortified by the arguments of the clergy, and guided by the inclinations of his queen, a daughter of the duke of Guise, resisted every temptation to such robbery, and continued faithful to the see of Rome. This respect for the rights of the church proved fatal to James, and brought many miseries on his kingdom, both before and after his death.

Had the king of Scotland flattered the pride of Henry by following his example in ecclesiastical affairs, he would have been supported in his measures with the whole force of England; whereas he now had that force to oppose, and a dissatisfied people to rule. Flushed, however, with an

21 Burnet, vol. i.

advantage gained over a detachment from the English army by lord Hume, he marched at the head of thirty thousand men to meet the main body, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, who had advanced as far as Kelso; and as that nobleman retreated on the approach of the Scottish army, the king resolved to enter England, and take vengeance on the invaders. But his nobility, dissatisfied on account of the preference shown to the clergy, opposed his resolution, and refused to attend him. Equally enraged and surprised at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, he threatened punishment; and still hoping to make some impression on the enemy's country with the forces that adhered to him, he dispatched ten thousand men to ravage the western border. They entered England near Solway Frith, while he himself followed, at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion.

But this expedition also proved unsuccessful, and even highly unfortunate; and from a cause allied to that which had ruined the former enterprise. The king, rendered peevish by disappointment, and distrustful of his nobles, deprived lord Maxwell of the command of the army, and conferred it on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The Scots, displeased with this alteration, were preparing to disband; when a small body of English appearing, they suddenly retreated, and were all either killed or
Nov. 24. made prisoners²².

This disaster had such an effect on the haughty mind of James, that he would admit of no counsel or consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. All the passions that are inimical to human life, shame, rage, and despondency, took hold of him at once. His body wasted daily by sympathising with his anxious mind; and he was brought to the verge of the grave, when his queen was safely delivered of the celebrated and unfortunate Mary Stuart. Having

no former issue living, he anxiously inquired whether his consort had brought him a son or a daughter; and being informed that it was a female, he said, "The crown came
 "with a woman, and it will go with a woman! Many woes
 "await this unhappy kingdom: Henry will make
 "it his own, either by force of arms or by mar-^{Dec. 14.}
 "riage." He soon after expired.

Henry was no sooner informed of the victory at Solway, and the death of his nephew, than he formed the project of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying prince Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. For this purpose he called together such of the Scottish nobility as were his prisoners, and offered them their liberty without ransom, provided they would second his views. They readily agreed to a proposal so favourable to themselves, and which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and by their means, notwithstanding the opposition of cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had placed himself at the head of the regency, by forging a will in the
 name of the late king, the parliament of Scotland^{A. D. 1543.}
 consented to a treaty of marriage and union with England²⁵. The stipulations in that treaty it would be of little consequence to enumerate, as they were never executed.

Henry now finding himself at peace with all his neighbours, began to look out for another wife; and by espousing Catharine Parr, relict of lord Latimer, he confirmed what had been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to marry a widow, as no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of his statute respecting virginity. Catharine was a woman of virtue and good sense; and, though inclined to promote the Reformation, a circumstance which gave great joy to the Protestant party, she delivered her sentiments with much caution in regard to the new doctrines. Henry however, whose favourite topic of conversation was theology, by engaging her fre-

quently in religious disputes, found means to discover her real principles; and his unwieldy corpulence and ill health having soured his temper, and increased the severity of his naturally passionate and tyrannical disposition, he ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against her: and only the greatest prudence and address could have saved her from the block.

Having gained some information of the king's displeasure, Catharine replied, when he again offered to
 A. D. 1546.
 converse with her on theological subjects, that such profound speculations were little suited to the natural imbecility of her sex; observing, at the same time, that though she declined not discourse on any topic, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve no other purpose than to afford him a momentary amusement; that she found conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and had ventured, at times, to feign a contrariety of sentiment, in order to afford him the pleasure of refuting her. And she ingeniously added, that she also proposed by this innocent artifice to engage the king in arguments, whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped much profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" said Henry; "then we are friends again!" embracing her tenderly, and assuring her of his affection. The chancellor, ignorant of this reconciliation, came the next day to arrest Catharine, but was dismissed by Henry with the opprobrious appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*²⁴. So violent and capricious was the temper of that prince!

But although the queen was so fortunate as to appease Henry's resentment against herself, she could not save those whom she most respected. Catharine and Cranmer excepted, the king punished with unfeeling rigour all who presumed to differ from him in religious opinions, particularly

²⁴ Burnet, vol. i.—Herbert.

in the capital tenet, transubstantiation. Among the unhappy victims committed to the flames for denying that absurd doctrine, was Anne Ascue, a young woman of extraordinary beauty and merit, connected with the principal ladies at court, and even with the queen. She died with great tranquillity and fortitude, refusing to earn a pardon by recantation, though it was offered to her at the stake²⁵.

Nor did Henry's tyrannical and persecuting spirit confine its vengeance to religious offenders: it was no less severe against such as excited his political jealousy. Amongst these were the duke of Norfolk and his gallant son the earl of Surry. The duke had rendered considerable services to the crown; and although understood to be the head of the Catholic party, he had always conformed to the religion of the court. He had acquired an immense fortune in consequence of the favours bestowed upon him by Henry, and was confessedly the first subject in England. That eminence drew upon him the king's jealousy. As Henry found his death approaching, he was afraid that Norfolk might disturb the government during his son's minority, or alter his religious system.

The earl of Surry was a young nobleman of the most promising hopes, distinguished by every accomplishment which could adorn a scholar, a courtier, or a soldier, of that age. But he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required; and as he had declined all proposals of marriage among the nobility, Henry imagined that he entertained hopes of espousing his eldest daughter, the princess Mary. The suspicion of such a dangerous ambition was enough. Both he and his father, the duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower; tried for high treason, and condemned to suffer death, without any evidence of guilt being produced against either of them: unless that the earl had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on

25 Burnet.

his escutcheon, which was considered as a proof of his aspiring to the crown, although the practice and privilege of so doing had been openly avowed by himself, and maintained by his ancestors. The earl was beheaded; and an order was issued for the execution of the duke; but he was saved by the death of the tyrant²⁶.

Henry's health had long been declining, and his approaching dissolution had been foreseen by all around him for some days; but as it had been declared treason to foretell the king's death, no one durst inform him of his condition, lest he should, in the first transports of his fury, order the author of such intelligence to immediate punishment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at last ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He intimated his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for. The archbishop came, though not before the king was speechless; but as he still seemed to retain his senses.

Jan. 28. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. He squeezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired²⁷, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign; affording, in his end, a striking example, that composure in the hour of death is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well spent, nor vengeance in this world the universal fate of blood-thirsty tyrants. Happily, we know that there is a state beyond the grave, where all accounts will be settled, and a tribunal before which every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise, we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and to the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in heaven that regarded the actions of man, nor any arm to punish.

But the history of this reign, my dear Philip, yields other lessons than those of a speculative morality; lessons which come home to the breast of every Englishman, and which

²⁶ Burnet, vol. i.

²⁷ Burnet.

he ought to remember every moment of his existence. It teaches us the most alarming of all political truths; "That absolute despotism may prevail in a state, and yet "the form of a free constitution may remain." It even leads us to a conjecture still more interesting to Britons, "That, in this country, an ambitious prince may most "successfully exercise his tyrannies under the shelter of "those barriers which the constitution has placed as the "security of national freedom—of our lives, our liberty, "and our property."

Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great measure, the spirit of the laws of England. He perpetrated the most enormous violences against the first men in the kingdom; he loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and pillaged them by loans which it was known he never meant to repay; but he never attempted to abolish the parliament, or even to retrench any of its doubtful privileges. The parliament was the prime minister of his tyrannical administration: it authorised his oppressive taxes, and absolved him from the payment of his debts: it gave its sanction to his most despotic and sanguinary measures: to measures, which, of himself, he durst not have carried into execution; or which, if supposed to be merely the result of his own arbitrary will, would have so far roused the spirit of the nation to assert the rights of humanity and the privileges of a free people, that some arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of such a scourge, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

The conclusion which I mean to draw from these facts and reasonings (and it deserves our most serious attention) is this—that the British constitution—though so happily poised, that no one part of it seems to preponderate; though so admirably constructed that every one of the three estates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houses of parliament upon the crown; though the most rational and perfect system of freedom that human wisdom has framed

—is no positive security against the despotism of an artful or tyrannical prince; and that, if Britons should ever become slaves, such an event is not likely to happen, as in France, by the abolition of our national assembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that proud bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our slavery. Our admirable constitution is but a gay curtain to conceal our shame, and the iniquity of our oppressors, unless our senators are animated by the same spirit which gave it birth. If they can be over-awed by threats, seduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promises, another Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench once more the scaffold with the best blood of the nation: the parliament will be the humble and secure instrument of his tyrannies.

We must now, my dear son, return to the continent, where we left Charles V. attempting that despotism which Henry VIII. had accomplished.

LETTER LXIII.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, including the Progress of the Reformation in Germany, from the first Meeting of the Council of Trent, in 1546, to the Peace of Religion concluded at Passau, in 1552.

IN consequence of the resolution of the emperor to humble the Protestant princes, his chief motive, as has been observed, for concluding a disadvantageous peace with Francis, he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and A. D. 1546. agreed to a dishonourable truce with Solyman. He stipulated, that his brother Ferdinand should pay an annual tribute to the Porte for that part of Hungary which still acknowledged his sway, and that the soltan should retain the imperial and undisturbed possession of the other¹. He, at the same time, entered into an alliance

1 Barre, tome viii.—*Mem. de Ribier.*

with Paul III. for the extirpation of heresy; or, in other words, for oppressing the liberties of Germany, under pretence of maintaining the jurisdiction of the Holy See.

A general council had been assembled at Trent, by the authority of the pope, in order to regulate the affairs of religion. But the Protestants, though they had appealed to a general council, refused to acknowledge the legality of this, which they were sensible was convoked to condemn, not to examine, their opinions. The proceedings of the council confirmed them in this resolution; they therefore renounced all connexion with it; and, as they had discovered the emperor's ambitious views, they began to prepare for their own defence.

The emperor, whose schemes were not yet ripe for execution, again had recourse to that dissimulation which he had so often practised with success. He endeavoured to persuade the princes of the Smalcaldic league, that he had no intention of abridging their spiritual liberty. It being impossible, however, to conceal his military preparations, he declared that he took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil, quarrel; not to oppress those who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects, but to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordination in which they were placed under him, as the head of the Germanic body. But the substance of his treaty with the pope coming to light, these artifices did not long impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant confederacy. Its more intelligent members saw, that he not only aimed at the suppression of the reformed religion, but at the extinction of the German liberties; and, as they would neither renounce those sacred truths, the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, they immediately had recourse to arms².

² Sleid.—Thuan.—Paolo Sarpi.

Feb. 18. In the mean time, the death of Luther, their great apostle, threw the German Protestants into much consternation, and filled the Catholics with excessive and even indecent joy; neither party reflecting, that his opinions were now so firmly rooted, as to stand in no farther need of his fostering hand. The members of the Smalcaldic league were also discouraged by the little success of their negotiations with foreign courts; having applied in vain for assistance, not only to the republic of Venice, and to the Swiss cantons, but to the kings of France and England. But they found at home no difficulty in bringing a great force into the field.

Germany at that time abounded with inhabitants. The feudal institutions subsisted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest notice. The martial spirit of the people, not broken or enervated by the prevalence of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the frequent wars in which they had been employed. On every opportunity of entering upon action, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms: and, to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters. Zeal seconded on this occasion their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional courage; and among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion and liberty invited them to draw the sword. The confederates were therefore able, in a few weeks, to assemble an army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, provided with every thing necessary for the operations of war³.

The emperor was in no condition to resist such a force; and, had the Protestants immediately proceeded to hostilities, they might have dictated their own terms. But

³ Seeckend, lib. iii.—Thuan. lib. i.

they imprudently negotiated instead of acting, till Charles received supplies from Italy and the Low-Countries. He still, however, cautiously declined a battle, trusting that discord and the want of money would oblige the confederates to disperse. Meantime, he himself began to suffer from the want of forage and provisions. Great numbers of his foreign troops, unaccustomed to the climate and the food of Germany, had become unfit for service; and it was a doubtful point, whether his steadiness was most likely to fail, or the zeal of the confederates to be exhausted, when an unexpected event decided the contest, and occasioned a fatal reverse in their affairs.

Several of the protestant princes, over-awed by the emperor's power, had remained neutral; while others, allured by the prospect of advantage, had voluntarily entered into his service. Among the latter was Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony; a man of bold ambition, extensive views, and profound political talents. After many conferences with Charles and his ministers, he concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to concur in assisting the emperor as a faithful subject; and Charles, in return, engaged to bestow on him all the spoils of his relative and benefactor, the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories.

These stipulations however, so contradictory to all that is just and honourable among men, Maurice was able to conceal, as they had been formed with the most mysterious secrecy. And so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connexion with them, and his singular assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seem to have entertained no suspicion of his designs! The elector, when he marched to join his associates, even committed his dominions to the protection of Maurice, who undertook the charge with an insidious appearance of friendship. But scarcely had the confederates taken the field, when he be-

gan to consult with the king of the Romans, how to invade those dominions which he had engaged to defend; and no sooner did he receive a copy of the imperial ban denounced against his cousin and his father-in-law, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, as leaders of the confederacy, than he suddenly entered one part of the electoral territories, at the head of twelve thousand men; while Ferdinand, with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians, over-ran the other⁴.

The news of this violent invasion, and the success of Maurice, who in a short time made himself master of the whole electorate of Saxony, except Wittenberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, no sooner reached the camp of the confederates, than they were filled with astonishment and terror. The elector immediately proposed to return home with his troops, in order to recover his hereditary dominions; and his associates, forgetting that it was the union of their forces which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and more than once obliged the Imperialists to think of quitting the field, consented to his proposal of dividing the army.

Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly distinguished by its zeal for the Smalcaldic league, submitted to the emperor. An example being once set for deserting the common cause, the rest of the members were eager to follow it, and seemed afraid that others, by anticipating their intentions, should obtain more favourable terms. All the conditions, however, were sufficiently severe. Charles, being in great want of money, not only imposed heavy fines upon the princes and cities that had taken arms against him, but obliged them to deliver up their artillery and warlike stores, and to admit garrisons into their principal towns and places of strength⁵. Thus a confederacy, so powerful lately as to shake the imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was dissolved

⁴ Seckend, lib. iii.—Thuan. lib. i.

⁵ Sleidan.—Thuan.

in the space of a few weeks; scarcely any of the associates remaining in arms, except the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, whom the emperor was at no pains to conciliate, having marked them out as the victims of his vengeance. A. D. 1547.

Meanwhile the elector, having expelled the invaders from Saxony, not only recovered in a short time possession of his own territories, but over-ran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dresden and Leipsic; while Maurice, obliged to abandon the field to superior force, and to shut himself up in his capital, dispatched courier after courier to the emperor, representing his dangerous situation, and soliciting him with the most earnest importunity to march immediately to his relief.

But various causes conspired to prevent the emperor from instantly taking any effectual step in favour of his ally. His army was diminished by the departure of the Flemings, and by the garrisons which he had been obliged to throw into the towns that had capitulated; and the pope now perceiving that ambition, not religion, was the chief motive of Charles's hostilities, had weakened the imperial army still farther by unexpectedly recalling his troops.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of Charles, Paul began to tremble, and not without reason, for the liberties of Italy. Francis also observed with deep concern the humiliation of Germany, and became sensible, that if some vigorous and timely effort should not be made, Charles would soon acquire such a degree of power as might enable him to give law to the rest of Europe. He therefore resolved to form such a combination against the emperor as should put a stop to his dangerous career. He accordingly negotiated for this purpose with Solyman II., with the pope, the Venetians, and with England. He encouraged the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, by remitting to them considerable sums, to continue the struggle for their liber-

ties; he levied troops in all parts of his dominions, and contracted for a body of Swiss mercenaries⁶.

Measures so complicated could not escape the emperor's observation, nor fail to alarm him: and the news of a conspiracy at Genoa, where Fiesco, count of Lavigna, an ambitious young nobleman, had almost overturned the government in one night, contributed yet farther to divert Charles from marching immediately into Saxony, as he was uncertain how soon he might be obliged to lead his forces into Italy. The politic Maurice, however, found means to save himself during this delay, by a pretended negotiation with his injured kinsman; while the death of Francis I.,
 March 31. which happened before he was able to carry his schemes into execution, together with the final extinction of Fiesco's conspiracy by the vigilance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, equally a friend to the emperor and the republic, encouraged Charles to act with vigour in Germany.

Intent upon vengeance, the emperor now marched into Saxony at the head of sixteen thousand veterans. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to assemble. He 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 Ro-

⁶ Sleidan.—Thuan.

mans 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 him⁷.

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 lamentation 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 beheaded⁸.

Frederic 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

⁷ Hortens. *de Bell. Germ.*—Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* book ix. ⁸ *Id. ibid.*

“ emperor’s scheme. I must die because Wittenberg refuses to surrender: and I will lay down my life with pleasure, if by that sacrifice 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 ingenuity⁹.

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. Frederic, 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

⁹ Thuan. lib. i.

to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, with a revenue of fifty thousand florins¹⁰. The Saxon electorate was instantly bestowed upon Maurice. This sacrifice, though with no small reluctance, Charles was obliged to make, as it would not have been safe or prudent to violate his engagements with a warlike prince, whom he had seduced by ambitious hopes to abandon his natural allies, and whose friendship was still necessary.

The landgrave of Hesse, Maurice's father-in-law, was still in arms; but he thought no more of resistance. Alarmed at the fate of the elector of Saxony, his only care was how to procure favourable terms from the emperor, whom he now viewed as a conqueror to whose will there was a necessity of submitting. Maurice encouraged this tame spirit, by magnifying Charles's power, and boasting of his own interest with his victorious ally. The landgrave accordingly threw himself at the emperor's feet, after ratifying what terms he was pleased to impose, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg being sureties for his personal freedom. But his submission was no sooner made, than Charles put him under the custody of a Spanish guard; and when the elector and Maurice, filled with indignation at being made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend, represented the infamy to which his detention would expose them, after they had pledged their faith for his release, the emperor, who no longer stood in need of their services, coolly replied, that he was ignorant of their particular or private transactions with the landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by theirs. "I know," added he, in a decisive tone, "what I myself have promised; for that alone I am answerable¹¹." These words put an end to the conference, and all future entreaties proved ineffectual.

Charles having now in his power the two greatest princes of the empire, carried them about with him in triumph; and

¹⁰ Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tome iv.

¹¹ Thuan. lib. iv.—Struv. *Corp. Hist. Germ.* vol. ii.

having humbled all whom he had not attached to his interest, proceeded to exercise the rights of a conqueror. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores of all who had been members of the Smalcaldic league; and he exacted large sums by his sole authority, both from those who had served him with fidelity, and from such as had appeared in arms against him: from the former, as their contingent towards a war undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit; from the latter, as a penalty for their rebellion. His brother Ferdinand tyrannised with still greater severity over his Bohemian subjects, who had taken arms in support of their civil and religious liberties; he deprived them of their ancient privileges, and loaded them with oppressive taxes¹².

The good fortune, or, as it has been called, the STAR of the house of Austria, was now at its height. The emperor having humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued the independent spirit of the Germans, summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg, “in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the empire;” or, in other words, to enslave the minds of those whose persons and property were already at his disposal. He durst not, however, commit to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their spirit was by subjection, the determination of a matter so interesting. He therefore entered the city at the head of his Spanish troops; cantoned the rest of his army in the adjacent villages; and took forcible possession of the cathedral, and one of the principal churches, where his priests re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship. He then opened the diet with a speech, pointing out the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany, and exhorting the members to recognise the authority of the general council which he had taken such pains to procure.

¹² Thuan. lib. iv.—Struv. *Corp. Hist. Germ.* vol. ii.

But the council, to which Charles wished to refer all controversies, had undergone by this time a violent change. The same jealousy which had made the pope recall his troops, had also prompted him to transfer the assembly to Bologna, a city subject to his own jurisdiction. The diet of Augsburg, over-awed by threats, and influenced by promises, petitioned the pope, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to order the prelates of his party to return to Trent. But Paul eluded the demand. He persuaded the fathers at Bologna, to whom he referred the petition of the diet, to put a direct negative upon the request; and Charles, no longer expecting to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his ambitious aims, yet wishing to prevent the authority of so venerable an assembly from being turned against him, sent A. D. 1548. two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in presence of the legates, protested, that the removal of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded upon false or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be considered as an unlawful and schismatical conventicle, and all its decisions deemed null and void; and that, as the pope, with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended upon him, had abandoned the care of the church, the emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles employed some able divines to prepare a system of doctrine, which he presented to the diet, as what all should conform to, "until a council, such as they wished for, could be called." Hence the name *Interim*, by which this system is known. It was conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, and the Romish rites were enjoined; but all disputed doctrines were expressed in the softest words, in phrases of Scripture, or in terms of studied ambiguity. In regard to two points only, some relaxation of

popish rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married, and did not choose to part from their wives, were yet allowed to perform their sacred functions; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in the communion, were still indulged with the privilege of receiving both¹³.

This treatise being read in presence of the members, the archbishop of Mentz, president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, as soon as it was finished, and having thanked the emperor for his unwearied endeavours to restore peace to the church, signified the diet's approbation of the system of doctrine which his imperial majesty had prepared, and its resolution of conforming to it in every particular. And although the whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the elector's presumption, in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet upon a point which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate, not one member had the courage to contradict what he had said. Charles therefore held the archbishop's declaration to be a ratification of the *Interim*, and prepared to enforce the observance of it as a decree of the empire¹⁴.

The *Interim*, like all conciliating schemes proposed to men heated with disputation, pleased neither party. The Protestants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Catholics, too much: both were dissatisfied. The emperor however, fond of his plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into effect. But this proved one of the most difficult and dangerous undertakings in his reign; for although three Protestant princes, Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg, agreed to receive the *Interim*, several others remonstrated against it: and the free cities joined in refusing to admit it, till force taught them submission. Augsburg and Ulm being barbarously stripped

¹³ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iii.—Goldast. *Const. Imp.* vol. i.

¹⁴ Id. *ibid.*

of their privileges, on account of their opposition, many other cities feigned compliance. But this obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the sentiments of the Germans. They submitted with reluctance to the power that oppressed them; and although for a time they concealed their resentment, it was daily gathering force, and soon broke forth with a violence that shook the imperial throne.

In this moment of general submission, it is worthy of remark, that the elector of Saxony, though the emperor's prisoner, and tempted both by threats and promises, refused to lend his sanction to the Interim. His reasons were those of a philosopher, not of a bigot. After declaring his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, "I cannot now," said he, "in my old age, abandon the principles for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause, on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer. It is better for me to enjoy, in this solitude, the esteem of virtuous men and the approbation of my own conscience, than to return into the world with the imputation and guilt of apostasy, to disgrace and embitter the remainder of my days¹⁵."

The contents of the Interim were no sooner known at Rome than the members of the sacred college were filled with rage and indignation. They exclaimed against the emperor's profane encroachment on the sacerdotal function, in presuming, with the concurrence of an assembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and regulate modes of worship. They compared this rash deed to that of Uzziah, who with an unhallowed hand had touched the ark of God. But the pope, whose judgement was improved by longer experience in great transactions, and more extensive observation of human affairs, though displeased at the emperor's encroachment on his jurisdiction, viewed the

¹⁵ Sleid. p. 462.—Robertson, book ix.

matter with greater coolness. He perceived that Charles, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, might have had it in his power to crush the other, but that the presumption of success had now inspired him with the vain thought of being able to domineer over both; and he foresaw that a system which all attacked and none defended, could not be of long duration¹⁶. He was more sensibly affected by the emperor's political measures, and his own domestic concerns.

Charles, as I have already had occasion to notice, had married his natural daughter to the pope's grandson Octavio. On his own son Ludovico, Octavio's father, whose aggrandisement he had sincerely at heart, Paul bestowed the duchies of Parma and Placentia. But the emperor, less fond of aggrandising his daughter, whose children were to succeed to the inheritance, refused to grant to Ludovico the investiture of those territories, under pretence that they were appendages of the duchy of Milan. Enraged at such ungenerous conduct, the pope undertook to bestow himself that investiture which he craved; but the emperor persisted in refusing to confirm the deed. Hence a secret enmity took place between Paul and Charles, and one still stronger between Charles and Ludovico. To complete the pope's misfortunes, his son became one of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced human nature, and justly fell a sacrifice to his own crimes, and to the injuries of his oppressed subjects. Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who had watched for such an opportunity, and even abetted the conspirators, immediately took possession of Placentia, in the emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in their ancient privileges. The Imperialists likewise attempted to surprise Parma, but were disappointed by the vigilance and fidelity of the garrison¹⁷.

Paul was deeply afflicted for the loss of his son, whom,

¹⁶ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iii.—Pallavicini, lib. ii.

¹⁷ Thuan. lib. iv.—*Mem. de Ribier*.

notwithstanding his vices, he loved with an excess of parental affection, and immediately demanded of the emperor the punishment of Gonzaga, and the surrender of Placentia to Octavio. But Charles evaded both demands; he chose rather to bear the infamy of defrauding his son-in-law of his patrimonial inheritance, and even to expose himself to the imputation of being accessory to the crime which had given him an opportunity of seising it, than quit a possession of such value. An ambition so rapacious, and which no considerations either of decency or justice could restrain, transported Paul beyond his usual moderation. Eager to take arms against the emperor, but conscious of his inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the king of France and the republic of Venice to take part in his quarrel; but finding all his negotiations ineffectual, he endeavoured to acquire by policy what he could not recover by force. Upon a supposition that Charles would not dare to detain the possessions of the Holy See, he proposed to re-unite to it Parma and Placentia, by recalling his grant of Parma from Octavio, whom he could indemnify by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state, and by demanding Placentia from the emperor, as part of the patrimony of the church. But, while Paul was priding himself in this happy device, Octavio, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, having little faith in such a refinement of policy, and not choosing to abandon certainty for hope, applied to the emperor to protect him in his duchy¹⁸.

This unexpected defection of one of his own family, of the grandson whose fortune it had been the care of his declining years to build, to an enemy whom he hated, agitated the venerable pontiff beyond his strength, and is said to have occasioned that illness of which he soon after died¹⁹.—An historian, more sprightly than profound, and more keen than candid, has here affected to raise a smile, that “any other cause than *old age* should be assigned for

18 Thuan. lib. vi.—Pallav. lib. ii.

19 Id. *ibid.*

“ the death of a *man of fourscore*²⁰ ;” and a more respectable historian, one equally elegant and learned, and no less intelligent than judicious, has laboured to prove that the pope’s “ disease was the *natural* effect of *old age*, not one “ of those occasioned by *violence of passion*²¹ .”—But both allow that Paul was *violently* affected when informed of Octavio’s undutiful conduct ; and the latter informs us, that “ he was seised with such a *transport of passion*, and *cried* “ so *bitterly*, that his voice was heard in several apartments “ of the palace ;” that “ his mind was *irritated almost to* “ *madness*.” And *weak* and *credulous* as some historians may be, and fond of “ attributing the death of illustrious persons to *extraordinary* causes,” there is surely nothing extraordinary in supposing that *mental irritation* and *bitter crying* might occasion a *catarrh*, the distemper of which the pope died, or a *violent transport of passion* increase the *natural* imbecility of *old age*, and hasten a *man of fourscore* to the grave. It is a more extraordinary circumstance to observe, how violently some great men, from a desire of being thought superior to vulgar prejudices, will struggle against common sense.

Paul was succeeded by the cardinal de Montè, Julius III. who, as he owed his election to the Farnesè party, put Octavio in full possession of Parma. “ I would rather,” replied he, when told what injury he did the Holy See by alienating a territory of such value, “ be “ a poor pope with the reputation of a gentleman, than a “ rich one with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon me, and the promises I made²² .” He discovered less inclination, however, to observe the oath which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that, if the choice should fall on him, he would immediately call the general council to resume its deliberations. He knew by experience, how difficult it was to confine the inquiries, or even the decisions of such a body of men, within the narrow limits which it was the interest

20 Voltaire, *Hist. Gen.*

21 Robertson, book x.

22 *Mem. de Ribier.*

of the court of Rome to prescribe. But, as the emperor persisted in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church, and earnestly solicited that a council might be called, in order to combat their prejudices, and support his pious intentions, Julius could not with decency reject his request; and, willing to assume to himself the merit of a measure which seemed now to be necessary, and also to ingratiate himself more particularly with Charles, he pretended to deliberate on the matter, and afterwards issued a bull for the council to re-assemble at Trent²³.

In the mean time, the emperor held a diet at Augsburg, to enforce the observation of the Interim, and procure a more authentic act of the empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. And such absolute ascendancy had he acquired over the members of the Germanic body, that he procured a Recess, in which the authority of the council was recognised, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which afflicted the church. The observation of the Interim was more strictly enjoined than ever; and the emperor threatened all who neglected or refused to conform to it with the severest effects of his vengeance.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made to procure liberty to the landgrave. Having often applied to his sureties, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every opportunity of soliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without effect, he now commanded his sons to summon them, with legal formality, to perform their engagements, by surrendering themselves to be treated as the emperor had treated him. Thus pushed to extremity, the sureties renewed their application to Charles. He endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received

²³ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iii.

from them; and when that prince refused to part with a security which he deemed essential to his safety, Charles, by a singular act of despotism, cut the knot which he could not untie. As if faith, honour, and conscience, had been subjected to his sway, he, by a public deed, annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector had granted, and absolved them from all their obligations to the land-
 A. D. 1551. grave²⁴! A power of cancelling those solemn contracts which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in social union, was never claimed by the most despotic princes or arrogating priests of heathen antiquity: that enormous usurpation was reserved for the Romish pontiffs, who had rendered themselves odious by the exercise of such a pernicious prerogative. All Germany was therefore filled with astonishment when Charles assumed the same right. The princes who had hitherto contributed to his aggrandisement began to tremble for their own safety, and to take measures for preventing the danger.

The first check which Charles met with in his ambitious projects, and which convinced him that the Germans were not yet slaves, was in his attempt to transmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain and his dominions in the Low-Countries, to his son Philip. He had formerly assisted his brother Ferdinand in obtaining the dignity of king of the Romans; and that prince had not only studied to render himself acceptable to the people, but had a son, who was born in Germany, grown up to the years of manhood, and who possessed in an eminent degree such qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen. The emperor however, warmed with contemplating this vast design, flattered himself that it was not impossible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at least to elect Philip a second king of the Romans, substituting him as next in succession to his uncle.

With this view he took Philip, who had been educated in Spain, to the diet at Augsburg, that the Germans might have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the prince in whose behalf he solicited their interest; but all the electors concurred in expressing such strong disapprobation of the measure, that Charles was obliged to drop his project as impracticable²⁵. They foresaw, that by continuing the imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the same family, they should give the son an opportunity of carrying on that system of oppression which the father had begun, and put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German constitution.

This plan of domestic ambition, which had long engrossed his thoughts, being laid aside, Charles imagined he should now have leisure to turn all his attention towards his grand scheme of establishing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the council of Trent. But the machine which he had to conduct was so great and complicated, that an unforeseen irregularity, or obstruction in one of the inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion of the whole, and disappointed him of the effect upon which he depended. Such an occurrence now happened, and created new obstacles to the execution of his religious plan.

Though Julius, during the first effusions of joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, had confirmed Octavio in the possession of Parma, he soon began to repent of his generosity. The emperor still retained possession of Placentia; and the governor of Milan, a sworn enemy to the family of Farnesè, was preparing, by Charles's permission, to seize Parma. Octavio saw his danger; and, sensible of his inability to defend himself against the imperial troops, he applied to the pope for protection, as a

²⁵ Thuan. lib. vi.—*Mem. de Ribier.*

vassal of the Holy See. But the imperial minister having already pre-occupied the ear of Julius, Octavio's petition met with a cold reception. Despairing, therefore, of support from his Holiness, he requested aid from Henry II. of France, who, having not only settled his domestic concerns, but brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms, which had diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to such an issue as he desired, was at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy of the emperor's power naturally suggested. He accordingly listened to the overtures of Octavio, and furnished him with the desired assistance.

The war of Parma, where the French took the field as the allies of the duke, and the Imperialists as the protectors of the Holy See, the pope having declared Octavio's fief forfeited, was distinguished by no memorable event; but the alarm which it occasioned in Italy prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the day appointed for re-assembling the council; so that the legate and nuncios found it necessary to adjourn to a future day, hoping that such a number might then assemble as would enable them in decency to begin their deliberations. When that day came, the French ambassador demanded audience, and protested, in his master's name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture; when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, rendered it impossible for the deputies of the Gallican church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate upon articles of faith and discipline with the requisite tranquillity. He declared, that Henry did not acknowledge this to be an œcumenic council, but must consider and would treat it as a partial convention²⁶.

This declaration gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the commencement of its deliberations. The legate, however, affected to despise Henry's protest; the prelates proceeded to determine the great points in con-

²⁶ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iv.—Robertson, book x.

troversy concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction; and the emperor strained his authority to the utmost, in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of that assembly. The Protestants were prohibited from teaching any doctrine contrary to its decrees, or to the tenets of the Romish church: and, on their refusing compliance, their pastors were ejected and exiled; such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions were dismissed; their offices were filled with the most bigoted of their adversaries; and the people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests whom they regarded as idolaters, and to submit to the authority of rulers whom they detested as usurpers²⁷.

These tyrannical measures fully opened the eyes of Maurice of Saxony and other Lutheran princes, who, allured by the promise of liberty of conscience, and the prospect of farther advantages, had assisted the emperor in the war against the confederates of Smalcalde. Maurice, in particular, who had long beheld with jealous concern the usurpations of Charles, now saw the necessity of setting bounds to them; and he who had perfidiously stripped his nearest relative and benefactor of his hereditary possessions, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing to the verge of ruin the civil and religious liberties of his country, became the deliverer of Germany.

The policy with which he conducted himself in the execution of his design was truly admirable. He was so perfect a master of address and dissimulation, that he retained the emperor's confidence, while he recovered the good opinion of the Protestants. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with respect to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate a moment whether he should establish that form of doctrine and worship in his dominions: he even undertook to reduce to

²⁷ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iv.—Robertson, book x.

obedience the citizens of Magdeburg, who persisted in rejecting it; and he was chosen general, by a diet assembled at Augsburg, of the imperial army levied for that purpose. But he at the same time issued a declaration, containing professions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, as well as of his resolution to guard against all the errors and encroachments of the papal see; and he entered his protest against the authority of the council of Trent, unless the Protestant divines should have a full hearing granted them, and be allowed to have an operative voice in that assembly; unless the pope should renounce his pretensions to preside in it, should engage to submit to its decrees, and to absolve the bishops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their sentiments with greater freedom. He reduced Magdeburg, after a siege of twelve months, protracted by design, in order that his schemes might be ripened before his army was disbanded²⁸. The public articles of capitulation were perfectly conformable to the emperor's views, and sufficiently severe. But Maurice gave the magistrates secret assurances that their city should not be dismantled, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor deprived of any of their ancient privileges; and they, in their turn, elected him their burgrave—a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral house of Saxony, and which entitled its possessor to very ample jurisdiction both in the city and its dependencies.

Far from suspecting any thing fraudulent or collusive in the terms of accommodation, the emperor ratified them without hesitation, freely absolving the Magdeburgers from the sentence of ban denounced against them; and Maurice, under various pretences, kept his veteran troops in pay; while Charles, engaged in directing the affairs of the council, entertained no apprehension of his views,

²⁸ Sebast. Besselm. *Obsid. Magdeb.*—Arnoldi *Vit. Mauriti.*

But, before we state the result of these schemes, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little toward the extraordinary success of Maurice's operations.

When Solyman deprived the young king of Hungary of his realm, he allowed him to retain Transylvania. The government of this province was committed to Isabella the queen-mother, and Martinuzzi bishop of Waradin, whom Zapol had appointed his son's guardians, and regents of his dominions. This co-ordinate jurisdiction occasioned the same dissensions in a small principality which it would have excited in a great monarchy. The queen and bishop grew jealous of each other's authority; both had their partisans amongst the nobility; but as Martinuzzi, by his superior talents, began to acquire the ascendant, Isabella courted the protection of the Turks. The politic prelate saw his danger; and, through the mediation of some of the nobles, who were solicitous to save their country from the calamities of civil war, he concluded an agreement with the queen. But he, at the same time, entered into a negotiation with the king of the Romans, whom he offered to assist in expelling the Turks, and in recovering possession of the Hungarian throne.

Allured by such a flattering prospect, Ferdinand agreed, notwithstanding his truce with Solyman, to invade the principality of Transylvania. The troops destined for that service, consisting of veteran Spanish and German soldiers, were commanded by Castaldo marquis de Piacenza, an officer of great knowledge in the art of war, who was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction; and the soltan being then at the head of his forces on the borders of Persia, the Turkish governors and officers could not afford the queen such immediate or effectual assistance as the urgency of her affairs required. She was, therefore, obliged to listen to such conditions as she would at any other time have rejected with disdain. She

agreed to give up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her son's title to the crown of Hungary, in exchange for the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor in Silesia.

Martinuzzi, as the reward of his services, was appointed governor of Transylvania, with almost unlimited authority; and he proved himself worthy of it. He conducted the war against the Turks with equal ability and success; and he established the dominion of the king of the Romans, not only in Transylvania, but in several of the adjacent countries. Always, however, afraid of the talents of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand now became jealous of his power; and Castaldo, by imputing to the governor designs which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty, at last convinced the king of the Romans that, in order to preserve his Hungarian crown, he must cut off that ambitious prelate. The fatal mandate was accordingly issued: Castaldo willingly undertook to execute it: Martinuzzi was assassinated. But Ferdinand, instead of the security which he expected from that barbarous measure, found his Hungarian territories only exposed to more certain danger. The nobles, detesting such jealousy and cruel policy, either retired to their own estates, or grew cold in the service, if they continued with the Austrian army; while the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose vigour and abilities they dreaded, prepared to renew hostilities with fresh vigour²⁹.

Maurice, in the mean time, having almost finished his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of taking the field against the emperor. He had concluded a treaty with the French king, who wished to distinguish himself, by trying his strength against the same enemy whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppose. But as it would have been indecent in a popish prince to undertake the defence of the Protestant church, the interests

²⁹ Istvanhaffi, *Hist. Reg. Hung.* lib. xvi.—*Mem. de Ribier*, tome ii.

of religion, how much soever they might be affected by the treaty, were not mentioned in any of the articles. The only motives assigned for now leaguings against Charles were to procure the liberation of the landgrave, and to prevent the subversion of the ancient constitution and laws of the German empire. Religious concerns the confederates pretended to commit entirely to the care of Providence.

Having secured the protection of the French monarch, Maurice proceeded with great confidence, but equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it necessary to demand once more, before he took off the mask, that the landgrave should be set at liberty, he sent a solemn embassy, in which most of the German ^{A. D. 1552.} princes joined, to the emperor at Inspruck, in order to enforce his request. Constant to his system in regard to the captive prince, Charles eluded the demand, though urged by such powerful intercessors. But this application, though of no benefit to the landgrave, was of infinite service to Maurice. It served to justify his subsequent proceedings, and to demonstrate the necessity of taking arms, with a view of extorting that equitable concession which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. He accordingly dispatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, to hasten the march of the French army: he took measures to bring his own troops together on the first summons; and he provided for the security of Saxony, while he should be absent.

These complicated operations were carried on with such secrecy, as to elude the observation of Charles, whose sagacity in observing the conduct of all around him commonly led him to excess of distrust. He remained in perfect tranquillity at Inspruck, solely occupied in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in settling the conditions on which the Protestant divines should be admitted into the council. Even Gran-

ville, bishop of Arras, his prime-minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was deceived by the exquisite address with which Maurice concealed his designs. "A drunken German head," replied he to the doubts expressed by the duke of Alva concerning the elector's sincerity, "is too gross to form any scheme which I cannot easily penetrate and baffle." Granville was on this occasion, however, the dupe of his own artifice. He had bribed two of Maurice's ministers, on whose information he depended for their master's intentions; but that prince having fortunately discovered their perfidy, instead of punishing them for their crime, dexterously availed himself of the fraud. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever: he admitted them into his consultations, and seemed to lay open his heart to them; while he really informed them of nothing but what it was his interest should be known; and they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as lulled the crafty Granville into security³⁰.

At last Maurice's preparations were completed: and he had the satisfaction to find, that his intrigues and designs were still unknown. But although ready to take the field, he did not yet lay aside the arts he had hitherto employed. Pretending to be indisposed, he dispatched one of the ministers whom Granville had bribed, to inform the emperor that he meant soon to wait upon him at Inspruck, and to apologise for his delay. When he had assembled his army, which amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, he announced in form his reason for taking arms; namely, to secure the Protestant religion, to maintain the German constitution, and deliver the landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. To this the king of France, in his own name, added a manifesto, in which he assumed the extraordinary appellation of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and its captive Princes*³¹.

30 Melvil's *Memoirs*.

31 *Mem. de Ribier*, tome ii.

No words can express the emperor's astonishment at events so unexpected. He was not in a condition to oppose such formidable enemies. His embarrassment increased their confidence: their operations were equally bold and successful. The king of France immediately entered Lorraine, and made himself master of Toul, Verdun, and Metz; while Maurice, no less intrepid and enterprising in the field than cautious and crafty in the cabinet, traversed all Upper Germany, reinstating the magistrates whom Charles had deposed, and putting the ejected Protestant ministers in possession of the churches.

The emperor had recourse to negotiation, the only resource of the weak: and Maurice, conscious of his own political talents, and willing to manifest a pacific disposition, agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans at Lintz, leaving his army to proceed on its march, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg. Nothing was determined in the conference at Lintz, except that another should be holden at Passau. Meanwhile Maurice continued his operations with vigour. He marched directly towards Inspruck; and, hoping to surprise the emperor in that town, he advanced with the most rapid motion that could be given to so great a body of men, forcing several strong passes, and bearing down all resistance.

Charles was happily informed of his danger a few hours before the enemy's arrival; and although the night was far advanced, dark, and rainy, he immediately fled over the Alps in a litter, being so much afflicted with the gout as to be incapable of any other mode of travelling. Enraged at the escape of his prey, when he was on the point of seising it, Maurice pursued the emperor and his attendants some miles: but finding it impossible to overtake men whose flight was hastened by fear, he returned to Inspruck, and abandoned the emperor's baggage to the pillage of the soldiers. Charles pursued his journey,

and arrived in safety at Villach in Carinthia, where he continued till the disputes were finally adjusted with the Protestant princes³².

In consequence of Maurice's operations, the council of Trent broke up. The German prelates, anxious for the safety of their territories, returned home; the rest were extremely desirous of departing; and the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambassadors to procure the Protestant divines an audience in the council, gladly made use of such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly, which he had found it so difficult to govern³³. The breach which had unhappily been made in the church, instead of being closed, was widened; and all mankind became sensible of the inefficacy of a general council for reconciling the contending parties.

The victorious Maurice repaired to Passau, on the day appointed for the second conference with the king of the Romans; and as points of the greatest consequence to the future peace and independence of the empire were then to be agitated, thither resorted the ministers of all the electors, together with deputies from most of the considerable princes and free cities. The elector limited his demand to three articles set forth in his manifesto; namely, the liberty of the landgrave, the public exercise of the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of the ancient constitution of Germany.

These demands, which seemed extravagant to the imperial ambassadors, were presented by Ferdinand to the emperor, in the name of all the princes of the empire, Popish as well as Protestant; in the name of such as had assisted in forwarding his ambitious schemes, as well as of those who had viewed the progress of his power with jealousy and dread. Unwilling, however, to forego at once objects which he had long pursued with ar-

³² Arnoldi *Vit. Mauriti*.

³³ Paoli Sarpi, lib. iv.

dour and hope, Charles, notwithstanding his need of peace, was deaf to the united voice of Germany. He rejected the proffered terms with disdain; and Maurice, well acquainted with the emperor's arts, suspecting that he meant only to amuse and deceive by a show of negotiation, immediately rejoined his troops, and laid siege to Frankfort on the Maine. This measure had the desired effect. Firm and haughty as his nature was, Charles found it necessary to make concessions; and Maurice thought it more prudent to accept conditions less advantageous than those he had proposed, than again commit all to the doubtful issue of war³⁴. He therefore repaired once more to Passau, renewed the congress, and concluded a peace on the following terms:—"The confederates shall lay down their arms before the 12th day of August; the landgrave shall be restored to liberty, on or before that day; a diet shall be holden within six months, in order to deliberate on the most effectual method of preventing for the future all dissensions concerning religion; in the mean time, no injury shall be offered to such as adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, nor shall the Catholics be molested in the exercise of their religion; the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with Catholics to sit as judges in that court; the encroachments, said to have been made upon the constitution and liberties of Germany, shall be referred to the consideration of the approaching diet of the empire; and if that diet should not be able to terminate the disputes respecting religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever in full force³⁵."

Such, my dear Philip, was the memorable treaty of Passau, which set limits to the authority of Charles V. overturned the vast fabric which he had employed so many years

34 Thuan. lib. x.

35 *Recueil des Traitez*, tome ii.

in erecting, and established the Protestant church in Germany upon a firm and secure basis. It is remarkable that in this treaty no article was inserted in favour of the king of France, to whom the confederates had been so much indebted for their success. But Henry II. experienced only the treatment which every prince, who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war, may expect³⁶. As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and any prospect of accommodation to open, his services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign of the ingratitude with which they had abandoned their protector.

The French monarch, however, sensible that it was more his interest to remain on good terms with the Germanic body than to resent the indignities offered by any particular members of it, concealed his displeasure at the perfidy of Maurice and his associates. He even affected to talk, in the same strain as formerly, of his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the empire. And he prepared to defend, by force of arms, his conquests in Lorraine, which he foresaw Charles would take the first opportunity of wresting from him. But before I relate the events of the new wars to which those conquests gave birth, we must take a view of the affairs of our own island; a more contracted but not less turbulent scene, and more discoloured by horrors and cruelties than the continent, during the dark and changeable period that followed the death of Henry VIII. and terminated in the steady government of Elizabeth.

³⁶ Robertson, book x.

LETTER LXIV.

History of England, from the Death of Henry VIII. to the Accession of Elizabeth, in 1558 ; with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Progress of the Reformation in both the British Kingdoms.

HENRY VIII., by his will, left the crown, first to prince Edward, his son by Jane Seymour ; then to the princess Mary, his daughter by Catharine of Arragon ; and lastly to Elizabeth, his daughter by the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, though both princesses had been declared illegitimate by parliament. These particulars, my dear Philip, are necessary to be mentioned here, that you may better understand the disputes which arose with regard to the succession.

Edward VI. being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the kingdom was committed to sixteen executors, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and all the great officers of state. They chose one of their number, namely, the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, instantly created duke of Somerset, to represent the royal majesty, under the title of Protector ; to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad should be directed, and whose name should be employed in all orders and proclamations. Him they invested with all the exterior symbols of regal dignity ; and he procured a patent from the young king, investing him also with regal power¹.

This patent (in which the executors are not even mentioned) being surreptitiously obtained from a minor, the protectorship of Somerset was a palpable usurpation ; but, as the executors acquiesced in the new establishment, and

¹ Burnet's *Hist. Reformat.* vol. ii.

the king discovered a strong attachment to his uncle, who was a man of moderation and probity, few objections were made to his power or title. Other causes conspired to confirm both. Somerset had long been regarded as the secret partisan of the reformers, who had become the most numerous and respectable body of men in the kingdom; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to disclose his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the Protestant innovations. He also took care that the king should be educated in the same principles. To these Edward soon discovered a zealous attachment; and as the people foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England, they began early and very generally to declare themselves in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end triumphant, and of that authority by which they were propagated.

In his schemes for advancing the progress of the Reformation, the protector had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, whose moderation and prudence disinclined him to all violent changes, and determined him to draw over the people, by insensible gradations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he esteemed the most pure and perfect². And to these moderate counsels we are indebted, not only for the full establishment of the Protestant religion in England, but also for that happy medium between superstition and enthusiasm observable in the constitution of the English church. The fabric of the secular hierarchy was left and maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preserved, as far as it was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; and the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from a spirit of opposition or a fanatical love of novelty.

² Burnet's *Hist. Reformat.* vol. ii.

The establishment of the Church of England was a work of reason.

As soon as the English government was brought to some degree of composure, the protector made preparations for a war with Scotland; determined to execute, if possible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which seemed once so near a happy issue, but which had been defeated by the intrigues of cardinal Beaton. This politic and powerful prelate, though not able to prevent the parliament of Scotland from agreeing to the treaty of marriage and union with England, being then in the hands of the Protestant party, afterwards regained his authority, and acquired sufficient influence, not only to oblige the earl of Arran, who had succeeded him in the regency, to renounce his alliance with Henry VIII. but also to abjure the principles of the Reformation, to which he seemed zealously attached, and reconcile himself, in 1543, to the Romish communion, in the Franciscan church at Stirling³.

The fatal effects of this change in the religious and political sentiments of the regent were long felt in Scotland. Arran's apostasy may even perhaps be considered as the remote cause of all the civil broils which afflicted both kingdoms in the subsequent century, and which terminated in the final expulsion of the house of Stuart, of which the infant queen of Scots was now the sole representative. The southern and most fertile parts of the kingdom were suddenly ravaged by an English army. Desultory hostilities ensued with various success, and without any decisive event. At length an end was put to that ruinous and inglorious warfare, by the peace concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Campe, in 1546; the French monarch generously stipulating, that his Scottish allies should be included in the treaty. The religious consequences were more serious and lasting, and their political influence was great.

³ Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* book ii.

The Scottish regent consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The reformers were cruelly persecuted, and many were condemned to that dreadful punishment which the church has appointed for its enemies. Among those who were committed to the flames was a popular preacher named George Wishart; a man of honourable birth, and of primitive sanctity, who possessed in an eminent degree the talent of seising the attention and engaging the affections of the multitude. Wishart suffered with the patience of a martyr; but he could not forbear remarking the barbarous triumph of his insulting adversary, who beheld from a window of his sumptuous palace the inhuman spectacle:—and he foretold, that in a few days, the cardinal should, in the same place, lie as low as he now stood high, in opposition to true piety and religion⁴.

This prophecy, like many others, was probably the cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of Wishart, enraged at his cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against Beatoun; and having associated with them Norman Leslie, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who was instigated by revenge on account of private injuries, they surprised the cardinal in his palace or castle at St. Andrews, and instantly put him to death. One of the assassins, named James Melvil, before he struck the fatal blow, turned the point of his sword towards Beatoun, and in a tone of pious exhortation called to him, “Repent, thou wicked cardinal! of all thy
“sins and iniquities, but especially of the murder of George
“Wishart, that instrument of Christ for the conversion of
“these lands. It is his death which now cries for ven-
“geance. We are sent by God to inflict the deserved pu-
“nishment upon thee⁵.”

The conspirators took possession of the castle, prepared for a vigorous defence, and sent a messenger to London,

⁴ Spotswood.—Buchanan.

⁵ Knox.—Keith.

craving assistance from Henry VIII. The death of that prince, which happened soon after, blasted all their hopes. They received, however, during the siege, supplies both of money and provisions from England; and if they had been able to hold out only a few weeks longer, they would have escaped that severe capitulation to which they were reduced, not by the regent alone, but by a body of troops sent to his assistance from France.

Somerset entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thousand men; while a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which consisted of ships of war, and the other of vessels laden with provisions and military stores, appeared on the coast, in order to second his operations, and supply his army. The earl of Arran had for some time observed this storm gathering, and was prepared to meet it. His army, double in number to that of the enemy, was posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground, guarded by the banks of the river Eske, a little above Musselburg, when the protector came in view. Alarmed at the sight of a force so formidable, and so happily disposed, Somerset made an overture of peace to the regent, on conditions very admissible. He offered to withdraw his troops, and compensate the damage he had done by his inroad, provided the Scots would engage to keep their young queen at home, and not contract her to any foreign prince, until she should attain the age of maturity, when she might choose a husband without the consent of her council. But this moderate demand was rejected by the regent with disdain, and merely on account of its moderation. It was imputed to fear; and Arran, confident of success, was afraid of nothing but the escape of the English army. He therefore left his strong camp, as soon as he saw the protector begin to move toward the sea, suspecting that he intended to embark on board his fleet; and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain, and attacked the English army near the village of Pinkey, with no better success than his rashness deserved.

Having drawn up his troops on an eminence, Somerset had now the advantage of ground on his side. Sept. 10. The Scottish army consisted chiefly of infantry, whose principal weapon was a long spear, and whose files for that reason were as deep as their ranks were close. A body so compact and firm, easily resisted the attack of the English cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. Lord Grey, their commander, was dangerously wounded; lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him, and the royal standard was near falling into the hands of the enemy. But the Scots being galled by the protector's artillery in front, and by the fire from the ships in flank, while the English archers, and a body of foreign fusileers, poured in volleys of shot from all quarters, they at last began to give way: the rout became general, and the whole field was soon a scene of confusion, terror, and flight. The pursuit was long and bloody. Ten thousand of the Scots are said to have fallen, and a very inconsiderable number of the conquering enemy⁶.

This victory, however, which seemed to threaten Scotland with final subjection, was of no real utility to England. It induced the Scots to throw themselves into the arms of France, and send their young queen to be educated in that kingdom; a measure universally regarded as a prelude to her marriage with the dauphin, and which effectually disappointed the views of Somerset, and proved the source of Mary's accomplishments as a woman, and of her misfortunes as a queen. The Scottish nobles, in taking this step, hurried away by the violence of resentment, seem to have forgotten that zeal for the independence of their crown which had made them violate their engagements with Henry VIII. and oppose with such ardour the arms of the protector.

The cabals of the English court obliged the duke of Somerset to return before he could take any effectual mea-

⁶ Patten.—Holinshed.

asures for the subjection of Scotland; and the supplies which the Scots received from France, enabled A. D. 1548. them in a great measure to expel their invaders, while the protector was employed in re-establishing his authority, and quelling domestic insurrections. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of insatiable ambition, had married the queen-dowager, and openly aspired at the government of the kingdom. In order to attain this object, he endeavoured to seduce the young king to his interests; found means to hold a private correspondence with him, and publicly decried the protector's administration. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility, together with some of the most popular persons of inferior rank; and he had provided arms for ten thousand men, whom it was computed he could muster from among his own domestics and retainers⁷.

Though apprised of all these alarming circumstances, Somerset showed no inclination to proceed to extremities. He endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by reason, entreaty, and even by loading Seymour with new favours, to make him desist from such dangerous politics. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more serious remedies; and the earl of Warwick, who hoped to raise his fortune on the ruin of both, inflamed the quarrel between the brothers. By A. D. 1549. his advice lord Seymour was committed to the Tower, attainted of high treason, condemned, and executed⁸.

The protector had now leisure to complete the Reformation, which was the chief object of concern throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the privy-council to compose a liturgy: they had executed the work committed to them, as already observed, with judgement and moderation; and they not unreasonably flattered themselves, that they had

⁷ State Papers published by Haynes, p. 105, 106. ⁸ Burnet, vol. ii.

framed a service in which every denomination of Christians might concur. This form of worship, nearly the same with that which is at present authorised by law, was established by parliament in all the churches, and uniformity was ordered to be observed in all the ceremonies⁹.

Thus, my dear Philip, in the course of a few years, was the Reformation happily completed in England; and its civil and religious consequences have since been deservedly valued. But there is no abuse in society so great as to be destitute of some advantages; and in the beginnings of innovation the loss of those advantages is always sensibly felt by the bulk of a nation, before it can perceive the benefits resulting from the desirable change.

No institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than that of the monastic life; yet was it followed by some effects which, having ceased at the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, by always residing at their convents, in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the country, and afforded a ready market for commodities. They were also acknowledged to have been in England, what they still are in kingdoms where the Romish religion is established, the best and most indulgent landlords; being restricted by the rules of their order to a certain mode of living, and consequently having fewer motives for extortion than other men. The abbots and priors were besides accustomed to grant leases at an under value, and to receive a present in return. But the abbeylands fell under different management, when distributed among the principal nobility and gentry; the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce. The money was often spent in the capital; and, to increase the evil, pasturage in that age being found more profitable than tillage, whole estates were laid waste by inclosure. The farmers,

⁹ Stat. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. i.

regarded as an useless burthen, were expelled from their habitations; and the cottagers, deprived even of the commons, on which they had formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to beggary¹⁰.

These grievances of the common people occasioned insurrections in several parts of England; and Somerset, who loved popularity, imprudently encouraged them, by endeavouring to afford that redress which was not in his power. Tranquillity, however, was soon restored to the kingdom by the vigilance of lord Russel and the earl of Warwick, who slew many of the unhappy mal-contents, and dispersed the rest. But the protector never recovered his authority. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which he seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults which they had suffered during the insurrections to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his passion for popular fame. His enemies even attempted to turn the rage of the populace against him, by working upon the lower class among the Catholics; and having gained over to their party the mayor of London, the lieutenant of the Tower, and many of the great officers of state, they obliged Somerset to resign the protectorship, and committed him to custody. A council of regency was formed, in which the earl of Warwick, who had conducted this revolution, bore the chief sway; and he actually governed the kingdom without the invidious title of protector¹¹.

The first act of Warwick's administration was the negotiation of a treaty of peace with France and with Scotland. Henry II. had taken advantage of the A. D. 1550. disturbances in England to recover several places in the Boulonnois, and even to lay siege, though without effect, to Boulogne itself. He now took advantage, in treating,

10 Strype, vol. ii.

11 Stow.—Burnet.

of the state of the English court. Sensible of the importance of peace to Warwick and his party, he refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of former stipulations. He would never consent, he said, to render himself tributary to any prince, alluding to the reversion of annual payments demanded; but he offered a large sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne and its territory. Four hundred thousand crowns were agreed on as the equivalent. Scotland was comprehended in this treaty. The English stipulated to restore some fortresses, which they still held in that kingdom¹².

Having thus established his administration, freed the kingdom from all foreign danger, and gained partisans, who were disposed to second him in every domestic enterprise, the earl of Warwick began to think of carrying into execution those vast projects which he had formed for his own aggrandisement. The last earl of Northumberland had died without issue; and as his brother, sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted on account of the share which he took in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick procured for himself a grant of that large estate, which lay chiefly in the North, A. D. 1551. the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. This was a great step; but there was yet a strong bar in the way of his ambition. Somerset, though degraded, and lessened in the public esteem in consequence of his spiritless conduct, continued to possess a considerable share of popularity. Northumberland, therefore, resolved to ruin that unfortunate peer. For this purpose, he employed his emissaries to suggest desperate projects to the duke, and afterwards accused him of high treason for seeming to acquiesce in them. Somerset was tried, con-

¹² Rymer, vol. xv.

demned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends shared the same unjust and unhappy fate. His death was sincerely lamented by the people, who regarded him as a martyr in their cause. Many of them dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique¹³.

The duke of Northumberland might seem to have now attained the highest point of elevation to which a subject could aspire, and the greatest degree of power. His rank was second only to the royal family, his estate was one of the largest in the kingdom, and the government was entirely under his direction. But he aimed at yet greater power and consequence: his ambition knew no bounds. Having procured a parliament, which ratified his most despotic measures, and regulated its proceedings according to his will, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself more particularly with the young king, by manifesting an uncommon zeal for the reformed religion; to which the opening mind of Edward was warmly devoted, and the interests of which more sensibly touched him than all other objects.

In his frequent conversations on this subject, Northumberland took occasion to represent to that pious prince, whose health began visibly to decline, A. D. 1553. the danger to which the Reformation would be exposed, should his sister Mary, a bigoted Catholic, succeed to the throne of England; that, although no such objection lay against the princess Elizabeth, he could not, with any degree of propriety, exclude one sister, without also excluding the other; that both had been declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scotland was excluded by the late king's will, and was besides attached to the church of Rome; that these princesses being set aside for such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon

13 Hayward's Life of Edward VI.—Holinshed.

duke of Suffolk, and the French queen, Henry the Eighth's youngest sister; and that the apparent successor to the marchioness was her daughter, lady Jane Grey, who was every way worthy of a crown.

These arguments made a deep impression upon the mind of Edward. He had long lamented the obstinacy of his sister Mary, in adhering to the Romish communion, and seemed to foresee all the horrors of her reign. He respected, and even loved Elizabeth. But lady Jane Grey, being of the same age, had been educated with him, and had commanded his esteem and admiration, by the progress which she made in every branch of literature. He had enjoyed full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the purity of her religious principles, a circumstance that weighed with him above every other consideration in the choice of a successor; and it also seems probable, that her elegant person and amiable disposition had inspired his heart with a tender affection. He, therefore, listened to the proposal of disinheriting his sisters, with a patience which would otherwise have been highly criminal.

In the present languishing state of the king's health, after all the arguments that had been used, it was not a very difficult matter to obtain a deed from him in favour of lady Jane, whom the duke had married to his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley. Greater opposition arose from the judges, and other persons necessary to the execution of such a deed. But they, at last, were all silenced, either by threats or promises; and the great seal was affixed to the king's letters patent, settling the crown on the heirs of the marchioness of Dorset, then duchess of Suffolk, she herself being content to give place to her daughters, or, in other words, to lady Jane.

The king died soon after this singular transaction; and so much the sooner by being put into the hands
July 6. of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him, in a little time, to his former state of health.—Most

of our historians, but especially such as were well affected to the Reformation, dwell with peculiar pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom (as an elegant writer observes) the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of fond regard to the public: and if we make allowance for the delicacy of his frame, and the manners of the age in which he lived, he seems to have possessed all the accomplishments that could be expected in a youth of fifteen.

Aware of the opposition that would be made to the concerted change in the succession, Northumberland had carefully concealed the destination of the crown signed by Edward. He even kept that prince's death secret for a while, in hopes of getting the two princesses into his power. With this view, he engaged the council to desire their attendance at court, under pretence that the king's infirm state of health required the assistance of their advice, and the consolation of their company. They instantly left their several retreats in the country, and set out for London; but happily, before their arrival, they gained intelligence of their brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against themselves. Mary, who had advanced as far as Hoddesdon, when she received this notice, made haste to retire, and wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person¹⁴.

Farther dissimulation, Northumberland now saw, would be fruitless; he therefore went to Sion-house, where lady Jane Grey resided, accompanied by a body of the nobles, and, approaching her with the respect usually paid to the sovereign, informed her of her elevation to the throne. Lady Jane, who was in a great measure ignorant of the intrigues of her father-in-law, received this information with equal grief and surprise. She even refused to accept the crown:

14 Burnet.—Fox.

pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprise so dangerous and so criminal, and begged to remain in that private station in which she was born. Her heart, full of the passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of affection for her husband, who was worthy of all her regard, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition. Subdued, however, by the entreaties, rather than the reasons, of her relatives, she submitted to their will; and the duke immediately conveyed her to London, where she was proclaimed queen, but without one applauding voice. The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: the very preachers employed their eloquence in vain to convince their auditors of the justice of lady Jane's title. Respect for the royal line, and indignation against the Dudleys, were stronger, even in the breasts of Protestants, than the dread of popery¹⁵.

When Mary appeared in Suffolk, the inhabitants resorted to her in crowds: and when she assured them, that she did not intend to alter the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion, they zealously enlisted themselves in her cause. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her with reinforcements. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, carried over to her four thousand men, levied for the support of her rival. The fleet declared for her. Even the duke of Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates of the fortress: and lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during nine days, returned without a sigh to the privacy of domestic life. The council ordered Mary to be proclaimed; and Northumberland, deserted by his followers, and despairing of success, complied with that order with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. He was brought to trial, however, condemned, and beheaded, for high treason. Sentence was also pronounced

15 Burnet.—Fox.—Heylin.

against lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley; but they were respited on account of their youth, neither of them having attained the age of seventeen¹⁶.

No sooner had Mary ascended the throne than a total change of men and measures took place. They who had languished in confinement were lifted to the helm of power, and entrusted with the government of the church as well as of the state. Gardiner, Bonner, and other Catholic bishops, were restored to their sees, and admitted to the queen's favour and confidence; while the most eminent Protestant prelates and zealous reformers, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer, were thrown into prison. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they presumed to plead the queen's promise of maintaining the reformed religion; and one, more bold than the rest, for recalling to her memory the engagements into which she had entered when they enlisted themselves in her service, was exposed in the pillory. A parliament was procured entirely conformable to the sentiments of the court, and a bill passed declaring the queen to be legitimate; ratifying the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. All the statutes of Edward VI. respecting religion were repealed; and the queen sent assurances to the pope of her earnest desire of reconciling herself and her kingdoms to the Holy See, and requested that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office¹⁷.

Reginald Pole was descended from the royal family of England, being grandson of George duke of Clarence. He gave early indications of that fine genius, and generous disposition, by which he was so much distinguished during his more advanced age; and Henry VIII., having conceived a great friendship for him, proposed to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. As a pledge of future fa-

¹⁶ Heylin.—Burnet.

¹⁷ Burnet, vol. ii.

vours, Henry conferred on him the deanry of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. But when that monarch was at variance with the court of Rome, Pole refused to second his measures, and even wrote against him in a treatise on the *Unity of the Church*. This performance produced an irreparable breach between the young ecclesiastic and his sovereign, and blasted all Pole's hopes of rising in the English church. He was not, however, allowed to sink. The pope and the emperor thought themselves bound to provide for a man of such eminence, who, in support of their cause, had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. Pole was created a cardinal, and sent legate into Flanders. But he took no higher than deacon's orders, which did not condemn him to celibacy; and he was suspected of having aspired to the English crown, by means of a marriage with the princess Mary, during the life of her father. The marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, and several other persons of rank, suffered for this conspiracy, whether real or pretended. To hold a correspondence with that obnoxious fugitive was deemed sufficient guilt. It was enough, at least, to expose them to the indignation of Henry; and his will, on many occasions, is known to have usurped the place both of law and equity.

But whatever doubt may remain of Pole's intrigues for obtaining the crown of England, through an alliance with Mary, it is certain that she was no sooner seated upon the throne than she thought of making him the partner of her sway. The cardinal, however, being now in the decline of life, was represented to the queen as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the fatigue of business. She therefore relinquished all thoughts of him as a husband; but, as she entertained a high esteem for his wisdom and virtue, she still proposed to reap the benefit of his counsels in the administration of the realm;—and hence arose her request to the pope.

This alliance, and one with the earl of Devonshire, being rejected for various reasons, the queen turned her eye toward the house of Austria, and there found a ready correspondence with her views. The ambitious Charles no sooner had heard of the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of obtaining the kingdom for his son Philip; hoping by that acquisition to balance the losses he had sustained in Germany: and Philip, although eleven years younger than Mary, who was destitute of every external beauty or grace, gave his consent without hesitation to the match proposed by his father. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to the queen of England; who, flattered with the prospect of marrying the presumptive heir of the greatest monarch in Europe, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and happy to unite herself more closely to her mother's family, to which she had always been warmly attached, gladly embraced the proposal. The earls of Norfolk and Arundel, lord Paget, and bishop Gardiner, then prime-minister, finding how Mary's inclinations leaned, gave their opinion in favour of the Spanish alliance; but as they were sensible that the prospect of it diffused general apprehension and terror, for the liberty and independence of the kingdom, the articles of marriage were drawn up with all possible attention to the interest and security, and even to the grandeur of England. The emperor agreed to whatever was thought necessary to soothe the fears of the people, or quiet the jealousies of the nobility. The chief articles were, that Philip, during his marriage with Mary, should bear the title of king, but that the administration should be vested solely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of

A. D. 1554.

her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low-Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die without issue, Mary's issue, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; and that Philip, if the queen should die before him without issue, should leave the crown of England to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatsoever¹⁸.

But this treaty, though framed with so much caution and skill, was far from reconciling the English nation to the Spanish alliance. It was properly observed, that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would agree to any terms; and that the more favourable were the conditions which he had granted, the more certainly might it be concluded he had no serious intention of maintaining them. His general character was urged in support of these observations; and it was added, that Philip, while he inherited his father's vices, fraud and ambition, united to them more dangerous vices of his own, sullen pride and barbarity. England seemed already a province of Spain, groaning under the load of despotism, and subjected to all the horrors of the inquisition. The people were every where ripe for rebellion, and wanted only an able leader to have subverted the queen's authority. No such leader appeared. The more prudent part of the nobility thought it would be soon enough to correct ills when they began to be felt. Some turbulent spirits, however, judged it more safe to prevent than to redress grievances. They accordingly formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt proposed to raise Kent; sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and the duke of Suffolk was engaged, by the hope of recovering the crown for his daughter, to attempt raising the midland counties.

¹⁸ Rymer, vol. xv.—Burnet, vol. ii.

But these conspirators, imprudently breaking concert, and rising at different times, were soon humbled. Wyat and Suffolk lost their heads, as did lady Jane Grey and her husband, to whom the duke's guilt was imputed.

This fond and unfortunate couple died with much piety and fortitude. It had been intended to execute them on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; but the Feb. 12. council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed its orders, and gave directions that Lady Jane should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She refused to take leave of her husband on the day of their execution; assigning as a reason, that the tenderness of parting might unbend their minds from that firmness which their approaching doom required of them. "Our separation," added she, "will be but for a moment; we shall soon rejoin each other in a scene where our affections will be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortune, can no longer disturb our felicity¹⁹." She saw lord Guildford led to execution, without discovering any sign of weakness. She even calmly met his headless body, as she was going to execution herself, and intrepidly desired to proceed to the fatal spot, emboldened by the report which she had received of the magnanimity of his behaviour. On that occasion she wrote in her table-book three sentences; one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English. The meaning was, that although human justice was against her husband's body, divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and inexperience ought to plead her excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. On the scaffold she behaved with great mildness and composure, and submitted herself to the stroke of the executioner with a steady and serene countenance²⁰.

The queen's authority was considerably strengthened

¹⁹ Heylin, p. 167.—Fox, vol. iii.

²⁰ Id. *ibid.*

by the suppression of this rebellion; and the arrival of Philip in England gave still greater stability to her government. For although that prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him, being distant in his address, and so entrenched in form and ceremony as to be in a manner inaccessible, his liberality, if money disbursed for the purposes of corruption can deserve that name, procured him many friends among the nobility and gentry. Cardinal Pole also arrived in England about the same time, with legantine powers from the pope; and both houses of parliament 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 to the Romish religion; and praying their Majesties (happily uninfected with that criminal schism!) to intercede with the Holy Father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was readily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all ecclesiastical censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church²¹.

In consequence of this reconciliation with the see of Rome, the punishment by fire, that dreadful expedient of superstition for extending her empire, and preserving her dominion, was rigorously employed against the most eminent reformers. The mild councils of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were overruled by Gardiner and Bonner, and many persons of all conditions, both sexes, and various ages, were committed to the flames. The persecutors made their first attack upon Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; a man equally distinguished by his piety and learning, but whose domestic situation, it was hoped, would bring him to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children;

²¹ Burnet, vol. ii.—Fox, vol. iii.

yet did he continue firm in his principles; and such was his serenity after condemnation, that the gaolers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He suffered in Smithfield. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was condemned at the same time with Rogers, but was sent to his own diocese to be punished, in order to strike the greater terror into his flock. The constancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a scene of consolation to Hooper to die in their sight, bearing testimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them. He continued to exhort them, till his tongue, swollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance: and his words were long remembered²².

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, also suffered this terrible punishment in his own diocese. And Ridley and Latimer, who had been bishops of London and Worcester, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning, and their piety, perished in the same fire at Oxford, supporting each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother! We shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as, I trust in God, will never be extinguished²³."

Sanders, a respectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was offered him if he would recant: but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome, cross of Christ! welcome, everlasting life!" Cranmer had less courage at first. Overawed by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompously represented the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. But Mary and her council, no less perfidious than cruel, determined, that this re-

²² Burnet, vol. ii.—Fox, vol. iii.

²³ Id. *ibid.*

cantation should not avail him; that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterward be led to execution. He soon repented, however, of his weakness, and surprised the audience by a declaration very different from that which was expected from him. After explaining his sense of what he owed to God and his sovereign, "There is one miscarriage in my life," said he, "of which, above all others, I severely repent—the insincere declaration of faith which I had the weakness to subscribe; but I take this opportunity of atoning for my error by a sincere and open recantation, and am willing to seal with my blood that doctrine which I firmly believe to have been communicated from Heaven."

As his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, he resolved that it should first be punished by a severe but just doom. He accordingly stretched out his arm, as soon as he came to the stake; and without discovering, either by his looks or motions, the least sign of compunction, or even of feeling, he held his right hand in the flames, till it was utterly consumed. His thoughts appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended!" When it dropped off, he discovered a serenity in his countenance, as if satisfied with sacrificing to divine justice the instrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his soul, wholly collected within itself, seemed fortified against every external accident, and altogether inaccessible to pain²⁴.

It would be endless, my dear Philip, to enumerate all the cruelties practised in England during this bigoted reign, near three hundred persons having been brought to the stake in the first rage of persecution. Besides, the savage barbarity on one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar, in all those martyrdoms, that a narration, very little agreeable in itself, would become altogether

²⁴ Fox, vol. iii.—Burnet, vol. li.

disgusting by its uniformity. It is sufficient to have mentioned the sufferings of our most eminent reformers, whose character and condition make such notice necessary. I shall therefore conclude this subject with observing, that human nature appears on no occasion so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious horrors, which sink mankind below infernal spirits in wickedness, and beneath the brutes in folly. Bishop Bonner seemed to rejoice in the torments of the victims of persecution. He sometimes whipped the Protestant prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion, and, in order to give the obstinate heretic a more sensible idea of burning, he held his finger to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrank and burst²⁵. All these examples prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, inflamed by theological hate.

But the members of the English parliament, though so obsequious to the queen's will in re-uniting the kingdom to the see of Rome, and in authorising the murder of their fellow-subjects who rejected the Catholic faith, had still some regard left both to their own and the national interest. They refused to restore the possessions of the church: they would not declare her husband presumptive heir to the crown, or vest the administration in his hands; and she could not even procure their consent to his coronation.

The queen likewise met with long opposition from parliament in another favourite measure; namely, in an attempt to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain. The motion was suspended; and Philip, disgusted with Mary's importunate love, which was equal to that of a girl of eighteen, and with her jealousy and spleen, which increased with her declining years and her despair of having issue, had gone over to his father in Flanders. The voluntary resignation of the em-

²⁵ Fox, vol. iii.

peror, soon after this visit, put Philip in possession of the wealth of America, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe. He did not, however, lay aside his attention to the affairs of England, of which he still hoped to have the direction; and he came over to London, in order to support his parliamentary friends in a new motion for a French war. This measure was zealously opposed by several of the queen's most able counsellors, and particularly by cardinal Pole, who, having taken priest's orders, had been installed in the see of Canterbury on the death of Cranmer. But hostilities having commenced in France, as was pretended, war was at last denounced against that kingdom; and ten thousand men were sent over to the Low-Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke²⁶.

An attempt was made in Scotland by the French monarch to engage that kingdom in a war with England. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, had obtained the regency through the intrigues of the court of France; and Henry II. now requested her to take part in the common quarrel. She accordingly summoned a convention of the states, and asked their concurrence for a war with England. But the Scottish nobles, who had become as jealous of the French as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent: and the regent had in vain recourse to stratagem, in order to accomplish her purpose.

The French monarch, however, without the assistance of his ancient allies, and notwithstanding the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, of which I shall afterward have occasion to speak, made himself master of Calais, which the English had possessed above two hundred years; and which, as it opened to them an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable foreign territory belonging to the crown. This important place was recovered by the vigilance and valour of the duke of

²⁶ Burnet, vol. ii.—Strype, vol. iii.

Guise; who, informed that the English, trusting to the strength of the town, deemed in that age impregnable, were accustomed to recall, towards the close of summer, great part of the garrison, and replace it in the spring; undertook the enterprise in the depth of winter. As he knew that success depended upon celerity, he pushed his attacks with such vigour, that the governor was obliged to surrender on the eighth day of the siege²⁷. A. D. 1558.

The joy of the French on this occasion was extreme. Their vanity indulged itself in the utmost exultation of triumph, while the English gave vent to all the passions which agitate a high-spirited people, when any great national misfortune is evidently the consequence of the misconduct of their rulers. They murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who, after engaging the nation in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interest, had thus exposed it, by their negligence, to so severe a disgrace.

This event, with the consciousness of being hated by her subjects, and despised by her husband, so much affected the queen of England, whose health had long been declining, that she fell into a low fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign. Nov. 17. "When "I am dead," said she to her attendants, "you will find "Calais at my heart." Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable. Her person was as little engaging as her manners; and amidst that complication of vices which entered into her composition, namely, obstinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty, we scarcely find any virtue but sincerity.

Before the queen's death, negotiations had been opened for a general peace. Among other conditions, the king of France demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; the king of Spain, that of Calais and its territory to England. But the death of Mary somewhat altered the

²⁷ Thuan. lib. xx. cap. ii.

firmness of the Spanish monarch in regard to that capital article. And before I speak of the treaty which was afterwards signed at Château Cambresis, and which restored tranquillity to Europe, I must carry forward the affairs of the continent. In the mean while, it will be proper to say a few words of the princess Elizabeth, who now succeeded to the throne of England.

The majority of the English were under great apprehensions for the life of this princess, during her sister's whole reign. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and menaces had been employed to bring her to a recantation. The violent hatred which the queen entertained against her broke out on every occasion; and all her own distinguished prudence was necessary, in order to prevent the fatal effects of it. She retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded by spies, she passed her time chiefly in reading and study. She complied with the established mode of worship, and eluded all questions in regard to religion. When asked, on purpose to gather her opinion of the *real presence*, what she thought of these words of Christ, "This is my body,"—and whether she believed it the *true* body of Christ that was in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—she replied thus:

" Christ was the word that spake it;
 " He took the bread and brake it;
 " And what the word did make it,
 " That I believe and take it(28)."

After the death of her sister, Elizabeth delivered her sentiments more freely: and an early act of her administration was the re-establishment of the Protestant religion. The liturgy was again introduced in the English tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been re-

A. D. 1559.

duced to fourteen, by a sickly season which preceded this change; and all these (except the bishop of Llandaff), having refused compliance, were deprived of their sees. But of the great body of the English clergy, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings for their theological opinions²⁹.

This change in religion completed the joy of the people on account of the accession of Elizabeth; the auspicious commencement of whose reign may be said to have prognosticated that felicity and glory which uniformly attended it. These particulars, my dear Philip, will make all retrospect in the affairs of England unnecessary, beyond the treaty of Château Cambresis.

LETTER LXV.

View of the Continent of Europe, from the Treaty of Passau, in 1552, to the Peace of Château Cambresis, in 1559.

THE negotiations at Passau were no sooner completed, than Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary against the Turks, at the head of twenty thousand men, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, whom the hopes of such assistance had rendered a zealous advocate of the confederates. A. D. 1552. But the vast superiority of the Turkish armies, together with the dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, the Austrian general, who was piqued at being superseded in the command, prevented the elector from performing, on this occasion, any exploits worthy of his former fame, or of much benefit to the Romans.

In the mean time Charles V., deeply affected for the loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had formed the barrier

²⁹ Strype.—Camden.

of the empire on the side of France, and would now secure the frontier of Champagne, left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and put himself at the head of those forces which he had assembled against the confederates, for the recovery of the three bishoprics. To conceal the destination of his army, he circulated a report that he intended to lead it into Hungary, to second Maurice in his operations against the Infidels; and as that pretext failed him, when he began to approach the Rhine, he pretended that he was marching first to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, who had refused to be included in the treaty of Passau, and whose cruel exactions in that part of Germany called loudly for redress.

The French, however, were not deceived by these artifices. Their sovereign immediately guessed the true object of the emperor's armament, and resolved to defend his conquests with vigour. The defence of Metz, against which it was foreseen the chief weight of the war would be turned, was committed to Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, who possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities that render men great in military command. To courage, sagacity, fortitude, and presence of mind, he added that magnanimity which delights in bold enterprises, and aspires after fame by splendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station; and many of the French nobility, and even princes of the blood, eager to distinguish themselves under such a leader, entered Metz as volunteers. They were all necessary. The city was of great extent, ill fortified; and the suburbs were large. For these inconveniences the duke endeavoured to provide a remedy. He repaired the old fortifications with all possible expedition, labouring with his own hands: the officers imitated his example; and the soldiers, thus encouraged, cheerfully submitted to the most severe toils. He erected new works, and leveled the suburbs with the ground. At the same time he filled

the magazines with provisions and military stores, compelled all useless persons to leave the place, and laid waste the neighbouring country; yet such were his popular talents, and his power of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens not only refrained from murmuring, but seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers, in all his operations—in the ruin of their estates, and in the havoc of their public and private buildings¹.

Meanwhile the emperor continued his march toward Lorraine at the head of sixty thousand men. On his approach, Albert of Brandenburg, whose army did not exceed twenty thousand, withdrew into that duchy, as if he intended to join the French king; and Charles, though the winter was approaching, laid siege to Metz, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers.

The attention, both of the besiegers and the besieged, was turned for a time to the motions of Albert, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, undetermined which side to take, though resolved to sell his services. Charles at last came up to his price, and he joined the imperial army. The emperor now flattered himself that nothing could resist his force; but he found himself deceived. After a siege of almost sixty days, during which he had attempted all that was thought possible for art or valour to effect, and had lost about thirty thousand men by the inclemency of the weather, diseases, or the sword of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. "Fortune," said Charles, "I now perceive, like other fine ladies, chooses to confer her favours on young men, and forsake those who are in the decline of life²."

This saying has been thought gallant, and perhaps it is so; but the occasion merited more serious reflections. When the French sallied out to attack the enemy's rear, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into

1 Thuan. lib. xi.

2 Id. ibid.

compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. All the roads by which the army retired were strewed with the same miserable objects; who having made an effort beyond their strength to escape, and not being able to proceed, were left to perish without assistance. Happily, that, and all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform, they received from their enemies. The duke of Guise ordered that they should be supplied with every necessary. He appointed physicians to attend, and direct what treatment was proper for the sick and wounded, and what refreshments for the feeble: and such as recovered he sent home, under a safe escort, with money to bear their charges³. By these acts of humanity, less common in that age than in the present, the duke completed that heroic character which he had acquired by his brave and successful defence.

The emperor's misfortunes were not confined to Germany. During his residence at Villach he had been obliged to borrow two hundred thousand crowns from Cosmo of Medicis; and so low was his credit, that he was obliged to put that prince in possession of the territory of Piombino, as a security for the re-payment of the money. By this step he lost the footing he had hitherto maintained in Tuscany; and, nearly at the same time, he lost Sienna. The Siennese, who had long enjoyed a republican government, rose against the Spanish garrison, which they had admitted as a check upon the tyranny of the nobility, but which they now found was meant to enslave them. Forgetting their domestic animosities, they recalled the exiled nobles, demolished the citadel, and put themselves under the protection of France⁴.

These unfortunate events were followed by the most alarming dangers. The severe administration of the viceroy

³ Thuan. lib. vi.—Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tome iv.—Father Daniel's account of this siege is copied from the Journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was present at it.

⁴ *Mem. de Ribier*.

of Naples had filled that kingdom with dissatisfaction. The prince of Salerno, the head of the mal-contented, fled to the court of France. The French monarch, after the example of his father, had formed an alliance with the grand signor; and Solyman, at that time highly incensed against the house of Austria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under the command of the corsair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbarossa. Dragut appeared on the coast of Calabria, where he expected to be joined by a French squadron; but not meeting with it according to concert, he returned to Constantinople, after plundering and burning several places, and filling Naples with consternation⁵.

While Charles, who had retired into the Low-Countries, breathed vengeance against France, Germany was still disturbed by the restless ambition of Albert of Brandenburg; and as that prince obstinately continued his violences, notwithstanding a decree of the imperial chamber, a league was formed against him by the most powerful princes of the empire, of which Maurice was declared the head. This confederacy, however, wrought no change in the sentiments of Albert. As he knew that he could not resist so many princes if they had leisure to unite their forces, he marched directly against Maurice, whom he dreaded most, and hoped to crush before he could receive support from his allies; but he found that prince ready for conflict.

These hostile chiefs, whose armies were nearly equal in number, met at Siverhausen, in the duchy of Lu-
nenburg. There an obstinate battle was fought, July 9.
in which the combat long remained doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately; but at last victory declared for Maurice. Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand men dead on the field, and their baggage and

⁵ *Mem. de Ribier.*

artillery in the hands of the enemy. But the allies bought their victory at a dear rate. Their best troops suffered greatly; several persons of distinction fell; and Maurice himself received a wound of which he died two days after, in the thirty-second year of his age. No prince, ancient or modern, ever perhaps discovered such deep political sagacity at so early a period of life. As he left only one daughter (afterwards married to the famous William, prince of Orange), John Frederic, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity; and that part of his patrimonial estate of which he had been stripped during the Smalcaldic war; but the states of Saxony, forgetting the merits and sufferings of their former master, declared in favour of Augustus, Maurice's brother. The unfortunate, but magnanimous John Frederic, died soon after this disappointment, which he bore with his usual firmness⁶; and the electoral dignity is still possessed by the descendants of Augustus.

The consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops prevented them from making a proper use of their victory; so that Albert, having re-assembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies, renewed his depredations with additional fury. But being defeated
 Sept. 12. in a second battle by Henry of Brunswick, who had taken the command of the allied army, he was driven from all his hereditary dominions, as well as from those which he had usurped; was subjected to the ban of the empire, and obliged to take refuge in France, where he lingered out a few years in indigence⁷.

During these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with considerable vigour. In the hope of effacing the stain which his military reputation had received before Metz, Charles laid siege to Terouenne; and the fortifications being out of repair, that important

⁶ Arnoldi *Vit. Mauriti*.—Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* book x.

⁷ *Id. ibid.*

place was carried by assault. Hesden also was invested and taken in the same manner. The king of France was too late in assembling his forces, to afford relief to either of those towns; and the emperor cautiously avoided an engagement during the remainder of the campaign.

The imperial arms were less successful in Italy. The viceroy of Naples failed in an attempt to recover Sienna; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but conquered part of the island of Corsica. Nor did the affairs of the house of Austria wear a better aspect in Hungary during the course of this year. Isabella and her son appeared once more in Transylvania, at a time when the people were ready for revolt, in order to revenge the death of Martinuzzi, whose loss they had severely felt. Some noblemen of eminence declared in favour of the young king: and as the pasha of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espoused his cause, the Austrians were obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks^g.

To counterbalance these and other losses, the emperor, as has been already related, concerted a marriage between his son Philip and Mary of England, in ^{A. D. 1554.} the hope of adding this kingdom to his other dominions. Meanwhile the war between Henry and Charles was carried on with various success in the Low-Countries, and, in Italy, much to the disadvantage of France. The French, under the command of Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, were defeated in the battle of Marciano; and Sienna being reduced after a siege of ten months, the brave inhabitants were again harassed by Spanish tyranny. Nearly ^{A. D. 1555.} at the same time a plot was formed by the Franciscans, but was discovered before it could be carried into execution, for betraying Metz to the Imperialists. The father-guardian and twenty other monks received sentence of death on account of this conspiracy; but the guardian, before the time appointed for his execution, was murdered

by his incensed accomplices, whom he had seduced from their allegiance, and six of the youngest were pardoned⁹.

While war thus raged in Italy and the Low-Countries, accompanied with all its train of miseries, and all the crimes to which ambition gives birth, Germany enjoyed such tranquillity as afforded the diet full leisure to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification agreed upon at Passau, and referred to the consideration of the next meeting of the Germanic body. For this purpose a diet had been summoned to meet at Augsburg, soon after the conclusion of the treaty; but the commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg, and the attention which Ferdinand was obliged to pay to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto obstructed its deliberations. The following stipulations were at last settled, and formally published: “Such princes and
“cities as have declared their approbation of the Confes-
“sion of Augsburg shall be permitted to profess and ex-
“ercise without molestation, the doctrine and worship
“which it authorises: the popish ecclesiastics shall claim
“no spiritual jurisdiction in such cities or principalities,
“nor shall the Protestants molest the princes and states
“that adhere to the church of Rome: no attempt shall be
“made to terminate religious differences, except by the
“gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference:
“the supreme civil power in every state may establish
“what form of worship it shall deem proper, but shall
“permit those who refuse to conform to remove their ef-
“fects: all who seised the benefices or revenues of the
“church, before the treaty of Passau, shall retain posses-
“sion of them, and be subject to no persecution in the
“imperial chamber on that account; but if any prelate or
“ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion,
“he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and
“it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomi-
“nation is vested to proceed immediately to an election,
“as in the case of death or translation¹⁰.”

⁹ Thuan. lib. xv.

¹⁰ Father Paul, lib. v.—Pallavicini, lib. xiii.

These were the principal articles in the Recess of Augsburg, the basis of religious peace in Germany. The followers of Luther were highly pleased with the security which it afforded them, and the Catholics seem to have had no less reason to be satisfied. That article which preserved entire to the Romish church the benefices of such ecclesiastics as should hereafter renounce its doctrines, at once placed a barrier around its patrimony, and effectually guarded against the defection of its dignitaries. But cardinal Caraffa (who was now raised to the papal throne, under the name of Paul IV.), full of high ideas of his apostolic jurisdiction, and animated with the fiercest zeal against heresy, regarded the indulgence given to the Protestants, by an assembly composed of laymen, as an impious act of usurped power. He therefore threatened the emperor and the king of the Romans with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they did not immediately declare the Recess of Augsburg illegal and void; and as Charles showed no disposition to comply with this demand, the pope entered into an alliance with the French king, in order to ruin the imperial power in Italy.

That negotiation was depending, when an event occurred which astonished all Europe, and confounded the reasonings of the wisest politicians. Charles, though only in his fifty-sixth year, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally pursued with the greatest ardour, had for some time formed the resolution of resigning his hereditary dominions to his son Philip. He now prepared to put it into execution. Various have been the opinions of historians respecting the motives of this extraordinary determination; but the most probable seem to be, the disappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits had become so frequent and severe, that not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but

the faculties of his mind were sensibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than to expose them to the public eye; and as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by attempting to guide the reins of government when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, he prudently resolved to seek in the tranquillity of retirement that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war and the intrigues of state.

Having already ceded to Philip the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, he assembled the states of the Netherlands at Brussels: and seating himself for the last time in the chair of state, he explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, and solemnly devolved his authority upon his son. He recounted with dignity, but without ostentation, all his great enterprises; and that enumeration gives us the highest idea of his activity and industry. "I have dedicated," observed he, "from the seventeenth year of my age, all my thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of my time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. Either in a pacific or hostile manner, I have visited Germany nine times; Spain six times; France four times; Italy seven times; the Low-Countries ten times; England twice; Africa as often; and while my health permitted me to discharge the duties of a sovereign, and the vigour of my constitution was not unequal to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, I never shunned labour or repined under fatigue; but now, when my health is broken, and my vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, my growing infirmities admonish me to retire; nor am I so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which is no longer able to protect my subjects.

"Instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases," continued he, "and scarcely half alive, I give you one in the

“ prime of life, already accustomed to govern, and who
“ adds to the vigour of youth all the attention and saga-
“ city of maturer years.” Then turning towards Philip,
who fell on his knees and kissed his father’s hand, “ It is
“ in your power,” said Charles, “ by a wise and virtuous
“ administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which
“ I give this day of my paternal affection, and to demon-
“ strate that you are worthy of the confidence which I re-
“ pose in you. Preserve,” added he, “ an inviolable re-
“ gard for religion; maintain the Catholic faith in its
“ purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your
“ eyes; encroach not on the rights of your people: and
“ if the time should ever come, when you shall wish to
“ enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a
“ son to whom you can resign your sceptre with as much
“ satisfaction as I give mine to you!” A few weeks after,
the emperor also resigned to Philip the Spanish crown,
with all the dominions depending upon it, in the Old as
well as in the New World; reserving nothing to himself,
out of all those vast possessions, but an annual pension of
one hundred thousand ducats¹¹.

Charles was now impatient to embark for Spain, where
he had fixed on a place of retreat. But, by the advice of
his physicians, he deferred his voyage for some months,
on account of the severity of the season; and, by yielding
to their judgement, he had the satisfaction, before he left
the Low-Countries, of taking a considerable step towards
a peace with France. Of this he was ardently desirous,
not only on his son’s account, whose administration he
wished to commence in quietness, but that he might have
the glory, when quitting the world, of restoring to Europe
that tranquillity which his ambition had banished from it,
almost during his whole reign.

The great obstacle to such a pacification on the part of

¹¹ Godlev. *Relat. Abdicat. Car. V.*—Thuan. lib. xvi.—Sandov. vol. ii.—Robertson, book ix.

France, was a treaty which had been concluded with the court of Rome; and the emperor's claims were too numerous to admit any hope of rapid adjustment. A truce of five years was therefore proposed by Charles, during which term, without discussing their respective pretensions, each should retain what was in his possession; and Henry, through the persuasion of the constable Montmorency, who represented the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to his rash engagements with the pope, authorised his ambassadors to sign at Vaucelles a treaty which would ensure to him, for so considerable a period, the important conquests which he had made on the German frontier, together with the greater part of the dominions of the duke of Savoy.

Paul IV., when informed of this transaction, was filled no less with terror and astonishment than with rage and indignation. But he took equal care to conceal his fear and his anger. He affected to be highly pleased with the truce; and he offered his mediation, as the common father of Christendom, for the adjustment of a permanent peace. Under this pretext, he dispatched cardinal Rebiba, as his nuncio, to the court of Brussels; and his nephew, cardinal Caraffa, to that of Paris. The public instructions of both were the same; but Caraffa, besides these, received a private commission, to spare no entreaties, promises, or bribes, in order to induce the French monarch to renounce the truce, and renew his engagements with the court of Rome. He flattered Henry with a hope of the conquest of Naples: he gained to his interest, by his address, the Guises, the queen, and even the famous Diana of Poitiers, duchess of Valentinois, the king's mistress: and they easily swayed the king himself, who had already leaned to that side toward which they wished to incline him. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded.

A. D. 1556. The nuncio, by powers from Rome, absolved Henry from his oath of truce; and that rash

prince signed a new treaty with the pope, which rekindled with fresh violence the flames of war, both in Italy and the Low-Countries.

No sooner was Paul acquainted with the success of this negotiation, than he proceeded to the most indecent extremities against Philip II. He ordered the Spanish ambassador to be imprisoned: he excommunicated the Colonnas, because of their attachment to the Imperial house; and he declared that Philip was guilty of high treason, and had forfeited his right to the kingdom of Naples, which he was supposed to hold of the Holy See, for afterward affording them a retreat in his dominions¹².

Alarmed at a quarrel with the pope, whom he had been taught to regard with the most superstitious veneration, as the vicegerent of Christ, and the common father of Christendom, Philip tried every gentle method before he made use of force. He even consulted some Spanish divines on the lawfulness of taking arms against a person so sacred. They decided in his favour, and Paul continuing inexorable, the duke of Alva, to whom the conduct of the negotiation as well as of the war had been committed, entered the ecclesiastical state at the head of ten thousand veterans, and carried terror to the gates of Rome.

The haughty pontiff, though still obstinate and undaunted himself, was forced to give way to the fears of the cardinals; and a truce was concluded for forty days. But, when the duke of Guise arrived with twenty thousand men, Paul became more arrogant than ever, and banished from his mind all thoughts except those of war and revenge. The duke however, who is supposed to have given his voice for this war, chiefly from a desire of displaying his military talents, was able to perform nothing in Italy worthy of his former fame. He was obliged to abandon the siege of Civitella; he could not bring the duke of Alva to a general engagement; a multitude of his

A. D. 1557.

¹² Pallav. lib. xiii.

men perished by disease; and the pope neglected to furnish the necessary reinforcements. He requested to be recalled: and France stood in need of his abilities.

Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, was no sooner informed that Henry had violated the truce of Vaucelles, than he determined to act with such vigour as should convince all Europe that his father had not erred in resigning to him the reins of government. He immediately assembled in the Low-Countries a body of fifteen thousand men: he obtained a supply of ten thousand from England, which he had engaged, as we have seen, in this quarrel; and not being ambitious of military fame, he gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of that warlike age.

The duke of Savoy kept the enemy for a time in utter ignorance of his destination. At length he seemed to threaten Champagne, toward which the French drew all their troops; a motion which he no sooner perceived, than, turning suddenly to the right, he advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and laid siege to St. Quintin. It was deemed in that age a place of considerable strength; but the fortifications had been neglected, and the garrison did not amount to a fifth part of the number requisite for its defence: it must therefore have surrendered in a few days, if the admiral de Coligny had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it with such a body of men as could be suddenly collected for that purpose. He effected his design in spite of the enemy, breaking through the main body with seven hundred horse, and two hundred foot. The town, however, was closely invested; and Montmorency, anxious to extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation in which his zeal for the public good had engaged him, as well as to save a place of great importance, rashly advanced to its relief with forces inferior by one half to those of the enemy. He was totally defeated, and made prisoner¹³.

¹³ Thuan. lib. xix.

The cautious temper of Philip, on this occasion, saved France from devastation, if not ruin. The duke of Savoy proposed to overlook all inferior objects, and march directly to Paris—of which, in its present consternation, he could not have failed to make himself master. But the Spanish monarch, afraid of the consequences of such a bold enterprise, desired him to continue the siege of St. Quintin, in order to secure a safe retreat, in case of any disastrous event. The town, long and gallantly defended by Coligny, was at last taken by storm; but not before France was in a state of defence.

Philip was now sensible he had lost an opportunity, that could never be recalled, of distressing his enemy, and contented himself with reducing Ham and Catelet, two petty towns, which, with St. Quintin, were the sole fruits of one of the most complete victories gained in the sixteenth century. The Catholic king, however, continued in high exultation, on account of his success; and as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of St. Laurence, on the day sacred to whose memory the battle of St. Quintin had been fought. He accordingly laid the foundation of an edifice in which all those buildings were included, and which he continued to forward, at a vast expense, for twenty-two years. The same principle that dictated the vow directed the construction of the fabric. It was so formed as to resemble a gridiron!—on which culinary instrument, according to the legendary tale, St. Laurence had suffered martyrdom¹⁴. Such, my dear Philip, is the origin of the famous Escorial, near Madrid, the royal residence of the kings of Spain.

The earliest account of the great blow which France had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had sent to recall the duke of Guise. Paul

¹⁴ Colmenar, *Annal d'Espagne*. vol. ii.

remonstrated warmly against the departure of the French army; but Guise's orders were peremptory. The arrogant pontiff therefore found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Cosmo of Medicis, in order to obtain peace from Spain. The first overtures to this purpose were easily listened to by the Catholic king, who still doubted the justice of his cause, and considered it as his greatest misfortune to be obliged to contend with the pope. Paul agreed to renounce his league with France; and Philip stipulated, on his part, that the duke of Alva should repair to Rome, and, after asking pardon of the holy father, in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, should receive absolution for that crime!— Thus the pope, through the superstitious timidity of Philip, not only finished an unpropitious war without any detriment to the apostolic see, but saw his conqueror humbled at his feet: and so excessive was the veneration of the Spaniards in that age for the papal character, that the duke of Alva, the proudest man perhaps of his time, and accustomed from his infancy to converse with princes, acknowledged, that, when he approached Paul, he was so much overawed, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him¹⁵.

But although this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was terminated without occasioning any alteration in those states which were its immediate object, it produced effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. In order to detach Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, from the French interest, Philip restored to him the city of Placentia and its territory, which had been seised, as we have seen, by Charles V., and he granted to Cosmo of Medicis the investiture of Sienna, as an equivalent for the sums due to him¹⁶.

¹⁵ Pallav. lib. xiii.

¹⁶ Thuan. lib. xviii.

By these treaties the balance of power, among the Italian states, was poised more equally, and rendered less variable, than it had been since it received the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles VIII.; and Italy henceforth ceased to be the theatre on which the sovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for fame and dominion. Their hostilities, excited by new objects, stained other regions of Europe with blood, and made other states feel, in their turn, the calamities of war.

The duke of Guise, who left Rome the same day that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope, was received in France as the guardian-angel of the kingdom. He was appointed commander-in-chief, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited; and, eager to justify the extraordinary confidence which the king had reposed in him, as well as to perform something suitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, he undertook the siege of Calais. Of the complete success of that enterprise, and its different effects upon the English and French nations, we have already had occasion to take notice. The duke next invested Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks. But the advantages in this quarter were more than balanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, who had penetrated into Flanders, and taken Dunkirk, was totally routed near Gravelines by count Egmont, and made prisoner¹⁷. This disaster obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all his other schemes, and hasten to the frontier of Picardy, that he might there oppose the progress of the enemy.

The eyes of France were now anxiously turned toward the operations of a general on whose arms victory had al-

¹⁷ Thuan. lib. xx.

ways attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, his countrymen could confide in every danger. Guise's strength was nearly equal to that of the duke of Savoy, each commanding about forty thousand men. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from each other; and, the French and Spanish monarchs having joined their respective armies, it was expected that, after the vicissitudes of war, a signal victory would at last determine which of the rivals would take the ascendant for the future in the affairs of Europe. But both princes, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive; neither of them discovering any inclination, though each had it in his power, to rest the decision of a point of such importance on the issue of a single battle.

During this state of inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an equal disposition to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. The private inclinations of both kings concurred with their political interests and the wishes of their people. Philip languished to return to Spain, the place of his nativity; and peace only could enable him, either with decency or safety, to quit the Low-Countries. Henry was no less desirous of being freed from the avocations of war, that he might have leisure to turn the whole force of his government to the suppression of the opinions of the reformers, which were spreading with such rapidity in Paris and the other great towns, that the Protestants began to grow formidable to the established church. Court intrigues conspired with these public and avowed motives to hasten the negotiation, and the abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congress¹⁸.

While Philip and Henry were making these advances toward a treaty which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V., whose ambition had so long disturbed it, but who had been for some time dead to all such pursuits,

¹⁸ Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book xii.

ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus, in Estremadura, which he had chosen as the place of his retreat. It was seated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. In this solitude Charles lived on a plan that would have suited a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was plain, his domestics few, and his intercourse with them familiar. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands, sometimes rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one which he kept, attended by a single servant on foot: and when his infirmities deprived him of these more active recreations, he admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them as equals; or he employed himself in studying the principles, and in framing curious works, of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. But, however he was engaged, or whatever might be the state of his health, he always devoted a considerable portion of his time to religious exercises.

In this manner, not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the world, did Charles pass his time in retirement. But, some months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence, and enfeebled both his body and mind to such a degree as to leave no traces of that sound and masculine understanding which had distinguished him among his contemporaries. He sunk into a deep melancholy. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He lost all relish for amusements of every kind, and desired no other company than that of monks. With them he chanted the hymns of the missal, and conformed to all the rigours of monastic life, tearing his body with a whip, as an expiation for his sins! Not satisfied with these acts of mortification, and anxious to merit the favour of Heaven by some new instance of piety, he resolved to celebrate his own obsequies. His tomb was

accordingly erected in the chapel of the monastery: his attendants walked thither in funeral procession. Charles followed them in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, and the service of the dead was chanted over him; he himself joining in the prayers that were put up for the repose of his soul, and mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been solemnising a real funeral¹⁹.

The fatiguing length of this ceremony, or the awful sentiments which it inspired, threw Charles into a fever, of which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprises speak his most eloquent panegyric, and his history forms his highest character. As no prince ever governed so extensive an empire, including his American dominions, no one seems ever to have been endowed with a superior capacity for sway. His abilities as a statesman, and even as a general, were of the first class; and he possessed in the most eminent degree the science which is of the greatest importance to a monarch, that of discerning the characters of men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments in which they are to be employed. But, unfortunately for the reputation of Charles, his insatiable ambition, which kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, not only frustrated the chief end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care, but obliged him to have recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his exalted station, and led him into such deviations from integrity as were unworthy of a great prince. This insidious policy, in itself sufficiently detestable, was rendered still more odious by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of Francis I.; and served, by way of contrast, to turn on the French monarch a degree of admiration to which neither his talents nor his virtues as a sovereign seem to have entitled him.

Before Charles left the Low-Countries, he had made a

¹⁹ Zunig. *Vida de Carlos*.—Robertson, ubi sup.

second attempt to induce his brother to give up his title to the imperial throne to Philip, and to accept the investiture of some provinces, either in Italy or the Netherlands, as an equivalent. But finding Ferdinand inflexible on that point, he finally desisted from his scheme, and resigned to him the government of the empire. The electors made no hesitation in recognising the king of the Romans, whom they put in possession of all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, as soon as the deed of resignation was presented to them; but Paul IV., whose lofty ideas of the papal prerogative neither experience nor disappointments could moderate, refused to confirm the choice of the diet. He pretended that it belonged alone to the pope, from whom, as vicegerent of Christ, the imperial power was derived, to nominate a person to the vacant throne: and this arrogance and obstinacy he maintained during his whole pontificate. Ferdinand I., however, did not enjoy the less authority as emperor.

Soon after the death of Charles, Mary of England ended her disgraceful reign; and her sister Elizabeth, as we have already seen, succeeded to the throne, to the general joy of the nation, notwithstanding some supposed defects in her title. Henry and Philip 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. By this happy artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she at first concealed her intentions concerning religion, the young queen so far gained upon Philip, that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences at Cercamp, and afterwards at Château Cambresis, whither they were removed. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries, began to relax in proportion as his prospect of espousing the queen became more distant; and the vigorous measures that Elizabeth took, as soon as she found herself firmly seated on the throne, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the Protestant church on a sure foundation, convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. Henceforth, decorum alone made him preserve the appearance of interposing in her favour. Elizabeth, who expected such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as peace was necessary to her, instead of resenting this coolness, she became more moderate in her demands, in order to preserve the feeble tie by which she was still united to him; and Philip, that he might not seem to have abandoned the English queen, insisted that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form, before that between France and Spain²⁰.

The treaty between Henry and Elizabeth contained no article of importance, except that which respected Calais. It was stipulated that the king of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, at the expiration of which term he should

²⁰ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i.—Forbes' *Full View*, vol. i.

restore it to England. But as the force of this stipulation was made to depend on Elizabeth's preserving inviolate, during the same number of years, the peace both with France and Scotland, all men of discernment saw, that it was but a decent pretext for abandoning Calais; and, instead of blaming her, they applauded her wisdom, in palliating what she could not prevent.

The expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiation of two treaties of marriage; one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip II.; the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the duke of Savoy. The principal articles of the treaty of peace were, that all conquests made by either party, on this side of the Alps, should be mutually restored; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the county of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly subject to the dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France (a few towns excepted, which Henry should retain, till his claims on that prince were decided in a court of law); that the French king should immediately evacuate all the places which he held in the duchy of Tuscany and the territory of Sienna, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica. But he was allowed to keep possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, because Philip was not very studious of the interests of his uncle Ferdinand. All past transactions, either of princes or subjects, it was agreed should be buried in oblivion²¹. Thus the great causes of discord that had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain seemed to be wholly removed, or finally annihilated, by this famous treaty, which fully restored peace to Europe; almost every

²¹ *Recueil des Traitez*, tome ii.

prince and state in Christendom being comprehended in the treaty of Château Cambresis, as allies either of Henry or of Philip.

The French king did not long survive the pacification.

July 10. He was mortally wounded in a tournament, while he was celebrating the marriage of his sister; and his son Francis II., a weak prince, succeeded to the crown. A few weeks after, Paul IV. ended his violent and imperious pontificate:—and thus, as a learned historian observes²², all the personages who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe disappeared nearly at the same time.

At this æra, my dear Philip, a more known period of history opens. Other actors appeared on the stage, with different views and passions; new contests arose; and new schemes of ambition occupied and disquieted mankind.—But before we enter on that period, we must take a view of the affairs of Poland and the northern states,

LETTER LXVI.

Of the Affairs of Poland, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from the latter Part of the fourteenth to the Middle of the sixteenth Century.

[THE union of neighbouring states, and the association of communities of similar origin and manners, have almost uniformly been productive of mutual benefit. This was the case with Poland and Lithuania, which were united in 1386 by the marriage of Hedwiga and the grand duke Jagellon. This prince, who assumed the name of Ladislaus, endeavoured to render the union of the states as advantageous to both as circumstances would allow; but he was unable to effect a complete incorporation. The Teutonic knights, who were masters of Prussia, obstructed

²² Robertson, book xii.

his views both in politics and religion. They laboured to separate the duchy from all connexion with Poland; and, though their order had been instituted for the propagation of Christianity, they did not scruple to counteract the efforts of the new king for enlightening with that faith the minds of the Lithuanians. They were defeated by the Polanders in several engagements; but Ladislaus, having lost a great part of his army at the siege of Marienburg, gratified them with favourable terms of peace.

His son was that enterprising youth of whose fall in the battle of Varna you have already been informed¹. Casimir IV. was then presented with the crown, which he enjoyed for forty-eight years. He was successful in a war with the Teutonic knights, whom he compelled to cede Pomerania and other territories. In his reign, the provincial deputies acquired a much greater share in legislative acts than the king and the senate had before allowed them².

In the mean time, the Russians were strenuously endeavouring to shake off the Tartarian yoke. Their grand duke Demetrius had defeated the barbarians in 1380; but he could not prevent them from reducing and burning Moscow, the new capital of the state. Timour afterward made his appearance in this part of Russia, and threatened the people with subjugation; but he suddenly desisted from his ravages, and returned into Asia. Under the government of John (or Ivan) Basilowitz, the Tartars received some rude shocks from the vigour of the Russians, whose operations in the field were rendered more efficacious by the the use of fire-arms and cannon, to which their adversaries were unaccustomed. Having subdued several tribes, John attacked the khan of the golden or superior horde, to whom so many of his predecessors had been tributary, and freed himself from all subjection to that prince. He met with success in another object—the re-

¹ See Letter LII.

² Matth. Michov. lib. iv.

duction of Novogorod and other principalities to a state of complete obedience. Though he had given his daughter in marriage to Alexander king of Poland, he invaded Lithuania, but was constrained by the arms of his son-in-law to retire with disgrace. He was succeeded by his son Basil, who was unfortunate in a war with A. D. 1505. Sigismund I. king of Poland. The latter prince, who was brave and politic, also baffled the attempts of the Russians, in the minority of Basil's son, John the Terrible, though they were reinforced by the Moldavians and Walachians.

The war between the Russians and Polanders being renewed in the reign of Sigismund II., John rushed into Lithuania, and marked his course with wanton inhumanity. His troops were frequently defeated; but, his army being uncommonly numerous, he persisted in hostilities, till the attacks of famine induced him to agree to a truce. The same prince not only reclaimed the Tartars of Casan, but A. D. 1578. subdued those of Astracan; and, Siberia being accidentally discovered in his time, he added that extensive territory to his dominions. He established the Strelitzes, a military body resembling the Janisaries of Turkey. He published a new code of laws, and endeavoured to accelerate the progress of his people in arts and civilisation; but, like an inconsiderate barbarian, he was too violent in the execution of his schemes of reform, and even exercised the most atrocious cruelties upon the opposers of his views³.

This potentate was an admirer of our queen Elizabeth, and a great encourager of the commerce which had been opened between the English and his subjects, in consequence of the adventurous voyage of Richard Chancellor into the White Sea, where, at the mouth of the Dwina, he discovered the port of Archangel.

Passing from Russia to the Scandinavian territories, I

³ Tooke's *Hist. of Russia*, vol. i.

must revert to the reign of Margaret, styled the Semiramis of the North.] This ambitious princess, not satisfied with the temporary possession of the three northern crowns laboured to render their union perpetual. For ^{A. D. 1397.} this purpose, after taking preparatory measures, she convoked the states of the three realms at Calmar; where it was established as a fundamental law of the whole, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, should thenceforth have but one and the same sovereign, who should be chosen successively by each of these kingdoms, and then approved by the other two; that each nation should retain its own laws, customs, privileges, and dignities; and that the natives of one kingdom should not be raised to posts of honour or profit in another, but should be reputed foreigners, except in their own country⁴.

Margaret survived this union about fifteen years, during which she governed with ability and spirit, but treated the Swedes with particular rigour. When they complained of her violation of their privileges, she insultingly answered, that they might guard their supposed rights with the same zeal with which she would maintain the fortresses of the realm.

Though the union of Calmar was apparently well calculated for the tranquillity as well as security of the North, it proved the source of much discontent, and of many barbarous wars. The national antipathy between the Swedes and Danes, now heightened by national jealousy, was with difficulty restrained by the vigorous administration of the queen, whose partiality to the natives of Denmark is said to have been too evident: and under her successor Eric, still more unjustly partial to the Danes, the Swedes openly revolted, choosing their grand-marshal, Charles Canutson, descended from the illustrious family of Bonde, which had formerly given kings to Sweden, first regent, and afterwards king. They returned, however, to their allegiance

⁴ Meurs. lib. v.

under Christian I. of Denmark. But they soon revolted from this prince; renewed the union of Calmar, under John his successor; revolted a third time; and were finally subdued by the arms of Christian II., who reduced them to the condition of a conquered people⁵.

The circumstances of the last revolution are sufficiently remarkable to merit our attention; and the consequences by which it was followed require a statement of some particulars.

The Swedes, on revolting from Christian I., had conferred the administration of the kingdom on Steen Sture, whose son, of the same name, was regent in the sequel. The authority of young Sture was acknowledged by the body of the nation, but disputed by Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, and primate of Sweden, whose father had been a competitor for the administration, and whom Christian II. had brought over to his interest. Besieged in his castle of Steckka, and obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the interposition of the Danish monarch, the archbishop was degraded by the diet, and deprived of all his benefices. In his distress he applied to Leo X., who excommunicated the regent and his adherents, committing the execution of the bull to the king of Denmark. In pursuance of this decree, the Nero of the North (as Christian II. is deservedly called) invaded Sweden in 1518 with a powerful army; but, being defeated in a great battle, he pretended to treat, and offered to repair to Stockholm, in order to confer with the regent, provided six hostages were sent. The proposal was accepted, and six of the first nobility (among whom was Gustavus Vasa, grand-nephew to king Canutson) were put on board of the Danish fleet. These hostages Christian carried prisoners to Denmark. In the following year, a more formidable armament invaded West Gothland; where Sture, advancing to give battle, fell

⁵ Vertot, *Revolut. de Suede*,

into an ambuscade, and received a mortal wound. The Swedish army, left without a head, first retreated, and afterwards dispersed. The senators had not chosen a new regent, when Christian re-appeared in Sweden, and marched toward the capital, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Stockholm surrendered; and Gustavus Trolle, resuming his archiepiscopal function, crowned the invader king of Sweden⁶.

This coronation was followed by one of the most tragical scenes in the history of the human race. Christian, affecting clemency, went to the cathedral, and swore that he would govern Sweden, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but with the mild and beneficent disposition of a prince raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people; after which he invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment, that lasted for three days. Meanwhile a plot was formed for extirpating the Swedish nobility. On the last day of the feast, to afford some pretext for the intended massacre, archbishop Trolle reminded the king, that, though his majesty, by a general amnesty, had pardoned all past offences, no satisfaction had yet been given to the pope; and he demanded justice in the name of his holiness. The hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests: the primate proceeded against them as heretics; a scaffold was erected before the gate of the palace; and ninety-four persons of distinction, among whom was Eric Vasa, father of the celebrated Gustavus, were publicly put to death for defending the liberties of their country. Other barbarities succeeded to these: the rage of the soldiery was let loose against the citizens; and the most atrocious acts of murder were committed by order of the inhuman tyrant⁷.

But Sweden soon found a deliverer and an avenger. Gustavus Vasa had escaped from his confinement, and concealed himself, in the habit of a peasant, among the

⁶ Meurs.—Loecen.—Pufendorff.

⁷ Vertot, *Revolut. de Suède*.

mountains of Dalecarlia. There, deserted by his sole companion and guide, who carried off his little treasure,—bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and ready to perish of hunger,—he entered himself among the miners, and worked under-ground for bread, without relinquishing the hope of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. Again emerging to light, and distinguished among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien, and by the strength and agility of his body, he had acquired a considerable degree of ascendancy over them, before they were acquainted with his rank. He made himself known to them at an annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in recovering the liberties of their country. They listened to him with admiration: they were inflamed with rage against their oppressors; but they did not resolve to join him, till some of the old men among them observed (so inconsiderable often are the causes of the greatest events!) that the wind had blown directly from the north, from the moment that Gustavus began to speak. This they considered as an infallible sign of the approbation of Heaven, and an order to take up arms under the banners of the hero: they already saw the wreath of victory on his brow, and begged to be led against the enemy. Gustavus did not suffer their ardour to cool. He immediately attacked the governor of the province in his castle, took it by assault, and sacrificed the Danish garrison to the just vengeance of the Dalecarlians. Like animals that have tasted the blood of their prey, they were now furious, and fit for any desperate enterprise. Gustavus every where saw himself victorious, and gained partisans in all corners of the kingdom. Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune. His popularity daily increased; and, in 1523, he was elected king of Sweden⁸.

The infamous Christian, having rendered himself obnoxious by his tyranny even to his Danish subjects, was

⁸ Loccen.—Vertot.

degraded from their throne. The inhabitants of Jutland first renounced his authority. They deputed Munce, their chief justice, to signify to the tyrant the sentence of deposition. "My name," said Munce, glorying in the dangerous commission, "ought to be written over the gates of "all wicked princes!" and it ought certainly to be transmitted to posterity, as a warning both to kings and inferior magistrates, of the danger of abusing power. The whole kingdom of Denmark acquiesced in the decree; and Christian, hated even by his own officers, and not daring to trust any one, retired into the Low-Countries, the hereditary dominions of his brother-in-law Charles V. whose assistance he had long implored in vain⁹.

Frederic, duke of Holstein, Christian's uncle, was elected king of Denmark and Norway. He aspired also to the sovereignty of Sweden; but, finding Gustavus firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, he did not enforce his claim. He entered into an alliance with Gustavus and the Hanse-towns, against the deposed king, who, after several unsuccessful attempts to recover his crown, died in prison; a fate too gentle for so barbarous a tyrant.

Frederic was succeeded, in 1533, by his son Christian III., one of the most prudent and prosperous princes of his age. He established the Protestant religion at the same time in Denmark and Norway, in imitation of the example of Gustavus, who had introduced it into Sweden. The doctrines of Luther had spread themselves over both kingdoms, and both princes saw the advantage of retrenching the exorbitant power of the clergy. Christian died in 1559, and Gustavus in 1560, leaving behind him the glorious character of a patriot king. He rescued Sweden from the Danish yoke by his valour; he made commerce and arts flourish by his wise policy; and the liberality of his bold and independent spirit, by elevating him above vulgar prejudices, enabled him to break the fetters of priestly ty-

⁹ Vertot.

ranny, and enfranchise the minds as well as the bodies of his countrymen.

LETTER LXVII.

History of England, Scotland, and France, from the Peace of Château-Cambresis, in 1559, to the Death of Francis II., and Return of Mary Queen of Scots to her native Kingdom.

THE treaty of Château-Cambresis, my dear Philip, though it settled the claims of the contending powers, did not secure permanent tranquillity to Europe. The Protestant opinions had already made considerable progress both in France and the Low-Countries; and Philip and Henry were equally determined on the extirpation of heresy throughout their dominions. The horrors of the inquisition, long familiar to Spain, were not only increased in that kingdom, but extended to Italy and the Netherlands; and although the premature death of Henry suspended for a while the rage of persecution in France, other causes of discontent occurred in that kingdom, and each party made use of religion to light the flames of civil war¹.

A new source of discord also arose between France and England. The princes of Lorraine, the intriguing family of Guise, whose credit had long been great at the French court, and who negotiated the marriage between the dauphin, now Francis II. and their niece the queen of Scots, extended still farther their ambitious views. No less able than aspiring, they had governed both the king and kingdom, since the accession of the young and feeble Francis. But they had many enemies. Catharine of Medicis, the queen-mother, a woman who scrupled at no violence or perfidy to accomplish her ends; the two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon king of Na-

¹ Thuan.—Cabrera.—Davila.

varre, and his brother Louis prince of Condé, besides the constable Montmorency and his powerful family; were alike desirous of the administration, and envious of the power of the Guises².

In order to acquire this power, the duke of Guise and his five brothers (the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the cardinal of Guise, the marquis of Elbœuf, and the Grand Prior) had not only employed great military and political talents, but to all the arts of insinuation and address had added those of intrigue and dissimulation. In negotiating the marriage between their niece and the dauphin, these artful princes, while they prevailed on the French court to grant to the Scottish nation every security for the independence of that crown, engaged the young queen to subscribe privately three deeds, by which, in failure of the heirs of her own body, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or *succession* might accrue to it, in free gift upon the throne of France; declaring any deed which her subjects had, or might extort from her to the contrary, to be void, and of no obligation³.

By the succession mentioned in these deeds, the crown of England seems to have been meant; for no sooner were the Guises informed of the death of queen Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth (whose birth, in the opinion of every good Catholic, excluded her from any legal right to the throne), than they formed a project worthy of their ambition. In order to exalt their credit, and secure their power, they attempted to acquire also for France the southern British kingdom. For this purpose they solicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate; and, as the Scottish queen was the next heir by blood, they had persuaded Henry II. to permit his son and daughter-in-law to assume the title and arms of England⁴.

Elizabeth complained of this insult, but could obtain

² Davila, lib. i.—Mezeray, tome v.

³ Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tome v.—Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* book ii.

⁴ Robertson's *Hist. Scot.*—Anderson's *Diplom. Scot.* No. 68, and 164.

only an evasive answer. No obvious measure, however, was taken, during the reign of Henry, in support of the claim of the queen of Scots; but no sooner were the princes of Lorraine in full possession of the administration under his son Francis, than more vigorous and less guarded counsels were adopted. Sensible that Scotland was the quarter whence they could attack England to most advantage, they gave, as a preparatory step, orders to their sister the regent, and encouraged her by promises of men and money, to take effectual measures for humbling the mal-contented, and suppressing the Protestant opinions in that kingdom; hoping that the English Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exasperated against Elizabeth, on account of the change which she had made in the national religion, would rise in support of the succession of the queen of Scots, when animated by the prospect of protection, and throw themselves into the arms of France, as the only power that could secure to them their ancient worship, and the privileges of the Romish church⁵.

Elizabeth, aware of her danger, resolved to provide against it; and the situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her an opportunity, both of revenging the insult offered to her crown, and of defeating the ambitious views of France.

The reformation was advancing with quick steps in Scotland. All the low country was deeply tinctured with the Protestant opinions; and as the converts to the new religion had been guilty of no violation of public peace since the murder of cardinal Beaton, whose death was partly occasioned by private revenge, the regent, willing to secure their favour, that she might be enabled to maintain that authority which she had found such difficulty in acquiring, connived at the progress of doctrines which she had not power to suppress. Too cautious, however, to trust to this precarious indulgence for the safety of their religious principles, the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland

⁵ Forbes, vol. i.—Thuan, lib. xxiv.

entered privately into a bond of association for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, styling themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan*⁶.

Such associations are generally the forerunners of rebellion; and it appears that the heads of the Congregation in Scotland carried their views farther than a mere toleration of the new doctrines. So far they were to blame, as enemies to civil authority; but the violent measures pursued against their sect, before this league was known or avowed, sufficiently justified the association itself, as the result of a prudent foresight, and a necessary step to secure the free exercise of their religion. Alarmed at the progress of the Reformation, the popish clergy had attempted to recover their sinking authority by enforcing the tyrannical laws against heresy; and Hamilton the primate, formerly distinguished by his moderation, had sentenced to the flames an aged priest convicted of embracing the Protestant opinions⁷.

This was the last barbarity of the kind that the Catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland. The severity of the archbishop rather roused than intimidated the reformers. The Congregation now openly solicited subscriptions to the league; and, not satisfied with new and more solemn promises of the regent's protection, they presented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the clergy. They also framed a petition, which they intended to present to parliament, soliciting some legal protection against the exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. They likewise petitioned the convocation; and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, that bishops should be chosen by the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners.

⁶ Keith.—Knox.

⁷ Id.

Instead of soothing the Protestants by any prudent concessions, the convocation rejected their demands with disdain; and the regent, who had hitherto wisely temporised between the parties, and whose humanity and sagacity taught her moderation, having received during the sitting of the assembly the violent commands of her brothers, prepared to carry their despotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgement and experience. She publicly expressed her approbation of the decrees, by which the principles of the reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the most eminent Protestant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling⁸.

The members of the Congregation, alarmed but not over-awed by this danger, assembled in great numbers, according to the custom of Scotland at that time, to attend their pastors to the place of trial⁹, to protect and countenance them: and the regent, dreading the approach of so formidable a party, empowered Erskine of Dun, a person of high authority with the reformers, to assure them that she would put a stop to the intended proceedings, if they would advance no farther. They listened with pleasure, and perhaps with too great credulity, to so pacific a proposition; for men whose grievances obliged them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plausible pretext their purpose may be concealed, should trust to nothing less than the solemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promise, conformably to her maxim, that "the promises of princes ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency." She proceeded to call to trial the persons formerly summoned; and on

⁸ Melvil.—Jebb.—Castelnau.

⁹ In consequence of this custom, originally introduced by vassalage and clan-ship, and afterwards tolerated through the feebleness of government, any person of eminence accused of a crime was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents. Robertson, book ii.

their not appearing, though purposely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws¹⁰.

By this ignoble artifice, she forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Protestants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erskine, enraged at being made the instrument of deceiving his party, instantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the Congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his associates by his representations of the regent's inflexible resolution to suppress their religion. His ardour was powerfully seconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher who possessed a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried prisoner into France, together with other persons taken in the castle of St. Andrews, soon after the murder of Beaton, Knox made his escape out of that kingdom; and, after residing sometimes in England, sometimes in Scotland, had found it necessary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popish clergy, to retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthusiasm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the severe doctrines of Calvin, the apostle of that republic.

Invited home by the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might share with them in the common danger, as well as in the glory of promoting the common cause. In the present ferment of men's minds, occasioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the sense of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with such vehemence against the idolatry and other abuses of the church of Rome, that his auditors were strongly incited to attempt its utter subversion. During those movements of holy indignation, the indiscreet bigotry of a priest, who immediately after that violent invective was preparing to celebrate mass, and had opened his

¹⁰ Knox, p. 127.—Robertson, book ii.

repository of images and reliques, hurried the enthusiastic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout Catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and scattered about the sacred vases. They then proceeded to the monasteries, against which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every instrument of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and, in a few hours, those superb edifices were level with the ground¹¹.

Provoked at those violences, and others of a like kind, the regent assembled an army, composed chiefly of French troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as still adhered to her cause, she resolved to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole Protestant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the spirit by which she was actuated, soon reached Perth; and the heads of the Congregation, who had given no countenance to the late insurrection in that city, would gladly have soothed her by the most dutiful and submissive addresses; but finding her inexorable, they prepared for resistance, and their adherents flocked to them in such numbers, that within a few days they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with superior forces. Neither party, however, discovered much inclination to hazard a battle; and, through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although closely connected with the reformers, had not yet openly deserted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the Congregation.

In this treaty it was stipulated, among other provisions, that indemnity should be granted to all persons concerned in the late insurrection, and that the parliament should im-

¹¹ Spotswood, p. 121.—Knox, p. 127, 128.—Robertson, book ii.

mediately be convoked, in order to compose religious differences. Both these stipulations the regent violated—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining some of the inhabitants of Perth, banishing others, removing the magistrates from office, and leaving a garrison in the town, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion than the Roman catholic¹². The Protestants renewed the league, and again had recourse to arms; despoiling the churches of their sacred furniture, and laying the monasteries in ruins. New conventions were framed, but were soon infringed; and new ravages were committed on the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury.

The Congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, but also by the duke of Chatelherault (earl of Arran), the presumptive heir of the crown, and had taken possession of the capital. They now aimed at the redress of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary toward settling the kingdom and securing its liberties, the immediate expulsion of the French forces from Scotland. The regent, sensible of the necessity of giving way to a torrent which she could not resist, amused them for a time with fair promises and pretended negotiations; but being reinforced with a thousand foreign soldiers, and encouraged by the court of France to expect soon the arrival of an army so powerful, that the zeal of her adversaries, however desperate, would not dare to encounter it, she listened to the rash counsels of her brothers, and at last gave the Congregation a positive denial. She was not answerable to the confederate lords, she said, for any part of her conduct; nor should she, upon any representation from them, abandon measures which she deemed necessary, or dismiss forces that she found useful; ordering them at the same time, on pain of her displeasure, and as they valued their allegiance, to disband the troops which they had assembled.

¹² Buchanan, lib. xvi.—Robertson, book ii.

This haughty reply to their earnest and continued solicitations determined the leaders of the Congregation to take a step worthy of a brave and free people. Oct. 21. They assembled the whole body of peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equaled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the usual meetings of parliament), after examining the most delicate and important question that can fall under the consideration of subjects—"the obedience due to an unjust and "oppressive administration," gave their suffrages, without one dissenting voice, for depriving Mary of Guise of the office of regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom¹³.

The queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the port of Edinburgh, which she had fortified and garrisoned with French troops. That town was immediately invested by the forces of the Congregation; but the confederate lords soon found that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accomplish. The French garrison, despising the tumultuary efforts of raw and undisciplined troops, refused to surrender the place; and the Protestant leaders were neither sufficiently skilful in the art of war, nor possessed of the artillery or magazines necessary for the purpose of a siege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accustomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, were strangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty which a siege requires. They first murmured, then mutinied; the garrison took advantage of their discontent; and, making a bold sally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon the enterprise.

Soon after this victory the queen-dowager received from France a reinforcement of a thousand veteran foot, and some troops of horse. These, with a detachment from the

¹³ Buchanan, lib. xvi.—Robertson, book ii.—Knox, p. 184.

garrison of Leith, were sent out to scour the country, and to pillage and lay waste the houses and lands of the Protestants. Already broken and dispirited, and hearing that the marquis of Elbœuf was daily expected with a great army, the leaders of the Congregation began to consider their cause as desperate, unless the Lord, whose holy name they had assumed, should miraculously interpose in their behalf. But whatever confidence they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect human means.

The Scottish Protestants, in this pressing extremity, thought themselves excusable in requesting foreign aid. They turned their eyes toward England, which had already supplied them with money, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth to enable them to finish an undertaking in which they had so unfortunately experienced their own weakness; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that sister-kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination no less than of interest or necessity. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the regent's principal secretary, and Robert Melvil, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were therefore secretly dispatched, as the most able negotiators of the party, to solicit succours from the queen of England.

The wise counsellors of Elizabeth did not long hesitate in agreeing to a request which corresponded so perfectly with the views and interests of their mistress. Secretary Cecil, in particular, represented to the English queen the necessity, as well as equity, of interposing in the affairs of Scotland, and of preventing the conquest of that kingdom, at which France openly aimed. Every society, he observed, had a right to defend itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as might probably occur; and, as the invasion of England would immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish mal-contents, Elizabeth, by abandoning them to the mercy of France, would open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to all the

calamities of war, and the risque of conquest. Nothing therefore remained, he added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a distance, and, by supporting the leaders of the Congregation with an English army, to render Scotland the scene of hostilities; to crush the designs of the princes of Lorrain in their infancy; and, by such an early and unexpected effort, finally to expel the French from Britain, before their power had time to rise to a formidable height¹⁴.

Elizabeth, throughout her reign, was cautious but decisive; and by her promptitude in executing her resolutions, joined to the deliberation with which she formed them, her administration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wisdom. No sooner did she determine to afford assistance to the leaders of the Congregation, a measure to which the reasoning of Cecil effectually swayed her, than they experienced the activity as well as extent of her power. The season of the year would not permit her troops to take the field; but, lest the French army should, in the mean time, receive an accession of strength, she instantly ordered a squadron to cruise in the Frith
A. D. 1560. of Forth; and early in the spring she sent six thousand foot and two thousand horse into Scotland, under the command of lord Grey of Wilton.

The leaders of the Congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vast numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced toward Leith. The place was immediately invested; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbœuf had been scattered by a violent storm, and was either wrecked on the coast of France, or with difficulty recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garrison, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length¹⁵.

¹⁴ Keith, Appen. No. XVII.—Forbes, vol. 1.—Jebb's *Collections relative to Mary, Queen of Scotland*, vol. i.

¹⁵ *Mem. de Castelnau*.

Amidst these commotions, the queen-dowager died; and many of the Catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independence of their country than for their religion, subscribed the alliance with England. Nothing, therefore, could now save the garrison of Leith, but the immediate conclusion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France; and the situation of that kingdom constrained the princes of Lorraine to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, toward pacific measures.

The Protestants in France had become formidable by their numbers, and still more by the valour and enterprising genius of their leaders. Among these, the most eminent were the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre (no less distinguished by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Andelot, who no longer scrupled to make open profession of the reformed opinions, and whose high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cause. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with resentment against the Guises, who had persuaded Francis II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal statutes against heresy, the Protestants (or Huguenots, as they were styled by way of reproach) not only prepared for their own defence, but resolved, by some bold action, to anticipate the execution of those schemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of those who professed it. Hence arose the conspiracy of Amboise, for seising the person of the king, and wresting the government out of the hands of the Guises; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorraine discovered and dis-

March 15.

appointed that design, the spirit of the Protestant party was rather roused than broken by the tortures inflicted on the conspirators¹⁶. The admiral de Coligny had even the boldness to present to the king, in a grand

¹⁶ Davila, lib. i. ii.—Mezeray, tom. v.

council at Fontainbleau, a petition from the Huguenots, demanding the public exercise of their religion, unless they were allowed to assemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorraine; but his request was warmly recommended by Monluc bishop of Valence, and by Marillac archbishop of Vienne, who spoke forcibly against the abuses which had occasioned so many troubles and disorders, as well as against the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An assembly of the states was convoked, in order to appease the public discontents; the edicts against heretics were, in the mean time, suspended, and an appearance of toleration succeeded to the rage of persecution; but, as the sentiments of the court were well known, it was easy to observe new storms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war¹⁷.

This distracted state of affairs called off the ambition of the princes of Lorraine from the view of foreign conquests, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown; and rendered it necessary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, instead of sending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore sent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was signed with the ambassadors of Elizabeth. In this
 July 6. treaty it was stipulated that the French forces should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from assuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the concessions granted to the Congregation less important; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops should hereafter be introduced into the kingdom without the consent of parliament; that the parliament should

¹⁷ Davila, lib. ii.—Mezeray, tome v.

name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen should choose seven, and the parliament five; and to these twelve, so elected, the whole administration should be committed during Mary's absence; that she should neither make peace nor war without the consent of the national council; and that this body at its first meeting, should take into consideration the religious differences, and represent its sense of them to the king and queen¹⁸.

A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the Congregation, being now absolute masters of the kingdom, made no farther scruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was usually an assembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occasion the burgesses and inferior barons, who had also a right to be present in that assembly, but who seldom exercised it, stood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the senate that cause which they had defended with their sword in the field. The protestant members, who greatly out-numbered their adversaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their sanction to a confession of faith presented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exercise of religious worship according to the rites of the Romish church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the punishment of the first act of disobedience; banishment, as the punishment of the second; and death, as the reward of the third¹⁹. With such indecent haste did the very persons who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate those examples of severity of which they had so justly complained! A law was also enacted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the Presbyterian form of worship was established, nearly as now constituted in that kingdom.

¹⁸ Keith.—Spotswood.—Knox.

¹⁹ Keith.—Knox.

Francis and Mary refused to ratify these proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh, ought to have been presented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottish Protestants gave themselves little trouble about their sovereign's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; and they committed furious devastations on the sacred buildings, which they considered as dangerous reliques of idolatry, laying waste every thing venerable and magnificent that had escaped the storm of popular insurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin²⁰.

United by the consciousness of such unpardonable stretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorraine, the Protestant members of the Scottish parliament, seeing no safety for themselves but in the protection of England, dispatched ambassadors to Elizabeth, to express their sincere gratitude for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them. That princess had equal reason to desire an union with these northern reformers. Though the disorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorraine to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of the success of the English arms, they were determined not to relinquish their authority, or yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet renounced their design of subverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were still wholly directed by them, obstinately refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and persisted in assuming the title and arms of England. Thus endangered, Elizabeth not only promised support to the Protestant party in Scotland, but secretly encouraged the French malcontents²¹: and it was with pleasure that she heard of the violent factions

20 Robertson, book iii.—Hume, chap. xxxviii.

21 *Id. ibid.*

which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable opposition to the measures of the duke of Guise.

But that opposition must soon have been crushed by the vigorous and decisive administration of the princes of Lorraine, if an unexpected event had not set bounds to their power. They had already found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they had thrown the former into prison; they had obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put it into execution, when the sudden death of Francis arrested the impending blow,

and brought down the duke of Guise to the level ^{Dec. 5.} of a subject. Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to Charles IX. (who was only in his eleventh year at his accession), and invested with the administration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In consequence of her maxim, "divide ^{A. D. 1561,} and govern!" the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the sentence against Condé was annulled; Montmorency was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorraine, though they still enjoyed high offices and great power, found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence²².

The death of Francis, without issue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French counsels, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and the Scottish Protestants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the Congregation was extreme. They ascribed those events to the immediate interposition of Providence in favour of his chosen people; and Elizabeth, without looking so high for their causes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to establish her throne. She still regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of

²² *Mém. de Castelnau.*—Davila, lib. ii.

English Catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom. She therefore gave orders to her ambassador at the court of France to renew his application to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh²³.

Mary, slighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princess all the mortifications which she had received during the life of Francis; forsaken by the swarm of courtiers, who appear only in the sunshine of prosperity; and overwhelmed with all the sorrow which so sad a reverse of fortune could occasion; had retired to Rheims; and there in solitude had indulged her grief, or concealed her indignation. But notwithstanding her disconsolate condition, and though she had desisted after her husband's death from bearing the arms or assuming the title of England, she still eluded the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and refused to make a solemn renunciation of her pretensions to the English crown²⁴.

The states of Scotland now sent a deputation, inviting her to return into her native kingdom, and assume the reins of government. But, though very sensible that she was no longer queen of France, she was in no haste to leave a country where she had been educated from her infancy, and where so many attentions had been paid to her person as well as to her rank. Accustomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a splendid court, and to the conversation of a polished people, by whom she had been loved and admired, she still fondly lingered in the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her native subjects, who had so violently spurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her

²³ Keith.—Castelnau.

²⁴ Camdeni *Annales Rerum Anglic.*

uncles, however, she determined at last to set out for Scotland; and as the course, in sailing from France to that kingdom, lies along the English coast, she demanded of Elizabeth, by the French ambassador d'Oisel, a safe-conduct during her voyage. That request, which decency alone might have obliged one sovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a wish to obstruct the passage or intercept the person of the queen of Scots²⁵.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell; however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador d'Oisel. Nothing disturbs me so much, as having asked with so much importunity a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country, without her leave, as I came to France in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person²⁶." She embarked at Calais, and, passing the English fleet under cover of a thick fog, arrived safely at Leith, attended by ^{Aug. 19.} three of her uncles of the house of Lorraine, the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers²⁷.

The circumstances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The excess of her grief seems to have proceeded from a fatal presage of that scene of misfor-

²⁵ Keith.—Camden.—Robertson, Append. No. VI.

²⁶ Cabala, p. 374.—Spotswood, p. 177. ²⁷ Robertson, book iii.

tune on which she was about to enter. Not satisfied with mingling tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a sorrowful heart, she kept her eyes fixed upon the French coast, after she was at sea, and did not turn them from that favourite object till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. Even then she would neither retire to the cabin, nor take food; but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited with fond impatience the return of day. Fortune soothed her on this occasion. The weather proving calm, the vessel made little progress during the night, so that Mary, in the morning, had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and, still anxiously looking toward the land, often repeated with a sigh, "Farewell, France! farewell, beloved country, which I shall never more behold²³!"

The reception of Mary in her native realm, the civil wars of France, and the share which Elizabeth took in the affairs of both kingdoms, must furnish the subject of another letter.

28 Brantome.—He was in the same galley with the queen.

LETTER LXVIII.

History of France, England, and Scotland, from the Return of Mary Stuart to her native Kingdom, in 1561, till her Imprisonment, and the Elevation to her Son to the Throne; with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Spain.

THE first appearance of affairs in Scotland was more favourable than Mary had reason to expect. She was received by her subjects with the loudest acclamations of joy, and with every demonstration of regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulness of her person, drew universal admiration, while her elegant manners and enlightened understanding commanded general respect. To the accomplishments of her own sex, she added many of the

acquisitions of ours. She was skilled in various languages; ancient as well as modern. The progress she had made in poetry, music, rhetoric, and all the arts and sciences then esteemed useful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the sons and daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown; and a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a sovereign, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation, rendered her other qualities more engaging¹.

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of d'Oisel and her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the Protestant party², who were alone able, she found, to support her government. The prior of St. Andrews, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and, under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share of her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more agreeable to her people.

But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent measures gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and although she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation, commanding every one to submit to the reformed religion, as established by parliament³, the more zealous Protestants could neither be reconciled to a person polluted by such an abomination, nor relinquish their jealousy of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty that she obtained permission to celebrate mass in her own chapel. "Shall that idol again be suffered to be erected within the realm?" was the common cry; and the usual prayers in the churches were, that God

1 Robertson, book iii. from Brantome.

2 Id. *ibid.*

3 Knox.—Spotswood.—Keith.

would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against his truth; or, if his holy will were otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants. And lord Lindsay and the gentlemen of Fife even exclaimed, "The *Idolater* shall die the death!"

The ringleader, in all these insults on majesty, was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was JEZEBEL; and though she endeavoured by the most gracious condescension to win his favour, her kind advances could not soften his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere stages for railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant⁴.

Curbed in all amusements, by the absurd severity of these reformers, Mary, whose age, rank, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, found reason every moment to look back with a sigh to that country which she had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one scene of bitterness and sorrow. And she perceived that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity, while surrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, was to preserve a friendly correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by former connexions and services, had acquired great authority over all ranks of men in Scotland. She therefore sent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the English queen, and express a desire of future good understanding between them. Maitland was also instructed to signify her willingness to renounce all present right to the crown of England, provided that she should be declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the succession, in case of the queen's

⁴ Knox, p. 332, 333.

decease without offspring. But so great was the jealous prudence of Elizabeth, that she never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a successor, or allow the parliament to interpose in that matter; much less would she make, or permit such a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who possessed pretensions so plausible to supplant her, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Sensible, however, that reason would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's side, as she herself had frequently declared her resolution to live and die a *virgin-queen*, she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship⁵.

Elizabeth saw that, without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects. Having therefore no apprehensions from Scotland, nor any desire to take part at present in its affairs, she directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the necessary measures for the security of her kingdom and the happiness of her people, she turned an eye of observation toward the great powers of the continent. France, being still agitated by religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited less the jealousy than the compassion of its neighbours; so that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be considered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly, an animosity, first political, then personal, soon appeared between the sovereigns of the two realms.

Philip II., immediately after he had concluded the peace of Château-Cambresis, commenced a furious persecution against the Protestants in Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries. That violent spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which

⁵ Keith.—Camden.—Haynes.

he was actuated gave new edge even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to Charles V., and in whose arms that great prince had breathed his last. This venerable ecclesiastic died in confinement; but Philip ordered, nevertheless, the sentence of heresy to be pronounced against his memory. He even deliberated whether he should not exercise the like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his latter years of indulging a propensity towards Lutheranism. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He appeared with an inflexible countenance at the most barbarous executions; and he issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics, even in his American dominions⁶. The limits of the globe seemed only enlarged to extend human misery.

Having founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his subjects, that there were no means of escaping the severity of his vengeance, except abject compliance or obstinate resistance. And by thus placing himself at the head of the Catholic party, as the determined champion of the Romish church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into the partisans of Spanish greatness.

Happily, the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a supporter, nor the Spanish greatness without a counterpoise. The course of events had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite to that of Philip. Fortune, guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination, had raised her to be the glory and the bulwark of the numerous but generally-persecuted Protestants throughout Europe. And she united her interests, in all foreign negotiations, with those who were struggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themselves

⁶ Thuan. lib. xxiii.—Grotii *Annal.* lib. ii.

against ruin and extermination. Hence originated the animosity between her and Philip.

While the queen of Scots continued in France, and asserted her claim to the southern British kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarchy, engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. But no sooner did the death of young Francis put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and England were found opposite in every negotiation and public transaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, saw an advantage in supporting the power of the French monarch; and Elizabeth, on the other hand, was induced by views of policy to protect a faction ready to subvert it.

Catharine of Medicis, by her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increased the troubles of the state. By balancing the Catholics against the Protestants, the duke of Guise against the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But an equal counterpoise of power, which, among foreign nations, is the source of tranquillity, proves A. D. 1562, always the cause of quarrel among domestic factions; and if the animosities of religion concur with the frequent occasions of mutual injury, it is impossible long to preserve concord in such a situation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, Montmorency joined himself to the duke of Guise; the king of Navarre, from an inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party; and the queen-mother, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Huguenots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection⁷.

⁷ Davila, lib. ii.

An edict had been published in the beginning of the year, granting to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion without the walls of towns; provided they should teach nothing contrary to the canons of the council of Nice, to the Apostles' Creed, or the books of the Old and New Testament. This edict had been preceded by a conference at Poissy between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorraine, on the part of the Catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the Protestants, displayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The Protestant divines boasted of having greatly the advantage in the dispute, and the concession of liberty of conscience made their followers happy in that opinion. But the interested violence of the duke of Guise, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Passing by the little town of Vassy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where some Protestants having assembled in a barn, under the sanction of the edict, were peaceably worshipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly insulted them. A tumult ensued: the duke himself was struck, it is said, with a stone: and sixty of the unarmed multitude were sacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith⁸.

The Protestants, over all the kingdom, were alarmed at this massacre, and assembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, their most distinguished leaders; while the duke of Guise and Montmorency, having gained possession of the king's person, obliged the queen-mother to join the Catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. All the provinces of the realm, each city, each family, were distracted with intestine rage and animosity. The father was

⁸ Henault.—Mezeray.—Dupleix.

divided against the son, brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious furor, distinguished themselves by acts of valour and cruelty⁹. Wherever the Protestants prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire; and where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, re-baptised the infants, and forced married persons to pass anew through the ceremony¹⁰. Plunder, desolation, and bloodshed, attended equally the triumph of both parties: and, to use the words of a celebrated historian, it was during that period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and acrimony¹¹.

Philip, jealous of the progress of the Huguenots (who had made themselves masters of Orléans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and many places of less note), and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low-Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the princes 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, 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 Grace, 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 crowns¹².

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of

⁹ Davila, lib. iii.—Haynes, p. 391.

¹⁰ Davila.

¹¹ Hume, chap. xxxix.

¹² Forbes, vol. ii.

supporting the Protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives to induce her to accept this proposal. She was now sensible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article, in the treaty of Château Cambresis, which regarded the restitution of Calais; and wisely concluded that, could she get possession of Havre de Grace, which commands the mouth of the Seine, she might easily constrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore sent over immediately three thousand men, under the command of sir Edward Poynings, and three thousand more soon after under the earl of Warwick, who took possession of Havre. But Rouen having been invested by the Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency, before the arrival of the English, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place; and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the attack with vigour. The town was at last carried by assault, and the garrison put to the sword¹³.

It was expected that the Catholics, flushed with success, would immediately form the siege of Havre, which was not yet in a firm state of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprise. Andelot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable army in Germany; and arriving at Orléans, the seat of the Protestant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris for some time, they took their march toward Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to join them. The Catholics hung on their rear, and, overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The victory was disputed with great obstinacy, and the action was distinguished by a very unusual event. Condé and Mont-

¹³ Davila, lib. iii.

morency, the commanders of the opposite armies, both remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies: and, what was yet more remarkable, the prince not only supped at the same table, but lay all night in the same bed with his hostile rival the duke of Guise¹⁴! So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the most rancorous animosity with a familiar hospitality that appears altogether disgusting in these days of superior refinement.

The semblance of victory remained with the Catholics. But Coligny, whose lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the Protestant army, and, inspiring his own unconquerable courage into every breast, not only kept them in a body, but took some considerable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to support the cause of his party, sent over a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns. Meanwhile the duke of Guise, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Huguenots, had commenced the siege of Orléans, of which Anselot was governor, and A. D. 1563. where Montmorency was detained prisoner; and he had the prospect of speedy success in his undertaking, when he was assassinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion instigated him to that atrocious violence¹⁵.

The death of this great man was an irreparable loss to the Catholic party. The cardinal of Lorraine, though eloquent, subtle, and intriguing, did not possess that enterprising and undaunted spirit which had rendered the ambition of the duke so formidable; and therefore, though he still pursued the bold schemes of his family, the danger of their progress appeared not now so alarming either to Elizabeth or the French Protestants. Of course, the union between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in some measure loosened: and the leaders of the Huguenots were persuaded to listen to terms

14 Davila, lib. iii.

15 Mezeray, tome v.

of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, held conferences for that purpose, and soon came to an agreement with respect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion, under certain restrictions, was again granted to the Protestants; a general amnesty was published, and every one was reinstated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges¹⁶.

The leaders of the Protestants only comprehended Elizabeth so far in this treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre de Grace, her charges and the money which she had advanced should be repaid by the king of France; and that Calais, on the expiration of the stipulated term, should be restored to her. Disdaining to accept these conditions, she ordered the earl of Warwick to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garrison of Havre consisted of six thousand men, beside seven hundred pioneers: and a resolute defence was expected. But a contagious distemper began to harass the English troops; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, it quickly made such ravages, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. The earl, who had frequently warned the English ministry of his danger, and loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, was therefore obliged to capitulate, and content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison¹⁷.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had failed her in this transaction, now found it necessary to
 A. D. 1564. accede to a compromise; and as Catharine wished for leisure, that she might concert measures for the extirpation of the Huguenots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed, that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais should be delivered up for

¹⁶ Davila, lib. iii.

¹⁷ Forbes, vol. ii.

two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; and that both parties should retain all their pretensions¹⁸.

Peace still subsisted between England and Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made professions of the most sincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other, and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as the style of sisters. But the negotiation for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealousy of Elizabeth, and roused the zeal of the Scottish reformers. Mary's hand was solicited by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third son; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spanish monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former husband's brother, who afterward acquired the crown of France. Either of those foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and to Mary's Protestant subjects. She therefore resolved, notwithstanding the arguments of the cardinal of Lorraine, to sacrifice her ambition to domestic peace; and, as Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lenox, was the first British subject whom sound policy seemed to point out to her choice, she determined to make him the partner of her sway¹⁹.

Darnley was Mary's cousin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herself, next heir to the English crown. He was also, by his father, a branch of her own family; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England; and as Elizabeth had often intimated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would so completely allay all jealousy between them as Mary's espousing an English nobleman²⁰, the prospect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the proposed marriage.

18 Davila, lib. iii.

19 Forbes, vol. ii.

20 Keith.

But although Mary, as a queen, seemed to be solely influenced by political considerations in the choice of a royal consort, she had some motives, as a woman, for singling out Darnley as a husband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall and well-proportioned, and surpassed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled in all the arts which display a handsome person to advantage, and which, by polished nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accomplishments. Mary was at an age and of a complexion to feel the force of such attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conquest of her heart at their first interview; and it cannot be doubted that she made a deep impression upon him. Thus inclination conspired with policy to promote their union; nor was it suspected that any opposition would be made by the English queen.

Secretly, Elizabeth was not displeased with Mary's choice, as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with the earl of Leicester, her own handsome favourite, whom she had proposed as a husband to the queen of Scots. But beside a womanish jealousy and envy, proceeding from a consciousness of Mary's superior charms, which led her on all occasions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princess, certain ungenerous political motives induced her to show a disapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though she either did not wish, or was sensible that she could not obstruct it. By declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, she hoped to alarm those Scots who were attached to the English interest, and to raise by their means intestine commotions, which would not only secure her own kingdom from all disturbance on that side, but would enable her to become the umpire between the Scottish queen and her contending subjects²¹.

The scheme immediately succeeded in part, and after-

21 Keith.

ward had its full effect. The earl of Murray and other Protestant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, because the earl of Lenox and his family were supposed to be Catholics, but in reality to support their own sinking authority, they formed among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, to secure Elizabeth's assistance, when it should become necessary; and, despairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted measures for seising Darnley, and carrying him prisoner into England²². They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary, with the general consent of the Scottish nation, celebrated her marriage with Darnley.

Conscious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end, the associated lords assembled their followers and flew to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herself at the head of her troops, rode with loaded pistols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England²³. There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which strongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princess had already effectually served her purpose, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, such discord and jealousies as would in all probability long distract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her business to save appearances; and as the malcontents had failed of success, she thought proper to disavow all connexions with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her, before they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambas-

²² Melvil.

²³ Keith, *Append.*

sadors, who accused her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that she had given them no encouragement to take up arms. “ You have spoken the truth !” replied she, as soon as they had made this declaration : — “ I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful sovereign. The treason of which you have been guilty is detestable ; and, as traitors, I banish you from my presence²⁴.” So little feeling had she for men who, out of confidence in her promises, had hazarded their lives and fortunes to serve her !

The Scottish exiles, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign ; and Mary, whose temper naturally inclined her to lenity, seemed determined to restore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambassador from France altered her resolution. The peace, granted to the reformers in that kingdom, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. For this purpose an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX. now in his sixteenth year, and his sister the queen of Spain. Catharine of Medicis accompanied her son ; the duke of Alva attended his mistress. Gaiety, festivity, love, and joy seemed to be the sole occupation of both courts ; but, under these smiling appearances, was devised a scheme the most bloody and the most destructive to the repose of mankind that had ever been suggested by superstition to the human heart. Nothing less was concerted than the extermination of the Protestants in France and the Low-Countries, and the extinction of the reformed opinions throughout Europe²⁵.

A. D. 1566. Of this Catholic or *Holy League* (for so that detestable conspiracy was called) an account was brought, by the French ambassador, to the queen of Scots ;

²⁴ Melvil.

²⁵ Thuan, lib. xxxvii.—Davila, lib. iii.

and she was entreated, in the name of the king of France, not to restore the leaders of the Protestants in her kingdom to power and favour, at a time when the Popish princes of the continent were combined for the total extirpation of that sect²⁶. Deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of popery, and devoted with the most humble submission to her uncles the princes of Lorraine, whose counsels from her infancy she had been accustomed to receive with filial respect, Mary instantly joined the confederacy:—hence she was induced to change her resolution with regard to the banished lords²⁷.

The effects of this new system were soon visible in her conduct. The parliament was summoned for the attainder of the rebels, whose guilt was palpable, and some measures were concerted for re-establishing the Romish religion in Scotland²⁸; so that the ruin of Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the destruction of the reformed church no distant event, when an unexpected incident saved both, and brought on, in the sequel, the ruin of Mary herself.

The incident to which I allude is the murder of David Rizzio, a man whose birth and education afforded little reason to suppose that he would ever attract the historian's notice, but whose tragical death, and its consequences, render it necessary to record his adventures. The son of a teacher of music at Turin, and himself a musician, Rizzio had accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, where he gained admittance into the queen's family by his skill in his profession; and as Mary found him necessary to complete her musical band, she retained him in her service, by permission, after the departure of his master. Shrewd, supple, and aspiring, he quickly crept into the queen's favour; and her French secretary happening to retire into his own country, she promoted Rizzio to that office. He now began to make a figure at court,

²⁶ Melvil.

²⁷ Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* Append. No. XIII.

²⁸ Keith, p. 316.

and to appear as a man of weight and consequence: and he was soon regarded as the queen's confidential adviser, even in politics. To him the whole train of suitors and expectants applied; and among the rest Darnley, whose marriage Rizzio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with the wishes of his mistress.

But this marriage, so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances, disappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the most shocking to humanity. Allured by the stature, symmetry, and exterior accomplishments of Darnley, Mary, in her choice, had overlooked the qualities of his mind, which corresponded ill with those of his person. As his temper was violent yet variable, she could neither by her gentleness bridle his insolent and imperious spirit, nor preserve him by her vigilance from rash and imprudent actions. Of mean understanding, but, like most fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, to drunkenness and debauchery, he was incapable of any true sentiments of love or tenderness²⁹. All Mary's fondness and generosity made no lasting impression on such a heart. He became by degrees, careless of her person, and a stranger to her company. To a woman and a queen such behaviour was intolerable, particularly to one who possessed great sensibility, and who, in the first effusions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her husband beyond measure. She had granted him the title of King, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her disappointed passion was therefore as violent, when roused into resentment, as her first affection had been strong; and his behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the original superiority of her rank, and the honour and consequence to which she had raised him.

²⁹ Goodall, vol. i.—Robertson, book iv.

The heart, sore from the wounds and the agitations of unrequited love, naturally seeks the repose, the consolation, and the lenient assuatives of friendship. Rizzio still possessed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her husband rendered a confidant now more necessary, she seems not only to have made use of her secretary's company and his musical talents to sooth her disquieted bosom, but to have imprudently shared with him her domestic griefs. To suppose that he also shared her embraces, is to offer an injury to her character for which history affords no proper foundation³⁰. But the assuming vanity of the upstart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boasted of his intimacy in private; the dark and suspicious mind of Darnley, who, instead of imputing Mary's coldness to his own misconduct, which had so justly deserved it, ascribed the change in her behaviour to the influence of a new passion; together with the rigid austerity of the Scottish clergy, who would allow no freedoms; contributed to spread this opinion among the people, ever ready to listen to any slander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no less ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjust and inhuman vengeance.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among these were the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their griev-

³⁰ Buchanan, whose prejudices are well known, is the only Scottish historian who directly accuses Mary of a criminal love for Rizzio. Knox, notwithstanding his violence and inveteracy, only slightly insinuates that such a suspicion was entertained. But the silence of Randolph, the English resident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once intimate that her confidence in Rizzio contained any thing criminal, is a sufficient vindication of her innocence in this respect.

ances, and the means of redress, the king communicated his resolution to be avenged of Rizzio to lord Ruthven, and implored his assistance and that of his friends towards the execution of his design. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than such an overture. The murder of the favourite was instantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having secured the gates of the palace with a hundred and sixty armed men, the king, accompanied by the other conspirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private passage, while she was at supper with Rizzio and other courtiers. Alarmed at such an unusual visit, she demanded the reason of this rude intrusion. The malcontents answered her by pointing to Rizzio, who immediately retired behind the queen's chair, and seized her by the waist, hoping that the respect due to her royal person would prove some protection to him. But the conspirators had gone too far to be restrained by punctilios. George Douglas eagerly took the king's dagger, and stuck it into the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and pushed into an adjoining room, where he was dispatched with many wounds³¹.

“ I will weep no more,” said the queen, drying her tears, when informed of her favourite's fate;—“ I shall now think of revenge.” The insult on her person, the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed on account of the advanced state of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and complicated, as scarcely indeed to admit of pardon, even from the greatest lenity. Mary's resentment, however, was implacable against her husband alone. She artfully engaged him, by her persuasions and caresses, to disown all connexion with the conspirators, whom he had promised to protect; to deny any concurrence in their crime; and even to publish a proclamation containing so notorious a falsehood³²! And having thus made him expose him-

³¹ Melvil.—Keith.—Crawford.

³² Keith, *Append.*—Goodall.

self to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation.

As her anger, absorbed by injuries more recent and violent, had subsided from former offenders, she had been reconciled to the banished lords. They were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices in Rizzio's murder, who had fled into England on being deserted by Darnley, also applied to her for pardon: and although she at first refused compliance, she afterward, through the intercession of Bothwell, a new favourite, who was desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, permitted them to return into their own country³³.

The hour of Mary's labour now approached; and as it seemed imprudent to expose her person, unprotected, to the insults which she might suffer in a kingdom torn by faction, she left the palace, and made the castle of Edinburgh the place of her residence. There she was safely delivered of a son; and this being a very June 19. important event to England as well as to Scotland, she instantly dispatched sir James Melvil to London with the interesting intelligence. It struck Elizabeth forcibly and by surprise. She had given a ball to her court at Greenwich on the evening of Melvil's arrival, and was displaying all that spirit and gaiety which usually attended her on such occasions; but no sooner was she informed of the birth of the prince, than all her vivacity left her. Sensible of the superiority her rival had now acquired, she sunk into deep melancholy: she reclined her head upon her hand, the tears flowing down her cheek, and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock³⁴. The next morning, however, at the audience of the ambassador, she resumed her wonted cheerfulness and dissimulation; thanked Melvil for his haste in bringing her

33 Melvil.—Keith.—Knox.

34 Melvil.

such agreeable news, and expressed the most cordial friendship for "her sister Mary."

The birth of a son, as Elizabeth foresaw, gave additional zeal as well as weight to the partisans of the queen of Scots in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to call aloud for some settlement of the crown. The English queen had now reigned almost eight years, without discovering the least intention to marry. A violent illness, with which she was seised, had lately endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with a prospect of all the calamities that are occasioned by a disputed and dubious succession. A motion was therefore made, and eagerly listened to in both houses of parliament, for addressing the queen on the subject. It was urged, that her love for her people, her duty to the public, her concern for posterity, equally called upon her, either to declare her own resolution to marry, or consent to an act establishing the order of succession to the crown³⁵.

Elizabeth's ambitious and masculine character, and her repeated declarations, that she meant to live and die a VIRGIN-QUEEN, rendered it improbable, that she would take the first of these steps; and as no title to the crown could, with any colour of justice, be set in opposition to that of the queen of Scots, most of the English nobility seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the presumptive successor. The union of the two kingdoms was a desirable object to all discerning men; and the birth of the prince of Scotland gave hopes of its perpetuity. Even the more moderate Protestants, soothed by Mary's lenity to her own subjects, concurred with the Catholics in supporting her claim³⁶. Nor would all the policy and address of Elizabeth have been able to prevent the settlement of the crown on her rival, had not Mary's indiscretions, if not her crimes, thrown her from the summit of prosperity, and plunged her into infamy and ruin.

35 D'Ewes' *Journ. of Parliament*.

36 Melvil.

James earl of Bothwell, a man of profligate manners, and by no means eminent for talents either civil or military, had distinguished himself by his attachment to the queen; and, since the death of Rizzio, from the custody of whose murderers he had been the chief instrument of releasing her, Mary's gratitude, and perhaps a warmer sentiment, had gratified him with particular marks of her favour and confidence. She had raised him to offices of power and of trust, and transacted no matter of importance without his advice. Bothwell gained on her affection (for such it certainly soon became) in proportion as her regard for her husband declined; and her contempt for the latter appears to have been completed, though not occasioned, by her love for the former. She was not only suspected of a criminal commerce with the earl; but so indiscreet was her familiarity, and so strongly marked was her hatred against her husband, that when Henry, unable to bear that insignificance into which he had fallen, left the court, and retired to Glasgow, a disorder, which seised him soon after his arrival, was ascribed to a dose of poison, which, it was said, she had procured to be administered to him. The king himself, however, seems to have had no such suspicions; for the queen having paid him a visit during his sickness, and discovered great anxiety for his recovery, he accompanied her to Edinburgh, as soon as he could be moved, in order that she herself might be able to attend him without being absent from her son³⁷. He was lodged for the benefit of retirement and air, as was pretended, in a solitary house called the Kirk of Field, situated on a rising ground at some distance from Holyrood-House. There he was assiduously attended by Mary, who slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. But she suddenly, at night, left the Kirk of Field, in order to be present at a

³⁷ Goodall, vol. ii.—Dr. Robertson supposes this confidence to have been inspired by the insidious blandishments of Mary.

masque in the palace; and, about three hours afterward,
 Feb. 10. the house in which the king lay was blown up
 with gunpowder, and his dead body was found
 in a neighbouring enclosure³⁸.

The earl of Bothwell was generally considered as the
 author of this horrid murder³⁹. Some suspicions were en-
 tertained that the queen herself was no stranger to the
 crime; and the subsequent conduct of both, independent
 of every other circumstance, affords a strong presumption
 of their mutual guilt. Mary not only studiously avoided
 bringing Bothwell to a fair and legal trial⁴⁰, notwithstand-
 ing the earnest entreaties of the earl of Lenox and the
 general voice of the nation, but allowed the man, who was
 publicly accused of the murder of her husband, to enjoy
 all the dignity and power, as well as all the confidence and
 familiarity of a favourite⁴¹! She committed to him the
 government of the castle of Edinburgh⁴²; which, with the
 offices he already possessed, gave him the entire command
 May 15. of the South of Scotland. She was carried off by
 him, in returning from a visit to her son, and
 seemingly with her own consent⁴³; she lived with him for
 some time in a state of supposed violation; and as soon as
 he could procure a sentence, divorcing him from a young
 lady of virtue and merit, to whom he was lawfully married,

³⁸ Crawford.—Spotswood.—Keith.

³⁹ Melvil's *Mem.* p. 155.—Anderson, vol. i.

⁴⁰ A kind of mock trial was hurried on with indecent precipitancy, and preceded by so many indications of violence, that Lenox was afraid to appear in support of his charge. After in vain craving delay, he therefore protested against the legality of any sentence that might be given. As no accuser appeared, the jury acquitted Bothwell: but this judgement, pronounced without the examination of a single witness, was considered as an argument of his guilt rather than a proof of his innocence. Besides other suspicious circumstances, he was accompanied to the place of trial by a large body of armed men. Anderson, vol. i.—Keith, p. 375, 376.

⁴¹ Even when lying under the accusation of the king's murder, Bothwell lived for some time in the same house with Mary, and took his seat in the council as usual, instead of being confined to close prison. Anderson, vol. i. ii.

⁴² Spotswood, p. 201.

⁴³ Melvil's *Mem.* p. 158. Melvil, who was himself one of Mary's attendants, tells us that he saw no signs of reluctance, and that he was informed the whole transaction was managed in concert with her.

she shamefully gave her hand to this reputed ravisher and regicide!

The particular steps by which these events were brought about are of little moment: it is more important to mark their consequences. Such a quick succession of incidents, so singular, and so detestable, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in the guilty scene, but also on the whole nation. The Scots were universally reproached as men void of courage or of humanity; as equally regardless of the reputation of their queen and the honour of their country, in suffering such atrocious acts to pass with impunity⁴⁴.

These merited reproaches, and the attempts of Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, roused the Scottish nobles from their lethargy. A considerable body of them assembled at Stirling, and entered into an association for the defence of the prince's person, and for punishing the king's murderers⁴⁵. The queen and Bothwell were thrown by this league into the utmost consternation. They knew the sentiments of the nation with respect to their conduct: they foresaw the storm that was ready to burst on their heads; and, to provide against it, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and attend her husband by a day appointed. She also published a sort of manifesto, in which she endeavoured to vindicate her government from those imputations with which it had been loaded, and employed the strongest terms to express her concern for the safety and welfare of the prince her son. But neither of these measures produced any considerable effect. The associated lords had assembled an army, before the queen and Bothwell were in any condition to face them. Mary and her husband fled to Dunbar; and as Bothwell had many dependents in that quarter, he collected in a short time such a force as em-

⁴⁴ Anderson, vol. i.—Melvil, p. 163.—Robertson, Append. No. XX.

⁴⁵ Keith, p. 394.

boldened him to leave the town and castle, and advance toward the confederates.

The two armies met at Carberry-hill, near Edinburgh; and Mary was soon made sensible, that her own troops, nearly equal in number to those of the confederates, disapproved her cause, and were unwilling to risque their lives in her quarrel⁴⁶. They discovered no inclination to fight. She endeavoured to animate them: she wept, she threatened, she reproached them with cowardice; but all in vain. After some bravadoes of Bothwell, to vindicate his innocence by single combat (which, however, he declined when an adversary offered to enter the lists), Mary saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the chief confederates, and of putting herself, on some general promises, into their hands⁴⁷.

Bothwell, during this parley, fled unattended to Dunbar; where, finding it impossible to assemble an army, he fitted out some small vessels, set sail for the Orkneys, and there subsisted some time by piracy. But being pursued even to that extreme corner by Kirkaldy, the greater part of his little fleet was taken, with several of his servants, who afterward discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and suffered for their share in the crime⁴⁸. The earl himself made his escape to Norway with a single ship. On that coast he attempted to renew his piracies; was there taken, thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably, ten years after, in a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen, and neglected by strangers⁴⁹.

The queen, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amid the insults of the populace;

⁴⁶ Spotswood, p. 207.—Keith, p. 401, 402.

⁴⁷ Calderwood, vol. ii.—Melvil, p. 165.

⁴⁸ Anderson, vol. ii. ⁴⁹ Melvil, p. 168.

who reproached her with her crimes, and held up before her eyes, which-ever way she turned, a standard, on which was painted the dead body of her late husband, with her infant son kneeling before it, and uttering these words: "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!"—Mary shrunk with horror from such a shocking object; but, notwithstanding all her arguments and entreaties, the same standard was exhibited, and the same insults and reproaches were repeated⁵⁰. Under pretence that her behaviour was unsuitable to her condition, and fearing the return of Bothwell, to whom she still declared her attachment, the confederates now sent her to the castle of Lochleven, and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the proprietor of the fortress, to detain her as a prisoner⁵¹.

No sooner did the news of these events reach England, than Elizabeth, apparently laying aside all her jealousies and fears, seemed resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She instantly dispatched sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negotiate both with the queen and the confederates. In his instructions there appears a remarkable solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation. But neither Elizabeth's interposition, nor Throgmorton's zeal and abilities, were of much benefit to the Scottish queen. The confederates apprehended that Mary, elate with the prospect of protection, would reject their overtures with disdain: they therefore peremptorily denied the ambassador access to their prisoner, and either refused or eluded his proposals in her behalf⁵².

The queen of Scots, in the mean time, endured all the rigour and horrors of a prison. No prospect of liberty appeared: none of her subjects had either taken arms, or even solicited her relief; nor was any person in whom she could confide admitted into her presence. She was cut

⁵⁰ Crawford's *Mem.* p. 33.—Keith, p. 402.—Robertson, book iv.

⁵¹ Keith, p. 403. ⁵² Id. p. 411.

off from all the world. In this melancholy situation, without a counsellor, without a friend, under the pressure of misfortune, and the apprehension of danger, it was natural for a woman to listen to almost any overtures. The confederates took advantage of Mary's distress and of her fears. They employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot of the party, to make her acquainted with their purpose; and they threatened to prosecute her, as the principal conspirator against the life of her husband and the safety of her son, if she should refuse to comply with their demands. Mary, overpowered by her unhappy condition, and believ-

July 24. ing that no deed which she should execute during her captivity would be valid, signed a resignation of the crown; in consequence of which the earl of Murray was appointed regent under the young prince, who was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI.⁵³

Here, my dear Philip, I must make a pause, for the sake of perspicuity. The subsequent part of this interesting story, the continuation of the civil wars in France, and the rise of those in the Low Countries, will furnish materials for the next Letter.

53 Anderson.—Melvil.—Keith.

LETTER LXIX.

History of Great Britain, from the Flight of the Queen of Scots into England, with an Account of the Civil Wars on the Continent, till the Death of Charles IX. of France, in 1574.

THE condescension of Mary in resigning the crown to her son, and the administration of affairs to her rebellious subjects, did not procure her enlargement. She was still confined in the castle of Lochleven. A parliament, summoned by the earl of Murray, even declared her resignation valid, and her imprisonment lawful, while it recognized his

election to the office of regent¹; and, being a man of vigour and abilities, he employed himself with success in reducing the kingdom to obedience.

But, although most men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority, there still were in Scotland many secret murmurs and cabals. The duke of Chatelheraut, who, as first prince of the blood, thought he had an undoubted right to the regency, bore no good will to the new government; and similar sentiments were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion were inclined to join this party; and the length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to move many, who had formerly detested her crimes, or blamed her imprudence, to commiserate her present condition². Animated by these different motives, a body of the nobility met at Hamilton, and concerted measures A. D. 1563. for supporting the cause of the queen.

While the Scots seemed thus returning to sentiments of duty and loyalty to their sovereign, Mary recovered her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her charms and caresses, George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to assist her in attempting her escape. He conveyed her May 2. in disguise into a small boat, and rowed her ashore.

She hastened to Hamilton, and soon saw around her a body of nobles, and about six thousand combatants. Her resignation of the crown, which, she declared, had been extorted by fear, was pronounced illegal and void, in a council of the chief men of her party; and an association was formed for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction³.

Elizabeth, when informed of the escape of the queen of Scots, affected a resolution of assisting her; and dis-

¹ Anderson, vol. ii.

² Buchan. lib. xviii.

³ Keith, p. 475.

patched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, to offer her good offices and military support⁴. But the regent was so expeditious in assembling forces, that the fate of Scotland was decided before any English succours could arrive. Confiding in the valour of his troops, Murray took the field with an army far inferior to that of Mary in number; and a battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which proved decisive in his favour, and was followed by the total dispersion of the queen's party.

Mary, who, within the space of thirteen days, had been a prisoner at the mercy of her rebellious subjects, had seen a powerful army under her command and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion, was now obliged to flee, in the utmost danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants in a corner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill; and so lively were her impressions of fear when she saw that army broken on which her last hope rested, that she did not close her eyes before she reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway, above sixty miles from the field of battle⁵. Not thinking herself safe, even in that obscure retreat, and still haunted by the horrors of a prison, she embraced the rash resolution of retiring into England, and of throwing herself on the generosity of her royal relative.

Elizabeth was now under the necessity of adopting some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and the pleasure of mortifying, while in her power, a rival whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, together with the cautious and interested counsels of Cecil her prime minister, determined her to disregard all the motives of friendship and generous sympathy, and to regulate her conduct solely by the cruel maxims of an insidious policy. In answer, therefore, to Mary's message, notifying her arrival in England, craving

⁴ Buchan. lib. xix.—Keith, p. 477.

⁵ Keith, p. 482.

leave to visit the queen, and claiming her protection, in consequence of former promises and professions of regard, Elizabeth artfully replied; that, while the queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, she could not, without bringing a stain on her own reputation, admit her into her presence; but, as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, she might depend on a reception suitable to her dignity, and support proportioned to her necessities⁶.

Mary was overwhelmed with sorrow and surprise at so unexpected a manner of evading her request: nor was her bosom a stranger to the feelings of indignation; but the distress of her condition obliged her to declare, that she was ready to justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would cheerfully submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend⁷. This was the very point to which Elizabeth wished to bring the matter, and the great object of her intrigues. She now considered herself as umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to nominate commissioners to hear the pleadings on both sides, and desired the regent to appoint proper persons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could allege in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary, who had hitherto relied with some degree of confidence on Elizabeth's professions, and who, when she consented to submit her cause to that princess, expected that the queen herself would receive and examine her defences, now plainly perceived the artifice of her rival, and the snare that had been laid for her⁸. She, therefore, retracted the offer she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose contrary to her intention: she meant to consider Elizabeth as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct

⁶ Anderson, vol. iv.

⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁸ Anderson, *ubi sup.*

that seemed liable to censure, not to acknowledge her as a superior. But her own words will best express her sentiments on this subject. “In my present situation,” says she in a letter to the English queen, “I neither will nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. But I am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals; nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms as into those of my nearest relation and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, in choosing you preferably to any other sovereign, to be the restorer of an injured queen. Was it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing in person the complaints of those who applied to his justice, against the false accusations of their enemies? You admitted into your presence my bastard brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid that I should be the cause of bringing any stain on your reputation! I expected that your manner of treating me would have added lustre to it. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other potentates, whose delicacy on this head will be less, and resentment of my wrongs greater; or let me receive from your hands that assistance which it becomes you more than any other sovereign to grant; and by that benefit bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude⁹.”

This letter, which somewhat disconcerted her plan, the English queen communicated to her privy council; and it was declared, that she could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give the queen of Scots the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom, before

⁹ Anderson, vol. iv.

the termination of the inquiry into her conduct. It was also agreed to remove Mary, for the sake of greater safety, from Carlisle, where she had taken refuge, to Bolton-castle in Yorkshire, belonging to lord Scope¹⁰.

The resolution of the privy council, with regard to Mary's person, was immediately carried into execution; and she found herself entirely in her rival's power. Her correspondence with her friends in Scotland was now more difficult; all prospect of escape was cut off; and, although she was still treated with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. She knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded confinement as the worst of evils.

Elizabeth took advantage of this season of terror, of impatience, and despair, to extort Mary's consent to the projected trial. She was confident, she said, that the queen of Scots would find no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and, though her apology should even fall short of conviction, she was determined to support her cause. It was never meant, she added, that Mary should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear and to justify themselves for their conduct toward her¹¹. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause; and conferences took place between them and the Scottish commissioners, first at York, and afterward at Westminster.

During the conferences at York, Mary's commissioners seemed to triumph, as the regent had hitherto declined accusing her of any participation in the guilt of her husband's murder, which alone could justify the violent proceedings of her subjects. But the face of the question was soon changed, on the renewal of the conferences at

¹⁰ Anderson, vol. iv.

¹¹ Id. *ibid.*

Westminster immediately under the eye of the English queen. Murray, encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth's protection, laid aside his delicacy and his fears, and not only charged his sovereign with consenting to the murder of her husband, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it. The same accusation was offered by the earl of Lenox, who, appearing before the English commissioners, craved vengeance for the blood of his son¹².

But accusations were not sufficient for Elizabeth; she wished to have proofs; and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, she commanded her delegates to testify her indignation and displeasure at his presumption, in forgetting so far the duty of a subject as to accuse his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn, offered to show that his accusations were neither false nor malicious. He produced, among other evidence in support of his charge, some sonnets and love-letters, from Mary to Bothwell, written partly before, partly after the murder of her husband, and containing incontestable proofs of her consent to that barbarous deed, of her criminal amours, and her concurrence in the pretended rape¹³. Stunned by this latent blow, against which it appears they were not provided

¹² Goodall, vol. ii.—Anderson, vol. iv.

¹³ Some bold attempts have lately been made to prove these letters and sonnets to be forgeries; but, unfortunately for Mary's reputation, the principal arguments, in support of their authenticity, yet remain unanswered. 1. They were examined and compared with her acknowledged hand-writing, in many letters to Elizabeth, not only by the English commissioners, and by the Scottish council and parliament, but by the English privy council, assisted by several noblemen well affected to the cause of the queen of Scots, who all admitted them to be authentic. (Anderson, vol. iv.) This circumstance is of great weight in the dispute; for although it is not very difficult to counterfeit a subscription, it is almost impossible to counterfeit any number of pages so perfectly as to elude detection. 2. Mary and her commissioners, by declining to refute the charge of the regent, though requested to attempt a refutation in any manner or form, and assured by Elizabeth that silence would be considered as the fullest confession of guilt, seemed to admit the justice of the accusation. (Id. *ibid.*) 3. The duke of Norfolk, who had been favoured with

with any proper defence, Mary's commissioners endeavoured to change the inquiry into a negotiation; and finding that attempt impracticable, as the English commissioners insisted on proceeding, they finally broke off the conferences without making any reply.

Elizabeth, having obtained these evidences of her rival's guilt, began to treat her with less delicacy. Orders were given for removing Mary from Bolton, a place surrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford; and, as Elizabeth entertained hopes that the queen of Scots, depressed by her misfortunes, and still feeling the shock of the late attack on her reputation, would now be glad to secure a retreat at the expense of her grandeur, she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided that Mary would agree either to confirm her resignation of the crown, or to associate her son with her in the government, and permit the administration to remain with the earl of Murray during the minority of James. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty on such terms. "Death," said she, "is less dreadful than such an ignominious step. Rather than give away with my own hands the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life; the last words which I utter shall be those of a queen of Scotland¹⁴."

every opportunity of examining the letters in question, and who gave the strongest marks of his attachment to the queen of Scots, yet believed them to be authentic. (*State Trials*, vol. i.) 4. In the conferences between the duke, Maitland of Lethington, and bishop Lesley, all zealous partisans of Mary, the authenticity of the letters, and her participation in the murder of her husband, are always taken for granted. (*Id. ibid.*) 5. Independently of all other evidence, the letters themselves contain many internal proofs of their authenticity; many minute and unnecessary particulars, which could have occurred to no person employed to forge them, and which, as the English commissioners ingeniously observed, "were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell." 6. Their very indelicacy is a proof of their authenticity; for although Mary, in an amorous moment, might slide into a gross expression, in writing to a man to whom she had sacrificed her honour, the framer of no forgery could hope to secure its credibility by imputing such expressions to so polite and accomplished a princess as the queen of Scots.

¹⁴ Haynes, p. 497.—Goodall, vol. ii.

After an end had been put to the conferences, the regent returned to Scotland, and Mary was confined more closely than ever. In vain did she still demand, that Elizabeth should either assist her in recovering her authority, or permit her to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other potentates. Aware of the danger attending both these proposals, Elizabeth resolved to comply with neither, but to detain her rival still a prisoner;—and the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, she hoped, would apologise for this severity. The queen of Scots, however, before the regent's departure, had artfully recriminated upon him and his party, by accusing them of having devised and executed the murder of the king. Though this charge, which was not adduced before the dissolution of the conferences, was generally considered as a mere expression of resentment¹⁵, Mary had behaved with such modesty, propriety, and even dignity, during her confinement, that her friends were enabled, on plausible grounds, to deny the reality of the crimes imputed to her; and a scheme was formed in both kingdoms, for restoring her to liberty and replacing her on the throne.

The fatal marriage of the queen of Scots with Bothwell was the grand source of all her misfortunes. A divorce alone could repair, in any degree, the injuries her reputation had suffered by that step; and a new choice seemed the most effectual means of recovering her authority. Her friends, therefore, looked out for a husband whose influence would be sufficient to accomplish this desirable end. A foreign alliance was, for many reasons, to be

¹⁵ Hume, vol. v.—If Mary's commissioners could have produced any proofs of the earl of Murray's guilt, they would surely, as able advocates and zealous partisans, have prevented the accusation of her enemies; or they would have confronted accusation with accusation, instead of breaking off the conferences at the very moment when the charge was brought against their mistress, and when all their eloquence was necessary for the vindication of her honour.

avoided; and as the duke of Norfolk was, without comparison, the first subject in England, and enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular with the most opposite factions, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his own friends, as well as to those of Mary. Maitland of Lethington opened the scheme to him. He set before that nobleman the glory of composing the dissensions in Scotland, and at the same time held to his view the prospect of reaping the succession of England. The duke readily closed with a proposal so flattering to his ambition; nor was Mary herself unfriendly to a measure which promised so desirable a change in her condition¹⁶.

But this scheme, like all those formed for the relief of the queen of Scots, had an unfortunate issue. Though the duke had declared that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the conclusion of his marriage, he attempted previously to gain the approbation of the most considerable English nobility, as he had reason to apprehend a violent opposition from her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy of her rival; and as the nation now began to despair of the queen's marrying, and Mary's right to the succession A. D. 1569. was scarcely doubted by any one, her alliance with an Englishman, and a zealous Protestant, seemed so effectually to provide against all those evils which might be apprehended from her choice of a foreign and a popish prince, that the greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved it as a salutary project. Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's avowed favourite, seemed to enter zealously into the duke's interests, and wrote a letter to Mary, subscribed by several other noblemen, warmly recommending the match¹⁷.

So extensive a confederacy could not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth, or of her minister, Cecil, a man of

16 Camden.—Haynes.

17 Lesley.—Haynes.

the deepest penetration, and sincerely attached to her person and government. Norfolk, however, flattered himself that the union of so many noblemen would make it necessary for the queen to comply; and, in a matter of so much consequence to the nation, the taking a few steps without her knowledge could scarcely, he thought, be deemed criminal. But Elizabeth thought otherwise. Any measure to her appeared criminal, that tended so visibly to save the reputation and increase the power of her rival. She also saw, that, how perfect soever Norfolk's allegiance might be, and that of the greater part of the noblemen who espoused his cause, they who conducted the intrigue had farther and more dangerous views than the relief of the queen of Scots; and she dropped several hints to the duke, that she was acquainted with his views, warning him frequently to "beware on what pillow he reposed his head¹⁸!" Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was at length given her by Leicester, who had perhaps countenanced the project with no other intention than to defeat it. The Scottish regent, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, also meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furnished all the information in his power. Norfolk was committed to the Tower; several other noblemen were taken into custody; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where her imprisonment was rendered more intolerable by an excess of vigilance and rigour¹⁹.

This intrigue was no sooner discovered than an attempt was made for restoring the Scottish queen to liberty by force of arms. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most ancient and powerful of the English peers, were attached to the Romish religion, and discontented with the court, where new men and new

¹⁸ Camden.—Spotswood. ¹⁹ Haynes.

measures prevailed. Ever since Mary's arrival in England they had warmly espoused her interests, and had even engaged in several plots for her relief. They were privy to Norfolk's scheme: but the moderation and coolness of that nobleman did not suit their ardour and impetuosity. The liberty of the Scottish queen was not their sole object: they aimed at bringing about a change in the religion and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For these purposes they had solicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed patron of popery, and the natural enemy of Elizabeth. Glad of an opportunity of disturbing the tranquillity of England, Philip ordered the duke of Alva, governor of the Low-Countries, to encourage the two earls in their projected rebellion, by a promise of money and troops²⁰. But Elizabeth fortunately gained intelligence of their schemes before they were ready to take the field; and though they immediately assembled their retainers, and flew to arms, the queen acted with so much prudence and vigour, that they were obliged to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses, the leaders fled into Scotland²¹.

Elizabeth was so well pleased with the behaviour of the duke of Norfolk, during this insurrection, that she released him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own house, though under some show of confinement. But the queen of Scots, with whom he promised to hold no farther correspondence, was now more strictly guarded; and Elizabeth, sensible of the danger of detaining her any longer in England, resolved to give up Mary into the hands of the regent, whose security, no less than that of the English queen, depended on preventing her from ascending the throne. The negotiation for this purpose had been carried some length, when it was discovered by

20 Carte, vol. iii.

21 Camden's *Ann.*

the vigilance of Lesley, bishop of Ross, who, with the French and Spanish ambassadors, remonstrated against the infamy of such a transaction. A delay was thus procured; and the violent death of the regent, who was shot, in revenge of a domestic injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, prevented the revival of the project²².

On the death of the earl of Murray, who possessed vigour and abilities, with an austere and unamiable character, Scotland relapsed into a state of anarchy. The queen's party seemed for a time to prevail; but, at length, through the interposition of Elizabeth, who accompanied her recommendation with an armed force, the earl of Lenox was chosen regent; and Mary, after being amused during ten months by a deceitful negotiation and the hopes of liberty, found herself under stricter custody than ever, and without any hopes of escaping from it²³. In that joyless situation we must leave her for a while, and take a view of the civil wars on the continent, the issue of which nearly concerned both the British queens.

Elizabeth was sensible, that, as the head of the Protestant party, her safety in a great measure depended on the continuance of the commotions in France and the Low-Countries. She therefore contributed, as we have seen, both secretly and openly, to enable and encourage the reformers to support the struggle, while she watched the motions of the Catholics with a jealous eye. And an

²² Carte, vol. iii.—Anderson, vol. iii.—Part of Hamilton's estate had been bestowed upon one of the regent's favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the fields; where, before morning, she became furiously mad. From that moment he vowed revenge against the earl of Murray. Party-rage strengthened and inflamed his private resentment; and the maxims of that age appeared to justify the most desperate course he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the regent for some time, watching an opportunity to strike the blow; and at last shot him from a window as he was passing through Linlithgow, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh.—Crawford's *Mem.*—Buchanan.—Robertson.

²³ Spotswood.—Lesley.

event happened about this time which increased her vigilance. Popè Pius V., after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate the favour and friendship of Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her; depriving her of all title to the crown, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. This bull, which had, without doubt, been fulminated at the instigation of the catholic princes, was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace by one John Felton, a zealous papist; who, scorning either to flee or deny the fact, was seised, condemned, and executed. He not only suffered with constancy, but seemed to consider death, in such a cause, as a triumph²⁴.

Thus roused by the violent spirit of popery, Elizabeth, who had never been remiss, fixed her eye more steadily on the religious wars in France and the Low-Countries. The league concerted at Bayonne, as has been already noticed, for the extermination of the Protestants, had not been concluded so secretly, but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligny, and other leaders of that party in France. Finding the measures of the court correspond with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the Catholics were aware of the danger. In consequence of this resolution, they formed, in 1567, the bold design of surprising the king and queen-mother, who were living in security at Monceau in Brie; and, had not the court received some indirect information of the conspiracy, which induced them to remove to Meaux, and been besides protected by a body of Swiss, who came hastily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen without resistance into the hands of the Protestants²⁵.

A battle was soon after fought in the plains of St. Denis; where, though the old constable Montmorency,

²⁴ Camden's *Ann.*

²⁵ Davila, lib. iv.—Mezeray, tome v.

the general of the Catholics, was slain, the Huguenots were defeated by reason of their inferiority in numbers. Condé, however, still undismayed, collected his broken troops; and, having received a strong reinforcement of German Protestants, appeared again in the field at the head of a formidable force. With that new army he traversed great part of the kingdom; and at last laying siege to Chartres, a place of much importance, obliged the court, in 1568, to agree to an accommodation²⁶.

This peace, being but a temporary expedient, and sincere on neither side, was of short duration. The queen-mother, deceitful in all her negotiations, had formed a scheme for the seizure of Condé and Coligny. They received intelligence of their danger, fled to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance. Thither the Huguenots resorted in great numbers, and the civil war was renewed with greater fury than ever. The duke of Anjou commanded the Catholics; and gained, in 1569, under the direction of the *maréchal de Tavannes*, the famous battle of Jarnac, after a struggle of seven hours. The prince of Condé, being wounded and made prisoner, was carried off the field, and killed in cold blood by a captain of the duke's guards²⁷.

But this defeat, though accompanied with the loss of so great a leader, did not break the spirit of the Huguenots. Coligny, whose courage was superior to all difficulties, still gallantly supported their cause; and, having placed at the head of the party the king of Navarre, only sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, to both of whom he acted as a father, he encouraged the Protestants rather to perish bravely in the field than by the hands of the executioner. Their ardour was not inferior to his own; and, being strengthened by a reinforcement of Ger-

²⁶ Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

²⁷ Mezeray, *ubi sup.*—Henault, tome i.

mans, they obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and invested Poitiers²⁸.

As the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprise, the young duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the town, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that Coligny was obliged to raise the siege, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, after losing three thousand men²⁹. Such was the rise of the reputation of Henry duke of Guise, whom we shall afterward see attain so distinguished a height of fame and grandeur, and whose ambition engaged him in schemes so destructive of the authority of his sovereign, and the repose of his native country.

Elizabeth, ever watchful of the civil commotions in France, was by no means pleased with this revival of the power of the house of Lorraine; and, being anxious for the fate of the Protestants, whose interests were so intimately connected with her own, she sent them secretly a sum of money, besides artillery and military stores³⁰. She also permitted Henry Camperton to transport to France a regiment of gentlemen volunteers. Meanwhile Coligny, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou and the maréchal de Tavannes the memorable battle of Moncontour, in which he was wounded and defeated, with the loss nearly of ten thousand men³¹.

The court of France, and the Catholics, elate with this victory, vainly flattered themselves that the power of the Huguenots was finally broken; and therefore neglected to take any farther steps for crushing an enemy no longer thought capable of resistance. What was then their surprise to hear that Coligny, still undismayed, had suddenly

28 Davila, lib. v.

29 Id. ibid.

30 Camden's *Ann.*

31 Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

appeared in another quarter of the kingdom; had inspired with all his ardour and constancy the two young princes whom he governed; had assembled a formidable army, accomplished an extraordinary march, and was ready to besiege Paris!—The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders, and wasted by so many fruitless wars, could not bear the charge of a new armament. The king was therefore obliged, in 1570, notwithstanding his violent animosity against the Protestants, to enter into a negotiation with them at St. Germain en Laye; to grant them a pardon for all past offences; to declare them capable of all offices, both civil and military; to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience; and cede to them for two years, as places of refuge, and pledges of their security, Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Cognac³². The first of these cities kept the sea open for receiving succours from England, in case of a new war; the second preserved the passage of the Loire; the third commanded the frontiers of Languedoc and Querci; and the fourth opened a passage into Angoumois, where the Huguenots had greater strength than in any other province.

Thus an end was seemingly put to the civil wars of France. But Charles was in no degree reconciled to his rebellious subjects: and this accommodation was employed as a snare, by which the perfidious court might carry more securely into execution that project which had been formed for the destruction of the Protestants. Their leaders were accordingly invited to Paris, and loaded with favours; and, in order to lull the party into yet greater security, Charles not only declared, that, convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, he was determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion, but affected to

³² Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

enter into close connexions with Elizabeth³³. He proposed a marriage between her and the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and valour, qualities to which the queen never appeared insensible, it was hoped, would serve for some time to amuse the court of England.

Elizabeth, whose artful politics never triumphed so much as in those intrigues which were connected with her coquetry, immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France. Negotiations, equally insincere on both sides, were accordingly commenced with regard to the marriage, and broken off under various pretences. Both courts, however, succeeded in their schemes. Charles's artifices, or rather those of Catharine, imposed on Elizabeth, and blinded the Huguenots; and the prospect of the queen's marriage, and of an alliance between France and England, discouraged the partisans of Mary, so ready at all times to disturb the repose of the latter kingdom³⁴.

Elizabeth had also other motives for her dissimulation. The violent authority established by Philip in the Low-Countries made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the shadow of a new confederacy. Not satisfied with having reduced to their former state of obedience the revolted Flemings, whom his barbarous persecutions had roused to arms, that bigoted and tyrannical prince seemed determined to make the late popular disorders a pretence for utterly abolishing their privileges, and ruling them thenceforth with an arbitrary sway.

The duke of Alva, a fit instrument in the hands of such a despot, being employed by Philip to carry this violent design into execution, had conducted into the Low-Countries, in 1568, a powerful body of Spanish and Italian veterans. The appearance of such an army, with the inexorable and vindictive character of its leader, struck the Flemings with terror and consternation. Their appre-

³³ Camden.—Davila.—Digges.

³⁴ Camden.—Davila.—Digges.

hensions were but too just. The privileges of the provinces were openly and expressly abolished by an edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, notwithstanding their great merit and former services, and although they had been chiefly instrumental in quelling the late revolt, were brought to the block; multitudes were daily delivered over to the executioner; and nothing was to be heard or seen but seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, and death³⁵.

Meanwhile William of Nassau, prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent, whose estate had been confiscated, was employed in raising an army of German Protestants, in order to attempt the relief of his native country; and, having completed his levies, he entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, and offered battle to the duke of Alva. But that prudent general, sensible of the importance of delay, declined the challenge; and the Spaniards being in possession of all the fortified towns, the prince was obliged, from want of money, to disband his army, without being able to effect any thing of importance³⁶.

Alva's good fortune only increased his insolence and cruelty. After entering Brussels in triumph, he ordered diligent search to be made after all who had assisted the prince of Orange, and put them to death by various tortures. He then commanded that fortresses should be built in the principal towns; and at Antwerp he caused his own statue to be erected, in the attitude of treading on the necks of two smaller statues, representing the two estates of the Low-Countries, accompanied with the emblems of heresy and rebellion! Not satisfied with enslaving and insulting a free people, he proceeded to oppress them by enormous exactions. He demanded the hundredth penny, as a tax on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable, to supply his present exigencies: and, for the future, the twentieth

35 Temple.—Grotius.

36 Le Clerc, lib. i.—Grotius, lib. ii.

penny annually on all immoveable goods or heritage; and the tenth penny on all moveable goods, to be levied at every sale³⁷. The inhabitants refused to submit to such unreasonable and burthensome imposts. The duke had recourse to his usual severities; and the Flemings seemed in danger of being reduced to the most abject state of wretchedness, while the courts of France and England were amusing each other with a matrimonial treaty.

Elizabeth, however, was never inattentive to the affairs of the Low-Countries. She was equally displeased to see the progress of the scheme laid for the extermination of the Protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power in her immediate neighbourhood; and hence, as already observed, she endeavoured to guard herself against the ambition of Philip by the appearance of an alliance with France. But her danger, from the Low-Countries, was greater than she suspected it to be.

The queen of Scots, thinking herself abandoned by the court of France, had applied for protection to that of Spain; and Philip, whose dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the mystery of intrigue, had maintained for some time a secret correspondence with Mary, by means of Lesley bishop of Ross, her ambassador at the court of England, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with money. At length a scheme for rescuing Mary, and subverting the English government, A. D. 1571. was concerted by the bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and Ridolphi, a Florentine, who had resided long in London, and was a private agent for the pope. Their plan was, that the duke of Alva should land ten thousand men in the neighbourhood of London; that the duke of Norfolk, whom they had drawn into their measures, and who had renewed his engagements with the queen of Scots, notwithstanding his solemn promise to hold no correspond-

³⁷ Le Clerc, lib. i.—Grotius, lib. ii.

ence with her, should join the Spaniards with all his friends, together with the English Catholics and mal-contented; that they should march in a body to the capital, and oblige Elizabeth to submit to what conditions they should think fit to impose³⁸.

But the queen and the nation were delivered from this danger by the suspicious temper of one of Norfolk's servants. Being intrusted with a bag of money under the denomination of silver, he concluded it to be gold from its weight, and carried it to secretary Cecil, then lord Burghley, whose penetrating genius soon discovered, and whose activity brought the whole conspiracy to light. The duke of Norfolk, betrayed by his other servants, who had been A. D. 1572. privy to the plot, was seized, condemned as a traitor, and executed. The bishop of Ross was committed to the Tower; the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave England; and the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to Elizabeth about this time by the regent of Scotland, was brought to the block for his share in the former rebellion³⁹. Ridolphi, then on his journey to Brussels, escaped the arm of vengeance.

The queen of Scots, who had been either the immediate or remote cause of all these disturbances, was kept under a stricter guard than formerly; the number of her domestics was abridged, and no person was permitted to see her but in the presence of her keepers. The English parliament was even so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her instant trial and execution⁴⁰. But, although Elizabeth durst not carry matters to such extremity against Mary, or was not at that time so disposed, the restless spirit of the captive princess, and her close connexion with Spain, made the queen of England resolve to act without disguise or ambiguity in the affairs of Scotland.

³⁸ State Trials, vol. i.—Lesley, p. 155.

³⁹ Id. *ibid.*—Strype, vol. ii.

⁴⁰ D'Ewes, *Journ. of Parl.*

That kingdom was still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of her party, encouraged by this circumstance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. By an unexpected enterprise, they seized that nobleman at Stirling, and put him to death in revenge of former injuries. They were, however, overpowered by a detachment from the castle and an insurrection of the townsmen, and obliged to retire with precipitation.

The earl of Mar was chosen regent of Scotland in the room of Lenox, and found the same difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided kingdom. He was therefore glad to accept the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, and to conclude, on equal terms, a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous spirit; and, finding it impossible to accommodate matters between the parties, or maintain his own authority, without submitting to a dependence on England, he died of melancholy, occasioned by the distracted state of his country.

Mar was succeeded in the regency of Scotland by the earl of Morton, who had secretly taken all his measures in concert with Elizabeth; and, as she was now determined to exert herself effectually in support of the king's party, she ordered sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and besiege the castle. Kirkaldy, after a gallant defence of thirty-three days, against all the efforts of the commanders of the two nations, who pushed their attacks with courage and with emulation, was obliged to surrender, by reason of a mutiny in the garrison. He was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by Elizabeth's order, expressly contrary to his capitulation with Drury, and condemned by Morton to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington, who had taken part with Kirkaldy, and could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the

ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death. "He "ended his days," says Melvil, "after the old Roman "fashion!" and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent's authority, gave no farther inquietude, for many years, to the English queen⁴¹.

The events on the continent were not so favourable to the interests, or agreeable to the inclinations, of Elizabeth. After the negotiation for a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou was finally broken off, a

April 19. defensive alliance had been concluded between France and England. Charles considered this treaty, not only as the best artifice for blinding the Protestants, the conspiracy against whom was now almost ripe for execution, but also as a good precaution against the dangerous consequences to which that atrocious measure might expose him. Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding her penetration and experience, was the dupe of the French king's hypocrisy, regarded it as an invincible barrier against the enemies of her throne, and as one of the chief pillars of the security of the Protestant cause. Even the leaders of the Huguenots, though so often deceived, gave credit to the treacherous promises and professions of the court; and Charles, to complete that fatal confidence into which he had lulled them by his insidious caresses, offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the young king of Navarre⁴².

The admiral de Coligny, the prince of Condé, and all the most considerable men of the Protestant party, went cheerfully to Paris, to assist at the celebration of that marriage; which, it was hoped, would finally appease the religious animosities. Coligny was wounded by a shot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court still found means to quiet the suspicions of the Huguenots, till

Aug. 24. the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a massacre commenced to which there is nothing parallel in the

41 Melvil.—Camden.—Strype.

42 Davila.—Digges.—Mezeray.

history of mankind, either for the dissimulation that led to it, or the deliberate cruelty and barbarity with which it was perpetrated. The Protestants, as a body, were devoted to destruction; the young king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only being exempted from the general doom, on condition that they should change their religion. Charles, accompanied by his mother, beheld from a window of his palace this horrid massacre, which was chiefly conducted by the duke of Guise. The royal guards were ordered to be under arms at the close of day: the ringing of a bell was the signal; and the Catholic citizens, who had been secretly prepared by their leaders for such a scene, zealously seconded the rage of the soldiery, imbuing their hands, without remorse, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations; the king himself inciting their fury, by firing upon the fugitives, and frequently crying "Kill, kill!" Persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undistinguished ruin. About five hundred gentlemen, among whom were Coligny, and many other heads of the Protestant party, were murdered in Paris alone; and nearly ten thousand persons of inferior condition. The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces of the kingdom; and a like carnage ensued at Rouen, Lyons, Orléans, and several other cities⁴³. Sixty thousand Protestants are supposed to have been massacred in different parts of France.

As an apology for this atrocious perfidy, and inhuman butchery, Charles pretended that a conspiracy of the Huguenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been constrained, for his own safety, to proceed to extremities against them. The parliament accordingly ordered an annual procession, on St. Bartholomew's day, in commemoration of the deliverance of the kingdom; and a medal was struck in honour of the same

43 Davila, lib. v.—Daniel, tome iv.—Mezeray, tome v.

event, with this inscription (which seems to bear a farther meaning) on one side, accompanied with the royal arms; *PIETAS excitavit JUSTITIAM*; "PIETY roused JUSTICE." On the other side, Charles is seated on a throne, with the sword of justice in his right hand, and the balance in his left, with a groupe of heads under his feet, surrounded by these words: *Virtus in Rebelles*; "Courage in punishing Rebels⁴⁴."

At Rome, and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings; and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success, under the name of the *Triumph of the Church Militant*! Among the Protestants it excited extreme horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face: silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal palace: the ladies and courtiers, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side: and as I passed by them, in my approach to the queen, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutations⁴⁵."

The English nobility and gentry were roused to such a pitch of resentment, by the cruelty and perfidy of the French court, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse; to transport them into France, and to maintain them for six months at their own expense. But Elizabeth, cautious in all her measures, moderated the zeal of her subjects. She was aware of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, as the head and protectress of the Protestant body, and afraid to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions, by a hazardous crusade; she therefore judged it prudent,

44 Dupleix.—Le Gendre.—Mezeray.

45 Carte, from *Fenelon's Dispatches*.

not only to refuse her consent to the projected invasion, but to listen to the professions of friendship still made to her by the French monarch. In the mean time she prepared herself against that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined force and violence of Charles and Philip; two princes as nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as in bigotry, and whose machinations she had reason to dread as soon as they had quelled their domestic disturbances. She fortified Portsmouth; put her fleet in order; exercised her militia; and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at the treacherous and sanguinary proceedings of the Catholic powers⁴⁶.

But Elizabeth's greatest security, against the attempts of those princes, was the obstinate resistance made by the Protestants in France and the Low-Countries. The massacre, instead of annihilating the Huguenots, only rendered them more formidable. Animated by the most ardent spirit of civil and religious liberty, inflamed by vengeance and despair, they assembled in large bodies, or crowded into the cities and fortresses in the possession of their party; and, finding that they could repose no faith in capitulations, nor expect any clemency from the court, they determined to defend themselves with the greatest obstinacy. After one of the most gallant defences recorded in history, the town of Sancerre was obliged to surrender; but the inhabitants obtained liberty of conscience. Rochelle, before
A. D. 1573.
which in a manner was assembled the whole force of France, sustained a siege of eight months. During that siege the citizens repelled nine general and twenty particular assaults, and obliged the duke of Anjou, who conducted the attack, and lost twenty-four thousand men in the course of his operations, to grant them an advantageous peace⁴⁷. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a treaty

⁴⁶ Camden.—Digges.

⁴⁷ Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

which the court did not intend to observe, and to which the Protestants never trusted.

The miseries of France increased every day; Charles grew jealous of his brothers; and many of the most considerable men among the Catholics, displeased with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the Huguenots. All things tended to confusion. In the midst of these disorders the king died of a distemper May 30, 1574. so extraordinary, that it was considered by the Protestants as a visible stroke of divine vengeance. The blood exuded from every pore of his body. Though the author of so many atrocious crimes, he was not twenty-four years of age; and that unusual mixture of ferocity and dissimulation which distinguished his character, threatened still greater mischiefs both to his native country and to Europe⁴⁸. As he left no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Anjou, lately elected king of Poland.

48 The character of Charles IX., as might be expected, has been very differently drawn by the contemporary historians of the two religions. And an attempt has lately been made by an ingenious writer, who affects liberality of sentiment, to vindicate that prince from what he considers as the calumnies of the Protestants. In prosecution of this design, the gentleman who has undertaken to *whitewash* the author of the massacre of Paris, endeavours to show, by a display of the elegant qualities of Charles, his taste for the polite arts, and his talent of making verses, that his mind was naturally sound and generous, but corrupted by a pernicious system of policy, and enslaved by the machinations of his mother, Catherine of Medicis. As much might be said in favour of Nero, and with greater justice.

But this writer, in attempting to confound our ideas of virtue and vice, has happily furnished us with an antidote to his own poison. He owns, that, some weeks after the massacre had ceased, Charles was not only present at the execution of two Huguenot gentlemen who had escaped the general slaughter, "but so desirous of enjoying the sight of their last agonies, that, as it was night before they were conducted to the gibbet, he commanded torches to be held up to the faces of the criminals." (*Hist. of the Kings of France of the Race of Valois*, vol. ii.) And the authors who attest this fact have left as many others of a similar kind; so many indeed, as are sufficient to induce us to suppose that the bigotry and cruelty of Charles were equal to the execution of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, without the instigation of his mother. One anecdote deserves particular notice. When the prince of Condé hesitated in renouncing his religion, the king exclaimed in a furious tone, accompanied with a menacing look, "DEATH, MASS, or the BASTILE!" Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

But before we carry farther the account of the civil wars of France, or resume the history of those in the Low-Countries, I must turn your eye, my dear Philip, back to the affairs of the empire, Spain, Italy, and Turkey.

LETTER LXX.

History of Germany, from the Resignation of Charles V. in 1556, to the death of Maximilian II. in 1576, with some Account of the Affairs of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, during that Period.

CHARLES V., as we have already seen, was succeeded on the imperial throne by Ferdinand I., the beginning of whose reign was distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirmed the peace of religion by ^{A. D. 1557.} reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau¹.

Pius IV. was raised to the papacy in 1559. Less obstinate than his predecessor Paul, he confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand. He also issued a bull for re-assembling the council of Trent, the most memorable occurrence under the reign of this emperor.

On the publication of that bull, the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg in Saxony, and came to a resolution of adhering to the confession of ^{A. D. 1561.} Augsburg, whatever should be determined in the council of Trent. Meanwhile, Ferdinand issued orders for convoking a diet at Frankfort, where he acted with such address, that his son Maximilian, who already filled the throne of Bohemia, was elected king of the Ro- ^{A. D. 1562.} mans, with the unanimous consent of the Germanic body. The emperor also endeavoured, on this occasion, but in vain, to persuade the Protestants to submit to the general council. They continued unshaken in their

¹ Heiss, liv. iii.

resolution of rejecting its decrees. The pope, they maintained, had no right to convoke such an assembly; that prerogative belonging to the emperor alone, to whom, as their sovereign, they were at all times willing to explain themselves on any subject, either civil or religious.

Finding the Protestants obstinate in denying the authority of the council of Trent, Ferdinand resolved to pursue another method of uniting them to the church. For that purpose, he presented a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to attempt a reformation of manners among the Romish clergy, in order to remove those abuses of which the Protestants so justly complained. But the pope, affirming that such reformation was his peculiar province, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the subject. The emperor was also disappointed in a demand which he made, that the council should permit the communion both with and without the cup, among the laity, and the marriage of priests in the imperial dominions. His holiness would consent to neither of these requests².

This famous council, which had been so often suspended and renewed, and which proved the last assembly of the kind, was finally dissolved in December 1563. Its decrees, like those of all other general councils, were calculated to exalt the church above the civil power; but, being little suited to the spirit of the times, they were rejected by some Catholic princes, coldly received by others, and deservedly turned into ridicule by the reformers³. The declared object of the council of Trent, in this meeting, was the *reformation* of the church, by which means only a reconciliation with the Protestants could have been effected. Instead, however, of confining themselves to theological errors, or attempting to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, the reverend fathers extended their deliberations to the *reformation* of princes, and composed

² Thuan. lib. xxviii.—Barre, tome ix.

³ Thuan.—Paolo Sarpi.

thirteen articles for exalting the priesthood at the expense of the royal prerogative⁴.

The emperor died soon after the dissolution of the council of Trent, and was succeeded by Maximilian II., who, in the beginning of his reign, was obliged to engage in a war against the Turks. Solyman II., whose valour and ambition had been so long terrible to Christendom, though now unfit for the field, continued to make war by his generals. He had even projected, it is said, the conquest of the German empire. The affairs of Transylvania furnished him with a pretext for taking arms. John Sigismund, prince of that country, having assumed the title of king of Hungary, and put himself under the protection of the grand signior, Maximilian sent an army against him, under the command of Lazarus Schuendi. The imperial general took Tokay, and would soon have reduced all Transylvania, had not Solyman dispatched an ambassador to the imperial court, to negotiate in behalf of his vassal. By this envoy matters were seemingly accommodated⁵.

The soltan, however, had not laid aside his ambitious projects, nor the emperor his suspicions. While Maximilian convoked a diet at Augsburg, for regulating the domestic affairs of the empire, and securing it against the Turks, Solyman sent a fleet and army to reduce the island of Malta; whence he hoped to drive the knights of St. John, whom he formerly expelled from Rhodes, and who still continued, according to the maxims of their order, to annoy the Infidels. But the rock of Malta proved fatal to Solyman's glory. His general, Mustapha, after a siege of almost five months, and the loss of twenty-four thousand men, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. La Valette, grand-master of Malta, and the whole body of knights, signalised themselves wonderfully on that occasion; but, as the Turks were continually reinforced, he must at last

⁴ Thuan.—Paolo Sarpi.

⁵ Thuan. lib. xxxvii.

have been obliged to surrender the island, if Don Garcia, governor of Sicily, had not come to its relief with twelve thousand men⁶.

A. D. 1566. Solyman, in revenge of this disappointment and disgrace, the greatest he had ever suffered, sent a fleet to reduce the island of Scio, and ravage the coast of Italy; and, having invaded Hungary with a powerful army, he invested Sigeth, then the bulwark of Stiria, against the Turks. It had a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, under the brave count Zerini, who defended it long, with incredible valour, against the whole force of the soltan. Maximilian remained in the neighbourhood, with an army not inferior to that of the besiegers, without daring to attempt its relief. At length, all the works being destroyed, and the magazine set on fire by the enemy, Zerini sallied out, at the head of three hundred chosen men, and died gallantly with his sword in his hand⁷.

During the siege of Sigeth, before which the Turks lost above thirty thousand men, Solyman expired in the seventy-sixth year of his age. But the emperor, being unacquainted with this circumstance, which was kept secret till after the reduction of the place, had retired toward the frontiers of Austria, as soon as informed of the fate of Zerini. Solyman was succeeded by his son, Selim II., who began his reign with concluding a truce of twelve years with Maximilian⁸.

In consequence of this truce, and the pacific disposition of the emperor, Germany long enjoyed repose, while all the neighbouring nations were disquieted by wars either foreign or domestic. Selim in the mean time was not idle. After attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, he turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which at that time belonged to the republic of Venice.

⁶ Vertot, *Hist. des Chev. de Malthe*. tome iv.—Thuan. lib. xxxviii.

⁷ Heiss, liv. iii.—Barre, tome ix.—Ricaud, vol. ii.

⁸ Id. *ibid.*

Pope Pius V. and the king of Spain, on the first rumour of this invasion, had entered into a league with the Venetians for the defence of Cyprus. But Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm, before the arrival of the allied fleet; and, the commanders being afterward divided in their councils, no attempt was made for the relief of the Cypriots. Meanwhile, the Turks, daily reinforced with fresh troops, had reduced all the towns in the island, except Famagosta. That city, after a most gallant and obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate; and Mustapha, the Turkish general, neither respecting courage in an enemy nor the faith of treaties, ordered Bragadino, the governor, to be flayed alive, and the companions of his heroism either to be butchered or chained to the oar⁹. This conquest is said to have cost the Turks a hundred thousand lives.

The fate of Cyprus alarmed the Christian powers, at the same time that it inflamed their indignation. Charles IX. however, excused himself, on account of the distracted state of his kingdom, from entering into the league against the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce; and the German princes were, in general, too much interested in the issue of the religious wars, in France and the Low-Countries, to enlist themselves under the banner of the cross. But Philip II., whose Italian dominions were in danger, entered warmly into the cause, and engaged to bear half the expense of the armament. The Venetians fortified their city, and augmented their fleet. Pius, who was the soul of the enterprise, sent twelve galleys under the command of Mark Anthony Colonna. Venieri commanded the Venetian galleys; Doria those of Philip. The chief command was committed to Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V. who had lately distinguished himself in Spain, by subduing the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, whom the severity of the inquisition had roused to arms.

⁹ Thuan. lib. xlix.—Cantemir, vol. ii

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Turks not only ravaged with impunity the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, but also those of Italy. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred and thirty galleys, was met by the confederates ^{Oct. 7.} in the Gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, where was fought the greatest naval engagement that modern times had seen. The force was nearly equal on both sides, and the dispute was long, fierce, and bloody. All the passions which can animate human nature were roused; and almost all the instruments of war and destruction, of ancient or modern invention, were employed; arrows, javelins, fire-balls, grappling-irons, cannon, musquets, spears, and swords. The men fought hand to hand in most of the galleys, and grappled together, as on a field of battle. Ali, the Turkish admiral, surrounded by four hundred Janisaries, and Don John, with an equal number of chosen men, maintained a close contest for three hours. At last Ali was slain, and his galley taken: the banner of the cross was displayed from the main-mast, and the Ottoman admiral's head fixed on the stern, in place of the Turkish standard. All now was carnage and confusion. The cry of "Victory! Victory!" resounded through the Christian fleet, and the Turks every where gave way. They lost twenty-five thousand men in the conflict; eight thousand were taken prisoners; and fifteen thousand Christian slaves were set at liberty. Thirty Turkish galleys were sunk, twenty-five burned, one hundred and thirty taken; and if Uluzzali, who was second in command, had not retired with twenty-eight galleys, the Ottoman fleet would have been utterly destroyed. The confederates lost, on the whole, fifteen galleys, and about ten thousand men¹⁰.

This victory, which filled Constantinople with the deepest melancholy was celebrated at Venice with the most splendid festivals. And the pope was so transported when he

¹⁰ Feuillet, *Vie du Pape Pie V.*—Thuan.—Cantemir.

heard of it, that he exclaimed, in a kind of holy ecstasy, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was "John!" alluding to Don John of Austria. Philip's joy was more moderate. "Don John," said he, "has been "fortunate, but he ran a great risque:"—and that risque, as appeared in the issue, was run merely for glory.

The battle of Lepanto, though purchased with so much blood, and so ruinous to the vanquished, was of no real benefit to the victors. After disputing long what they should do, the Christian commanders resolved to do nothing till the spring. That season, which ought to have been employed in taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, was wasted in fruitless negotiations and vain-glorious triumphs. The Turks had leisure, during the winter, to equip a new fleet, which spread terror over the coasts of Christendom, before the confederates ^{A. D. 1572.} were ready to assemble; and by the bravery and conduct of Uluzzali, now appointed commander-in-chief, the reputation of the Ottoman arms was restored. The confederates were able to effect no enterprise of importance. Their councils were again divided: they separated. The Spaniards appeared cool in the cause; and the Venetians, afraid of being left a prey to the Turkish power, ^{A. D. 1573.} secretly concluded a peace with the soltan. They not only agreed that Selim should retain Cyprus, but ceded to him several other places, and stipulated to pay him thirty thousand crowns in gold toward defraying the expences of the war¹¹.

The pope was greatly incensed at this treaty, which was certainly dishonourable to Christendom. But Philip, whose attention was now chiefly engaged by the civil wars in the Low Countries, readily sustained the apology of the Venetians. It was but reasonable, he said, that the republic should be permitted to know her own interest: for his part, it was sufficient that he had given proofs of his

¹¹ Paruta.—Ferreras.

friendship to Venice, and of his zeal for the support of the Christian religion¹².

Don John, however, was far from being pleased with the conduct of the Venetians. After separating from the confederates, he had made himself master of Tunis, where he proposed to erect an independent sovereignty; and he hoped in the next season, by means of the league, utterly to ruin the soltan's naval power, which he foresaw would be employed to recover that city and its territory. This conjecture was soon verified. Three hundred galleys, with
 A. D. 1574. forty thousand soldiers on board, were sent in the spring to invest Tunis; and the place, though gallantly defended, was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword, before a sufficient force could be assembled for its relief¹³.

During all these bloody transactions, the mere recital of which makes the human heart shrink from the horrors of war, Germany continued to enjoy tranquillity under the sway of Maximilian. This prince was of a mild and humane disposition, affable in his deportment, simple in his manners, and regular in his life. Though attached to peace, he was not destitute of courage or military skill; and, though fond of power, he seemed to wish for it only with a view of promoting the happiness of his people. For some years before his death, he exerted his interest to procure the crown of Poland for one of his sons, not only on the vacancy occasioned by the death of Sigismund II. but also when the retreat of Henry of Anjou had again involved the country in the confusions of a disputed election. He had not, however, sufficient influence to obtain a complete acquiescence in his wishes; and the low state of his finances still farther obstructed his views. He had expressed an intention of supporting his election (for he was actually chosen by a party in the diet) by force of arms; but he would in all probability have soon relinquished his pre-

¹² Miniana, lib. vii.

¹³ Cantemir.—Ricaut.—Ferrerias.

tensions in favour of Stephen, the new king, even if he had not died in the midst of his preparations. He was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son Rodolph II., a prince who inherited the pacific disposition of his father. Oct. 12,
1576.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to new scenes of slaughter; to behold Christians and fellow-citizens exercising on each other as great barbarities as ever were inflicted upon the followers of Christ by those of the Arabian pseudo-prophet.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

