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A SUMMARY
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;

IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING

THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

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VOL. IX.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON,
PATERNOSTER-ROW,

By G. Woodfall, Paternoster-Row.

1800.

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A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

RUSSIA.

RUSSIA contains a greater extent of territory by one half than the Roman empire, which in itself was ten times more extensive than the largest kingdom in Europe. Its population however is not equal to its dimensions: for vast deserts and lakes and forests cover a great portion of that empire. It is inhabited by a multitude of different nations, among whom there are even some of savages. We may reckon in it above one third of the whole number of languages spoken on the entire surface of the globe: there are many of them which are utterly unknown even to the learned. The towns are thinly scattered over the country: the generality of them, being built of wood, ill constructed, and ill ventilated, would among us be considered only as pitiful villages.

Russia, between the Frozen Ocean, Great Tartary, the Eastern Ocean, Persia, Georgia, the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, Poland, and Sweden.

Russia is divided into European and Asiatic. It is impossible that the climate or productions or manners should be uniform in these immense provinces. We shall content ourselves with pointing out, under those different heads, such singularities, whether physical or moral, as are most worthy of notice.

At the bottom of the gulf of Finland, on a spot where nought was seen in the year 1703 but a few fishers' huts, rises the city of Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great. It is embellished with magnificent palaces, beautiful churches, vast public edifices. There are seen shops stored with the merchandises of Europe and of Asia, a school for cadets, a celebrated academy, courts of justice, and every object which can give consequence to a city. The residence of the sovereign causes it to be considered as the capital of the empire, to the prejudice of Moscow, which formerly enjoyed that pre-eminence. The latter however still continues to be a very great city, though the absence of the czar has diminished its population. At a short distance from Petersburg, lies the port of Cronstadt, where the Russian fleets are equipped. Some of these have in our days been seen to traverse the ocean, cross the Mediterranean, and spread terror on the banks of the Dardanelles.

Of the inhabitants of this vast empire we will select some who appear entitled to particular attention.

The Laplanders were known to the ancients by the names of Pygmies and Troglodytes. These appellations designate—the former, their short stature, which rarely reaches to the height of four feet, and never exceeds it—the latter, their custom of living in subterraneous caves which they dig for their habitation. Their hands and feet are remarkably small, and seem peculiarly formed for clambering up the rocks with which Lapland is covered. So strong is the attachment of these people to their native country that it is almost impossible for them to live elsewhere. Their ideas are few, their language consequently not copious. They are unacquainted with the distinctions of private property, even, it is said, with respect to their wives, whom they freely offer to strangers, in the hope, as some travelers assert, of embellishing their race;—as if, truly, an entire nation could think themselves ugly! Their religion is entirely confined to ceremonial worship, without any established system of belief. They are long-lived, little subject to diseases, and drink nothing but water in that frozen clime.

Along the shores of the frozen Ocean, extending to parts which have hitherto eluded the examination of the curious traveler, live the Samoieds, who are extremely poor, very simple, short of stature like the Laplanders, but differing from them in the following particulars, that their cheeks are jutting and bloated, their eyes long and almost

shut, their complexion tawny, and that, by a remarkable peculiarity, the bosoms of the women are black. Those of them to whom the Russians have imparted some knowledge of Jesus Christ give him a place among their other gods: and that is the utmost extent of their Christianity. Their wealth consists in their huts, their rein-deer, and their drefs, made in summer of fish-skins, and in winter of furs which are the most beautiful in the world. The animals which supply these, serve also for their food, with the addition of some vegetables; for bread is here unknown. Polygamy is customary among the Samoieds. When their parents are grown old, they drown them, to relieve them from the miseries of life. Magic and forcery—that is to say, the ignorance and unblushing impudence of some impostors—are in repute among them. The sun enlightens them during entire months without interruption, and disappears for an equal length of time. During these tedious nights, the reverberation of the snow, and the beams of the moon which never quits the horizon, afford sufficient light for their journeys, which they perform in sledges. The Russians have been impelled by the lust of empire to subjugate these wretches, and to dominate in their deserts.

They found warriors more worthy of their valour in the Cofaks, a tall, well-made, vigorous, courageous race of men, steeled to fatigue, fickle, lively, and full of vivacity. They are a powerful

nation : their strength consists in cavalry : they are divided into small tribes, each under a chief who bears the title of *hetman*. Their language appears to be a primitive stock on which they have engrafted Russian, Swedish, and Polish words, according to their proximity to those nations.

The Cossaks are distinguished by the countries which they inhabit. Thus we say the Don Cossaks, the Yaik Cossaks, and those of the Dnieper, because they dwell along the banks of those rivers. Mention is also made of the Zaporog Cossaks, whose origin is unknown. These, incorporated into a great nation, occupied the islands formed by the Dnieper. As they had declared themselves in favour of Charles XII, Peter the Great sent against them a powerful detachment, with orders to put them all to the sword.—The Zaporog Amazons (if that term can be applied to men) are said to have suffered no women in the places of their usual abode, but went to meet them in the islands which were appropriated to the residence of the females. It was not uncommon for the brother to fall into company with his sister, the father with his daughter, the son with his mother : yet they called themselves Christians : but in reality they were acquainted with no law except their customs, and their customs had no other rule than the necessities of nature. Exclusive of the massacre committed by the czar's troops, he caused a great number of those barbarians to be transported to

those parts of the Baltic shores which were most destitute of population : nevertheless his efforts to extirpate that warlike nation were not entirely successful. A remnant of their race have to this day remained in their islands, where they still retain some vestiges of the singularity of their ancient manners.

Circassia.

In Asiatic Russia, or Russian Tartary, we find Circassia, of which a part belongs to the czar. The women here are renowned for their beauty. The Circassian females are called the “ French “ Tartar-women,” because they have a great fondness of fashions. The men also dress in a tasteful style ; and they are a polished race, compared with their neighbours. They practise circumcision : that is the only part of Mahometism that they observe ; and with it they mingle something of paganism and Christianity.

Tartars.

The Tartars cover a vast extent of country in the Russian empire. In general they are ugly, but strong-built, squat, and very robust. Their horses bear some analogy to their masters in strength and vigor. It would be a difficult study to commit to memory the bare nomenclature of these various peoples ; so numerous are the tribes into which they are divided. Scattered over the plains which they inhabit in preference, they consider towns as places of confinement : accordingly there is no country in the world where fewer towns are to be seen than in Russian Tartary. Yet it

has not always been thus bare: it yet contains heaps of ruins, which must be the remains of cities, and even cities of considerable magnitude. Some sepulchres which stand near to them have furnished the curious with Grecian, Syrian, Arabian, and Roman coins.

Similar vestiges of habitations are found in Si-^{Siberia:}beria, that immense country, or rather frightful desert, which now serves as a place of exile for the Russians. It is from these forests that are supposed to have issued the Huns who overturned the Roman empire, and who had originally come from the north of China. The Tartars called Usbeks succeeded them, and were themselves dispossessed by the Russians. Thus men have for ages continued to murder each other in fighting for the possession of one of the worst countries upon earth. The cold is here of long duration, and so intense that men have often been frozen to death as they rode on horseback. The inhabitants protect themselves from its severity by the warmth of furs, which are here very common, because the chase is their most usual exercise. The country abounds in minerals of every kind: it also furnishes fossil bones, which are the reliques either of very large elephants—whose existence must appear very extraordinary in so cold a climate—or of a species of animal which is totally extinct. Naturalists are not agreed on this subject.

The present Siberians are rather scattered hordes

than regular tribes. Each has its own peculiar customs, its government, its religion, if that appellation can be given to a few external practices and forms learned by rote in infancy and repeated without reflexion—such, in short, as could be taught to them by the most ignorant of the Russians who border upon their country. The latter do not inhabit Siberia except for the sake of commerce; or, rather, they only range through it, enrich themselves on their passage, and go to enjoy their wealth elsewhere. A Russian sets out from Moscow, travels from fair to fair, disposes at them of a part of his European merchandize, and reserves the remainder for the Chinese whom he meets at a stated time on the confines of the two empires. The accustomed exchanges are made: the Russian repasses through the fairs of Siberia, provides himself with a fresh stock of goods, completes his assortment, and returns to Moscow in the fifth year, laden with well-earned riches.

Siberia was not brought under the Russian yoke by gentle means. In one very small town named Tara, the great czar Peter caused in a single day seven hundred inhabitants who were accused of rebellion to be impaled alive, as a terrific example to others. In the vicinity of that unfortunate town is found a species of henbane, which, infused in drink, produces a very extraordinary effect on those who use it. Every thing is magnified to their eyes: a straw appears equal in size to a beam:

a few drops of water seem to form a lake, and the smallest hole a precipice. Since the ill-fated inhabitants of Tara possessed so excellent a preservative, why did they not send a few casks of wine or brandy duly impregnated with it to the Russians when threatened by them with invasion?

In the most remote part of the oriental hemisphere lies Kamtschatka, a peninsula tolerably well inhabited. Thence set out the Russian vessels which proceed toward America in a train of discoveries, with which they have not yet made us acquainted, but which will perhaps at some future day explain to us how that division of the globe has been peopled. Kamtschatka.

At one extremity of the Russian empire it is noon-day when it is near midnight at the other. In so vast an extent of earth, the soil and climate and productions are widely different, and the customs of the inhabitants vary beyond expression. We will therefore content ourselves with presenting those of the bulk of the nation, taken in the towns or the places where the population is the most numerous. The manners of the Russians are as follow—

The Russians are divided into three classes—the nobles or titled gentry, named *knezes*—the simple gentry, called *duornins*, who are all bound to military service—and the peasants. We do not take notice of the traders and artisans in the towns, be-

cause they do not constitute a separate class, but are confounded with the others.

The peasantry are considered as a kind of cattle attached to the soil, which they cultivate for the benefit of the other orders. They are sold, they are bartered away, as merchandise or other movables. They have no property of their own except a few paltry household utensils in their wretched huts. Absolute slaves, their number constitutes the wealth of the masters who own the soil to which they are annexed. A Russian peasant deems himself happy when he is allowed to become a soldier—a privilege which is not always granted to him. Their laborious life, by which they are hardened to toil, their passive obedience, the privations to which they are habituated, and their indifference for an existence so barren of enjoyment, all together render those peasants excellent troops.

The government is despotic : yet there is a senate; though it cannot be considered in any other light than as the prince's council, chosen by himself, and implicitly obedient to his will. Peter the Great introduced into his dominions all the means of administration employed in the most polished states.

The Russians profess the Greek religion. They entertain for images a respect which borders upon adoration. Their fasts are frequent and rigorous,

scrupulously observed by the lower class, and practised, at least in appearance, by the great, who in general pay considerable deference to public opinion. There are dissenting sects here as elsewhere: notice has been taken of one in particular, which revived the errors and debauchery of the ancient Gnostics. Peter the Great attempted to eradicate it by violent means: but, rather than abjure and renounce their practices, its professors shut themselves up in their houses, and there burned themselves together with their families. Greater success was obtained by treating them with contempt.—The clergy were formerly very powerful in Russia. The patriarch claimed equal rank with the emperor, if indeed he did not consider himself as his superior. The pretensions of the other prelates were in proportion. Peter destroyed the power of the clergy by depriving them of their wealth. The convents, both for males and females, are very numerous; and their inmates are extremely ignorant. In general the ministers of religion value themselves more on their punctuality in external observances than on their learning.

Baptism is administered in the churches, except to adults who are converted. For these some private place is chosen in the inlet of a river, where they are totally immersed, whatever may be the state of the weather, even if it were the most intense cold. The marriage-ceremonies are very solemn, in proportion to the means of the parties.

Those of the more wealthy class are attended with the greatest celebrity. The bride and bridegroom do not see each other until the wedding-day. Their heads are dressed and their other ornaments adjusted before the same looking-glass. They may lay their cheeks together, but with a piece of cloth between them. Cavalcades ensue, and singing, feasting, and dancing; but the women are separate from the men. Every thing which contributes to the last act is an emblem of fecundity: the bed is placed on sheaves of corn: the lights are stuck in casks of oats and barley. A trusty domestic watches the moment when the bridegroom announces to him that the bride is become his wife: whereupon the drums and trumpets immediately resound. The whole is preceded by the consent of the parties given in church in presence of the priest.—The funerals are very sumptuous. Before the body is deposited in the earth, the coffin is opened; when the relatives of the deceased place their cheek against his, and bid him a last adieu. This custom is at least attended with one advantage—that it may sometimes prevent over-hasty interments, and afford a certainty that the person is dead.—The rivers are annually blessed: and although this ceremony be performed in the severest season, men and women, naked and dressed, plunge into them in crowds. This devotion, however, has greatly decayed, as well as the other customs which we have noticed, from the period when

Peter the Great began to favour the European customs, which are now gaining the ascendancy.

The Russians are not destitute of capacity for the arts and sciences, which, when they apply their attention to them, they cultivate with success. They are represented as suspicious and quarrelsome; but they are very submissive to the commands of their superiors. The nobles are fond of ostentatious luxury: the lower orders are passionately addicted to the use of strong liquors. The Russian dress is ample and rich. Formerly the women enlivened their complexions by the addition of *rouge*: and it has been said that they wished to receive stripes from their husbands, as a token of their affection. The men cultivated their beards, and made a parade of prominent corpulency. Peter the Great reduced the size of their bellies, and caused their chins to be shaven, but not without experiencing in the latter instance some opposition which was carried even to the lengths of revolt. Whether shall we consider the prince or the subjects as deserving of blame on the occasion?—The houses, even in the principal towns, are almost universally built of wood: and, drunkenness being common, the frequency of conflagrations is a natural consequence. But the loss is soon repaired with respect to the lower class of people: for the furniture is extremely trifling; and, if a man has only saved a small sum of money, he finds houses

of one or more stories exposed to sale in the market, and ready to erect where he chooses.

There is hardly any species of industry which is not practised by the Russians. Their manufactories, however, are not yet sufficiently active or numerous to enable them to dispense with foreign aid. In addition to their domestic commerce, their most considerable foreign trade is with China. They do not wish that any other people than themselves should participate in it: and, although they have sometimes tolerated the English in that respect, it was not without adopting various precautions to guard against the insidious schemes of that domineering nation. The Russians are represented as possessing so great skill and abilities in commerce, that even the Jews can scarcely find any thing to glean after them. Accordingly very few of the sons of Israel are to be found in the Russian empire.

No monarch in the universe is more absolute than the czar; though, as a salutary caution to despots, it may be remarked that he is not on that account the more securely seated on his throne. In the ceremony of his coronation there is a formula which supposes the consent of the people. This would be a title of prescription, if any prescription were available against force. The finances, the army, the marine, are subject to very wise regulations. Justice is extremely rigorous; and the

punishments are terrible. Debtors are liable to imprisonment, to corporal inflictions, and finally to slavery. The czar recompenses men by grants of money, or of lands whose value is estimated by the number of peasants on them, or by conferring titles of honour. There are two orders of knighthood, one for each sex. Nothing can be more sumptuous than the sovereign's court : every day, as we are told, a hundred and fifty tables are spread, on which are served up eighteen hundred dishes.

The Russians may be considered in the same light as those ancient families who know not from what source they derive their origin, and are hardly acquainted with the names of those who first began to raise them to celebrity. In effect, it would be difficult for them to single out their true progenitors among the Scythians, the Huns, the Cimbri, the Getæ, the Sarmatæ, and other ancient inhabitants of those countries which are now united under the dominion of the czar. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, we can discover nought in those extensive tracts but hordes of savages advancing, retreating, combating, expelling, expelled, returning, till at length a more enterprising and successful chief appears on the scene, who unites the scattered tribes, and combines them into a corporate nation. At his death, he divides them among his children. These again renew the former confusion : after a while another chief arises,

who resumes the empire, and either loses it again, or dismembers it among his family. Thus Russia, incessantly exposed to the fatal vicissitudes of sovereigns and intestine wars, and oppressed by the bloody contests of those discordant princes, often became an easy prey to the Poles and Tartars.

Amid this chaotic state of things, appeared in the fifteenth century John Basilowitz, who is considered as the founder of the Russian empire, although he inherited the sceptre from his ancestors, but with some interruptions in the succession. His father, whose name was Basil, had sat upon the throne. A usurper, named Demetrius, not content with depriving him of his crown, caused his eyes to be put out : which act of barbarity so exasperated the Russians, that, although they had at first given him a cordial reception, they now expelled him, and re-instated Basil. His son John found the throne degraded so low, that the grand-duke of Moscow—the only title which the sovereignty then conferred—was accustomed humbly to entreat an audience of the ministers whom the emperor of Tartary kept in the capital of Russia. Sophia, the wife of John, impelled her husband to shake off that ignominious yoke : nor only did he emancipate himself ; but, even becoming monarch over those same Tartars who had before held him in subjection, he placed their crown on his head at Casan.

John Basilowitz,
1462.

All those conquests, however, were not the

fruits of his valour. Without accusing him of deficiency in that qualification, historians attribute to him a greater share of policy than of military talents ; and some writers assert that he never but once placed himself at the head of his armies : yet they acknowledge that the successes of his generals were for the most part attributable to his instructions. Others affirm that he was accustomed to carry on his wars in person, and that himself established the regularity of discipline among those rude warriors who had never before known any system of either attack or defence. John had a commanding aspect, a gigantic stature, an astonishing strength, and a fierce and terrific look. He severely punished drunkenness in others, though he indulged in it himself : he rarely passed a day without intoxicating himself at table : the excess of liquor laid him asleep ; but at least he awoke again in good humour. Notwithstanding some defects, he has been honoured with the appellation of Great.

The crown ought of right to have belonged to Demetrius, his eldest son by a different wife from Sophia : but the latter obtained it for her own son Basil. Demetrius, set aside by the intrigues of his ^{Basil,} step-dame and probably confined in prison, died of ^{A.D. 1505.} hunger or poison. John was at the time of his death engaged in a war against the Poles, which his son continued. These enemies stirred up the Tartars to join them ; and both together invaded

Russia. Those of the Crimea penetrated as far as Moscow, which Basil surrendered to them. They abandoned their conquest on condition of receiving a tribute, from which he afterward emancipated himself by arms, and vanquished the Tartars in turn.

When he determined to marry, there were assembled for him, according to the accounts of the annalists, at least sixteen thousand young women, that from their number he might make his choice. Doubtless the happy fair who obtained the preference must have been a phoenix in beauty and every other qualification. Her name was Salomea: and he lived with her twenty years without having by her any children. Disgusted by her sterility, or impelled by other motives, he divorced her, and caused her to be confined in a convent. Soon after her entrance there, a report was spread of her being pregnant. The czar sent women to ascertain the truth of the affair: they certified it: the emperor thought it very extraordinary: but Salomea protested that she had never known any other man than him. Basil gave himself no further concern respecting this business, but suffered her to bring forth the fruit of her womb, without troubling himself on the subject. She was delivered of a son, whom she concealed. As to the czar, he married another wife named Helen, whose son John was placed on the throne at the age of five years.

The mother had acquired a not very honourable celebrity during the life of her husband. The good prince, whether he were ignorant or regardless of her conduct, did not show the less affection for her. The guardians of the young monarch were not equally indulgent: as she continued to pursue her licentious courses, they immured her in a convent, fastened her paramour to a spit, and roasted him alive. We can hardly imagine that they would have proceeded to that excess of cruelty, if Helen perhaps, as well as her galant, had not, to their misconduct, added also ambition and a design of seizing the government.

John Basilowitz II felt an earnest desire of civilising his people. He twice sent to Germany for learned men, artists, architects, mechanicians. The first colony of these was stopped by the inhabitants of Lubec, who were excited to that act of violence by the hanse towns. They candidly avowed that their motive was to prevent the Russians from applying themselves to the arts, and establishing manufactures which might injure their commerce. The czar was not discouraged, but sent a second time into Germany, and requested that the artists might be accompanied by officers and men sufficient to form for him two regiments, the one of cavalry and the other of infantry, under a promise that they should be employed only against the Turks, and never against the Christians. But the emperor of Germany did not suffer himself to

John Basilowitz II,
A.D. 1533.

be deceived by this engagement on the part of the Russian : he dreaded the ascendancy which those barbarians might acquire if instructed and disciplined, and therefore sent them neither artists nor officers.

John, however, could dispense with European tactics in his wars against the Tartars who were not more skilful than himself: he gained over them two great victories, and captured two of their kings. He also obtained some successes against the Swedes and Danes, for which he is thought to have been in great measure indebted to German discipline. Either, therefore, all the princes of Germany had not been equally politic as the emperor, but had suffered the emigration of some of their military men who afterward trained the Russians, or John had procured those instructors in spite of and unknown to their sovereigns. By their assistance he was enabled to beat even the Germans themselves. One day, as he was dragging behind his triumphal car a general of that nation, two captive Tartar kings, who were witnesses of the spectacle, spit in the prisoner's face, saying, " You German dogs have well merited such treatment for having put into the hands of the Russians that scourge with which they now chastise yourselves."

The czar did not confine his attention to what might be useful on land : he sent to England also, requesting of queen Elizabeth that she would sup-

ply him with sailors, ship-wrights, and even an asylum in her dominions for himself and his family, in case any revolt of his subjects should oblige him to quit his own states : for, in truth, the innovations which he attempted to effect in the manners of his people caused much discontent. Weary at length of being thwarted in his good intentions, he proposed to abdicate the sovereignty : but he was induced to continue on the throne by the repentance of his subjects, who promised to show greater docility for the time to come.

He ought not to have been surprised that his countrymen found a difficulty in divesting themselves of their barbarous habits, since himself, notwithstanding all his efforts for self-reformation—efforts, which justly entitle him to praise—occasionally discovered traits of his naturally savage character which reflexion had not been able to subdue. The following story is related of him—Having intrusted a Russian noble with the administration of the kingdom during his own absence on a distant expedition, the depositary attempted to take advantage of the opportunity, and render himself proprietor. On his return, the emperor caused the usurper to be arrested : by his order he was arrayed in the robes of royalty, and placed on the throne ; when John, complimenting him in an ironical strain on his happiness in the possession of what he had so ardently desired, approached the unfortunate wretch, stabbed him with his poignard,

and abandoned him to the fury of his guards, by whom he was torn to pieces. As an apology for this last act of cruelty, it is said, that, according to the laws of Russia, the emperor is himself the executor of his own sentences; but what excuse can be offered for the preliminary scene?

In his own family he exhibited a proof of the habitual predominancy of his passions over his reason. He had a son of estimable character: the troops, enamoured of the prince, requested that he should be appointed their general in a war which was in contemplation. John imagined this proposition to have been suggested to them by his son: the prince appeared in his presence, to exculpate himself: the father refused to hear him, and, happening to hold in his hand a staff tipped with iron, made a motion with it, as if to drive his son away; when, the weapon striking on the prince's temple, he fell motionless at his parent's feet. From extreme anger the father instantly passed to extreme grief: he fell on the body of his son, clasped him in his arms, and pressed him to his bosom, with expressions of the most lively and tender affection. The young czar survived long enough to justify his conduct, and to leave in his father's mind a conviction of his innocence—a thorn which never ceased to wound him to the soul.

As to the rest, John Basilowitz II was a very great prince, equally distinguished as a politician

and a warrior. Constantly engaged in hostilities with the Tartars, the Poles, the Swedes, the Danes, or the Turks—often victorious, and never despairing under defeat—he generally gained some advantages by his treaties, even when they were not entirely in his favour. His mind was well informed, considering the age in which he lived; and he was tolerant in religious matters, as well from inclination as reflexion. John hated idlers, as the locusts of a state, and detested drunkards, as capable of the most detestable actions. Those who contracted debts without possessing the ability to discharge them, he considered as pernicious to society, affixed on them a brand of infamy, and sent them into banishment. When there was question of nominating to offices and employments, he endeavoured to confer them exclusively on those who were best qualified for the trust. Seldom has the world seen a prince more warmly attached to justice and good order. He was seven times married, and had besides a great number of concubines. Historians relate of him some instances of lewdness which would disgrace his memory, if the glory of a monarch did not rather depend on the good which he does to his subjects than on his private conduct.

He left two sons—Theodore, who had attained his twentieth year—and Demetrius, a child, under the tutelage of the knez Bogdan Bielski. This guardian formed the design of placing his pupil on

Theodore,
1514.

the throne, in prejudice to his elder brother Theodore, who, by his simplicity and want of talents, appeared incapable of supporting the weight of a diadem. The nobles delivered Theodore from the enterprizes of Bielski : but that weak monarch, being unqualified to govern by himself, suffered all the authority to centre in the hands of the knez Boris Gudenow, whose sister he had married. It cannot be doubted that the knez had early conceived the project of mounting to his brother-in-law's station, as soon as an opportunity should occur of reducing his scheme to practice. In the mean time, he laboured as it were to clear the road : young Demetrius standing an obstacle in his way, he sent a ruffian to murder him, and afterward with his own hand killed the assassin, to obliterate every trace of his crime.

Some historians assert that the real Demetrius was actually killed ; others, that his mother, opportunely warned of his danger, substituted another child in his place. The truth of the affair remained problematic, but not so the crime. The Russians, who could not be mistaken with respect to the intention, viewed the author of it with horror. Boris, to divert the attention of the people which was fixed on him in an alarming manner, set fire to the city of Moscow ; and, every measure having been duly preconcerted, the conflagration became general. Boris ran to every quarter with the utmost activity, and with the appearance of

compassion: on the morrow he assembled the unfortunate sufferers around him, gave money to some, to others made promises of rebuilding their houses, and dismissed them astonished at his generosity and goodness of heart.

It has been suspected, and not without reason, that Boris, tired of seeing his brother-in-law reign so much longer than he had hoped, administered to him a slow poison. The empress his sister thought him capable of that crime, and refused to see or speak to him during her husband's illness. Perhaps Theodore himself entertained a suspicion to the same effect: for, as he had no heir, it seemed reasonable that he should have bequeathed his sceptre to his brother-in-law, who had ever held the hand of him who wielded it. Far, however, from doing this—when Theodore saw his dissolution approach, he presented it to one of his cousins named Theodore Romanow, who declined it. A second and a third also acted in the same manner. The fourth took it, only to present it to a knez who was not related to the family, and who also refused to accept it. Theodore, to whom it was now returned, flung it on the floor, saying, “Let him be emperor who picks it up.” It was taken up by Boris, to the great dissatisfaction of a considerable part of the nation.

Boris Gude-
now,
A. D. 1597.

He did not consider the transaction that had taken place at the death of his brother-in-law as a sufficient title to the possession of the crown. When

the period of mourning for the deceased prince was expired, he assembled the nobles and the principal inhabitants of Moscow, and addressing them, "I restore to you," said he, "the sceptre of the late czar. After the trial which I have made, I cannot consent to bear the burden of a crown. I quit the throne : do you fill it with whom you please." After having thus spoken, he retired to a monastery at the distance of a league, leaving the assembly embarrassed as to the manner in which they were to act. After some debates, they nominated him : he persisted in his refusal, and caused a report to be circulated that he intended to assume the monastic habit. At the same time his emissaries published a rumour that the khan of the Tartars was advancing at the head of an innumerable army to invade Russia while destitute of a sovereign. At this alarming intelligence, the Russians ran in crowds to the convent, tearing their hair, beating their breasts like men frantic with despair, and swearing that they would never quit the spot till Boris should have promised to become their czar. He suffers himself to be overcome, and accepts the crown, saying, "Well then, I will be your sovereign, since providence so ordains."

At the same time he ordered the nobles and the soldiers to repair to an appointed place on the frontier. There five hundred thousand men assembled to repel the Tartars who had not an idea of com-

mitting the slightest act of hostility. On the contrary, the only Tartars that appeared was a single embassador, accompanied by a small train of attendants, who came to propose an alliance. Boris affected astonishment, exhibited to the embassador the spectacle of his army drawn out in battle array, of a mock engagement, of a military entertainment, and dismissed him loaded with presents. On the nobles and the soldiers he bestowed great largesses which procured for him a new oath of allegiance—and regaled, during ten days, ten thousand chosen men under sumptuous pavillions, where they were treated with exquisite viands furnished in large profusion.

During these rejoicings, some confidential persons, whom he had sent to Moscow, there announced that the Tartars, intimidated by the prudence and the formidable preparations of the new czar, had not dared to advance. The people credited the tale, walked forth in crowds to meet the pacific conqueror, and conducted him in triumph into Moscow, where he caused himself to be crowned. During that ceremony, the humane and compassionate Boris made a vow not to shed any blood or to condemn criminals to any severer doom than banishment. In consequence, a great number of nobles, who were not in his interests, were soon sent into exile under various pretexts. Those who might have any pretensions

to the crown were prohibited to marry; and, among others, Theodore Romanow, to whom the preceding czar had offered his sceptre, was thrown into prison, and separated from his wife. They were afterward compelled to enter into different convents, to take monastic vows, and to change their names. Theodore assumed that of Philaretus.

In the midst of his successes Boris's bosom was corroded by chagrin. A famine prevailed in Russia, severe almost beyond example. In many families the fattest person was killed to supply food for the rest. Fathers and mothers ate their own children: and an ocular witness attests that a number of assembled women, having decoyed a peasant into a house, murdered him, and devoured himself and his horse. Notwithstanding the efforts exerted by the emperor for the alleviation of the calamity, there perished five hundred thousand persons in the city of Moscow alone.

To this scourge was added the inquietude excited in Boris's mind by the resurrection of Demetrius whom he had commanded to be murdered. It will be recollected that the mother, according to an opinion which has gained credit, had, in lieu of Demetrius, substituted another child whom she delivered to the assassins, and had concealed her own son in a monastery, where he was brought up. Whether by chance or imprudence, a report of his existence transpired, and

that report reached the ear of Boris, who employed every possible method to ascertain the truth. Several persons were interrogated, many even were questioned by torture. His mother, whose answers were no doubt unsatisfactory, was sent into confinement in a remote monastery. All that Boris was able to learn by the utmost diligence of inquiry, was that two monks had eloped from a convent and made their escape into Poland; one of whom might, from his age and figure, be supposed to be the person who was the object of his search. The czar employed persons to watch their motions, and to seize or kill the youth. In short, the steps which he took on the occasion were sufficient to induce a belief that he was not free from a conviction that another child had been murdered in Demetrius's stead.

By a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, the young fugitive friar, whom we shall henceforward term Demetrius, gained the confidence of a Lithuanian noble, who sent him recommended to the palatine of Sandomir. The palatine thought the proofs offered by the proscribed youth sufficiently strong to be laid before the king and republic of Poland assembled in diet. They examined them, pronounced them to be convincing, acknowledged him as legitimate heir to the crown of Russia, and levied an army to place him on the throne of his ancestors. The existence of Demetrius now became something

more than a subject of simple uneasiness to Boris, who therefore renewed his attempts to make away with his rival. The latter attacked the tyrant by open force, and gained a victory over him. Chagrin seized on the mind of Boris, and he died of melancholy.

Theodore
and
Demetrius,
A. D. 1605.

He left a son named Theodore, who was fifteen years old at the time of his father's death. This prince ascended the throne, only to experience the mortification of being almost immediately hurled down from it, and of seeing entire Russia declare in favour of Demetrius. Moscow, the capital of the empire, was not the last: it invited Boris's rival, who sent before him an order for strangling Theodore and his mother, which was accordingly executed. Every thing succeeded with him: he was crowned with the greatest solemnity, in the midst of universal plaudits. Nevertheless a party was formed against him, at the head of which were three brothers, of an ancient and noble family, by name Zuzki. They rendered Demetrius's legitimacy the subject of suspicions which were beginning to grow alarming, when the czar caused them to be arrested, condemned the two younger of the three to banishment, and the eldest to be beheaded. Extraordinary preparations were made for the execution, that the example might awe the malcontents to quiet obedience: the criminal was already on his knees upon the scaffold, and momentarily

awaited the fatal blow. The executioner already had his arm uplifted, when Demetrius sent Zuski his pardon, and contented himself with subjecting him to the same punishment which had been inflicted on his brethren—that of exile; after which, he was guilty of the decisive error of almost immediately recalling him, and even granting him his favour.

The czar, who was indebted for his good fortune to the Poles, showed attentions to them which excited the jealousy of the Russians. The palatine of Sandomir had, from his protector, become his father-in-law; and Demetrius's marriage with the princess palatine introduced at court the German manners, to which the complaisant husband appeared to give a preference: he even affected contempt for the Russian practices, their frequent ablutions; their genuflexions before images; and he indulged himself in the use of veal, which they considered as unclean food. The ungrateful Zuski not only pointed out to public notice these acts of imprudence, but also fomented and exasperated the discontent which they excited.

The too confident Demetrius neglected the warnings which were given to him concerning the designs of the conspirators, insomuch that he had only thirty guards about him when Zuski came at the head of an insurgent multitude to attack the palace. Demetrius, surrounded on every side, leaped with his sabre in his hand from a

window, broke his thigh by the fall, and remained helpless on the spot. He was carried into an apartment where every person had liberty to see him. Zuski flattered himself that by dint of threats he should obtain from him a declaration that the story of his mother having substituted another child in his place was false. But he, on the contrary, solemnly asserted the legitimacy of his birth, and appealed to his mother's testimony. She was not summoned to appear: but he was informed that she acknowledged that her real son had been assassinated. Demetrius advanced such cogent arguments in refutation of that confession, whether feigned or extorted by fear, that, through an apprehension lest his words should produce conviction in the minds of his hearers, he was murdered. His dead body was abandoned to the outrages of the populace, who dragged it through the mire to the spot where Zuski had received his pardon at the moment of impending death. Was this intended as an indirect censure of the mistaken lenity of the unfortunate Demetrius, or as a reproach cast on the ingratitude of his murderer? As many Poles as fell into the hands of the enraged populace were put to the sword. The honour of the ladies of that nation was not spared; and the empress herself escaped from the last insult only by the assistance of a Russian lady who concealed her under her garment.

Zuski took great pains to publish all the reasons which could tend to establish a belief that Demetrius was an impostor : but the testimonies which he adduced were, even at the time, deemed unsatisfactory ; and his proofs fall to the ground, when set in opposition to those with which nature herself had furnished Demetrius. In his childhood he had been observed to have one leg shorter than the other, and a wart under his right eye : the emperor Demetrius had those same marks. Besides, can it be imagined that so prudent and sensible a nation as the Poles should have been mistaken in an affair which they so attentively examined ? or, supposing that a wish of keeping the Russians employed at home by domestic disturbances should have induced them to favour an imposture, how could the palatine of Sandomir have consented to sacrifice his daughter to a man whose rank and birth would have admitted the slightest suspicion ?

It was not without difficulty that Zuski procured himself to be declared emperor. The nobles were not disposed in his favour : but he gained the election by the suffrages of the populace. If the remembrance of Demetrius caused him no remorse, at least a shadow of that prince disturbed his repose : for the name of shadow may be given to a kind of phantom of that prince which never made its appearance. Two mal-content nobles, without exhibiting him to view, published that

Zuski,
A.D. 1606.

he existed; they enlisted foldiers under his banners, combated Zufki, defeated him, but were in their turn defeated, made prifoners, and be-headed.

To the fhade fucceeded a fubftantial being, who has been called the third Demetrius. He was a fchool-mafter in a little town of Polish Ruffia, and pretended that, notwithstanding the fracture of his thigh in confequence of his leap from the window, he had been carried off in the midft of the confufion by fome faithful fubjects, and transported to that remote town, where he had undertaken the inftruction of children for the fake of gaining a livelihood. On this occafion, if the Poles were deceived, it was becaufe they were willing to be fo; for this new Demetrius was very far from exhibiting the fame fymptoms of characteristic truth as the firft. The only points in his favour were a refemblance of features, a co-incidence of age, and a large flock of ef-frontery.

The Poles, however, placed him at the head of an army, with which he befieged Mofcow. The widow of the firft Demetrius, and the palatine his father, having efaped from Zufki's chains, promoted the illufion of which this new Demetrius stood in need. To avenge herfelf on the murderer of her hufband, the widow permitted this pretender to the throne to treat her—in outward appearance only, it is faid—as his wife. He

received her with all imaginable pomp, and with demonstrations of seemingly unfeigned joy. She, on her part, encouraged these testimonies of affectionate attention; but she appears to have acted neither sincerely nor cordially; for she did not preserve for him either the friendship or the assistance of the Poles.

These having aided the impostor merely for the sake of obtaining from the emperor Zuski certain objects which they had in view—as soon as they had compassed their wish, they changed sides, and assisted the czar in expelling the school-master. He escaped into Tartary, where he was some time after assassinated. With respect to Zuski, the Russians, weary of his person and his government, imputed to him the series of misfortunes by which they had been afflicted during his reign. As those calamities, among which are principally to be reckoned the horrors of war, arose chiefly from the Poles, the Russians thought they might more easily repair their past losses and prevent a succession of new by choosing an emperor from that nation. Zuski was deposed, shaven, and shut up in a convent, where he died of chagrin, or of poison voluntarily taken.

The crown was offered to Uladislaus, the son of Sigismund king of Poland. Instead of presenting himself to receive it, Uladislaus sent before him an army of Poles, who committed every species of disorder, insomuch that Moscow, where they had

Uladislaus,
A.D. 1510,

at first experienced a friendly reception, revolted against them. On abandoning the city, where they were unable to maintain their ground, they set fire to it; which conflagration is said to have consumed a hundred and eighty thousand houses. During the pretended reign of Uladislaus, which lasted only three years, a fourth Demetrius made his appearance, who, being betrayed by his adherents, was hanged.

The Russians were embarrassed to dispose of their crown; several of them wishing for a foreign prince, as less susceptible of a predilection in favour of any particular family; while others, jealous of the national glory, insisted on having a native of the country to rule over them. During the altercations produced by this diversity of sentiments, some person mentioned Michael Theodorowitz, son of Philaretus, that relative to whom Theodore on his death-bed had presented his sceptre, and whom Boris, when possessed of the throne, had separated from his wife and confined in a convent. He had been carried a prisoner into Poland, decorated however with the title of bishop.

The mother, who had been suffered to retain her son, had educated him with great care; and he was now seventeen years old. Those of the Russian nobles who knew him represented him to the others as capable of restoring to the empire its pristine splendor; but the assembly, wishing

to form their own judgement of him, dispatched a deputation to his mother desiring that she would send him to them. That affectionate parent received the message with a terror which manifested itself in a flood of tears. She fancied that her son was demanded of her only to undergo the same fate that had been suffered by the last czars. Nevertheless, being encouraged by the remonstrances of her friends, she suffered him to depart. Michael won the approbation of the assembly; for, though some of their number thought his youth an objection, the majority exclaimed, "The Almighty, who has chosen him, will also assist him."

Michael
Theodoro-
witz,
A. D. 1613.

The first act of his reign was an invitation sent to his father, who had matured his wisdom under affliction, and was grown grey in adversity. The old man had taken no part in the late intrigues, and had no resentments to gratify. His son made a rule of framing his conduct by his father's advice, and ever showed a respectful deference to his opinion. The constant proofs which he exhibited of filial piety gained for him the affection of the nation; and he merited the general esteem by bestowing the greatest attention on every object that could be conducive to the welfare of his people.

He married the daughter of a gentleman who was found at his plough when the messengers came to announce to him the honour which the

czar intended to confer on his family. Eudocia, equally virtuous as beautiful, proved herself worthy of his choice, and assisted her husband, in proportion to her abilities and in the degree suitable to her sex, in supporting the burden of the government after the death of his father. Michael was so highly respected for his equity and prudence and piety, that, besides the crowd of his own subjects who were attracted to his court by a sentiment of veneration for him, it was constantly adorned by the presence of ambassadors from the neighbouring princes of Europe and Asia, who all were anxious to preserve the alliance of so great a monarch:—*pacific glory!* more estimable than that acquired by conquests!—He assumed the title of *czar*, which means *emperor*; and, at his death, bequeathed his crown to his son; then in the sixteenth year of his age.

Alexis
Theodorow-
witz,
A.D. 1645.

Alexis Theodorowitz had not, like his father, the good fortune to be guided in the first steps of his career by a Mentor interested in his happiness and that of his people. Michael had imagined that he made a wise choice in appointing as his counsellor and first minister Boris Morosou, a man till then held in estimation, and possessed of abilities, but unfortunately tainted with the spirit of ambition. The first proof which he gave of this was his rendering himself brother-in-law to the czar by marrying the empress's sister. In his father-in-law Miloslauski he found a man capable

of seconding him in his projects. Having associated with themselves Pleffcou the chief judge of the supreme court, these three men formed a triumviral cabal, and took into their own hands the entire management of the government, while the young emperor dozed away his time in the enjoyment of pleasures which they were careful to minister to him.

They exercised their authority with an effrontery which exasperated the people. Pleffcou made open traffic of justice: Miloslauski publicly sold offices and employments; and Morosou enjoyed his pre-eminence with disgusting haughtiness and ostentation. The inhabitants of Moscow, accustomed to the paternal government of Michael, for a while submitted to this mal-administration, but at length lost their patience. They now proceeded to the utmost excesses of unbridled licentiousness, not indeed against the czar whose inexperience they pardoned and whose innocence they respected, but against his faithless ministers and their agents and accomplices, whose heads they loudly demanded. Alexis with difficulty saved the life of his father-in-law by sacrificing the others. This popular vengeance served as a lesson which taught Morosou to become mild, affable, just, and obliging—and furnished the czar with a caution to beware thenceforward of reposing unlimited confidence in his ministers, and to guide the helm of empire with his own

hand. Accordingly the sequel of his reign was peaceful, if we except some wars of short duration with the Swedes, the Poles, and other neighbouring nations.

Under this reign appeared two impostors and a dangerous rebel. In surveying the adventures of the first, we are astonished that the life of one man could have been sufficient to embrace so many events. His name was Ankudina, and he was son of a draper at Wologda. His father, having observed in him some extraordinary marks of genius, caused him to be instructed in reading and singing—acquisitions which rendered him a person of consequence among his countrymen, who were the most ignorant of the human race. He had a pleasing voice, and showed taste in singing the hymns and canticles of the church. The archbishop, delighted with his talents, took him into his family, where he behaved so well that the prelate gave him his grand-daughter in marriage. His good fortune now began to turn his brain: he styled himself waiwode or governor of Wologda, affected the manners suitable to that rank, launched into correspondent expense, ruined himself, went with his family to Moscow, and there obtained a lucrative office attended with responsibility. In his new station he recommenced his career of pleasure and extravagance, at the risk of those obliging persons from whom he was able to borrow. One of the most credulous of those

was a friend, from whom, under pretence of a ceremony which required some show, he borrowed his wife's jewels. These he squandered in dissipation, like every thing else that came to his hands; and, when called upon for restitution, he denied having received them. His wife, the archbishop's grand-daughter, upbraided him with his dishonesty; and at the same time the treasury called on him for his accompts. Embarrassed by this demand, and importuned by the reproaches of his wife, he shut her up in a stove, set fire to his house, and made his escape.

While every one supposed Ankudina to have perished in the conflagration, he was on his way to Poland. Some time after, the czar preparing to send an embassy to that country, the impostor thought proper to go to the general of the Cossaks, who enjoyed considerable authority in that kingdom. He delivered himself into his hands as a near kinsman to the late emperor Basil Zuski. The embassy, he said, was for the purpose of demanding him; and he entirely gave himself up to the general, requesting his protection in return for the confidence he thus reposed in him. The Cossak promised it; but, as the name which the Russian adventurer had assumed began to give him a dangerous celebrity, not thinking the general's protection sufficient, he suddenly quitted Poland—repaired to Constantinople—there abjured Christianity, was circum-

cised, and contracted new debts—fled to Rome, and in that city embraced the catholic religion.

From Rome Ankudina went to Vienna, thence proceeded to Transylvania, and obtained, we know not under what pretence, letters of recommendation from prince Ragotski to the queen of Sweden. Arrived at Stockholm, he publicly announced himself not barely as a near relative, but as the son, of Basil Zuski. Some Russian merchants resident in Sweden sent to inform their court of his pretensions. Proofs demonstrative of the imposture were collected and sent into Sweden. The queen, now undeceived, caused him to be thrown into prison; whence having made his escape, he repaired to Brussels, and introduced himself to the archduke Leopold. Dissatisfied probably with his reception here, or with the little advantage which it seemed to promise him, he passed to Leipzig, and there embraced Lutheranism; thence he went to the duchy of Holstein, where, in consequence of letters from the czar, the duke caused him to be arrested, and sent him prisoner to Russia.

After having for some time tergiversated in his confinement, he at length returned to his former story, and impudently maintained that he was the son of Zuski. He told a romantic tale, of which the most important episode was that the khan of Tartary had wished to employ him against the czar, and to give him the command of

a hundred thousand men for that purpose ; but that he bore too great a love to his country to involve it in confusion, and that God had preserved him from so criminal an undertaking. A person, nevertheless, who was employed to sift him, contrived by dextrous management to obtain from him even a written confession of his imposture : but when that document was used for the purpose of extracting from his own lips a formal disavowal of his pretensions, he denied his handwriting, and from that moment persevered to the last in asserting himself to be the son of Zuski, Notwithstanding the testimony of his mother, of his relatives, of all those who had known him in his employments and in his pleasures, he obstinately maintained his point, never contradicted himself under the torture, and suffered capital punishment at Moscow.

The other impostor gave himself out for the son of Demetrius and of the princess daughter of the palatine of Sandomir. In proof of his assertion he showed certain characters imprinted on his back. These were unintelligible to every body except one person (apparently posted at hand for the purpose) who, in a public assembly where the knave uncovered his shoulders, read without difficulty “ Demetrius, the son of Demetrius.” During the short reign of Uladislaus in Poland, that prince, finding his account in the existence of disturbances in Russia, took favourable notice of the

pretended Demetrius. The latter connected himself with Galga, a Tartarian prince, who was a prisoner in Poland, and real heir to the crown of Tartary. Some disagreeable accidents depriving the impostor of this protection, he withdrew into Holstein, a place already so fatal to similar knavery—was in the same manner delivered up by the duke—and, like the fictitious Zuski, suffered at Moscow the punishment due to criminals convicted of high treason. These examples prove what effects may be produced by daring boldness on the one hand, and credulity on the other, in a country benighted in the darkness of ignorance.

The rebel of whom we are about to speak did not need the aid of imposture to levy an army against the czar. Stenko Razin was the brother of a man who, being chief of the Don Cossaks, had been put to death by the Russians for attempting to support the privileges of his nation. The Cossaks asserted that they were not subjects of the Russian empire, but simply under its protection. No sooner had Stenko displayed the banner of liberty than he saw his compatriots crowding around that cherished ensign. At first he appeared actuated by the incentives of patriotism, the glory of his nation, and the desire of just vengeance: but, after his first successes, he showed himself to be influenced by ambition.

He commenced his career by depredation, the surest mode of speedily collecting soldiers. His

cruelty spread terror, and prevented all resistance. From the following instance let a judgement be formed of his brutal ferocity. He had captured a Persian princess, who was beautiful and compliant. Sailing with her one day on the Wolga, in a moment of gaiety and intoxication, after enumerating the rich presents which he had lavished on his partisans, he broke out into this exclamation—"And thou, noble river! thou who hast wasted to me such abundance of gold and silver and other precious effects--thou my defender, to whom I am indebted for my fortune and my rank—I have hitherto given thee nothing: but I will now prove to thee my gratitude." In concluding these words, he seizes the princess, lifts her in his arms, and hurls her into the river, with the pearls and diamonds and other rich ornaments with which she was covered.

The grand principle of Stenko's policy, and what attracted numerous soldiers to his standards and retained them under his command, was to affect no pre-eminence over the Cossaks except in the moment of battle, to appear only as their equal, and free from every other wish than that of establishing the empire of liberty. He indulged them in every species of licentiousness, that he might render them equally culpable as himself. By a just retribution, therefore, after his defeat the punishment was also extended to the people who were the accomplices of his crimes.

Dolgorucki, the general who vanquished Stenko, erected at Arfamas a tribunal so severe that the avenues of the town resembled the terrific picture which the poets have given us of Tartarus. On one side were seen heaps of dead bodies, headless and smeared with blood—on the other, numbers of wretches impaled alive, uttering frightful shrieks, and suffering a thousand deaths at once. Within the space of three months, eleven thousand persons were judicially condemned, and passed through the hands of the executioners.

As to Stenko himself, being much embarrassed to find an asylum after his defeat, he had the weak credulity to imagine that the promised faith would be kept with regard to a pardon which he was taught to expect: he therefore surrendered, and suffered himself to be persuaded that the czar was curious to see a man of his rare merit—that he ought to set out for court—and that he would find the people along the road eagerly pressing forward to do him honour; inso-much that he expected a triumph on his arrival at Moscow. But, instead of a triumphal car, he there found only a wretched waggon which was sent out to meet him, in the middle of which was erected a gibbet, sure omen of his death, which soon followed, after he had been obliged to undergo the torture.

This rebellion is thought to have cost Russia a hundred thousand men—that is to say, fighting

men; for even a greater number are said to have perished by disease and famine than fell in the field of battle. These terrible executions were repugnant to the humane heart of Alexis, who regretted to see himself reduced to the sad necessity of putting so many persons to death. But historians remark, that, in certain conjunctures, such executions are necessary for the purpose of preventing greater evils. It is moreover an act of justice due to that prince to observe that he omitted no practicable mean of rendering his government as mild as possible. Although he possessed courage, he never made war except when he could not avoid it; and he incessantly laboured to promote the happiness of his subjects. His whole subsequent life was employed in repairing, by the wisdom of his administration, the faults into which he had been led in his youth by his too great confidence in his favourites and ministers.

By his first wife, Alexis left Theodore, John, and the princess Sophia; by a second, Peter, and the princess Natalia. Theodore succeeded him at the age of nineteen years. With all the good qualities of his father, he unfortunately had a delicate constitution which did not promise him a long life. He waged against the Turks a brisk and animated war, which was not unfortunate on his side. It was followed by peace, not only with that power, but likewise with all his neighbours:

Theodore
Alexiowitz,
A.D. 1676.

and that season of tranquillity allowed him leisure to bestow his attention on the welfare of his kingdom.

After the example of his father, Theodore would have wished to polish Russia, and to introduce into it useful establishments. He did not think they could have a solid foundation, unless erected on the basis of merit: and it was, in his opinion, an absurdity and an injustice that birth without talents should be a passport to offices and dignities, and should open the door to the honours of the state. He is said to have ordered all the nobles to come to him with the charters of their titles, which, when presented to him, he threw into the fire, declaring that thenceforward all profitable or honourable prerogatives should be solely granted to talents and virtue, not to birth. The czar followed this principle in disposing of the throne when he saw his end approach. Of his two brothers, John the elder was of competent age: but his mind was not expanded, his sight was short, and he was subject to epileptic fits. Peter, who was only his paternal brother, showed, notwithstanding his early youth, a taste for the sciences and useful knowledge, and consequently excited a hope that he might realise projects of utility to Russia. It was he whom Theodore nominated as his successor.

This preference did not please their sister Sophia. Ambitious and desirous of governing, she

would have been better satisfied with John's weakness than with the youth of Peter, who already betrayed little disposition to docility. Like all other despots, the Russian emperors had formed for themselves a guard exclusively attached to their persons, similar to the janissaries of the grand-signor, and known by the appellation of *strelitzes*. By Sophia's intrigues these were excited to interfere in the government: they declared themselves displeased that the younger brother had been preferred to the elder by the will of the late emperor, and that such choice could only have been suggested to him by traitors. A report was privately circulated that Alexis had been compelled to it by a faction, who, after having extorted from him that nomination, had poisoned him to prevent his retracting it,

Sophia furnished them with a list of forty obnoxious persons, at the head of which was the name of Von-Gaden, who had been physician to Theodore. All the others were nobles, enemies, it was said, to the *strelitzes*, consequently enemies to the state, and meriting death. Those incensed soldiers hurried to the palace and through the city in quest of their destined victims. Their resentment was particularly leveled against Von-Gaden. In their search for him, they met one of his professional brethren, whom they seized, saying, "You are a physician: and if you did not poison our master Theodore, you have poi-

“soned many others, and therefore deserve death:” at which words they killed him. Neither did Von-Gaden escape their cruelty: in vain the ladies of the court implored pardon for him on their knees: the revolters appointed a tribunal, of which only one member could write, and which condemned him both as a physician and as a forcerer, because a dried toad and a great snake had been found in his house. The same judges condemned in like manner the accused nobles, and executed their own sentence by cutting them to pieces with their sabres.

John and
Peter,

A.D. 1682.

These acts of cruelty were followed by the proclamation of John and Peter as joint sovereigns of Russia, and of Sophia as their associate in the government. She approved the massacres committed by the strelitzes, rewarded them by a donation of the property of their victims, and permitted them to erect a column on which were inscribed the names of the persons murdered, as enemies to their country. Finally she granted to them letters patent, expressive of her thanks for their zeal and fidelity.

During eight years Sophia exercised more absolute authority than her brothers. She provided a wife for John: but it was not from her hand that Peter received the partner of his bed. He was surrounded by a faction opposed to the princess: and, as those mal-contents cramped her in her measures, she resolved to rid herself of them, and

—to complete the business at once—of her brother Peter also. Her friends the strelitzes were again called in for the execution of her scheme; but on this occasion she found them neither so powerful nor so zealous as before. She however conducted her conspiracy almost to the very verge of success. Peter was obliged to make a precipitate retreat from his capital, where if he had remained an hour longer, he would have been dethroned, and perhaps murdered.

That hour was sufficient to disconcert his sister's measures. She was herself arrested; and her partisans were taken or dispersed, and afterward punished. Sophia, confined in a convent and deprived of all authority, suffered during the remainder of her life a punishment which must appear mild in comparison to her cruelties, but very severe for an ambitious woman like her. Peter returned triumphant to the capital, where John, who had not been concerned in the late transaction, affectionately received him at the palace-gate; and the two brothers embraced each other. From that moment Peter is to be considered as sole sovereign; since, from the year 1690 when this revolution happened, to 1696 when John died, the latter led a private life, hardly taking any further part in the administration than that of signing his name to the public acts.

Peter I.
A.D. 1690.

There are certain events which require no more than to be barely recorded, without any affecta-

tion of style or studied ornaments, to excite admiration. Such are the actions of the czar Peter I, which duly to appreciate, we must recollect the condition of Russia when he began to reign. It was slavishly observant of ancient usages, most of them barbarous and stupid, but so fondly cherished by the nation, that the task of reform appeared almost hopeless. An idea of the difficulty may be formed from the following instance.

A king of Poland, having seized on some Russian provinces, attempted to introduce certain alterations in the established customs. Among other things, he thought it wrong, that, when a peasant had committed a fault, the noble his master should cause him to be scourged to the blood. The Pole showing himself disposed to abolish this barbarous punishment, the peasantry flocked to his presence, and, throwing themselves at his feet, besought him to make no change, because, as they said, they had found innovations of every kind to be dangerous. Thus obstinacy in their prepossessions—ignorance rendered sacred by superstition—fond attachment to a life of idleness and intemperance—the pride of considering their own practices in ceremonies and mourning and pleasure as preferable for pomp and majesty to those observed by other nations—a consequent aversion to foreign customs and manners, even when proved to be useful—such were the preju-

dices which Peter had to combat—such the many-fold hydra he had to destroy, which, as he struck off one head, reproduced another in its place.

Some of his predecessors had attacked that monster: and we have before seen, that, by persevering efforts, one of them had procured learned men and artists, civil and military preceptors: but, though exhortations and favours and largesses were unsparingly employed, neither that prince nor his successors were able to produce much effect on their subjects. One mode yet remained to be tried—that of example—the example of the sovereign, usually so efficacious with the people. Peter determined to make the experiment: he set out in the retinue of an embassy which he sent to visit several courts. He held no rank in the embassadorial train; yet it was well known who he was. At one time a monarch, at another a private individual, he now conferred with kings, and now mingled with artisans. Sovereigns have traveled through motives of curiosity, and handled workmen's tools for their pleasure and amusement: but Peter alone sought to render them familiar to him by practice, that he might be enabled to estimate and direct those persons whom he should send to instruct his subjects.

In this point of view, what a striking spectacle, to behold the czar at the age of twenty-five quitting the luxury of his court, condemning

himself to a life of toil, and by his courage surmounting every delicacy and repugnance! In consequence of an accident that had befallen him in his early years, he dreaded water to such a degree as to experience a cold sweat and convulsions when obliged to cross even a rivulet. He boldly plunged into a river: he at once conquered nature; and that element which he abhorred became one of the principal theatres of his triumphs.

Arrived in Holland, he immediately repaired to the dock-yard of Saardam, and enrolled himself among the ship-carpenters. Clad and fed like them, he worked in the forges, the ropewalks, and the mills. From the construction of a boat, he proceeded to that of a sixty-gun ship, begun by himself, conducted under his inspection, and finished with his own hands. These occupations did not prevent him from taking lessons in anatomy, surgery, mechanics, and other branches of practical philosophy cultivated in Holland. He thence passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the science of ship-building, and applied the theory to practice. Nothing escaped his notice: it was directed to astronomy, arithmetic, watch-making, hydraulics: he wished to introduce every species of knowledge into his dominions, and sent thither a cargo—if we may be allowed the expression—of men skilled in the different arts.

In consequence of the measures which he had taken, Russia did not suffer by his absence. While, in the character of a ship-wright, he handled the axe and the saw at Saardam, his troops gained successive victories on his frontiers. He had himself formed those troops: their exercises, their discipline, had been as it were the amusements of his boyish days. Scarcely was he able to carry a musket, when he used to assemble around him a number of youths of his own age, in whose company he accustomed himself to martial manœuvres. He made them pass, and he passed himself, through all the military grades. That corps increased, and swelled to an army, remarkable for courage, and of which every individual was personally known to him.

While he successively occupied the stations of drummer, corporal, sergeant, lieutenant, captain, the orders were given and executed in the name of Le Fort, a Piémontese gentleman who had proved himself worthy of his confidence. Though, like the czar, he had not enjoyed the benefit of instruction or derived experience from practice under the guidance of a master, he became a general, took cities, and won battles on land: in like manner too, although he had hardly ever before seen the sea, he gained maritime victories.—Peter passed also through the various grades in the naval service. His example was a powerful stimulus to the nobility: they did not disdain the

lowest ranks in the militia, when they saw that the emperor, instead of viewing them with contempt, took a pride in them. After his first successes against the Turks and the Tartars, with the view of inspiring the Russians with a passion for martial glory, he marched his army into Moscow under triumphal arcs embellished with pompous decorations, accompanied with illuminations and fire-works. The generals preceded the sovereign, who occupied in the procession only the rank appropriate to his grade. After the bustle and joy of the ceremony, public rewards were distributed to the brave, and punishments inflicted on the cowards.

By his order, the troops had already changed their long garb, and now wore a short dress which was lighter and better suited to their movements. To naturalise as it were these innovations among his subjects, he sent a number of young nobles to travel as he had done to foreign courts, that they might adopt their manners. Convinced likewise that politeness or civilisation cannot be introduced or preserved without the intercourse of the two sexes, he established assemblies, at which himself appeared in person. He encouraged the emulation of dress, dancing, moderate play, and decent familiarity. Thus he insensibly changed the Russian *costume*: the ample robes which concealed the elegance of the female shape, and the long beards of the men, disappeared. The ancient

gravity, which was tinged with melancholy gloom, gave way to an easiness of manner that was the precursor of gaiety. The clergy taking offence at this, Peter abridged their influence by depriving them of their wealth: he suppressed the dignity of patriarch, whose authority rivaled that of the emperors. He banished from matrimony that ridiculous custom which prevented the parties from seeing each other until the moment when it was too late to refuse their consent to the riveting of those chains by which they were to be bound for life. In spite of the repugnance of the Greek church, he obliged the nation to adopt the Roman calendar, and introduced the common arithmetical figures into his exchequer and public offices, whence they made their way into the counting-houses of merchants. But the chief part of these improvements did not take place till after the czar had quitted the United Provinces.

He was quietly returning to his own dominions, elate with the flattering hope of disseminating there the useful acquisitions of every kind which he was carrying home from his peregrinations: already he had reached Vienna, when an unforeseen event obliged him to depart with precipitate haste.

There blazed forth in his state an insurrection, excited partly by the old boyars who were strongly attached to their ancient customs, partly by the

clergy who considered all Peter's innovations as so many acts of sacrilege. It may also be supposed that Sophia in her confinement was not wholly unconcerned in the transaction, since the rebels talked of placing her on the throne instead of a prince who, under pretence of polishing his kingdom, delivered it into the hands of foreigners by placing them at the head of every department of administration. Previously to the commencement of his journey, Peter had dispersed the strelitzes into the frontier posts, sufficiently remote from each other to prevent the facility of their junction. They had not a doubt of the emperor's hatred to their body, and that he would at some earlier or more distant period find means to destroy them. Under this idea, they quitted their garrisons, assembled to the number of ten thousand, and set out on their march to Moscow, to gain, as they pretended, certain information whether the czar were dead, as it was reported. The regents demonstrated to them the falsity of that rumour, and endeavoured by entreaties and menaces to induce them to return to their posts: but the strelitzes obstinately persisted in their resolution, and continued to advance. A battle now became unavoidable: the action was bloody: the strelitzes were defeated, and laid down their arms.

Peter arrived at Moscow, even before it was yet known that he had quitted Germany: he

came determined to exercise to the utmost extent of rigor the right which the revolt of those unfortunate wretches gave him over them. The prisons were immediately filled: two thousand strelitzes passed through the hands of the executioners: the chiefs had their limbs broken: the women who participated in the rebellion were buried alive: the remainder were hanged at the gates and on the ramparts of the city. A great number were beheaded. As these executions took place in the depth of winter, the bodies of the sufferers were immediately frozen: those who had been decapitated were stretched in rows on the ground, with their heads lying near them; those who were hanged on the ramparts and in the avenues of the city remained suspended during the whole winter before the eyes of the people. Such as escaped capital punishment were banished from Moscow with their families, and sent, some into Siberia, others into the country of the Cossaks, where lands were distributed to them. Some few, whose conduct appeared less obnoxious, were incorporated with other regiments. The body of strelitzes was entirely suppressed: the czar abolished even its very name, and confided the care of his person to the corps of cadets which he had himself created and disciplined.

These events were followed by a war against Sweden. It is to be remarked that the embarrassments of that war, so formidable by the in-

tentions and the talents of Charles XII, did not prevent the czar from attending as usual to the execution of the plans which he had formed for the welfare of his kingdom. While the Swedish monarch was spreading ravage and devastation, Peter was labouring to unite the Caspian with the Black Sea by a communication between the Don and the Wolga—was covering his plains with herds of beautiful cattle brought from Saxony together with their herdsmen—was erecting manufactories for cloth and linen and paper—was opening the mines of Siberia—inviting and protecting smiths, braziers, armourers, founders, artificers of every kind—establishing printing-offices, public schools, hospitals: finally, he was building Petersburg, destined to rival Moscow, and which the residence of the sovereign has rendered in fact the capital of the empire.

It was not a passion for distinguishing himself as a founder, the empty glory of raising a superb city from the mud of a morass, that engaged him to undertake that great work: it was the wise project of opening for himself the Baltic, and rendering himself considerable in Germany. He marched formidable forces into that country: while the Swedish monarch, after having taken refuge at Bender, attempted to give law to the Turks in their own dominions and make the divan bow obedient to his will, Peter was employed in hurling from the Polish throne the monarch

whom Charles had elevated to it, and re-establishing on it Augustus. The Swede however had the address to engage the Porte in hostilities with Russia. It was a fortunate circumstance for Peter that the management of the war was not intrusted to Charles, who would not have suffered him to escape, when, with imprudence equal to that of his rival, the Russian exposed himself on the banks of the Pruth against an army superior in number to his own; as the Swede had done at Pultawa.

For the safety of his army, and doubtless for his own likewise, Peter was indebted to Catharine, at that time his mistress. That woman, who afterward became so renowned, seems to have been unacquainted with her father, and to have scarcely known her mother or the place of her birth. Married in the flower of her age to a Swedish soldier, she fell into the hands of the Russians at the capture of Marienburg in Livonia, which perhaps was her native place. She was employed in the Russian general's kitchen; in which state her mental powers and personal graces attracted the attention of this her first master. Menzikoff, the czar's favourite, having seen her in the general's family, asked and obtained her. Peter accidentally met her in the house of his favourite. It was the fate of that woman not to be viewed with indifference. The emperor was pleased with her turn of mind, and gained possession of her

person. She seized his character with wonderful sagacity: she calmed his impetuosity, consoled him in his anxieties, and watched over his health. He found in her the attentions of a friend, the complaisance of a mistress, and the resources of an excellent counsellor.

Fortunately Peter had taken her with him on his expedition against the Turks. Let us figure to ourselves that great man borne down by the weight of calamity which pressed upon him, beleaguered by an army of superior numbers, destitute of provisions, and cut off from all possibility of a retreat. Shut up alone in his tent, he abandoned himself to his painful reflexions: the entrance was forbidden: Catharine made her way to him in spite of the prohibition, procured from him a letter to the grand-vizir, accompanied it with rich presents, sacrificed her jewels, went herself to treat with the enemy, and obtained of him conditions severe indeed, but very advantageous in such a conjuncture, since they rescued Peter and his army from the most dreadful extremity.

Among the conditions, the grand-vizir required that the Russian should deliver up to him Cantemir prince of Walachia, together with his courtiers, with whose conduct the Porte was dissatisfied. Peter, notwithstanding the danger which environed him, replied, "I would prefer sacrificing one half of my empire, because I should entertain the hope of recovering it; but honour,

“once forfeited, is irretrievable.” He rewarded Catharine’s meritorious service by giving her his hand, and placing on her head the imperial diadem. Nothing was more common in Russia and the northern kingdoms than marriages between sovereigns and their subjects; but the annals of the universe do not furnish another instance of a poor foreign female, picked up in the ruins of a sacked town, becoming the sovereign of an empire in which she had been a captive. It was reserved for Peter the Great in so striking a manner to reconcile fortune and merit.

It is a subject of no small praise to Catharine, who was stepmother to the czarowitz Alexis the son of Peter, that she was in no wise implicated in the catastrophe which prematurely hurried that young prince to the grave. The natural indolence of the youth, the irregularity of his conduct, and his marked aversion to foreigners, had inspired his father with so unfavourable an opinion of him, that he was more than once heard to say he would have him shaven and immured in a monastery, unless he showed signs of amendment. The emperor determined to try whether marriage might not effect some change in his character, and accordingly united him with a German princess of amiable and gentle disposition, and endowed with the most estimable qualities: but the brutal manners of her husband were to her a

source of chagrin, which, after an unfortunate child-birth, sank her to the grave.

Released from that tie, Alexis gave unrestrained indulgence to his disorderly inclinations. He collected around him a crowd of fawning flatterers and evil counsellors who were odious to his father. In the deed of accusation which Peter brought forward against his son, he says that he had warned him, entreated him, threatened to disinherit him. No doubt, these menaces displeased the prince : for, taking advantage of his father's absence on a journey to Denmark, he quitted Russia, and fled into Germany. The emperor afforded him a friendly reception, but gave him to understand that he would not, to oblige him, expose himself to a war with the czar who demanded him. After some negotiations, in which it evidently appears that the son acknowledged himself guilty, but not that the father promised him his pardon, the czarowitz returned to Russia.

On his arrival, the emperor delivered him into the hands of a court of justice created for the occasion. He did not tax him with any direct crime against his father personally. In the act by which he disinherited him, he principally insisted on the certainty he entertained that Alexis would undo all that he had done for the good of the nation, would overturn all his civil and military

institutions, and would thus render the future condition of the people worse than the former : for which reasons he pronounced him unworthy of the throne.

The judges proceeded farther, and condemned him to death. The czarowitz survived only a few days after that sentence had been notified to him. Historians say that he perished by the dagger, by the cord, or by poison. But it appears more probable that the simple fear of death, together with his bitter reflexions on his fate, gave him a violent shock which terminated his existence. Previous to his death, he asked to see his father. The czar, eagerly hastened to the place of his confinement, pardoned him, and tenderly bestowed on him his paternal benediction which the son had requested :—an affecting interview, which a parent would have doubtless avoided with a son who could have reproached him that he died the victim of his cruelty.

Severe toward his own family in what concerned the maintenance of that order which he had established in his government, Peter could not be indulgent to others. His dearest favourites ever found him inflexible on points connected with the administration. The superiors were responsible for the conduct of those whom they employed, and, in case of transgression on the part of the latter, were punished in proportion to their offence and the rank they held. It can hardly

be doubted that his choice of Catharine as his successor was less the effect of his tenderness than of his esteem, and of the conviction he felt of her capacity and her inclination to support his institutions.

All the actions of the czar tended to strengthen among his countrymen the usages which he had introduced. To give them stability, he employed burlesque as well as serious means : for instance, he one day invited the lords and ladies of his court to the marriage of one of his buffoons, and ordered that all the company should be dressed after the old fashion. The dinner was served up in the antique style that had prevailed two hundred years before. Whether from superstition or some other absurd motive, it had then been a rule that no fire should be lighted on the wedding-day, even in the severest cold : and this custom the czar ordered to be scrupulously observed. On such occasions the Russians had formerly drunk no wine, but were confined to mead and brandy : and these were now the only liquors which the emperor would allow. In vain the guests complained of this treatment. He answered—"Such has been the practice of your ancestors : the ancient customs are always the best." The object in view ennobles such scenes ; and reflexion shows the czar equally great in that ludicrous circle, as when, surrounded by laureled soldiers, he triumphantly paraded the streets of his new capital, to

excite and perpetuate among his subjects a taste for the arts and the emulation of glory.

The life of Peter the Great was, as we see, a continued round of useful labours; and even his pleasures were made productive of benefit. It might have been by motives of curiosity that he was induced to visit France, which he had omitted in his first tour: but it was observed that his curiosity was principally directed toward interesting objects, the arts, sciences, and commerce. His politeness appeared to the French to be still tinged with barbarism: and it was observed that he, on the other hand, thought them somewhat liable to the charge of frivolity. Men of real learning, and statesmen, observed in him a sound judgement, a great stock of diversified knowledge, and profound policy. This last science contributed no less than his arms to enlarge the bounds of his empire: by means of it, he as it were held the sceptre of Asia and Europe. In surveying his actions, one would imagine that he had lived above a century: but he died at the age of fifty-three years.

Catharine purchased the most costly marbles, and invited the most able sculptors of Italy, to erect a mausoleum worthy of the departed hero. She adorned it with emblematic devices, inscriptions, and an epitaph containing in epitome his entire history: but that history is reduced to

action on a medal which she caused to be struck, and copiously distributed to the foreign ambassadors and all the great men in the empire. On one side is the bust of Peter the Great: on the reverse appears the empress with the crown on her head, a globe and a sceptre lying beside her on a table, before her a sphere, sea-charts, plans, mathematical instruments, arms, and a caduceus. In the back-ground rises an edifice on the shore: an arsenal is discovered, and a ship at sea. Above in clouds, supported by Immortality, the de-funct emperor shows these treasures to Catharine, and says to her, “Behold what I have left “to you.”

Catharine,
A. D. 1725.

If the legacy was worthy of Peter, Catharine proved herself worthy to inherit it. The lower classes, and the soldiers in particular, took a pleasure during the funeral in uniting the names of both: they were heard to exclaim, “Though our “father be dead, our mother still lives.” She had made him the father of several children, of whom two daughters survived him and have obtained a place in history, Anne and Elizabeth Petrowna. By the established rule of succession, the crown ought to have devolved to the son of the unfortunate czarowitz Alexis: but not even an idea was entertained of calling into question the right which Catharine derived from the supreme authority of her husband the late emperor. The senate and the army immediately took the oath of alle-

giance to her; and she was at once as universally obeyed as if she had always worn the diadem.

It is pronouncing her eulogy in few words, to say that during her administration the world could not perceive that the head of the empire had been changed. Her indefatigable zeal for the welfare of her subjects, as well as her gratitude, prompted her to pursue with undeviating exactitude the noble plan which Peter had traced for the civilisation of his people. The genius of that great prince, as if it had been transfused into her soul, still continued to direct the government, and watch over the glory of the empire. She took peculiar care of the young son of Alexis, the only remaining prince of the blood of the czars. With the view of opening for him the avenue to the throne, she declared him grand-duke of Russia. In compliance with the wish expressed by her husband in his last moments, she gave her eldest daughter Anne Petrowna in marriage to the duke of Holstein. It deserves to be recorded in the annals of science that Catharine opened the academy of Petersburg to which Peter had not had time to give the finishing form, and that she presided at its first session. As if nought further remained for her to do after this last act which affixed the seal to her husband's glory, she died two years after him, at the age of thirty-eight years.

Peter II,
A.D. 1727.

She left on the throne Peter II, the son of Alexis, under the direction of a council of regency, at the head of which she had placed prince Menzikoff, who, like herself, was a striking example of the caprices of fortune. When a boy, and crying pastry about the streets, he pleased Peter the Great by a sensible reply: the czar took him to court, where the young pie-seller proved himself fit for various employments, and rose from grade to grade till he attained that of general, all the while enjoying the confidence of his master. It was at his house that Peter first saw Catharine: she ever recollected her former attachment to him: but she is not thought to have maintained any other connection with him than that of gratitude. She afforded him a last proof of it, by intrusting him with the chief management in the guardianship of her successor. She even recommended that the new czar should marry one of Menzikoff's daughters: but the young prince gave ear to the suggestions of that minister's enemies, despoiled him of all his property, and banished him with his whole family to the remote extremity of Siberia. Peter II died of the small-pox at the age of fifteen, on the eve of his intended marriage with the daughter of one of the first families in Russia.

There remained two princesses, daughters of the emperor John, Peter's elder brother—Catharine Iwanowna, married to the duke of Mecklen-

burg—and her younger sister Anne Iwanowna, relict of the duke of Courland. The assembled council of the nobles gave the preference to the latter, because she was at liberty to contract a new marriage with some great man of the country, and might produce a native Russian heir to the throne. They prescribed conditions to her which singularly abridged her authority, but from which she contrived to emancipate herself in the sequel.

She was the first of four female sovereigns who successively occupied the throne of Russia. As the tongue of malignity cannot be restrained in courts, they have all been represented as strongly addicted to galantry, though diversified by different shades and degrees. That of Anne Iwanowna, in unison with her robust habit and corpulency, was said to be neither delicate nor moderate.

When she saw herself firmly established on the throne, she invited from Courland her principal favourite Ernest-John Biron, the grand-son of an hostler. His father, risen from the lowest station in the stable to the post of chief huntsman, had given a good education to his sons, who were three in number. Ernest, the eldest, advanced himself at court, and, not content with riches, aimed also at dignities: but, his origin being too notorious, he was rejected by the noblesse, with whom he had endeavoured to contract an alliance. Equally spurned at the court of Petersburg, where

he also tried his success, he went back to Courland, and there had the good fortune to please his sovereign mistress.

In the season of his prosperity and favour he remembered the humiliating repulses which he had experienced in Russia and in his own country. The former he avenged by proscribing and bringing to the scaffold, under pretence of a conspiracy, the greater part of the Russian nobles who had shown themselves adverse to him: the latter he punished, by causing himself to be chosen duke of Courland through the armed interference of his mistress, and thus becoming sovereign over those who had formerly rejected him. Biron displayed great capacity in state-affairs: he conducted the administration with firmness, and rendered the reign of Anne Iwanowna glorious abroad: but at home the hand of government was stained with blood, under a princess who was naturally mild and inimical to acts of violence. Biron extorted her consent to persecutions: he ruled her during the remainder of her life, and, at her death, obtained from her a testamentary arrangement of which he expected to avail himself for the perpetuation of his own authority.

As a kind of restitution, she had called to the succession her niece Anne of Mecklenburg, daughter of that eldest sister who had been deprived of the throne of Russia to make room for the elevation of Anne. The princess of Mecklen-

burg had married a prince of Brunswick, by whom she had a son named Iwan. The empress Anne declared her niece grand-duchess, and her niece's son emperor. This arrangement had been suggested by Biron, who had procured himself to be nominated in her will as regent of the empire and guardian to the young prince, in hope of long reigning under his name. He was, however, supplanted by the grand-duchess, who caused him to be condemned to death, but commuted his punishment to that of exile in Siberia.

That princess is represented as extremely indolent, and wholly engrossed by voluptuous enjoyments. Her entire confidence was reposed in a female favourite named Julia Mengden, who acquired and preserved it by a complaisant subserviency which has been the subject of censure. A certain count Linar, the Polish envoy, had a familiar access to the princess which displeased the duke of Brunswick her husband. He expressed some displeasure at this intimacy: whereupon the favourite married Linar, for the purpose of affording him the opportunities of a free and unsuspected access to the palace. But the public were the less liable to be deceived by this wile, as the grand-duchess, an enemy to all restraint, was known to indulge her appetite whenever she felt its cravings, without regard to places or circumstances. The same heedless indifference rendered her utterly inattentive to the cabals which were

formed around her, although she received sufficient notice of them.

She had an aunt named Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter of Peter the Great and of Catharine, whose names were ever dear to the Russians. Under the descendants of the emperor John, that daughter of Peter had lived in obscurity, but was revered and esteemed for her prudence. The nobles, despising the enervate feebleness of a government which moreover was not exempt from scandal, invited her to the throne. She accordingly ascended it without blood-shed; nor was ever any revolution more peaceably effected. One would have imagined that neither ambition nor any other passion had any share in it. The grand-duchess, her husband, and their son the emperor, were surprised in their beds. It had been at first determined that they should be sent to Germany: but they were stopped on the frontier, and imprisoned in a fortress. The ducal pair were released from their confinement: but their unfortunate son, who had been born to the purple, lived in a severe captivity to the age of twenty-four years.

Elizabeth
Petrowna,
A.D. 1741.

Sprung, as the Russian historian remarks, from amorous blood, Elizabeth was amorous to excess. She often used to say to her confidantes, "I am no farther happy than as love makes me so." Her genius was lively, sprightly, and penetrating. She spoke several languages, was fond of order and

magnificence, gave a preference to French manners, and felt a repugnance to every species of cruelty. "It was impossible," adds the historian, "to see her, without becoming enamoured. "Pleasure and grace and happiness beamed in "her smile. At the sound of her voice, pain and "grief were assuaged. At the sight of her, the "secret thoughts of the sons and daughters of "misfortune rushed as it were in spite of them "to their lips: their tears fell warm upon her "heart; and her sensibility diminished the stream, "even before her munificence had time to dry "up the source forever."

The political talents of Elizabeth were not inferior to her beneficent qualities. To her the cabinet of Petersburg is indebted for the ascendancy which it gained in the affairs of Asia and Europe. She nominated her nephew Peter of Holstein as her successor in the empire, and gave him for a wife Sophia-Augusta princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, who, at her initiation in the Greek religion, and at the ceremony of her coronation, received the name of Catharine. This second Catharine contributed no less than the former to render the name illustrious. On her marriage she was declared grand-duchess of Russia; and it was settled that she should succeed to the crown, if she survived her husband.

This marriage was not fortunate. The princess was only fourteen years old; and the grand-duke

also was in the flower of his age. In the early period of their union they were observed to testify great eagerness to be together in private, at a distance from the curiosity and importunity of those around them. They stole away from the court, and absented themselves during several hours each day; and the nights did not appear sufficient for the vivacity of their feelings. From this close intimacy the whole empire with confident assurance expected an heir—never dreaming that the youthful pair solely employed those hours of privacy in performing the military exercise after the Prussian manner, and in standing centinels at the door with muskets on their shoulders. In relating these particulars long after, Catharine was heard to say, “I thought myself fit for something else.”

In effect, the grand-duchess united grace with majesty in her physiognomy and deportment. Loftiness, however, was the predominant feature, but not to the exclusion of those seductive attractions which announce the desire of pleasing. The grand-duke, on the contrary, was ugly and ridiculous in every respect. He affected the Prussian habiliment, of which he carried the forms to excess. An enormous hat, whimsically cocked, covered his little sneering ill-favoured face; and he took a pleasure in still further disfiguring himself by incessant grimaces, which he had made his amusement. He was not, however, deficient in

genius : but he was void of judgement ; and it has been said of him, that “ he loved what was great, “ but loved it with littleness.” The king of Prussia was his hero, or rather his divinity ; and he was seen to fall on his knees before the portrait of Frederic, exclaiming, “ My brother ! together we “ will conquer the universe !”

Several years had elapsed, during which conjugal tenderness, ill cultivated, had produced no fruit. Some say that Catharine, weary of the barren careffes of her husband, procured for herself the gratification of becoming a mother by a very simple intrigue with a young nobleman of her court. Others add circumstances to that amour which give it all the air of a romance.

It was absolutely necessary, say the latter, to provide an heir for the throne. The policy of the czarina Elizabeth required one, for the purpose of making the Russians forget prince Iwan, whose claims, notwithstanding his captivity, still found partisans. There being, in consequence of suspicions entertained of some natural defect in the czar, no hope of seeing any issue from him, a resolution was adopted in the secret council of putting the grand-duchess's complaisance to the test. A young courtier, the count Soltikoff, remarkable for the beauty of his figure, and to whom the princess seemed to show particular attention, was privately encouraged to pay his addresses to her. But Catharine standing upon

punctilio, a hint was conveyed to her from the empress her aunt, of the necessity of securing the throne by the birth of an heir. The niece represented that this precaution was unnecessary, since, in case of her husband's death, she was by her marriage-contract entitled to succeed him.—But then, it was asked, if she left no heir, what would become of the empire after her? What disturbances threatened it!—Catharine bore too warm an affection to the people over whom she was to reign, to expose them to those misfortunes: “Well, then,” said she, “bring him to-night.”

What renders this anecdote yet more singular, if it be true, is, that the man intrusted with this honourable mission to the princess was the gravest personage in the state, the high chancellor of Russia. The grand-duchess had a son; and Elizabeth might flatter herself before her death that her throne would not, for want of an acknowledged heir, be exposed to those shocks which sometimes overturn empires.

When Catharine's pregnancy was ascertained, Soltikoff was removed out of the way by being sent on an embassy. His absence was long a source of affliction to the princess: but she consoled herself for his loss, by substituting, in lieu of the galant who had been provided for her by others, a paramour of her own choice, the count Poniatowski, a Polish noble, whom the British ambassador to Russia had brought with him. He

was extremely handsome, and very amiable. The grand-duchess was pleased with him at a secret interview to which she repaired in disguise: and it was agreed between them, that, for the purpose of guarding against unforeseen accidents, and securing him from personal danger by the privilege of inviolability derived from the law of nations, Poniatowski should go back to Poland, and thence return vested with the dignity of an ambassador. Nor was this precaution useless to him, since he was surprised by the grand-duke himself in the very act of furtively entering the grand-duchess's apartment. The privileges of his public character saved him from the first emotions of marital fury: and Catharine, it is said, had the boldness to confess the whole affair to her husband, and to justify her infidelity on the ground of retaliation, which she asserted to be authorised by the conduct of the grand-duke in publicly keeping a mistress. She promised to show that lady those attentions which her pride had before refused to her, and even to allow her a pension. Solicited by his mistress, the grand-duke suffered Poniatowski to escape, and contented himself with obtaining his recall to Poland.

This was a heart-felt stroke to Catharine, who is said to have thrown herself on her knees before the empress, to obtain a revocation of the doom by which her paramour was to be torn from her. But Elizabeth, however indulgent her own weak-

nesses rendered her to those of others, would not venture to leave in her family a germ of discord which might be productive of disastrous consequences. She refused to interfere.

“ From this moment the grand-duchess began
“ to live at court as in a desert, having no visible
“ connexions except with young women who,
“ like herself, had been enamoured of Polish
“ gentlemen, and who were unwelcome at the
“ old court on account of their personal charms—
“ rising every morning before the sun—devoting
“ entire days to the perusal of good French
“ books—frequently alone—never long either at
“ table or at her toilette. But it was during this
“ period that she laid the foundations of her
“ subsequent greatness. She has been heard to
“ avow that all her knowledge of the art of
“ intrigue was learned at this time from one of
“ her ladies whose air bespoke the greatest simplicity and indolence. It was then also that
“ she secured for herself friends against the hour
“ of need—that all the men of importance were
“ persuaded, by the secret connexions which she
“ formed with them, that they would become
“ still more important if she obtained possession
“ of the government—that, while under the cloke
“ of a great but unfortunate passion she enjoyed
“ some consolatory private adventures, several of
“ them were fully authorised to suppose that
“ they should fill the rank of favourites at her

“ court. Such was her situation when the em-
 “ press Elizabeth died on the fifth of January,
 “ 1762.”

The grand-duke assumed the imperial sceptre under the name of Peter III. This event pro-^{Peter III.}
 duced an approximation between him and his ^{A.D. 1762.}
 wife. She gave him good advices, to which he at first seemed to pay attention : but, whether at the instigation of evil counsellors or the impulse of ancient resentment, he soon began to testify an aversion to her. He almost disowned her son, by refusing to acknowledge him as his successor ; and he plainly intimated that the least he could do would be to divorce her, and send her into either exile or confinement.

He began his reign either by actual changes, or by the annunciation of projects of which the bare threat was sufficient to terrify or disquiet all the orders of the state. The nobles alone had reason to be satisfied with the concession of some rights and privileges, which, however, he infringed almost as soon as he had granted them. He made known his intentions of reforming the clergy, of depriving them of their wealth, and rendering them pensioners, instead of proprietors as they were before. The Prussian code of laws, known by the name of the “ Frederician Code,” was by his order published in his states, and he enjoined the observance of it ; by which he excited a general dissatisfaction of the Russians, who were

fondly attached to their ancient laws. He was likewise injudicious enough to disgust the regiment of guards by attempting to subject them to the Prussian exercise, and oblige them to attend him to Germany to an unnecessary war in which he was preparing to embark from no other motive than his enthusiastic zeal for the king of Prussia—thus forcing them to exchange their quiet service about the palace for the laborious duty of a camp. Finally, he recalled all those persons who had been exiled under the late reigns, without reflecting how rarely it happens that a man who has once meddled in intrigues does not return to his former practices whenever he finds an opportunity.

While the emperor was thus employed in exciting indignation and contempt by his capricious conduct and his unseasonable reforms and his disdain of the established usages of his subjects, the empress daily conciliated the esteem and friendship of the public by her gentle manners, by the equality of her conduct, and by her careful attention to observe those civil and religious practices which were so dear to the Russians. At the same time, however, she privately indemnified herself for the restrictions of that rigid etiquette by the “*consolatory adventures*” of which we have already spoken.

Of these, the foremost place may be assigned to her secret intercourse with count Orloff, whom

she distinguished among the guards—a man whose nobility was not well ascertained, but whose person was perhaps the most beautiful in the whole empire. Admitted to her with the most mysterious secrecy by a confidential chamber-maid, he long indeed imagined that he had the pleasure of pleasing a woman of the first distinction, but was very far from suspecting that the lady was no other than the empress herself. It was amid the pomp of a public ceremony that he recognised on the throne the dame who lavished on him her secret favours.

The mutual intelligence of the amorous pair, conveyed to each other by preconcerted signs even on occasions of the greatest publicity, constantly eluded the eye of curiosity, and escaped the notice even of the princess Daschkoff, a young lady of the age of eighteen, and supposed to be the person to whom Catharine acknowledged herself indebted for whatever skill she possessed in the art of intrigue. At the same time also, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, it happened that Orloff was equally qualified for state-affairs as for pleasure: but the views of the confidante and those of the favourite, when they began to exert themselves for the success of the project which they had in contemplation, were widely different. Orloff wished to procure for his mistress a despotic authority; whereas the young lady, being a republican from both sentiment and con-

viction, and connected in preference with the embassadors of republics; had no other motive for contributing to gain partisans for the empress than the hope that, when exclusively seated on the throne, she would voluntarily limit her own power by a council, a senate, or other republican forms. The empress suffered her to indulge that flattering idea, which rendered her extremely zealous in gaining over the great lords by the alluring prospect of being called in to a participation of the government. Orloff, on the other hand,—being an officer in the guards, being seconded by his two brothers in the same corps, and having at his command the military chest of the artillery which the empress had procured for him—won the soldiers by money and feasting and promises. The two intrigues were proceeding with equal pace under the direction of the empress, without the princess's knowing that she had a colleague—a circumstance, of which she continued ignorant until the necessity of her situation obliged Catharine more openly to combine their efforts.

Peter was ready to set out for Holstein, where his army were assembling to go and join the king of Prussia: but people talked of some great event which was to take place previous to his departure. He was said to entertain the intention of declaring prince Iwan his successor. It is certain that he had caused him to be brought to a fortress not far distant from Petersburg, that he had

gone thither to visit him; and that he was inclined to disown the young grand-duke as his son; and indeed he had recalled from his foreign mission the count Soltikoff, that first paramour whom the pretended necessity of insuring the succession had caused to be provided for the empress. The emperor's mistress, who by a singular co-incidence of circumstances happened to be in habits of friendship with the princess Daschkoff, affected haughty airs, and made no secret of her aspiring ambition. It was added that Peter had determined to order in a single day the divorcement of twelve of the youngest and most beautiful ladies of his court, whom he had conducted to Oranienbaum, a royal pleasure-seat at the distance of twelve leagues from Petersburg. Finally, absurd rumours of every kind were circulated; and they were readily believed, because the inconsistency and capriciousness and imprudence of Peter rendered every thing possible.

Among other means employed for the purpose of alarming the people, a report was artfully spread that the empress was in danger. She had withdrawn to Peterhoff, a country-seat eight leagues distant from Oranienbaum, that her absence from the capital might prevent those suspicions which are sometimes excited by the steps necessary to be adopted in such enterprises at the moment of execution. In effect, one of her principal accomplices committed an act of indiscretion which

caused him to be arrested. This event impelled the others to adopt a definitive resolution, respecting which they had till then continued to hesitate.

On the eighth of July 1762, at eight o'clock in the evening, the princess Daschkoff sent to count Panin, the grand-duke's tutor, desiring him to come to her. He obeyed her summons: she proposed to him to commence the revolution at that instant. He recommended to have it postponed until day-light, that the empress might in the interval be apprised. Toward mid-night, that young lady of eighteen put on man's clothes, mounted on horseback, set out alone from her habitation, and repaired to a bridge which she knew to be the usual rendez-vous of the conspirators. Orloff was there with his brothers and a few more: the news of the imprisonment of their accomplice struck them with a kind of stupor: but their first torpid amazement was succeeded by a sudden resolution of immediately proceeding to the execution of their scheme.

The different posts were allotted to proper persons, the principal accomplices, of high and low degree, who were to take the most active part, were severally apprised. One of the Orloffs hurried to Peterhoff, penetrated to the empress's apartment by a secret passage, suddenly awaked her, crying, "Come, madam! there is no time to be lost,"—and instantly disappeared. She dressed

herself in disorderly haste : Orloff returned with a carriage which was kept constantly ready at a neighbouring house, placed Catharine in it with a chamber-maid, rode singly before her, and had her followed by a soldier, who together with him constituted her whole escort.

Orloff the favourite came to meet her at some distance from Petersburg, cried out to her, " Every thing is ready," and went on before her. They arrived at the break of day. The most profound tranquillity reigned in the city, which they were obliged to traverse on their way to the barracks. The empress expected to be received there by the whole regiment under arms ; but not above thirty soldiers advanced to receive her, and these hardly dressed. This solitary appearance chilled her with horror : she turned pale : but soon their comrades came forth in quick succession, having been awaked and summoned by their chiefs. She administered to them the oath of allegiance on a crucifix brought for the purpose by the chaplain of the regiment. The nobles concerned in the plot now hastily arrived, and before eleven in the morning the empress saw herself surrounded by above ten thousand men, soldiers and others, loudly shouting *hurrah* !

That word has no precise signification, but is equally applicable to every event of a joyous nature ; and amid that multitudinous throng there were not perhaps more than thirty persons who

knew why they pronounced it—whether it were to proclaim the grand-duke emperor, and his mother regent—to congratulate the latter on having escaped from the murderous dagger of her husband—or, finally, on account of some victory, or other subject of rejoicing.

A report moreover was spread of the emperor's death: and at the same time a funeral procession entered the public square, slowly traversed it, and afterward disappeared in the crowd. Then were seen to advance the chiefs of the Russian clergy, all venerable seniors, bearing the ornaments used in the consecration of the monarch. Gravely passing through the ranks of the army, who respectfully observed the most profound silence, they ascended to the palace to consecrate the empress.

To the important ceremonies of religion succeeded a military toilette. Catharine arrayed herself in the ancient uniform of the guards, gallantly taking from the nobles who surrounded her—from one a sword, from another a hat, from a third the insignia of the military orders—caused a slight repast to be served up to her—saluted with a glass of wine the gazing multitude, who answered her by long acclamations—presented to them her son—was acknowledged by the soldiers as chief of the army—mounted on horseback—and commenced her march at their head, accompanied by the princess Daschkoff dressed as

one of the guards. By six o'clock in the evening, all was again peaceable at Petersburg, nor did there remain the smallest symptom of agitation.

She proceeded to attack her husband. That prince had set out from Oranienbaum on the tenth of July with his sportive train, on his way to Peterhoff, there intending to pass some days in pleasurable enjoyments, previous to his departure for the army. An express dispatched from Peterhoff informed him that the empress had disappeared thence: he nevertheless continued his journey, and proceeded to the country-seat, where a messenger, who had escaped from Petersburg in spite of the precautions used to prevent all egress, gave him some imperfect intelligence of the revolution. Others successively came in, who confirmed his report: and soon the news arrived that the empress was advancing against him at the head of an army. Consternation pervades his whole company: the emperor is perplexed and confounded; he orders, countermands, asks advice, adopts and again rejects it. The only plan suited to his present circumstances was that suggested by general Munich—of instantly proceeding to obtain possession of the division of the fleet stationed at Cronstadt, which should transport the czar to Revel where the other division lay—of sailing in the fleet to Hol-

stein where his army awaited him—and returning at their head to combat his rebellious wife.

After some time wasted in discussion, Peter approved this counsel, embarked his whole suite on board two yachts, sailed down the river, and appeared before Cronstadt. But it was now too late: the garrison, gained over by an emissary who had used greater speed than the emperor, refused to admit him, and obliged him to retire. Munich again advised him to proceed to Revel: but his company in alarm represented that they had not a sufficient number of rowers—"Well," then," replied the general, "we will handle the oars ourselves."

This resolution was not calculated to please a groupe of young men and courtiers who were prepared only for a party of pleasure. By their remonstrances they prevailed on the emperor to land, under pretence of defending themselves within some paltry fortifications at the castle of Oranienbaum, which had formerly been erected for some military exhibitions. But scarcely had they reached the place when news arrived that the hostile army, strengthened by the accession of several corps of troops which had been destined for the army in Holstein, was on the point of making its appearance. Thus closely pressed, Peter writes to his wife, and requests her to allow him to retire into Holstein with his mistress.

Catharine replies to his request by sending him a formula of abdication, which she commands him to sign. Munich indignant exclaims—“What! can you not die like an emperor at the head of your troops? If you are afraid of being sabred, take a crucifix in your hand: they will then not dare to touch you; and I will undertake to manage the combat.”—This remonstrance was ineffectual. Convinced that he had no resource remaining, Peter set out to meet Catharine at the castle of Peterhoff, whence she had two days before eloped as a fugitive, and whither she now returned in triumph.

As soon as the soldiers descried the unfortunate prince, they unanimously shouted “Long live Catharine!” He passed through the army, with chagrin on his countenance and rage in his heart. As he ascended the steps to the castle, the few courtiers who had followed him were pushed aside, and his mistress was carried off. He was conducted into an apartment, where an uncourteous voice called out to him to undress himself. He took off his coat, threw down his sword, divested himself of the badges of his dignity, and remained in his shirt, exposed to the mockery of the soldiers. After this humiliating scene, he was hurried away to Robscha, a castle six leagues distant from Peterburg.

Two days after, one of the Orloffs, the most vigorous of the three brothers, arrived there

accompanied by an associate equally robust and determined as himself. They told the emperor that they were come to dine with him; and, according to the Russian custom, they began by a glass of brandy. The czar's glass was poisoned: he perceived it by the fire which devoured his entrails, and refused a second which was offered to him. They attempted to make him swallow it by force: he struggled: his two pretended guests threw him upon the floor, and strangled him. Orloff immediately returned to Petersburg, and repaired to the palace. The empress was at table: he presented himself with his hair loose and his dress discomposed, and made a sign to Catharine. She rose, went with him into a closet, staid there a moment, returned coolly to table, and the next day the emperor's death was announced as the consequence of a "hæmorrhoidal colic."

His body was conveyed to Petersburg, where it remained during three days exposed to public view. The face was black, and the neck displayed the marks of violence. But it was thought better to exhibit it even in that state and at the hazard of whatever suspicions, and remarks it might occasion, than to incur the risque of seeing—in case the person of the deceased emperor were not duly recognifed—some adventurer assume his name and excite disturbances in the empire, as had already more than once happened.

The nobles who had contributed to the revolution, expected, as the princess Daschkoff had given them reason to hope, and as indeed she herself imagined, that Catharine, on ascending the throne, would establish a senate or council which should set bounds to her authority. Some of them even were fully persuaded that she would only assume the title of regent. But Orloff, who was sure of the army, would not suffer any limitations of the power of his sovereign. He explained himself on the subject in an imperious tone; and nobody dared to contradict him. The princess testified her dissatisfaction at this, and even thought herself authorised to speak in the language of censure on occasion of the empress's intimacy with Orloff, which to her great astonishment she discovered from some familiarities that passed between them. Neither of her observations was well received. Grown weary of experiencing cool treatment on the part of her from whom she conceived herself entitled to expect the warmest gratitude, she retired. The empress however did not forget her services: she recalled her to her court, and, to employ her active genius, conferred on her an unexampled dignity, by appointing her president of the academy of Petersburg.

A few days after Catharine's elevation, general Munich introduced himself among the crowd of courtiers. She observed him, and said, "You intended then to fight against me?"—"Yes,

“madam,” he replied: “and it is now my duty “to fight for you.”—She testified so great esteem and kindness for him that he sincerely attached himself to her.

Orloff and his brothers were loaded with riches and honours, and dignified with the title of counts. When the former ceased to be the favourite of the woman, he still remained at court as the minister of the empress; and no important state-affairs were transacted, in which he was not employed with distinction and confidence, until the moment when, after having aimed at the honour of publicly receiving the empress’s hand—a pretension proudly signified by him and disdainfully rejected by her—he received orders to travel, together with a grant of a hundred thousand rubles in ready money, a pension of fifty thousand, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate containing six thousand peasants.

The reign of Catharine II, which began in 1762, was of thirty-four years’ continuance, and proved one of the most brilliant of those which have shed lustre on Russia. Nothing was capable of diverting her from the prosecution of her designs once formed. Determined to accomplish the projects entertained by her predecessors against Poland, she placed her former paramour Poniatowski on the throne, and had the address to lull him to perfect security even at the moment of sending her troops into his kingdom, as if she

had no other design than that of strengthening the authority of the monarch, in opposition to that of the republic. When he found that his hands were bound, and attempted to shake off his chains, the attentions of the amorous mistress gave way to the severity of the despot. She compelled him to bend his neck to the yoke, to give his consent and even his concurrence to a first partition which did more than barely weaken the kingdom, and at length to a second by which it was finally annihilated. Nothing was able to resist the policy or the arms of Catharine. By the former she acquired a preponderant influence in Germany, and in the other courts of Europe. By her victories she caused herself to be feared by the Chinese, respected by the Persians, courted by the Tartars. The sultan of the Turks, attacked in the very heart of his dominions, trembled for the safety of his capital; and she saw herself on the eve of substituting in Constantinople the Russian eagle to the Ottoman crescent, and of reviving the Grecian empire. Her fleets, taking their departure from the inner recesses of the Baltic, and traversing the vast extent of the ocean and the Mediterranean, came to insult the Dardanelles; and vessels built in ports either dug or repaired by her displayed her flag on seas from which she had till then been excluded by Ottoman jealousy.

This princess was fond of literature, and always prided herself in affording it protection. In her code of laws, which she entirely composed almost without assistance, we have a striking monument of the extent of her knowledge and wisdom. Even to an advanced age she preserved her relish for amours, and, in the gratification of her passion, she subjected herself to even less restraint at that period than in her youth. Her court was magnificent. Mild and gentle in domestic life as women of amorous complexion usually are, Catharine knew how to combine severity and majesty in public.

She is thought to have been jealous and suspicious in politics : and to that disposition are attributed the disgrace and banishment of many individuals under her reign, together with some measures of excessive precaution, such as her husband's death, and that of the young prince Iwan, who was poignarded in a citadel without any punishment having been afterward inflicted on his assassins.

Wretched the fate of sovereigns, who are surrounded by persons incessantly employed in studying their character, dextrous in seizing their fears and desires, and eagerly ready to undertake the commission of crimes which those who are benefited by them dare not to punish !

At her death in 1797, Catharine II left to her son Paul I an empire perhaps equal in magnitude

to that of the Romans, if not superior, but extending over countries of contrary temperatures, less populous, and less cultivated. “But,” says a historian who has recently given to the public a life of that princess, “notwithstanding the inequality of climate, the scantiness of population, and the infertility of a part of the soil, those states present immense resources to commerce. Placed at the top of both Europe and Asia, the Russians can easily carry on trade with the entire universe. The Caspian sea affords them a communication with Persia and India: the Black sea and that of Azoph enable them to go and sell the productions of the north in the Mediterranean, and to carry back to the north the commodities of the Levant. Kamtschatka opens to them a passage to America on the one side, and, on the other, to China and Japan. Finally, the White sea and the Baltic connect them with most of the European nations, to whom their commerce is become indispensable.” Who could have thought, when John Basilowitz assembled under his sceptre in the year 1462 the hordes of Scythians and Huns and Sarmatæ and other peoples till then vagrant and unsettled, that in three centuries that empire would become the most extensive and formidable in the universe?

POLAND.

Poland, between Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, Moravia, Russia, Tartary, Hungary, and the Baltic.

POLAND signifies "level country:" and in effect it has no mountains except those which separate it from Hungary; all the other elevations being only little hills. It contains forests well stocked with excellent game—marshes—few large rivers—plains extremely fertile of corn—in general all the productions of nature—mines, especially one of salt, unique in its kind, and inhabited like a town: but, notwithstanding the abundance of every thing, the commerce is small through the pride of the nobles and indolence of the plebeians: it is almost entirely carried on by Jews, who are so numerous in the country, that Poland is called the Jews' paradise. The Poles are the only people of the universe who have by an express law prohibited the formation of a marine establishment.

There are few nations who enjoy in so high a degree bodily strength and the vigour of health—advantages which may here be ascribed to the temperature of the climate, the sobriety of the people, and their constant habits of exercise. The use of the cold bath is said also to contribute to the same effects. The *noblesse* are affable, liberal, hospitable, polite to strangers, harsh toward their vassals, delicate on the point of honour, vain, fond of show, magnificent in their dress and equipages. They are from their infancy instructed in litera-

ture, and all speak Latin, though not very correctly. Passionately enamoured of liberty, they readily enlist under the banners of faction. As to the commonalty, they are ignorant, mercenary, indigent, slaves in the full extent of the term, being liable to imprisonment, sale, barter, stripes, even death itself, at the will of their masters.

If we may judge of a government by its effects, there exists not a worse than that of Poland. It is a chaos of contradictory and mutually repugnant regulations which engender almost perpetual anarchy. The real sovereign is neither the king nor the senate, but any nobleman who chooses to pronounce in the diet the word *veto* *. That single word stops all the deliberations, suspends all the decisions. It often happens that the *forbidding* member cannot be induced to retract his *veto* until compelled by sabre-strokes; whence the diets are almost invariably tumultuous, as must necessarily be the case with an assembly of armed men—where the constituted dignitaries possess no coercive authority—where the lowest gentleman esteems himself equal to the highest—where, in fine, wealth commands and avarice executes.

The same disorder prevails among the troops. On a rumour circulated in the provinces respecting the government, all the nobles mount their horses, place themselves under the guidance of

* I forbid.

whatever chief they please, forming an immense but undisciplined host, unobservant of subordination, and in most instances ill supplied with provisions, because the taxes are injudiciously regulated and unpunctually paid. If the aid of infantry be requisite, it must be procured from other parts of Germany, because the Polish nobles cautiously refrain from putting arms into the hands of their peasants, whom they are equally unwilling to train to war, or to divert from their labours which constitute the chief wealth of their masters.

In speaking of Poland, we indiscriminately designate it by the title of "kingdom" or "republic." The principal revenues of the crown are the taxes on the towns and on the Jews, together with the salt-mines, of which it has lately been deprived. A king of Poland, if not rich by his own private fortune, would be one of the poorest sovereigns in Europe, amid a circle of nobles more opulent and powerful than exist in any other country. The law by which the *noblesse* are ruled is the sabre: the peasantry are governed by the cudgels of their lords, and may deem themselves happy whenever they experience from them equity and indulgence.

From this succinct sketch of the ancient and modern state of Poland, we may conclude that its history can be little interesting except to a Polish nobleman. During the lapse of eight or nine hundred years, which is the period known

to history, we find nought but wars undertaken on occasion of the elections of the kings. We see them chosen from the nation, from foreign countries, sometimes voluntarily, at other times by compulsion: we see them expelled, we see them recalled. Now the son of the deceased monarch succeeds him: in other circumstances the nation invites to her sovereignty a nobleman with whom she is unacquainted. No fixed rule prevails in that respect. Happy the government which, wisely using that liberty, should place merit on the throne! But the choice has almost ever been the work of faction; and factions are rarely just or actuated by pure intentions.

The noble Polander peruses with avidity the voluminous records of those sanguinary contests, in which he beholds his ancestors make a conspicuous figure. As to the plebeian throng, if they were to read, how indignant would they learn under what oppression they have ever been made to groan! and what would they not attempt for the sake of bursting their chains? There are, then, as we have observed, none but the Polish nobles who can feel an interest in their history. Wherefore, to avoid tiring the reader by a detail of intrigues similar to each other in the violences by which they were attended, and always aiming at the same object, we will content ourselves with collecting under the dates of the kings all the most important occurrences.

The infancy of Poland is destitute even of those illusions which have hovered round the cradles of the other nations of the north—the fairies and magic feats, preserved by oral tradition in the songs of the bards, who are to be considered as the annalists of those frozen regions. We see Poland suddenly stand forth in the state of adolescence, in the year 559, under the reign of Lech, her first duke or king of whom we have any knowledge, and who, according to the Polish historians, was descended in a direct line from Japhet the son of Noah. Like Alexander of Macedon, he left his kingdom to “the most worthy.” That “most worthy” was Viscimir, an illustrious warrior, who carried his arms into almost all the neighbouring countries. On his death, the nation, exhausted by her victories and ruined by her conquests, made trial of a different form of government. She placed herself under the regimen of twelve great lords, whom she styled palatines or waiwodes—grew tired of them, and returned to the ducal or regal government.

Captivated by the great qualities of Vanda daughter to one of their kings, the Poles conferred on her the crown. That princess possessed in the highest degree the attractive charms of her sex, which she enhanced by a superior intelligence and masculine courage. She was just, temperate, eloquent; and her affability secured those hearts which her beauty had enthralled. A Teutonic

prince named Rithogar demanded the honour of her hand, threatening Poland with all the calamities of war in case of a refusal. Vanda's pride, which might have yielded to the bland insinuations of love, revolted against a desire thus imperatively expressed. She accepted the challenge; and Rithogar, defeated in battle, killed himself through shame and despair. Vanda, the historians add, saw him at the moment when he plunged his sword into his bosom; when, struck with the noble features and graceful charms of the expiring prince, she determined not to survive him, and accordingly drowned herself in the Weiffel.

After her death the Poles revived the aristocratic form of government. They were harassed and plundered by the Hungarians and Moravians, and ill defended by their own chiefs who were not in accord with each other. A simple wainwright, by name Premislaus, placed himself at their head, and merited the throne by his victories. He was a great prince, a friend to the arts, and fond of peace, though indebted to war for his exaltation. In the choice of his successor, the Poles left the decision to a sort of chance, by promising their crown to the man who, starting on horseback from a determined spot, should first reach an appointed goal. One of the competitors caused the ground to be clandestinely planted with iron spikes, reserving only a path in which himself ran. This stratagem succeeded with him

in the race: but a young peasant detected the fraud, and was chosen in his stead.

He assumed the name of Lech III. In all public ceremonies, he caused his former rustic garb to be carried before him: nor was this an act of empty ostentation; for he ever retained the memory of his pristine state; and that recollection acted upon him as a stimulus to every virtue. He transmitted his virtuous qualities to his two immediate descendents; but his great-grandson Popiel degenerated from them. Too complaisant to his wife who was a cruel and calumnious woman, he administered poison to his three uncles, excellent princes, who had been his guardians. From their dead bodies, lying exposed to the injuries of the weather, a swarm of rats are said to have issued, which devoured Popiel and his wife and children. In him, about the year 860, ended the first race of the dukes or kings of Poland.

The title of duke, which till this period had been as it were convertible with that of king, totally ceased under Popiel's successor Piaſtus. This man had, like Premislaus, been originally a wain-wright; and for his elevation to the regal dignity he was indebted to a miracle similar to that of the widow of Sarepta. Like her, he had received from two heavenly messengers an inexhaustible vessel of oil, which he generously distributed during a season of scarcity. The

grateful nation conferred on him their crown. On the throne, he was the comforter of the widow, the guardian of the orphan, the tutelar angel of the poor and the unfortunate. He was neither a politician nor a warrior: but his virtues supplied the place of talents. He appeased several domestic commotions: and the nobles, however dissatisfied with the choice of so ignoble a chief, were afraid openly to revolt against a prince who seemed to live for the sole benefit of his subjects. He gave an excellent education to his son Ziemowit, who did not degenerate from his virtues, which were inherited by the children of his children. One of them, by name Zienomiflaus, who died in 964, was called the "Eye of Christianity." His successor Mieczlaus, though enjoying in his kingdom all the attributes of royalty, did not conceive himself sufficiently authorised to assume the title of king unless he obtained it from the court of Rome. He unsuccessfully solicited that honour: but the pope conferred it on his son.

Boleslaus is famous for his exploits. He seized on Bohemia and Moravia, and subjugated Pomerania, Saxony, Prussia, and Russia. When age and the satiety of conquest induced him to lay down his arms, he laboured to secure for his subjects the advantages of his victories, and to render happy that people whom he had rendered powerful. The conquered princes again rose in arms, and, disturbing the peace of his old age, obliged

Boleslaus
Chrol ri,
A D. 999.

that respectable sovereign to cover his hoary locks with a helmet. In his last expedition he displayed marks of clemency little usual at that time : it was the custom to reduce prisoners of war to the condition of slavery : but he granted their liberty to those whom he had captured, and dismissed them without ransom, penetrated with esteem for his virtues.

Mieczlaus,
A.D. 1025.

Gratitude to the memory of the father called his son Mieczlaus to the throne. He experienced however some opposition to his elevation : but he surmounted it. The peace which he afterward enjoyed left him at liberty to indulge in debauchery, of which the excesses abridged the period of his existence. His reign, however, was not undistinguished by martial glory.

Casimir,
A.D. 1034.

The Poles now chose his son Casimir, yet in the years of adolescence, and vested his mother Richsa with the regency. She governed ill, was expelled from the kingdom, but did not quit it in poverty. She had sent before her into Germany considerable treasures, the fruits of Boleslaus's conquests, which had not been entirely dissipated by her husband Mieczlaus. Young Casimir, being involved in the punishment of his mother's faults, was also compelled to flee. He took refuge in France, and, whether through devotion or the embarrassment of his circumstances, became a monk in the abbey of Cluni. The youthful king was here so completely unknown, that, when the Poles, weary of

the anarchy which desolated their country, sought him for the purpose of re-instating him on the throne, they had much difficulty to find him. The pope granted him a dispensation from his monastic vows: but he obliged entire Poland to purchase that favour by establishing the tax called "Peter-pence," which was a tribute annually paid to the sovereign pontif. From the reign of Casimir we may date the authority of the popes in Poland. In his youth, that prince had frequented the schools of the university of Paris: during his whole life he retained a taste for the sciences, and endeavoured to disseminate it in his kingdom. He gloriously practised the pacific virtues, without neglecting to exhibit proofs of courage and firmness whenever circumstances called for their exertion.

Casimir left three sons, of whom Boleslaus the Boleslaus II.
A.D. 1053. eldest received the crown. He made war on the king of Bohemia, subdued the Hungarians, but directed his efforts chiefly against Russia, of which he determined to achieve the conquest. In those times a battle usually decided the fate of a kingdom, because the victor rarely met on his way any towns sufficiently strong to oppose a barrier to his sudden and rapid career, especially to the irruptions of the Polish cavalry. Boleslaus, however, was stopped in his progress by Kiow. He besieged it, and took it after a long resistance; but, instead of punishing the obstinacy of its

inhabitants according to the usual mode of that barbarous age, he applauded their courage, and recompensed their brave exertions by saving the town from pillage and from the insults of his army. Kiow was the most opulent and voluptuous among the cities of the north: the Poles suffered themselves to be infected by the contagion of pleasures; and an army of rough hardy warriors degenerated into a mob of effeminate debauchees. Boleslaus himself, who till then had worn the crown with dignity, abandoned himself to the most sensual indulgences: and the prince, as well as the soldiers, took such delight in this life of luxury, that they all seemed to have forgotten their native country.

This army is said to have remained seven years absent and forgetful of their home. The Polish women, meanwhile, irritated by their husbands' indifference to them, and by their preference of the ladies of Kiow, resolved to take signal vengeance, and unanimously admitted their slaves to all the privileges of husbands. At the news of this resolution, which must appear equally extraordinary for the unanimity with which it was adopted as for the object in view, the husbands abandoned the monarch, whom they loudly accused as the cause of their dishonour, and hasted back to Poland, threatening to wash out their disgrace in the blood of their faithless wives. But the women had anticipated their intentions, and

armed their servile paramours against their husbands. A sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the women, goaded by despair, fought beside their slaves, fought their husbands in the thick of the battle, and fancied they could obliterate their crime by plunging their swords into the bosoms of the men who were interested in avenging it.

While the combatants were yet engaged, Boleslaus arrived at the head of an army raised in Russia, and indiscriminately assailed the women, their galants, and the soldiers who had deserted his banners. This sudden attack united the wives and husbands and slaves, who desperately sustained several obstinate battles against their sovereign. Poland was inundated with the blood of her inhabitants: and, to fill up the measure of her calamities, the schism which rent the church, caused also a division in Poland. There arose, moreover, a contest for riches and power between the king and the clergy; on occasion of which, the impetuous Gregory VII. hurled against the monarch the thunder of excommunication. Abandoned by his subjects, and no longer finding personal safety in his dominions, Boleslaus was soon compelled to flee into Hungary with his son Mieczlaus. The hapless monarch is said to have been afterward reduced to such distress, that, either for the purpose of concealment or of gaining a subsistence, he exercised the humble functions of a cook in a convent in Carinthia, where he died.

Uladislaus,
A. D. 1082.

It was not till after much entreaty that the pope consented to grant the title, not of king, but barely of duke, to Uladislaus the brother of Boleslaus. The sovereign pontif divided his favours between the kings of Poland and Bohemia, and fired them with mutual jealousy by conferring the regal dignity now on the one and now on the other. In hope of obtaining that honour, Uladislaus aggravated the burden of the tribute paid by the Poles to the see of Rome: yet he enjoyed only the title of duke. This prince's want of energy proved the source of discord in his family and disturbance in the state: he suffered his natural son Sbigneus to contend for the authority with his legitimate son Uladislaus. The latter gained the preference in the competition for the crown: but he was harassed during almost the whole time of his reign by the intrigues of his brother.

Boleslaus III.
A. D. 1103.

Boleslaus III is represented in history as a hero, and compared to Boleslaus Chrobri, surnamed the Great. He was victorious in forty battles, and died of chagrin for having lost one. He divided his duchy among his four sons.

Uladislaus II.
A. D. 1139.

The principal share, together with the title of duke, fell to Uladislaus II, surnamed the Driveler. He was too obedient to the counsels of his wife, who embroiled him with his brothers, and inspired him with the ambitious desire of depriving them of their portions. But, by attempting to grasp

at all, he lost all, and was deposed. Boleslaus IV, Boleslaus IV. A.D. 1146. who was chosen in his stead, ceded to him Silesia, as a matter of favour. The new duke lived in good understanding with his two other brethren, Mieczlaus and Casimir. He did not envy them the enjoyment of the states which their father had bequeathed to them; and they, on the other hand, assisted him in repressing the efforts made by Uladislaus to re-ascend the throne. Boleslaus thought himself sufficiently well secured in the possession of it to risque a visit to the holy land. He there reaped successes and suffered reverses. The latter induced him to return to Poland, where he was soon after attacked by the emperor Barbarossa, at the instigation of Uladislaus's wife, who was his kinswoman. Boleslaus repelled the German invaders by the assistance of his brother Mieczlaus, who in the sequel was rewarded with the sceptre when death had taken it from Boleslaus's hand. The sons of Uladislaus disputed it with him: but he gained it by the choice of the assembled states.

A worse choice they could not possibly have made. Mieczlaus was surnamed the Old, Mieczlaus III. A.D. 1173. because he was elevated to the throne at an advanced age. He was prodigal, oppressive, cruel. A trait which distinguishes him from other men of similarly atrocious disposition, is, that, for want of criminals on whom to exercise his barbarity, he caused tortures to be inflicted on animals of the brute

creation. He was deposed—a punishment too mild for such a monster, and at the same time ineffectual to reclaim him. The last of the four brothers, by name Casimir, was of a quite different character, mild, humane, scrupulously virtuous, insomuch that, when the crown was tendered to him, he hesitated to accept it, through an apprehension of violating his brother's property: nor did he consent till moved by the following argument which was urged to him in the assembly of the states—"The ceremony of election supposes a compact between the king and the people. Mieczlaus has broken through the conditions which were prescribed to him at the time when we gave him the preference to the sons of his brother: of consequence, he is legitimately deposed."

Casimir did every thing he could in his brother's favour; he granted him lands and domains; but Mieczlaus yet remained unsatisfied. Rather than expose Poland to the calamities of a civil war, Casimir offered to resign to him the crown: but the states, refusing to place themselves again under the government of a prince whom they had rejected, opposed Casimir's abdication. Mieczlaus continued to harass his brother, at one time by secret conspiracies, at another by open hostility: and the reigning prince, equally brave and merciful, ceased not to conquer him, nor was weary of granting him repeated pardons.

This struggle was not terminated till the death of Casimir, who left behind him the reputation of being the mildest and most liberal and just and affable monarch that ever reigned over Poland.

The contest was re-commenced with Casimir's ^{Lech V.} son Lech, surnamed the Fair. ^{A.D. 1194.} Miecslaus succeeded in obliging his nephew to yield him possession of the throne, to which he carried back all the vices which had before caused him to be degraded from it. He would have been again dispossessed, if death, accelerated by his debaucheries, had not anticipated the interference of his subjects. He held it as his maxim that "a sovereign is not bound to observe his oath, except when neither his safety nor his advantage requires that he should violate it." The Poles restored the crown to Lech, who did not enjoy it in peace, being incessantly distracted by domestic disturbances and foreign wars. The latter were unfortunate under his reign. The Tartars made a destructive irruption into Poland: neither age nor sex nor quality found any favour from those merciless barbarians, who ravaged with fire the provinces through which they passed, and massacred all the inhabitants whom they were unable to drag away into captivity. Of those who escaped their rage, the nobles fled into Hungary, and the plebeian class sought an asylum in the recesses of the forests and the most inaccessible

places. Lech was assassinated; though we are not informed of either the cause or the manner of his death. It is presumed that he fell the sacrifice of a faction.

Boleslaus V.
A.D. 1226.

Notwithstanding the opposition of mal-contented, the sovereignty was obtained by his son Boleslaus, surnamed the Chaste. He found however a competitor in his uncle Conrad the son of Casimir, and very obstinate and formidable enemies in the Teutonic knights, who were at this time in possession of Prussia, and coveted the frontier provinces of Poland. He ably extricated himself from all these difficulties, and left the crown to

Lech VI.
A.D. 1279.

Lech the Black, his kinsman, whom he had adopted. The death of the latter, after a series of troubles which did not allow him leisure to promote the happiness of his people, delivered Poland a prey to the sanguinary efforts of several contending rivals.

Henry,
A.D. 1284.

Henry, surnamed the Honest, and descended from the ancient family of Piaſtus, gained the crown from his competitors. He reigned five years, at the end of which he was taken off by poison. On the same recommendation of his

Premislaus,
A.D. 1294.

descent from Piaſtus, Premislaus was called to the throne. He endeavoured to establish himself more firmly on it by causing himself to be solemnly crowned, and resuming the title of king which was now nearly forgotten in Poland: but that ceremony, though sanctioned by the pope,

did not screen him from the attempts of a rival named Uladislaus, who possessed only distant claims to the succession. Either by voluntary agreement or compulsion, those two princes confined themselves each to a distinct portion of the kingdom: but, at the moment when Uladislaus had an opportunity of uniting the whole under his sceptre in consequence of the violent death of Premislaus in which he had taken no part, the Poles deposed him for his vices, and invited to the sovereignty Wenceslaus king of Bohemia. The mal-administration of the latter, and his too strongly marked preference of the Bohemians, disgusted the Poles. Uladislaus availed himself of the general discontent, made fair promises to his subjects, accepted terms of reform, re-ascended the throne, conducted himself on it as a wise and prudent king, and caused the nation to forget the errors of his youth.

Uladislaus
III.
A.D. 1299.

Wenceslaus,
A.D. 1300.

The esteem which was felt for the father served his son Casimir as a step-ladder to mount to the sovereignty. He too had to combat the Teutonic knights, whom his father had taught him to view with the eye of distrust. He defended his frontiers against them on the side of Prussia, and moreover repelled them on that of Russia. Casimir, who has been called the Great, committed his laws to writing. Before his time, the Poles had none but oral traditions. In embarrassing cases, the formula of an oath was traced on

Casimir,
A.D. 1333.

paper and put into the hands of the party who was to pronounce it. If, in reading it, he hesitated or made any mistake, he was cast: but, in any event, both the parties paid large fines, to the benefit of the judges. Casimir found difficulty in prevailing on the people to adopt his code, because, exclusive of that absurd custom, it abolished many others equally lucrative to the great men.

This prince was to his subjects a model of integrity and prudence and wisdom, except in one culpable instance—that of divorcing his virtuous and estimable queen, to elevate in her stead an artful and intriguing mistress. Neither the wife nor the concubine bore him any heir. But Casimir, attentive to preserve the Polish succession in the family of Piaſtus, adopted judicious measures to that effect, that the sceptre might after his death pass to the hands of Lewis king of Hungary, his nephew by his sister. This prince's administration, being too strongly tinctured with partiality to the Hungarians, did not please the Poles: nevertheless they quietly acquiesced in it.

Lewis,
A. D. 1370.

Hedwiga
and Jagello
or Vladislaus
IV.

A. D. 1384.

On his death, they elected his daughter Hedwiga, on condition that she should not choose a husband without the consent of the nation. Several princes sued for the honour of her alliance: William of Austria came in person to pay her his addresses, and captivated the princess by

the beauty of his figure, his polite manner, and his magnificence. Jagello, grand-duke of Lithuania, also presented himself as a candidate, making the offer of a perpetual union of his dominions with Poland. The assembly of the states acted on this occasion like the generality of parents who have a rich heiress to be provided with a husband : they think not so much of gratifying her inclination, as of procuring a further addition to her fortune. Notwithstanding the young queen's avowed predilection of the Austrian prince, they obliged her to bestow her hand on the Lithuanian. As it sometimes happens, that, in those matrimonial connexions which have been formed without consulting the wishes of the parties, the married pair are nevertheless happy, so it was in this case : Hedwiga and Jagello found happiness in their union : Lithuania was incorporated with Poland, and the grand-duchy was for-ever annexed to the crown, but in a manner which still left it independent.

One of the conditions of the marriage-contract was that Jagello should embrace the Christian religion himself, and establish it in Lithuania. He received baptism, and assumed the name of Uladislaus. Some writers consider him as the fourth of the name, others as the fifth ; a circumstance which proves great confusion in the history of the princes his predecessors. The Lithuanians were at this time pagans, worshipping

fire, trees, serpents, and other reptiles, in their obscure forests: and it is thought that they sacrificed human victims. Uladislaus destroyed the habitations of those absurd divinities, caused the Christian faith to be preached by priests whom he had himself instructed, and built churches and monasteries.

He does not appear to have called in the aid of violence or persecution; for his character was marked with mildness. He showed himself indeed too easy and unsuspicious in appointing his brother Skirgello governor of the duchy, a measure which he had reason to regret. He associated with him in power another brother named Swidrigello; which was a second error. He added a third, in joining with them his cousin Vitowda, with the intention of balancing their authority. The consequence of these imprudent arrangements was that Lithuania became a theatre of disturbances, which extended to Poland itself. Availing themselves of these intestine divisions, the Teutonic knights made successful irruptions into the country. Uladislaus however defeated them, and might have destroyed them or at least given a fatal blow to the order, if he had pursued his advantages: but certain cabals that were formed at his court determined him to grant to the knights that peace of which they stood in need.—Uladislaus was endowed with discernment, penetration, and the requisite talents for government.

Whatever faults he committed were the result of his goodness of heart. His subjects acknowledged in him that estimable quality, for which they honoured his memory with sincere regret.

Poland had never before enjoyed a power so well established as what she possessed under Jagello and his descendents. His son ^{Uladislaus, VI. A.D. 1435.} Uladislaus was only nine years old when he succeeded him. An irruption of the Turkish emperor Amurath into Hungary engaged Poland in a war with that powerful monarch, as a measure of prudent precaution. Authorised by the senate, Uladislaus personally took the command of the army before he had yet attained the age at which the constitution of the state allowed him to assume the reins of government. Supported by the successes of the valiant Hunniades, he compelled the Turk to sue for peace: it was confirmed by a solemn oath; and the Hungarians, charmed with the courage of the youthful monarch, conferred on him their crown.

The pope's legate, who had resided with Uladislaus during this religious war, thought that the conqueror had not sufficiently profited of the opportunity to humble the infidels. He instigated him to a rupture of the treaty, and absolved him from the tie of his oath. Thence ensued a sanguinary war, and the famous battle of Varna, in which the king, who was barely arrived at the

age of majority, fell covered indeed with some glory, but sullied with the disgrace of perjury, and having scarcely worn the two diadems except to feel their thorns. By his side was killed the legate, the person really guilty of the perjury, since he had abused the credulity of the young prince, and impelled him to violate his oath.

Casimir III.
A.D. 1445.

His brother Casimir III was benefited by the disastrous battle of Varna, being now called to fill the vacant throne. Without directly attacking the Turks, he kept them at a distance from Poland, by covering its frontiers with garrisons placed in the intermediate provinces which the barbarians had not yet reduced to subjection. He also weakened the Teutonic knights by giving support to the insurgents in Prussia, whom he took under his protection. Finally he had the gratification of seeing his eldest son Uladislaus invited to the crown of Hungary, and further honoured by the addition of that of Bohemia.

Under the reign of Casimir, provincial deputies, not chosen from the class of the nobles, appeared for the first time in the national diet, and claimed a participation of the legislative power, which till then had been exclusively exercised by the king and senate. This prince rendered the Latin language common among his countrymen by an edict which laid on the nobles an injunction to study it. It is observed that the wars had carried

off a great number of that body, and extinguished entire families. Commerce and industry lay in a state of deplorable decay. Casimir, in spite of the opposition of the senate, made some useful innovations in the government, and died more esteemed than regretted.

He left four sons, of whom three succeeded him, but in inverse order with respect to age. Casimir, the eldest, was not even proposed as a candidate: already possessing the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, he appeared too formidable: wherefore the Poles excluded him. Sigismund, the second brother, was opposed by the duke of Mazovia, who formed a powerful party in the diet of election. The electors however reconciled the two competitors by rejecting both, and choosing Casimir's third son Albert. He was of feeble constitution, and did not long survive his promotion. After his decease, Sigismund again entered the lists as a candidate for the crown, but saw himself again set aside, and his fourth brother Alexander preferred. To Alexander nature had not given more prosperous health than to his brother Albert. He dragged on a valetudinarian existence, which he endeavoured to enliven by amusements. These he purchased by such lavish profusion that the states thought proper to impose thenceforward a check on the expensive caprices of their sovereigns: a law was enacted, known by the title of the "statute of Alexander,"

Albert,
A.D. 1492.

Alexander,
A.D. 1501.

by which the monarch is forbidden to dispose of the revenue of the crown without the consent of the senate or diet.

Sigismund,
A.D. 1507.

At length Sigismund's turn came. While his younger brothers had occupied the throne of Poland, he had lived as sovereign in Lithuania: from which circumstance it had happened that his efforts to obtain the crown were neither very strenuous, nor in any wise detrimental to the kingdom. When he had gained possession of it, one of his first cares was to confirm the "statute of" his brother "Alexander," which forbade all donations that were injurious to the public interest. He considered that law as a necessary corrective of the prodigality displayed by his predecessors in favour of learned men and artists. "Such men," he remarked, "are deserving of encouragement; but certain bounds are to be observed in rewarding them." Sigismund accordingly confirmed that œconomic prohibition.

The Teutonic knights had been compelled by Casimir to do homage to the crown of Poland for the possession of Prussia. The marquis of Brandenburg, who was now grand-master of the order, at first refused to perform that ceremony, but afterward submitted to it for the sake of obtaining Sigismund's protection against his Teutonic brethren, from whom he had separated on embracing the doctrine of Luther. Thus the

power of that society was enfeebled by the partition of its domains between the body of the knights and their chief.

Sigismund was one of the greatest monarchs who ever filled the Polish throne. His epitaph, which is not penned in the language of exaggeration, gives him the title of the "conqueror of the Russians and Walachians and Prussians," and the still more honourable appellation of the "father of his country." There was only one circumstance which excited his regret—that of seeing Bohemia and Hungary and Silesia escape from the family of Jagello, and pass by marriage into the hands of the house of Austria, his rival: Sigismund, the reverse of his brothers in health and vigour of constitution, lived to the age of eighty years, remarkable for uncommon bodily strength.

He had so well concerted his measures respecting the succession, that his son Sigismund did not stand in need of election. Sigismund, Sigismund II Augustus, A.D. 1548. who was surnamed Augustus, lived at a time when the other kingdoms of Europe were agitated by religious disturbances: he secured his dominions from similar troubles, not by persecution, but by an attentive vigilance to prevent the introduction of the new doctrines. He thought it was paying too dear for knowledge, to purchase it at the expense of human blood. He never but once was engaged in war: it was against the Russians;

and, although he was victorious, he offered them peace. It was a part of his natural disposition to make every sacrifice necessary to the welfare of his people—a praise rarely merited by monarchs. He governed Poland as a good father governs his family: nought could exceed the mildness of his domestic administration. His life would be spotless, if he had not, when enfeebled by old age and infirmity, suffered himself to be ruled by a favourite mistress, whose counsels led him astray from the paths of virtue and from the line of sound policy. In him ended the male race of Jagello. The life of ease and indulgence into which he latterly sank, hindered him from turning his thoughts to the choice of a successor, and consulting the interest of the country by regulating that point, since he left no children. The adoption of that precaution might have prevented those foreign intrigues which have branded the diet with the character of venality.

The reader might form a very just idea of the diet which followed the death of Sigismund, if he figured it to himself as a great fair to which foreign princes and their ambassadors eagerly flocked to purchase suffrages. On the one hand, the candidates displayed their riches—provinces to be united to Poland—advantageous alliances—costly presents—and, above all, good wines and sumptuous banquets, a powerful bait for the crowd of Polish nobles, who are very fond of in-

demnifying themselves on such occasions for that frugality which necessity rather than virtue renders habitual at their domestic board. Not fewer of these attended than thirty-six thousand. The chiefs boasted of their interest and influence to unite the votes of several entire districts : others set up to auction their personal suffrage. Beautiful arms, jewels, rich stuffs, furs, were displayed in the tents and on the toilettes.

The house of Austria presented itself with its hereditary pride—big with the idea that the Poles would eagerly press forward to meet the arch-duke, son of the emperor Maximilian, whom it pointed out to them as a candidate. The Poles, not choosing so proud and so powerful a master, rejected him. The czar made the offer of entire provinces which he would incorporate with Poland, and a promise of perpetual peace between the two states, if they would consent to elect him : but they preferred the chance of being obliged to fight him, rather than surrender themselves into the hands of a despot. The king of Sweden, who also appeared on the list, was a protestant : the duke of Prussia was too young, and besides showed no abilities : the elector of Saxony, a prince of great talents, was likewise a heretic, and moreover a German—which latter circumstance was, in the eyes of the Poles at that time, an unpardonable sin that no merit could efface. A marquis of Anspach and a waiwode of Transylvania busily exerted

themselves in the diet, as did some lesser candidates, whose ambitious manœuvres clashed with each other, and tended only to prolong the duration of the assembly, to the great satisfaction of the Polish nobles, who at once lived luxuriously and enriched themselves at the expense of the competitors.

But—as every thing has its limited term—in the midst of those intrigues arrived from France John Crafoski, a Polish noble as great in mental powers as small in bodily stature. He had been very well received by queen Catharine de' Medici, feasted by Henry duke of Anjou the brother of Charles IX, and by the whole court. He returned full of esteem for the country, and for the persons who had rendered his abode in it so agreeable. That diminutive traveler was a kind of curiosity: people flocked around him, and listened with avidity to his descriptions of the magnificence of the French court, and of the perfections of the duke of Anjou—how that young prince had signalised his valour in the plains of Jarnac and Montcontour—how warmly he was attached to catholicism—what wounds he had inflicted on the monster of heresy—how he alone, if the hand of malevolent opposition did not check his arm, was capable of cutting off all the heads of that frightful hydra which was devouring France.

It is not known whether Crafoski was specially

commissioned to trumpet forth these praises, or spontaneously obeyed the suggestions of his own zeal without having any private views: but, whatever might be the motive of his enthusiasm, he communicated it to others. Several *grandeės*, *palatines*, *waiwodes*, *starosts*, thought that such a hero as he described would be a valuable acquisition to Poland: they accordingly sent *Craſoski* back to France to make known their dispositions. The negotiators who were intrusted with the intentions of the court were not backward in coming to an explanation: they granted every thing that the Poles demanded—security for the maintenance of the laws—payment of the late king's debts from the French treasury—presents to the nobles—a fleet in the Baltic to oppose the Russians. It was moreover stipulated that the young monarch should espouse the princess Anne, sister to Sigismund. She was now advanced in years. Henry consented to every thing except this last article, on which he postponed his decision until his arrival in Poland.

The new king was received with effusions of universal joy. His subjects were equally charmed by his majestic air and by the graces of his youth: they were enchanted by his manner, by his persuasive eloquence, by the elegance with which he expressed himself in Latin, the favourite language of the Poles. They remarked, not without surprise, how successfully he supported the dignity

Henry de
Valois,
A.D. 1574.

of his rank without those airs of superiority which till then had ever been affected by the monarchs of the north; and from this pleasing exterior they delighted to draw the flattering presage of a fortunate reign. But scarcely was Henry put in possession of the sceptre of the Jagelloes, when he became heir to that of the Valois. He relinquished the fair hopes arising from the esteem and confidence and affection of his adoptive subjects, to immerge into that ocean of troubles by which his native subjects were agitated, and in which he lost his life. The Poles considered themselves as insulted by the preference which he gave to France. In vain, therefore, did he, after his elopement from among them, offer to divide his time between the two kingdoms: they insisted that he should either immediately return or abdicate the sovereignty of Poland; and, on his delaying to satisfy them, they turned their thoughts to a new election.

After the trial which the Poles had made of a foreign prince who so contemptuously quitted them, one would imagine that they could not thenceforward have thought of making a similar choice. Nevertheless they sought a king in the house of Austria, and elected the emperor Maximilian. But as he did not appear in haste to avail himself of his good fortune, a party, which at first had been feeble, now collected courage, and brought forward as candidate Stephen Batori

prince of Transylvania; whose merit in a private station might well counterbalance the splendid birth of an Austrian prince. He had received his first education in a camp, where his courage and capacity and prudence gained for him the esteem of the soldiery, as well as high consideration among the people. The sovereignty of Transylvania having become vacant, Batori was nominated to it by general consent, without any steps on his part to obtain that honour. His talents and virtues in like manner smoothed for him the way to the Polish throne, which he had not courted any more than the other, though he seized the occasion when it presented itself to his hand. While Maximilian was bargaining about certain conditions, Batori agreed to every thing that was proposed, arrived on the spot, married Sigismund's sister who was sixty years old, and thus commenced a mild and prosperous reign.

The first task which he was obliged to undertake was that of repressing the efforts of the Russians. The czar could not pardon the Poles for having refused him their crown for which he had been a candidate. He waged war against them with the savage ferocity of a barbarian. His soldiers, not content with butchering their enemies, tortured them, and made them expire in the agonies of cruel and lingering deaths. By this conduct they inspired such terror, that the inhabitants of a town named Wender, being no

longer able to resist the arms of the besieging Russians, chose, rather than surrender to so merciless a foe, to undermine their own houses, boldly descended into those graves, destroyed the props, and gloriously buried themselves under the ruins of their town. To these atrocious proceedings Batori opposed some successful battles, and the exertion of humanity toward his prisoners.

He is entitled to the credit of having disciplined the Cofaks, and mollified their ferocious manners by civilisation. He united them in towns—a mode of habitation which they before disdained: but he left them in possession of their useful habits—their attachment to a hardy life regardless of the inclemency of the seasons, and their more than Spartan sobriety. During entire campaigns they feed on a kind of black biscuit, which they eat with garlic. They are robust, indefatigable, brave soldiers. They usually fight on horseback, are unacquainted with the art of intrenchment, and their waggons are their only fortification: with these they surround themselves, advance behind this moving fortress, sally forth from it with impetuosity, and, if repulsed, retreat to it, and defend themselves within it with obstinate valour. Batori established among them those kinds of trade and manufactures which were cultivated in Poland.

In proportion as he was creating useful institutions among the Cofaks, he was carrying those
of

of Poland to perfection. His conduct during a reign of eight years gained for him the following singular epitaph, which, though pointed with antitheses, is not the less strictly true—

“ In the temple, he was more than a priest—in
 “ the republic, more than a king—in pro-
 “ nouncing sentence, more than a lawyer—in the
 “ army, more than a general—in battle, more
 “ than a soldier—in bearing adversity and in
 “ pardoning injuries, more than a man—in de-
 “ fending the public liberty, more than a citi-
 “ zen—in cultivating friendship, more than a
 “ friend—in social intercourse, more than so-
 “ ciable—in hunting and subduing wild beasts,
 “ more than a lion—in every other part of his
 “ life, more than a philosopher.”

That philosopher, however, was unable to tame the violence of his own disposition, which sometimes hurried him to excesses bordering on phrensy. It is said that a paroxysm of that kind, which he experienced on the receipt of some bad news, proved the cause of his death.

Their experience of so good a king chosen among themselves did not cure the Poles of the folly of seeking a ruler in foreign countries. They opened the lists of competition; and, in consequence of those intrigues which their constitution authorised, instead of one monarch there were two, Maximilian archduke of Austria, and Sigis-^{Sigismund}
 mund prince of Sweden. A war ensued between ^{III.}
 A.D. 1537.

the rivals, in which Maximilian was defeated and made prisoner. It continued during three years ; at the end of which period, his partisans, having had full time to expend all the money he had given to them, ceased to support his election ; and he now appeared so little formidable to Sigismund, that the latter ventured to set him at liberty, without demanding any ransom, but simply requiring a renunciation of his claim to the Polish throne.

Poland, having been divided in interest between the two competitors, suffered by their rivalry ; which was in the first instance a serious misfortune : but she experienced still more and greater calamities, when, on Sigismund's elevation to the sovereignty of Sweden, she was obliged to assist him against his uncle Charles who laboured to wrest from him the sceptre. New distresses were heaped upon her when Sigismund was seized by the ambition of placing his son on the throne of the czars. Finally, additional misfortune was accumulated upon her, when Sigismund, suffering himself to be swayed by attachment to the house of Austria, which he ought to have viewed with indifference after the competition of the archduke, but which his zeal for the catholic religion endeared to him—and proving that attachment by an aggressive alliance—drew down on his kingdom the vengeance of the Turks. Such were the advantages which the Poles derived from the

election of a foreign prince, good indeed in his own nature, and whose estimable qualities surpassed his defects, but whom his obstinate adherence to his pretensions and prejudices rendered fatal to the tranquillity of his subjects.

Uladislaus, his son by a first wife, seemed entitled to succeed his father, with the approbation however of the diet. His step-mother nevertheless endeavoured to divert the suffrages in favour of her own son John-Casimir. But that prince, instead of supplanting his brother, placed himself at the head of the party who declared for him.

Uladislaus, moreover, previously to his seating ^{Uladislaus VII.} himself on the throne, had as it were earned it by ^{A.D. 1632.} the victories he had gained over the Turks and Russians: but he left to his successor a terrible war against the Cossaks, which had been occasioned by the cruelty of a Polish governor. To punish a chief of the Cossaks, named Kzmielniski, for his haughty behaviour and for some offensive expressions, the governor surrounded his house, and set fire to it, thinking to involve him in the conflagration. Kzmielniski's wife and infant son perished in the flames; but himself escaped, roused his nation to arms, and ravaged Poland with the fury of a man exasperated by his wrongs, and thirsting to avenge the death of persons so dear to him. The whole kingdom was reduced to consternation by those barbarians, when Uladislaus died.

John-Casimir,
A.D. 1648.

Casimir peaceably succeeded him, yet with some repugnance on the part of the nobles, who did not think him fit for the existing juncture of affairs. It is suspected that his father Sigismund was secretly a Jesuit; and the same opinion is entertained of his brother Uladislaus: at least it is certain, that, during their reigns, the Jesuitic society possessed most extensive authority; a circumstance which occasioned loud murmurs and complaints. As to Casimir, there does not exist a doubt respecting him in that particular: he had been educated among the Jesuits, had taken their habit, and pronounced his vows. From these the pope absolved him by creating him a cardinal. His public profession of a pacific vocation inspired a fear lest Casimir should prove a bad choice at a season when the country stood in need of a warlike monarch. He was nevertheless elected.

Immediately those nobles whose lands lay most exposed to the devastations of the Cossaks proposed to the king to take the field against them. He answered that negotiation was in that instance more proper than war—that the Poles were the original aggressors—that they ought not to have set Kzmielniski's house on fire—and that it was their duty in the first place to make reparation for that injury. In vain the noblesse urged him: Casimir remained inflexible. They thought proper, however, to dispense with his consent or co-operation, and, assembling into an army, ran to

attack the Cofaks, by whom being defeated, they ultimately deemed themselves happy to find in Casimir a mediator. He concluded a peace with the Cofaks on equitable conditions. It is not that he was afraid of war: for, on another occasion when the Cofaks were in the wrong, he fiercely attacked them, and compelled them to the observance of their former treaty.

Casimir also defeated the Russians, who had made an irruption into Poland. He was not equally successful against the Swedes. Their monarch, Charles Gustavus, had long harboured ambitious designs against Poland, and kept up a party in the country. Almost all the nobles—being dissatisfied that Casimir did not co-incide with them in their system of domination as well over the people as in the government—either abandoned him or turned against him when the Swede entered the kingdom. Casimir resisted as long as he was able: but, seeing the majority of the nobles declare against him—and being unable to bring them back to their duty because his powers had been too narrowly limited—like a man of sense who estimates dignities at their true value when they are attended by so many anxieties, he collected a large sum of money, transmitted it to France, and thither went to enjoy that peaceful life which his own country refused to him.

This desertion threw the whole kingdom into commotion: it was, and not without reason, con-

sidered as an abdication of the sovereignty. The nobles therefore assembled for a new election; when, as they had not all participated in the dissatisfactions given to Casimir, a scene of altercation took place, in which the reproaches of one party were refuted with sabre-strokes by the other. A calm at length ensuing, the assembly began to discuss the merits of the several candidates. They were all foreigners; and foremost on the list appeared the czar, who asked the crown for his son. He had caused him to be educated after the Polish fashion: the young prince spoke the language of the country, and had adopted its manners and usages: he promised to embrace the catholic religion, to pay four millions into the treasury of the republic, to restore the places taken from Poland, and to furnish an army of forty thousand men to prevent the other candidates from disturbing the peace of the kingdom. This last offer was not illusory: there was nothing to prevent its being instantly realised, as the men might at a moment's warning be drawn from a body of eighty thousand who were posted on the frontier, awaiting the determination of the diet. But the very possibility of immediately substantiating that promise made the Poles tremble, instead of proving agreeable to them. Yet how could they refuse to accept the offer in the distressed state in which they saw the kingdom, disturbed by domestic dissensions, and incapable

of defending itself against an invasion? for the other candidates—the dukes of Lorraine, of Neuburg, and of Condé—had no other recommendation than merit destitute of strength.—In this embarrassing dilemma, the Poles imagined that the czar would be less offended by their refusal, if they chose a native of their own country.

There was a nobleman, by name Michael Coribut, descended from Jagello in a collateral line. He was little noticed; because his fortune was narrow, and his disposition tranquil and unambitious. He attended at the diet, where, mingled with the crowd, he caught the eye of some person present, who immediately pronouncing his name, it ran from mouth to mouth. The suffrages in his favour grew more and more numerous; and, to his great surprise, Coribut was elected king of Poland. His astonishment was increased on seeing himself dragged to a throne extemporarily erected in the midst of the assembly. With tears in his eyes he alleged his incapacity, and entreated that they would not exalt him to that high rank where he must become a subject of laughter to the nation. They promised to assist him in supporting the weight of the crown; upon which assurance he consented to accept the diadem: but when it became necessary to act, first against the Russians, and afterward against the Turks and Tartars whom the disorders of the kingdom invited as to a certain prey, the nobles

Michael
Coribut,
A.D. 1670.

refused their service, or ill acquitted themselves of their duty. The king was therefore compelled to make a disadvantageous peace, of which all the shame was thrown upon him. It is said that chagrin hastened the period of his death. Had he survived a few days longer, he might have been consoled by the news of a brilliant victory, which the crown-general John Sobieski gained over the Turks, who had renewed the war.

Sobieski did not think that triumph a sufficient claim to entitle him openly to enter the lists as a candidate for the crown. He had secretly aspired to it after the retreat of Casimir: but the high consequence of the other applicants had prevented him from declaring himself. In the present vacancy of the throne, he pursued the same line of conduct, but with better success. He alternately enrolled himself under the banners of the different competitors, enfeebled their parties, defeating one by means of the other, until, at the opportune moment, he announced his pretensions, and was elected, less however through the sincere wish of the nobles, than the general desire of the people unanimously expressed.

John Sobieski,
A.D. 1674.

Scarcely was he nominated, when he declared his intention of continuing the war against the Turks, and undertook to maintain at his own expense a body of a thousand foot-soldiers. This example stimulated the senators, the nobles, all the great men, to make similar exertions, each in

proportion to his income : and thus Poland saw for the first time a body of national infantry. Sobieski's ardour to re-commence hostilities induced him to postpone his coronation : nor did he accept the honours of that solemn ceremony, until he had, by two years of victories, obliterated the disgrace of the last treaty, and secured the tranquillity of the republic.

Sobieski found no charm except in the din of arms. The emperor Leopold availed himself of that martial propensity, to draw him to his assistance against the Turks. The Polish monarch acquired immortal renown by compelling those barbarians to raise the siege of Vienna : for which service he was frigidly thanked by the emperor at the interview which followed that memorable action. But the general esteem amply compensated him for the coolness and concealed jealousy of the Austrian. Returned to his own dominions, Sobieski did not there find that happiness and satisfaction which he had a right to expect. By his cares, the police had been re-established, and the laws had resumed their vigour : but these very circumstances were displeasing to the nobles, who regretted to see their tyrannic domination restricted within the bounds of justice : for which reason they omitted no opportunity of expressing their discontent.

Sobieski had a proof of it when he attempted to associate his son with him on the throne : and

at his death he had the mortification of being almost certain that the sceptre which he had introduced into his family would not continue in it. He has been taxed with avarice, probably because he was not too lavish of favours to the courtiers; and that stain has remained affixed to his character, although his treasury was ever open to relieve the necessities of his kingdom. In the latter years of his life he paid too great deference to the counsels of his queen, who was a native of France, a woman of refined intellect, but bold, passionate, and capricious. This conduct of Sobieski was occasioned not so much by weakness, as by his weariness of the government, and the disgust arising from the contradictions which he experienced. He was not sufficiently attentive to conceal his resentment, and suffered the nobles too clearly to perceive his dislike of them,—impolitic in that instance, though acknowledged to be in every other a good politician. In addition to his native language, he understood the Latin, the French, the Italian, the German, and several Turkish dialects. His eloquence was often as warmly admired in the senate as his valour in the field of Mars. He is justly considered as one of the most accomplished monarchs that ever reigned in Poland.

The queen's predilection for her second son, and her efforts to procure him a plurality of suffrages to the prejudice of the elder, proved inju-

rious to both. By that conduct she nearly lost all her influence in the diet assembled for the election. What little credit she had remaining she sold to the party of another candidate. Thus the number of the competitors was insensibly diminished. From six, as well natives as foreigners, who had stood on the lists in the beginning, and after above a year of intrigues, they were now reduced to two—Frederic-Augustus elector of Saxony, and the prince of Conti. Affairs being brought to this point, the nobles, to the amount of a hundred thousand men, assembled on the plain of Warsaw. Each palatinate was divided into companies ranged under their proper banners, all the electors on horseback, and armed with lances. Their looks, their carriage and demeanour, announced the importance that each considered himself to possess. To create a king! to see a possibility of himself being the person chosen! what more capable of exciting lofty sentiments? and there was not an individual among the hundred thousand electors who did not possess that power, and might not indulge that hope.

The senators took their stations, each in front of his respective division, and began their harangues. The bishop of Ploczko was yet speaking, when the nobles of his palatinate exclaimed "Long live Conti!" The name ran from mouth to mouth, and the election was on the point of

being concluded, when the palatine of Culm, by the word "*Veto*," singly opposed the torrent at the peril of his life. The assembly wished to proceed: but he cried out that the laws were violated. The earnestness of his reclamations, and the arguments which he advanced, produced a postponement of the election to the ensuing day. The intervening night was not a season of tranquillity: visits and intrigues took place; and a greater portion of the time was devoted to drinking than to sleep.

At the break of day both parties presented themselves nearly equal in strength. The one proclaimed Conti—the other, Frederic: and so great a confusion ensued that it became impossible to collect the votes. There is however reason to suppose that they preponderated in favour of Conti: but the primate durst not venture to decide the question, and again adjourned the meeting to the morrow, when, a division taking place, each party proclaimed their favourite candidate, and administered the regal oath to the representative of him whom they had elected. Each party likewise caused the "*Te Deum*" to be sung, published manifestoes, maintained that they had themselves strictly observed the constitutional regulations, and accused the others of having violated them. To the war of pens succeeded that of sabres. The Saxon, having in the neighbourhood an army and being well provided with

money, found no difficulty in carrying his point in opposition to Conti, who was accompanied by only a small detachment of Frenchmen, and who had brought but an inconsiderable sum of money collected from the purses of his friends. Thus Frederic-Augustus gained the election. His ambition impelled him to “purchase repentance” at a dear rate, like those whom their passion led to Corinth in the days of Laïs.

Frederic-Augustus,
A.D. 1696.

We have not marked the epoch when, from a monarchy, Poland became a republic. It would be difficult to ascertain the precise period. It was by insensible degrees that the republican principle insinuated itself into the monarchical constitution by restrictive conditions imposed on the candidates. They are called *pacta conventa*, and are charters of liberty which the people are ever disposed to enlarge, and the monarchs, on the contrary, to abridge. Hence a struggle, which has constantly kept Poland in a state of disturbance.

In ratifying the election of Frederic-Augustus, even his own partisans limited the number of troops that he should be allowed to introduce into Poland, and specified the circumstances which should authorise him to call in his Saxons. But neither were the terms of this convention so precise, nor the events so well foreseen, as to prevent him from hastening under plausible pretexts the march of an army exceeding the stipulated force, from putting it in possession of the for-

treffes, and placing it in positions capable of giving umbrage and uneasiness to the republic.

All this happened under the new king. surrounded himself with Saxons, because, being his native subjects, he placed greater confidence in them than in the Poles: and, the better to attach them to his person, he loaded them with favours. Jealousy was thus excited in the breasts of the Poles, who considered his conduct as a violation of their privileges, and formed associations in support of them. "To what purpose," said they, "so many troops in a time of peace, unless to enslave us?" To elude the force of this objection, and to occupy the minds of the public, Frederic-Augustus prepared for hostilities. He declared war against Sweden under very flimsy pretences: but that contest, instead of contributing to strengthen his authority, plunged him personally into an abyss of misfortunes.

He was opposed by the famous Charles XII, who is usually celebrated for valour alone, though entitled likewise to praise as a politician. The Swede fomented the discontents in Poland: his victories gave weight to the manifestoes of the Polish confederates, and their manifestoes sanctioned his victories in the eyes of the nation. The opinion which had been entertained of Frederic at the time of his elevation to the throne was now changed, because he was become unfortunate. A diet, convoked by the victor,

declared him an enemy to the country, and deposed him.

He did not indeed submit to this decision without resistance : but, though he displayed personal bravery at the head of his troops, he showed something worse than weakness in the cabinet. He will ever be deservedly reproached with the sacrifice of Patkul, formerly Charles's subject, who, being disgraced by that prince, had thrown himself into the arms of the Saxon, had well served him, and was basely delivered up by him to the resentment of Charles, who wreaked his vengeance on him by a cruel death. A prince may nobly fall from the throne when hurled from it by an irresistible force : but meanly to kiss the hand which thrusts him from his seat, is the completion of ignominy for a monarch.

The crown which he had wrested from Frederic, Charles XII conferred on a noble Pole, named Stanislaus Leczinski, and even imposed on the former an obligation to write a gratulatory letter to his successor ; which monument of Frederic's weakness is still extant. The young Swede is known to have entertained so mean an opinion of him, that, accompanied only by four persons, he went to brave him in the midst of his own capital and of a numerous garrison, to eat and converse familiarly with him, while the dethroned monarch dared not testify to him any other sentiments than those of astonishment.

Stanislaus
Leczinski,
A.D. 1704.

Frederic-
Augustus re-
established,
A.D. 1709.

If Frederic had not resumed the diadem when the disasters of Charles XII afforded him the opportunity, we might imagine that his complimentary letter to Stanislaus contained the genuine expression of a laudable indifference for a nation who had disdained him. But he again snatched the sceptre as soon as he saw it within his reach : so attractive is authority ! Like him, Stanislaus was in turn deposed : like him, he pronounced his own abdication ; and like him, too, he exerted himself to re-ascend the vacated throne. But his efforts were not so much voluntary as compelled by the obstinacy of his Swedish protector. Stanislaus, a prince of mild and humane disposition, was rewarded for those virtues by the good fortune of his daughter, whom a train of unforeseen circumstances united in marriage with Louis XV, king of France. A donation was made to him of the duchy of Lorraine, where he led a peaceful life in the midst of the arts which he admired, and with all the honours of sovereignty unattended by its burdens.

Frederic-Augustus, on the contrary, reigned in the midst of factions. He experienced all the rage of conspiracies, let loose not only against his power but even against his life. Yet he was a humane prince, a good father, a good husband with some few exceptions on the score of conjugal fidelity, very sociable, and distinguished by manners such as are suited to a republic.

He died in 1733: on which occasion it was ^{Frederic-Augustus III.} natural that his former rival Stanislaus should ^{A.D. 1733.} resume the post which he had yielded to him. Accordingly he placed himself in the ranks as a candidate. But he was opposed by the son of the deceased: and, though favoured yet too little supported by France whose monarch Louis XV had espoused his daughter, he was obliged to relinquish his pursuit: nor did he, without incurring a thousand dangers, escape from the Russian and Saxon armies which had united in favour of his competitor. Frederic-Augustus III, however, was not universally acknowledged, until his title was recognised by an assembly called the “diet of pacification,” held at Warsaw in 1734. After those first shocks, his reign was tranquil and peaceable.

At his death which happened on the fifth of October 1763, his son, who was become elector of Saxony, sued for the crown which had been worn by his father. But his suit was traversed by the czarina and the king of Prussia, who jointly concerted their measures to procure the election of a *piast*, that is to say, a Polish nobleman. The views of these two powers were not difficult to be discovered. The Prussian monarch wished for a king who, possessing no forces of his own, and being reduced to those of the republic of which that prince knew the weakness, should never be able to oppose the invasions that he

meditated. The czarina likewise wished to see a *piast* on the throne for the same reason! But a more powerful motive, and one probably still dear to her heart, made her particularly wish for the election of count Poniatowski, whom she warmly recommended to the diet. In addition to the pleasure of placing the crown on the head of her favourite, Catharine further anticipated the advantage of having for her neighbour a monarch who would be devoted to her, and capable of materially assisting her in the war which she had to sustain against the Turks. Thus that candidate, supported by two powers, mounted the throne of Poland without difficulty on the sixth

Stanislaus
Poniatowski,
A.D. 1764.

of September 1764.

If any prince ever had reason to think his crown heavy and beset with thorns, Stanislaus Augustus II stood in that predicament. Through an apprehension lest the monarchical party should prevail over the republican in the mixt government of that country, the diets had during an entire century attentively laboured to circumscribe the king's authority within very narrow limits by diminishing his revenues and weakening the army of the crown. Thus Poniatowski, on his accession to the throne saw himself nearly destitute of money and troops. He also had the mortification of seeing that his two protectresses, Russia and Prussia, instead of aiding him to restore tranquillity to his kingdom which was con-

vulged by inveterate factions, seemed on the contrary to exert all their efforts in exciting new disturbances in the country.

In Poland were a multitude of sects, all comprised under the general appellation of *dissidents*. The prevailing religion employed all possible means to repress the dissidents, who on their part incessantly laboured to extend themselves. Hence therefore a perpetual conflict, in which the catholics—who were the more ancient and more numerous party, and supported by the great nobles who either possessed or aspired to their rich prelacies—would finally have been victorious, if the neighbouring powers had not interfered in the quarrel.

But Prussia and Russia, at the end of a fortnight from the coronation of their *protégé*, caused to be presented to him an imperious and peremptory memorial in favour of the dissidents, for whom they demanded nothing less than an indefinite freedom of worship, accompanied by every privilege which could set them on a footing of equality with the catholics. Considerably embarrassed by this requisition, the king, after several fruitless negotiations undertaken with the view of approximating the parties, referred the business to the decision of a diet. That assembly met at Warsaw in the year 1768, and, by a great majority, rejected the demands of the dissidents.

The latter, however, being supported by the two protecting powers, did not consider themselves as finally defeated. They formed confederacies in several provinces, and called for a new diet. It was accordingly held in the following year at Warsaw, under the cannon of the Russians. The greatest violence was employed on the occasion: the bishops of Cracow and of Kiow, several senators, and a number of grandees, were seized, carried off, and immured in Russian fortresses; and the dissidents obtained every thing they wished.

They every-where prepared to enter upon the enjoyment of the privileges which they had obtained; and the catholics every-where opposed them. As the dissidents had confederated themselves, the others in like manner formed the *confederation of Bar*, so called from the place where they assembled. Every individual wore his distinctive badge: it was no longer allowed to any man to stand neuter; and civil war broke forth in Poland with extreme fury.

In vain the king exerted his utmost efforts to unite around him all the confederates of Bar, and engage them to concur with him in adopting measures which might have effected the salvation of Poland. As he had been sometimes obliged to bend, and to make some concessions to the dissidents who were so powerfully protected, the confederates of Bar obstinately persevered in con-

considering Poniatowski as entirely devoted to Russia: they never would place any confidence in him, and even determined to rid themselves of his opposition: for we have every reason to presume that such was the object of the attempt which some of their number made upon him.

On the third of September 1771, the prince, returning to Warsaw about nine o'clock at night accompanied by few attendants, found himself surrounded by a band of assassins. They compelled him to alight from his carriage: one of them held his pistol to the king's breast; but it was turned aside, and the ball pierced his hat. Another struck him with a sabre on the head, and severely wounded him. They dragged him between their horses, and forcibly obliged him to mount one: but the animal, being too much urged to speed, fell and broke his thigh; and the king, being entangled under him, was with difficulty extricated, with a hurt in his foot. While they continued to drag him away notwithstanding the difficulty he experienced in walking, they heard at a distance a Russian patrol; whereupon they immediately dispersed. One alone of their number remained with the king, suffered himself to be moved by his entreaties, and conducted him to a place of safety. The chiefs of the confederates disavowed the deed, and protested that they were free from all participation of it. Nevertheless, if we may judge by the confessions of the

guilty actors in the scene, who were almost all taken and brought to punishment, several of the chiefs were not innocent of the crime.

During eight years which had elapsed from the time when Russia and Prussia had first begun to disturb Poland, those two powers had enjoyed sufficient leisure to mature the project that they had formed of respectively invading those provinces which lay convenient to them. They might perhaps have been traversed in their iniquitous scheme by the emperor, if they had not, for the purpose of bribing off his opposition, lured his avarice by offering him a share in the fruits of the meditated robbery. When every part of the villanous plan was arranged between the three royal conspirators—at the moment when nothing was less expected, they were seen, in the year 1772, during a season of profound peace, to introduce, each on his own side, an army into Poland: and they were religiously observant of the established custom of causing those armies to be duly accompanied by a manifesto.

That production began by drawing a picture—unfortunately too true—of the evils which afflicted Poland—murders, conflagrations, violences of every species, fanaticism, anarchy, which attacked the public safety, ruined commerce, and did signal injury to agriculture. The author of the manifesto added—“From the natural connexions existing between conterminous nations,

“ the countries adjoining to Poland experience
“ the disagreeable effects of those disorders:
“ During several years back, they have been
“ obliged to adopt the most expensive measures
“ for securing the tranquillity of their frontiers.
“ In circumstances so critical, the courts of
“ Vienna and Berlin and Petersburg, apprehensive
“ lest the domestic dissensions of Poland should
“ produce changes in the political system of
“ Europe—unwilling moreover to abandon to
“ the chance of events several provinces of the
“ republic to which the three powers have con-
“ siderable claims which *they will justify in*
“ *proper time and place*—having therefore re-
“ spectively communicated to each other their
“ rights and pretensions, and *reciprocally satis-*
“ *fied each other* thereon—make known that
“ they are prepared to possess themselves of an
“ equivalent, which shall be regulated in such
“ manner as henceforward to establish, between
“ Poland and the neighbouring powers, more
“ certain and natural boundaries than those which
“ have heretofore existed. And, in consideration
“ of that equivalent, the three courts renounce
“ all demands, pretensions, claims of indemnifica-
“ tion, and interests, which they might otherwise
“ form against the possessions of the republic.”

Such are the titles on which was grounded the invasion of several provinces—an invasion that cost Poland above seven thousand square leagues

of territory, with the loss of nearly five millions of inhabitants. A diet was convoked, which was surrounded by the troops of the three confederate powers, and confirmed the partition in 1773. Another meeting, held in 1775 under the same precautions, gave to Poland a constitution which revived the former abuses of the government, and, among others, the *liberum veto* by which a single noble had in his power to stop all the resolutions of the national assembly—a privilege so favourable to the fomentation of factions.

The king had protested against the partition. Several grandees, nevertheless, dared to reproach him with it in terms far from respectful. He answered them with emotion, “Gentlemen, I am
“weary of listening to you. The partition of our
“unfortunate country is a consequence of your
“ambition, of your dissensions, of your unceasing
“disputes. ’Tis to yourselves alone that you are
“to attribute your misfortunes.”—In effect, greater harmony and union might have enabled Poland to support herself against the usurpatory coalition, and perhaps to repair her losses. She had some hope of this from the result of a diet convoked in 1788, and which, after above two years spent in debates, at length produced, on the third of May, 1791, a constitution which corrected the defects of that framed in 1775, and which was capable of effecting the reparation of the past losses by restoring to the nation her pristine energy.

The three partitioning courts opposed that constitution on the ground of their having guaranteed that of 1775. Confederations were formed for and against it. The king acceded to that of Targowitz which declared for an accommodation with the three coalesced powers: but these, availing themselves of the general disorder, at length consummated their project of a complete invasion. Yet, in a diet assembled at Grodno in April 1793, they did nothing more than confirm the partition before settled between them; and they declared that “they incorporated with their respective states
“ the Polish provinces which they at that time
“ held in possession, for the purpose of securing
“ them from the destructive effects of the extra-
“ vagant systems which were attempted to be in-
“ troduced into them; and that this resolution,
“ which they reduced to practice, was firm and
“ irrevocable.”

The king, an impotent witness of that fatal dismemberment, formally abdicated the throne by an act signed at Grodno on the twenty-first of November 1793. That resignation was condemned as an instance of unmanly baseness by some zealous Poles who assembled under the conduct of a chief named Kosciuzko. Obligated as they were to combat numerous armies well disciplined and provided with every necessary, despair often served them in lieu of every resource, and compensated all their deficiencies. They gained

several victories, and won the admiration even of their enemies : but their exertions, divided between successes and defeats, were productive of no other effect than that of covering Poland with carnage and ruin. At length they were defeated and dispersed : and then the prisons were crowded, scaffolds were erected, blood flowed in streams, and, by an act signed at Petersburg on the third of January 1795, and communicated to all the powers of Europe, the three potentates designated the limits that were respectively to separate them in the heart of Poland, which they entirely appropriated to themselves.

From that moment, Poland, which had during more than a thousand years figured in Europe as an independent and frequently a formidable state, was deprived of that title, and will continue in her present degraded condition until perhaps, among the partitioning powers, there arise one who shall expel the other two, and restore to Poland her former splendor.

By an act signed at Petersburg on the sixth of January 1797, the three courts formed an engagement to extinguish by different means the debts of Poland, to discharge those of the king, to secure to him the enjoyment of all his patrimonial or acquired property, and to pay him an annual pension of two hundred thousand ducats. He fixed his principal residence at Grodno, whence the czar Paul I, on his accession to the

Russian throne, invited the ill-fated monarch to Petersburg—a scene that must doubtless have recalled to his mind the adventures of his youth, which seemed to promise him a happier destiny.

Such is the fate of a nation who constantly opposed a powerful barrier to the Ottoman invasions—who formerly triumphed over the Russians, and carried her victorious banners into the heart of Germany, and to the banks of the Rhine. In reflecting on that dreadful catastrophe, we might apply to those much less important states which the Gallic victories threaten with change or subversion that passage of one of our poets—

“Learn, vulgar souls, un-murmuring to die.”

ENGLAND.

ABOUT the middle of the sixth century, the Romans—who, as we have already seen, had invaded England—abandoned it, being recalled home by the pressing necessities of their own empire. The island was at that time called Britain. The Romans left it exposed to the hostile invasions of the Saxons, a continental tribe inhabiting the opposite coast, from whom they had till then defended it. Those invaders, from the shore where they landed, advanced into the interior of the country—chased before them the Britons, whom they confined to the narrow limits

England, an island in the Ocean, extending opposite to Germany.

of a few provinces—and formed of their conquests seven kingdoms, which were called the *Heptarchy*, that is to say, the *government of seven*. Britain, when subjugated, took the name of *Angle-land* or *England*, from the Angles, one of the Saxon tribes. These victors were in their turn exposed to the invasion of the Danes, and abandoned to those new guests certain tracts of country, where the latter fortified themselves before the conclusion of the sixth century.

At the same period Christianity penetrated into England. Ethelbert king of Kent, one of the principal monarchs of the heptarchy, had obtained in marriage Bertha daughter of Caribert king of Paris, on condition of allowing her the unrestrained exercise of her religion. The exemplary conduct of his wife, together with that of the bishops and priests whom she had brought over with her, inspired her husband with so favourable an opinion of the Christian doctrine, that he embraced it: in which he was imitated by great numbers of his subjects. Pope Gregory, being apprised of this success, sent over missionaries under the conduct of a monk named Augustine, who spread themselves through the other kingdoms of the heptarchy, and made considerable progress, being seconded by the queens, who efficaciously laboured for the conversion of their husbands.

The zeal of these princesses arose in great

measure from the interest which they and other married women felt in propagating a religion that banished polygamy, divorces, erratic amours, and rendered sacred the rights of marriage. Having been originally instructed by missionaries who were almost all Romans, the kings of England testified in the sequel a warm attachment to the court of Rome, and a respectful obedience to its commands. Thus, Otho, king of Mercia, one of the seven kingdoms, having been guilty of a murder, gave, as an expiation of his crime, one tenth of all his property to the church, and subjected his realm to the payment of an annual contribution for the foundation and support of an English college at Rome. Every family possessing an income of thirty pence was rated at the annual sum of one penny. This tax, originally confined to the kingdom of Mercia, was afterward extended to the others, under the name of Peter-pence, when all England was united under the same sceptre by the destruction of the heptarchy.

This union was accomplished at the close of the ninth century, but did not take place all at once. The incessant attacks of the Danes, by an effect contrary to their intentions, contributed to that event. Each of their victories tended to convince the English of the necessity of a well-directed resistance, which could not be made except by a single power. But the kings of the heptarchy, often divided by interest and jealousy,

opposed to those conquerors only an inadequate force. By usurpations or alliances several of those petty kingdoms were united, and together composed a more formidable mass to withstand the shock of the Danes. Thus the heptarchy ceased: but the indivisible unity of the whole was not established till the reign of Alfred the Great.

Alfred,
A.D. 871.

That prince, equally celebrated in romance as in history, was one of the best and greatest monarchs who ever filled the English throne. He mounted it at the age of twenty-two, already trained in combating the Danes under the eye of his elder brother Ethelbert king of Kent. The latter dying of fatigue, Alfred without hesitation undertook the burden of a crown difficult to be supported, and of which he well knew the weight. He continued against the enemies of his native country a war which in the beginning proved advantageous to him: within one year he engaged them in eight battles, and won as many victories. But, new swarms of those foreigners pouring into the island, the English were terrified by their numbers, and deserted their young monarch. After having roamed for some time accompanied only by a single attendant whom he was at length obliged to dismiss, he disguised himself in a rustic garb, and spent a year in the capacity of a herdsman.

Their successes emboldened the usurpers to aggravate the burden of their yoke on the necks

of the conquered. Goaded by oppression, the latter rose in their own defence, and made some prosperous efforts. Alfred, hearing in his retirement the intelligence of their good fortune, joined them; and, his name alluring back to his standards several of those who had formerly abandoned him, their number soon increased. He now found himself enabled to fight pitched battles, to take towns, and reduce the foreigners to the necessity of suing for peace and submitting to terms of inferiority. To prevent their recovering from this check, he stationed on the coasts a number of vessels destined to intercept any Danish fleets which might attempt to bring reinforcements to their countrymen. Thus the English marine owes its origin to Alfred: but his people were indebted to him for another advantage not less important, that of being reformed and polished by his institutions and his example.

His education had been so completely neglected that at the age of twelve years he was yet unacquainted with the first elements of literature. A taste for science was infused into him by his mother, who delighted in the perusal of the Saxon poems, the only vehicle of instruction which the age afforded. But the son proceeded farther: he earnestly applied himself to the study of the Latin language, as being the key which might open for him the door to other treasures of knowledge. When freed from the cares of war,

he devoted himself to the instruction of his countrymen. He formed a code of laws, founded the university of Oxford, and endowed it with great privileges for the purpose of attracting to it an afflux of learned men, who accordingly flocked to it from all quarters. To the incentive of other encouragements he added that of his own example. He had a tincture of all the sciences, was fond of music, and had the reputation of being one of the best poets of his time. For the instruction of his people, he translated into the Saxon language a pastoral letter of Saint Gregory, Boëthius's treatise on the Consolation of Philosophy, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and Æsop's fables which appeared to him well calculated to inspire a rude people with some notions of morality.

Alfred rendered his court brilliant : he displayed to the eyes of his subjects the precious stuffs and other rich productions of eastern industry, with the view of exciting a desire to imitate them. He encouraged manufactures, and never failed to reward the author of a useful invention. The following portrait of him has been drawn, which suits so few monarchs, and even so few men. Alfred was equally amiable in his person and accomplished in his manners. At the bare sight of him, the beholder felt himself disposed at once to love and respect him. Qualities which seem the least compatible with each other were happily blended in his character. He was moderate, yet

enterprising—firm, but not inflexible—mild and modest in the social circle; he was stern and severe in command; yet the attention which he paid to the rigid execution of justice did not prevent his distinguishing himself by clemency. We ought not therefore to be surprised at the enthusiastic admiration which the English have preserved for his memory. Historians make him the author of various useful institutions; and romance-writers have attributed to him, as exploits of chivalry, a number of heroic deeds sufficient to illustrate several monarchs.

The posterity of Alfred continued during more than a century to occupy the English throne. He was succeeded by his son Edward, who prudently managed the reins of government, with the assistance of his sister Ethelfleda, the worthy daughter of Alfred. Edward's legitimate son being too young at the time of his father's death, his natural brother Athelstan was promoted to the throne, on which he was succeeded by the legitimate son Edmund, who was followed by his brother Edred. The latter was much attached to the monks, and gave them an ascendancy over the secular clergy. Whether through a zeal for reform, or an idea of superior perfection, the priests submitted to celibacy in Edward's time; and it is remarked, that, under his reign, England became as it were a province to the popedom. His nephew Edwy, Edmund's son—who succeeded

Edward
the elder,
A.D. 901.

Athelstan,
A.D. 925.

Edmund,
A.D. 941.

Edred,
A.D. 946.

Edwy,
A.D. 955.

Edred because the son of the latter was too young—did not show himself so favourable to the monks : but he learned by fatal experience that it was dangerous to be considered by them as an enemy. Dunstan, their chief, openly declared against the imprudent Edwy, and raised the people in insurrection. The queen Elgiva took part with her husband, not less through interest than inclination. The monks wished to have her divorced, under pretence of her being too nearly allied by consanguinity to her husband. The king resolutely opposed them ; but the queen suffered from them the most inhuman treatment, and Edwy was dethroned, and died in a state of wretchedness.

Edgar,
A.D. 959.

In his place was substituted his brother Edgar, who, too well apprised by his example of the danger which he might incur by opposing Dunstan and his adherents, suffered them to enjoy unlimited authority. For this condescension he was requited by their unbounded indulgence to all his irregularities. He carried off from a convent a nun named Editha, with whom he lived on the footing of a husband : nor was any other penance imposed on him for that sacrilegious deed than a prohibition to wear his crown at public ceremonies during seven years. Two other marriages which Edgar contracted were accompanied by extraordinary circumstances. Arriving by chance at a nobleman's seat, he saw and admired the

daughter of the family, and requested her mother's consent that the young lady should be introduced to him in the night. The mother substituted one of her maids in her stead. The king, on awaking in the morning, found his bedfellow to his liking, and transferred her from his couch to the throne.

Having become a widower, and hearing great encomiums lavished on the charms of Elfrida the daughter of a very rich earl, he sent Athelwold, one of his favourites, to ascertain whether her beauty corresponded to the descriptions which fame had given of it. On beholding her, the royal confidant immediately was enamoured: he represented her to Edgar as little worthy of his choice; and, when he thought he had weaned the king's fancy from its unseen object, he married her himself. Jealousy is ever busy in courts, and did not on this occasion suffer the monarch to remain long ignorant of the deceit that had been practised on him. He procured the assassination of the husband; after which, the widow, easily consoled for the death of him who had disappointed her of a throne, willingly accepted the hand which now conducted her to it.

Edgar rendered to England a service of which it to this day feels the benefit: he conceived the project of destroying the wolves, and set his subjects the example of vigorously chasing those voracious animals. He moreover accepted, in

commutation of the tribute from Wales, a certain number of wolves' heads which were annually brought to him. Thus he nearly extirpated the race, which by the efforts of his successors was at length totally eradicated from that part of Great Britain.

Edward the
Martyr,
A. D. 975.

His son Edward was only eighteen years old at his father's death. The throne which of right belonged to him was disputed by his stepmother Elfrida, who, finding her intrigues unsuccessful, caused the young monarch to be assassinated. Although no religious motive had any share in procuring his death, he was honoured with the

Ethelred II.
A. D. 978.

title of the Martyr.—To his brother Ethelred, who succeeded him, was given the appellation of the Unready. He showed, however, that lazy people are sometimes formidable, because they stop at nothing for the sake of exempting themselves from trouble. The Danes, who had given much uneasiness to his predecessors, never ceased to disturb him in like manner: those who were already settled in the country and possessed tracts of land, demanded more, and were never satisfied: the new invaders who poured in were induced only by dint of money to re-embark and depart. Ethelred took these inconveniences into consideration in the secrecy of his cabinet: he formed his resolution, and privately issued his orders. Pursuant to those, on the fifteenth of November 1002—the festival of Saint Brice,

which that year happened on Sunday, a day on which the Danes were accustomed to indulge in the luxury of bathing—they were at once attacked and massacred through the whole kingdom: nor did the hand of destruction spare even children born of Danish fathers and English mothers, or of English fathers and Danish mothers. Even the Danish monarch's sister, who was married in England, did not escape the general doom, though she was a Christian: after having seen her children murdered before her eyes, she suffered the same fate herself by the express command of Ethelred.

The news of this transaction arriving in Denmark fired every bosom with the desire of vengeance. The Danes embarked in crowds under the conduct of their king. Ethelred the Unready, who ought to have expected this terrible invasion, being now unprepared or ill supported, was reduced, after several defeats, to recur to the ignominious expedient of proposing a sum of money as the price of peace. Indignant at his baseness, the English nobles renounced their allegiance to him, and submitted to the Danes. Ethelred escaped into Normandy, then subject to the sway of a nation of northern conquerors, but who were rivals of and little friendly to the invaders of England. The latter so lawlessly abused their successes, that the English recalled Ethelred,

who reconquered some provinces, and left his dismembered kingdom to his son Edmund.

Edmund
Iron-side,

A.D. 1016.

Edmund was surnamed Iron-side on account of his strength and valour. But those qualities did not save him from the disgraceful necessity of ratifying the partition made by his father with Canute king of Denmark. The latter, in consequence of the sudden and violent death of Edmund in the following year, became sole monarch of all

Canute,

A.D. 1017.

England. This Canute was surnamed the Great, on account of his rapid and constant successes. His courtiers, in their ecstasy occasioned by his triumphs, exhausted their ingenuity in flattering compliments to their monarch, which at length displeased him. "Nothing," said they emphatically, "nothing is impossible to your power." Tired of these adulations, Canute repaired to the sea-shore at the time when the tide was rising, and there, seated on a chair of state, he cried out in an imperative tone, "Ye waves ! I forbid you
" to approach, and I command you to retire." But the waves still continued to advance ; whereupon, turning to his courtiers, " You see," he said, " the nature of my power. Acknowledge
" that such as you attribute to me belongs only
" to the Lord of the universe, who by a breath
" can overturn the most solid edifices of human
" vanity and ambition."

To Canute succeeded his son Harold, who did not peaceably enjoy the throne, being opposed by his brother Hardicanute, who afterward obtained sole possession of the crown in consequence of Harold's premature death. Notwithstanding their quarrels, those two brothers had co-operated with each other in excluding two competitors whom their claims rendered dangerous—Edward and Alfred, descendants of the Saxon kings. Ethelred had taken them with him to Normandy when himself obliged to seek a shelter in that country; and they had there been educated. During the contest between the two Danish brothers, they made their appearance in England: but, after an unsuccessful battle, Alfred was taken prisoner: his eyes were put out by Harold's order; and he died in consequence of that operation. Edward escaped to Normandy, his former asylum.

During this war, the Danish brothers had been powerfully assisted by an English nobleman named Godwin. His wealth and credit gave him pretensions to the crown: and the hope of one day wearing it impelled him to give his aid rather to those foreigners who would ever be considered as usurpers, than to princes of the Saxon race which had in its favour the affections of the nation. But, in spite of all Godwin's efforts, Edward the surviving brother of the unfortunate Alfred was

Harold,
A.D. 1035.

Hardicanute
A.D. 1039.

Edward the
Confessor,
A.D. 1041.

recalled from Normandy after the death of Canute, and elevated to the throne.

His reign was long, and tolerably tranquil. His punctuality in the performance of religious duties obtained for him the titles of Saint and Confessor: but the most meritorious part of his administration was the attention which he paid to the strict distribution of justice. As he was destitute of children, the succession to the crown caused him much uneasiness. He could not doubt that it was viewed with the eye of longing ambition by Harold the son of Godwin, who daily laboured to win the people by his affability, and the nobles by his munificence. For the purpose of defeating his schemes, Edward invited from Hungary one of his nephews, son to the unfortunate Alfred. That prince died soon after his arrival in England, leaving a son in non-age, by name Edgar. Edward disposed of the sceptre in his favour, and placed him under the tutelage of William duke of Normandy, the illegitimate son of that Robert who had been so useful a friend to him in the season of misfortune. Through gratitude, he called to the throne the guardian, the son of his friend, in case of his ward's death.

At the time of Edward's decease, all Harold's measures had been so well planned, that no exertions were made in favour of Edgar, the grand-

nephew of the defunct, who was a young prince of small promise, and known weakness of intellect. Harold therefore ascended the throne with the consent of the nobles and the people. He had a brother named Tosti, a man of deep intrigue, and with whom he had never lived on good terms. Tosti, not esteemed by the nation, consequently unable to excite a domestic revolt against his brother, went to raise enemies against him in Denmark and Norway, whence returning he landed in England at the head of an army. His object was to expel his brother from the throne, or oblige him to share the government with him. A bloody battle ensued, in which Harold gained the victory, but not without losing the flower of his army.

At this crisis landed a competitor against whom he would have stood in need of his whole force—William duke of Normandy, who had crossed the sea to take possession of the kingdom to which he had been nominated by Edward. He pretended that England was oppressed by Harold, whom he represented as a usurper. He came, as he alleged, “in compliance with the repeated “invitations of the English nobles,” of whom indeed a great number disdained subjection to a man who had lately been their equal. Immediately after his debarkation, William sent back his ships to Normandy, to impress his followers with a conviction that their only resource lay in

victory. Harold thought to tempt him by the offer of a large sum of money : but William rejected it with scorn, and in his turn proposed that Harold should either yield to him the crown, or do him homage for it as his vassal, or decide the contest by single combat, or, if he chose, to submit the decision of it to the pope, of whose favour William was probably certain. “ No other
 “ arbiter,” replied Harold, “ than the God of
 “ battles. He alone shall decide between us.” Accordingly a combat was furiously commenced at a place called Hastings: a dreadful carnage ensued, and the plain was covered with the dead bodies of fifteen thousand Normans: but the number of English who perished was much greater. Harold fell, pierced with an arrow while gallantly fighting, and, together with his life, lost his crown, which now became the reward of the victor.

William the
 Conqueror.
 A.D. 1066

In William I, began the dynasty of the Norman kings of England. He was styled the Conqueror. The time of his government may be divided into two remarkable periods: in the former, his clemency and justice rendered him an object of universal admiration, and confirmed him in the possession of that authority which the event of a battle had conferred on him. It is allowed that if there had been any English chief capable of collecting the scattered remains of the discomfited army, he might still have successfully

contested William's possession of the throne. But the terror excited by the Norman's victory opened to him the gates of the most considerable towns, and brought the most distinguished of the nobles to pay obeisance at his feet. The Conqueror gave them a gracious reception, confirmed their titles, bestowed the earldom of Oxford on Edgar the heir of the ancient royal race, and treated him with every appearance of the most cordial friendship— affecting nevertheless to consider him only as the nephew of Edward the Confessor, without acknowledging him to possess any title to the throne, which he himself gloried in holding by the right of conquest.

The affairs of his new kingdom being tolerably well settled, he set out for Normandy, cautious however to take with him the principal English nobles under pretence of an unwillingness to forego the pleasure of their society, but in reality for the purpose of doing himself honour by the splendor of so brilliant an escort, and of keeping them as hostages. He was also careful to place in the hands of his own countrymen all the higher offices of the state, and such as conferred the greatest authority. Attentive to reserve exclusively to himself the power of the sword which had opened his way to the throne, he disarmed the inhabitants of London and of all the other cities whose population was capable of exciting his

distrust, and placed Norman garrisons in all the most important fortresses.

The precaution of taking with him such a number of the English noblesse proved perhaps more detrimental to the Conqueror than advantageous. If, attached to William by his good treatment, they had remained at home, they might have checked the progress of that discontent which some less-favoured lords propagated through the nation. The resentment of the English was inflamed to such heat, that a resolution was adopted of cutting off during William's absence all the Normans in the kingdom in one day. This frightful scheme was on the eve of exploding into execution, when it was discovered and prevented. The blood of the principal accomplices streamed on the scaffolds even before the return of the Conqueror, whom that conspiracy recalled to England sooner than he had originally proposed. He now revisited the country in a temper of mind toward his new subjects very different from that in which he had set out.

His endeavours to conciliate their affections by gentle means having proved unsuccessful, he determined at least to awe them into submission by terror, and to make the greatest possible advantage of his conquest. Accordingly he revived or augmented the former taxes which he had either suppressed or diminished; and, on hearing the

murmurs and complaints of the people, he further aggravated the burden. Too faithfully imitating the conduct of their duke, and sure of not displeasing him by harassing the English, the Normans practised every species of vexation. Oppression engendered hatred: hatred kindled the desire of vengeance; and, as the Normans paid little respect to the lives of the English, so, on the other hand, scarcely a day passed without some Normans being found murdered in the woods and on the high ways. The invaders are now in their turn seized by terror, and flee in crowds from that land which at every step presented them with snares and embuscades. Even men who occupied the rank of governors entreated permission of the Conqueror to return to Normandy.

In consequence of these desertions, William saw himself likely to be soon left alone in the hands of the exasperate English. The apprehension of such an event prompted him to the adoption of a desperate resolution. It was chiefly in the northern counties that this system of assassination prevailed: the Conqueror therefore marched to those parts at the head of an army, and abandoned the most beautiful tracts of country to the unbridled rage of his incensed soldiers. The houses were destroyed and reduced to ashes; the flocks and herds were driven off; the implements of agriculture were broken; the wretched

inhabitants fled forlorn, unable to carry away aught of their property, and exposed to perish through hunger and cold. The irritated monarch confiscated the estates of the nobles, many of whom were compelled to flee to foreign countries; while those who continued in the kingdom—the descendents of ancient and honourable families—had the mortification of seeing their castles occupied and their lands possessed by Normans of the meanest extraction. As to the plebeian class of the English, if they dared to make any resistance, the ferocious victor deprived them of an arm or a leg or an eye, and in that mutilated state dismissed them, that the appearance of those unfortunate wretches exhibited in the neighbouring districts might inspire universal terror, and awe every mind to submission.

At the sight of these barbarities, Edgar, though hitherto treated with distinction, became afraid lest they should extend to him, and fled into Scotland, where king Malcolm gave him a friendly reception, and married his eldest sister, by whom he had a daughter, in whose posterity the two royal races, the Saxon and the Norman, were afterward united. After some time, Edgar, recovering from his alarms, returned to England, and there lived as a private individual, without ambition. He found his district rendered somewhat more peaceable by the late measures which William had adopted. When the Nor-

man first invaded England, the bishops and priests favoured him, because he was countenanced by the pope: but the clergy could not view his subsequent oppressions without murmuring. Apprehensive of the consequences of their dissatisfaction, the Conqueror carried the English bishops away prisoners to Normandy, substituted Norman priests in their stead, and filled all the other exalted ranks of the secular and regular priesthood with his own countrymen. This method of changing the opinion of a nation was successful with William, and secured to his posterity the diadem which he had won by the sword.

However formidable the power of William, his eldest son Robert dared to revolt against him. He asked for an apanage which his father refused to grant: whereupon a war broke out between them, and was carried on with vigor. In one of those frequent skirmishes which ensued, chance brought the king and the prince in opposition to each other. The concealment of their closed visors preventing their mutual recognition, they commenced a furious conflict; when, after several assaults, the son wounded his father in the arm, and unhorsed him. At the voice of William crying out for assistance, Robert recognised him, sprang from his horse, dropped on his knees by his parent's side, and implored his forgiveness. But the monarch, impotent of his anger, loaded him with reproaches and maledictions. He after-

ward however received him into favour at the intercession of Matilda the young prince's mother, with whom William lived thirty years in the most affectionate union.

For the purpose of establishing an exact proportion in the payment of taxes, William ordered a descriptive list to be made of all the lands in England, and with his own hand traced the plan of it. In that register, every thing was noticed—the extent and value of landed possessions, the different nature of the soil, meadows, woods, arable land, names of the proprietors, even the number of the slaves and cattle. Thus, amid the din of arms, and in a kingdom not yet fully recovered from the rude shocks under which it had lately tottered, William accomplished a task which has several times been unsuccessfully attempted in the season of profound peace by monarchs enjoying absolute and undisturbed authority.

William is reproached with an excessive passion for the chase, which induced him to lay waste, near his palace at Winchester, a tract of country thirty miles in extent, to cover it with a forest where he might enjoy that diversion: for which purpose, the houses were demolished and the inhabitants expelled. That princely sport was forbidden to others under the most rigorous penalties: whoever killed a deer or a boar or even a hare, was punished by the privation of his eyes;

whereas the murder of a man might be atoned by the payment of a moderate sum. Such is the absurdity of human opinions, when they are formed under the influence of passion ! While on the one hand we do justice to William's great qualities, such as courage and skill in war, and ability in the cabinet, we cannot deny that he was cruel and vindictive and implacable; that he was never checked in the pursuit of his ambitious projects either by the laws of equity or the suggestions of benevolence. Accordingly he was more feared than beloved. He left four sons, of whom only three acted parts worthy of notice—Robert, William, and Henry.

Whether through predilection for his second son William, or resentment of the disobedience of Robert his eldest, the Conqueror signified—some say, by his will—others, by a vocal declaration—his wish that the sceptre of England should be given to William, and Normandy to Robert, while to his third son Henry he allotted only a moderate sum of money. But he who was the least favoured by his father, afterward obtained the best provision. By the conduct of Robert as well during the life as after the death of his father, it appears that he was turbulent, impolitic, imprudent, improvident. He suffered his brother William to set out from Normandy at the moment of his father's dissolution, without making an effort to detain him, without even

William
Rufus,

A.D. 1087.

following him to claim his own right: and when the younger brother had secured for himself the crown by the seizure of his father's treasures, and by great largesses and still greater promises to every one whose interest could be useful to him, the elder at length announced his pretensions, and made preparations for invading England at the head of an army to assert them. Before the dispute was brought to the decision of martial conflict, the chief nobles of both parties effected an accommodation between the brothers by a treaty, of which the principal condition was, that, if either of them died without issue, the states of the deceased should devolve to the survivor. Henry, the third brother, protested against this agreement: but, so far from paying any regard to his reclamations, his brothers even stripped him of the small patrimony which he had inherited from his father, and then reduced him to the necessity of leading the wandering life of an adventurer.

Now peaceable in Normandy, Robert suffered himself to be infected by the rage of crusading—a folly in some degree pardonable, as it was the epidemic passion of the age: but he was guilty of inexcusable imprudence, when, for the sake of raising a numerous army and enabling himself to figure with splendor among the princes who were infatuated by the same phrensy, he offered to mortgage his Norman duchy to his brother

William for an immediate supply of ten thousand marks of silver. The king of England did not fail to embrace so advantageous a proposal. The mortgage was for five years, during which time William was to re-imburse himself for the principal together with the addition of interest from the revenues of the province, and at the expiration of that period to restore it to his brother. But, acquainted as he was with Robert's character, William was justly authorised to conclude that this first step would ultimately conduct him to the union of both sovereignties under one sceptre. An unforeseen event, however, put an end to his life and all his ambitious projects. While he was hunting in that new forest planted by his father amid the ruins of the habitations destroyed in the vicinity of Winchester, on that soil drenched with the blood of the Conqueror's subjects, a courtier in his train discharged an arrow, which, striking against the trunk of a tree, glanced from it against the king, and pierced his heart.

Had Robert been in Normandy at the time of his brother's death, it is probable that, in pursuance of the stipulations made between them, he would have mounted the throne without opposition. But, on his return from Palestine where he had acquired great glory, he took his way through Italy, where he contracted a matrimonial engagement, and wasted a whole year in a

Henry
Beauclerc,
A. D. 1100.

round of pleasurable enjoyments. Meantime Henry, that disgraced and wandering brother, having nothing to lose and every thing to gain, flies to Winchester on the first intelligence of Rufus's death, seizes the royal treasures, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. Thus Robert a second time found one of his brothers seated on the throne when he attempted to gain possession of it; and on the present occasion his efforts proved even more unfortunate than on the former; for Henry not only obliged Robert in the first instance to relinquish to him the crown on the same conditions which had before secured it to Rufus, but also in the sequel wrested from him the duchy of Normandy. The conduct of Robert, rather inconsiderate than wicked, had made many mal-contents. Henry listened to their complaints, supported their opposition, united his banners with those of the confederates, and finally made his brother prisoner. He confined him in a castle in England, where the unfortunate captive lingered out an irksome existence of twenty-eight years. Thus Normandy was again annexed to the English crown.

Robert had a son named William, who, while his father groaned in chains, made spirited attempts for the recovery of his patrimony. He was at first aided by Louis VI king of France: but when, by means of that diversion, the Gallic monarch had obtained from Henry certain terri-

tories that had been the object of his wishes, he concluded with him a peace, in which, according to the usual practice of kings, the interests of the *protégé* were totally neglected. The young claimant died eight years after.

Henry also had but one son, who like his cousin was named William, and endowed with the most estimable qualities. If ever a severe stroke was inflicted on a father—an affectionate and ambitious father—it was the fatal accident which snatched from him that beloved son in the bloom of youth. The young prince set out from Normandy in company with his father, but on board a different vessel. The mariners, confused by intoxication, drove the ship against a rock, where it was dashed to pieces; and the prince was buried in the waves, together with a hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy. Only one man escaped the general disaster, to carry to the king the sad confirmation of his misfortune. From that moment Henry never emerged from profound melancholy. He died in Normandy, whither he had returned. His taste for literature and his proficiency in learning gained for him the title of Beauclerc, which signifies the “fine scholar.” He is generally taxed with only one remarkable fault—an excessive love of women: but he cannot be absolved from the charge of cruelty toward his brother whom he suffered to

languish in the gloom of a prison, or that of injustice toward his nephew whom he ought to have at least allowed to enjoy the duchy of Normandy.

There remained a legitimate daughter of Henry, named Matilda, who, having been left a widow by the emperor Henry V, had contracted a new matrimonial alliance with Geoffrey Plantagenet, son to the count of Anjou. By him she had several children, of whom the eldest bore his grand-father's name, Henry. That king, after the death of his son who perished in the waves, had caused his daughter to be acknowledged by the English and Norman nobles as heiress to all his states; and he died fully confident that she would meet with no competitor, nor experience any opposition in succeeding to his throne. But he had a nephew, Stephen the son of one of his sisters named Adela countess of Blois, who conceived himself to have as good a title to the succession as his cousin Matilda. He had been educated with great care and affection at his uncle's court, where he had gained many friends; and now having, partly by force, partly by stratagem, obtained possession of the treasures of the deceased monarch, he, by lavish grants of favours and largesses and exemptions from taxes, procured himself to be acknowledged king of England. But Matilda still enjoyed the good wishes of a powerful party, and so numerous, that, on land-

Stephen,
A. D. 1135.

ing in the island with an escort of only forty knights, she soon saw herself at the head of an army, by the afflux of soldiers who crowded to her banners.

In the first battle that ensued, Stephen was made prisoner: but that disaster proved eventually a benefit to him. The nobles, apprehensive lest the queen should become too powerful if unopposed, obliged her to release Stephen: after which, dissatisfied with her situation, she either voluntarily withdrew or was compelled to flee beyond sea. She had a son named Henry, who so successfully supported his mother's and his own rights, that Stephen was glad to enter into terms of compromise, by which he was to be left in quiet possession of the crown during his life, on condition that it should after his death revert to prince Henry, although Stephen had a son of his own, called William—and that William should rest satisfied with the counties of Boulogne and Blois, which were his father's patrimony. That no cause of umbrage might remain to the king, the son of Matilda quitted England, after having been solemnly acknowledged as presumptive heir to the crown. Stephen did not long withhold it from his wishes: for he died about a year after, neither sullied with vices nor adorned with virtues.

No prince in Europe was richer in the possession of fertile tracts of country, or more unfortu-

Henry II, A.D. 1154. nate as a husband and a father, than Henry II, the stem of the dynasty of the Plantagenets. From his father he inherited Anjou, Touraine, and Maine—from his mother, England and Normandy. He espoused Eleanor the heiress of Aquitaine, who had been divorced by Louis VII, and with whom he obtained Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, the Angoumois, and Limousin. He moreover formed a matrimonial alliance between his third son who had scarcely exceeded the years of childhood, and the heiress of Bretagne; which union left that province at his disposal. Finally he conquered Ireland.

In dominions so extensive, it can scarcely be supposed that the power of a king, thus divided between so many cares, could have been exempt from opposition. In England especially, the disturbances of the late reigns had created an aristocracy destructive of the authority of the sovereign. The great lords, who had attached themselves to the interests of the rival brothers and nephews engaged in contests for the crown, had, with the approbation of those princes, fortified their country-seats and converted them into castles; whence the country was covered with fortresses garrisoned either by the vassals of their respective owners, or by hireling ruffians imported from the continent. Those titled proprietors arrogated to themselves the right of

coinage, and of exercising a jurisdiction independent of the monarch. During this general anarchy, the clergy also had fortified their possessions, and claimed the rights of sovereignty on their estates.

Henry, being determined to remedy these disorders, thought it an easier or more necessary task to begin by the clergy, who, to their other abuses, added that of thinking themselves wholly exempt from the penalties of the law, inasmuch that an ecclesiastic, whatever crime he might have committed—murder, rape, or any other equally enormous—could not be subjected to any severer punishment than degradation. As if Fortune were inclined to favour the king's wishes, the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, the richest benefice in the realm, became vacant. Henry elevated to that high station Thomas Becket, the son of a simple citizen of London, but in whom the monarch had discovered such talents that he had promoted him to the dignity of chancellor, and loaded him with riches. Henry's motive for preferring him was that he thought him disposed to enter into his views respecting a reform of the clergy.

But so soon as Thomas held the crozier within his grasp, his sentiments and his conduct underwent a total change. Till then he had been the most ostentatious of men: his dress, his furniture, were of the most exquisite kind; and his table was spread with the most sumptuous and delicate

fare. To that luxury and good living he now suddenly substituted external appearances quite the reverse—a simplicity of dress bordering on uncleanness—rigid abstemiousness in his meals—a hair-cloth shirt—frequent self-flagellations—and, instead of the society of gay courtiers, the company of grave persons who made profession of great austerity of manners. For the purpose of being less dependent on the king, he resigned his office of chancellor. Nevertheless, as magnificence is necessary to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, he still retained the accustomed pomp and splendor of his household.

In the first attempt made by the monarch toward a reform, he experienced the opposition of the archbishop. His conferences with the prelate, his arguments, his threats, his entreaties, were of no avail: Becket continued inflexible. The question related to some abusive rights annexed to the archiepiscopacy itself: the prelate would not concede a single point: the king procured his condemnation by an assembly of the clergy; and the archbishop appealed to the pope. Hereupon his possessions were seised, and a fine was imposed on him, which he paid, though without relaxing his stubborn contumacy. But, on an accusation of disobedience and felony, he betook himself to flight, and escaped into France. He there met the pope, by whom he was very graciously received as a martyr to the privileges of the church. The French monarch Louis VII

contributed also to render his asylum as agreeable to him as possible, were it for no other reason than that of mortifying the king of England. Between these two sovereigns, existed a secret antipathy, which is thought to have derived additional strength from Louis's dissatisfaction at seeing his repudiated wife Eleanor throw herself into the arms of Henry.

So many mediators interposed in the quarrel between the monarch and the archbishop, that an accommodation was effected, so far at least as concerned the most material points in dispute: but there still remained matter for angry discussion. The king might easily have foreseen that the affair would have an unfortunate issue, from the manner in which the prelate conducted himself: his return to England was a perfect triumph: instead of shunning the excessive honours which were paid to him by the admiring crowd, he ambitiously enjoyed them: and, when this general veneration had sufficiently convinced him of the attachment of the people, he began, as before, to hurl his anathemas against all those who had supported the king in his late proceedings. All these anathematized individuals—barons, prelates, and others—repaired to the king in Normandy, to lay their complaints before him.

On witnessing the arrival of that crowd of persecuted individuals of all ranks, the king exclaimed in violent agitation, "What! among all

“ those whom I have obliged, is there none who
“ will avenge me of that insolent priest ?” These words were like the thunderbolt—once emitted, no longer revocable. After some time, Henry was informed that four young gentlemen, who had heard his expressions, were set out with sinister intentions toward the archbishop. He immediately dispatched an officer in pursuit of them ; but they had traveled too expeditiously to be overtaken. Arrived in England, they proceeded directly to Becket’s palace, and loaded him with reproaches,—their eyes meanwhile gleaming with fury. After this scene, the prelate repaired to the cathedral, whither they went in quest of him, and massacred him before the altar. This murder made a considerable noise in England. The king found no difficulty in exculpating himself from all concern in the fact : yet he thought prudent to submit to voluntary punishment for having accidentally occasioned it : and he applied for absolution, which he obtained from the bishops to whom his application was made, on condition of submitting to every act of atonement which the sovereign pontif should require. This unfortunate affair was never entirely buried in oblivion : it constantly contributed to embitter the other chagrins to which Henry was exposed during the remainder of his life.

Some of a very painful kind he experienced from his wife Eleanor, and he occasioned them

himself; or rather, as generally happens, there were faults on both sides. That sprightly and voluptuous princess had married Henry from inclination while he was yet only count of Anjou, though with the certain expectation of wearing the crown of England. Exclusive of the claim arising from her personal charms, she conceived herself entitled, in return for the fine states which she brought to him as her dower, to expect all the tenderness of conjugal affection from her husband. Nor indeed was he absolutely deficient toward her in that respect: but she claimed his exclusive regard. Henry, however, divided his attentions between her and the celebrated Rosamund Clifford: and this infidelity irritating the proud spirit of Eleanor, she swore to be avenged. To succeed in accomplishing that object, she instigated her own sons to revolt against their father.

The monarch had caused his eldest son Henry to be acknowledged heir to the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. To Richard, his second son, he had secured as an apanage the duchy of Guienne, and the county of Poitou. To Geoffrey, his third, he had insured Bretagne, of which he had procured him the heiress in marriage. For John, the fourth of his sons, he intended the kingdom of Ireland which he had conquered: and he was in nego-

tiation to obtain for him the hand of Adelaïde, the only daughter of Humbert duke of Savoy and Maurienne, with whom he was to receive as a dower considerable domains in Piémont, Savoy, Bresse, and Dauphiné.

But, at the same time that Henry secured to his sons the future possession of England and his continental dominions, he did not mean prematurely to despoil himself of them. The sons considered the remote expectancy as an object of little value without the present enjoyment : and Henry, the eldest, being supported by the king of France whose daughter he had married, had the assurance to propose to his father that he should cede to him either England or Normandy. Henry's example was soon imitated by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, who, at their mother's instigation, demanded of their father the possession of the domains which had been allotted to them. On his refusal to comply with their requisition, they withdrew to the court of France.

Eleanor intended to follow them thither, without being restrained by any consideration of the disgrace that must attend her appearance in the character of a suppliant in a kingdom where she formerly had filled the rank of sovereign. She had already disguised herself in masculine attire for the purpose of flight ; when she was arrested, and conducted to a place of safe confinement. On that occasion the world saw the most affect-

tionate and indulgent of fathers in open rupture with his family—the queen his wife, the mother of his children, exciting them to revolt—three young princes, scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, daring to propose to a mighty monarch, their own father, in the vigor of his age and the zenith of his glory, that he should abdicate his crown—finally, several sovereigns, and among others the king of France, exhibiting to mankind the scandalous spectacle of a league formed for the support of the sons in their rebellion against their father.

Henry's continental possessions were attacked by the Gallic monarch, the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and the barons of Bretagne, joined by the three English princes: but he made so vigorous opposition to the attacks of the confederates that they were glad to propose to him a conference. It was held at Gisors, where the afflicted father had the mortification of seeing his three sons ranged beside his enemies. His prudence did not allow him to abdicate the crown or any part of his sovereignties: but his paternal indulgence granted to the undutiful youths every thing else which they could desire in point of domains and revenues.

Perhaps policy too had a share in prompting him to these concessions; for he saw himself threatened with a revolt in England. The prejudices of the people, and the fatal consequences

which they might produce, determined him on performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, who was worshipped as a saint. It would probably not have been safe for the monarch to omit that act of devotion, which the pope had enjoined to him, in atonement of the murder. Henry prostrated himself before the venerated remains of the prelate, spent a night and a day in prayer and fasting at his shrine, and presented his bare shoulders to the lash of monkish discipline. On the day succeeding that ceremony he received the news of a victory gained by his army over the king of Scotland, who was made prisoner : whereupon the voice of superstition did not fail to proclaim that his recent triumph was a recompense of his piety. Admitting the supposition—as indeed it is our duty to believe—that the same providence which rewards virtue is equally just in avenging crime, the deaths of young Henry and Geoffrey, which happened about this period, ought to have been considered as a punishment for their revolt.

Geoffrey left his young wife, the duchess of Bretagne, pregnant. She gave birth to a son, who received the name of Arthur. Henry's rights devolved to Richard, now become the eldest, who showed himself neither less ambitious, nor more moderate in his pretensions against his father. The indulgent Henry, with the view of procuring for himself some years of tranquillity,

consented to an accommodation by which he promised to grant pardon to all those who had taken a part in the revolt. When the list of their names was presented to him, he was astonished to find among them that of his son John, whom he had distinguished above all the rest of his children by superior warmth of paternal affection.

The unfortunate parent, already bowed down by fatigue and chagrin, feeling his bosom wounded in so tender a part, abandoned himself to the transports of ungovernable grief: he cursed the day of his birth, and loaded his rebellious progeny with maledictions which no entreaties could ever afterward induce him to retract. Deprived of those domestic consolations which become so necessary on attaining the age of infirmities, and having his health undermined by a deep sensibility of his misfortunes, he was attacked by a lingering fever, which put a period to his existence at the age of fifty-eight years, and after a reign of thirty-five.

Henry united the qualities of a great warrior and a wise governor. His countenance was animated and engaging, his conversation agreeable, his eloquence easy and persuasive. The moments which remained unclaimed by the cares of government were devoted by him either to reading or to instructive discourse with learned men. The knowledge which he acquired by these means

rendered him superior to all the princes of his age. The arts of luxury were yet very rude in his time, as we may judge by the description given to us of the magnificence displayed by Thomas Becket when chancellor of the kingdom. Nobody, it is said by contemporary writers, equaled him in the refinements of sumptuous delicacy: “every day in winter his apartments
 “were strewed with clean straw or hay, and
 “in summer with rushes or leaves, that those
 “who came to pay their court to him might
 “not soil their fine clothes by sitting on a dirty
 “floor.”

Richard I,
 A. D. 1189.

The first step taken by his son Richard was to dismiss from his service and his favour all those who had abetted him in his revolt against his father; while, on the other hand, he granted his confidence to the faithful ministers of the deceased monarch, and continued them in their respective employments. He was surnamed *Cœur-de-lion* (Lion-hearted) on account of his courage and magnanimity. Richard, with unsuspecting confidence, exposed himself to the hazards of a crusade. He would have shown greater prudence in staying at home to watch over the peace of his kingdom, and intrusting the command of the crusaders to his brother John, whom he would thus have removed from seduction and from the temptation to seize on the crown while himself was combating the infidels. It is true indeed that

Richard acquired great glory in that expedition : but his return proved very disastrous.

While he was hastening back to his own dominions which were attacked in his absence by the French king Philip-Augustus, he disguised himself in the garb of a pilgrim and took his route through Austria, under the idea of that being the safest way. He was, however, recognised ; and the archduke Leopold, with whom he had had a dispute in Palestine, caused him to be arrested and imprisoned in a lonely castle. Here he remained undiscovered almost three years, while his faithful subjects made fruitless inquiries for their lost sovereign. At length a minstrel, a musician and poet of his court, was led by a secret presentiment to the foot of the tower where the monarch languished in chains. He was informed that a prisoner who was confined within sometimes soothed his irksome hours by the notes of the harp. The minstrel played on his instrument a tune that Richard himself had formerly composed ; to which the captive answered by repeating the same air. Thus his subjects first learned that he was yet in existence, and were enabled to take steps in his favour, which were sufficiently efficacious to prevail with Leopold to release him on condition of receiving a considerable ransom, of which a large proportion was paid to him in advance.

It was now full time that Richard's captivity

should cease : for John, a prince of pliant disposition and little attached to his brother, although he had received great favours from him, suffered himself to be instigated to seize the opportunity which his absence afforded of taking possession of his states. A false report of the king's death was circulated : but it was not credited by the regents whom Richard had appointed to govern the kingdom during his absence, and who now firmly supported his authority, at least in England. As to Normandy and his other continental dominions, the regents could not save them from being invaded by the king of France. But those petty conquests, which were even disputed, did not satisfy the French monarch : he flattered himself with the hope of obtaining better terms from John if he could place him on the regal seat, than from Richard whose courage was well known. Accordingly he formed an arrangement with John, who agreed to yield to him a part of Normandy in return for a body of troops with which the French king was to furnish him. Moreover Philip-Augustus undertook to tempt the avarice of Leopold by offering to pay him in ready money the entire ransom of his royal captive in addition to the advance he had already received, on condition that he would surrender him into his hands. The design of the Gallic monarch and the unnatural brother was to detain Richard in perpetual confinement. Fortunately, however,

that prince had been released before the proposals reached Leopold. The latter sent in pursuit of him : but he was already embarked when the emperor's emissaries came to apprehend him.

Richard was welcomed by his subjects with acclamations of universal joy. Although he was rough and passionate, yet, as he compensated those faults by frankness and generosity, the blemishes in his character were indulgently overlooked. John, on the contrary, with the external appearance of mildness and moderation, had never been able to conciliate the affections of the people, because that glossy outside concealed a duplicity of character which betrayed itself in spite of his dissimulation. When he saw his brother so well received, judging that Richard must sooner or later regain the ascendancy, he did not hesitate to make every submission that could tend to procure his pardon. No doubt he proceeded farther to accomplish that object than the generous Richard required : for, on the very day when he abandoned the French monarch's party, being at Evreux, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison, who were ignorant of the change in his sentiments, caused them to be massacred at the conclusion of the repast, and, with the blood of those unfortunate men reeking on his hands, went to carry the keys of the city to his brother. For the reconciliation John was indebted to the

mediation of their mother, queen Eleanor. “I forgive him,” said Richard: “and I wish I could as easily forget his offences, as he will my pardon.” As the king’s affairs prospered, John continued faithful to him.

Richard, having no legitimate issue, bequeathed to him the crown at his death, to the prejudice of Arthur of Bretagne, the son of Geoffrey, John’s senior. Richard lived only forty-two years. His death was accelerated by the injudicious treatment of a wound which he had received at the siege of a small town in Limousin. His ambition was wholly directed to military glory, to which he sacrificed his dearest interests in undertaking the crusade. He possessed all the chivalrous virtues—courage, high spirit, gallantry. He was passionately enamoured of poetry; and many of his verses are found among those of the *Troubadours*, or Provençal poets. He excelled in poignant repartie: at the time when he was preparing for the crusade, an ecclesiastic venerable for his virtues remonstrated with him on the contrast between his licentious life and his pious undertaking: the holy man exhorted him to rid himself of his vices, particularly naming pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king’s “favourite daughters.”—“Your advice,” said Richard, “is good: and I have already thought of providing for the whole three. I give my pride to the Templars, my avarice

“ to the Benedictines, and my voluptuousness to
“ the whole body of the clergy.”

John was surnamed Sans-terre, or Lack-land, ^{John,}
^{A.D. 1191.} because, in the division that Henry II made of his states among his sons, nothing was left to him but hopes. Of his three elder brothers, Geoffrey alone had left any legitimate offspring, having had, by the duchess of Bretagne his wife, a son called Arthur, who, as representative of his father, was now the lawful heir to both his deceased uncles Henry and Richard. One of the first steps taken by John was an attempt to prevail on his nephew to renounce his rights: but he found the youth fully convinced of their legitimacy, and resolved to assert them. Arthur received support from the king of France, by whom he was protected, both as his vassal, and as a person capable of creating embarrassment to the king of England. The succours, however, with which he was supplied, were inadequate; and the young prince's ardor hurried him on to engage his enemy at a disadvantage. He was defeated, and fell into the hands of his uncle, who confined him in the castle of Falaise.

The king now renewed to his prisoner the demand of a renunciation, but found him equally inflexible as before: whereupon, dreading the courage of the young prince, and the strength of mind which he already displayed, the uncle thought that the only sure mode of providing

against all future uneasiness was to deprive him of life. Twice he sent assassins to the castle of Falaise; twice the governor refused to permit the execution of his sanguinary orders. Ill served by others, John determined to perform the deed himself. For that purpose, he ordered Arthur to be transferred to the castle of Rouen situate on an island in the Seine. Thither he repaired at midnight, and ordered his nephew to be brought to him. The horrors of confinement, and the dangers to which he had been exposed in it, had broken the spirit of the unfortunate youth, who, reading in his uncle's countenance his sinister intentions, threw himself at his feet, and with most humble supplication entreated for mercy. John, without deigning to listen to his prayers, inhumanly stabbed him with his own hand while prostrate before him, tied a stone to the dead body, and threw it into the river. The murderer afterward had the impudence to demand the administration of the duchy of Bretagne, as guardian to Arthur's sister Eleanor, whom he carried off to England, and there detained in captivity.

Notwithstanding the precautions he had taken to conceal the murder, it was discovered. The Bretons indignantly rejected his demand; and the atrocity of his crime rendered him an object of universal detestation. To hatred also was joined that contempt which was naturally excited by the

baseness of his character and the meanness of his conduct. Weak and pusillanimous when he met with opposition, he became haughty and arrogant when conscious of superiority. He demeaned himself to entreaties and humble condescensions with the same facility as he braved and insulted those from whom he had nothing to fear. These alternations of behaviour are remarked in his wars against foreign powers, especially France, and in his wars with the pope, with his clergy, and with the barons of his states.

The French monarch, ever on the watch for opportunities which might enable him to regain some authority over so powerful a vassal as the king of England, summoned him before the court of peers to answer for the assassination of his nephew. On John's refusal to appear, Philip-Augustus seized his French domains. This event furnished John with an excellent pretence for the extortion of money from his subjects: he levied considerable sums, passed over with an army to the continent, performed there no remarkable exploit, fled back to England, alleged that his army was not sufficiently strong, made new demands of money, re-entered France at the head of a more numerous force, and again returned home equally unsuccessful as before.

Some defeats, which were attributed to his cowardice or his ignorance, rendered him an object of contempt. At the same time he had the

imprudence to quarrel with the pope on the subject of the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. In this dispute the clergy were all on John's side: but, instead of preserving their good will by judicious measures, he loaded them with taxes, and confiscated the possessions of such as showed themselves refractory. The consequence of this was that Innocent III was seconded by them when he excommunicated the king, and laid the kingdom under an interdict. Divine service was every-where suspended, as well as the administration of all the sacraments except baptism. The church-bells were taken down; the images of saints were laid on the ground, and carefully covered lest they should be as it were contaminated by the contact of the air: the bodies of the dead were thrown into ditches or upon laystalls, without ceremonies or funerary prayers: marriages were celebrated only in burial-grounds: the clergy alone had the privilege of attending at mass, which was celebrated in private: the people were subject to all the rigid observances usual in times of public penance, such as fasting, abstinence, unshaven beard, neglected dress: they were not allowed the enjoyment of any pleasure, not that of visiting each other, or even exchanging salutations on meeting. At the lugubrious appearances which every-where met the sight, the soul was penetrated with horror as in seasons of the greatest public calamity.

To these spiritual terrors John opposed his temporal authority: he harassed the clergy who observed the interdict, banishing the prelates, confining the monks to their convents without permission to come abroad, shutting up the concubines of the clergy, and demanding considerable sums as the price of their release. But the ecclesiastic censures had a more powerful effect on the imaginations of the people than those coercive acts of the civil authority, especially as the public mind was ill disposed toward the monarch. He had alienated the nobles by various oppressions: his want of faith was notorious; and no individual could venture to trust him, because, after having made the most lavish promises for the purpose of gaining partisans, he basely abandoned those who had given him their aid: for which reason he was universally shunned.

In this state of affairs, the pope increased John's embarrassments by releasing his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and proclaiming a crusade against him. He charged Philip-Augustus to put the sentence in execution, and dethrone the refractory monarch. Abandoned by the whole nation, John now determined to submit to the pontif, and rendered his kingdom feudatory and tributary to the papal see. The act by which he made that degrading cession was conceived in the following terms—"from my own free will, and
" with the consent of my barons, I give to

“ the church of Rome, to pope Innocent III, and
“ to his successors, the kingdom of England and
“ all the other prerogatives of my crown. From
“ this moment I consider myself as the pope’s
“ vassal; and I engage to pay him an annual
“ tribute of a thousand marks.” The king took
this oath in presence of a great number of spectators, on his knees at the feet of the pope’s legate, who re-placed on his head the diadem which the king had previously laid down.

The pontif, being now satisfied, wished to divert Philip-Augustus from availing himself of the grant of the English crown: but the French monarch, who had made all his preparations, was determined not to forego the prize which had been their object. He failed however in his attempt, because he did not proceed directly to England, but first undertook to subjugate the Flemings. He wasted his strength in this expedition; and his losses were sufficiently great to inspire John with the courage to announce in his turn an intention of invading France: but he proceeded no farther than the intention; for his barons refused to second him. His government, of which some shockingly despotic acts are recorded, was become more deeply and universally odious than at any preceding period: a confederacy was instituted for the purposes of reform: the clergy united with the nobles; and the archbishop of Canterbury proposed a plan which met

with general applause and was presented to the king for his ratification.

Previous to a decision, John desired an opportunity of referring the matter to the pope as his liege-lord : but, being pushed on all sides, he subscribed in the year 1215 what is called the *Magna Charta*, or great charter, which has ever been considered as the foundation of English liberty. What it prescribes is no more than a necessary protection to screen the governed from the capricious tyranny of a despotic governor. The conditions which it contains are not fetters upon him who commands, but rules of moderate opposition for those who obey. It is to be observed that this charter was granted in favour chiefly of the clergy and the nobles, and that little regard was paid in it to the interests of the people. But they were admitted to some participation of its benefits by the insertion of a clause importing that the barons should grant to their vassals the same privileges which the king had granted to themselves : and, as a boon of condescension to that oppressed class of men, an enumeration was made of some vexatious acts from which they were to be exempted.

In the charter itself, the king was complimented with the merit of that concession ; whereas it was far from voluntary on his part : nor did he dissemble that it was extorted from him by force, but retracted his consent, and appealed to the pope. The pontif, after some unavailing efforts

to conciliate the minds of the contending parties; conceived it his interest not to abandon a prince who had surrendered to him so valuable prerogatives, especially as, in supporting the king's authority, he now supported his own. He therefore published a bull, abrogating and annulling the great charter, as unjust in itself, extorted by force, derogatory, not only to the dignity of the English crown, but also to that of the sovereign pontif who had been acknowledged lord-paramount of the kingdom. He prohibited the barons from insisting on the execution of the charter.

Although the king, in taking the oath of feudality to the pope, had asserted that he performed that act with the consent of the barons, they were very far from being unanimous. They clearly proved it on the present occasion, by renouncing their allegiance, and inviting over Louis, the son of Philip-Augustus, who had received from his father a transfer of those rights which the pontif in his wrath had given to him against John. Louis accepted their invitation, and, at the head of an army, arrived in England, where he exercised sovereign authority, and might have firmly secured himself on the throne, if he had not betrayed too warm a predilection for his French followers, and paid too little regard to the English who had called him over. This conduct induced many of the late mal-contents to rejoin the standards of John, who was already beginning to

balance the successes of his rival, when fatigue and chagrin sank him to the grave in the forty-ninth year of his age. He is represented by historians as the most vicious, the most odious, and the most contemptible, of all the princes who ever occupied the English throne.

The flames of civil war, fanned by two kings, imblazed all England after John's decease. He left two sons, Henry and Richard, both very young; Henry, the elder, not having exceeded his ninth year. The guardianship, with the title of Protector, was conferred on the earl of Pembroke, a nobleman universally esteemed for his talents and probity, and at that time marshal of the realm. Pembroke caused the young prince to be acknowledged and crowned as king, and gained for him the favour of the people, by not only ratifying the great charter, but also adding to it another, called the *Charta de Foresta*, which confirmed and enlarged the privileges granted by the former. Thus he increased the number of his pupil's partisans: and, having by a single victory disconcerted the projects of the French prince, he compelled him to sue for peace. Advantageous terms being allowed to the invader, he quietly departed from the kingdom.

Henry III,
A.D. 1216.

The manner in which the protector acted toward the adherents of the Gallic prince after his departure evinced an equal share of firmness and justice in the government. But, unfortunately for

England and for Henry, the protector died before he was enabled to give stability to the administration; and the young king was now obliged singly to sustain the burden of a sceptre too weighty for his feeble grasp. Although the barons did not immediately manifest a desire of wresting it from him, at least they conceived themselves authorised to hold the hand that wielded it. The non-age of this prince exposed his authority to every kind of attack: wherefore Hubert de Burgh, an able minister who had succeeded the deceased protector, entreated the pope, as lord-paramount, to declare the king a major, for the purpose of giving greater energy to the government. A papal bull to that effect was accordingly published, and authorised the minister to compel the obedience of the refractory. Hubert's firmness excited dissatisfaction: a cabal was formed against him, at the head of which was Richard, the king's brother. They accused the minister of having employed witchcraft to captivate the affections of the young monarch, and of having sent to the prince of Wales, a rebellious vassal of the crown, a diamond which rendered the wearer invulnerable. From these charges, which are of a kind that may be made as criminal as the accuser pleases, Hubert saw that his enemies were determined on his ruin: wherefore he immediately took refuge in a church. Henry betrayed the greatest irresolution in this affair concerning his virtuous

minister: he struggled a while in his favour, abandoned him, gave orders to have him forcibly dragged from his asylum, revoked the order, renewed it. These fluctuations afforded Hubert time to escape: he quitted the kingdom, but was recalled after a short absence, and again appeared at court, where he enjoyed esteem and consideration sufficient to have enabled him to re-ascend to his former elevated post: but, under so weak a prince, he never again was willing to take any part in the administration of state-affairs.

In effect, what reliance could be placed on a prince who was ready to throw himself, as it were, into the arms of the first comer who chose to possess him? He took for his minister a native of Poitou; when immediately a crowd of Poitevin adventurers inundated the court, invaded all the offices and employments, and engrossed all the authority. This political measure, said the minister, was necessary for creating a counterpoise to the too independent power of the nobles.—Henry entered into the matrimonial state—he espoused Eleanor, daughter to the count of Provence: whereupon the kingdom soon witnessed the afflux of a host of Savoyard and Provençal immigrants, on whom the king lavished his favours with the most marked preference. His mother Isabella, countess of la Marche, arrived: with her, a swarm of Gascon locusts darted upon the treasures of England. The pope, however, did not relinquish

his share. It is true, indeed, he granted to Henry the kingdom of Sicily, but on condition of his conquering it. Until the king should be able to send an army for that purpose, the pontif, who expected to reap great advantages from the conquest, induced him to lend his credit to facilitate the raising of money. Improvident of the consequences, the king pledged his responsibility, and thus found himself involved in an immense debt for the benefit of another person.

The term of payment arrived, and it was also necessary to continue the supplies for the maintenance of the hungry band of Poitevins, Provençals, Savoyards, and Gascons. The English nobles did not choose to feed with their substance the avidity of those craving foreigners, and refused to the king the contributions which he demanded. Repulsed in that quarter, he went, as it were, from door to door, soliciting the opulent merchants to become sureties for him. Unsuccessful also in this instance, he finally had recourse to the people.

It is not precisely known at what period the people began to have any weight in the English government: but, whether it was an effect of the great charter, or whether the king's necessities suggested to him that expedient, he convoked a number of deputies from the cities and principal towns for the purpose of obtaining money from them; with the precaution, however, of calling

none but those whom he thought disposed to comply with his demands. That assembly, either at or about this time, was called the *parliament*. Notwithstanding the care that he had employed in selecting the members, he was unable to obtain the object of his wishes: those who attended would not venture to pledge themselves for the absentees: the business however was converted into a negotiation; and the parliament consented to impose a tax for the purpose of supplying the king's wants, but on condition that he should confirm the two great charters, and bind himself by oath to observe them: with which terms he complied.

This mode of contribution has ever since been practised; the king makes known his necessities: the representatives of the nation discuss them, and grant him proportionate subsidies, which often are the price either of new concessions or of the confirmation of old,—all to the advantage of the liberty of the people. From those deliberations and their results, has been formed the public code of England.

Henry had no sooner received the money than he repented of his facility in submitting to the restrictions of the Magna Charta; it was evidently perceived that he sought to free himself from such restraint. Foreign favourites still continued to govern under him. Of these, the most distinguished was Simon de Montfort, a French nobleman, who had married the king's sister, and at the

same time been created earl of Leiceſter. He enjoyed great favour, was afterward diſgraced, and again recalled. Theſe viciffitudes afforded him an opportunity of gaining an experimental knowledge of the king's fickleneſs and incapacity : and not a doubt remains that he entertained the deſign of placing himſelf on the throne in Henry's ſtead.

He began—as all ambitious men uſually commence their career—by decrying the exiſting government, and called for the convocation of a parliament who ſhould be charged with the taſk of reforming its abuſes. The king could not reſuſe his conſent to the general wiſh : he aſſembled a parliament, which was denominated the “ mad parliament,” becauſe, after having made ſeveral very wiſe regulations of which ſome are yet in force, they committed the folly of intruſting the execution of them, and for that purpoſe conſiding unlimited authority, to a committee of twenty-four barons, at whoſe head was Leiceſter. When theſe ſaw themſelves veſted with uncontrollable power, they formed an aſſociation, and bound themſelves by oath reciprocally to ſupport each other at the haſard of their fortunes and their lives. They depoſed the chief officers of the crown, and took their places for themſelves or conferred them on their creatures. They ſeiſed on the finances and the army, and filled the principal fortrefſes with gariſons on whoſe attach-

ment they could rely, so that the whole force of the state was lodged in their hands: and they carried the abuse of their authority so far as to exact of every Englishman an oath by which he bound himself, under the penalty of being declared an enemy to his country, to obey and execute all the decrees, known and unknown, present and future, of the twenty-four barons. Thus the title of king was no more than an empty name: the whole fabric of the English monarchy was overturned; and an overbearing oligarchy rose on its ruins.

This government lasted three years, during which period the committee, who had been delegated for the sole purpose of making regulations to remedy the disorders of the state, took care occasionally to promulgate laws, still however suffering the existence of those abuses which rendered the continuation of their ministry necessary. Their crafty views were discovered, and they were called upon to conclude the objects of their appointment. This was what they most seriously dreaded, well knowing that the term of their legislative functions would also be that of their power. The king's son, prince Edward, had been requested by the assembly of knights of the shires to interfere in this business. Although his age did not exceed twenty-two years, he conducted himself with the most prudent circumspection. He prudently refrained from making

overt opposition to the authority of the barons: he seemed to respect it as emanated from the people; but at the same time he declared to them, that, unless they speedily fulfilled their engagements, he would compel them to do it at the peril of his life.

The barons nevertheless continued their slow dilatory proceedings, till, on new entreaties from the people, prince Edward prevailed on his father to summon a parliament. But the barons refused to acknowledge that assembly, on the ground of its being convened in violation of the rights of the people, of which they were the depositaries. The inhabitants of the capital favoured the barons: and now a civil war broke out with great animosity. Under pretence of an amicable conference, Leicester made prince Edward prisoner: nor did the earl and his associates consent to release him except on condition that he should “surrender his castles for a certain number of
“years, and bind himself by a promise to oppose the introduction of any foreign force
“into the kingdom, and to use his efforts for
“enforcing obedience to the present government.”

On recovering his liberty, the prince protested against this odious treaty. After many debates, for the sake of preventing a civil war which was on the eve of blazing forth anew, it was agreed that the question should be referred to the de-

cision of the French king Louis IX, whom both parties chose for their arbitrator. That monarch, deservedly celebrated for his integrity, weighed the subjects of dispute in the scale of unbiassed justice, and pronounced his award, which proved displeasing to the barons, because it restored to the king the chief part of his authority. Civil hostilities being again renewed, the king and his brother Richard were made prisoners in a battle. Henry, detained a captive, was ready to consent to every thing required of him, for the sake of obtaining his liberty. Leicester demanded, that, instead of the monarch, prince Edward should be put into his hands as a hostage and surety for the concessions made to the confederates; choosing rather to detain that spirited and active young prince in confinement, than the aged Henry from whom he would have much less danger to apprehend.

Emboldened by the possession of such a hostage, Leicester proceeded without control or reserve to satiate the excessive cravings of his inordinate avidity. He encouraged robberies and murders and piracy, and won the favour of the populace by unlimited indulgence for disorders of every kind. Complaints were uttered; and he was obliged to convoke a parliament. To secure for himself a preponderance in that assembly, he summoned to it deputies from towns and communities, who had never before enjoyed a de-

liberative voice in the great council of the nation. That convocation is generally considered as the epoch of the creation of the house of commons in the English parliament. In granting this prerogative to the commons, the design of Leicester was, not to secure their liberties, but to govern them with the greater ease: and it is worthy of remark that a Frenchman was the person to whom the English are indebted for that assembly which maintains the equilibrium in their government.

In gratifying the plebeian class, Leicester disobliged that of the nobles. The latter murmured against him for holding in captivity the heir to the throne. He released his prisoner with a kind of ostentation, and pompously introduced him at Westminster Hall: but he caused him to be closely watched; and Edward in fact enjoyed no more than the semblance of liberty. He found means to escape, levied troops, and offered battle to the rebellious earl. The latter, being master of the king's person, placed him in the foremost rank, for the purpose of damping the impetuous ardor of the enemy. The monarch received a wound in consequence, and was in danger of perishing amid the tumult of the conflict, if his son had not hastened to his assistance, and conducted him to a place of safety.

Edward gained a complete victory. Leicester fell on the field of battle; and the stroke which

cut short his existence, lopped off the principal heads of the hydra of revolt. The committee of barons separated, and affairs returned to a state of order, as far as could be expected under a king who was incapable of either firmness or resolution. He made a show of these dispositions against the capital which had been the centre and focus of the late rebellion: he intended nothing less, he said, than totally to destroy London: but by the intercession of entreaties and money his resentment was appeased; and he contented himself with dismantling the city, placing a strong garrison in the tower, demolishing the other forts, levying on the citizens a heavy contribution, and confiscating the property of the principal delinquents.

These disturbances, in their highest state of fermentation, continued about thirteen years. They were now so far allayed, that Edward ventured to leave his father to his own exertions, and undertook, at the head of a crusade, a journey to the holy land, where he distinguished himself by his valour. Returning from that expedition, he received in Sicily the intelligence of his father's decease. Henry had occupied the throne during a period of fifty-six years—the longest reign which the history of England presents. The pliant and easy temper of that prince was productive to his subjects, during his administration, of all the pernicious effects of anarchy.

Although they wrested from his weakness the grant of laws and privileges which secured the liberties of their posterity, they very dearly purchased them at the expense of civil war and its concomitant calamities. Henry's government affords striking proofs that the excessive mildness of a feeble prince is sometimes equally fatal to the happiness of his subjects as the iron sceptre of a tyrant. He left two sons, Edward his successor, and Edmund earl of Lancaster.

Edward I,
A. D. 1272.

No sooner was Edward seated on the throne, than he showed, that whatever regard he had paid to the nobles and commons before his accession, had been only the effect of necessity. As if his subjects were bound to adopt without murmur or remonstrance every project suggested by his ambition, he undertook wars, and insisted that the country should aid him with money and troops: nor was it safe for any man to refuse the performance of personal service. An earl of Hereford, one of the first barons in the kingdom, objecting to it, "Sir earl!" said the monarch in anger, "by G—d, you shall either go or hang."—"Sir king!" replied Hereford, "by G—d, I will neither go nor hang." The earl and his colleagues suffered the king to go alone.

He was obliged to yield in the same manner in another affair of greater importance to the absolute authority at which he aimed. While he showed apparent respect for the provisions of the

great charter, he did every thing in his power to undermine the privileges which it conferred. Complaints and remonstrances were only feeble and momentary obstacles to his system of infringement: he usurped, receded, but still continued to gain ground. At length the barons, taking advantage of his absence while he was engaged beyond the sea in an expedition against France, got into their power the young prince his son whom he had left at the head of affairs, and compelled him to sign a confirmation of the great charter, with the addition of this important clause, that the kingdom should be for-ever exempt from the imposition of any tax unapproved by parliament. The instrument was sent over to the king in Flanders: he temporised, equivocated, but at length signed it, and again sanctioned it by his ratification after his return to England.

Edward is described as a great king. One of his principal claims to that character arises from his annexation of Wales and Scotland to the English crown: but his motives for those conquests, and his behaviour, will show whether, to the title of "great," we are allowed to add those of "moderate" and "just."

From the time of the heptarchy, Wales had been governed by its own princes, who were sovereign and independent, with only the obligation of simple homage to the king of England.

Llewellyn, who is represented as an active and enterprising prince, refused him the accustomed homage : whereupon Edward attacked him, and, after having gained some victories, pursued his fleeing foe into the recesses of his fens and mountains. Llewellyn being killed in an engagement, his brother David entered into possession of his rights : but he dearly paid for a few months' enjoyment of the sovereignty. He fought in defence of his country's liberty and his own hereditary authority : yet the English monarch, having made him prisoner, caused him to be hanged, drawn on a hurdle, and quartered, as a rebel and a traitor. Among other acts of cruelty exercised against that unfortunate country, it is remarked that he gave orders for the massacre of the bards, whose verses and music kept alive in the minds of the Welsh a remembrance of the exploits of their ancestors, and fostered in their bosoms the enthusiasm of honour and liberty. To conquer the extreme reluctance which they testified against submission to the English nation, Edward promised to give them a prince who should be a native of their own country, and should speak their language, on condition of their previously binding themselves to obey the person of his choice. Their promise being pledged to that effect, he produced to them his own son, an infant, lately born in the castle of Caernarvon. From that time the

eldest sons of the English monarchs have constantly borne the title of princes of Wales.

With respect to Scotland, it was a prey to domestic dissensions occasioned by the vacancy of the throne, which was claimed by twelve competitors. Their number was at length reduced to two—John Baliol and Robert Bruce, who, by the advice of the Scottish parliament, submitted their pretensions to Edward's arbitration; a measure, in which they imitated the conduct of the two foolish litigants who saw their judge eat up the oyster which was the object of their dispute. Edward began by asserting that the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to the kings of England—a point which had never been acknowledged: he arrogated to himself the right of lord-paramount of that kingdom, and conferred on Baliol the contested crown thus deprived of its lustre. On the ground of that pretended sovereignty, he drew to England appeals on every question, and even, under frivolous pretences, summoned the Scottish king himself to appear at the bar of the English parliament. Indignant of the affront, Baliol roused the Scots his subjects to shake off a degrading yoke which every day grew more and more heavy. They vigorously prepared to resist the attacks of Edward: but the nobles, though at first very zealous in the defence of their national independency, being either gained over by the arts of intrigue or weary of

the war, submitted to the English monarch. Baliol being at length compelled to imitate their example, Edward sent him prisoner to London, detained him some time in captivity, and afterward permitted him to retire into voluntary exile on the continent. Now become absolute master of the Scottish realm, the politic victor carefully searched for and destroyed all the records and other monuments of antiquity which had a tendency to remind the natives of their former independence, and keep alive the flame of liberty in their bosoms. His mode, as we have already seen in the instance of the Welsh, was to attack people through the medium of opinion.

His plan, however, did not succeed with the Scots. They struggled with their chains, and broke them even during the life of Edward, notwithstanding the cruelties he employed for the purpose of terrifying them into obedience: for he spared neither punishments nor ravages nor conflagrations. Robert Bruce, the grand-son of him who had been Baliol's competitor, was kept at the English court, where, though treated with marks of respect, he was in reality detained as a hostage and a prisoner. From that palace, or that jail, his attentive eye watched the motions of the Scottish mal-contents. A party was formed at home in his favour: he escaped from London, arrived in Scotland, caused himself to be crowned king, and, by his successful attacks on

the invaders, proved that all the past efforts of England to subdue the spirit of the Scots had been ineffectual, since Edward now lost in a short time nearly the whole fruit of those unjust and barbarous acts that he had conceived himself authorised to commit for the subjugation of a kingdom to which he had no claim, and was obliged to begin the work anew.

Policy was one of Edward's chief talents; and it is not the least important to the due administration of government. Under him, as under his predecessors, the clergy testified considerable repugnance to the payment of taxes and to the sacrifice of their superfluous plate. Edward did not waste his time in procuring from Rome, at a considerable expense, a papal bull authorising him to demand or compelling the clergy to pay, but boldly and summarily deprived them of the protection of the laws, and ordered the judges to admit no suits brought before them by ecclesiastics, but to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants. Thus the clergy might be robbed and oppressed with impunity, since their complaints were not received. They determined therefore to purchase the benefit of justice by the concessions which the king demanded. This prince is blamed for other acts which no doubt excited greater discontent than the trick which he put on the clergy. He is branded as cruel, imperious, vindictive. He was endowed with

uncommon bodily strength, and his person was agreeable. Of his mental qualifications and his policy a judgement may be formed from his actions.

In perusing the page of history, we sometimes experience the emotions of indignation or the nausea of contempt. The latter sensation disagreeably affects us in the life of Edward II. From his youth he betrayed a disposition to be easily governed: he had suffered himself to be so far infatuated by a Gascon knight named Gavaston, that the king his father thought himself bound in prudence to banish that favourite, and moreover recommended to his son not to recall him when seated on the throne. But the first step taken by young Edward on his accession was to send for Gavaston, whom he received with effusions of the most affectionate attachment, after which he gave him his own niece in marriage, and bestowed on him lands, dignities, and wealth of every kind.

Equally imprudent as his royal protector, the favourite accepted all these exorbitant grants, and still craved for more. The barons, disgusted by his avidity and insolence, insisted on his banishment: and the king, unable to resist their imperious demand, sent him away from his court, but with the honourable appointment of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. During his absence, the king laboured to appease the barons, used pro-

misses and entreaties, and, when he thought himself sure of their suffrages in Gavaston's favour, recalled him. But Edward was mistaken: their aversion to the obnoxious favourite still continued with undiminished force; and the king himself became its victim. Without actually divesting him of the regal authority, they deprived him of all use of it, by delegating it to a commission of twelve persons, whose first exertion of their power was to send Gavaston again into banishment: but again Edward recalled him; as soon as he found himself re-established in his regal functions. A civil war ensued; in which that unfortunate object of baronial proscription was captured and put to death.

This catastrophe ought to have cured Edward of his passion for favourites. But his evil stars impelled him to confer his favour, to betray want of judgement in his choice, and to suffer the penalty of his relapses. The last had been attended with shameful and disastrous consequences. Edward now chose, to supply the place of the Gascon Gavaston, an Englishman named Despenfer, a youth of noble family, and endowed with pleasing accomplishments both personal and mental. His father, a man far advanced in years, had ever been esteemed for his moderation and probity: but, being now seated with his son in Fortune's car, he suffered the audacious stripping

to guide the reins, and was hurried along to participate his ruin.

The first impediment which they met in their career was the opposition of the barons, usually prompt to inveigh against favouritism, as being themselves excluded from its advantages. To expel the Despensers, they formed a league, at the head of which stood the king's own cousin the duke of Lancaster; and they accomplished their object of procuring the banishment of the favourites, by teaching the people to consider them as the authors of all the disorders existing in the government. Lancaster became the idol of the populace: but he too in turn abused his power, inasmuch that he disgusted many even of his own partisans who had exalted him almost to the height of royalty, but who, if they were to be allowed only a choice of tyrants, felt no inclination to give him a preference over the king. During the confusion that arose from these misunderstandings, Edward recalled the Despensers, raised an army, defeated and captured Lancaster, who, though a prince of the blood royal, was condemned to death by a court martial, conducted to an eminence in sight of one of his own castles, and there beheaded. The plebeians, by whom he had lately been almost adored, loaded him with insults, while on his way to the place of execution.

The Despensers now grasped the chief part of the property forfeited by the proscribed delinquents who had been involved in Lancaster's misfortune. Intoxicated with their power, the two favourites braved their rivals, and even ventured to cope with the queen herself, instead of studying by conciliatory deferences to obtain her pardon of the affront they had offered to her in depriving her of the confidence of her royal consort. That queen was Isabella, daughter of the French monarch Philip the Fair, a woman of high spirit and amorous complexion, two qualities which rendered insupportable to her the conjugal indifference of her husband. She found a pretext for going to France, and taking with her at the same time her son Edward, then only in his thirteenth year, but whose early dawn announced a glorious day.

At the Gallic court had taken refuge Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron from the frontiers of Wales, who had been one of Lancaster's adherents. On that ground, he ought to have been reprobated by the queen, who had received equal cause of displeasure from the Lancastrian faction as from the Despensers. But his youth and refined wit and comely personage powerfully pleaded in his favour, and won her indulgence. He soon enjoyed a familiarity of access to her, which the tongue of obloquy pronounced to be too free. After the first breach made upon her husband's honour,

Isabella felt no scruple at embarking in the projects suggested by her paramour. Mortimer effected a union of interests between her and the malcontents in England, the reliques of Lancaster's party: and she manifested a wish to levy troops, for the purpose, as she alleged, of expelling an unworthy favourite from her husband's court.

The French nobles, with their usual spirit and gallantry, attached themselves to the fortune of their princess: and Isabella set out at the head of a small army, which received a rapid accession of numbers as soon as she had landed in England. The king was unprepared for resistance: the Despensers were taken and hanged; and to the punishment of the younger was added a mutilation devised for the purpose of assigning an ignominious cause of the favour which he had enjoyed. The monarch, flying from his wife and her victorious party, at length fell into their hands. He was accused before a parliament convoked in his own name, was pronounced incapable of governing, and compelled to abdicate the sovereignty. In his place, his son Edward was raised to the throne, under the guidance of a council of regency. Mortimer, though not a member of that commission, directed all their measures by his occult influence.

Edward III,
A.D. 1327.

The king meanwhile suffered a rigorous confinement in Kenilworth castle. The queen openly

affected an appearance of compassion, and bewailed the unfortunate fate of her husband : but her hypocrisy was the less successful in deceiving the public, as each day afforded new proofs of too intimate an intercourse with Mortimer, which at length became so notorious as to excite general censure. The dethroned monarch now became an object of sympathetic interest with the people : he suffered various and multiplied instances of mal-treatment in his captivity ; yet he did not die in consequence either of those indignities or of his own chagrin. Mortimer, therefore, apprehending the effects that might result from the popular compassion for his royal captive, gave orders for his death, at the same time recommending that no marks should appear on his body to discover that his exit had been violent. Obedient to his directions, the ruffian executors of his will threw the ill-fated monarch on a bed, held him down with a table, thrust into his body a tube of horn, and inserted through it a red-hot iron to burn his entrails. Thus they had hoped to conceal their crime : but the shrieks of the agonising sufferer betrayed those atrocious villains, one of whom afterward acknowledged the deed.

The regents, who had been appointed to govern during the minority of Isabella's son, were only the supple tools of Mortimer, who ruled the realm with uncontrolled sway. The earl of

Kent, brother to the late king, being adverse to Mortimer's power, the latter laid a treacherous plan for his destruction: he procured a report to be circulated, which was credited by the unsuspecting earl, that the murdered monarch was yet alive. Kent took pains to discover the place of his supposed confinement, and formed the design of rescuing him and re-instating him on the throne. Mortimer caused him to be arrested as a rebel, and condemned and executed, before the young king had time to interpose in his uncle's behalf. The earl of Kent was a mild and virtuous man: his misfortune excited general sympathy, and concurred with other causes in provoking a combination of the barons against him who had been its author. Mortimer was seized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen, thrown into the tower of London, impeached before the parliament, condemned, and hanged. The queen's criminality was sufficiently notorious: but, through respect for her dignity, no other punishment was inflicted on her than that of being confined to her own house, where she received an annual pension for her support. The king her son occasionally visited her in that seclusion, but without allowing her any authority, or showing her any marks of distinction which could indicate an intention to mitigate the rigor of her captivity.

So soon as Edward was capable of bearing arms, he declared war against Scotland, which, like France, was an accustomed theatre for the display of English valour. The alleged cause of the hostilities against the Scots was the refusal of that homage which was demanded as an acknowledged right: but, with respect to France, his pretensions aimed at nothing less than the absolute possession of the kingdom. Philip the Fair had left no other offspring than three daughters. Edward was son of the eldest, and well knew that his mother Isabella could not inherit the throne, because females were excluded from the succession: but he maintained that he was himself authorized to claim it, as being the next male heir. The states of the kingdom, however, decided otherwise, and conferred the Gallic crown on Philip de Valois, whose consanguinity to the deceased monarch was more remote by one degree, but who was descended from a male. Edward, who at the time of this decision was only fifteen years old, dissembled, appeared even to acquiesce in the arrangement, by performing homage to the new king for his county of Guienne; but in his own mind he determined not to renounce his pretensions.

Subsequent events furnished him with opportunities of asserting his claim; nor did he suffer them to escape unimproved. He was powerfully seconded by James Arteveld, a brewer of Ghent,

Aug. 26,
A.D. 1346.

who possessed a more than princely influence over the Flemings, and procured for him their assistance. The English monarch gained over Philip several advantages, which were crowned by the celebrated victory at the battle of Créci, in which Philip lost the flower of the Gallic chivalry. The English king's son, Edward, who, from the colour of his armour, was surnamed the Black Prince, made his first essay in the martial career on that memorable day, and acquired a wreath of glory which afforded a sure presage of the renown that he was fated to gain on subsequent occasions.

While the fortunate Edward was gathering laurels in the plains of Créci, his wife Philippa of Hainault reaped an ample harvest of them in Scotland, where she gained a great battle. She repaired to the continent to adorn with them her husband's brow, and arrived in season sufficiently opportune to save him from the commission of a cruel deed that would have blackened him with eternal infamy. After his victory at Créci, he had laid siege to Calais: the inhabitants made a resistance which inflamed the anger of the victor, who swore to make them repent it. When, under the compulsion of famine, they afterward offered to surrender, Edward refused to grant them any terms except on the condition of their delivering up to him six of their principal citizens, to be treated at his discretion. While the disconsolate city was preparing to decide by lot the

choice of the devoted victims, Eustace de Saint-Pierre, and five others whose names well deserved to have been recorded in history, voluntarily offered themselves. They marched forth with undaunted firmness to meet the stroke of death, which the inflexible character of Edward taught them to consider as inevitable. Already was their doom pronounced, when Philippa's sensibility impelled her to interfere: embracing her stern husband's knees, by force of tears and entreaties she obtained that those heroic men should be restored unhurt to their concitizens.

Philippa had not only defeated the Scottish monarch, but made him prisoner. The Black Prince also conducted in triumph to London the French king John, who had fallen into his hands at the battle of Poitiers. Edward had the glory of restoring to liberty those illustrious captives: but he also had the sorrow of shedding tears for the loss of his valuable wife and illustrious son who descended before him to the grave. His prosperity had now reached its final period; and Fortune abandoned him at the close of his days. In addition to the loss of several of his continental domains, he saw his authority enfeebled in his native isle, where he forfeited the public esteem by taking, in the virtuous Philippa's place, a woman of character by no means respectable. His reign however is one of the most brilliant which shed lustre on the annals of England. By

the vigor of his administration during the season of his glory, he repressed the licentiousness of his subjects : by his affability and beneficence, he conciliated their love and esteem. A tincture of the romantic was discernible in all his enterprises and in his mode of conducting them : they partook of the chivalrous spirit that characterised the age in which he lived. He died in his sixty-fifth year.

Richard II,
A.D. 1377.

His grand-son Richard, son of the Black Prince, now ascended the throne. Not having yet completed his eleventh year, he was placed under the tutelage of his three paternal uncles,—the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester—whose different dispositions, it was hoped, would balance each other, and thus contribute to the stability and happiness of the government. Lancaster possessed experience, but without talents or popularity : York was indolent and weak ; Gloucester, turbulent, popular, and ambitious. The reign of their nephew was a series of troubles. He experienced a revolt of his subjects, whom his grand-father had impoverished by taxation, and harassed by his requisitions of their personal services. This rebellion was violent and sanguinary : but, so soon as the people had obtained justice, they were pacified. But it was not so easy to quell an insurrection of the barons which had been provoked by the ambition of the chiefs. However ready the young monarch showed him-

self to give them satisfaction respecting the real or pretended grievances of which they complained, he never was able to appease their turbulent fury, to which he finally fell a victim.

It is true, indeed, that their discontent might be in some measure justified by the king's imprudence, and by his scandalous attachment to a favourite, named Robert de Vere, a private gentleman. Richard gave him his cousin-german in marriage, and permitted the insolent upstart to repudiate her, and marry another woman of whom he was enamoured: he created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the sovereignty of that country by a patent which received the confirmation of the parliament. But that same assembly afterward condemned the favourite to banishment; and de Vere retired to a life of obscurity in Flanders.

The parliaments, those bodies of representatives of the state in England, were at this period nothing more than the instruments of faction. We have just seen one which meanly condescended to subserve the blind caprice of a young king for his favourite, and which soon after, being actuated by a contrary cabal, overthrew the edifice that its own hands had raised to gratify him. The king's uncle the duke of Gloucester, having quarreled with his nephew, made use of another parliament to procure the nomination of thirteen persons besides himself, who were to be intrusted

with the government until the king's age should qualify him for it, although at that time he had attained his twenty-first year. In the course of twelve months, which was the period of their power, they banished or put to death the king's ministers and partisans. A third parliament restored to the monarch the exercise of his authority; and now the duke of Gloucester was arrested, thrown into prison, and there smothered, as it was asserted, in his bed.

To his faction succeeded another; under the name and auspices of the duke of Lancaster—not the king's uncle, who was now dead—but that uncle's son, Richard's cousin. He was distinguished for his military talents and by a reputation for piety; on both which accounts he was highly esteemed by the people. With these recommendations he united the additional advantage of being allied by consanguinity or matrimonial connexions to the principal families of the kingdom: consequently he was a man whose friendship it was important to cultivate. But the imprudent Richard, under whose suspicions he had fallen, offended him, sent him into banishment, and excluded him from the succession to his father's estates. After this stretch of authority, instead of remaining at home in his kingdom to watch more closely the movements that might be excited by so formidable an enemy, the king embarked on an expedition to Ireland, leaving

the government of his English dominions to the duke of York his uncle, in quality of regent.

No sooner was he departed than Lancaster returned at the head of not more than sixty persons. That feeble retinue gave no umbrage to the regent, especially as Lancaster announced that his sole intention in revisiting the kingdom was to claim his patrimony which was withheld from him. The duke of York, acknowledging the justice of his nephew's motive, gave him an affectionate reception: but, while he was listening to Lancaster's complaints, those sixty persons, who were of the first families, each having their several connexions, made diligent exertions, and soon assembled an army. The regent, roused from the slumbers of security, raised also an armed force: but it was gained over by the rebels, deserted to them, and swelled their numbers. The absent king now hastily returned to the scene of action: but, while he too was amused with offers and propositions, his troops were debauched from their fidelity to him, and abandoned his cause. He was deposed by a fourth parliament, who ordered that he should be confined in a fortress. After a short time the public were informed of his death, which was occasioned either by famine or by the halberds of assassins. He perished in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving no issue.

He has been represented as unfit to manage

the reins of government: and, in effect, he was violent of character, extravagant in his expenses, immoderately attached to favourites of whom he had an uninterrupted succession after Robert de Vere, and passionately fond of showy pomp. Nevertheless a *trait* is recorded of him which authorises a belief that he would, in happier times, have proved himself worthy of empire. He was surrounded in London by a crowd of insurgents, whose chief behaved toward him in an insolent and menacing manner. The king's attendants rushed on the bold demagogue, and massacred him. His fall roused his companions to vengeance; and already were their bows bent for the attack, when Richard, at that time not above fourteen years old, advanced to them with an affable and intrepid countenance, and thus addressed them—"What means this disorder, my good people? Are you angry that you have lost your chief? I am your king; and I will also be your leader." He immediately placed himself at their head, and marched them out into the fields, where they soon after laid down their arms on the appearance of a numerous body of loyalists coming against them, and, having been gratified by the grant of their demands, peaceably dispersed and retired. Seldom does any disaster befall a prince who has the courage to make a display of firmness before the multitude.

Lancaster, who may without danger of calumny be charged with the murder of Richard; mounted the vacant throne. He may also be termed a Henry IV, A.D. 1399. usurper, because the crown belonged of right to the descendents of the duke of Clarence, younger brother to the Black Prince, and, like him, son of Edward III; whereas Lancaster, who assumed the sceptre under the title of Henry IV, was less nearly related to that monarch by one degree. Accordingly he did not rest his pretensions to the crown on hereditary succession, but claimed it by virtue of Richard's resignation in his favour: and, when that title was disputed, he hesitated not to declare himself sovereign by the right of conquest. But, whatever his title might have been, the parliament legalised it by their sanction. The barons, however, did not peaceably acquiesce in that ratification: a number of malcontents, with the duke of Northumberland at their head, took up arms, and a battle ensued. The commanders on both sides displayed the greatest valour. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the affray; and his son, who afterward signalised himself as the conqueror of France, fought by his side. The commonalty might with propriety consider those sanguinary combats as so many judicial executions which delivered them from their tyrants; for the chief part of the contending armies consisted of nobles who were generally tyrannic oppressors on their respective

estates; and the field of battle became as it were a scaffold on which they expiated their acts of extortion and injustice. Northumberland was defeated, obtained his pardon, relapsed into rebellion, and was beheaded.

The sequel of Henry's reign was peaceable: but the conduct of his son Henry was to him a source of chagrin. That prince openly indulged in scandalous debauchery, and was never to be seen un-accompanied by a band of profligates, who seemed to vie with each other in the commission of the most illegal enormities. He disregarded the public contempt and hatred, to the great mortification of his father, whose most ardent wish was to see his son beloved. It had been predicted to this monarch that he was fated to die at Jerusalem: he had announced his intention of embarking in a crusade: but, on account of that prophecy, he was in no haste to perform his promise. The feebleness of his constitution rendering him subject to fits, under one of those accidents he was carried to an apartment in Westminster abbey called the Jerusalem Chamber. On recovering his senses, he asked where he was; and, being informed, he replied that the prediction of his dying at Jerusalem was now fulfilled, and that his hour was come. Accordingly he never recovered. He was not, however, in other respects, a prince of weak intellect: on the contrary, he was highly praised for prudence

and sagacity. He felt some remorse for his usurpation: but it was a remorse like that of many penitents who repent without making restitution.

Young Henry, the late profligate, was no sooner seated on the throne than he assembled Henry V,
A.D. 1413. the companions of his former irregularities, told them that he renounced his disorderly courses, exhorted them to imitate his example, and forbade them ever again to appear in his presence until they should have exhibited proofs of their reformation. His father's ministers, who had reprobated his extravagancies, were agreeably surprised on finding themselves received by the new sovereign with every testimony of favour and confidence. A judge, who, on being insulted by the prince in the discharge of his legal functions, had formerly caused him to be conducted to prison, was now commended for his spirited firmness, rewarded, and exhorted to preserve the same boldness and impartiality in the execution of the laws.

This victory, obtained by Henry V over himself, is, in the eye of reason, much more glorious than the martial trophies which have eternised the memory of his exploits. He also testified deep regret for the fate of the unfortunate Richard, bestowed on him the honours of a magnificent funeral, and loaded with favours all those who had faithfully adhered to him. Some historians assert

that there still subsisted among the barons a faction who were displeased to see him on the throne, and that he laboured by those indulgent marks of lenity to appease their enmity. But, whatever may have been the motives from which it proceeded, the conduct itself was certainly entitled to approbation.

It was likewise through political views, as we are informed, that he commenced hostilities against France, and in obedience to the counsel of his father, who had recommended to him to engage his subjects in foreign wars, as a safe mean of providing occupation for their turbulent spirits. It is certain that the rupture between the two kingdoms was founded on very frivolous prettexts.

Henry, it is probable, on entering that career, had not an idea of proceeding so far. But the victory gained in the battle of Azincourt opened a boundless field to his hopes. A train of the most favourable circumstances concurred in leveling before him the road to the Gallic throne, to which he certainly had not dared to aspire in the first instance—such as the mental derangement of the French monarch Charles VI, the vindictive disposition of the duke of Burgundy, the hatred of the queen Isabella to her son, the discord which prevailed among the great men, and the general confusion that pervaded the whole kingdom.

Henry took advantage of the criminal conduct of others, without committing any crime himself.

An unfeeling mother presented to him her son's crown and her daughter's hand: he accepted them; and he gave stability to his good fortune not so much by his martial exploits as by his affability, his clemency, and his social virtues of every kind. No reverse ever tarnished the lustre of his successes: but, when the age and infirmities of his father-in-law Charles VI had brought the Gallic crown almost within his reach, and there remained only one step more to arrive at it, a cruel malady opened the grave beneath his feet, and prematurely plunged him into it in the thirty-fifth year of his existence. Henry had lived like a hero: like a hero he died. Few of those who have been celebrated for their heroism, ever attained an advanced age.

By Catharine of France, daughter of Charles VI, he had a son who, like himself, was named Henry. The young prince was only nine months old at the time of his father's decease; and his cradle was decorated with the two crowns of England and France. The parliament named, as protectors or guardians of his kingdoms, his two uncles, the dukes of Gloucester and Bedford. The latter remained in France to support his nephew's authority in that country; and he there dishonoured himself by putting to death the maid of Orléans, that astonishing heroine whose enthusiasm revived the courage of the French, and whose successes were a prelude to the expulsion of

Henry VI,
A.D. 1422.

the English. The total ruin of their affairs in France was not suddenly effected, but was accomplished by gradual steps, and in proportion as the domestic troubles in their own island rendered them unable to support themselves on the continent. During the first truce which suspended the hostilities of the two nations, Henry espoused Margaret of Anjou, of the blood royal of France, who—being the daughter of a father that was only titular king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem—brought to her husband no other marriage-portion than her personal merit. It shone to brilliant advantage under catastrophes perhaps the most severe that ever queen experienced.

Henry VI early betrayed great weakness of intellect. As he progressed in years, his want of capacity became more conspicuous, and excited the ambitious hopes of intriguing and factious men. At his court was Richard duke of York, descended by the mother's side from the duke of Clarence, second son to Edward III, and consequently nearer in the order of succession to the throne than the reigning king, who derived his descent only from the duke of Lancaster, that monarch's third son. By the union of several inheritances, York possessed an immense fortune: he was allied to the principal nobles, was distinguished by valour, prudence of conduct, and mildness of character, and enjoyed the rank of first prince of the blood.

He was suspected as the author of the discontents artfully excited among the people, of the accusations brought forward against the ministers, and of the embarrassments which impeded the motions of government : but he did not overtly appear to have any concern in them. During the most critical moments of public fermentation, he resided in privacy at some of his distant castles; and, when the dissensions were appeased by forced concessions which enfeebled the royal authority, the duke re-appeared on the public scene with the confident air of a person wholly innocent. At the same time his partisans awaked in the people a spirit of discussion, and accustomed them to argue respecting the right to the throne—whether the king or the prince had the more legitimate title to it.

On occasion of some pretensions advanced by the people, York took up arms, which he again laid down as soon as their demands were satisfied. For this moderation he was honoured with the title and office of protector during an illness of the king which so far increased his natural imbecillity that he could not even be shown in public. The malady having ceased, Henry conceived himself qualified to resume his authority. York, however, was of a different opinion, and took up arms to maintain himself in the possession of that power to which he had been accustomed. After a bloody victory which he gained at Saint-

Alban's in the year 1455, he made the king prisoner. This was the first action of that fatal contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, that endured thirty years, and was productive of twelve pitched battles, which cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost utterly annihilated the ancient nobility of England, who had ranged themselves under the banners of the contending parties. They bore, as their distinctive devices, a red rose and a white, the former painted on the banners of Henry the chief of the house of Lancaster, the latter on those of Richard the head of the house of York.

The duke treated his prisoner with the most respectful attention, but took into his own hands the sovereign authority. If the indolent and feeble Henry did not regret the loss of that power of which the exercise required some efforts and was attended with some fatigue, far different were the feelings of the queen Margaret, whose active mind could not be satisfied with the shadow of sovereignty which her husband's rival suffered him to retain. She urged the apathic monarch to resume the reality. The reconciliation which had taken place between the chiefs was so void of sincerity, that hostilities were almost immediately recommenced. Richard lost a battle, and was obliged to flee to Ireland. But he had in his interest the earl of Warwick, a baron powerful by his great estates and wealth, brave, intelligent, and

whose opinion had great influence on the nobles. During York's absence, he marched with an army against the royalists, defeated them, and made the king prisoner.

Hitherto Richard had assumed the merit of making war for the sole purpose of reforming the government. But, returned from Ireland after the success of his party, and having the king in his hands at a distance from the queen and deprived of his council, he now advanced more lofty pretensions. In a parliament, convoked in the king's name, he caused himself to be declared heir to the throne, which he suffered to be still occupied by Henry, as by an unsubstantial phantom. Margaret, however, could not patiently bear to see her son the prince of Wales set aside as incapable of succeeding to so rich an inheritance. She retired to the borders of Scotland, there levied an army, and returned to combat the duke of York. That prince fell in a bloody battle, at which the queen in person commanded her own army. He left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard.

Edward, the eldest, equal to his father in valour and surpassing him in daring spirit, accomplished all his projects, and defeated in turn a division of the queen's army. A division of his, on the other hand, suffered a defeat, which restored the king to the arms of his wife. But, at the moment when she thought her triumph cer-

tain, the indefatigable Warwick re-appeared, and compelled her once more to seek safety in flight. She again retired to Scotland, accompanied by her son and her husband. Edward now no longer wears the mask of dissimulation, no longer temporises after the example of his father, but, by the advice of Warwick, procures himself to be proclaimed king of England.

Edward IV,
A. D. 1461.

Margaret however was not discouraged. She assembled an army, returned to try the event of a battle, lost the victory, but escaped herself. Again, seeing the strength of her partisans increased by the accession of auxiliary forces from France and Scotland, she took the field, and placed at their head the unfortunate Henry, in the hope that his presence would give additional animation to their efforts. But neither that shadow of royalty nor his defenders were able to prevail against the ascendancy of Edward's superior fortune. He defeated and dispersed their host, who fled in different directions. Henry skulked from castle to castle, but was soon taken. His queen plunged into the dark concealment of a forest, accompanied by her son who was eight years old. She there fell into the hands of a band of robbers, who stripped her of her jewels, and added mal-treatment to the robbery. While they were disputing about the division of the spoil, she escaped, roamed some time forlorn in that frightful solitude, and at length sat down. Mournfully

riveting her eyes on her son, who like herself was exhausted with hunger and fatigue, she no longer expected any other fate than death, when the sudden tread of approaching feet made her start from her sorrowful rêverie. She looked around, and saw a ruffian of ferocious aspect advancing toward her with his drawn sword in his hand. Margaret rose to meet him, and, presenting to him her child, "My friend!" said she, "here is your king's son, whom I commit to your protection." The robber did not betray the confidence reposed in him. He helped the mother and son to walk, procured food for their relief, conducted them through a thousand perils to a little sea-port, where they were provided with a bark which transported them in safety to Flanders.

The victorious Edward, thinking himself thenceforward beyond the reach of any unfortunate accident, wholly gave himself up to the indulgence of his inclination for pleasure. Warwick, as skilful a politician as he was an able warrior, wished to procure for him a matrimonial connexion which might prove the means of an advantageous alliance. While, with the king's consent, he was labouring to accomplish that object in France, Edward married an Englishwoman of whom he had become enamoured. Warwick, on the other hand, incensed at thus seeing himself exposed to ridicule after the

advances he had already made in the business, gave way to the impulse of his indignation against Edward. As he had placed him on the throne, he conceived that he would find no difficulty in compelling him to descend from it. Breaking off his negotiation, he returned home full of that idea, and endeavoured to put it into execution by offering the crown to the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, in whom he expected to find greater deference to his counsels. The king, being informed of their project, banished them both.

They retired to Flanders, where they found Margaret and her son, with whom, being themselves equally unfortunate, they formed a coalition of interests. A marriage between Warwick's daughter and Henry's son, who were both too young for the consummation, became the bond of their union. Warwick took the command of a body of Flemish and French troops, landed in England, and, being joined by a numerous band of malcontents, gained an important victory over Edward, who was now in turn obliged to take refuge in Flanders, the place of Henry's late exile. The latter was re-instated on the throne. Edward, though at first not well received, found nevertheless resources in his asylum, whence he was after a while enabled to invade England at the head of an army. His brother Clarence, with whom he had secretly effected a reconciliation,

favoured his descent, and, by his desertion, enfeebled the party of Warwick. The rebel earl, notwithstanding, hazarded a battle, in which he lost his life; and, after another unsuccessful engagement, Margaret and her son were made prisoners.

The young prince appeared before the conqueror with undaunted countenance. "How," said Edward to him, "hast thou dared to invade my kingdom?"—"I came," replied the prince, "to claim my inheritance."—Unsusceptible of generous feeling, the savage Edward struck his captive on the face. This insult was considered as a signal by Edward's brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, who dragged the hapless youth to an adjoining apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers. Gloucester likewise entered the chamber where Henry was confined, and murdered him. The queen was spared for the sake of her ransom, which was paid by the king of France. Margaret passed over to that kingdom, where she terminated an unfortunate life in which she had drunk deep of the cup of misfortune, and nobly distinguished herself by her courageous exertions.

Not one of those against whom Edward harboured any suspicions was spared. Notwithstanding his reconciliation with his brother Clarence who had facilitated his return to the throne, he arraigned him under a frivolous pretext, and

caused him to be tried and condemned. The only favour which he extended to him was a permission to choose the mode of his own death. Clarence desired that it might be by drowning in a butt of malmsey. The most noble blood in England now flowed in copious streams: and those objects of Edward's enmity who escaped the axe of the executioner dragged on their unfortunate existence in foreign lands. A contemporary historian relates that he had seen the dukes of Somerset and Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's equipage bare-footed, and serving in his house for their subsistence.

Edward passed the remainder of his reign in debauchery, which accelerated the final period of his days. He died in the forty-first year of his age, leaving two sons, Edward prince of Wales who was thirteen years old, and Richard duke of York who was only nine—besides a daughter named Elizabeth. He was a man of very graceful personage, and passionately addicted to pleasure. It is not certain whether his cruelties were justly imputable to his own disposition or to the violent counsels of his brother, the sanguinary Gloucester, one of those monsters who think that usurped power is never securely seated except upon heaps of murdered victims. When Edward had struck down all the loftiest heads, he made a despotic abuse of his authority. The members of the parliament dared not refuse to act as the

ready ministers of his will: the oppressed nobles vented their sighs in secret: but the plebeians, though weighed down by oppression, bore that yoke without murmuring which sat still heavier on the necks of their superiors.

Although Edward ought to have been acquainted with the character of his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, and to have viewed him with the eye of distrust, he recommended to his wife Elizabeth Grey to place implicit confidence in him. She obeyed his injunction, but was still guided by the counsels of the earl of Rivers, her brother. Gloucester, thinking her adviser to be an obstacle to his own designs, impeached him of high treason before a venal tribunal, caused him to be condemned and executed, and then assumed the title of protector. The authority annexed to that dignity rendered him master of the young king's person; and he moreover contrived to remove the other son of the deceased monarch out of his mother's hands. When he had them both in his power, he endeavoured to excite a belief that they were illegitimate, by asserting that his brother had been united in the bonds of matrimony with another woman at the time when he married Elizabeth Grey their mother. This fabricated tale, however, not succeeding with him, he attempted another still more strange.

His own mother was yet living, and enjoyed an unfulfilled reputation. Yet he had the impu-

Edward V.
A.D. 1483.

dence to procure the circulation of a report that his two elder brothers, king Edward and the duke of Clarence, had been the offspring of illicit amours, and that he alone was the genuine issue of the duke of York: in support of which assertion, his personal resemblance to that prince was alleged as a proof. But this odious calumny being equally unsuccessful as the former, Richard adopted the most compendious method—that of causing the two young princes to be assassinated in the tower of London, where he had kept them confined under pretence of securing them from danger. After the commission of the deed, he did not even take the trouble of devising any palliative to prevent or banish suspicion, but contented himself with simply announcing their death, and immediately assumed the crown. The elder of those two ill-fated children occupies a place in the list of the English monarchs, under the name of Edward V.

If we needed any proof to convince us of the cool apathic deliberation with which Richard committed crimes, we would find it in the narrative of the following event. On the day when the earl of Rivers by his order suffered execution of the sentence of death, he had assembled a council in the tower of London, at which assisted the principal partisans of that nobleman. Near to the protector sat lord Hastings, who was warmly attached to the royal family. Richard,

at the time when he was premeditating the murder of his nephews, had deprived him of the government of the tower, but had lately re-instated him in his office, for the purpose, no doubt, of leading him into a snare. Hastings had been considered as a favoured lover of Jane Shore, Edward IV's concubine, whose power and credit gave great umbrage to Gloucester. Hastings had continued in habits of intimacy with her since the monarch's death.

That nobleman, having recently been re-appointed governor of the Tower, did not feel a doubt of his being in favour with the protector, and conceived himself in perfect safety. Richard, however, whose gaiety had till that moment been remarkable, suddenly stepped out from the council as if on business, returned soon after with altered countenance, and cried out, "My lords! what punishment do those deserve who have conspired against my life?"—At this unexpected question the whole council were astonished. After a while Hastings answered that they deserved to be punished as traitors.—"Those traitors," replied Richard, "are the forcerefs my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, and others their associates. See," added he, "to what condition they have reduced me by their enchantments and their witcheries:" and at the same time he laid bare his arm which was all shriveled and decayed.

The counsellors, who knew that he had laboured under that infirmity from his birth, looked at each other in amazement. "If they be guilty," said Hastings, "they certainly deserve the severest punishment."—"And do you answer me," interrupted the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abetter of that witch Shore: you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by Saint Paul that I will not dine until your head be brought to me." So saying, he struck on the table, and immediately the council-chamber was filled with armed men. With his own hand he seized lord Hastings, and delivered him to the soldiers, who hurried him out, cut off his head, and presented it to the tyrant.—The counsellors had all fled, each being apprehensive for his personal safety.

Richard did every thing in his power to substantiate the pretended sorceries of Jane Shore: but no legal proof could be adduced against her. He, however, confiscated her property, which was considerable: and, lest it should be thought that his persecution of her had been solely prompted by the temptation of her wealth, he caused her to be tried before an ecclesiastic court on the charge of incontinency. By those clerical judges she was condemned to perform public penance, which she accordingly underwent, with the addition of all the humiliating circumstances that they could devise. She survived this defama-

tory punishment forty years, dragging on a life of obscurity and wretchedness, unrelieved in her distress by any individual of that numerous crowd whom she had assisted by her credit or wealth during the season of her prosperity.

By the violent death of Richard's two nephews, the title to the crown had of right devolved upon their sister Elizabeth. Their murderer, for the purpose of legitimating his usurpation, proposed to marry his niece, and offered her his hand yet reeking with the blood of her brothers. Their mother Elizabeth Grey, thinking to ameliorate her own condition, gave her consent to the proposal: but the young princess spurned it with horror. She was reserved by fate to terminate the civil wars by the union of the two contending houses of York and Lancaster.

Of the latter of those families there yet remained a prince, Henry earl of Richmond. He had taken refuge with the duke of Bretagne, who, at Richard's instigation, detained him in a kind of honourable captivity. But, notwithstanding that want of liberty, Richmond still gave umbrage to the jealousy of Richard, who sent to desire that he might be delivered up to him, and was the more urgent in that demand as he perceived that his own cruel and perfidious acts had exasperated the nobles against his government, and that a powerful party was forming who would be glad to see that prince at their

head. The duke of Bretagne, being either gained over or intimidated, had already surrendered his suppliant guest into the hands of the tyrant's emissaries; but, on learning the state of affairs, recovered him from them: and Richmond, who at first had been destined to appear in England loaded with chains, invaded the kingdom with a fleet crowded with an armed host of Frenchmen and Bretons.

On his landing he found a formidable league ready to second his efforts; and the opposite armies soon proceeded to the decision of the sword. In the midst of the conflict, the two rivals recognised each other, and struggled to close in single combat. Richard, whose troops were beginning to recoil, furiously rushed on his antagonist. Richmond coolly awaited his onset: and the tyrant, in springing forward, was surrounded by his enemies, fought to the last moment, fell, overpowered by numbers, on a heap of slain, and perished in a manner more honourable than such a monster deserved. He was so familiarised with crime, that he could not conceive how any man should feel horror or remorse for it, when productive of any advantage.

Henry VII,
A.D. 1485. Placed on the throne by so unexpected a stroke of fortune, Henry of Richmond made it the first object of his care to unite, with the rights of the house of Lancaster which he possessed, those of the house of York which subsisted in the person

of Elizabeth the sister of Edward V. He espoused that princess, and thus abolished the distinction of the white rose and the red, the badges of two factions whose quarrels had cost the lives of above a hundred thousand of the bravest men of the nation, who had either fallen in battle or perished under the hands of the executioner. In Richard III ended the race of Plantagenet, which had swayed the sceptre during a period of three hundred and thirty years. There remained however a scion from that stock, known by the name of Warwick, but whose claims to the throne were posterior to those of Elizabeth. From Henry's union with her, sprang the race of the Tudors.—The new monarch made a progress through the kingdom, conducting with him his royal bride as a pledge of union and peace. But, notwithstanding this conciliatory conduct, the spirit of faction and discord still subsisted, especially in the northern counties. Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, two celebrated impostors, availed themselves of that mutinous disposition of the people.

The race of Plantagenet was still an object of affectionate interest in the eyes of those families who had so long been accustomed to pay it their homage on the throne. This attachment inspired a priest at Oxford, by name Richard Symonds, with the idea of resuscitating the distant claims of that family by presenting to the public a

descendent of their illustrious race. Young Warwick had, with the view of precaution, been confined in the Tower. Symonds searched for a young man qualified to personate the captive prince, and found a person suited for his purpose in Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who to corporeal grace added the mental qualifications of penetration and sagacity.

As it would have been an easy task to detect the imposture at London by the exhibition of the real Warwick, the priest laid the scene of his farce in Ireland, where he found some noblemen who, either from credulity or disaffection to the king, countenanced Simnel's pretensions. He had before conducted his fictitious Warwick to Flanders, where lived a princess of the house of York, the duchess of Burgundy, who was well inclined to promote every scheme that could tend to disturb a Lancastrian. In effect, Henry was alarmed, and not without reason; for Simnel, after having collected a number of adherents in Ireland, found himself enabled to debark in England at the head of an army, and to venture on a trial of strength with his sovereign. But fortune did not smile success on his bold attempt: he was defeated and taken, together with Symonds his director. The king caused the punishment of death to be inflicted by the hand of the executioner on several noblemen who could not plead error in excuse of their rebellion. The

real Warwick was exhibited to general view in a public proceſſion at London, and, after the ceremony, ſent back to his former confinement in the Tower. The prieſt was condemned to imprifonment, attended with faſting and diſcipline. Simnel was pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, that he might in that mean ſtation remain expoſed to the contempt and deriſion of the people. He was afterward promoted to the poſt of falconer.

The part acted by Perkin Warbeck was of longer duration and greater brilliancy. He did not wait to be tutored and encouraged as Simnel had been, but ſpontaneouſly conceived the project of paſſing himſelf for the duke of York, the ſecond of Edward III's ſons, who had been murdered in the Tower by Richard III: or, if he did not himſelf originally form the project, at leaſt he executed it with admirable dexterity. Perkin was the ſon of a converted Jew named Oſbeck or Warbeck, and had received the name of Peter, whence was formed the diminutive Peterkin or Perkin. The ſtriking reſemblance which was diſcovered between him and the portraits of Edward IV gave riſe to a conjecture that that amorous monarch might, in his travels abroad, have been intimately acquainted with Oſbeck's wife: and to this ſuppoſition he was probably indebted for the gracious reception which he experienced at ſeveral courts, where

people fancied that they were paying honour, if not to the legitimate son, at least to the unfortunate offspring of a beloved monarch.

He was remarkable for a princely port and superior elegance of manner. Osbeck, his real or reputed father, had, almost from his childhood, constantly made him the companion of his commercial journeys. The adventures which young Perkin met with in his peregrinations improved the versatility and sagacity of his genius, insomuch that the duchess of Burgundy, when he was introduced to her, thought him very well qualified to act the part which was planned for him. That princess herself is thought to have secretly furnished him with the necessary information respecting the rights of his family. She recommended him to the court of France, where he was well received : and that precedent authorised her on the other hand to give him a honou-
rific reception when he returned to Flanders. She brought him into connexion with several Englishmen who had taken refuge at her court ; and those exiles opened a correspondence between him and their families in England, where a strong party was formed in opposition to the king's authority, and a plan of insurrection concerted.

The intended rebellion was to take place at the moment of Perkin's landing in England with the troops furnished to him by the duchess of Bur-

gundy. But the adventurer, seeing the inhabitants of the coast prepared to resist his invasion, did not think himself sufficiently strong to attempt a forcible descent, and contented himself with barely making his appearance in sight of the shore. That distant visit only served to discover his accomplices, of whom great numbers perished on the scaffold. As to himself, he directed his course to Scotland, where the reigning monarch, either being or pretending to be deceived, treated him as a sovereign. Many of Perkin's faction fled to take refuge with him in the northern kingdom. Those who remained in England excited there an insurrection against Henry, whose government they represented as tyrannic and insupportable. While he was busily employed in exertions to extinguish the flame which was bursting out on every side, the Scottish monarch penetrated into England, marked his route with ravage and devastation, and everywhere proclaimed Perkin as the lawful sovereign of the kingdom.

To the band of plunderers who composed the chief part of the Scottish army Henry opposed a body of regular troops, the bare report of whose approach terrified them to a precipitate retreat. Repelled to his own territories, the king of Scotland sued for peace, obtained it, and withdrew his countenance from Perkin, who was obliged to quit his dominions, and again passed

over into Ireland. Meeting now a cool reception in that isle, he directed his course to Cornwall, where being joined by a band of mal-contents, he marched against the city of Exeter. While engaged in vain attempts to render himself master of that place, he was alarmed by the intelligence of the king's approach at the head of a superior force, betook himself to flight, was abandoned by part of his army, and, now apprehensive for his personal safety, sought refuge in a sanctuary. But he surrendered himself to Henry on receiving a promise that his life should be spared. His wife too fell into the hands of the king, from whom she received humane and generous treatment. She was a lady of quality, whose hand had been obtained for him by the dukes of Burgundy. Perkin, immediately after his surrender, was conveyed a prisoner to the tower of London, where he was minutely examined, for the purpose of detecting his imposture. The result of his confessions was published to the world, and he was still detained in captivity. Probably, however, his confinement was not very rigorous, since he was able to effect his escape. He was retaken, and again committed to the Tower. There he found young Warwick, with whom he formed a conspiracy against the life of the commandant of that fortress. Their plot being discovered, they were both brought to trial; and, pursuant to the sentences severally passed on

them, Warwick suffered decapitation, and Perkin was hanged. It has been conjectured that Henry himself had privately facilitated the intercourse between the two prisoners, that their conduct might furnish him with a plausible pretext for taking away their lives.

That suspicion is founded on the character of Henry, who was politic and crafty. No monarch ever oppressed the English with greater skill: he loaded them with taxes: when they complained of the burden, he alleviated it, but still gained his ends by different means. His administration of justice was ever attended with a great display of formality; but, at bottom, it was not the more conformable to the strict rules of equity. Interest outweighed in his mind every consideration of propriety.

He had married his son Arthur at the age of sixteen years to Catharine the infanta of Arragon, whose age was eighteen. They had lived one year in the matrimonial state, when Arthur died. If the father did not forcibly compel his second son Henry, then twelve years old, to marry his sister-in-law, it cannot be doubted that he at least swayed him by the seduction of paternal ascendancy, which at that age is equivalent to compulsion. In that transaction the king was actuated by the two-fold motive of preserving the alliance with Arragon which was advantageous to him; and retaining Catharine's marriage-portion,

which was very considerable. The latter in particular had probably a conclusive influence on the mind of Henry VII, whose predominant passion was avarice. He made some irruptions into France, but never with the determined intention of waging a regularly continued war. His object in those attacks was either to provide occupation for his subjects, or to obtain from them pecuniary supplies which he afterward converted to his own private use. In other respects he is allowed to have possessed the qualifications of a great king. His disposition was chearful, frank, open : his manner was noble : but in the privacy of domestic life he dispensed with all pomp and luxury. He terminated the civil wars which had long disturbed England ; and he annihilated the exorbitant and much-abused power of the nobility.

Henry VIII,
A. D. 1509.

His son Henry VIII ascended the throne in the eighteenth year of his age. By his natural and acquired accomplishments he suddenly won the fond affection and esteem of his people. His prevailing passion was vanity, which in his bosom was divided into two branches—each productive of bitter fruits—the presumption of surpassing all others in theologic science, and the desire of enslaving the hearts as well as the minds of his fellow-creatures. Hence that persecuting zeal which justly entitles him to rank among the most cruel princes : and hence also his jealousy,

which, according to the usual character of that passion, prompted him to the commission of deeds equally absurd as barbarous.

Henry, being in the bloom of his age, delighted in distinguishing himself by luxury and magnificence. The court, which had hitherto been overcast with gloom by the civil wars or subject to the monotonous rules of a dull uniformity, now shone with the splendor of *fêtes* and amusements. To this change was added, for the people, the pleasure of seeing the executioner's axe strike off the heads of several ministers who had enjoyed and abused the favour of the late monarch, and their places filled by new appointments of persons who however did not in the event render the subjects more happy. Henry made into Scotland some expeditions of which the success flattered the national pride; and he promised to undertake others of greater importance against France, the perpetual object of English jealousy. Pope Julius II, who was an enemy to Francis I, instigated Henry to revive the pretensions of his progenitors to the Gallic crown. It is said that Henry envied the French monarch his title of "most christian majesty," that the pontif promised to transfer it to him, and that he was very highly flattered by that hope. Instead, however, of the envied title, the pope conferred on him that of "defender of the faith," to reward him

for a book which the king had written against Luther.

As the late monarch had had an elder son who was destined to fill the throne, he had caused Henry, his younger, to be instructed in theologic science, for which he now retained a relish that might justly be deemed inordinate in a sovereign. He thought himself very skilful in it: and that presumptuous persuasion had an opportunity of displaying itself in a personal affair of which the consequences produced a material change in the kingdom. We have already seen that Henry had married his brother's widow. He lived on good terms with her, and had by her several children who all died young, except one daughter named Mary. That mortality awaked scruples in his bosom: he recollected to have read in the Mosaic law that whosoever should marry his brother's widow should die without posterity. He conceived himself suffering under the effect of that malediction: or at least, in a piece which he himself composed, and which he caused to be distributed in great profusion, he endeavoured to persuade the world that those religious alarms were the principal cause of the divorce which he meditated.

But we may reasonably believe that his scruples, if he really ever felt any, owed their birth to a decay of beauty in Catharine of Arragon who was

six years older than himself, and to her infirmities, and still more to the new passion he had conceived for Anne Boleyn, one of the maids of honour to the queen. However that may be, Henry, who claimed the character of an able casuist, decided that his marriage was illegitimate, and that he was in duty bound to procure its dissolution. It was necessary to add the solemn forms to that decision, which he had procured to be sanctioned by the approbation of several doctors—that is to say, it remained for him to have his marriage declared null according to the usual formalities of the church. Henry submitted his cause to trial: he wrote to the pope: the discussion was begun in presence of the famous cardinal Wolsey, his favourite and minister, who had been appointed pope's legate for this occasion. But the judicial inquiries were protracted to a tedious length; and the delay excited great impatience in Henry, who was internally goaded by the scrupulous apprehension of lying under the weight of the Mosaic anathema. He attributed the tardiness of the proceedings to the policy of Wolsey who was an enemy to Anne Boleyn; and for that reason he disgraced the minister. The king next prosecuted the affair before a new tribunal, which he erected without the concurrence of the pope, and dictated to the judges the sentence of divorce: but he had not waited till that judgement should be given before he

contracted a marriage with Anne Boleyn. He then acknowledged it; and the new queen, within a few days after her coronation, was delivered of a princess, who received the name of Elizabeth.

The pope excommunicated Henry and his queen. Henry declared the papal anathemas to be null, made a breach with the church of Rome, and proclaimed himself supreme head of the church in England. Then began what may be called the dogmatic and amorous follies of Henry. He loaded his new wife with favours—pronounced Mary, the daughter of Catharine, to be illegitimate—and declared Anne's daughter Elizabeth princess of Wales and heiress to the crown. He even publicly issued an edict prohibiting all reasonings respecting this settlement of the succession, and ordaining that every person guilty of flandering the king or queen or their issue should be subject to the penalties of misprision of treason.

He devised a new system of religion which was neither Romish nor Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but a compound of the three. He prescribed oaths which every one of his subjects was obliged to take. His supremacy, as head of the church, was the chief point; and on that he admitted neither explanation nor restriction. Sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, celebrated for his knowledge and integrity—and Fisher, bishop of

Rocheſter, a man eſteemed for his piety—atoned by the loſs of their heads for their attachment to the old principles. The ſacrifice of theſe firſt victims of Henry’s barbarous policy was a prelude to the execution of numerous others. Gibbets were erected: piles of faggots were kindled; and it ſometimes happened that catholics and proteſtants were together conſigned to the flames, the former for reſuſing to acknowledge the king’s ſupremacy, the latter for rejecting ſeveral dogmata of the church of Rome, which Henry had thought proper to retain. He threw open the monaſteries, applied the buildings to other uſes, aboliſhed chapels and oratories, and effaced from thoſe that remained every veſtige that could recall to mind the idea of pious foundations. The ſame conduct was purſued toward colleges and hoſpitals. Of the property annexed to them, the king granted a part either to the lords of his court, or to the families of the founders, or to the inhabitants of the places where the property was ſituate: but he reſerved for himſelf the larger portion. Thus catholiciſm diſappeared, and, together with it, the papal authority, which had been ſo powerful in England. Amid the many variations that Henry introduced as well in doctrinal points as in worſhip, it would be difficult to define the religious ſyſtem which he ſubſtituted in lieu of the Romiſh: but from thoſe incoherent elements was gradually formed the religion of the

church of England, which did not acquire its consistency until the reign of Elizabeth the daughter of Anne Boleyn.

Anne powerfully contributed to provoke Henry's schism, and to confirm his perseverance in it, because that alone was as it were the palladium of the divorce on which were founded the legitimacy of her marriage and the whole fabric of her fortune—a fabric, alas! which the inconstancy of her husband's affections soon shook to its base, and which, in its fall, buried the queen under its ruins. Anne, the daughter of a private gentleman, not having been brought up with all the circumspection usual in a more elevated sphere, was not so attentive to cautious reserve as her exalted situation required. She was lively and sportive; and that malice which is congenial to courts, according to its usual custom, misinterpreted her innocent levities. Some pleasantries, hazarded in presence of the umbrageous monarch, roused suspicions in his mind: and his jealousy became terrible, and capable of proceeding to the utmost lengths, after he had cast his eyes upon Jane Seymour, a lady of exquisite beauty, one of the maids of honour to the queen.

When the courtiers perceived that Anne Boleyn was no longer agreeable to the tyrant, the voice of calumny imputed to her various faults, and even crimes. She was accused of culpable intimacy with four young gentlemen, and even with her

own brother. Never was any accusation less satisfactorily substantiated : on the contrary, they all persisted in asserting their own innocence and that of the queen, although tempted with a promise of pardon if they would declare themselves and her guilty. Notwithstanding their solemn and persevering asseverations, they were condemned to decapitation, and suffered the execution of their sentence. As to the queen and her brother—the execrable crew of servile peers who rendered themselves the ready instruments of Henry's sanguinary caprices, sentenced the former to be, at the king's pleasure, either beheaded or burned alive. Though threatened with the severer alternative of that sentence, Anne acknowledged nothing that could tarnish her character, but simply that there had existed legal impediments previous to her marriage with the king. This confession was extorted from her for the purpose of illegitimizing her daughter Elizabeth, and rendering her incapable of succeeding to the crown. She laid her head on the block without any indication of weakness, and met the stroke of death with fortitude, and even with cheerfulness. Her brother suffered decapitation soon after. On the day succeeding her execution, the tyrant married lady Jane Seymour ; which hasty marriage affords perhaps the strongest justification of Anne Boleyn. Jane Seymour brought forth a son to Henry, and died two days after her delivery.

Henry diverted the tedium of his widowed state by the solemnity of a religious controversy with a school-master named Lambert, an enemy to the doctrine of the real presence, which the king had retained in his new system of religion. Being reproved by his bishop for his heterodox opinions, Lambert had appealed to the supreme head of the church; and Henry, delighted with an incident which afforded him an opportunity of not only exercising his supremacy but also displaying his theologic skill, gladly admitted the appeal. Public notice was given that the monarch himself intended to enter the lists against the school-master. Accordingly the royal disputant appeared on a throne in all the pomp of majesty, surrounded by the prelates, the temporal peers, a crowd of doctors, and his whole court. The discussion was opened by the bishop of Chichester; after which exordium, Henry, like an experienced controvertist, pressed his antagonist with a variety of arguments drawn from scripture and from the writings of the fathers and schoolmen. The auditory loudly applauded the extent of the monarch's erudition, and the strength of his reasonings, which were farther enforced by Cranmer and Gardiner and other prelates. Lambert, however, did not suffer himself to be intimidated, but coolly and firmly replied, without conceding a single point to his adversaries. At length Henry urged him with an alternative,

which he thought must insure to him the victory—that of submission or death. The school-master, who was endued with obstinate courage, answered, without retracting his opinion, that he threw himself on the king's clemency: Henry replied that he would not be a protector of heretics, and that, if that were Lambert's final answer, he must expect to perish in the flames. The latter remaining silent, Cromwell pronounced his sentence. He was executed, not by throwing the unfortunate sufferer headlong into the flames, but gradually consuming him at a slow fire, which burned off his legs and thighs before his body was injured:—a punishment (some courtly sycophants would say) justly due to a paltry school-master who had dared to remain unconvinced by the arguments of his sovereign!

After this pompous dispute, Henry wished to enjoy the pleasure of a ceremony enlivened by galantry. During his present state of celibacy, from his own court he turned his eyes toward every other which contained amiable princesses, fully persuaded that he had only to hold forth his hand, and that they would all press eagerly forward to seize it. He had, however, little reason to be satisfied with his first essay; his advances being rejected by the duchess dowager de Longueville, eldest daughter of the duke de Guise, one of the ornaments of the court of France, which at that time shone with a constellation of beauties.

Francis I offered him the choice of her younger sister and other ladies of the court. But Henry, to avoid all deception, wished previously to see them, and, for that purpose, proposed to Francis a conference under pretence of business, to which the Gallic monarch should bring all the most beautiful ladies of his court, to afford him an opportunity of choosing. This proposition shocked Francis, who answered that he entertained too high a respect for the fair sex to conduct ladies of the first quality like horses to the fair, to be taken or rejected according to the caprice of the purchaser. Henry, unacquainted with such delicacy, insisted: but the French king persevered in his refusal; and that fair-like meeting never took place.

From a portrait which the chancellor Cromwell presented to the king, his royal choice was determined in favour of Anne, princess of Cleves. But, at the very first sight, the original was, in his opinion, far from corresponding to the picture: on the day succeeding his marriage he appeared still more strongly disgusted with his bride, and already talked of a divorce. Anne consented to every thing he wished, and made no resistance. Henry never pardoned the chancellor, though his favourite, for having involved him in that affair: for trifling faults, which are almost unavoidable in the minutiae of administration, he caused him to be condemned to death by the same crouching

parliament who annulled his marriage with the princess of Cleves. He obtained a sentence of divorce on the strength of his single assertion, that, in espousing the princess he had not "*inwardly*" given his consent to the marriage.

For his fifth wife, Henry took Catharine Howard, a lady educated by a grand-mother who had not very attentively watched her morals. The previous inquiries concerning her were probably not very strict; for a moderate share of diligence would have been sufficient to discover that her conduct was far from regular. She did not reform it after marriage, but continued to maintain an intimate intercourse with her former galants. Henry was informed of her infidelities; and the discovery was to him a thunder-stroke. That a woman whom he had honoured with his hand should indulge herself in such criminal deviations from the line of duty! He fell sick in consequence of it. The parliament sent to him a deputation from their body, to express the sympathetic interest they took in his misfortune, and exhort him to patience under a calamity to which all men were exposed. The guilty queen and her accomplices were punished with death; and the parliament passed on this occasion two very extraordinary laws,—the one ordaining that whoever should know or strongly suspect incontinency in the queen, might reveal it to the king or his council, without fearing, even in case

he were mistaken, the penalty of any former law against defaming the king or queen; on condition, however, that the informer should not publicly divulge the matter, or even privately communicate it in a whisper. The other enacted, that, if the king, under the idea of espousing a virgin, married a woman who were not possessed of her virginity, she should be deemed guilty of high treason, and suffer the punishment annexed to that crime, unless she previously revealed to him her incontinence.

This act of parliament, respecting the virginity required of those whom the king might honour with his hand, gave rise to the remark that he must be obliged to marry a widow; and so in fact it happened: for he took as his sixth wife Catharine Par, a widow of respectable character, skilled in religious matters, and even acquainted with controversial theology—an accomplishment which was agreeable to Henry, provided it were not carried too far, and that his opponent did not too obstinately maintain the point in dispute against him. By exceeding in that respect the bounds which the monarch's notions prescribed, the queen was very near losing her life. Catharine too openly expressed her sentiments in arguing with him, and was so imprudent as to appear not perfectly convinced by the king's reasonings: nor did she otherwise escape the fate of Lambert the school-master—with perhaps only the exception of the

extreme cruelty in the manner of inflicting the punishment—than by acknowledging the superior judgement of her husband, and declaring that her only motive, in appearing to maintain against him opinions different from his, was to gain knowledge and instruction from him in the dispute, in which she confessed herself very inferior. This humble avowal reconciled her with her husband, who now admired her sagacious discernment.

To the fury of jealousy so formidable to a woman—to the pedantry of theologic science so disagreeable to her—Henry toward the end of his existence added the ill humour of impatience caused by his bodily infirmities. No person could now approach him without danger: and happy were those around him when his mind was occupied by weighty affairs of state which for a while superseded the ebullitions of his persecuting zeal. His reign was brilliant: his hand had poised the balance of Europe. Francis I and Charles V, those two inveterate rivals, anxiously coveted his alliance, and strove to gain him over, each to his own side. But, to win Henry, it was necessary to hold out to him the lure of interest, which was ever the ruling principle of his conduct. From the history of his repeated marriages, we have seen that he had nought in view but his own gratification, and that he sacrificed to that single object all the moral and social and regal decencies. In Henry we observe a strong contrast—an en-

larged and capacious intellect, and at the same time the faults of narrow minds, arrogance, bigotry, obstinacy, caprice; to which we may add the vices of tyrants, violence, cruelty, rapacity, injustice. He was obsequiously subserved in his oppressive measures by the most rascally and most crouching parliament that ever polluted the precincts of Westminster—a divan, in short, worthy of the Nero of England.

Previous to his death, he had regulated the order of succession, and bequeathed his crown in the first instance to prince Edward the son of Jane Seymour—then to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, with the proviso that they should not marry without the consent of the council which he had appointed for his son during his minority.

Edward VI. Prince Edward was only nine years old; but he
A.D. 1547. already afforded a promise of the most brilliant qualities. He was educated in the religion framed by his father, of which the two main pillars were—the prohibition of all connexion with the pope, and the king's supremacy. In Edward's reign appeared a new liturgy: but that production did not yet give to the religious system all the solidity of which it stood in need. It was the work of the duke of Somerset, maternal uncle to the young monarch. Somerset was named protector by the council of regency.

The history of Edward's reign is only that of the quarrels of the various aspirants who aimed at

the acquisition of power. Somerset conceived the project—a project calculated to benefit both kingdoms—of uniting his ward in marriage with the young queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart: but, unfortunately for that princess, her mother destined her for the dauphin of France, and thus caused her to miss the English crown for the Gallic, which did no more than rapidly pass over her head. While the protector governed the kingdom with mildness and prudence, his own brother, lord Seymour, laboured to supplant him, and, contrary to Somerset's will, married the queen dowager Catharine Par. But she died before he had an opportunity of reaping from that union the advantages which he had expected. Disappointed in that direction, he paid his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, and betrayed so strong ambition, that Somerset justly took umbrage at his conduct, and, after having vainly endeavoured to restrain him by exhortations and entreaties and menaces, at length caused him to be beheaded.

The spirit of discontent, which had been repressed by the fear of Henry's severity, now discovered itself on every side in spite of Somerset's prudence. Entire counties demanded the restoration of the mass, and the re-establishment of their priests and their worship. The protector compromised matters in some instances, and in others awed the mal-contents into submission. Hostilities, however, became unavoidable. So-

merfet gave the command of the royal forces to Warwick—a celebrated name in the history of the disturbances in England—who gained some victories, and acquired great credit in consequence of the esteem testified for him by the young monarch. Presuming on that powerful support, Warwick neglected and soon openly opposed the protector, who perceived when too late that his authority was about to escape from his hands. He strove to retain it: but the council of regency was gained over; and Somerset was arrested, sent to the Tower, brought almost immediately to trial, and beheaded. Warwick succeeded to his office and power, under the title of earl of Northumberland.

Edward's health daily withered; and it was easy to foresee that his death could not be far distant. The new protector meanwhile took measures for the prolongation of his own power beyond the period of that event. He acquired an absolute empire over the young king's mind: and, as Edward felt a very warm zeal for the reformed religion, Northumberland inspired him with apprehensions that if the order of succession regulated by Henry VIII were observed, his sister Mary, who made open profession of catholicism, would re-establish that mode of worship. He alarmed him with fears of another kind respecting Elizabeth, and proposed to him to call to the throne lady Jane Grey, grand-daughter, by the

mother's side, of Henry VIII's sister, and descended from a branch of the family whose attachment to the reformation was well known. The protector had effected a marriage between that princess and lord Guilford Dudley his fourth son. Edward approved the proposed arrangement, ordained it accordingly, and caused it to be ratified by a parliament servilely devoted to Northumberland. After a short illness, the youthful monarch expired in the sixteenth year of his age. He was a prodigy of learning for so early a period of life, and showed a mildness of disposition which afforded the flattering hope of a peaceful reign. He died generally regretted, and left his sceptre an object of dispute to four princesses—Mary, who had been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament not yet repealed—Elizabeth, who had once been in the same predicament, but had afterward been restored to the rights of legitimacy—Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who at this time was in France—and, finally, lady Jane Grey.

The contest was not of long continuance. Northumberland thought he had ably concerted his measures: he concealed the king's death, and in his name wrote to the two princesses to come to him quickly, for that he wished to see them before his death. Having them in his power, it would have been easy for him to place his daughter-in-law on the throne: but the princesses were opportunely

Mary.

A.D. 1553.

apprised of their danger, and escaped beyond his reach. He then caused Jane Grey to be proclaimed queen: but, as he was hated, the proclamation did not extend beyond London and its vicinity. The country declared for Mary, and with the more earnest zeal, as she solemnly promised to make no change in the religion prescribed by her father, though she herself continued to profess the ancient faith. Thus her promises attached to her the reformed party, and her practice the catholics.

Besides she made every requisite exertion, whereas lady Jane made none, but rather suffered herself to be carried to the throne than went to it of her own will. The latter was not yet sixteen years old; but the fine qualities which she already displayed would have been sufficient to adorn a maturer age. She was passionately fond of study, and had made great progress in the sciences. While her companions indulged in the amusements of their sex and the pleasures of the court, she was accustomed to retire to privacy, and enjoy the perusal of the best Greek and Latin authors, whose works she read in the original languages. When her father came to inform her of her elevation, she heard the intelligence with equal regret and surprise. She even refused to accept the crown, declaring that the two princesses had each a better title to it than herself, that she feared the consequences of such an attempt, and that, if she were left at liberty to decide for herself, she

would decline it. In effect she did not at length give her consent till urged by the re-iterated solicitations of her father, and of Guilford Dudley her husband, who was only a year older than she.

Mary at first observed her promise, granted a general amnesty, equally divided her favour between the professors of both religions, remitted some taxes, and rendered herself as popular as the gloomy austerity of her character would allow. Her sister Elizabeth came to pay her a homage which Mary thought somewhat too late. As to Northumberland, he suddenly experienced an almost universal dereliction. He raised however some troops: but, finding himself incapable of effectual resistance, he surrendered, sued for pardon, received a refusal, and was beheaded. The sentence which condemned him involved many of his partisans, together with lord Guilford Dudley and lady Jane his wife: but it was not immediately put into execution against the youthful pair; the victorious party being content with confining them in the tower of London.

Released from apprehension on that side, Mary gave a loose rein to her sour and savage disposition. Notwithstanding the amnesty, all those who had contributed to her mother's divorce fell under the axe of the executioner: and happy were they who suffered no severer punishment! The archbishop Cranmer was burned alive, as guilty of apostasy. Piles of faggots were every-where kindled; gibbets were erected; the prisons

were filled with unfortunate priests or friars who had through fear taken the oath of supremacy, and entered the marriage-state. Mary did not observe any of the promises which she had made to the non-catholics. Equally absolute as her father, she subverted all his institutions, re-established the clergy, gave the greatest publicity to the ceremonies of the Roman church, even forcing the parliament to receive, in the name of the kingdom at large, the papal absolution from the ecclesiastic censures incurred by the change of religion.

These acts of despotic authority, and especially the persecutions by which they were accompanied, caused insurrections in various parts of the country. One of the insurgent chiefs advanced even to London at the head of four thousand resolute followers, and demanded to be put into possession of the Tower. His army was repulsed, and himself made prisoner: and from his examination it appeared that his design and that of his accomplices was to rescue lady Jane Grey from her confinement in that fortress, with the intent of setting her up in opposition to Mary. Although the captive princess had neither by act nor will contributed to that attempt, her death was determined, as likewise that of her husband. When the sentence was passed, notice was simply sent to her to prepare for death in three days.

Lady Jane received the information with heroic fortitude, complaining only of the delay of three

days. She devoted that interval to her usual employments, without either supplications or any other measures to obtain a pardon. On the day of her execution her husband desired to see her: but she informed him by message that the tenderness of their last interview would be too great for her to bear. "Tell him," added she, "that our separation will be only for a moment. We shall soon again meet each other in a place where our affections will be for-ever united, and where misfortunes will never more disturb our eternal felicity." On her way to the scene of execution, she met the lifeless body of her husband, which the attendants were carrying to be interred in the Tower-chapel. She stopped, riveted her eyes on the corps without expressing any emotion, and, taking out her tablets, wrote in them some lines, which, on examination, proved to be three sentences—in Greek, Latin, and English—relative to the spectacle of her murdered husband's remains which had been presented to her view, and expressing a hope that God and posterity would do justice to him and her.

From the scaffold she addressed the spectators, and observed that her crime consisted not in the acceptance of the crown, but in the omission to reject it with sufficient firmness;—that her fault arose less from ambition than from reverence of her parents, to whom she had been taught to pay

respect and obedience;—that she cheerfully submitted to death, as the only atonement she could make for the injury offered to the state;—that, if she had violated the laws, it had been by compulsion; and that she wished to prove, by her voluntary submission to the sentence of condemnation, how sincerely desirous she was of expiating the act of disobedience which her filial piety had led her to commit. She then made a signal to her women to retire, and, without betraying the slightest system of perturbation, laid down her neck to receive the stroke of death.

Mary was far from enjoying similar serenity of mind. She was agitated by two passions equally violent—intolerance and love, if the name of love can with propriety be given to a constitutional ardor which too plainly appeared in her eager impatience for the arrival of Don Philip of Spain, whom she had chosen for her husband, in opposition to the wishes of a great part of the nation. At the age of thirty-six years she could not flatter herself with the hope that her personal charms would make a favourable impression on a youthful husband: nevertheless she expected him as if she had been certain of immediately captivating his heart. His delay gave her the greatest uneasiness: at one time she dreaded the winds which might retard him on his passage, at another she feared the attack of a French fleet which might intercept him. At length he made his ap-

pearance, and was received by the queen with effusions of joy too strongly expressed, but with coolness by the English nation.

That prince, whose characteristics were gloom and taciturnity, had not the talent of overcoming the antipathy which the courtiers felt to him. His silent reserve kept them at a distance—a circumstance which the queen did not regret, as that solitude afforded her more frequent opportunities of being alone with her husband; which was her only pleasure. His shortest absences excited her anxiety: the slightest testimony of civility bestowed by him on any other woman alarmed Mary's jealousy, and racked her bosom with all the pangs of that furious passion. She soon discovered, on studying Philip's disposition, that the surest mode of winning his affection was to render him master of England: and accordingly she exerted her whole influence to prevail on the parliament to acknowledge him king; and heir to the crown in case of her death: but her attempts were ineffectual; and she experienced an open and decided opposition to her wish. Imagining that this refusal was the cause of some coolness which she perceived in her husband, she conceived in consequence of that idea an implacable hatred against the entire nation, especially against the non-catholics, whom she therefore persecuted as the most bitter enemies to the catholic prince her consort.

After a while a gleam of hope shone forth to her eyes, and enlivened her with the expectation of being able to fix the heart of Philip, whose affection did not correspond to hers; she thought herself pregnant, and publicly announced the supposed event. Great rejoicings took place on the occasion: but unfortunately her ideal pregnancy proved only an incipient dropsy; nor was her husband deceived in that respect. The society of an infirm wife becoming every day more irksome to him, he quitted her, on business, he said, of high importance, which called him away to the Netherlands. She did not fail to extort from him a promise of returning to her as speedily as possible: and he did not hesitate to make the engagement. During the whole time of his absence she was busily employed in writing to him the most impassioned letters, pressing his return with the most ardent and importunate entreaties. She furnished him with pecuniary remittances to the full extent of his demands, and even beyond what he asked; insomuch that the exportations of money from England at this time surpassed those of every former period. To supply that lavish waste, Mary levied contributions on all hands, by extortions from commerce, by loan, by violence: but still her indifferent husband did not return. Her chagrin at his absence embittered the queen's mind; and her peevish humour was vented on all who approached her

person. Her distemper increased; and a slow fever terminated her existence after an unfortunate reign of five years.

Mary did not possess any one of those mental or corporeal qualities which are capable of conciliating love or esteem. Her person was disagreeable, her mind narrow, her heart cruel, her temper obstinate and inflexible. In her conjugal attachment she betrayed all the eager violence of an old maid become impatient by long expectation.

Her sister Elizabeth mounted the throne well tutored by adversity. She had been an object of jealousy and fear to Mary, and on that account exposed to the dangers arising from those two passions. Persecution had been employed for the purpose of compelling her to profess the Romish religion: she had been confined in the Tower, and was in public disgrace and banished from court at the time of her sister's death. Under those vicissitudes of fortune she contracted the habit of seasonable dissimulation and prudent circumspection, and acquired in a eminent degree the requisite talents for government. On receiving the crown, there was but one circumstance to cause her chagrin—that of seeing it claimed by Mary Stuart, who however contented herself with uniting in her 'scutcheon the arms of England with those of France and Scot-

Elizabeth,
A.D. 1558.

land. Elizabeth never pardoned her that pretension.

The judicial murder of the Scottish queen is the most conspicuous blot in Elizabeth's life. It is attributed to jealousy in the latter—not the jealousy of power, but of beauty and grace and understanding—rather than to political motives. She strove to throw on her ministers the odium of that crime, which was utterly destitute of even the semblance of justice: for when they came to announce to her the execution of the sentence which she had herself dictated, she told them that they had committed a heinous crime in putting to death her sister and kinswoman, contrary, as she said, to her intention, as they sufficiently knew. But, for that “heinous crime,” not one of them lost her confidence or favour. All the punishment fell on the secretary of the council, who however had not dispatched the warrant without the express command of the ministers: and his punishment consisted in a short imprisonment and a fine, for which the queen took care to indemnify him by private acts of liberality.

In every other respect the reign of Elizabeth may deservedly be considered as one of the most fortunate England ever witnessed. She found the kingdom agitated, especially by religious disturbances, which are the most dangerous of all;

and she succeeded in appeasing them, at the expense of some rigor, it is true, but such as cannot be compared to the cruelties and barbarity and horror of the executions commanded by Henry VIII and by Mary. Under Elizabeth the religion of England underwent a new change, which was the last. Her father had proscribed papism: her sister had re-established it: Edward VI had published a liturgy: Elizabeth now altered it by corrections and retrenchments and additions, and formed the national religion, such as it exists at the present day. She introduced permanent order into every branch of the administration; and her cares were beneficially extended to navigation and commerce. The encouragements which she bestowed on both produced those celebrated maritime chiefs, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and other bold navigators, who shed a lustre on her reign.

Elizabeth was successful in all her undertakings: and we must attribute to her good fortune, as much as to the wisdom of her measures, that she had the happiness of preserving England from the invasion of Philip II, and from the attacks of those troops which the falsely-called *invincible* armada was to pour forth on her shores. She assisted Henry IV of France, and the Netherlanders, in opposition to that same prince, who, having been disappointed of his desire to obtain her in marriage, wished to hurl her from the

throne. In general, all the acts of her public life bespeak the queen : but it must be confessed, that in her private conduct she sometimes sacrificed to the weakness of the woman.

If she refused her hand to princes and kings from an unwillingness to subject herself to the control of a husband or to share her authority, she acted in that particular like many other great princesses : but, in declaring her resolution to live unmarried, she made an ostentatious parade of a love of virginity, which nobody believed. She was observed to distinguish particular courtiers by regards exceeding the measure of ordinary favour. The last of these, whom she appeared to love with the greatest tenderness, whom she loaded with favours, and whom she suffered to perish on a scaffold, was the earl of Essex. She was approaching to decrepitude, and he was in the bloom of youth, when his brilliant accomplishments won her attentions. The indulgencies of the queen inspired him with a pride which raised him many enemies. In the fits of his presumption he did not spare even his royal mistress, who, being one day incensed to see him obstinately oppose her even to the degree of maintaining his own opinion in the council in a disrespectful manner, gave him a box on the ear—a punishment more fit to be inflicted by an angry *inamata* than by an offended sovereign.

The queen and the earl had many quarrels and many reconciliations: on one of the latter occasions she had given to him a ring, accompanied by a declaration, that, if ever he should find himself in danger, he had only to send her that token, and it should be to him a pledge of safety. That fatal moment arrived: Essex, after having so far broken through every tie which bound him to the queen as even to take up arms against her, was condemned to suffer the punishment of decapitation. In this extremity he delivered the ring to the countess of Nottingham, to be presented to Elizabeth. But he was mistaken in his choice of a confidante; for the countess, either through jealousy or a wish to mortify the queen, kept the ring. Elizabeth anxiously expected its delivery, and was sensibly hurt to observe that the guilty earl seemed to prefer death to the pleasure of being indebted to her for his life. She hesitated, took up her pen to sign his death-warrant, dropped it from her hand, and again resumed it. The ministers, who dreaded Essex's influence, availed themselves of one of her peevish moments, obtained her signature, and dispatched the warrant, which was immediately executed.

Soon after these transactions, the countess of Nottingham fell sick; when, seeing her end approach, she sent for the queen, and informed her that Essex had given her the ring to deliver to her majesty.

Elizabeth, bursting into a furious passion, shook the perfidious countess as she lay on her death-bed, and exclaimed—"God may pardon you; but I never will." So saying, she hurried in violent agitation from the dying wretch, and from that fatal moment was ever seen to wear the marks of profound affliction. She refused to take food, and remained sunk in gloomy silence, which suffered no interruption except from her sighs and groans. In this state of languor and dejection she died in the seventieth year of her age.

No sovereign ever procured for England the enjoyment of so long-continued peace and so constant prosperity. She was subject, as we have before remarked, to the weaknesses of her sex, the jealousy of love, the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration: but to these she added vigilance, penetration, strength of intellect, industry, pride, magnanimity, and, we must add, something of insincerity.

James I.

A.D. 1603.

On her death-bed she recommended, as her successor, the son of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, James VI of Scotland, to whom indeed the crown of England by right belonged, as being the descendent of Henry VII. Under the reign of James, two circumstances principally claim our attention, for the influence which they had on the government of his successor. Hitherto the regulation of the parliaments had belonged to the lord chancellor, in what concerned elections;

that is to say, it was he who decided all contests on that subject; so that, if any difficulty arose respecting the election of a member to the house of commons, the case was brought before the chancellor, who, at his own discretion, admitted or excluded the candidate. Such being the mode of proceeding, if any city or borough nominated a man who was not acceptable to the court, it was easy to discover some flaw in his election, and carry the business to the chancellor, who, being the creature of the king, never failed to find reasons for excluding the objectionable member, and admitting or calling in another whose obsequiousness was less equivocal: by which means, the monarch became the arbiter of parliamentary opinion. The chancellor's power in that instance was contested: the parliament claimed a right to determine those election-causes; and they gained their point at the expense of some slight sacrifices to the royal prerogative.

In the church of England had arisen a sect noted for rigid severity and acrimonious zeal, such as the first moments of fervor usually produce. They bore the appellation of puritans, because they pretended to greater purity of doctrine and manners than their neighbours. They would have no hierarchy in the church, no bishops, but perfect equality between all the ministers of divine worship. James, on the con-

trary, considered the gradation and subordination of powers in the church as highly useful to the regal authority. Accordingly he supported that system in opposition to the puritans: but the latter, though they did not obtain a complete victory, gained an ascendancy, and increased sufficiently in number to become very dangerous.

Under James I was formed the famous gunpowder-plot. Some fanatic papists, incensed at not finding in the son of Mary Stuart the protection which they had expected for their religion, conceived the dreadful project of destroying at one blow the monarch and the parliament and all the great men in the kingdom. At the same time when this detestable scheme was to be executed, they intended to assassinate the prince of Wales, and spare none of the royal family except a young princess his sister, whom they designed to educate in the principles of the catholic religion. The execution of the plan was fixed for the day of the opening of parliament, when the king and queen and all the peers of the realm were to attend the meeting.

One of the accomplices, sorry to see that a friend of his, whose dignity obliged him to attend the assembly, should be involved in the general catastrophe, wrote to him an anonymous warning to abstain from going to parliament that day. "God and man," he said, "have con-

“ curred to punish the wickedness of the times.
“ And think not slightly of this advertisement,
“ but retire yourself into your country, where you
“ may expect the event in safety: for, though
“ there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say
“ they will receive a terrible blow, this parlia-
“ ment; and yet they shall not see who hurts
“ them.” This letter being carried to the king
and submitted to the consideration of the council, caused great perplexity. “ No appearance
“ of any stir!” “ a terrible blow!”
“ not see who hurts them!” The members
of the council were bewildered in fruitless conjectures, till at length the king was the first to
conclude that “ the terrible blow,” invisible in
its origin, and striking as it were like lightning,
could be nothing else than the explosion of a
mine. Search was made beneath the houses of
parliament, where every thing was found so
completely prepared for the execution of the
diabolic plan, as to leave not a possibility that it
could have failed of its full effect, if the anonymous
notice had not led to its detection. Some
of the inferior agents were apprehended, but very
few of the principals, most of whom had time to
escape.

This conspiracy was the more odious, as James, though zealous for the support of the church of England, was by no means cruel toward the non-conformists. He was passionately addicted to his

favourites: but that weakness had no influence on the affairs of government; and even those who condemned his favouritism did not brand it with any disgraceful imputation. Possessed of much learning, he was fond of displaying it, and betrayed in his science a tincture of pedantry. His character has been drawn in the following contrasts—"His generosity bordered on profusion, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, and his friendship on boyish fondness."—James I united the two kingdoms of England and Scotland into one under the appellation of Great Britain.

Charles I.

A. D. 1625.

Whoever wishes to understand the progress of revolutions, the steps by which they reach their final catastrophes, may acquire that knowledge by studying the life of Charles I. He was in the twenty-fifth year of his age when the sceptre devolved to his hand. Till then he had suffered himself to be guided by the duke of Buckingham: and, when seated on the throne, he permitted that favourite to sway the reins of government, which he could have much better managed himself. The subsidies of which he stood in need were the first cause of the quarrel between him and the nation. There already existed in the parliament a determination to take advantage of his necessities, and compel him to purchase the subsidies by concessions diminutive of the royal authority. The monarch, on the other hand,

resolutely opposed that system, and proceeded on the idea of obtaining every thing without conceding any thing. Thus a struggle commenced, in which, however, each party occasionally relaxed according to circumstances: the parliament granted supplies, though not gratified in all their pretensions; and the king rested content, though he did not receive all the money that he wished. At length he grew weary of appearing as a suppliant before his subjects, and dissolved that refractory parliament.—He would not have been compelled to resort to that extremity, if the chancellor had, as formerly, been able, under plausible prettexts, to exclude the dangerous members from that assembly at the moment of its original formation. Thus the loss of that privilege, which the father had suffered to be wrested from the hands of government, was perhaps the first cause of all the misfortunes that befell the son.

To supply the want of the taxes, which Charles could no longer demand since there existed no parliament, the ministers suggested the plan of applying to the opulent for a general loan. But that measure was in its own nature more productive of discussions relative to the amount of the contribution than a tax would have been. Those who refused to lend, as well as those who were thought deficient in the extent of their liberality, were punished by fines, seizures, and

even imprisonment. Yet that mode of raising money did not save the king from the necessity of recurring to a parliament. He convoked a second, which, when assembled, undertook to examine into the oppressions practised in exacting the forced loan. Charles dissolved the assembly, but was forced to convene a third on occasion of a war which he had declared against France.

Nothing could be more injudicious than that enterprise, which must of necessity require new taxes. It is thought to have originated in the vanity of Buckingham, which was hurt by an affront received from Richelieu, who, disgusted by the haughty airs he had assumed when ambassador at the court of France, had ordered him to quit the kingdom, and forbidden his return to it. The favourite persuaded his master that the proposed war would be an excellent expedient to replenish his coffers, because the English nation, ever rancorously affected toward her ancient rival, would eagerly furnish the king with the means of humbling her. Buckingham did not live to see the fatal consequences of his error: he was cut off by the hand of an assassin. Notwithstanding the hopes entertained of the facility of the parliament in granting pecuniary supplies, Charles was obliged to prorogue it on account of the factious aspect which its proceedings began to assume, and at length to dissolve it, with the

resolution of never assembling another. In the place of Buckingham, he took, for his ministers, Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterward earl of Strafford), and Laud, bishop of London.

The puritans, whom, by a second error in politics, James had not sufficiently repressed, were considerably increased in number and influence. They were, of all sects, the most dangerous to monarchy, because, wherever they established their religious anarchy, they failed not to inculcate also the principles of resistance to the civil authority, under the idea of liberty. No doubt, Laud, without intending it, gave occasion for the explosion of those principles which already were in a state of ferment. He introduced into the English ritual various ceremonies nearly resembling those of popery. The puritans took the alarm, and circulated a report that the bishop's object was to re-unite the English to the Romish church, and that the sovereign pontif was about to regain his former authority in the kingdom.

So strong was the impression produced by their discourses, that many Englishmen, through an apprehension of such a change from which they dreaded some violent convulsion, retired to America. The emigrations were numerous, the discontent nearly universal. The king almost entirely lost the affections of his people, which his financial encroachments had previously weakened. In

Scotland, where Laud's innovations had been proposed, the popular dissatisfaction had proceeded from murmurs to open revolt. The king was obliged to keep troops in pay, and, for the purpose of obtaining the means, to convoke a fourth parliament, notwithstanding his former resolution to the contrary.

In the parliament which now met, were several puritans, or at least several members who in a greater or lesser degree professed the puritan principles. The most prevalent opinion in the house of commons was that the royal prerogatives were in fact so many usurpations, and ought to be abridged or abolished. That body, immediately after their meeting, instituted an inquiry into grievances, which they divided into three classes, severally respecting the privileges of parliament, the property of the subject, and religion. Charles, terrified by the idea of having to combat that three-headed hydra, dissolved the parliament : but the disasters of the war in Scotland, his pressing need of money, and the general wishes of the nation, soon compelled him to summon a fifth, which was called the long parliament, and which commenced its sessions on the third of November, 1640.

At the very opening of the new parliament, the king made known his expectation of pecuniary supplies; but the commons, who had not lost sight of the reformatory plans of their predecess-

fors, replied by an impeachment of the earl of Strafford. The charges against him, which were twenty-eight in number, all tended in substance to one point, that he had by illegal practices endeavoured to enlarge the king's authority at the expense of the people's rights. Strafford defended himself with dignity and vigor, and proved that the greatest abuses of authority had been committed before the time of his ministry. He was a man of temperate prudence and known probity, but guilty of an error which is unpardonable in politics—that of imagining, that, in a time of general commotion, he could stand neuter between the two parties, and that, without abandoning the royal cause, he could succeed in bringing over the commons to moderation. The public mind was too much heated: factions require blood; and he was condemned to death.

The king exerted his utmost efforts to save him: he long delayed to sign the sentence which condemned the earl to death, descended to entreaties in his favour; but, terrified by the apprehensions of popular resentment in case of his refusal, and urged moreover by a letter from Strafford himself who desired him not to expose his own safety for his sake, he at length took up the pen and subscribed his name to the fatal instrument. Regretting afterward what he had done, he sent the prince of Wales to deliver to the house of peers a letter requesting their interposition with the commons in

behalf of the condemned earl. But the attempt was fruitless ; and Strafford was ordered for execution. Thus was consummated that act of injustice, for which the king was tortured by remorse even on the scaffold where he in like manner terminated his existence.

The commons next voted the impeachment of Laud, who was immediately committed to custody, and, after a confinement of above three years, was beheaded.—All the ministers, all those who were personally attached to the king, either were brought to trial, or fled from that danger, and dispersed. Charles became destitute of counsel, and stood singly opposed to the daily attempts of the commons, who, under pretence of suppressing abuses, overturned the government.

While he remained a mournful spectator of the multiplied attacks upon his authority, a new misfortune arose to increase his anguish. The Irish papists thought the season of these commotions a favourable opportunity for shaking off the yoke of England. On a preconcerted day they took up arms in every quarter, and furiously assailed the English. The latter, instead of uniting in self-defence, either sought safety in flight, or shut themselves up in their houses, and separately fell victims under the swords of the Irish, who spared neither rank nor age nor sex. Charles applied for parliamentary aid to enable him to levy an army: subsidies were granted to him, but with so sparing

a hand, that he was incapable of opposing the rebellion; and, after having refused him the means of suppressing it, the house of commons imputed to him the blame of its continuance. Thus the unfortunate prince was beset on every side—by the Irish who were fired with the fanaticism of liberty—by the Scots inflamed with gloomy religious zeal—and by the English, less furious in appearance, less extravagant in their pretensions, but more methodical in their proceedings, and more dangerous.

The republican spirit openly showed itself in the house of commons, who, instead of reforming abuses, aimed at the total subversion of monarchy. The leaders of the opposition to the royal party began their operations by attacking the episcopacy, which they considered as one of the strongest bulwarks of the regal authority. In the shape of a remonstrance, the commons published a kind of manifesto against the superior clergy, containing many harsh truths, mingled with gross falsehoods, malignant insinuations, and coarse invective. This piece was circulated as an appeal to the people, who were industriously flattered by intimations that they were the source whence all authority emanated. A multitude of similar productions swarmed from the press; and the pulpits of the inferior clergy, whose jealousy had been roused, were daily heard to re-echo the same principle.

It would perhaps not have been impossible to

arrest the impetuosity of the swelling torrent, if Charles had opposed it with persevering firmness; but he only made what may be called a half attempt. Five members of the house of commons having been represented to him as the most dangerous individuals of that body, he entered the house, leaving two hundred armed men at the door. As he did not personally know the obnoxious members, he ordered the speaker to point them out; whereupon the latter, falling on his knees, replied that he had "neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, except as the house directed him."—The house gave no direction. The king, instead of introducing his military escort, retired, without having effected the object of his visit. On the next day he went into the city, where the accused members had taken refuge, and familiarly told one of the sheriffs that he was come to dine with him. This popular step did not succeed according to his expectation: the murmurs increased: he no longer thought himself safe in London: he quitted his capital; and the civil war commenced.

Charles abhorred the spilling of blood. He was not afraid to shed his own; for his conduct at the head of his troops affords sufficient proofs of his courage; but he was sparing of the lives of his subjects. On the slightest overture of conciliation, he readily suspended hostilities. The parliament did not fail to take advantage of his pacific

disposition whenever they experienced a defeat : but, so soon as fortune again became favourable to them, they resumed all their lofty pride; and it became necessary to try the fate of arms anew.

The king's army consisted of new-raised and ill-disciplined troops, of which both the soldiers and the officers were almost all wavering in their fidelity. The following, on the contrary, is the portrait drawn of the parliamentary forces—Religious fanaticism strongly prevailed in it: the officers performed the functions of the ministers of religion, and, during the intervals of military exercises, read prayers and pronounced sermons and exhortations to the soldiers. Sudden ecstasies supplied the place of study; and these, they said, were the operations of the holy spirit descending on them. The private soldiers, fired with similar enthusiasm, employed their leisure hours in prayer, in the lecture of devotional books, and the study of the scriptures, which they interpreted after their own fashion. In marching to battle, they mingled hymns and canticles with the sound of the drums and the notes of the martial instruments. At the head of these troops were Fairfax and Cromwell. The former was little qualified for the arts of intrigue: the latter, whose character is now no longer a problem, was at that time considered merely as a fanatic enthusiast.

Cromwell was born of a respectable family, but whose circumstances were not opulent. His youth

was licentious; and he squandered the chief part of his small patrimony. On his marriage, he reformed his conduct, and professed himself a puritan. His house became the resort of the most rigid ecclesiastics; and, by the expenses which he incurred in daily entertaining them, his affairs were deranged. He then took a farm, and turned his attention to agriculture; but his long prayers and meditations, together with those which he obliged all his family and even his labourers to perform, engrossed too great a portion of the time necessary for the cultivation of his lands; and he renounced the pursuits of husbandry. The most zealous puritans at that period sought an asylum in America. Thither Cromwell resolved to emigrate; but, when actually embarked for that purpose, and on the eve of departing, he was stopped by an order of the privy council prohibiting further emigrations. A fortunate stroke of chance, or his own intrigues, procured him a seat in the long parliament.

His fortune was in the utmost disorder: he appeared to possess no talent which could enable him to acquire celebrity: his person was disagreeable, his dress slovenly, his voice inharmonious, his oratory mean, prolix, obscure, and embarrassed. The warmth of his spirit made him frequently rise in the house of commons to speak; but his discourses met no attention: he therefore turned his views to the military career. In some commissions with which he had been intrusted, he had

already acquired reputation in the army, where he was considered as brave and qualified for command. Those very circumstances which had proved disadvantageous to him in the parliament—his stern and forbidding countenance, his inattention to dress, his long circuitous discourses and vehement phraseology—were his strongest recommendations to the soldiery. He built all his hopes on their suffrages: he applied for a command, and obtained it. But he continued to mingle unnoticed among the crowd of the members of parliament, without distinction or presidency—content with acquiring a knowledge of all the proceedings of that body, and thereby enabling himself to direct its operations by his indirect influence. Thus it may be affirmed that every measure which was afterward adopted either in the army or the parliament was the work of Cromwell.

The king's troops, raw and little accustomed to warfare, were incapable of withstanding the enthusiastic soldiers of the parliament. His army, after repeated defeats, at length suffered a total discomfiture; and the king himself took refuge in Oxford. The war in Scotland, which had broken out before the commencement of hostilities in England, still continued to rage. The parliaments of both kingdoms, acting equally in concert as did the armies, pursued the unfortunate monarch with unrelenting animosity. The horror

which he felt at the idea of being exposed, in the event of his becoming a prisoner, to the outrages of a phrenetic soldiery who hated his person and felt a detestation of monarchy, impelled him to adopt the resolution of surrendering himself to the Scottish army, from whom he expected better treatment.

An imprudent resolution! as if there were any room to expect compassion in the season of factions! The Scots had been invited into England by the parliament, but were not paid. An offer was made to them of the arrears of their pay, and a further sum in addition: they suffered themselves to be won by the temptation, and delivered up the monarch who had confided himself to their mercy. He was imprisoned in Holmby castle, and treated with severity during his confinement. By his captivity the parliament thought the war was brought to a conclusion, and entertained thoughts of disbanding the army. The officers—who had for the most part been promoted from the lowest class of the people, and whose only prospect, in case of losing their military grade, was that of returning to their former stations and languishing in their original obscurity—presented a petition demanding recompenses and provisions for themselves and their soldiers. The parliament pronounced their petition to be unreasonable, and threatened the petitioners. The army opposed power to power,

and created a parliament of their own—the principal officers forming a council in imitation of the upper house—and the soldiers choosing from each company two men, under the name of agitators, who composed their house of commons. Cromwell, who had suggested the plan of this military parliament, easily found means to become a member of it, and to infuse into the minds of his mal-content colleagues the seditious ideas which his own bosom harboured.

No long time elapsed ere the two parliaments came into collision; the civil accusing the military of revolt, and the latter asserting that the other detained the king a prisoner for the sole purpose of dominating under his name, and tyrannising over the nation. But Cromwell did not confine himself to words alone. Persuaded that the party which should secure the king's person must in reality become the masters, he instilled into the army a resolution of getting the captive monarch into their possession. Accordingly, one Joyce, originally a tailor, but promoted to the rank of a cornet, set out at the head of five hundred horsemen, proceeded to Holmby castle, and, armed with pistols, presented himself before the king, whom he ordered to follow him. "Whither?" asked the monarch.—"To the army," replied Joyce.—"By what order?" said the king.—Joyce pointed to his soldiers.—"Your warrant," said Charles, "is

“ written in fair legible characters;” and he suffered himself to be taken away.

On receiving intelligence of this transaction, the parliament granted all the demands of the army. But, in proportion as the former betrayed timidity, the latter rose in their demands, and at length pretended to the sole right of determining the new form to be given to the government. As a prelude to the exercise of that power, they demanded the dismissal of eleven obnoxious members of the house of commons; and, to prevent a refusal, the army marched toward the capital under the conduct of Fairfax, who had been appointed commander in chief. Cromwell continued in a grade inferior to his, but was in reality at the head of all the deliberations. A conference was opened between a deputation from the parliament on the one hand, and the agitators of the army on the other. During the progress of the negotiation, Fairfax obtained possession of the Tower: the king was transferred to Hampton-Court, and there so negligently guarded that Cromwell is thought to have wished that he should make his escape.

The monarch accordingly made the attempt: but his measures had been so ill concerted that he was obliged to stop in the isle of Wight, where, through the treachery of the governor whom he had formerly obliged, his liberty was equally circumscribed as it had been at Hampton-Court.

A gleam of hope, however, came to cheer him under this new misfortune: the parliament, seeing themselves on the eve of being crushed by the army, preferred bowing under a legitimate authority, and caused terms of accommodation to be presented to the king; and the treaty was already in forwardness. But Cromwell, who would willingly have consented to the king's escape, dreaded the consequences of a reconciliation which might replace the sovereign on the throne and restore to him an authority of which Oliver would perhaps be the first victim. He therefore removed the royal prisoner from the isle of Wight, and placed him under the guard of four thousand puritans, selected from his whole army, men of fierce unrelenting temper, blindly devoted to their chief, and incapable of reflexion or remorse in executing his commands.

At the same time, by his order, colonel Pride, who had originally been a drayman, surrounded the house of commons, confined forty-one members in a lower room called *Hell*, excluded a hundred and sixty more, and suffered none to remain except sixty who were known to be furious presbyterians. In Cromwell's hand, those men of blood became the instruments of his bold ambition. They drew up an accusation against the king, and appointed a commission to try him. It consisted of a hundred and thirty-three members, chiefly selected from among the superior officers

of the army, who for the most part were risen from the lowest classes of society: but of that number not more than seventy-three attended the trial. A lawyer, by name Bradshaw, accepted the presidency of that tribunal.

Charles was fully persuaded that he had not long to live: he expected to be either assassinated or poisoned, but not to receive a sentence clothed with juridical formalities, and to fall under the axe of the executioner. When brought before that court, he refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction. His conduct in that last period of his life was firm and noble. When, on being informed that he should be condemned if he refused to answer, he at length consented to speak, his defence was marked with energy, presence of mind, and coolness. He vigorously refuted all the charges contained in the act of accusation, which had been the more industriously multiplied as each separately was less heinous. But the sentence was already formed in the minds of his judges, even before they had heard his apology. As for himself, he heard his doom pronounced with the greatest coolness; and, during a respite of three days which was granted to him, he did not betray the slightest indication of weakness.

He received with sensibility and gratitude the testimonies of attachment given to him by the lords who were indulged with access to him. Four of them—Richmond, Hertford, South-

ampton, and Lindefey—presented themselves to the tribunal by which he had been condemned, representing that they were the king's counsellors, that by their advice they had prompted him to the measures which were imputed to him as crimes, and that they ought and were willing to die in his stead. This generous effort to save their master's life covered them with glory; but it proved ineffectual.

Charles walked to the place of execution with the steady pace of intrepidity: his countenance had lost nothing of its wonted serenity. Arrived on the scaffold, he in few words justified his conduct, but acknowledged that he deserved death for having permitted the execution of the unjust sentence pronounced against Strafford. He then courageously laid his neck on the block; when, on his giving an appointed signal, his head was severed from the body at a single stroke.

In his private character Charles is entitled to our praise. He possessed all the moral virtues, and was a good husband, a good father, a good friend. As a king, he cannot be reproached with either injustice or cruelty: but he stands chargeable with irresolution, timidity, incapability of adopting decisive measures; to which we may add weakness and temporising policy—the most dangerous of all defects in the critical situation in which he was placed. Charles, environed with all the powers of royalty, had not the courage

to seize in the house of commons five refractory members. Cromwell, on the other hand, found himself surrounded by two hundred Levelers, a fanatic sect who acknowledged, as they said, no other general than Jesus Christ: he ordered them to disperse: they disobeyed: he rushed on them, laid two of them dead at his feet, ordered the most mutinous of the survivors to be instantly hanged, and sent the others to prison. Naturally therefore Cromwell ascended the throne, and Charles perished on the scaffold.

Several bold villains, after having drenched with blood the steps leading to the throne, have, at the moment when ready to invade it, lost their footing, and fallen headlong from their elevation. But Cromwell trod firmly in the slippery path, and securely fixed himself on the seat of empire. He did not, however, all at once exhibit himself to view in that exalted station: the members of parliament who had concurred in the execution of their sovereign, recalled some of those who had been excluded, on condition that they should ratify all that had been done. The house appointed a council of state consisting of forty-one persons, who were directed to prepare all the business which was to come before that assembly. This parliament prohibited, on pain of death, the recognition of Charles Stuart as king, and declared that the state should thenceforward be governed under the form of a republic by the

representatives of the people assembled in the house of commons. The house of peers was abolished. A court of justice was erected, of which Bradshaw was nominated president. The executions ordained by that tribunal, which was called the bloody tribunal, were confined to those of six distinguished noblemen whose crime consisted in having borne arms against the parliament, although the fact had been committed at a time when it had not yet been declared unlawful to obey the king.

When the news of his father's death reached Charles II in Holland where he had taken refuge, he immediately assumed the title of king. He was at this time only eighteen years old. He had about him a number of proscribed royalists, who formed his council, and kept up correspondencies in England. After the example of some of his predecessors, he determined to re-enter his kingdom from Ireland. While he was making his preparatives for that enterprise, the Scots, hoping, no doubt, to wipe away the disgrace with which they had sullied themselves by delivering up the father, made proposals to the son on the subject of restoring to him their crown. The conditions were hard: but he accepted them.

He dearly purchased the tottering throne on which they placed him. The puritans enjoyed an absolute sway in the Scottish kingdom; and their preachers dominated even in the army.

Young Charles was continually surrounded by them. They obliged him to assist at their prayers, and at their sermons in which they never failed to mingle occasional invectives against the tyranny of his father, and the idolatry of his mother who was a Frenchwoman and a papist. Neither did they spare him the mortification of hearing their reproaches of his own faults—levity, indevotion, perverse and malicious inclinations, as they expressed themselves. They obliged him to observe the sabbath with even greater strictness than the Jews keep their sabbath. His most trifling actions were closely watched. If he happened to smile or betray any symptom of weariness during their never-ending devotional exertions, he was harshly reprimanded. To fill up the measure of his chagrin, he had not the smallest authority either in the council or in the army. Those imprudent preachers, constantly asserting themselves to be inspired by the holy ghost, claimed a right to direct all the military operations: they compelled Charles's generals to adopt dangerous movements, of which Cromwell judiciously took advantage. He had procured himself to be appointed commander in chief of the parliamentary forces: he harassed the Scots, forced them near Worcester to engage with him in battle, and gained the victory. Charles on that occasion performed prodigies of valour: but, seeing his cause utterly ruined, he betook himself to flight, among

the last, not knowing whither he might turn his steps in search of an asylum.

His friends directed him to a lonely house inhabited by a farmer named Penderell; where so soon as he arrived, he caused his hair to be cut short, put on a rustic garb, and, in the character of a common servant, performed the labours of the farm, slept upon straw, and took the same coarse food as the others, to avoid being discovered. His chief occupation was cutting fag-gots in a neighbouring wood, which was one day so beset by the soldiers whom Cromwell had sent in pursuit of him, that he had no other resource for his safety than to climb a thick-spreading oak. There he remained twenty-four hours; during which time he saw passing beneath his feet the pursuers who were in quest of him, and heard their earnest wishes to discover the place of his concealment. When the heat of the search was subsided, he descended from his lurking-place, and directed his course toward the sea-coast. After various adventures under different disguises, principally that of feminine attire which was well suited to his youthful appearance—after having been suspected, recognised, but never betrayed—after forty-two days of inquietude and anguish—he reached the sea-side, and embarked for France.

Cromwell's successes gave umbrage to the parliament; and that body, he learned, were forming projects against him. The army under his

command had advanced to the vicinity of London; and he continued to embroil it with the parliament by prompting the soldiery to make certain demands which he knew the others could not grant. A refusal of course ensued, as Cromwell had foreseen: whereupon, without loss of time in making new propositions or urging the former claims, he adopted his resolution on the spot, went directly to the parliament-house, attended by his principal officers and a body of soldiers, whom he stationed in the lobby, on the stair-case, and at the door, entered the house with a look of indignation, and seated himself amid the members.

Previously to his setting out on this expedition, he said to one of his confidential friends, "I am compelled to do a thing which makes the very hair of my head stand on end." While listening to the debates, he whispered to another of his officers that the parliament was "now ripe for dissolution." The officer represented to him that the attempt was dangerous, and requested him to reflect seriously on it. "You say well," replied Cromwell, who, after having sat a little while longer, finally said, "This is the time." No doubt he had, during the interval of delay, carefully examined the countenances of the members; and, observing that the presence of the troops by whom they were surrounded excited their terrors rather than their indignation, he rose, and,

after having in the most bitter language reviled the parliament for their ambition and depredations and tyranny, he concluded by stamping with his foot; at which signal the soldiers rushed into the hall. "For shame," said he, "be gone! give place to honest men, to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: the Lord has done with you: he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work.—Thou," said he to one of them, seizing him by the cloak, "thou art a whore-master;" to another, "Thou art an adulterer;" to a third, "Thou art a drunkard;" and thus successively, as they passed him on being turned out, he bestowed on them the appellations of "gluttons," "plunderers," and "extortioners." He ordered a soldier to take away the mace, and, shutting the door after the hall was cleared, he put the key into his pocket. All those members of parliament, who a few minutes before had exercised sovereign authority, withdrew covered with shame and confusion, and, mingling with the crowd which stood in expectation at the door, thus sheltered themselves from observation.

From that moment Cromwell might have added the embellishment of a title to the supreme power which he really enjoyed: but he conceived that such a step would yet be premature, and that he ought to wait till the public should feel

the want of him; and to produce that effect he adopted an excellent plan. In a council of his general officers, he caused a decree to be passed that the administration of the state should be intrusted to a parliament consisting of a hundred and forty members. Cromwell himself undertook to nominate them; and he selected them from the lowest class, the most rude and ignorant of the fanatics.

When met in parliament, their first proceeding was to seek the inspiration of God by prayer. That function was committed to ten of their number, men pretending to a superior share of divine illumination, who invoked the holy spirit with such success, that they all declared he had never before so fully communicated himself to them. They assumed names derived from the old testament, or consisting of scripture phrases—such as Zorobabel, Habbakuk, Mesopotamia, Praise-God, and others in the same style. When they were addressed on state-affairs, their canting mystical jargon astonished and confounded their hearers, to whom it was utterly unintelligible. The Dutch having acknowledged the English republic, and applied to this parliament or council for a treaty of alliance, the latter reproved them as carnal worldly-minded men solely intent on commerce and industry, whom the saints ought rather to extirpate than admit to any political connexion.

Every individual, foreigner or native, exclaimed against so ridiculous a parliament. Cromwell affected to be ashamed of their absurdities, and directed some of the members, who were entirely devoted to his will, to dissolve the assembly. These concerted matters together, and meeting in the house in sufficient number before the time of the others' attendance, they went in a body to resign into Cromwell's hands the authority with which he had invested them. Those who had not been pre-informed of their intention disapproved of that resignation, and continued to sit in the house: whereupon Cromwell sent a colonel at the head of a band of soldiers, to expel them. "What do ye here?" asked the officer on entering the hall. "We are seeking the Lord," was their answer. "Then you may go seek him elsewhere," replied he: "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years."—They retired without resistance: and, that phantom of a parliament being destroyed, the army by their own authority conferred on Cromwell the sovereign power, declared him "Pro-Oliver Cromwell, A.D. 1653. tector of the commonwealth of England," gave him the title of "Highness," and solemnly installed him at Whitehall in the palace of the former kings.

By the act establishing the protectorate, the whole civil and military power was lodged in the hands of Cromwell, limited however by some re-

strictions, to which the protector submitted, but with the hope, no doubt, of finding means to prevent them from too closely tying up his hands. A sovereign council was formed, consisting of twenty-one members whose appointment was for life. Cromwell, by virtue of his office, nominated them in the first instance, and was further authorised to choose new members to fill up any vacancies in their body. Every third year he was to assemble a new parliament, whose duration was limited to five months, without being liable to prorogation or dissolution. Finally, an army was granted to him, of twenty thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry.

Strengthened by all these advantages, he governed despotically, but with glory to the English nation. His exact and rigid justice gained for him her esteem: he rendered her victorious over Scotland and Ireland, caused her flag to be respected on the seas, and extended her commerce. The protector's friendship was courted by all the powers of Europe; and himself dictated to them the conditions of his alliance. The royal family, concealed in different asylums, deemed themselves happy that he did not demand of the sovereigns by whom they were sheltered, that they should banish them from their states. Charles II, traversing France and Holland and Germany as a fugitive, passed through those countries with trembling steps, of which he was apprehensive lest

Cromwell's emissaries should discover the traces. He recommended to his partisans in England to dissemble their attachment to the Stuart family. Notwithstanding his exhortations, however, they made attempts in his favour: but their efforts failed of success, and drew down on the heads of their imprudent authors the whole weight of Oliver's vengeance—confiscation of property, banishment, transportation, imprisonment, death.

While soaring in the meridian of his power, Cromwell deliberated whether he should retain the title of protector or exchange it for that of king. He thought best to adhere to the former, because it conferred a new species of power to which he had an opportunity of giving as great a degree of energy and extent as he might find necessary; whereas the rights of the regal office were well known and defined, and had been often restricted by express laws which it might be unsafe for him to transgress. Armed with that indefinite authority, he made in every branch of the administration whatever changes he deemed convenient: and it must be acknowledged that these were in almost every instance conducive to the advantage of the republic. The limits which his constituents had pretended to set to his will gave him little uneasiness: for, whenever he found himself unable to surmount the obstacles raised in his way, he had the art of avoiding them by a circuitous route. He convoked three parlia-

ments; one of which bodies having become urgent to obtain a decision that was disagreeable to the protector, he protracted the business to a tedious length, till, of the five months of session which he could not abridge, there remained only five days. Before the expiration of that time the parliament yet hoped to obtain the object of their wishes: but Cromwell, at the moment when such an event was not even suspected, suddenly dissolved the assembly, and alleged as his reason that the period of their delegation was expired, for that the parliamentary months must be reckoned in the same manner as those of the army, which were limited to twenty-eight days.

These subterfuges excited as great discontent as so many overt stretches of authority could have produced; and murmurs were the consequence. The peace which the country enjoyed was dangerous to his power: the attention of the people, not being occupied by external objects, was turned to the administration at home. The spirit of discontent began to extend to the army. Formerly, when Cromwell was meditating his bold enterprises, he had been accustomed to have some of those persons to sleep with him whom he knew to possess the greatest influence over the soldiery. They were generally corporals or sergeants, with whom, after prayers and exhortations, he used to discuss his projects, and the religious and political principles that he wished

to inculcate on their minds. But, after he had been raised to the zenith of his ambitious wishes, he neglected those men, and even removed some from the posts to which he had raised them. This conduct disgusted the whole body; and he observed in them a sufficient portion of disaffection to alarm his fears lest they should assassinate him.

From his own family he derived no consolatory hopes. He had so strongly inspired them with a horror of absolute authority at the time when he was labouring to wrest it from the king, that his daughters and his sons-in-law could not brook his retention of it under another title, and reproached him with having never aimed at any other object in all that he had done than the gratification of his own ambition. Their censures were sometimes vented in so bitter a strain that he did not think himself in safety among them. All his actions betrayed the workings of that inward terror by which he was incessantly haunted. Scarcely dared he to venture from the palace for the purpose of a short walk; the sudden appearance of any unknown face threw him into agitation: he constantly wore armour under his clothes, and carried pistols in his pockets. If he went on a journey, he never returned by the same way which he had pursued in going: nor did he anywhere appear in public unfurrounded by a band of armed men. It was never known beforehand

in what chamber he was to sleep the ensuing night; seldom did he lie more than three successive nights in the same apartment; nor would he intrust to any other person the care of locking the doors, and posting centinels to guard them. Let us form to ourselves an idea of him thus shut up in the secrecy of a retired apartment, listening with attentive ear to the slightest noise, holding his breath for the purpose of more distinctly hearing, fearfully turning his eyes around in every direction, feeling the walls, terrified by his own shadow—and then let us envy, if we dare, the possession of authority purchased at so dear a rate! In his last sickness, he refused himself even the consolation of complaint: his physicians, he said, had mistaken the nature of his disease; and he was fully persuaded that he should recover. To his departing sigh he exercised command. His last order was that his son Richard should be chosen to succeed him in the government. He died at the age of fifty-nine, after having reigned five years as protector.

It was his powerful influence alone which at this period preserved in the nation the order of things that he had established. In general the people were tired of the precarious state in which they lived: they were sensible that it could not long endure; and they wished to see it brought to a speedy conclusion. Nevertheless Richard was declared protector, with the applause of the three

realms, being proclaimed in Ireland by his brother Henry who governed that country, and in Scotland by Monk, a foldier of fortune who had enjoyed the esteem of Cromwell and been raised by him to the command in that kingdom.

Richard, as in duty bound, convoked a parliament: but, without any obligation to such a step, he had the imprudence to assemble the officers of the army. The latter, thus met in a body, complained of the incapacity of Richard who had never appeared at their head, and called for another general. The protector was moreover apprised that they intended to make to him some other propositions of a nature equally disagreeable; wherefore, as he was naturally averse to state-affairs, equally disliking the trouble and dreading the consequences, he abdicated his protectoral authority. That man, whose conduct has been censured, lived peaceably in England, happy in the enjoyment of a moderate fortune, to a very advanced age.

A parliament was now summoned by the officers of the army, who again speedily dissolved it: after which they formed a council of twenty-three persons, which they denominated a "committee of safety." These began to exercise the sovereign authority, and wished to remain sole masters of the government: but the people loudly demanded the restoration of the parliament; and the others found it necessary to gratify the general wish.

The members were in general those who had sat in the long parliament. They undertook the government, and began to issue their orders. The committee of safety, however, did not on that account consider themselves as dissolved, but continued to command also.

This conflict was very favourable to Monk, who had levied an army in Scotland, and now advanced at its head to London. There he found another power—the common council of the city—which wavered between the parliament and the committee. It is not known what Monk's intentions originally were, or when he began to feel a bias in favour of monarchy, because he left no written documents, spoke very little, and enveloped all his actions in mystery. At one time he treated with the parliament, at another with the committee, without suffering either of those bodies to penetrate his designs: nor was he more communicative to the agents whom the young king sent to him.

Arrived, however, at Westminster, he seemed in preference to embrace the interests of the parliament. On a complaint made by that assembly that the magistrates of the city were disobedient to their authority, and appeared to aim at rivaling their power, Monk, obsequious to their command, entered the city in a hostile manner, broke down the gates, removed the bars and chains from the corners of the streets, and reduced it to a

defenceless state; but on the following day he went to apologise to the citizens for those acts of violence, which he wholly imputed to the parliament.

This contradictory and equivocal conduct gave uneasiness to those members who had in the long parliament shown themselves the most inimical to Charles I. Dreading the restoration of the son who would not fail to avenge the wrongs committed against his father, they secretly made to Monk the offer of investing him with a power equal to that which Cromwell had enjoyed. The general answered that he could not listen to their proposals until the whole parliament were assembled. The members who had been excluded by Cromwell were now conducted by Monk to the house; and a vote was soon passed for the convocation of a free parliament—free in this sense, that the door should lie open for the indiscriminate admission of persons who had borne arms in the defence of the king, or whose fathers had served that unfortunate monarch.

Candidates of that description stood forth in crowds, and almost every-where obtained the preference. When the new parliament were assembled, Monk, who had hitherto been so observant of taciturnity, at length broke silence, and sent a message—a verbal message only—to Charles II, recommending to him to draw nearer to England. The prince accordingly repaired from Brabant to

Holland: and the minds of the people were so well prepared for the approaching event, that a single letter from the king to the house of commons unsealed as it were the lips of all his subjects. It held forth the temptation of an amnesty, together with the most flattering promises.

The parliament received it with transport: their joy was quickly communicated to the city: from the city, it rapidly spread through the whole kingdom; and every individual was eager to prove his present and past loyalty. After a while Charles debarked at Dover, and was received on his landing by general Monk, whom he affectionately embraced. This revolution was effected in seven months. The king entered London amid the universal acclamations of the citizens, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1660; which day has since been celebrated as that of the "Restoration."

Charles II, who had now completed his thirtieth year without having had his attention occupied by any regular employment, had contracted a habit of dissipation, which he carried with him to the throne. He took into his own hands no greater share of the administration than what might contribute to his amusement, abandoned all the remainder to his ministers, and indolently suffered himself to be borne along by the tide of circumstances. Such in general was his conduct—the natural consequence of a mild and heedless character. In the commencement of

his reign, however, he was obliged to bestow a serious attention on affairs of moment. He conceived it to be a duty which he owed as well to himself as to the memory of his father, to exercise vengeance on that monarch's murderers. He accordingly caused it to be executed; but at the same time he mingled with just rigor some indulgence for those who were the least culpable. He would have willingly retained in his service the veteran army who had fought under Cromwell: but, on a representation that those troops, long accustomed to mutiny, might become dangerous, he disbanded them.

The work of establishing a national constitution required some portion of his time and attention. After having performed that task in concert with the parliament, he dissolved the assembly. The business of religion peculiarly concerning him as head of the church, he undertook the regulation of it, re-established the prelacy, and the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, but with some exceptions calculated to allay or prevent the fermentation of the acrimonious bile of the puritans. Those two operations, wisely conducted to their end, prove the good sense of Charles II. From motives of policy, he married Catharine princess of Portugal. That alliance procured for him a rich dower in money, and for England the fortresses of Tangier and Bombay, which provided the nation with two good ports in Africa and

India. He permitted the duke of York his brother to marry lady Hyde, the daughter of lord Clarendon his minister. It was not without repugnance that the sage Clarendon gave his consent to that union, apprehending, that, by placing her in too high a rank, it would excite jealousy. In effect, the queen persecuted him, and deprived him of the king's confidence. He was, in spite of himself, involved in intrigues, and, to save his head, was at length compelled to take refuge in France, where he lived in obscurity.

Under a pacific and conciliating monarch, the nation was nevertheless agitated by troubles which were attended with the effusion of blood. The unceasing struggle between the papists on the one hand, and the protestants supported by the various sectaries on the other, kept the spirit of party alive and in full exertion. Charles ostensibly professed the established religion, but was known to feel a propensity for papism, and was even suspected of practising it in private. But his religion, whatever it might be, did not prevent him from leading a licentious life, and keeping mistresses of every rank and condition. By one of the most distinguished of these, he had a son whom he created duke of Monmouth. The king was at this time a widower; and, as he had no legitimate issue, a faction who were adverse to his brother James duke of York, endeavoured to make use of the name of the young prince for the

purpose of excluding James from the succession: but Charles published a formal declaration denying that he had ever formed any legitimate matrimonial connexion with the mother of Monmouth. Thus he confirmed his brother's right to the throne, and constantly maintained it.

James professed the Romish religion, and practised it with an affectation of publicity. This over-ostentatious zeal rendered him odious to a great part of the nation; and the general dislike of him was carried to such height that a motion was at length made in parliament declaring him incapable of inheriting the crown: a bill to that effect was accordingly brought forward, which passed in the house of commons by a very considerable majority, but was, after long and violent debates, rejected by the house of peers. The warmth which the king showed in defending his brother's interests, and the suspicions entertained of his being himself a papist, often created coolness between him and the parliament. On those occasions they refused to him the sums necessary for the support of the civil list, in the hope that, by thus distressing him, they would oblige him to withdraw the protection and countenance which he afforded to the too strongly marked obstinacy of his brother. Charles, however, did not from that conduct derive a lesson of either moderation or œconomy, but, ever prodigal, ever indigent, passed his days in the pursuit of pleasures, though

well qualified for state-affairs if he had been willing to devote his attention to them. When we consider his facility in changing his ministers and his council, the coolness with which he suffered contradiction, without ever punishing it otherwise than by a jest, we would be tempted to imagine that he conceived himself to have been placed at the head of affairs for the purpose rather of looking on than of taking any active part in their management. Thus he conducted himself during a reign of twenty-five years, which death terminated in the fifty-fifth of his age.

James II,
A.D. 1685.

Charles I had been forcibly hurled from the throne: but his son James II suffered himself to slip and fall from it. On ascending it, he eagerly hastened to furnish the nation with the most striking proofs of his catholicism. He caused the mass to be publicly celebrated in his presence—surrounded himself with a crew of popish priests, especially Jesuits—received with submissive deference a nuncio from the Roman pontif—and by his discourses gave reason to suppose that he intended not simply to set popery on a footing of equality with the national religion, but even to give it the predominancy. Innocent XI, who at that period occupied the pontifical chair, on hearing of these proceedings, prudently cautioned him not over-hastily to precipitate matters. The Spanish ambassador, too, observed to him that he allowed priests to assume too great consequence at his court:

whereupon James asked him whether it were not customary in Spain that the king should consult his spiritual director. "Yes," replied the Spaniard, "and that is the reason why our affairs succeed so ill."

The dissatisfaction which this injudicious conduct provoked throughout the kingdom, excited in the young duke of Monmouth a persuasion that he ought to avail himself of so favourable a crisis. Pursuant to that idea, he published a manifesto claiming his father's crown, and began to raise troops to assert his pretension. But he collected round his banners none except a small number of the lower class of people; scarcely any persons of distinction joining his party. His feeble host was quickly dispersed: himself fell into the hands of his uncle: and, although he implored the king's clemency in the name of his father to whom James owed so many obligations, the stern victor caused him to be beheaded. This act of severity was the more strongly condemned, as it was said that Charles II—who was aware of the youth's imprudence, but who nevertheless loved him—had required of his brother, that, if ever Monmouth happened to revolt, he should secure his person, but grant him his life.

This success emboldened the king. The complaisant facility which he had experienced from the parliament on the occasion of the late revolt, inspired him with a persuasion that he might venture

to attempt any thing whatever, even against the will of that assembly. He was not afraid to disgust them, and became the more assuming as he then fancied himself to be more firmly secured on the throne by the birth of a son. Previous to that event, his only issue were two daughters, born to him while yet duke of York—Mary the wife of William prince of Orange, stadtholder of the United Provinces—and Anne, whom he had given in marriage to prince George, the king of Denmark's brother.

William, the husband of his eldest daughter, observing the impolitic conduct of his father-in-law, acted in a very politic manner toward him. Without taking any overt steps whereby he might subject himself to reproach, he maintained a secret correspondence with the malcontents in England, received, as if through politeness alone, those persons who quitted the kingdom in disgrace, and afforded them an asylum for which they seemed indebted to pure disinterested benevolence. The dispositions which he showed excited in the people a wish to see him in the place of his wife's father. The young prince, lately born as it were on the throne, was an obstacle in his way. But a report was circulated, that the infant, who had come so very opportunely into the world, was supposititious, and that the king had brought him forward on the scene only for the purpose of excluding his son-in-law with whose sagacity he was

acquainted, and of debarring him from the rights which he derived from his wife. William suffered himself to be invited to exercise before-hand a part of those rights by coming over to hear the national complaints and to redress the wrongs committed by his father-in-law. An intimation was given to him, either spontaneously or in consequence of his own suggestion, that, if he declined that task, another person might probably undertake it, and that the sceptre would thus escape from his wife, and pass to a more daring hand.

On this invitation, which has ever been considered as solicited by himself, William set out from Holland at the head of an army, whose numbers were considerably swelled within a few days after his landing in England. In a manifesto which he published at the time, he represented himself as called over by the entire nation: and, in effect, a great majority of the people wished to be delivered from the despotic government of James. William advanced toward London, and saw all the principal nobles join his party. The king raised an army tolerably strong in appearance, but on whose fidelity he could not depend. He was deserted by many of their number: he was abandoned by his friends, even by his favourite daughter Anne and her husband George, who both fled to the camp of their brother-in-law.

Reduced to this extremity, James sent to the invader to request an interview. But, instead of consenting to a conference, William ordered his father-in-law to quit London, and to repair to a country-seat which was pointed out to him, but permitted him, at his own request, to retire to Rochester, a city not far distant from the sea-coast. The view with which the son-in-law had consented to that change of place was accomplished: for James soon after embarked, and effected his escape to France: whereupon the parliament declared, that, by a natural consequence of his flight, he had abdicated the crown.

It now remained to determine what title was to be given to her husband when the crown should be conferred on Mary. A numerous party were of opinion that he should be styled regent: but that appellation would have implied either that the sceptre did not belong to his wife, or that she was incapable of bearing it; and moreover it might leave a door open for pretensions in favour of James's son, who at his birth had been named prince of Wales. William, who did not relish the idea of having exposed himself in a hazardous enterprise for the benefit of another person, explicitly declared to some of the chief nobles that the post of regent appeared to him to be environed by insurmountable difficulties, and that he was determined not to accept it; adding, that, however well convinced he was of his wife's merits, he

would not consent to hold even the regal dignity under her ; wherefore, if they should adopt either of those projects, they must not depend on his assistance in settling the affairs of the kingdom ; for he would immediately return home, satisfied with the exertions which he had already made to restore liberty to the English nation.—This proud menace produced the desired effect ; and William was proclaimed king in conjunction with the queen Mary his wife.

After having raised himself to the throne in this imperious manner, William was often obliged to abate of his lofty pretensions. It has been said of ^{William and Mary, A.D. 1689.} him, that he was a king in Holland, in England a stadtholder. These appellations designate the kind of authority which he exercised in those respective countries—in England, an authority circumscribed by the forms of the government, which William ineffectually laboured to render less restrictive on him. He was acknowledged as king in Scotland as in England ; but Ireland continued firm in its allegiance to James, who passed over into that kingdom with aid from France. If he had moderated his intemperate zeal for popery, he might have united under his banners the entire force of Ireland : but he did not conceal his antipathy to the sectators of the other religions, whom he thus rendered adverse to his cause. He showed, moreover, neither capacity nor energy in his invasion—an enterprise which, above every other kind of expe-

dition, requires the greatest share of active courage. William, on the contrary, displayed his already known political talents and all his military skill. The latter qualification often proved fruitless to him; for, though deservedly esteemed as a general, he was seldom victorious; but on this occasion fortune crowned his valour with success.

James returned to France, where he lived till the year 1700, subsisting on a pension granted to him by Louis XIV, together with some supplies which he received from his daughters. Some thousands of Irish followed him to the continent. He is said to have possessed the virtues of a saint; but we cannot praise him for that of pardoning injuries, if it be true, that, on finding himself unable to conquer his son-in-law, he endeavoured to procure his assassination, or at least connived at several conspiracies formed against William's life.

But all those plots were not the work of James's partisans. The reserved unsocial disposition of William created him many enemies. Under his government was openly practised the custom of purchasing mercenary majorities in the parliament: from them the contagion spread to the people, and the spirit of venality pervaded the whole nation. That prince found it easier to gain suffrages by money than by his manners. Grave, phlegmatic, and harsh, he never displayed any vivacity except in the field of battle. Never was

a king less complaisant or popular. He was suspected of indulging in coarse pleasures in the frequent visits he made to Holland. He died without issue in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

He was succeeded by Anne, the younger sister of his wife Mary who had died about seven years before him. Anne was in her thirty-eighth year at the time of her accession. She is praised for the tender affection she bore to her husband, who preceded her to the grave, as did likewise six children to whom she had given birth. Her reign, productive of glory to the nation abroad, was rendered turbulent at home by the Whig and Tory factions, which united under their respective banners all the other parties, and have subsisted to the present day. By the appellation of Tories, are usually understood those who favour the ministry and the court; by that of Whigs, the popular party and the oppositionists in parliament. Interests, however, occasionally change; and it sometimes happens that the Whigs side with the ministry, and the Tories with the opposition. But these commotions seldom extend beyond the limits of the metropolis; and it is not unusual to see the rest of the kingdom perfectly tranquil while a ferment of passions rages at court and in parliament. The ministers in place, and those persons who wish to rise to the ministry, violently combat each other; and a constant struggle is
main-

maintained between the possessors and the aspirants. It is observed that the hatreds and animosities and ambitious contests of the great are a kind of safeguard to the people, because those who sit at the helm of affairs, being jealously watched by the opposing cabal, are afraid to venture upon measures which might afford room for accusations, frequently of a capital nature.

Anne suffered herself to be governed by her female favourites. Of these, none for a long time had a greater ascendancy over her than the wife of the celebrated Marlborough, who by her influence supported her husband at the head of the armies fighting against France, to the great glory of England. It is thought that the queen intended to have procured the reversion of her crown for her young brother the prince of Wales, who was an exile in France, and that she was on the eve of carrying her project into execution, when death snatched her away. She has been called "the good queen Anne." She was the last queen who ruled England, descended in the male line from the Stuart family, who have acquired eternal celebrity by their misfortunes.

George I,
A.D. 1714.

George I, son of Ernest-Augustus the first elector of Hanover, and of Sophia the granddaughter of James I, was called to the throne after Anne's decease, in pursuance of an act passed in William's reign, by which the crown was secured to the protestant line. The prince of

Wales, better known by the appellation of the pretender, excluded himself from the succession by openly professing the Romish religion. He had nevertheless a powerful party in his favour, who from his name were called Jacobites. When invited over by them, he might possibly have triumphed over his opponents, if he had possessed greater energy and vigour. But, not being sufficiently seconded by France, he only showed himself as it were, and retired after the first defeat, leaving his partisans exposed to the sword of national justice, which did not spare them.

This slight alarm was the only cause of inquietude that disturbed the reign of George. He divided his attention between England and his German dominions, and even testified a predilection for the latter. Before the choice which the English nation made of a king from beyond the sea, her continental wars were purely voluntary; but, since that period, they have become as it were unavoidable, in consequence of the part which her sovereigns are obliged to take in foreign transactions. On the whole, however, the English have had no reason to be otherwise than satisfied with the characters of those princes of the house of Hanover. George I, the head of that family in England, was more familiar than monarchs usually are. He was clear-sighted in discovering his own interests; and, during the whole course of his life, all his measures were regulated

by prudence. He ascended the throne at the age of fifty five years, and died after a reign of thirteen.

George II,
A. D. 1727.

His son George II was in the forty-third year of his age at the time of his accession to the throne. During his time violent debates were carried on in parliament respecting the true interests of England. The ministry, devoted to the king and ready to gratify him in his capacity of sovereign of Hanover, proposed foreign alliances and continental connexions, as best calculated to insure the safety of Great Britain; while the opposition party, adverse to all such connexions, complained that they only tended to involve the country in unprofitable wars, and to drain away its wealth in subsidies for their support. At the head of the ministry was sir Robert Walpole, descended from a noble but not opulent family, and who, in addition to his other qualifications, was endued with a happy insensibility to reproaches. He must have possessed that apathy in a very high degree, to have avoided feeling any emotion at the biting sarcasms uttered against him in his presence by a member of parliament named Wyndham.

There was a warm dispute in parliament on the question whether it were proper to elect a new house of commons every third year according to the former law, or whether the duration of that body should be seven years, as sometimes had

been the case. Wyndham, an enemy to Walpole, rose to speak; and, the better to set forth the inconvenience of septennial parliaments, “Let us suppose,” said he, “a man of no great family, and of but mean fortune; without any sense of honour, raised to be chief minister of state:—suppose this man raised to great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are venal:—let us suppose all attempts in such a parliament to inquire into his conduct, or relieve the nation, fruitless:—suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay:—let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all men of ancient families, over all men of sense, figure, or fortune, in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to stifle or corrupt it in all. With such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a case, which I hope will never happen—a prince upon the throne un-informed, ignorant, and un-acquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people—weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur: but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be al-

“tered by human laws: the existence of such a
“prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by
“act of parliament: but the mischiefs of such
“a parliament may surely be prevented; and
“abridging its continuance is at least a certain
“remedy.” This discourse made an impression:
and, though the motion for triennial parliaments
was negatived, the opposition party grew daily
more powerful; wherefore the king soon after
used his prerogative in dissolving the assembly.

During this reign, Charles-Edward, son of the
pretender, made an incursion into England: for
no other name can be given to an enterprise
which was rendered ineffectual, less perhaps by
the want of means, than by mismanagement.
That youthful adventurer sailed from the coast
of France with a single frigate, a small sum of
money, and arms for two thousand men. He
landed in Scotland, where the name of Stuart,
fondly cherished by the northern Scots, imme-
diately procured him an army. At the head of
that force he gained some advantages: and it is
acknowledged, that, if he had proceeded directly
to London, from which he was at one time not
more than a hundred miles distant, he might
have effected a revolution. But, being ill ad-
vised, he idly wasted his precious moments in
causing his father to be proclaimed with cere-
monies which produced an unnecessary loss of
time. Instead of contenting himself with the
assistance of his brave Highlanders and other Scots

whose valour had already rendered him victorious, he waited the arrival of troops from France, who delayed too long, and at last came in too small number. The untutored courage of his followers yielded to the discipline of the veteran bands of England: his army was completely defeated, and entirely dispersed.

The young prince himself, after having fled from the field of battle as far as his horse was able to carry him, gained the extremity of Scotland, concealed himself in caverns and huts, passed from one island of the Hebrides to another in any little boat which fell in his way, often in sight of his pursuers, who were animated by the hope of the rich reward promised to whosoever should deliver him up alive or dead. He traveled several days disguised in feminine attire, passing through parties of the enemy who were in quest of him. Above fifty persons at different times had his life in their hands: but their veneration for the unfortunate family of the Stuarts prevailed over the suggestions of avarice and the temptation of the proffered bribe. At length he found a vessel which received him covered with rags, pale, disfigured, emaciated with fatigue and want, and conveyed him back to France, There he no longer found a hospitable asylum: for Louis XV thought it no stain upon his honour to comply with the wishes of the British government, who imperiously demanded that the

young prince should be sent away from the Gallic dominions. Those islanders had recently obtained successes in war which rendered them lofty in their demands.

George II died in 1760, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign, amid the triumphs of his subjects, who regretted him, although he was not endowed with any brilliant qualification.

George III.
A.D. 1760.

The example of his grandson and successor George III would induce us to imagine, that, to govern England peaceably, a greater share of prudence is required than of courage. In effect, the political tempests, which have at different periods shaken the British empire, encourage the opinion that the talents necessary for a king of Great Britain are those which would be requisite in a pilot navigating stormy seas—a knowledge of when and how to tack, to yield to the impetuosity of the winds, to take advantage of fair weather, to fear even the stillness of a dead calm, never to approach the land without founding as he advances, and, above all things, to place no confidence in his crew.

SCOTLAND.

Scotland,
northern
part of
Great-
Britain.

SCOTLAND is separated from England by mountains and rivers. The space lying between those natural boundaries was intersected by the

Romans with a fortified ditch, of which the vestiges are yet extant. The country was known to the ancients under the name of Caledonia. The inhabitants of the mountainous parts display a roughness of character, which is less discernible in the milder manners that prevail in the low lands. A taste for the arts and sciences reigns in the cities and towns. Numerous herds sport in the meadows; and rich harvests ripen in the fields. There is no deficiency of timber; and the sea presents, on three sides of the kingdom, an abundant fishery. The numerous isles which form the northern extremity of Scotland resemble the remains of a tract of country corroded by the waters. As the waves beat against them with violence, this part of Scotland furnishes excellent mariners, and bold navigators. The Scots in general are hardened to fatigue—an advantage for which they are indebted to the temperature of their country, that is cold and frequently covered with snow and ice.

It would be difficult to ascertain who were the first inhabitants of Scotland. It may have been colonised by the gradual extension of the population of England; in which case it must have been peopled by Gauls and Picts and Germans and other nations who had been naturalised in ancient Albion. Some settlers also may have penetrated into it by the bays which indent the coast of Scotland, even before the irruptions of the

Danes and Norwegians: for the ancient annals relate that those invaders found in the country a race of giants. The impression of the ancient manners has been retained by the inhabitants of the highlands.

They were, as they still are, divided into clans or tribes, warmly attached to their chiefs, whose pretensions they adopted and supported without examination, and whom with blind obedience they followed to war; which circumstance rendered the revolts of the Scottish nobles both frequent and dangerous. It was not without difficulty that the kings were able to introduce into this country an idea that obedience was due to any other superior than those heads of clans.

As to the national manners, frugality in food and dress is, according to their historian Buchanan, a constant virtue of the Scots. Their usual sustenance is fish and game. They formerly were accustomed to cook the latter in the skins of the beasts killed. Sometimes in the chase they allay their thirst with the blood of their prey. At their feasts they drink the broth of meat, or fermented milk which has been long kept. They delight more in variegated garments than in those of a single colour. Formerly they preferred red and white: at present they are fond of brown, and particularly of heath-green. That plant is in great use among them. They make their beds of its leaves, not only on account of their pliant

softness, but because they believe them to possess the property of absorbing perspiration, of giving tone to the nerves, and imparting vigour for all bodily exercises, even for those of the couch.

Their outside garment is very large: for the most part it consists only of an unfashioned piece of stuff, in which they enwrap themselves. Rolled up in these cloaks, on their journeys or in war, they contentedly sleep, though covered sometimes with snow, or drenched with the chilling rains of their cold climate. They take a pleasure in the negligence and disorder of their furniture. If conducted to a bed furnished with mattresses and pillows, they remove it, and sleep on the bare floor, for the purpose, as they say, of not losing the habit of national hardiness.

Their defensive arms are an iron helmet, and a coat of mail which descends to their heels: their offensive are the broad sword, the battle-axe, jagged and bearded arrows. They have no drums. Their trumpets are of bone, and emit a shrill sound. In general they are very fond of music. The strings of a kind of lyre which is common among them are of catgut or brass-wire; they touch them with a bow, or strike them with the nail, which they suffer to grow long for that use. It is in these instruments that their luxury is chiefly displayed: they embellish them with gold, jewels, and the most costly ornaments they can procure. They accompany them with the

voice, and chant the gallant deeds of their heroes, formerly recorded in the songs of their bards. Those poems, though destitute of grace, are full of energy, and frequently present sublime images. Fishermen, pastors, hunters, the Scots are an unpolished race; but they are frank in their friendships, observant of conjugal fidelity, religious according to their knowledge, and more happy in their caves and forests, than the inhabitants of cities under their ornamented ceilings, and on beds of down where they sleep surrounded by perfidy and effeminacy.

The records of Scottish history reach back to about three hundred years previous to the birth of Christ. At that early period, the inhabitants being attacked by the Picts and Germans, and not being able to agree in the choice of a chief from among themselves, invited one from Ireland, who bore the name of Fergus. They conferred on him the title of king, and bound themselves to continue it to his posterity. Under the princes his descendants, the Scots repelled the Roman invaders, who, far from being able to subjugate them, were obliged to protect themselves by a rampart against their inroads. After the lapse of seven centuries from the reign of this first Fergus, about the year 400 of the vulgar æra, another monarch of the same name cleared his kingdom of the remnant of those conquerors who had penetrated into it. Those two Ferguses, so distant from each other, are

considered as the founders of the Scottish monarchy; and Kenneth, who reigned about the year 820, above eleven hundred years from its original foundation, is esteemed its restorer, because he revived the pristine lustre of its crown, which had been obscured as well by intestine discords as by foreign invasions. He is accounted the sixty-ninth king.

Kenneth was succeeded by six princes, good and bad, during whose reigns the kingdom sometimes enjoyed tranquillity and happiness, and at others was disturbed by intrigues which occasioned quarrels, acts of vengeance, assassinations, and other occurrences such as are found in all histories. The last of those kings, after the example of some of his predecessors, became a monk. Buchanan relates that the bishops at this period, less ambitious of riches and honours than of knowledge and holiness, had no established fees. They preached in all places indiscriminately; and the principal object of their mission was the reformation of the manners of the people, which were then much depraved. For attempting to second their efforts, Malcolm I, the seventy-sixth king, was assassinated after a tolerably happy reign of some years. His successor Indulf, too eagerly pursuing a band of enemies whom he had defeated, fell pierced with an arrow. Duff, the son of Malcolm, resumed the succession, which Indulf had interrupted. He was an excellent

prince. He was murdered, as his father had been, for having undertaken to restrain the tyranny of the nobles who oppressed the people. To succeed him, the states elected Culen, the son of Indulf. He avenged the death of Duff: but, after having laudably begun his reign, he abandoned himself to disorderly courses, which ruined his health, and rendered him contemptible: his intellects too were injured; and a design was entertained of depriving him of the crown: but death saved him from that disgrace. Some historians say that his exit was caused by violence; others, that it was occasioned by a consumption, a just punishment of his irregularities.

The remembrance of Duff's virtues caused his son Kenneth to be called to the throne. The latter, during almost the whole continuance of his reign, waged war against the Danes who had established themselves in some parts of Scotland. In a battle between the two nations, the Scots, routed by the Danes, were fleeing in disorder. Near the scene of action, a husbandman, named Hay, was tilling his field, accompanied by his two sons, both strong and courageous as himself. At the sight of his countrymen closely pursued, the father snatched the yoke from his oxen, the sons armed themselves with whatever weapons first came to their hands, and the three together went to await the approach of the Scots in a narrow passage. There they strove to stop their

flight, entreating, menacing, at length striking the foremost, and crying out that the cowards should find them worse than the Danes. The most fearful, who were hurrying on at full speed, stopped in suspense: the brave, who had suffered themselves to be dragged away by the crowd, joined the three husbandmen. As fear had magnified the danger, so did hope enlarge the prospect of success. The runaways turned against their pursuers, attacked them with impetuosity, and regained the lost victory.

The king presented the husbandman and his sons with costly garments for a triumphal entry with which he intended to honour them: but they refused those vain ornaments; and, in the midst of the nobles who accompanied them, they appeared in their usual garb, more conspicuous by the simplicity of their dress than they would have been by sumptuous magnificence. Hay carried on his shoulder his formidable yoke. As a recompense, the king bestowed on him the most fertile spot of land in the kingdom, which long remained in the possession of his descendents. That grant was accompanied with a title of nobility, and, for armorial bearings, three bucklers, emblematic of the three defenders of their country. Nor was the yoke forgotten—that instrument of their victory, and type of their honourable profession.

We have seen that the succession to the throne was not fixed in a direct line: on the contrary, it appears that the Scots particularly affected to cross the collateral lines; and it was usually the brother or the nephew who inherited the crown, in exclusion of the son. Kenneth determined to abolish that custom; and, to remove every obstacle to the prosecution of his design, he poisoned Malcolm his nearest relative, who had attained the age of maturity and who enjoyed the general esteem, that his son Malcolm, a minor, might experience no opposition from a rival. At the same time he took every measure to procure a law establishing the object of his wishes; and he succeeded in his aim. Previous to these transactions, the conduct of Kenneth had been pure and irreproachable: but ambition and the inordinate love of his posterity impelled him to fully by an unnatural crime that virtue which had stood the test of numerous years. He repented of the deed, and dragged on amid poignant remorse the burden of a wretched life, which was terminated by the hand of an assassin.

He did not even succeed in peaceably transmitting the sovereignty to his son Malcolm. The prince's uncle Constantine, and Grime the grandson of Duff, seized each a part of Scotland, and left only a small share of the kingdom to the son of Kenneth. Arrived at the manly age, the prince

made war on his rivals: and his success was so complete, that his competitors found themselves obliged to relinquish to him the throne, and disappeared. But their partisans conspired against him: he fell under the swords of assassins, and left no male issue.

Two of his daughters, married to Scottish nobles of high rank, had each a son. The son of the elder, by name Duncan, succeeded his grandfather. He was indolent and lazy—faults at all times dangerous, but especially in the seasons of public disturbance. Harassed by cabals, he intrusted the management of his affairs to his cousin Macbeth, who conducted himself very judiciously in the administration, and triumphed over all the efforts of faction. But, together with success, came the desire of appropriating to himself its consequent advantages. Macbeth therefore murdered his cousin, invaded the throne, and endeavoured to secure its possession by persecuting all those who might have been capable of disputing with him his usurped power.

Malcolm, nevertheless, and Donald, the sons of the murdered monarch, evaded Macbeth's pursuit, and escaped into England. In the commencement of his government the usurper displayed qualifications which would have reflected honour on a legitimate king: he promulgated wise laws, strictly enforced their observance, and was scrupulously attentive to render justice to all

his subjects. But this praise-worthy conduct did not prevent the growth of disaffection. The facility with which Macbeth had been able to draw the great men into a combination against his cousin excited in him an apprehension lest he should himself experience similar treatment from them. If he could not remove from their minds the desire of injuring him, he thought that he might at least deprive them of the ability, by spoiling them of their wealth, seizing their castles, loading them with disgrace, and rendering them contemptible in the eyes of the people, for the purpose of disabling them to form parties against him.

One of those whom he had most grossly maltreated, by name Macduff, after having long suffered under the tyrant's persecution, fled to England, where he found young Malcolm, the son of the late monarch Duncan. He exhorted him to avenge his father's murder, to recover the crown which Macbeth had seized, and pointed out to him the road to the throne, which lay as it were traced before his eyes by the vices which rendered the usurper an object of public detestation. The youthful prince had already been several times tempted by his uncle's secret emissaries, who, by the attraction of the diadem, had endeavoured to allure him into Scotland for the purpose of delivering him into the hands of the tyrant. With-
ing therefore to ascertain whether Macduff were

not one of those traitors suborned to draw him into the snare, Malcolm answered him—"What you say concerning the usurper, is not new to me. But, when you urge me to run in pursuit of a crown, are you acquainted with my disposition? I must acknowledge to you that I feel myself governed by passions which have frequently ruined kings—especially an ungovernable love of women, and the lust of wealth. I dissemble my propensities at present: but when, by the possession of sovereignty, enabled to indulge them, I fear that I shall not have the resolution to contain myself: and thus, instead of procuring me a benefit as you teach me to expect, you will in fact have thrust me into a precipice."

"With respect to that ungovernable passion for the fair sex," answered Macduff, "which you mention to me—a marriage with some amiable princess will be capable of moderating it: and, as to avarice, the cessation of your wants and the enjoyment of abundance will correct you of it."—"To speak to you without reserve," replied the young prince, "I feel no esteem for virtue: and, as I judge of others by myself, I do not trust any person, or conceive myself ever obliged to keep my word,"—"O monster!" exclaimed Macduff—"monster, deserving to be driven to the most frightful deserts!" After this exclamation he was de-

parting, when stopped by Malcolm, who informed him that the strong expression of his indignation, instead of exciting his displeasure, had given him a better opinion of his adviser; that he would have hesitated to grant his confidence to a man who could have reconciled himself to the vices which he had professed; but that his doubts were removed by Macduff's frankness. They now more fully explained themselves, and were soon agreed. The means of success pointed out by Macduff were realised: when Malcolm presented himself, the multitude, who were equally weary as the nobles of the existing state of things, abandoned Macbeth, and eagerly crowded to meet the new king. It was natural that an abhorred tyrant should terminate his career by a tragic catastrophe: his death was accompanied by circumstances which seem to attest that the divine vengeance took a part in it—circumstances of a terrific and preternatural cast, and better calculated, as Buchanan observes, to figure on the theatre than in the page of history. He is represented as struck with lightning, and expiring in cruel agonies.

Though elevated to the throne with the applause of a considerable majority of the nation, Malcolm was disquieted by the movements of a certain number of malcontents. Being apprised that one of them had formed against his life a plot which was to be executed in an ambush, the monarch took the traitor out with

him under pretence of a walk, and conducted him to a solitary vale, where being alone with him, he amicably reminded him of the favours he had received from the royal hand, reproached him with his murderous design, and, drawing his sword, "If," said he, "you harbour a design against my life, fight me like a man of honour, and obtain by your valour that crown which you wished to wrest from me by treachery." At these words, the conspirator, struck with astonishment, threw himself at the king's feet. Malcolm pardoned him; and the fame of this act of generosity brought the other mal-contents back to their duty, from which they never afterward swerved.

Malcolm enjoyed a long and glorious reign, and finally fell a victim to his own excessive confidence. He was engaged in the siege of a town which the English had taken from him: the garrison, though reduced to extremity, refused to surrender the keys to any other than the king in person. He approached the wall, and incautiously advanced to receive them; when a soldier, who had been stationed for the purpose, pierced him with his lance. His eldest son Edward, eager to avenge his father's death, attacked the traitors with greater impetuosity than prudence, and received likewise a mortal wound.

This two-fold disaster threw the kingdom into confusion. Three legitimate sons of the king yet remained, besides one of spurious birth, named

Duncan. The three former, whose names were Edgar, Alexander, and David, were deemed too young to succeed in their father's place. Their uncle Donald, Malcolm's brother, presented himself as a candidate for the crown: but the illegitimate Duncan advanced his pretensions with a degree of firmness which induced his father's brother to relinquish the competition. During their contest, Malcolm's widow, being alarmed for the safety of her sons, fled with them to England. Duncan retained the regal title during fifteen or sixteen months: but a measure of precaution, which he adopted with a view of securing the crown on his head, proved the very cause of his losing it. The step which he took with that intent was to seek the alliance of the king of Norway, which he purchased by conditions derogatory to the honour of his kingdom. The nobles discovered the shameful treaty, which so roused their indignation as to make them renounce their allegiance to Duncan.

They went to seek in his asylum Malcolm's eldest son Edgar, who returned to Scotland with his two brothers. Duncan, unable to withstand the storm which was raised against him, retired to Norway. Edgar reigned in peace, and died without issue. His brother and successor Alexander, being also destitute of progeny, left the crown to David, the last of Malcolm's sons. The reign of David was long, and beneficial to Scotland. Histo-

rians are unanimous in the praises which they bestow on the wisdom of those three brethren, their prudence, their love of justice, and the other virtues which they inherited from their father: but they do not agree respecting the opinion to be formed of their liberality to the clergy—some writers making it the subject of warm encomium—others, of severe reprobation. The censure of the latter is well founded, if it be true that those princes extended their munificence so far as even to strip the royal family of its property in favour of the church.

David had the misfortune to survive an only son whom his brilliant qualities caused to be equally regretted by entire Scotland as by his own father. Though smitten with that heart-felt stroke, the king, in a general assembly convoked for the purpose, undertook the task of consoling his afflicted subjects, which he did in the following terms—“What has happened to my son is the
“ common lot of human kind. Life is a deposit,
“ a loan, which we must sooner or later repay;
“ and it is of little consequence at what period
“ the debt is redemanded. Why should we
“ grieve when we see a good man die? He quits
“ us only to go to his true home, whither we
“ shall speedily follow him. If my son has pre-
“ ceded me on that journey, he has the advan-
“ tage of enjoying before me the sight of my vir-
“ tuous brethren and my other relatives, and

“ henceforward living happy in their company.
“ Let us therefore cease our lamentations and our
“ regret, lest, by longer indulging them, we
“ should appear to be more sensibly affected by
“ our own loss than by my son’s felicity. In
“ his name and my own I thank you for your
“ friendship, and request a continuance of it to
“ his children.”

They were three in number, of whom Malcolm, the eldest, succeeded his grandfather. The good education which he had received, and the fruits that it produced, excited the most sanguine hopes, which his subsequent conduct did not frustrate. His civil and religious virtue, however, rendered him somewhat too fearful of engaging in war; and the unsuspecting candor of his character exposed him to be deceived by Henry II, king of England. That monarch allured him to his court under pretences which wore the semblance of friendship, and, when he had him in his power, took him contrary to his will on an expedition against France, for the purpose of causing him to forfeit the friendship of the Gallic nation, and depriving him of the assistance which he might derive from that kingdom whenever himself should attack him, as he intended. This involuntary compliance of Malcolm bereaved him for a time of the affection of his subjects, and excited them to a rebellion, of which Henry availed himself, as he had projected. At length,

however, the Scots opened their eyes, and pitied the weakness of their youthful king. They even testified a desire of seeing him secure the sceptre in his family by a marriage which should produce heirs to succeed him. On the proposition being made to him, the pious Malcolm declared that he had bound himself by a vow of celibacy, and that his vow was apparently not displeasing to God, since he had blessed him with sufficient self-command to refrain from violating it, though in the vigour of youth, and had taken care to provide heirs for him. He died unmarried at the age of twenty-five years.

Those heirs to whom Malcolm alluded were his two brothers, of whom the elder, surnamed William, succeeded him. He experienced even greater mortifications than his brother from the king of England. Like him, he also was dragged on an expedition against France; whence being returned to his kingdom, he attempted to avenge that insult, and to recover the Scottish territories which the English had invaded. But he had the misfortune to fall into an embuscade, was made prisoner, and a second time sent to France, where Henry was at that time. The English monarch set a price on the Scottish king's liberty, which he did not grant without compelling his captive to confirm to him the possession of the domains that he had usurped. The disturbances which afterward arose in England furnished the

William,

Alexander
II.

Scottish monarch in turn with an opportunity of recovering what he had been obliged to abandon. Thus he left his kingdom in somewhat better condition to his son Alexander who succeeded him. A treaty settled the claims which had been the subjects of contest between the two crowns, and procured for the new monarch a reign as peaceable as could be expected in a country full of turbulent nobles.

Alexander
III.

Similar commotions prevailed under his son, who, like him, was named Alexander. Crowned with his father's diadem in his early youth, he enjoyed a happier reign, because England was governed by a weak prince. He obtained restitution of all the possessions which had been usurped from his predecessors; and his success against his external enemies gave stability to his authority over his subjects. His marriage with the English monarch's daughter allayed during his life the quarrels between the two nations. Alexander received some causes of dissatisfaction from the inordinate ambition of the clergy, from the pope and his greedy legates, whose spiritual thunders, though unseasonably hurled at him, so far excited his terror, that he yielded to all their pretensions for the sake of obtaining peace. This prince promulgated very wise laws. He had divided his kingdom into four parts, and made it his custom to reside three months in each. During those times the poorest persons were indulged with free access to him; and he listened to them

with kindness. The nobles of one division, attended by their vassals in arms, escorted him to the adjoining province, where he was received in the same manner. He lived in the midst of his subjects without proving burdensome to them by any expensive luxury: therefore was he deeply regretted when a fatal accident abridged the period of his existence. He dashed out his brains by falling with his horse down a precipice.

In addition to the regret excited by the loss of so good a prince, a general disquietude prevailed on account of the situation in which his death left the Scottish realm. All the male progeny of its kings was extinct; nor did there now remain any other descendent than a female infant in the cradle, born of Alexander's daughter, who had died the wife of a king of Norway. That child was the legitimate heiress to the crown of Scotland: wherefore, with the view of extinguishing every spark which might be capable of blazing forth into quarrels between the two kingdoms, the English monarch Edward asked the young princess in marriage for his son who was a child like herself. The proposition was embraced: but the ambassadors who were sent to Norway to fetch thence that pledge of peace and union, found that death had recently frustrated the hopes of both nations. The lists were now thrown open for a crowd of competitors, of whom the principal were John Baliol and Robert Bruce, both de-

scended from nieces of Malcolm IV, and both advancing pretensions which embarrassed the Scots. Each of these rivals was supported by so numerous partisans, that, after armed discussions which endured many years, the states of the kingdom thought proper to submit the decision of the contest to Edward I, king of England.

That monarch conceived this arbitration to be a favourable opportunity for the union of England and Scotland into a single kingdom—an object which his predecessors had more than once ineffectually laboured to accomplish, and which he ardently desired. He employed for that purpose all the schemes of a crafty unprincipled policy, sowed dissension among the nobles, inflamed their mutual animosities, engaged them in hostilities against each other, and procrastinated the decision under various pretexts: but—being at length convinced by the repugnance which he observed in the minds of all parties that he could never succeed in his views—rather than fail entirely, he relinquished a part of his plan, and confined his pretensions to the simple demand of homage as lord paramount of Scotland. On this condition he privately offered the crown to Robert Bruce, whose claim appeared the more doubtful; being persuaded that the candidate would not hesitate to fix the uncertainty of his hopes at that price. But he found in Robert a high-minded prince who in a spirited manner answered him—

“ I feel not so strong a desire of reigning, as can
 “ make me sacrifice to it the independence of my
 “ crown, and the liberty of my people.”—John
 Baliol was less scrupulous: he accepted the terms John Baliol
A. D. 1292
 offered by Edward, who accordingly declared him
 king.

This dishonest conduct of Edward in abusing the confidence reposed in him by the Scots was productive of effects similar to those which usually result from signal acts of injustice. Of the nobles assembled for the installation of the new king, some refused to sign the covenant made by Baliol, others affixed their names to it reluctantly and by compulsion; and the king himself, to gain the esteem of his subjects, found himself forced to renounce his engagements. He sent notice of his retractation to the king of England: which act of firmness kindled a war, that did not prove prosperous to Baliol. He fell into the hands of Edward, who detained him some time in captivity, and afterward banished him to France. The degraded prince there led an obscure inglorious life, while a small but gallant band of Scottish heroes, forsaken by the principal nobles, exerted their efforts to shake off the yoke of Edward, which the chiefs of the nation bore with ignominious tameness.

The leader of those valiant men was named William Wallace, descended indeed from an ancient and respectable family, but possessed of small

fortune. His parents had instilled into his mind the sentiments of hatred against the English whom the perfidy of Edward rendered odious to many Scottish patriots. Wallace collected a pretty good number of the warmest of these, with whose assistance he harassed the English garrisons, and obtained such successes as procured for him a nomination to the dignity of regent, not from the nobles who on the contrary envied him, but from the people. Edward, disdaining to march in person against such an opponent, sent into Scotland generals who, though not destitute of martial talents, were nevertheless defeated. In one day that freebooter, as the English monarch termed him, gained three victories.

Force proving ineffectual, and this war beginning to assume an alarming aspect, Edward had recourse to tempting offers, promises, and other means of seduction. He caused those overtures to be made to Wallace by the first men of the nation, whom he had gained over to the English interest, and, among others, by Robert Bruce, the son of that Robert who had been Baliol's competitor of the crown. Edward had allured that young prince to his court after the death of his father, and kept him fluctuating between the hope of ascending the Scottish throne if he showed himself docile to the will of the English monarch, and the fear of seeing himself excluded from it if he should too openly manifest his inclinations. To prolong

that state of suspense which rendered him dependent on their master, the English ministers insinuated to him that Wallace's pretensions aimed at the diadem.

After an important victory won by that chief, Bruce proposed to him a conference. It took place at the head of the opposite armies, which were separated by a rivulet. The prince expressed his surprise that Wallace should by the frail hope of popular favour be impelled to make such exertions and expose himself to so many dangers: "for," added he, "though you should exterminate all the English, you cannot flatter yourself with the expectation that the Scottish nobles will ever consent to acknowledge you their sovereign."—"Never," replied Wallace, "have I aspired to such reward of my labours. The sceptre is not the object of my desires, and does not suit my fortune. But, seeing you, who have claims to the throne, basely abandon our countrymen, and leave them exposed not to the chains but to the sword of the enemy, I have undertaken their cause, and, so long as I retain the breath of life, will continue to defend their liberty and property. As to you, who prefer the safety of degrading servitude to the perils of honourable liberty, you may follow Fortune, since she alone seems to engage your esteem. With regard to myself, I will die free in my native land, with the glory of having defended it to the last extremity."

This hope of the ill-fated Wallace was not realised. The king of England surrounded him with traitors, from whose hands he received him a prisoner. Instead of acting with generosity toward a man of such merit, Edward caused him to be tried and condemned to death on a charge of treason; pursuant to which sentence, the unfortunate hero publicly suffered in London the ignominious punishment awarded for his imputed crime. With the view of irrevocably annexing Scotland to the English crown and reducing it to perpetual subjection, he laboured to efface from the minds of the Scots even the remembrance of their former condition. He abolished their ancient laws, and ordained that all causes should thenceforward be decided according to the English code: he substituted the English liturgy in lieu of the Scottish rites: diplomata, treaties, the most venerated records, were taken from the archives and destroyed. The usurper did not suffer a single monument to remain, not even a stone, which could recall to the minds of the inhabitants those deeds of past days which might be capable of reviving in their bosoms their pristine magnanimity.

The tyrant imagined that he had succeeded in stifling all the seeds of revolt, especially as he had taken care to transport into England the principal families, who were there detained in a kind of honourable captivity. Robert Bruce and the other Scottish chiefs against whom his jealousy

was strongest, were kept at his court, that they might be more closely watched. But, notwithstanding these precautions, the greater number of them, weary of the slavish yoke which was every day rendered more heavy on their necks, concerted a plan for emancipating themselves from Edward's tyranny. Taking advantage of a winter-day when the ground was covered with snow, they caused their horses to be shod backward, that the prints of their feet might mislead those who should attempt to pursue them; and thus, without accident, they safely reached Scotland, where had previously been formed a secret party ready to receive them.

Robert Bruce was now proclaimed king. But, Robert Bruce, A.D. 1306. although he was supported by numerous partisans, he was at the same time opposed by a contrary faction, who, united with the English, reduced him to cruel extremities. Not only were his first efforts unsuccessful, but misfortunes of every kind seemed at once to crowd upon him. He had the painful mortification of seeing his troops dispersed, his friends butchered. Himself compelled to flee from one retreat to another, now alone, now accompanied by a single follower, he ran to seek refuge in forests and caverns; nor was he ever in safety except when he could conceal his name and character. His diadem, more likely to point out the wearer to the daggers of assassins than to procure him either respect or protection, was

stained with the blood of his four brothers, and of many other persons of his kindred, men, women, and children, who fell victims to English cruelty.

At length he found an asylum in the rustic abode of an aged nobleman, where he lay concealed for some months. No intelligence being heard of him during that time, he was thought to be dead; the English began to forget him, and to behave with that pride and insolence which are the usual concomitants of fearless security. Taking advantage of their negligence, Robert emerged from his retreat, and by an adroit surprisal rendered himself master of an important fortress. This bold and successful stroke awaked his partisans from their slumbers: they flocked in crowds to his standard; and soon he found himself at the head of a troop of undaunted patriots warm with the generous purpose of emancipating their country or nobly burying themselves under its ruins. The detachments sent against him by the English monarch being successively defeated, he determined to invade Scotland with an army formidable as well by its numbers as by the hopes excited in the soldiers of sharing the spoil of the vanquished foe. To these invaders Robert opposed a band inferior indeed in force, but nerved with that energy inspired by the necessity of defending their country and protecting every object that was dear to their affections.

At the time when the English entered Scotland, Robert lay afflicted with a malady which for some time was thought to be mortal. Scarcely had he reached the stage of convalescence when the two armies came into fight of each other. Instead of shunning an engagement, the Scottish king, undismayed by the appearance of the numerous host before him, exhibited to his followers a serene countenance and an air of intrepid confidence. He caused himself to be lifted on horseback: two soldiers supported him: he advanced at the head of his troops; animated by which spectacle, the Scots rushed with impetuosity on the foe, and gained a complete victory.

From that moment his life was an un-interrupted series of successes. It must be acknowledged that he merited them, and that, although Fortune continued steady in his train, it was his own prudence and good conduct that fixed her inconstancy. Buchanan, who will not be suspected as a flattering panegyrist of kings, draws of him the following portrait—"Robert Bruce rendered himself conspicuous by every kind of virtue. It would be difficult to find any prince since the heroic ages who resembled him. Courageous in war, he was in peace a pattern of moderation and justice. Although by his unhop'd successes—after Fortune, sated with his sufferings, had grown tired of persecuting him—he claims our admiration as an astonishing prince, he is yet

“ more entitled to it in adversity than in prof-
“ perity. What courage did he not require to
“ bear with unshaken fortitude so many evils
“ pouring on him at once—his wife loaded with
“ chains—his four brothers, princes of distinguish-
“ ed valour, cruelly massacred—almost all his
“ friends afflicted at the same time with every
“ species of calamity—those who had been able
“ to escape death, banished and despoiled of their
“ property—himself deprived not only of a rich
“ patrimony, but also of his kingdom, by a
“ monarch the most conspicuous of his age for
“ power and talents! Nevertheless, though be-
“ sieged at the same instant by such a host of mis-
“ fortunes, and surrounded by the shades of death
“ which a dangerous illness had called to hover
“ round his head, he did not despair of regaining
“ his crown. Never was he heard to utter a
“ word, never seen to do an act, unbeseeming a
“ king. He did not, like Marcus Brutus or the
“ younger Cato, lift a suicidal hand against his
“ own bosom: he did not, after the example
“ of Marius, suffer himself to be governed by
“ anger, or exercise vindictive cruelty on his
“ enemies. On the contrary, after having re-
“ conquered his kingdom, he behaved toward
“ those who had the most deeply injured him, not
“ like a reconciled enemy, but like a king.” To
the last hour of his existence, even while suffering
under the tortures of a painful sickness which

conducted him to the grave, the welfare of his people was the sole object of his care. Robert was about to leave that kingdom which he had purchased at so dear a rate to a son not more than eight years old—a subject of alarming reflexions to the expiring monarch. He appeased them after the best manner in his power by nominating a guardian for the minor prince; and his choice of a person for that office was so judicious, that the parliament confirmed it after his death. They moreover ordained, in compliance with his will, that, if his son should die without leaving issue, the crown should devolve to Robert Stuart, the son of his daughter.

Pursuant to the desire of his father, David Bruce was crowned king with the pope's permission, which had been asked for the purpose of giving a greater sanction to the ceremony. Notwithstanding that precaution, however, the young monarch's rights were contested and attacked, not only by the English who kept in their country the Baliols ready to be opposed to the Bruces, but also by a party in Scotland who were impelled either by disaffection or by a wish to derive advantage from the public disturbances. David's faithful subjects, conceiving that the presence of such a child was more likely to prove injurious than useful to them, sent him over to France with his mother. Released from that care, they cou-

David Bruce,
A. D. 1329.

rageously fought against the English and their own faithless countrymen.

They occasionally sent proper persons to visit their young king, that they might the better be enabled to form a judgement of the hopes which they were authorised to conceive of him. When they deemed him capable, if not of seconding their exertions, at least of giving by his presence a preponderancy to their party, they recalled him home. He for a while fought at their head with success; but at length, in a decisive battle, his army was defeated with great slaughter by Philippa queen of England, while the king her husband was waging war in France. Edward II, happy in his wife, happy in his son, saw John king of France brought to him a prisoner by his son Edward surnamed the Black Prince, and David king of Scotland captured by his consort. Political motives induced him to shorten the captivity of David, who returned free to his kingdom, which he afterward governed with prudence indeed, but also with harshness. The circumstances of the times required severity; nor could the turbulent spirit of the Scottish nobles be quelled except by the extinction of several families. David expired in the forty-seventh year of his age, having been more feared than beloved, and enjoying the reputation of an able prince, whose talents had often been rendered ineffectual by the malignity of Fortune.

David having left no progeny, the sceptre, according to the testamentary disposition of his father Robert I, passed to Robert the son of his sister. Through him the Stuart family ascended the throne of Scotland. The new king was a friend to peace; but his subjects did not always suffer him to indulge his own inclination in that respect. This was the age of chivalry; and the nobles would have thought themselves disgraced by the enjoyment of tranquil indolence at home in their castles. They occasionally challenged each other to the field: the love of glory was their principal motive to those combats; but the lust of pillage was the real incentive that actuated the vassals whom they led out under their banners. During this whole reign, challenges frequently passed between English and Scottish noblemen, whose rencontres were attended with various success. The laws of chivalry were strictly observed between men of that rank; and whoever should have neglected punctually to fulfil the conditions of his covenant—whoever, having been set at liberty on his parole, should have failed to re-deliver himself on the appointed day into the hands of his conqueror—would have been viewed with contempt, and for ever banished from the society of his equals. Thus the spirit of chivalry kept the nation involved in a state of unceasing warfare.

Stuart suffered the effervescences of that mania which he was unable to prevent: but he laboured

Robert II.
A. D. 1370.

to moderate its pernicious consequences by effecting truces between those chiefs who were the most ardent in their rivalry of each other. The attention which he bestowed on that object maintained some appearance of regular police in his kingdom, notwithstanding the obstacles which the folly of the age threw in his way. This monarch is famed for his steady pursuance of his resolutions, and his fidelity in the observance of his word. The alliance with France, already of ancient standing, but lately renewed and confirmed by his predecessor who had been educated in that country, enabled Robert almost entirely to expel the English from Scotland. But, if the courage of his Gallic auxiliaries proved useful to him, their turbulent spirit, and the exorbitant price which they set on their services, gave him considerable embarrassment.

His son had originally been named John; but the states of the kingdom obliged him to assume that of Robert, probably through esteem for the kings of that name who had before governed them. He inherited the pacific temper of his father, which induced him to resign the whole management of his military concerns to his brother, who also bore the name of Robert, and on whom he even conferred the title of regent of the kingdom. It is supposed that the regent, well acquainted with his brother's character, had already conceived the design of seizing the sovereign

Robert III.
A. D. 1390.

power. This excessive confidence furnished him with the means of carrying it into execution. Another act of imprudence on the king's part facilitated the success of his brother's projects.

It appears that the weak and indolent monarch was incapable of exerting, even in his own family, the authority becoming a father and a king. Universal complaints were made of the disorderly conduct of his eldest son David. During the life of the queen, who was a woman of estimable qualities, the young prince, restrained by her counsels and firmness, had set some bounds to his inclinations: but, after her decease, he gave a loose rein to all his passions: seduction, violence, murder, every thing was alike indifferent to him, in procuring possession of such married or unmarried females as pleased his fancy. The king, wearied by the complaints which he heard from every quarter, but not possessing sufficient energy to remedy the evil himself, wrote to his brother to arrest his son, and to keep him in his custody, until he should see a certain hope of some amendment in his conduct.

Delighted to see himself furnished with so plausible a pretext for removing his nephew out of the way, the regent, instead of labouring to reclaim his prisoner, immured him in a citadel, with the cruel resolution of starving him to death. The sufferings of the ill-fated youth were prolonged by the compassion of a girl who was daughter to one of

his keepers, and of a woman who was a wet nurse: the former supported him for some time with thin oat-cakes which she concealed under her hat when she went to visit the captive; the latter supplied him with milk from her own breasts, by means of a tube inserted through a chink in the wall. The benevolent females were both detected, and received death as the reward of their humanity. Deprived of their aid, the unfortunate prince died of famine, after having gnawed his own arms in rage and despair.

The king was informed of the death of his elder son; and, though not made acquainted with the lamentable circumstances of the dismal catastrophe, he learned sufficient to convince him that it had been the consequence of a crime committed by his brother. Fearing lest a similar fate should deprive him of his younger son James, he caused him to embark for France. But the prince was driven by a tempest to the coast of England; and, although the English monarch was not at that time engaged in hostilities against Scotland, he nevertheless detained the royal youth a prisoner. Stunned by the intelligence of that event as by a thunder-stroke, his afflicted parent fell senseless into the arms of his attendants. This first accident was followed by a slow fever, under which he refused all sustenance. The consumption by which he was attacked rendered his figure hideous, and gave him the appearance of a dead

carcase even before his death—a spectacle the more affecting as he had been accounted the most beautiful man in his whole kingdom. He was also one of the strictest probity; but his merits as a king were below mediocrity.

The states confirmed to the regent the authority which he already enjoyed. It will naturally be supposed that he was not in haste to demand the liberation of his nephew: and, on the other hand, the English gladly detained him as a pledge of peace on the part of Scotland, which was necessary to them, as they were deeply involved in war with France. For that reason, there did not, during the regent's administration, occur any hostilities except of a transient and un-important nature between the English and Scottish nations. The king of England even prided himself on giving to his young prisoner a good education: he brought him forward to make his first essay in arms under his own inspection in the war against France, and treated him at his court with great distinction.

On the death of the regent, who ruled the kingdom fifteen years in the name of his nephew, the chiefs of the nation appointed his son Murdoc as his successor. The new regent possessed neither the princely qualities nor those which are required in the father of a family. His incapacity and his other defects disgusted the Scottish nobles, and determined them to demand the restoration of their captive king. They found the English disposed

James I.
A.D. 1424.

to restore him, and with the less reluctance as they imagined that they had, by the education bestowed on the young monarch, inspired him with a favourable disposition toward England. For the purpose of attaching him by still stronger ties, they gave to him in marriage a beautiful English lady of whom he was enamoured.

After an absence of eighteen years, James returned to Scotland, accompanied by his royal consort. The youthful pair were received and crowned amid the glad transports of a delighted people who were intoxicated with joy on seeing themselves again under the government of a lawful king. But this excessive pleasure was not of long continuance. In all that the English had done for the Scottish king, although they affected a display of generosity, they had not forgotten their own interests. The captive monarch had been obliged to pledge his promise for the payment of a considerable sum, as well to defray the expenses of his maintenance, as for his ransom as a prisoner. For the purpose therefore of discharging that obligation, he now called on his subjects for pecuniary aid. The imposts which were granted to him were levied with harsh strictness: insurrections were the consequence; and the insurgents were supported by some of the leading men of the kingdom. James arrested the chiefs, and shed their blood on the scaffold. To these acts of severe justice he is accused of having added

circumstances of barbarity: for instance, he sent to his own aunt the bloody heads of her husband and sons. He not only intended by that afflictive present to punish her for having excited her family to rebellion, but hoped moreover, that, in the first transport of her rage, that high-spirited woman would drop some expressions which might tend to give him further information respecting the conspiracy. But he was disappointed in that expectation: she suppressed her feelings, and simply observed with affected calmness, that, if they were guilty, the king had done justice.

On the whole, however, the disorders committed by the heads of clans, whether engaged in that conspiracy or not, required perhaps and authorised an excess of rigor. One of those savage ruffians, wearied by the complaints of a widow whom he had spoiled of her property, and incensed by her continual threats of going to lay her case before the king, caused iron plates to be nailed to the soles of her feet as in shoeing a horse, that she might, as he said, be less hurt by the roughness of the road. When cured of the wounds inflicted by this operation, she complained to the king, who immediately sent for the author of so cruel a jest, and, having ordered him to be shod in the same manner, compelled him in that condition to perambulate during three days the streets of the capital.

The monarch also employed against those freebooters an expedient which had already been successfully practised by his father. As it was their custom to assemble in clans and pillage in concert, the division of the plunder often excited quarrels among them which terminated in deadly animosities. Robert sent into their districts trusty men, under the character of negotiators, who, instead of reconciling their differences, were directed to inflame their mutual hatreds by stimulating them on the point of honour. Those agents were so successful in heating the minds of the boisterous rivals, that the latter accepted, as highly worthy of their valour, a proposal which was made to them of assembling in as great numbers as they could respectively muster, and deciding their quarrels in the lists by an internecine combat. They fought, three hundred in number on each side, in presence of the king and his court, and exhibited to them the spectacle of a battle which the fury of the combatants converted into a perfect butchery. No mercy was shown to the wounded and the fallen: and at length there remained only two survivors on the one part, and one on the other.—After the example of his father Robert, James had recourse to the same stratagem, which was attended with similar success; and that legalised massacre-produced a temporary tranquillity in the part of the country which the feuds of

those warriors had before kept in a state of commotion.

James laboured to soften the fierce manners of his subjects by inspiring them with a taste for the sciences. He endeavoured to convince them by his own example, that such taste was not incompatible with military exercises, the only occupation in which the Scots of that age prided themselves. He reformed the weights and measures and coin of the kingdom, and thus imparted to commerce some portion of activity. The emulation of learning, which he revived among the clergy and in the monasteries, proved very serviceable to the interests of religion. Temperate and modest himself, James discouraged luxury, and prohibited those over-sumptuous repasts which it had been customary to prolong to late hours of the night. He also prevented many disorders; but he was unable to bring back his subjects to the rules of ancient moderation.

These reforms, though strongly marked with the stamp of wisdom, excited murmurs. One of his kinsmen, who had long watched for an opportunity of usurping the throne, conceived this season of public discontent to be a favourable occasion for effecting his ambitious purpose. He concerted his plan so well, that he found means, at the head of a band of conspirators, to surprise the king unarmed in the queen's apartment. That princess threw herself between the assassins

and her husband, and received several of the strokes which were aimed at him: but, in spite of her efforts, he was pierced with twenty-eight wounds, many of which were mortal; and he expired under the daggers of his assailants.

The conspirators, who had supposed the king to be an object of public hatred, were astonished at the general indignation excited by his murder. The faults of the deceased monarch were consigned to oblivion; and remembrance solely dwelt on his great qualities and virtues. His subjects sincerely regretted their sovereign, thus miserably butchered in the forty-fourth year of his age, at the moment when the peace which he had established in his kingdom, and the cares and labours he had employed in accomplishing that object, began to cheer him with the promise of a series of peaceful years. The assassins were punished with cruel deaths. The execution of their chief lasted three days, and was attended with those refinements of cruelty which we might, not without shuddering, consent to tolerate, if they were capable of deterring from the perpetration of crimes.

James II.
A.D. 1437.

James, the son of the late king, had scarcely attained his seventh year at the time of his father's death. During his non-age, the authority was divided between two men of the most illustrious families, Alexander Levingston and William Crichton, the former being appointed to the admini-

stration of military affairs with the title of governor, while the latter, who was already chancellor, had the direction of all matters of law and police. Crichton was moreover intrusted with the king's education and the custody of his person. The queen, to whom no regard was paid in these arrangements, felt her pride severely hurt by them. She ingratiated herself with the chancellor by her insinuating manners, and, at a moment when he least expected such an event, carried off from him her son by the consent of the governor. Ashamed of having been duped by a woman, the old chancellor in turn stole back his pupil from the mother; and, contrary to the expectation of those who had an interest in keeping them at variance, the two chiefs of the government became reconciled to each other. Their administration conducted the young king to the period when he was authorised to take the helm of state into his own hand. The mother left them masters of her son and of the kingdom, and indulged the propensity of her heart by forming a second matrimonial union with a young nobleman who had exclusively won her affection.

An idea of the mode of administering justice at that time may be formed from the two following traits, the one of the guardian, the other of the pupil. There was a young nobleman—the earl of Douglas—possessed of great riches and credit, whose haughty demeanour betrayed great

ambition. His actions also, as is too commonly the case with such characters, were in many instances licentious and lawless: but it was found impracticable to proceed against him in a legal form. The minister therefore adopted another expedient: under a plausible pretence he invited him to court; and Douglas, with all the confident assurance of youth, accepted the invitation. The king received him in a friendly manner, and entertained him at his table: but, while the incautious earl enjoyed this flattering reception, the chancellor caused him to be torn from the monarch's side, dragged to a convenient place, and instantly beheaded without the formality of a trial. As youth is naturally inclined to compassion, James shed some tears for the fate of the unfortunate sufferer: but the chancellor sharply reproved him for his sympathy, representing to him, that, in the case of a man who might become dangerous, humanity must give way to the suggestions of policy. James proved himself not unmindful of that maxim on an occasion nearly similar. He urged a powerful nobleman to separate from a confederacy formed with others of his own class for the support of certain privileges. The confederate refused to do it, alleging that honour did not allow him to break a covenant confirmed by his oath. "You will not?" replied the monarch in a rage—"Well, then, I will break it;" and, quick as his words, he

plunged his dagger into the other's breast, and stretched him dead at his feet.

James II, however, is allowed to have naturally possessed nobleness of sentiment, great courage against obstinate enemies, and equal clemency to the vanquished. But perhaps the continual wars which prevailed during his entire reign, and the harsh principles inculcated on his mind in his education by the chancellor, might have given to his character a tincture of ferocity. He was killed, in the thirtieth year of his age, by the bursting of a cannon before Roxburgh castle, which he was besieging. At the moment when this accident happened, the queen his wife was approaching to the camp. On her arrival, without being dismayed by the fatal event, she assembled the chiefs of the army, presented to them her son who was not quite seven years old, and caused him to be proclaimed king. The father's death James III,
A.D. 1460. was concealed from the hostile garrison, who, if apprised of the circumstance, would perhaps have persevered in their defence. But, under the idea of surrendering to the deceased monarch, they delivered up the keys of the castle to his young successor.

His mother kept him under her guardianship until the meeting of a parliament. That body, when assembled, vested the regency in a council consisting of noblemen of the different parties which had arisen since the late king's death; and

—wonderful to relate!—harmony reigned among the members of a council so strangely composed. The education of the young monarch James, of his two brothers Alexander and John, and of his two sisters, was committed to the queen's care. With the exception of some disturbances which were soon suppressed, Scotland enjoyed six years of perfect tranquillity. When the king had attained his thirteenth year, his flattering courtiers persuaded him that he was now of age to govern by himself, and impelled him to do many things not only without the knowledge but even contrary to the will of the regents. They removed him from under the control of his guardians, who, not feeling themselves sufficiently strong for opposition, were obliged to retire. They were succeeded by a domineering faction, who prevailed on a parliament composed of their partisans to elevate lord Boyd, their chief, to the dignity of regent, with full powers, until James should have attained his twenty-first year.

But the same artifice which had subjected the king to one faction, threw him into the hands of another. Lord Boyd had gained the ascendancy over James by flattery and an unlimited deference to his will. When he found himself master of the king's mind, he ceased to flatter him in his vices and the gratification of his passions. The rival faction insinuated to the king that a refusal to yield to him in every instance was an attempt

to enslave him. They rendered his tutor odious to him; and James not only withdrew his favour from Boyd, but even involved in the same disgrace that nobleman's son the earl of Arran, though married to the king's own sister. Having procured a divorce between the earl and his wife, who had borne him two children, James and Græcina—he gave her in marriage to lord Hamilton, by whom also she had a son and a daughter. The monarch himself married a daughter of the king of Denmark.

Corrupted by flattery, James could not brook contradiction, and was still more impatient of censure. Hence he conceived an aversion for the great nobles whom their birth and rank authorised to give him sometimes their advice. He repelled them by the harshness of his manner: they retired in disgust at his conduct; and his court then became a kind of public market or fair for the open sale of all employments and dignities, civil and ecclesiastic. Among other dangerous individuals whom the king suffered to approach him, he admitted astrologers, and pretended sorceresses, in whose predictions he placed great confidence. They had prophesied to him that he should be murdered by his subjects; and this denunciation, to which he gave credit, rendered him suspicious and cruel. He collected around him persons of the lowest class, as being those from whom he had the least to fear. An architect

became his minister; an English fiddler enjoyed the highest rank among his favourites, was loaded with riches, and decorated with every badge of honour.

The choice of such men excited violent murmurs. James's brother, the earl of Mar, was thrown into prison, and put to death by the opening of a vein, for having spoken too freely of the king. His remaining brother, the duke of Albany, being confined in the castle of Edinburgh, would perhaps have suffered a similar fate, if he had not found means to effect his escape. That event was attended with a circumstance which reflects honour on his character. His servant, being sent down before his master to try the length of the rope by which the latter was to descend from the place of his confinement, found it too short, and, falling, broke his thigh. The prince, having reached the bottom, and fearing lest his domestic, if found lying in the spot, should be punished for his fidelity, took him on his shoulders, and carried him a considerable distance to a ship which awaited to receive them.

So many acts of violence exhausted the patience of the nobles. A war against England furnished occasion for a confederacy formed by twenty-four of their number, who assembled together to deliberate on the measures which it was proper to pursue. The worthless confidants,

who held the king as it were enslaved, betrayed their lively apprehensions of the result of that meeting: nor was it without reason; for the nobles, feeling their own strength, seized those favourites, and delivered them up to the discretion of the populace. The latter, enraged by the adulteration of the coin, the dearness of provisions, and other calamities under which the nation groaned, executed prompt justice on those obnoxious individuals whom they considered as the authors of all their grievances: some of the unfortunate wretches they massacred, others they hanged, and the remainder they put to flight. The nobles set the king at liberty, on receiving from him the promise of an amendment of his conduct. But James did not more punctually keep his word to them than to his brother the duke of Albany. That prince, aided by the English among whom he had taken refuge, and seconded by several Scottish chiefs whom his misfortunes had interested in his favour, saw himself possessed of the ability to dethrone his brother, if he had felt the inclination: but he forbore to use the opportunity which his strength afforded, and generously suffered him to retain the crown. In return for that generosity, James ordered the duke to be brought to trial, and obliged him to flee a second time into England. Thence he passed over to France, where he died, leaving two sons, Alexander and John.

The king lost his wife, who, according to the general opinion, had contributed to keep him within some bounds. Freed from that restraint, he again surrendered himself into the hands of flatterers and astrologers. The latter, for the purpose of exciting his enmity to the nobles, incessantly alarmed him with predictions of fatal plots formed by that body. His terrors were now revived, and, with them, his cruelties. His apprehensions prompted him to adopt the resolution of at once delivering himself from all anxiety by a general massacre of those who were the objects of his fears. With that view, he had devised a pretext for calling the principal nobles to attend him in the castle of Edinburgh, which was the place of his residence. His intention was to cut them all off by assassination; and he communicated that project to one of their body whom he thought devoted to his interest. But that confidant, mistrusting a prince of James's character, and fearful of being involved in the promiscuous massacre, revealed the secret to the others.

Thus apprised of the snare which was laid for them, they found no difficulty in avoiding it. But, not content to remain in a posture of defence, they presented themselves ready prepared for attack; and, with the view of giving greater respectability to their cause, they carried off the king's son, and, placing him at their head, took

the field under his banners. The father, conscious of the inferiority of his own force, made overtures of accommodation: but the nobles explicitly declared that they would not listen to any proposals until the king should have abdicated his crown and resigned it to his son. No alternative was allowed: wherefore the parties proceeded to hostile conflict. James perished in the battle—some say, by the sword of the confederates—others, by those of some assassins of his own party. He was only thirty-five years old at the time of his death, and had reigned twenty-seven.

By the army which defeated him, he was pronounced a tyrant. The leaders of the insurrection had sufficient credit to obtain from a parliament, which was assembled under their influence, an act declaring that those who had raised the standard of opposition against him had deserved well of their country, and ordaining that they should never be liable to prosecution for that action. This decision was not equally pleasing to all the nobility. From the diversity of sentiments on the subject arose disputes and quarrels which disturbed the youth of James IV. Elevated to the throne at the age of fifteen years, he displayed great prudence. Without approving the revolt against his father, he seemed to forget the crime of those who had been engaged in it. With respect to himself, he never could think himself wholly blameless for having countenanced

James IV.
A.D. 1487.

the rebels, even by his bare name. He bound himself by a kind of vow to perform, as soon as he could, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in expiation of his fault; and, as a proof that he did not forget it, he continued during his whole life to wear next to his body an iron chain, which he annually lengthened by the addition of a new link.

The comely personage of James IV—an advantage not to be overlooked in a prince—warmed all hearts with a prepossession in his favour even at first sight; and his chearful and lively wit secured their affection. He was successful in all his undertakings; whence it has been said of him that Fortune seemed to stand ready to receive his orders. His brilliant qualifications enabled him to command her services: he was affable, just, severe against wicked men, but an enemy to cruel punishments, and so confident in the purity of his own intentions that he could without emotion hear the censures of malevolent cavillers, and listen to the remonstrances of his friends, though conveyed in the language of asperity. The only faults imputed to him are a too great popularity of manner, and a familiarity that was derogatory to his dignity.

The only important error that he committed was severely punished. He was engaged in a war with the English—a circumstance nearly habitual to the two nations. Though very in-

ferior in the number of his foldiers, he conceived that he could compensate that defect by the valour of his nobles who constituted the chief strength of his army. Meeting his enemy in the field, he determined, in opposition to the counsels and entreaties of his most experienced chiefs, to give battle. It was perhaps the shame and remorse which he felt for his obstinacy, that caused his death. Courage, as he had been forewarned, was obliged to yield to superiority of numbers: whereupon, seeing his army discomfited, he rushed with impetuosity into the midst of the hostile battallions, and disappeared. His body not being found, the Scots, by whom he was affectionately beloved, long persevered in cherishing the fond belief that he was not dead, that he was perhaps gone to perform his vow at Jerusalem, and that at some future time they should again see him. A short while previous to his death, his great expenses, which were bestowed on objects rather of magnificence than of utility, had induced him to impose some extraordinary taxes: and perhaps it may be justly said that he died opportunely for his glory. He expired at the age of forty years, and left, by his wife Margaret the sister of Henry VII king of England, two sons, of whom the elder was not more than James V. two years old.

By a will, made before the commencement of A.D. 1537 his last unfortunate expedition, the deceased mo-

narch had nominated the queen to be regent, so long as she should continue unmarried. Although that nomination was contrary to the established custom of the kingdom, the late battle had swept away so many of the nobles, that the king's testamentary disposition was not disputed. The queen was left in possession of the regency: but, before a year had elapsed, she married again. She was nevertheless desirous of retaining her authority: but she made only a feeble effort to preserve it, and saw, without apparent chagrin, the guardianship transferred to the hands of her children's great uncle, the duke of Albany, who was appointed regent. He invited to court an illegitimate son of James IV, who was older than his legitimate offspring. That prince, known by the title of the earl of Murray, acquired celebrity in the disturbances by which the Scottish kingdom was agitated.

The queen's unconcern respecting the regency was not of long continuance. Some interested counsellors suggested to her that she ought not so tamely to have surrendered her authority, and stimulated her to recover it. She was preparing to act in conformity to their advice: but the regent, being seasonably apprised of her intentions, secured the person of the young monarch who had been left under the care of his mother, and sent that princess, in an honourable and respectful manner, back to England to her brother

Henry VII. But the regency—the object of perpetual jealousy—was coveted by all the princes of the royal blood, who were very numerous, and who all thought themselves equally worthy of it as its present possessor; insomuch that the minority of James V may be considered as an unceasing conflict between his relatives, a family-quarrel, in which the subjects were compelled to take part, although the event was nearly indifferent to them.

Those contending kinsmen did not spare each other. During that minority, and even after the king's age had qualified him to take the reins of government into his own hands, Scotland resembled a scaffold smeared with the blood of the principal nobility. The gates of the towns and the gibbets through the country, loaded with the heads of those who had fallen the victims of proscription, presented a spectacle of horror. Many an individual was seen taking down the head of a brother or a friend from the spike to which it was affixed, and furiously fastening up in its stead that of an enemy, who, dragged to the fatal spot, saw that skull removed, whose place was to be supplied by his own. It is not surprising that James V, who had grown up amid those sanguinary vicissitudes, contracted that gloomy and atrabilious character with which he has been reproached.

He attained the age of twenty years before he directed his thoughts to matrimony; not that he had till that time been indifferent to the fair sex; for those by whom he had been surrounded during the period of his adolescence, had, for the purpose of more certainly keeping him in a state of dependence on them, been careful not to repress his desires, and were even accused of having excited them. James would have been perfectly satisfied to continue in that mode of life if the welfare of the kingdom had not required that he should provide legitimate heirs to succeed him. His uncle Henry VIII of England offered him one of his daughters in marriage; and there existed a possibility that the proposed alliance might ultimately unite in James's hand the two sceptres of England and Scotland, because Henry's posterity, notwithstanding his numerous marriages, seemed threatened with extinction. But the hope of such advantages was not in the Scottish prince's mind sufficient to preponderate the fear of setting over his head a master in such a father-in-law as his uncle Henry: wherefore he declined the hand of his cousin, and espoused Magdalen the daughter of the French monarch Francis I. During his visit to France, whither he went in person to meet his promised bride, his attention was attracted by Mary daughter of the duke de Guise and widow of the duke de Longueville, a lady of exquisite beauty. He secretly destined her to be his secon

wife, if Magdalen, whose health was precarious, should happen to leave him a widower. In effect, she died at the expiration of two months from her union with him; and Mary now became the consort of the Scottish king.

She was niece to the famous cardinal of Lorraine, and sprung from a family who valued themselves on their exclusive attachment to the Romish faith. Although popery had for some time past suffered various attacks in Scotland, it still continued to be the predominant religion. James had been educated in its principles, and showed himself warmly attached to it: which was one of the motives that had rendered him averse from the matrimonial connexion with England, whose sovereign had renounced his former tenets.

It is probable that the exhortations and influence of the Scottish clergy contributed to decide his choice in favour of the marriage with the princess of the house of Lorraine. Henry VIII was much piqued by it, and, under a different pretext, declared war against his nephew. James accepted the challenge, and undauntedly advanced to the frontier at the head of thirty thousand men. The English, who had not expected so formidable an opposition, retreated. The Scot prepared to pursue them: but how great his astonishment when the nobles refused to accompany him beyond the limits of their own coun-

try ! They were jealous of the favour which he showed to the clergy, or rather greedy of the property of the church. The majority of the nobles had already adopted the opinions of the reformers, and viewed the ecclesiastic wealth as a prey which would be insured to them by the change of religion, as had happened in England.

Their desertion not only disabled James to avail himself of his first success, but even subjected him to a disastrous defeat. As he was endued with quick sensibility, accompanied by high spirit and obstinacy of temper, he became a victim to chagrin. His dejection produced a fever which forbade all hope of his survival. While tottering on the verge of death, information was brought to him that his wife had just been delivered of a child. “ A boy,” he eagerly asked, “ or a girl ? ” — “ A girl,” was answered. — “ A girl ! ” he repeated sorrowfully, and, sinking down on his bed, added, “ The crown came by a woman ; and by “ a woman it will go. Many miseries await “ this poor kingdom : Henry will either master “ it by arms, or win it by marriage.”

He survived this prediction only a few days, and expired in the thirty-first year of his age. He felt only the troubles and anxieties of royalty, and never enjoyed either its splendor or its pleasures, if any attend that state. From his early youth he had led an unsettled life either in for-

treffes inclosed with walls like prisons, or in neglected palaces often stripped even of their necessary furniture by pillagers belonging to the different factions. The rage of the civil wars had imprinted on every countenance a ferocious aspect ; infomuch that all those who approached the king, seemed to come for no other purpose than that of demanding vengeance of him. At his court the haughty nobles, divided into opposite factions, measured each other with their eyes in his presence, and, by their menacing looks, gave reason to apprehend at each moment some fatal explosion. Such were the courtiers who surrounded the cradle of the ill-fated Mary Stuart.

So soon as that princess's age could dispense with the most necessary maternal cares, her mother sent her to France to be brought up at the court of the Gallic monarch Henry II with his eldest son Francis who was destined to be her husband. From what we have said of the preceding minorities, an idea may be formed of the disturbances by which that of Mary Stuart was agitated. The regency was claimed by different competitors as a privilege of blood or a family apanage. Candidates of legitimate and of illegitimate birth equally asserted their pretensions to it. The queen supported herself by the aid sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other, till at length, weary of seeing herself made the sport and the pretext of factions, she abandoned the helm of government to who-

Mary.

A.D. 1542.

ever chose to seize it. To the tempests excited by ambition and jealousy were united the gusts raised by religious fanaticism. Popery struggled against reformation with an already evident disadvantage; and the vessel of state, buffeted by those storms, was each moment in imminent danger of ship-wreck.

Such was the situation of the kingdom when Mary returned to assume the sovereignty of it after the death of Francis II, who had left her a widow at the age of eighteen years. At her departure from France, her mind was saddened by gloomy presentiments, ominous of her subsequent disasters. The young queen came decorated with two crowns, and having well-founded pretensions to a third. Elizabeth, who wore the latter, felt her jealousy hurt by her cousin's assumption of the title of queen of England on the death of Henry VIII. She never pardoned her that assertion of her rights, and determined by every mean in her power to disable her from ever making them good. The religious dissensions by which Scotland was divided proved effectually subservient to her vengeance: she gained the affection of the reformed party, and excited their suspicions against their sovereign. Mary being sprung from the blood of the Guises, and niece to the cardinal de Lorraine who was the scourge of the non-catholics, it was not difficult to render her an object of alarm to them.

The apostles of the new doctrine, as it usually happens in the first ebullitions of reformatory zeal, affected a gloomy austerity of demeanour, to which the young queen, who was naturally sprightly and had been educated in a court entirely devoted to pleasures, could not reconcile herself. Her laughter and her indignation were alternately provoked by the severity of their manners. But that gravity pleased the people, while the sportive humour of the queen and her innocent levities, being represented in an unfavourable light, became a subject of scandal. Hence arose a decided aversion between the sovereign and her subjects. To silence the defamatory reports to which the celibacy of a princess of her age and character began to give an appearance of probability, her council induced her to re-engage in the matrimonial state. She gave her hand to her cousin Henry lord Darnley. Elizabeth, who had arrogated to herself a right to interfere in all the affairs of Scotland, testified displeasure at that marriage: but, from the unjust and ill-founded nature of her complaints, it appears that her sole intention was to reserve a pretext for quarreling with her cousin. Her resentment was fired by seeing that Mary had in England a powerful party who laboured to procure her nomination as presumptive heiress to the crown, and who, in spite of the intrigues and envious opposition of Elizabeth, would have succeeded in their object, if

Mary had not forfeited the affections of her partisans by a conduct which progressed from imprudence to criminality.

Her youthful husband, after having at first so completely won her love and esteem that she made him partner of her authority and obtained for him the regal title, betrayed defects which inspired the queen with a disgust that soon ripened into aversion. As it seldom happens that we think ourselves in the wrong, Darnley took for granted that this change of disposition in his consort proceeded less from the faults with which she reproached him, than from her having conceived an inclination to some other man. His suspicions fell upon David Rizzio, an Italian musician, whom indeed Mary honoured with her confidence to an imprudent degree, but who, though young, was so destitute of beauty as to afford little ground for charging her with a criminal passion for him. Nevertheless, the envious mortification felt by the great nobles on seeing all the most important affairs of state in the hands of such an adventurer, enabled the king to find among them a band of willing accomplices in the execution of the vengeance which he meditated against his wife.

Though Mary was now in the sixth month of pregnancy, the conspirators, regardless of her condition, furiously rushed into an apartment where Rizzio was at supper with the queen and several

other persons. The king, who had entered the room before them, seized his wife, and held her while the others plunged their daggers into the body of her unfortunate favourite. A deed of such atrocity was followed by the public censure, notwithstanding the prejudices which were entertained against Mary. The husband saw that it was his wisest plan to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with her: he cast the whole blame of the murder on his accomplices, whom he abandoned to her resentment. She punished them; and mutual good-understanding seemed to be restored between the royal pair.

In due time Mary was delivered of a son, whose birth seemed likely to cement the union between her and Darnley. But, while they were thought to live together on the most friendly footing,—while the queen personally attended her sick husband, whom she had caused to be removed to a solitary house; for the purpose of keeping him at a distance from the noise of the court—suddenly, in the dead of the night, a tremendous noise alarmed the whole city of Edinburgh; and, on inquiry, it was discovered that the house inhabited by the king was blown up. His body was found in a garden at a short distance from the spot, without contusion or any other outward mark indicative of a violent death. Not a doubt was entertained by any individual that the fatal catastrophe was the criminal work of the earl of

Bothwell, a Scottish noble, who had succeeded Rizzio in Mary's confidence, and the management of affairs. As he was much older than the queen, and moreover already bound by the matrimonial tie, it would be difficult to determine what kind of inclination she felt for him. But, not only did she refuse to countenance the imputation cast on him: on the contrary, she offered rewards for the detection of the authors of bills which had been publicly posted up in the city, accusing him of the king's murder, and offered none for the discovery of the murderers.

This appearance of connivence was already more than sufficient to encourage strong suspicions against Mary; but she added confirmation to them by continuing to live with Bothwell on terms of scandalous intimacy. At length the public learned, that the earl, not thinking himself safe with her at court where he must stand defenceless, had carried her off at the head of an armed force, and conducted her to the castle of Dunbar. Several of the nobles found means to procure the conveyance of a message to her, expressive of their readiness to take up arms for the purpose of liberating her from captivity. She replied, that, although violence had been employed in carrying her to that fortress, she had been so well treated since her arrival that she wished to remain there. The consequence of this resolution was that

Bothwell divorced his wife, and the queen made him her husband.

This marriage excited a general cry of indignation throughout the kingdom. Several noblemen formed a confederacy with the view of washing out their sovereign's disgrace in Bothwell's blood. He escaped from their resentment, and, exercising piracy on the seas, was made prisoner and carried into Norway, where he lived in confinement ten years, and at length died frantic. The queen fell into the hands of the confederates, who placed her in the centre of their army, and carried before her a banner displaying a painted representation of her husband Darnley in the state in which he had been found dead in the garden. Whenever she attempted to turn aside her eyes from that spectacle, it was still presented in every direction to her view. After an insulting procession in this manner, they confined her in the castle of Lochleven, and compelled her to resign the crown to her son who was not more than two years old.

In signing the deed by which she abdicated the sovereignty, she bedewed it with her tears—no good proof of her willingness to execute it. Accordingly she did not hesitate to revoke it as soon as she had an opportunity. And now, as if the dispositions of men were changed by a change of circumstances, she found partisans even among those who had been her bitterest enemies. By their aid she escaped from her captivity and levied

an army. Her uncle the earl of Murray had been appointed regent. Though his birth was illegitimate, yet there exists not a doubt, that the earl, seeing no other bar between him and the throne than a helpless infant and a degraded woman, suffered his ambition to aspire to the sovereignty. He attacked his niece, and defeated her troops. Their discomfiture was complete; and the unfortunate Mary, being reduced to the alternative of surrendering to her victorious uncle or throwing herself under the protection of queen Elizabeth, preferred the choice of an asylum in England.

This resolution was the height of imprudence, if indeed it be true, that, during the more prosperous days of her reign in Scotland, when her cousin Elizabeth undertook to advise her, Mary had written to her, in answer, the ironical letter recorded by some historians, in which she speaks to the English queen on the licentiousness of her private life, on her affectation of virtue, and even her corporeal imperfections, in a style which women never pardon. To this let us add that Mary possessed in reality all those attractive personal accomplishments to which Elizabeth formed only unfounded pretensions;—that the former derived from her birth an unquestionable claim to the crown of England, whereas Elizabeth's title was liable to be contested in consequence of her bastardy. How powerful such incentives to hatred

and jealousy! They sufficiently account for the conduct of the English queen toward her cousin.

Elizabeth's policy did not suffer her immediately to show her ill-will to Mary. She ordered that the fugitive princess should be received in her dominions with all the respect due to her rank: but when the latter requested her protectress's permission to visit her in person, Elizabeth's delicacy revolted against granting that favour to her unfortunate relative until she should have justified herself respecting her husband's murder. The Scottish queen did not come off with honour from the conferences held for the purpose of clearing up that transaction. Instead of directly replying to the charges as they had promised to do, her counsel, finding themselves closely pressed, eluded the subject by asserting, that, as an independent sovereign, she was not bound to acknowledge the jurisdiction of any tribunal—an evasion which furnished Elizabeth with a pretext for putting her cousin into custody.

The natural pride of the Scots was severely hurt by this illegal detention of their queen. Even among the English, many persons were incensed at such treatment of her who ought to have been seated on their throne, or who was at least the presumptive heiress to it. Confederacies were formed for her deliverance. To some of these the captive princess gave her sanction; of others she barely had a knowledge, which in some in-

stances she acquired only from what was said in accusation against her. Each new discovery supplied Elizabeth with an additional pretence for straitening her cousin's confinement. She removed her from prison to prison, drenching the scaffolds meanwhile with the blood of her real or pretended accomplices, with the view that the punishment of the alleged crime might substantiate its reality in the minds of the public, and convince them of Mary's participation in it.

For some time Mary continued to write to her cousin, and to solicit her pity by affecting letters. But, finding her entreaties answered in a pedantic and haughty strain, she renounced all further supplication, and resigned herself to her fate. Elizabeth too grew weary of exhibiting to both nations the extraordinary spectacle of a queen accused but not convicted, and still nevertheless detained a prisoner, less on account of any crime committed by her than of the mischief which she might be capable of doing. At length, after a captivity of eighteen years, a conspiracy arose, in which all the necessary ingredients of criminality were combined—attempts to excite insurrections in England—seduction of several nobles of high rank—correspondence with foreign potentates, especially the king of Spain and the pope, the avowed enemies of Elizabeth—and even a plot against her life.

In support of the accusation, many letters were

produced, and some oral testimonies. In answer to that part of the charge which concerned the conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom, Mary coolly observed that it had not been in her power to prevent her well-wishers from giving her a proof of their affection by endeavouring to rescue her from captivity, and that, as to her own part, she conceived herself authorised by the law of nature to seek every possible mean of recovering her liberty. With respect to the plot against Elizabeth's life, she formally denied all knowledge of it, and maintained that the letters relating to it, which were presented to her as written by herself, were forged—that the other evidence adduced against her either was fictitious or had been extorted from the witnesses by the fear of the rack. She demanded that they should be confronted with her, being persuaded that they could not possess sufficient impudence to persist in their depositions in her presence.

She was informed in reply that the law of high-treason did not allow a compliance with that requisition: and thus, being considered as convicted, she was condemned to lose her head. Elizabeth shed tears in signing the warrant for her execution. Mary courageously submitted to the fatal stroke: she said—and we may reasonably believe that she spoke as she thought—that death was a blessing, inasmuch as it released her from all her miseries. She perished in the forty-fifth

year of her age: and, if we except the period of her childhood with the time which she spent in France, above one half of her life was clouded by misfortune. No princess of her age surpassed her in grace and elegance: none equaled her in imprudence. She was punished for a crime of which she had not been guilty; the divine providence having thus reserved for her, after eighteen years of sufferings, that punishment, if not for the murder of her husband, at least for her indifference respecting the execrable crime committed against him by others. This awful lesson of almighty justice was given to sovereigns in the year 1587.

James VI,
A.D. 1567.

We ought to date the commencement of James the Sixth's reign from the moment when his mother abdicated the sovereignty and resigned to him the crown, before he had yet exceeded the second year of his age. The parliament had appointed, as regent of the kingdom and guardian to the young monarch, his mother's bastard uncle the earl of Murray. Under all the diversified calamities which befell his niece, the regent affected toward her the severity of a rigid censor: but he testified great regard for his young ward. His ambiguous conduct, and especially the tameness with which he acquiesced in Mary's captivity when by a little firmness he might have rescued her from it, have encouraged the idea that he was not sorry to see himself freed from the obstacle

which her presence might have opposed to his ambitious views, being sure of having in his own power to remove, whenever he pleased, the remaining impediment—a helpless child. In the midst of these projects, if such he entertained, Murray was suddenly cut off by assassination in consequence of a private feud. Emancipated from his hands, James passed the sequel of his minority in those of several successive guardians, who supplanted each other in the regency, and obtained possession of it themselves.

Arrived at the age of majority, James did not become more independent. The pretensions of the great families, those of the puritanic clergy, the intrigues of Elizabeth, and the authority which she had arrogated to herself over every branch of the administration, kept him depressed in constant thralldom, insomuch that he scarcely ventured to complain of the judicial murder of his mother Mary. On that subject the English queen answered him by a haughty and pedantic letter, which contained not so much an apology for the unjustifiable transaction, as an admonitory caution to regulate his conduct with greater prudence than his deceased parent. The fear of offending a despotic princess in whose hands his fortune rested, and who possessed the power of conferring on him the English crown or excluding him from its possession, induced him to submit to that insult: and he bore it the more patiently as

he had found, that, after some murmurs which the first intelligence of Mary's execution had provoked among the Scots, they showed little inclination to second by active exertions the efforts of his resentment.

He waited therefore, with submissive deference to Elizabeth's will, until her death should render him independently sovereign as well in his own realm as in England. He obtained the crown of the latter kingdom without difficulty, in right of his grand-mother Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry VII. That event took place in 1603, when he united under his sceptre both kingdoms, which have since that period continued jointly subject to the same monarchs. From that union Scotland reaped the two-fold advantage of being relieved from those perpetual wars which she had to sustain against England, and those civil broils which the nobles, too powerful to be controlled by the king, incessantly excited in her own bosom, to the great detriment of the people.

With respect to the princes of the Stuart family, their fate presents a phenomenon so singular in history, that it will not be improper to collect, as in a picture, the principal circumstances into a single point of view. For that purpose we will borrow the pencil of an author eminently successful in such sketches *.

* Voltaire, "Siècle de Louis XIV."

“ The first Scottish monarch of the Stuart race,
“ James I, after having lived twenty years a pri-
“ soner in England, died assassinated by his own
“ subjects. James II perished in a combat against
“ the English. James III, imprisoned by his
“ people, was killed by the rebels in an engage-
“ ment. James IV disappeared in a battle which
“ he lost. His grand-daughter Mary, after having
“ languished eighteen years in captivity, was be-
“ headed in England. Mary’s grandson Charles I,
“ being sold by the Scots and condemned to
“ death by the English, terminated his existence
“ on a scaffold. His son James, the Second of
“ England and the Seventh of Scotland, was ex-
“ pelled from his three kingdoms; and, to em-
“ bitter the cup of his calamities, he heard even
“ the birth of his son called in question. That
“ son attempted to regain the throne of his an-
“ cestors, but with no other success than that of
“ occasioning the death of his friends under the
“ hands of the executioner: and we have seen
“ the young prince Charles-Edward, who in vain
“ united the virtues of his progenitors with the
“ courage of John Sobieski his maternal grand-
“ fire, perform exploits and endure distresses the
“ most remote from credibility. If any thing can
“ justify the opinion of those who believe in a
“ fatality whose influence no created being can
“ escape, it is that un-interrupted series of mis-
“ fortunes which persecuted the race of the Stuarts
“ during a period of above three centuries.”

IRELAND.

Ireland,
opposite the
western
coasts of
England and
Scotland.

The isle of Ireland presents the figure of an egg, with the exception of some inequalities where its sides open into a multitude of excellent havens.

Its size is about half that of England. The soil is fertile, and abundant in all the necessaries of life. Its principal wealth consists in its rich pastures. It is not deficient in mineral productions, and furnishes an easy supply of iron and lead. The country is diversified with extensive lakes, fine rivers, hot springs, and petrifying waters. The mountains, not very elevated, are well clothed with wood. The race of wolves is there totally extinct; nor are any venemous creatures to be found in the island. It is even said that the latter suddenly die, when brought into it.

The Irish are in general tall and robust. Their antiquarians derive the nation's origin from a Spanish colony who are said to have landed in the country a thousand years antecedent to the Christian æra, under the conduct of a chief called Milesius, from whom the Irish derived the name of Milesians. Those writers acknowledge however that the country previously contained other inhabitants, even giants, gross idolaters. Not content with paying adoration to the sun and moon and other celestial bodies, they moreover wor-

shipped household utensils and the implements of husbandry, in commemoration, no doubt, of the persons to whom they were indebted for their original invention. To that worship succeeded the religion of the Druids, derived probably from Gaulish immigrants who settled among them. Like the Scots, they had bards, whose poems were sung. Their marriages were celebrated in public, and attended with ceremonies suited to inspire a respect for the conjugal union. Music was held in high esteem among them; and they contended for the prize in that accomplishment at their public festivals; on which occasions also the superiority in martial exercises was honoured with crowns. The Irish pretend that they had written histories seven hundred years before the birth of Christ; that men recommendable by their virtues were employed by the nation to compose them, and that their productions were subjected to the examination of a general assembly. Accordingly their writers present us with a regular series of kings anterior to our vulgar æra—seventy-six in number—whom they designate by name and surname, and whose genealogies they deduce: but the annals of that remote period scarcely furnish any facts which appear entitled to a place in history.

About the seventieth year of our Lord, while the Milesian tribe still enjoyed the government, a civil war broke out between the nobles and the

plebeians. The former claimed their descent from the Spanish chiefs and foldiers who had made the conquest; and they held under an iron yoke, as vassals and slaves, the rest of the nation, consisting of artisans and workmen, the posterity of the original inhabitants or of other servile races who had successively established themselves in Ireland. As the oppressed multitude were superior in number, they vanquished the Milesians, and expelled the king together with his nobles: but the victorious crowd could never agree in the choice of a government. After several years of disturbances, the plebeians recalled the descendants of the nobles, and also the heir of their former monarch, whom they replaced on the throne.

In the testament of one of their kings who lived in the second century, we find an enumeration of legacies which give us an idea of the arts of utility and luxury then cultivated in Ireland. After a partition of his kingdom among his sons, he bequeaths to them ships of burden—embossed bucklers in their cases embroidered with gold and silver—gold-hilted swords of exquisite workmanship—chariots with their harness—golden cups—casks of yew—fifty pied horses with their bits and bridle-ornaments of brass—gaming tables of precious wood, chess-boards with their men, backgammon-tables, all carved, fringed, and gilt—fifty brazen balls, with maces and cues of the same metal, and playing-tables, for the use of the

athlets, probably a kind of billiard-tables, for which those ponderous instruments were intended—cloaks of stuffs of different colours, principally saffron-coloured—military standards blazing with gold—copper kettles—pleasure-horses in great number, all completely caparisoned—a hundred cows spotted with white, each accompanied by her calf, and coupled in pairs with brazen yokes. We omit the household furniture and agricultural implements, the real riches, but common to all ages and all countries.

If the Irish kings had divided their treasures alone among their children, their monarchy would have presented a formidable union: but they also divided their provinces, to make provision for their sons. Perhaps they originally established some kind of subordination among those princes, and a dependence of the others on their eldest brother, or on him who inherited the principal share. From appearances, we even have reason to suppose that Ireland was long governed according to the system established in Germany; the monarch who possessed the capital bearing some analogy to the emperor—the others, to the electors; and general assemblies being held, which took cognisance of all affairs concerning the nation at large. As well might we attempt to digest chaos into order, as undertake the task of tracing the pedigrees and successions of those different princes: nor could we, without incessant repetitions, relate

their wars against each other, which were for the most part only predatory incursions and desultory attacks. The other occurrences which are recorded under their reigns do not afford matter of much greater importance.

Christianism penetrated into Ireland so early as the commencement of the second century: and it is said to have fructified there to such a degree as to be productive of a great crop of saints who transplanted themselves to England, and even to France. There are few countries where monasteries were more numerous, or filled with greater numbers of inmates: but the most flourishing æra of monachism in Ireland was about the middle of the fifth century, the time when the gospel was preached by the celebrated saint Patric, the apostle of the Irish. A judgement may be formed of the zeal of the people from an incident which happened to one of their kings. That prince was in the act of receiving baptism from a bishop: the prelate, during his pious exhortation, leaning on his pastoral staff which was pointed with iron, pierced with it the king's foot: the neophyte remained motionless without betraying the slightest sensation of pain. "Why did you not complain?" asked the astonished missionary, as soon as he had perceived the effect of his own inadvertence.—"Because," replied the monarch, "I conceived that to be a part of the ceremony."

In the middle of the ninth century the Danes made an irruption into Ireland, and rendered themselves masters of a part of the country. Turgesius, their chief, with the view of securing his conquest, placed in each province a king, in each district a captain, in each monastery an abbot, in each village a subaltern, and in each of the principal houses a soldier, all Danes. Melachlin, one of the princes of those conquered tracts of country, was, like the others, subjected to that disgraceful servitude, and thought himself happy that the foreign usurper suffered him to enjoy the possession of his palace, where he occasionally honoured him with a visit. In one of those visits Turgesius saw Melcha the daughter of Melachlin, became enamoured of her, and explicitly signified to her father his desire of having her among the number of his concubines. The Irish chief, who would perhaps not have been averse to her legitimate union with the Dane, felt horror at the proposal: but, disssembling his indignation, he only requested of the tyrant that his daughter might be allowed to take with her, as companions, fifteen young women of her own nation. This arrangement could not fail to prove agreeable to Turgesius, since he had fifteen captains, for whom provision was thus made equally as for himself. The condition being granted, Melachlin disguised in virginal attire fifteen beardless young men, whom he armed with poignards. These, being introduced to the Danish

officers, killed each his man, and, repairing in a body to Melcha, rescued her from the urgent efforts of the profligate Turgesius. They seized himself, conducted him in ignominious procession through the principal scenes of his tyranny, and drowned him in a lake. The Danes were now massacred on every side; and Melachlin, whose prudence had caused that revolution, mounted the throne, which his family continued to occupy until the reign of Melachlin the Second, at the beginning of the eleventh century.

The Danes incessantly added fresh fuel to the wars in Ireland by pouring successive re-inforcements of troops into the country. Melachlin, being destitute of military talents, was by the Irish deemed unfit to govern them at a time when it was necessary to be constantly in arms to repel those foreign invaders. Representation was made to him that he ought to content himself with his little paternal kingdom, without pretending to retain the principal crown which conferred on him a kind of authority over the other monarchs. He acquiesced in a measure which he would perhaps have been unable to prevent; and Brian was peaceably appointed his successor. The new sovereign held a general assembly to sanction the wise laws which he promulgated. He re-established the former public schools, founded some new in addition, erected fortresses, constructed bridges and roads, took pains to make commerce flourish,

and, for the purpose of remedying the confusion caused in families by the identity of names, ordained that the fathers and children and relatives should be distinguished by surnames.

While his cares were engaged by these useful institutions, the imprudence of one of his sons gave rise to a confederacy of several other kings against him. The young man had insulted one of them even in his father's court. Brian perhaps did not possess sufficient firmness to compel him to make reparation for the insult. It was resented by the other monarchs, who took part with their offended compeer; and hostilities ensued. Melachlin, who had been superseded in the paramount sovereignty, levied troops in imitation of the others, and advanced to the field of battle: but he remained inactive during the engagement, not siding with either party. This neutrality was not unproductive of effect: it proved advantageous to the confederate chiefs; and victory declared in their favour. Brian did not long survive the disgrace of his defeat; and the league of the Irish kings, now reconciled to Melachlin in consideration of his late inaction, replaced him on the principal throne from which they had before obliged him to descend. He wore the crown, with the reputation of a good prince, until his death, which happened in the year 1022. After him, no monarch in Ireland enjoyed a predominant authority over the other kings. Even those who

wore the diadem in particular districts are designated by an Irish term implying "king with reluctance."

That custom however was not invariably free from exception, since we find, at the close of the twelfth century, a paramount sovereign, named Roderic O'Connor. During his reign, Dervorghal, daughter of the king of Meath, was forced by her father to give her hand to O'Ruarc king of Breffny; but she reserved her heart for Dermod, son of the king of Leinster. After her lover had been raised to the throne by the death of his father, she took advantage of her husband's absence, and caused herself to be carried off by Dermod, who bore away his fair prize to Leinster. O'Ruarc applied to Roderic to assist him in procuring satisfaction for that insult. The latter having assembled the other kings, they all with joint forces attacked the ravisher. Dervorghal was re-taken, and confined in a convent; and Dermod, expelled from his kingdom, sought refuge in England.

The ambition of the English had long meditated the conquest of the neighbouring island, where they already possessed some settlements. Dermod made to the reigning monarch Henry II an offer of performing homage to him for his dominions if he would assist him to recover them. The English king agreed to the proposal, and sent troops to Ireland. But, from the very moment of his entrance, he plainly showed that he did not

intend to rest satisfied with the vassalage of a single prince. Two bulls from the pope, which he caused to be proclaimed, enjoined him to reform the manners of the Irish, and to support among them the Christian religion. It was already in a more flourishing state in Ireland than in England: wherefore those bulls could only have been intended as a pretext to give a colour of plausibility to his invasion. Henry derived the greatest advantage from them.

The Irish kings united under Roderic in opposition to Dermot and his English ally. The latter disunited them by insidious propositions. The chiefs who submitted to the performance of homage to him were favourably treated, and saw their states enjoy tranquillity, while those of their neighbours were ravaged with fire and sword. After he had thus harassed them, Henry made them a tender of his protection, which they consented to purchase at the expence of the desired homage. Roderic for some time singly asserted the independence of the Irish crown, but was at length compelled to yield like the others. By his submission, Henry became lord paramount of Ireland in the year 1172. Nevertheless, it was only by slow degrees, and in proportion as the different royal families became extinct, that the English kings acquired in Ireland an authority uncontrolled indeed, but not unopposed by reclamations.

Those monarchs employed every possible mean to bend under their yoke the proud heads of the Irish who were impatient of subjection to a foreign power. Instead of their former kings, they gave them princes, dukes, lords-justices, and in process of time a vice-roy and a parliament, as is the case at present. They have even had recourse to persecution and anarchy. To refuse justice to the party injured, and to screen the offender, has been the system of some English governors of the island. One of them, being reproved by his royal master for having neglected to punish the perpetrator of a detestable murder, said to him in reply, "Suffer the rebels to cut each other's throats. While they are quarreling among themselves, they will not make war against you : and it is so much gained for your treasury." If we were to measure the blood spilled by Elizabeth's orders, that which flowed under the sword of Cromwell, the torrents poured out from the veins as well of the catholics who suffered on account of their religion, as of the partisans of the Stuart race who were ever ready to take up arms in favour of that unfortunate family, we should be surprised that a drop of Irish blood yet remains, and that the nation has not become totally extinct. But, notwithstanding the identity of their sovereign, and the civil and commercial interests which unite the Irish with the English people, there still subsists be-

tween them a national animosity, strongly expressed in their words, and frequently even in their looks.

AMERICA.

In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, employed in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella king and queen of Castile and Arragon, discovered the western hemisphere, which received the name of West India, because it was thought to constitute a part of that tract of Asia known under the general name of India. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, visited those regions after Columbus, but was the first to give a public relation of the discovery. As that work bore his name, people accustomed themselves to say the "relation," the "voyage," the "land of "Amerigo," and at length, by abbreviation, to call the country itself "America," which name it has retained. It has also been, and still continues to be, called the "new world," an appellation which is strictly appropriate, because in effect every object there is new to the traveler from the three other parts of the globe. The indigenous inhabitants are beardless: the quadrupeds of the same species with ours are inferior in size: those which we transport thither are seen to degenerate: the ferocious animals, even the lion, are less courageous than in the old world.

America,
between the
Arctic and
Antarctic
polar circles,
and the
Atlantic
and Pacific
Oceans.

On the contrary, the venemous insects and reptiles attain an astonishing size.

From the condor, which is the largest and strongest and boldest of the feathered tribe, to the fly-bird which is the smallest, the American birds all shine with a rich variety of plumage. Even the shells, tinted by the pencil of Nature, display a brilliancy which attracts our unwearied admiration. That vast extent of land embraces all the different climates. Its mountains are the highest in the universe; its rivers are the greatest, and navigable for hundreds of leagues into the interior of the country. Finally, Nature seems to have taken a pleasure in making the centre of that extensive continent the repository of her treasures, the mines of gold and silver and precious stones—and enriching its surface with sugar, cocoa, cochineal, indigo, tobacco, various salutary plants, and the most delicious fruits.

It is more than probable that the ancients had a knowledge of the western hemisphere: at least it is certain that they suspected its existence. Columbus acquired a conviction of the fact by the strength of his own genius, from the hints which he collected, and from his deep reflexions on the spherical figure of the earth: but he found a difficulty in approving his opinion to his contemporaries: nor was it till after repeated contradictions and repulses that he obtained from Ferdinand and Isabella the succours requisite for the

profecution of the discoveries which he meditated. During his navigation he experienced all the mortifications and all the dangers which may naturally be expected by those who proceed as it were in the dark, and are accompanied by a set of men whom they cannot inspire with confidence by holding forth to them vague and uncertain hopes. His crew, alternately indocile and submissive, afforded him cause of incessant disquietude; an error in their course disconcerting them, the sight of land reviving their courage. Amid such agitations he reached the first of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of San-Salvador, an appellation importing that he considered it as a *survivor*, of whose assistance he stood in great need. He there refreshed himself and his followers: he visited some adjacent isles, built a fort in one of them which he named Hispaniola, and, after having stationed in it a garrison, returned to Spain with a quantity of gold and some of the natives of the country—irrefragable proofs of the existence of that new world, and of the advantages that might be derived from it.

The court, being flattered by the hopes which this discovery encouraged, conferred on Columbus the title of admiral, and furnished him with a squadron whose force indicated increasing confidence. But, on revisiting Hispaniola in 1493, he found that his colony had been destroyed. The Spaniards had, in his absence, behaved so ill

toward the Indians, that the latter attacked them, and overpowered them by superiority of number. Columbus learned these particulars from a cacique or king whose friendship he had won during his former residence in the island. He rebuilt the fort, and placed in it a more numerous garrison under the command of his brother Bartholomew: then, after having discovered several other islands, and assured himself by well-founded conjectures that a continent lay beyond them, he returned to Spain to excite additional hopes. But he was now suffered to languish in tedious expectancy, till at length enabled to proceed on a third voyage in 1498. On his arrival at Hispaniola, he found the colony in a declining condition. Discord had arisen among the colonists; and they had forced Bartholomew to make war on the natives. Columbus reconciled the Spaniards with each other and with the Indians: after which he laid the foundation of a town which he called San-Domingo, because the first stone was placed on a Sunday. The whole island afterward assumed the same name. Having now restored, or at least imagining that he had restored, peace and harmony, Columbus prepared for the discovery of the continent, the grand object of his wishes.

During the five years that he had been kept in suspense at the Spanish court, and employed in soliciting the means of prosecuting his enterprise,

other navigators, tempted by his successes, had engaged in the same career. Alonzo d'Ojeda was sent out by the merchants of Seville. He was accompanied by John de la Cosa a Biscayan, and the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci, both well skilled in cosmography, and of whom the latter had already sailed with Columbus. By the aid of these men, Ojeda discovered the continent in 1499, and landed there: but Columbus had already sailed along its coast. In 1500, Alonzo Nino, one of his officers, began to carry on commerce there in a private vessel on his own account and that of an associate. In the same year, Pinçon, another of his officers, passed the equinoctial line, and discovered Brasil. The Portuguese assert that they landed in that country at the same period under Alvarez Cabral.

While others were thus availing themselves of Columbus's discoveries to prosecute similar enterprises of their own, he could not venture to quit San-Domingo, where the insubordination of the principal Spaniards, of those on whom he had conferred the greatest favours, subjected him to numberless mortifications. He transmitted to Spain his complaints on the subject: but his presents to the court had been more productive to him of envy than of friendship: those individuals who had been overlooked in the distribution were hurt by his forgetfulness or neglect; while the others who had participated his munifi-

cence were dissatisfied with their respective shares. A report was propagated that he had already amassed immense wealth, that he and his brother defrauded the king of his dues, and acted with despotic tyranny toward the Spaniards of the colony. In consequence of these assertions, which were extensively circulated, Francis Bovadilla was sent over to San-Domingo with severe orders.

Arrived at the place of his destination, Bovadilla displayed all the authority of governor-general, with which the court had invested him. He took possession of the arms and provisions and warlike stores in the royal arsenals, listened with partial ear to the complaints brought forward against the admiral, seized his property, and, without condescending to hear his justification, loaded him and his two brothers with irons, and sent them prisoners to Spain. Alonzo de Valejo, the commander of the ship which conveyed them, did not imitate the inhuman conduct of the governor-general, but treated the captive brethren with great mildness, and made to Columbus the offer of loosing him from his fetters. "No!" replied the Discoverer with generous indignation—"I wear these chains by order of the king and queen; and I will obey that command as I have obeyed every other which I received from them. Their will has deprived me of my liberty: their will alone can restore it to me."

When informed of his arrival, the two sove-

reigns were incensed at the treatment which he had received : they gave immediate orders for his release, admitted him to their presence, kindly listened to him, consoled him, and, on a request which he made, notwithstanding his great age, that they should intrust him with the conduct of another expedition, they promised to gratify him in that respect so soon as a new governor, whom they were preparing to send to San-Domingo, should have rendered to them an account of the state of affairs in that island.

The governor's report proving entirely favourable to the admiral, their majesties gave him the command of a squadron. Returned to San-Domingo in 1502, Columbus had the consolation of seeing Bovadilla and his other enemies put on ship-board and carried off to Spain. He then undertook to discover and examine the coasts of the continent, in one part of which he laid the foundations of a fort. It is true he afterward abandoned the spot ; but this attempt insures to Columbus the honour of priority in the discovery, and a pre-eminence over the other navigators who did no more than follow whither he had led the way. There is no species of contrariety which the admiral did not suffer in this last voyage. His vessels were wrecked on the coast of Jamaica : his crews mutinied ; and he saw himself on the point of being condemned to terminate his days in the midst of the savages. But his prudence and fortitude

and firmness enabled him to triumph over all those difficulties. On his return to San-Domingo, - he experienced nought but indifference from the Spanish colony who were indebted to him for their existence. When, after his return home, he attempted to complain to Ferdinand, the monarch coldly heard the complaints of an old man with whose further assistance he could now dispense in deriving full benefit from his past services. Disgusted with the ingratitude of mankind, the Discoverer retired to Valladolid, where he died in 1506. After his death, those honours were conferred on him which had been refused to him during his life.

The first circumstance that struck the attention of the navigators, especially of Columbus, was that the inhabitants of the countries which they had discovered were quite a new race of men, who had not the most distant idea of the objects now presented to their view. They considered the ships as sea-monsters, the horsemen as centaurs inseparably united with their horses. They viewed with the utmost surprise their Spanish visitants, their beards, their arms, their dress. Simple and ignorant as children, they received with transport the trifling presents which were offered to them—glass beads, bells, little mirrors; and, in return for these, they gave their ear-pendants, gold rings, pearls, and precious stones when they happened to have any. They followed out to sea

the generous dispensers of those baubles, and swam after their ships to obtain more. But when, either for the purpose of checking their importunity or through other motives, a musket-shot was fired, they fled in affright, like a flock of birds. Their terror was at its utmost height on hearing the report of a cannon: they prostrated themselves on the earth; and, if any of their number, struck with the ball, crept away bleeding or fell motionless to the ground, they viewed as gods those powerful beings who handled the lightning and bade death to overtake them at a distance.

Their manners and customs also afforded subject of observation. In Hispaniola or San-Domingo, Columbus found a regular government established, with a king or cacique who was much respected by his subjects. They were white, polished, of middle size but strong-built, their nostrils wide, their foreheads smooth and high. Columbus had reason to believe that the cacique whom he first saw had others subordinate to him. According to the account which the Discoverer gave to Ferdinand and Isabella, they dwelt in houses of stone or painted wood, and had images called *cemis*, which they considered as tutelar gods, and to which they offered sacrifice. The king was their high priest. When he deceased, his body was dried by the fire to preserve it from putrefaction, and then deposited in

a cave, together with his arms, a store of provisions, and the most beloved of his wives, who all contended for the honour of accompanying him in death. Sick persons whose disease was found incurable were strangled.

When a physician attended a cacique, he was himself obliged to observe the same regimen which he prescribed to his patient. When the latter happened to die, the relatives of the deceased interrogated him respecting the cause of his death; and it was pretended, that, by means of certain exorcistic formulæ, he was made to answer. If his replies tended to inculcate the physician, mutilation or death was the consequence to the unlucky practitioner. A bad country for the medical tribe! where they were forced to fare like their patients, and where the dead could tell tales! In general the discoverers found the savages of all those isles and coasts excellent swimmers, and expert in handling the oar. Their canoes are usually hollowed from the trunk of a great tree, and consist of a single piece. Their women spin and weave cotton. The men are all armed with clubs and wooden swords, which bruise, break the bones, and sometimes inflict wounds more dangerous than those from edged weapons. They are very dextrous in managing the bow, and shoot with great accuracy of aim. The cruel custom of tinging arrows with poison is very

common among them ; and they pretend to such skill in graduating the venom, as to cause death after one or several days at their option.

America is divided into two great continents, which are joined by a very narrow neck of land called the isthmus of Panama or Darien. That isthmus separates the Pacific from the Atlantic ocean. Columbus and his imitators approached the continent by the latter. After having ranged over the coasts, they penetrated into the country, whither they were attracted by the allurements of gold, which they found in greater abundance as they advanced. Those adventurers did not always act in concert, but, as it were, rummaged the country in several bands. They separated, united again, supplanted each other in their respective settlements. The constant motive of their separations was the allurements of gold, and the partition of the acquired spoil. On occasion of one of those scandalous quarrels which happened in presence of the Indians who were astonished at their discords, a young cacique addressed Balboa, one of the chiefs of the Spanish adventurers, and, "Gold," said he, "is an object of too little importance to cause disunion between Christians. However, if you set so high value on it, I will point out to you a province where you will find as much of it as you can possibly desire. It is only ten days'

“ march hence to the western sea. There the
“ inhabitants have ships almost as large as
“ yours; and they eat and drink from vessels of
“ gold.”

A sea where a new field might be opened for commerce! a nation that ate and drank from vessels of gold! what powerful incentives of exertion to Balboa! He revived the ardour of his followers, which some reverses had damped. They soon commenced their march, and prosecuted it through a thousand difficulties of every kind—mountains to be climbed, whose tops were chilled with freezing cold—suffocating heat in the plains—rivers and torrents to be crossed—uncertainty of the route and of the dispositions of so many unknown tribes. Nothing however was capable of deterring them from their purpose: obedient to the commands of their chief who displayed in this enterprise the greatest prudence and firmness, they at length arrived on the shore of the Pacific ocean. Balboa there erected a cross in token of his taking possession of the country in the name of Ferdinand king of Castile. While his main body were reposing after their fatigues, he sent Francis Pizarro with a detachment to explore the coast and the adjacent countries: but he previously entered a canoe which he found near the shore, and attested his companions that he was the first European who had navigated the South sea.

In effect he is to be considered as the founder of the colony of Darien, of which even the misfortunes proved useful to the progress of discovery. At first it flourished for a season. On the report of a nation who "ate and drank from vessels of gold," new crowds of Spaniards flocked thither. The intrigues of a cabal deprived Balboa of the command; and the governor who was sent from Spain to supersede him, being jealous of his merit, harassed him by various persecutions, and finally ordered him to be decapitated. But the country was not found to contain an abundance of riches commensurate to the greedy expectations of the adventurers. The greater number of the settlers abandoned the colony, and dispersed in search of greater wealth. Some of them furnished Velasquez, governor of the isle of Cuba, with conjectures respecting a country of which they only ranged the coasts in returning northward to the Atlantic; but they said that they had seen sufficient of it to justify them in assuring him that it was inhabited by a civilised nation, abounding in gold, and with whom he might possibly establish an advantageous commerce.

Velasquez burned with the desire of rendering himself independent on the governor-general Diego, Columbus's son, who, by virtue of his office, exercised authority over the governor of Cuba. He flattered himself, that, by forming a settlement on the main land, he would of course

be emancipated from all subjection to the commander of the islands; for which reason he countenanced the exploratory excursions on the continent. When, from the accounts brought back to him, he had acquired a certainty that the enterprise was practicable, he sought a man who should unite prudence with intrepidity, and in whom he particularly wished to find a submissive obedience to his orders, with a disposition to evince his gratitude to his benefactor. Velasquez, thinking he had discovered the desired qualifications in Ferdinand Cortez, appointed him to conduct the expedition. In few days the new commander had made his preparatives, and commenced his march.

MEXICO.

FERDINAND CORTEZ was born at Medelin, a small town of Estremadura. His father destined him for the profession of the law, and had planned his education with that view. But the genius of the youth impelling him to military pursuits, he was on the point of setting out to make his first essay in arms on the plains of Italy under the celebrated Gonzalvo de Cordova, when a fall, which he suffered in attempting to scale his mistress's window, caused him to lose the opportunity of embarkation. After his recovery, he joined a party of adventurers for Hispaniola,

whither a number of young noblemen were going, like himself, in quest of fortune: He was only nineteen years old, of advantageous stature and agreeable figure, united with an amiable character and a considerable share of understanding and discretion: These qualifications gained him universal esteem in the colony. Velasquez, when nominated governor of Cuba, appointed him his secretary: in which station he so captivated a lady of distinction, that she intended to make him her husband. Velasquez opposed their union, and even committed his secretary to prison. But at length he consented to the marriage, loaded Cortez with favours, appointed him alcaide or chief judge of St. Jago, an employment in which his former studies proved serviceable to him. In that office he continued, performing its functions with universal applause, until he was constituted commander of the expedition to the continent, at the age of thirty-three years, in November 1518.

Scarcely was he departed on his mission, when Velasquez repented of his choice. The jealous rivals of Cortez instilled into the governor's mind an idea that his secretary would never pardon him for his imprisonment: they represented him as a man of ambitious independent spirit, and even asserted that he had been heard to drop expressions which betrayed his projects of insubordination. On these grounds of suspicion Velasquez

twice sent orders to have him arrested—first to the isle of Trinidad, afterward to the Havannah, where he was collecting volunteers for his intended expedition: but Cortez each time was protected from the ill-will of Velasquez by the esteem and affection of the army, who decidedly took his part. His force, when he reviewed it in the island of Cozumel, which he had appointed as the place of rendez-vous, consisted of five hundred and eight foot-soldiers, a hundred and nine sailors and workmen, and sixteen horsemen—in all, six hundred and thirty-three men.

With such a handful—which might with greater propriety be called an escort than an army—Cortez advanced to attack a potent empire, the head of several others, flourishing, as appeared from the first information which he received, with arts, politeness, a regular government, and able to set on foot innumerable armies. It would be attributing to Cortez ideas of gigantic magnitude to say that he entertained in the first instance a design of overturning that empire, or making himself master of it. Finding himself at the head of a war-trained and resolute band equally stimulated by the thirst of glory and the lust of wealth, and being sure of the esteem and friendship and confidence of his soldiers, his determination probably was to abandon himself to the guidance of Fortune, without limiting her favours by too great circumspection, or abusing

them by excessive boldness. That union of prudence and courage forms the most distinguishing feature in the character of that great man.

The first important occasion that he had of trying his strength with the Indians was in the island of Tabasco, where he was opposed by an army of above forty thousand men. He might have neglected an island that was so well defended, and have passed on to the continent: but he observed to his followers that their success could only be the fruit of their reputation; that, no doubt, the inhabitants of the continent watched with anxiety what turn affairs would take among the islanders; that, if the Spaniards avoided the latter, they would thus hold forth to the former an encouragement to defend their coasts with obstinacy; whereas, if they should land on their shores amid the shouts of victory and yet reeking with carnage, they would be preceded by a terror which might open before them an easy path to brilliant and useful conquests. On these grounds a determination was formed of giving battle. The Indians rushed forward to encounter their invaders with all the confidence which superiority of numbers could inspire. In some parts of the field, the weight alone of that mass of assailants would have been sufficient to crush the Spaniards, who were unable to load their muskets or make use of their swords; but the artillery, which thundered from a com-

manding situation, together with the sudden irruption of the horsemen into that host of naked wretches who were astonished by this sudden diversion, soon spread disorder through their ranks.

The slaughter was dreadful : all who made resistance were massacred : but, after the victory, Cortez treated his prisoners with humanity. He sent the words of peace to the cacique, who received the message with pleasure. Mutual presents were made by the two chiefs : among others, the cacique sent to the Spanish general twenty female slaves well skilled in making bread of Indian corn—a talent which proved very useful to the army. Among them was one who conceived an attachment to the Spaniards, and who, having easily learned their language, rendered them material services in the capacity of an interpreter. She was baptised, and received on that occasion the name of Marina. Among the objects which Cortez announced as the motives of his enterprise, he ever gave the foremost place to the propagation of the Christian faith. With the view of fostering or creating that desire in the bosoms of his soldiers, he showed himself extremely punctual in the performance of all the external duties of religion : he practised them in a striking and solemn manner : divine service was pompously celebrated in his camp ; and he took pleasure in permitting the Indians to attend, that the majesty of the cere-

monies might make an impression on their minds, and produce in them, if possible, a germ of conversion.

The anticipations of his foresight in determining to combat the Tabascans were justified by the event. Instead of armed hosts prepared to repel him from the continent, he only met negotiators chilled with terror. Pilpatoe and Teutile—the former governor, the latter captain-general, of the province where he was preparing to land—sent to inquire of him with what intentions his fleet approached the coast, and, in the name of Montezuma emperor of Mexico, offered him every assistance requisite for the prosecution of his voyage: but they made no attempt to prevent his debarkation. He therefore landed his troops unmolested, secured himself by intrenchments, said that he came with no other than pacific designs, and asked an interview with the governors. They came attended by a very splendid escort. The Spaniard received them in the midst of his officers and soldiers, and, after the introductory civilities, informed them by means of his interpreter, that, previously to his making them acquainted with the motives of his voyage, he wished to fulfill the duties of his religion, and recommend to the god of gods the success of his undertaking. The Indian chiefs were placed in the chapel, where they gazed and listened with eager curiosity and wonder.

To this preliminary succeeded a banquet seasoned with every charm which the Spaniards could devise. When the time was come for returning an answer, Cortez assumed a serious important air, and in a firm tone said to the governors—
“ I am come in the name of don Carlos of
“ Austria, monarch of the east, to treat with
“ the great emperor Montezuma on affairs essentially interesting not only to his person and his
“ empire, but also to the welfare of his subjects.
“ To execute my sovereign’s commands, it is
“ absolutely necessary that I be admitted to the
“ presence of the emperor: and I hope that in that
“ audience I shall be treated with all the attention and respect due to the greatness of the king
“ my master.” At these words the governors changed colour, and appeared much concerned. Before they made a reply to this declaration, they ordered a present to be brought in, which was intended for the general, hoping, no doubt, that its greatness and beauty would gain them a more satisfactory answer. In their own to him they showed the greatest prudence and judgement: they said that they had orders to treat with every possible attention all strangers who appeared on their coasts; that they felt pleasure in obeying, with respect to him, that injunction of their sovereign; but that they advised him to continue his voyage after having taken the necessary refreshments. “ We will not conceal from you,”

added they, "that it is very difficult to obtain
" access to the emperor: and we hope that you
" will be obliged to us for our frankness. We
" do not wish to deceive you: and we apprise
" you of the circumstance before you have lost
" any time, or found by experience the difficulty
" of your design."

"Sovereigns," rejoined Cortez, "never refuse
" audience to the ambassadors of other princes:
" and their ministers cannot, without an express
" order, oppose so reasonable a demand. It is
" your duty to acquaint Montezuma with my
" arrival." He desired them to dispatch a courier
to Montezuma, telling them that he would await
his answer. "But I insist," added he, "that
" you inform the emperor that I am determined
" to obtain admission to his presence, and that
" I will not quit the country with the disgrace
" of a refusal."

During the conference the Spaniards noticed,
among the Indians, some painters employed in
taking draughts of the ships, the camp, the
dresses, the arms, the horses, of their visitors. To
give additional animation to their pictures, Cortez
ordered the sails to be unfurled, ranged his soldiers
in battle-array, mounted on horseback with his
officers, bade the musketry and artillery to roar,
and exhibited the spectacle of a mimic engage-
ment, which struck the governors with astonish-
ment. The draughtsmen in particular were em-

barruffed beyond conception. Their pencils were inadequate to the representation of fo many novel objects. But, to fupply the defect of pictural expreffion, they were obferved to add certain characters underneath the figures: and, after having painted the fire burfting from the cannons, they ftrove to convey an idea of the effects of the explofion, by pourtraying all the furrounding objects as it were in a ftate of tremor. Thefe pictures, the writing of the Mexicans, being carried to the court of Montezuma, excited there a much ftonger wifh to keep the Spaniards at a diftance than to admit them to an interview.

While awaiting the anfwer from court, the governors generously and abundantly fupplied the invaders with provifions and every kind of refrefhment. In due time the anfwer came, accompanied by a magnificent prefent, which was intended to procure it a favourable reception. In difplaying it to the eyes of the aftonifhed Spaniards, the governors faid to the general that they requested his acceptance of thofe trifles, as a proof of the friendship which the emperor wifhed to entertain for the king his mafter; but that he did not, under prefent circumftances, deem it convenient or even poffible to grant him permiffion to proceed to Mexico. They alleged the difficulties of the roads, the dangers from favage nations on the way, and every other reafon which their ingenuity could fuggelt.

Cortez coolly listened to them, and replied,
“ It is not my intention to fail in the respect
“ due to Montezuma : I even wish it were in my
“ power to obey him : but I cannot possibly de-
“ part thus, without dishonouring my royal
“ master. Your emperor ought not to be of-
“ fended that I persist in my demand with all
“ that firmness which befits the dignity of a
“ crown that is honoured and respected by the
“ greatest sovereigns in the world.” As he spoke
with warm animation on the subject, the governor,
fearing lest a rupture should ensue, promised to
dispatch another courier. After the Indians had
retired, the Spaniards began more minutely to
examine the emperor’s present. They admired
not only the exquisite workmanship, but still more
the materials—gold, silver, pearls, precious stones
of every kind, and in surprising profusion. “ What
“ riches,” they unanimously exclaimed, “ what
“ treasures, must abound in that great city which
“ furnishes so many wonderful productions ! How
“ rich a harvest of spoil might there be reaped !”

While they were rapt in this ecstasy of ad-
miration, and goaded by eager desires which Cortez
was far from wishing to repress, Montezuma was
engaged in melancholy deliberations on the em-
barrassment into which he was thrown by the
obstinacy of that foreign intruder. The emperor
was not beloved by his subjects. Although he
was of the royal family, he had obtained the

throne by crafty stratagem; which circumstance had obliged him to commit acts of severity; and there were mal-contents in his court and in the provinces. An ordinary war was not capable of giving him any uneasiness: for, since his ascension of the throne, he had almost invariably been successful in arms: but, to wage battle against men coated in steel and rendered invulnerable! against monsters, half man half horse! against thunders that vomited distant death! the enterprise appeared to him rash and perilous in the extreme. Yet, after having maturely weighed every circumstance, he sent a concluding present to Cortez, with an order to depart from his dominions.

To Teutile, who warily communicated that command, the Spanish chief replied—"One of
" the principal objects of my embassy is to
" establish here the Christian religion, to extir-
" pate idolatry, and to propagate the true
" faith, as the only road to eternal happiness.
" Having come from so distant a country on
" business which concerns my religion and my
" conscience, I cannot desist from a perseverance
" in my efforts to obtain an audience." At these words the Mexican shuddered with anger, and, addressing Cortez in a lofty and indignant tone, "Hitherto," said he, "the great Montezuma has
" treated you with kindness, and observed toward
" you all the sacred laws of hospitality. If you

“compel him to display his power, you will repent of your obstinacy.” Having thus spoken, he retired without taking leave. Cortez, on seeing him depart, said to his people with a smile of contempt, “They threaten us! a sure sign that they are afraid!”—From that moment the camp was no longer supplied with provisions and other accommodations as before.

This privation excited murmurs; and the dissatisfaction was industriously fomented by an officer named Ordaz, a creature of Velasquez, and whom that governor had even attempted to substitute in the place of Cortez. Ordaz blamed the general for his inflexibility, and said that he would have acted more judiciously in coming to an accommodation with Montezuma, and obtaining from him advantageous terms of compromise; that it was contrary to every rule of good sense and prudence to advance with such a handful of men as were there assembled, to attack a mighty empire; that, if they were unwilling to renounce the enterprise altogether, the most judicious step would be to return to Cuba, and thence set out anew with a force better proportioned to the magnitude of the undertaking. He offered to make such a proposal to the general: the malcontents readily consented to empower him; and he acquitted himself of the charge with a degree of freedom, and even rudeness, which bordered upon insult, assuring the general that he spoke

the unanimous sentiment of the entire army. Cortez calmly listened to him, and, without uttering a word in reply, ordered that the army should hold themselves ready to re-embark on the morrow for Cuba.

When this determination was made public, by which the towering hopes of the adventurers were on the eve of being dashed to the ground, they immediately became mutinous. A considerable proportion of their number consisted of needy noblemen, who had joined the banners of enterprise with the view of making fortunes. Their discontent was inflamed by the art of certain emissaries whom Cortez sent among them during the night : they determined not to return to Cuba ; and that, if the general did not possess sufficient courage to execute the plans which he had formed, they would choose another in his stead. As soon as the morning appeared, they tumultuously crowded around their chief, to make known to him their resolution. Cortez affected an air of astonishment, and said, that, in adopting the measure which they disapproved, he had been solely swayed by an assurance given to him that such was the wish of the whole army ; that he now found he had been mis-informed ; that he felt great pleasure in seeing them fired with that desire of glory which ought to animate the breast of every Spaniard ; that, in consequence of that conviction, he would resume his former plan with

increased ardor; and that he was sure of conducting them, by the path of victory, to that fortune which their valour merited.—This declaration was received with loud applause and noisy acclamations of joy.

Fortunately, embassadors arrived at that critical juncture from the cacique of Zempoalla, a declared enemy to Montezuma, whose sovereignty that cacique refused to acknowledge. They said that they were come to admire the valiant warriors whose exploits in the isle of Tabasco had spread their reputation through the whole country. But the principal object of their visit was to engage Cortez in a league which they wished to form against the emperor. If the Spanish chief had before been disquieted by any doubts relative to the success of his undertaking, the certain knowledge which he now acquired of the divisions existing in Montezuma's empire must have convinced him of the possibility of its fortunate issue. But, before he advanced farther, he thought it good policy to clothe his authority with impressive forms, and thus to nerve it with a force that should stand proof against all the efforts of malevolence.

During the interval of awaiting the answers from Montezuma, he had employed his attention in securing a safe shelter for his ships, and founding a colony—necessary precautions in case of a reverse of fortune. He is accused of having in-

judiciously chosen the situation : but it is to be remembered that he was on the spot at the time, and that it would have required considerable trouble to remove to a different place. He named the new town Vera-Cruz, because he had landed in the country on Good Friday. When the colony had acquired consistency, he established in it a council consisting of alcaïdes, regidores, procurators, and all the other necessary officers, whom he obliged to bind themselves by oath to the impartial distribution of justice. After their installation, Cortez came forward with an air of respect calculated to raise the consequence of the tribunal, represented to the magistrates the necessity of appointing a general—acknowledged the illegality of his own power, since his commission had been revoked by Velasquez, and observed that it belonged to them to remedy the defect, as they were the representatives of the king. “ From this moment,” he added, “ I surrender into your hands all the authority which I have hitherto possessed—I resign to you the title under which I have exercised it—that you may nominate the man whom you deem most worthy of the appointment. As to myself, without offering the smallest violence to my feelings, I will take up a pike with the same hand which heretofore grasped the truncheon of office ; and I can with equal cheerfulness act in the capacity of a private soldier, as I have acted in the important

“ post of general : for if, in the military profession, it is by obeying that men learn to command, there are many occasions where a previous experience of command is requisite to evince the necessity of obedience.” At these words he laid on the table his commission, delivered to the magistrates his truncheon, and retired.

It was not long ere he was recalled. All the members of the council were devoted to him : they unanimously re-elected him, and gave him a commission in the king’s name. They next communicated his election to the soldiers, for the purpose of learning whether it were agreeable to them. The whole army acquiesced in the choice ; the partisans of Velasquez not daring openly to oppose it, but contenting themselves with privately accusing him of fraudulent cunning. The term is indeed harsh : but it cannot be denied that his conduct on the occasion was that of a deep politician. Now vested with confirmed authority, he ceased any longer to dissemble, or to use toward the murmuring mal-contents the same cautious delicacy which he had before observed. Ordaz, Pedro Escudero, and Juan Velasquez, were thrown into confinement by his order : but he afterward released them at the intercession of their friends. By this single act of severity, Cortez prevented all future sedition ; and by his clemency he so won the affection of those

mutineers, that they never thenceforward abandoned him, but approved themselves the bravest men in his army, and his most faithful friends.

What remains to be related is only as it were the history of two men—Cortez and Montezuma—the latter, sovereign of an extensive and opulent empire, where all the arts were cultivated, which was governed by fixed laws, defended by numerous armies, and able to bear the loss of hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants without feeling its strength impaired;—Cortez, on the other hand, the chief of five or six hundred adventurers, of which small number he could not lose a single man whose death did not inflict a grievous and nearly mortal wound on the whole body, surrounded as it was by treachery, and incessantly on the eve of being crushed by barbarous nations, whose apparent good-will he must have constantly viewed with suspicion, as it was only a tribute paid to fear.

And what cause of quarrel existed between those two men? None, or so little, that one of them was obliged to allege, as the pretext of his aggression, the desire of seeing the other—and that the latter gave no other reason for declining the interview than the feeble excuse of his not feeling a fancy to receive the intended visit. But, if they had declared their real motives, Cortez would have said—“ I have heard of your riches : “ yourself have proved to me by magnificent

“ presents that they even surpass the report of
“ fame, I command a body of adventurers, who,
“ like myself, have nothing to lose. We wish at
“ least to obtain a share of those treasures, if we
“ do not seize the whole.” To this he might
have added the love of glory, the desire of proving
the superiority of the Spaniards in those distant
regions, and the wish to establish there the Christian
religion.—Montezuma would have answered—“ I
“ feel myself under the greatest embarrassment :
“ your arrival has thrown every mind into agita-
“ tion : it has recalled to remembrance certain
“ ancient prophecies which alarm my subjects
“ and myself : I fancy that in you I behold those
“ conquerors who, according to a prediction
“ which is credited by my people, were to come
“ from the east, and destroy the empire of Mexico.
“ I cannot forsake my religion : its ministers are
“ powerful. If you be not content with the
“ riches which I send to you, I shall be obliged
“ to fight in my own defence, with the mournful
“ prospect of perhaps doing it in vain.”—Such
respectively was the disposition of mind in the
two rivals, when Cortez, by his new appointment
to the supreme command and by the attachment
of his co-adventurers, found himself at liberty to fol-
low his own judgement in directing his operations.

He advanced, and penetrated into the heart of
provinces which terror rather than affection retain-
ed under the yoke of the emperor of Mexico.

They complained of the enormous weight of taxes by which they were crushed; adding that Montezuma caused their wives and daughters to be carried off to minister to his pleasures—their young men, to be sacrificed to his gods. During his stay in one of those disaffected cities, Cortez witnessed the arrival of six of his oppressive collectors, carried in superb litters on the shoulders of Indians. They were sumptuously clad, loaded with ornaments of gold and precious stones, and accompanied by a numerous suite of officers and servants who refreshed the air around them with fans of feathers. From their elevated seats, as from thrones, they cast a disdainful eye on the servile throng whose substance they were come to devour. At sight of them, all the inhabitants trembled, till Cortez inspired the enslaved wretches with courage, and promised to support them. They now arrested the six commissioners, and, with the usual vehemence of the populace who are ever in extremes, intended to inflict on them an ignominious death. But the Spanish chief took them under his safe-guard, liberated two of their number with the greatest secrecy, and, sending them back to Montezuma, “assure the emperor,” said he, “that I will leave no efforts untried to effect the release of the others, and to convince the insurgents of the fault which they have committed in refusing to obey the sacred orders of their master. As to

“ myself, I desire nothing more earnestly than
“ peace, and an opportunity of giving proofs of
“ my respect to the emperor and to his ministers
“ and officers.” After this hypocritic protestation, he prevailed on the people to make overtures of submission, and obliged his four prisoners to promise that they would at least forbear to seize human victims for the sacrifices. Thus rescued from impending danger, the commissioners became advocates for the people at the foot of the throne. Every thing was settled by the dextrous management of Cortez; and all parties felt obligation to him.

That art of conciliation was his chief talent. He ever employed it with the greatest success in the case not only of individuals but also of entire nations. Having either found them enemies to each other, or by his own arts set them at variance, he then reconciled them, and made for himself faithful friends of both parties. When he met with any tribe susceptible of sentiments of magnanimity or enthusiasm, he was sure to win them by a frank and generous conduct, even though they had previously entertained strong prejudices against him. Such were the people of Tlascala, an independent race ever engaged in hostilities with Montezuma, who made ineffectual efforts to subdue them. Those high-minded republicans, though delighted to see the Spaniards march against their enemy, could not, without feeling their

pride hurt, observe that Cortez, when he asked permission to pass through their territory, was at the same time preparing to force a passage, in case of their refusal. They opposed him with powerful armies: but, having been vanquished in three successive battles, and still more effectually conquered by the moderation of the victor after their defeats, they became his firmest friends, showing a zeal and attachment which proved very serviceable to him, and from which they never once deviated in the sequel. In the accounts of those combats, however great the superiority of the European arms, it is with astonishment we observe, that, where thousands are slain on the side of the Indians, it is accounted a serious object if the Spaniards lose one or two men, or have ten or a dozen wounded. Where then did those showers of arrows fall, which were discharged by the Indians?—In the first encounter with the Tlascallans, one of the horses was killed. His head being carried about in triumph, that trophy served as an encouragement to hazard new battles, and the more so as the death of one of the soldiers taught them that the Spaniards were neither immortal nor invulnerable, as had been reported.

In quitting the territories of Tlascala, Cortez received on the frontier a new embassy from Montezuma, loaded, as the former had been, with gold and jewels, and, in the language of cautious moderation, desiring him to accept those presents,

and retire. He accepted them, and advanced. As it had been beforehand suspected that he might act in this manner, the embassadors had orders to tell him, that, if nevertheless he was determined to proceed to Mexico, the emperor was willing to receive him. There were two roads leading to that capital—the one longer, but good and easy—the other shorter, but intersected by rivers, rugged with rocks, and affording convenient spots for embuscades. The Mexicans had blocked up the entrance of the former, to prevent Cortez from pursuing it, while they had on the contrary leveled the entrance of the other which led to a dreadful defile, where lay posted a body of troops from whose hands Cortez would certainly have been unable to extricate himself. He had been previously informed of the snare laid for him, and, on arriving at the spot where the road divided into two, he asked the embassadors which he should take. They answered, that which had been leveled for the greater convenience of his troops. The politic general replied, “You are little acquainted with the temper of my Spaniards: they will march on this road which you have blocked up, precisely because it is the more difficult: for, wherever danger exists, thither they run in preference.” Astonished at this behaviour, the embassadors took their leave of him, fully convinced that he was inspired by some

divinity, and returned to carry to Montezuma the intelligence of his speedy arrival.

That prince had increased the number of his sacrifices, redoubled his incantations, and consulted all his forcerers. These, regulating their answers by the successes of the Spaniards which they had themselves personally witnessed, replied that the dæmon had appeared to them, and assured them that it was impossible to resist the Spaniards, because the gods had abandoned the Mexicans. "Well!" exclaimed the unfortunate monarch—"what shall we do if our gods abandon us? Let those strangers come! Let the heavens fall on us! It would be equally useless to us to hide ourselves or to flee."

Lo! the power of discouragement over a mind once affected! Montezuma was neither destitute of courage nor easily disconcerted; on the contrary, he had more than once, at the head of his armies, exhibited proofs of bravery distinguished either by coolness or by ardor, according to the exigency of the occasion. His council often admired his penetration and prudence. He was in his own capital, in the midst of a people accustomed to obey him: nor could any thing be less difficult than to defend the entrance against a handful of strangers. The city, situate between two lakes, could not be approached except by narrow causeys. That by which the Spaniards were to arrive was two leagues in length, and cut by

fluices which opened a communication from one lake to the other. It was easy, while the invaders should be stopped by those fluices, to pierce them with arrows discharged from the boats sailing on the lakes. If, in spite of that opposition, they still advanced, they would, at the end of the causey, find a double gate strongly secured, and protected by an embankment. If nevertheless they penetrated into the city, they would find it in every part intersected by canals; and the Mexicans could drown them by opening the fluices, and swelling the waters of the lower lake. Stones hurled from the house-tops, and furniture thrown from the windows, would have been sufficient to crush and destroy them: and, in short, we do not conceive how a single Spaniard could ever have reached the palace, if the Mexicans had chosen to make the slightest attempt at resistance. But it appears that Montezuma had formed the resolution of submitting to every thing, and of endeavouring to win them by gentleness and respectful attentions and complaisance, reserving for a future occasion to consider in what mode he should rid himself of such unwelcome guests. If Cortez was not acquainted with that determination of the emperor, we cannot sufficiently wonder at his intrepidity, not to say rashness.

It was, however, attended with a fortunate issue. The emperor came forward to meet the Spaniards with the affability of a friend. He took every ne-

cessary precaution for their safety, lodged them in a separate quarter of the city, which was easily susceptible of fortification, and which contained a palace for the reception of Cortez and his officers. They were allowed permission to visit all places and at all hours, and the inhabitants were forbidden to do any thing capable of giving them offence. From that instant Montezuma gave to Cortez such proofs of confidence as ought to have affected his heart: he as it were descended from the throne on which he always remained proudly seated in the presence of his own subjects, and, to their great astonishment, lowered himself to a footing of equality with the chief of those foreigners.

In the first conversation he freely disclosed his opinions respecting both them and himself, and likewise concerning what was to be the conclusion of the species of farce which they were acting together. He soon gave them to understand that he did not think the Spaniards had any greater claim to immortality than the Indians, and that he well knew that the thunder and lightning which they used were only the fruit of a discovery made by science. “In the same manner,” added he, “you are to construe the reports which you have heard concerning me—that I am immortal and equal to the gods—that fortune heaps on me her favours—that the walls and roofs of my palaces are of gold—and, finally, that the earth groans beneath the weight of my trea-

“ fures. You have also been told that I am cruel,
“ tyrannic; oppreffive, proud, unjust, incapable of
“ pardoning. But all these representations are
“ false. This,” he continued, showing the scar of
a wound which he had received in the arm—
“ this proves that I am mortal. My riches are
“ indeed great; but they have been exaggerated
“ by fame and flattery. The fame has been the
“ cause with my faults. Suspend therefore your
“ judgement; and you will see whether the cru-
“ elty and oppression which are laid to my charge
“ be not frequently indispensable measures of
“ government. As to you, I have been told that
“ you are wicked, vindictive, covetous, proud,
“ enslaved by your passions. But I believe you to
“ be of the same mould as other men, although
“ you be distinguished by some differences which
“ wholly arise from difference of climate. You
“ are polite and affable: you are brave and re-
“ ligious: you face difficulties, like true soldiers:
“ your generosity, which I have myself expe-
“ rienced, proves to me that you are not fordid:
“ in a word, you are men as we are; but you pos-
“ sess superior qualities.” He also delivered his
opinion on the subject of the horses, of which he
had received an account swollen by the exaggera-
tions of terror. “ I think,” said he, “ that they
“ are a docile species of deer possessing all the in-
“ telligence which the brute creation are capable
“ of attaining.”

Touching likewise on the object of Cortez's voyage, and what was to be its issue, he spoke to the following purpose: "We are not ignorant that the
" great prince whom you obey is descended from
" our ancient Quezalcoal, lord of the seven caves
" of the Navatlaques, and legitimate sovereign of
" the seven nations who founded the empire of
" Mexico. From an old tradition which we re-
" gard as infallible, we know that he set out
" from this country to subdue the regions of the
" east, promising that his descendants should at a
" future period come to give us laws, and to
" reform our government. All your actions are
" in accord with that prophecy; and the prince of
" the east, who has sent you hither, evinces by
" your exploits the greatness of his illustrious
" progenitor. I have therefore determined to
" submit to him: and I thought proper to ap-
" prise you of that determination, that you may
" candidly inform me whether you have any thing
" further to prescribe to me."

This was bringing Cortez at once to the point: but that chief had not himself a perfectly clear idea of the object at which he aimed. He replied with great address to each article of Montezuma's speech. The encomium which the emperor had bestowed on the character of the Spaniards, Cortez repaid by similar compliments in return. He acknowledged that the effect of the fire-arms, which the Indians considered as

thunder and lightning, was the invention of art ; and by that very circumstance proved the superior genius of his countrymen. “ As to our horses,” said he, “ they are not a species of deer, but “ animals of a more generous nature, which delight in war, which then become furious, and “ eager to participate the glory of their masters.” He next made a politic use of the foolish tradition which the emperor seemed so firmly to believe : he laid little stress on the proposed homage, but spoke of the absurd and cruel religion of the Mexicans, and said that the abolition of that impious worship, and the establishment of the Christian faith, of which he gave him a succinct sketch, were the principal objects of the mission with which his sovereign had intrusted him. He concluded by making to the Mexican monarch the offer of a close and perpetual alliance with his royal master.

“ I accept with the warmest gratitude,” replied Montezuma, “ the friendship which you “ offer to me in the name of the descendent of “ the great Quezalcoal. But all gods are good : “ yours are so in your country, and ours in mine. “ Let us suffer each to enjoy undisturbed what “ belongs to them. Meantime,” added he, casting a look of complacency on all the Spaniards, “ repose yourselves : you are in your own house, “ where you shall be served with all the attention

“ due to your valour, and to the great prince
“ your master.”

Cortez now saw himself at Mexico, arrived, to all appearance, at the summit of his desires. Nevertheless it may well be supposed that he felt considerable embarrassment respecting the part which he had to act. How was he to behave toward a hospitable and obliging and generous monarch? Dethrone him? ransom him? pillage the people? But neither the monarch nor his subjects furnished the slightest cause of complaint. Cortez therefore could do nothing more than visit the emperor in his palace, receive his majesty's visits at the Spanish quarters, appear with his officers in the simple character of courtiers, or assist at entertainments, with which Montezuma liberally provided them.

While they passed their time in this state of inaction, Cortez was informed by letters from Vera-Cruz that the colony had been attacked by Qualpopoca a Mexican general, and that it had lost eight men. He made inquiries into particulars, and was assured that a head had been sent to the emperor, who had examined it with an air of satisfaction. That head, from the description given of it, appeared to have belonged to one of the eight Spaniards who had disappeared in the battle at Vera-Cruz. Then the emperor was in unison with Qualpopoca! and the general

had only acted by his master's order! Cortez himself and his followers were at each moment liable to a similar attack: and what was to be done in such an emergency? This was the subject of a secret consultation between the Spanish chief and his officers.

One proposed that they should make a clandestine retreat; another, that they should apply for a passport, to carry off all their riches; a third, that they should remain in Mexico, awaiting a safe opportunity of retreat, and observing meantime the most profound secrecy respecting the intelligence from Vera-Cruz. "None of those measures," replied Cortez, "will answer our purpose. Make a clandestine retreat! How could we effect it, surrounded as we are on every side?—Apply for a passport! we, who have, sword in hand, opened for ourselves a passage to the capital! What would the Indians think of such weakness? Would they not rush upon us in every direction, as well at the moment of our departure as during our march? We must remain here—such is my opinion—not to temporise or dissemble, but to execute some great deed which shall strike the Mexicans with astonishment, and regain for us that esteem and veneration of which the late unfortunate event has deprived us. The only expedient that presents itself to my mind is

“ to secure the person of the emperor, and carry
“ him prisoner to our quarters.”—The council
stood petrified at the proposal. For a handful
of men to seize a powerful monarch and make
him prisoner in the midst of his court and his
capital! What a project! what a resolution!
Yet, when they had maturely reflected on the
business, it no longer appeared so terrifying;
and they empowered Cortez to carry it into ef-
fect.

He entered Montezuma's palace according to
custom, attended by his officers; thirty chosen
soldiers meantime walking about in the vicinity
in small separate bands. He accosted the emperor;
and complained to him of the treachery of Qual-
popoca. The monarch changed colour. “ It is
“ not,” added the general, “ that I suspect your
“ majesty of having participated in that foul
“ transaction: but it is indispensably necessary
“ that you afford me a convincing proof of your
“ innocence, to obliterate the impression which
“ an imputation of that nature could not fail to
“ produce: and that proof must be your coming
“ voluntarily, and without noise or disturbance,
“ to reside in our quarters, and there remain
“ until it be clearly demonstrated that you are free
“ from all concern in that detestable perfidy.”

Had a bursting thunder-cloud discharged its
contents around him, it could not have more

powerfully affected the monarch, than did these words of Cortez. He scarcely had patience to listen to what the Spaniard added for the purpose of softening and justifying the measure. "No!" said he—"It is not the custom with princes of my rank voluntarily to surrender themselves prisoners. If I had the weakness to consent to your desire, and to forget the respect which I owe to myself, my subjects would not suffer such an affront to be offered to their sovereign."—"Your subjects!" replied Cortez—"If you do not yourself compel us to forget the respect due to you, we little regard any obstacles which they can throw in our way."

The emperor proposed every expedient which he thought capable of satisfying the Spaniards—to deliver up Qualpopoca and his officers to be punished for their conduct—to give his own sons as hostages and pledges of his sincerity: but Cortez continued inflexible. The Spanish officers meanwhile began to be alarmed lest the delay should prove fatal to them; and Velasquez de Leon, a brave and impetuous young man, approached his general, exclaiming, "To what purpose so many words? Let him suffer himself to be conducted away, or I this instant put him to death." The interpreter Marina being present, Montezuma anxiously inquired of her the meaning of what had been uttered by the angry youth. She had been previously instructed by

Cortez, and now answered the monarch that she knew the intentions of the Spaniards, that she was acquainted with their character, and that, if he went with them, he would be treated with all the respect due to a great prince, but that, if he made any resistance, the consequences would prove fatal to him. This artful intimation at once determined him : he gave orders to prepare his equipage, summoned his ministers, and informed them that he was going to spend a few days with the Spaniards in their quarters. " Make known," added he, " that I go spontaneously, for the interest of my crown, and the advantage of my empire."

He now placed himself in the midst of the Spaniards, and commenced his march. Grief and vexation were pictured in every countenance : some of the spectators shed tears ; others raised loud cries ; but none made the smallest attempt to rescue their prince. He told the people with an air of chearful unconcern that he was going to divert himself with his friends the strangers. A crowd had assembled at the entrance of the Spanish quarters : but he ordered his guards to disperse them, and commanded proclamation to be made that any person occasioning disturbance should be punished with instant death. We defy all history to furnish a trait parallel to this.

The source of our astonishment however is not

yet exhausted. The unfortunate Qualpopoca and his officers arrive at the capital: they are tried by a Spanish court-martial, and condemned to be burned alive. At the moment of their execution, Cortez enters the emperor's apartment, followed by a foldier carrying a pair of fetters, approaches the monarch with a stern countenance, and, "You are accused," says he, "of having been the original author of the crime; and you must expiate your fault by a personal mortification." Without awaiting an answer, he ordered the irons to be fastened on him, and immediately withdrew.—Montezuma's courtiers, more afflicted than their master, are struck with horror: they fall at his feet, bathe them with their tears, and, supporting his irons, endeavour with respectful tenderness to alleviate their weight. As to himself, after the first moment of surprise, he resumed his usual magnanimity, and determined to die like a hero.

The execution being concluded, Cortez returned to his royal captive. "The traitors," said he, "are punished: your majesty is justified by this act of condescension, and is now at liberty." At the same time he loosed the monarch's fetters with his own hand, and threw himself on his knees before him. The emperor embraced the Spanish chief, and, by the joy which he now testified, seemed to derogate from the honour

that he had acquired by his late display of fortitude. Cortez proposed to him to return to his palace, since the motive for his detention no longer existed. The interpreter Marina, more warmly attached to the Spaniard than to the Mexican, had previously suggested to the latter his answer, which was, that he preferred remaining at the quarters, because his reputation would be injured if the people should learn that he had been a prisoner.

Whether it were resignation or dissimulation, he appeared to be reconciled to his confinement, and even to take a pleasure in it. The Spaniards conducted themselves with so much address as to persuade both him and his subjects that he enjoyed perfect liberty. No change was made in his ordinary mode of life : his ministers came to consult with him as usual, and the courtiers enjoyed the accustomed freedom of access to his person. All orders, all favours, still continued to emanate from him. He went abroad, walked about the city, visited the temples, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by Cortez, who had however taken the precaution of exacting from him a promise that he would punctually return to the quarters. But one would have thought that he was attracted thither by inclination, so greatly he seemed to delight in the company and conversation of his keepers. The crafty Cortez dextrously availed himself of the monarch's

confidence, and obtained permission for some of the Spanish officers to go visit the mines. Montezuma ordered a map of his empire to be drawn, which he presented to the general; nor did he withhold from him any information respecting his revenues, his forces, the police, the government, or any thing of which the knowledge could be serviceable to him.

Under the semblance of curiosity or amusement, Cortez continued to make progressive advances toward the attainment of his grand object. He had learned how difficult it would have been for him to penetrate into the town, if, while stopped by a body of armed opponents on the causey, he had been attacked in flank by the Indians from their canoes on the water. It was therefore important that he should render himself master of the lake; and, to accomplish that, he took advantage of a boat-race which was exhibited in his presence. At the same time that he allowed due praise to the swiftness of the Mexican canoes, he said that his own vessels, if he had them at hand, would outfail the others without the aid of oars. "Without oars!" That boast, which wore the air of a challenge, appeared very extraordinary to Montezuma, and excited in him a wish to see the experiment tried. After the example of other conquerors engaged like himself in hazardous enterprises, Cortez had, with the consent of his followers to whom he

wished to leave no other resource than victory, ordered his ships to be broken up: but the sails, cordage, and other rigging, had been carefully preserved; and he now obtained permission to send for those articles to Vera-Cruz.

In the mean time, timber was cut down and fashioned. Montezuma ordered his subjects to assist the Spaniards, that he might the sooner enjoy the spectacle of that so unequal contest between the vessels without oars and the others full of rowers. The rigging came safe to Mexico; and at length two well-equipped brigantines majestically made their appearance on the lake. The Indians asked each other what those heavy masses could do against their light canoes: at the same time, however, they doubled the number of their rowers. The signal was given: the Spanish sails were unfurled; and a fresh breeze swelled the bellying canvas. Borne along by those wings, the brigantines flew with a celerity which the utmost efforts of the rowers were unable to equal. The spectators uttered shouts of admiration at a sight which to them appeared miraculous. The more intelligent among them considered those vessels as a grand invention proving the superior genius of the Spaniards, and conceived, in consequence of it, a higher esteem for those foreign visitors.

A bold step, hazarded by Cortez, had nearly deprived him in a moment of all the fruits of his former skilful policy. He had prevailed on Mon-

tezuma to order that no more human flesh should be served up on the imperial table: but he further attempted to abolish the custom of sacrificing human victims. The emperor trembled at the proposal, and warned the general of the disagreeable consequences which it might produce. In effect, the priests, who were very powerful, loudly murmured; and the people began to show strong symptoms of mutinous opposition. Cortez, however, repressed his zeal in season sufficiently opportune to prevent an insurrection: but the prejudices against him, which that endeavour had left in the public mind, gained numerous partisans for Caminatzin, the emperor's nephew, who undertook to rescue his uncle from the hands of those foreigners. He would perhaps have succeeded in his design, if Montezuma himself had not opposed his efforts. The young prince, who was cacique of an important district, was summoned to court, and deposed. The states which he had possessed as a fief of the empire were conferred on another person: and great care was taken to inform the successor that it was to the recommendation of Cortez he was indebted for his promotion.

The attempt of the nephew, however, excited serious reflexions in the uncle's mind. At bottom, he could not disapprove it: nor did he entertain a doubt that, although it had failed of success, it would be followed by many others of a

similar nature.. He therefore must expect incessant revolts by remaining at the mercy of the strangers. And, besides, what could be their ultimate design? Why did they continue in Mexico? What further demands had they to make of him? He resolved to put at length a conclusion to that disgraceful farce of a monarch held captive by the embassador of a foreign prince, and yet obliged to appear satisfied. Having sent for Cortez, he informed him that he was determined publicly to declare himself a vassal to the king of Spain, as successor of Quezalcoal, and in that quality lord paramount of Mexico; that he would assemble the caciques and nobles of the empire to be witnesses of that declaration; that the acknowledgement of his subjection should be confirmed by a voluntary contribution from each cacique, as a proof of their consent; that, on his part, he had collected a great quantity of jewels and precious stones of inestimable value to discharge that obligation.

The caciques and nobles being accordingly convoked, Montezuma made his appearance in the assembly with an air of majesty which he had long been unaccustomed to assume. For the vassalage to which he subjected himself and his whole empire, he alleged a motive which attenuated its disgrace: he affected to represent it as merely a restitution made to the great Quezalcoal in the person of his descendent—an act of justice and

religion, which the gods themselves had directed him to perform. Some murmurs were heard in the assembly, some disturbance was perceivable; when Cortez thought necessary to speak, and to assure all present that it was not the Spanish monarch's intention to deprive the emperor of his crown or to make any alteration in the government, but simply to assert his claims to the succession. On these terms the oath of allegiance was taken; and it was formally recorded in a public instrument which was delivered to Cortez with the present or tribute of the emperor, and the donations from the caciques, the whole constituting an assemblage of riches of inestimable value.

We may reasonably doubt that Cortez was prepared for the declaration which concluded the business of that solemn meeting. After his acceptance of the presents, the emperor assumed an air of firmness, and said to the Spaniards—"You
" may now prepare for your departure. No mo-
" tive yet remains for your further stay. The
" object of your embassy is accomplished. The
" Mexicans begin to grow jealous of your long
" residence here: they suspect you of harbouring
" designs more dangerous than those which you
" have announced; and my authority would not
" long be able to screen you from their resent-
" ment, if their suspicions should be realised.
" The gods," added he, "are angry to see me

“favour their enemies: they have refused me
“rain: they threaten to destroy my harvests,
“and to extirpate my subjects by pestilence.
“Ask of me whatever you wish; and I will
“gratify your desires, because I love you. But
“depart: the gods and my people require that
“sacrifice.”

Surprised, as we are informed, at the unexpected firmness with which the monarch gave him his dismissal, Cortez was at first tempted to reply to him in a similar tone: but, cautiously checking himself, “Yes,” he answered, “I have
“fulfilled the object of my mission; and I will
“now with all possible diligence make my preparations for returning to Spain. I had even
“come with the intent of asking your permission
“to build ships to carry back my soldiers; because those in which we arrived here are destroyed, and cannot be repaired for so long
“a voyage.” Delighted at not experiencing a refusal which he had apprehended, Montezuma replied that the Spaniards might take their own time, and that it was not his intention to urge their hasty departure. At the same time he issued orders for the felling of timber, and giving the Spaniards every possible assistance in the construction of the vessels.

On the other hand, Cortez, while he affected all the external appearance of eager haste, gave private instructions to his chief ship-builder to

proceed as slowly in the work as possible. We do not clearly conceive what could be the expected advantage of that tardiness : perhaps even the general himself did not well know. But he intended, doubtless, to regulate his conduct by the course of events. While the time passed in this state of mutual suspense, intelligence was brought to Mexico that eighteen ships had been discovered off Vera-Cruz. “ Now,” said Montezuma, who was apprised of the appearance of the fleet, “ you have no further need of preparations. “ There are ships arrived on my coasts : in them “ you may embark.” The second information from Vera-Cruz announced that those vessels contained eight hundred Spaniards, whom Velasquez the governor of Cuba had sent to deprive Cortez of the command. The third message brought the news of a battle fought under the walls of Vera-Cruz, of which the new-comers had attempted to gain possession : and eight prisoners were sent to him, who had been taken on the occasion.”

It is easy to judge of the perplexity to which Cortez found himself reduced. He was obliged to conceal his anxiety, and to dissemble both with the Mexicans and the Spaniards. He said to Montezuma—“ It is a second embassador from “ the king of Spain, sent to give weight to our “ negotiations. He is, according to custom, attended by an army : but I intend to prevail on

“ him to return ; and for that purpose I will immediately go to him.”—To his troops he said—
“ Truly I owe my warm thanks to Velasquez for
“ having sent me so opportune and considerable a
“ re-inforcement : for I feel not a doubt of being
“ able to gain so many associates in those who
“ came to combat us.”

When the arrival of the prisoners was made known to him, he went out to meet them, ordered their irons to be taken off, with great affection embraced them, and particularly Guevara, a priest, the most distinguished among them, saying that he was highly displeased with the governor of Vera-Cruz for having given such treatment to a man of his rank and merit, and that he would not fail to reprimand him for his misbehaviour ; that he was delighted to find that the conduct of the expedition had been intrusted to Narvaez, his old and intimate friend ; that he hoped to find him amicably disposed, and that they would easily come to an accommodation. He took care that the prisoners should be well received by his soldiers, and he imparted to them a share of the presents of Montezuma. The conversation of all who approached them was entirely engrossed by the successes of Cortez, his superior talents, the great credit he enjoyed among the Mexicans, and his tender attentions to his Spanish followers.

When the prisoners had been thus tutored without any apparent intention, the general

thought them, and especially Guevara, to be the fittest persons, he could possibly employ as negotiators with Narvaez. But the latter was a man of haughty stubborn disposition, and imagined that Cortez could never be able to resist the force that he had brought with him, which amounted to more than double the number of his own. He therefore refused to listen to any proposals of conciliation. Cortez also sent to him, but with equally bad success, his chaplain Olmedo, a man of great merit. Olmedo was very ill received; and Guevara was imprisoned for having added to the propositions a panegyric on Cortez, which hurt the ears of his jealous rival.

While thus negotiating, the general did not neglect to adopt every measure of security. Conceiving how great would be the imprudence of awaiting the arrival of Narvaez in the capital, and suffering the Mexicans to be spectators of a hostile conflict between the Spaniards, he repaired to the emperor, and told him that there was reason to fear lest the new ambassador from Spain should cause some disturbance; that there might be a mistake in the business, since, coming as the lieutenant of a distant governor, he possibly was ignorant of the last instructions from the Spanish court, and imagined that Cortez's embassy made a part of his own commission. "It will be sufficient," added he, "that I show him my credentials: I will go in person with a part of my

“ troops to carry them to him, lest his disorderly
“ army should molest your subjects, or afford
“ your majesty any cause of displeasure.”

That “part” of his troops was nearly his entire army. He left no more than eighty men behind him at Mexico, under the command of Alvarado, an officer greatly beloved by Montezuma. He took the precaution of asking a re-inforcement of two thousand men from Tlascala—Indian warriors, it is true, but proud of being called in to the aid of the Spaniards, and thus as it were adopted by them. During his march, he sent new proposals to Narvaez, but still without effect. That general was in a state of unceasing rage as well against Cortez’s envoys whom he treated as spies and seducers, as against his own soldiers who suffered themselves to be won over, and against his officers who openly took the part of Cortez. Ayllon, a member of the supreme council of San-Domingo, who had joined the expedition for the purpose of acting as a mediator, proceeded so far as to forbid Narvaez, on pain of death, to advance against Cortez. Narvaez only became more furious, and ordered the mediator to be laid in irons. Cortez sent to him Velasquez de Leon, a near relative to the governor of Cuba; but he experienced no better reception than the others. This impetuous and inconsiderate conduct, however, injured Narvaez very much in the estimation of his own army. Besides, he had to contend with an expe-

rienced and indefatigable commander, who doubled the speed of his marches, took advantage of a tempest to attack him by surprise, completely defeated him, and made him prisoner. The vanquished soldiers, predisposed as they were, did not require very urgent solicitations to induce them to incorporate themselves with the victors. In consequence of this event, which had threatened to ruin him, Cortez now saw himself master of eleven ships and seven brigantines, with an army composed of a thousand foot and a hundred horsemen, exclusive of the garrison stationed at Vera-Cruz.

His expedition was the work of few days : but that short period had been sufficient to produce a change in the state of affairs at Mexico, in spite of Montezuma, who had remained during the whole time at the Spanish quarters according to his promise. The Indians, wishing probably to take advantage of the reduced number of those foreigners to deliver the emperor from their hands, had taken up arms, and made several attacks upon them. Others affirm that the insurrection was provoked by the rapacity of the Spaniards in pillaging the Mexicans whom they surprised during a public festival to which they had come adorned with all their most precious jewels. From whatever cause originating, the quarrel had been serious. One of the brigantines on the lake was burned : the bridges on the causeway were broken

down; the streets were deserted. An alarming silence prevailed, which was first interrupted by the compliments of Montezuma, who advanced to the entrance of the city to meet and congratulate the victor. Proudly conscious of the force with which he returned, the general did not behave to the monarch with his accustomed respect. He is said to have turned his back on Montezuma, although that prince was in no wise chargeable with the events which had happened, but had exposed his own person in defence of the Spaniards, whom nothing but the shadow of royal authority yet resident in him had saved from falling victims to the fury of the Indians.

Disposed as they then were, they could, if assembled in a body, have prevented Cortez from re-entering the city: but they meditated a grand stroke: they chose to suffer the junction of the Spaniards, with a view of destroying them all together. It is asserted that Cortez, while he openly affected to blame Alvarado for not having maintained peace between his men and the Indians, was inwardly not displeased with the insurrection, since it furnished him with the occasion, which he had so long desired, of employing arms in support of cunning to obtain a decisive conclusion. An event soon happened, which he had not foreseen. The Mexicans, having secretly concerted their measures, made a violent assault on the Spanish quarters. Though several times

repulsed, they still returned to the charge, and in every new attack displayed a fury bordering on despair. Montezuma determined to interpose his mediation and authority; for which purpose having presented himself to the assailants from a window, a stone, either aimed at him or guided by chance, fractured his skull; of which wound he died two days after.

If the Spaniards had not been respected while that prince was alive, they were treated with less regard after they had lost his protection. The Indians incessantly harassed them, and, from suffering repeated defeats, learned to conduct their attacks with greater prudence. Closely blockaded on every side, the Spaniards at length saw themselves in danger of being reduced by famine. They were obliged to abandon their valuable conquest: their jewels, riches, treasures—now become a dangerous burden—rendered their retreat difficult and dangerous. Multitudes of Indians rushed forward to assail the Spaniards: and, in proportion as the former perished either by the weapons of their enemies or by falling into the lake, others presented themselves to fill their places. Never had Cortez found himself exposed to so imminent danger. Several times he was forced to perform the duties of the soldier and the captain; in which he displayed such valour as animated his followers with additional courage.

After having effected his retreat along the caufey, the laft and moft ferious trial awaited him in the valley of Otumba, where the entire force of Mexico was affembled to furround him. On defcrying that countlefs multitude of foes, Cortez exclaimed, “ Here, my comrades ! we muft conquer or die. But let us not fear ! God will combat on our fide.” Seeing the victory hang doubtful, he placed himfelf at the head of his cavalry, ruſhed at full gallop againſt the enemy’s centre, and cut himfelf a paſſage to the imperial ſtandard, on the fate of which, according to the ſuperſtitious ideas of the Mexicans, depended that of the army. He made his way to the officer who bore it, overthrew him with a ſtroke of his lance, and carried off the ſtandard. The Indians immediately loſt all their courage, threw down their arms, and diſperſed in precipitate flight. The carnage was horrible : of two hundred thouſand combatants, above twenty thouſand remained dead on the field of battle. The Spaniards were no more than fix hundred and fifty, and did not loſe fixteen of their number.

After the battle, they reached the territory of Tlaſcala, where they repoſed after their fatigues. At the moment of their arrival the republic was arming a body of warriors to be ſent to their aſſiſtance. Faithful to their alliance, the Tlaſcalans had refuſed that of Quilavaca, Montezuma’s ſucceſſor, becauſe he had annexed to it the condition

of their abandoning the Spaniards. They paid to Cortez every imaginable honour : and, that general having fallen sick in their town, they showed themselves equally alarmed as his own soldiers by the danger which threatened him, and equally rejoiced at his recovery.

Though obliged to quit Mexico, Cortez had not renounced the hope of possessing it : but circumstances forced him to alter his plan of operation. He had not now in his hands the feeble Montezuma, whom the dread of disturbances, and the hope of freeing himself from his humiliating condition without bloodshed, had induced to accede to every measure of concession or conciliation which the Spaniard thought proper to suggest to him. The unfortunate emperor had suffered the punishment of his temporising politics from the hands of his own subjects : and Cortez, who certainly would not have spared him if he had expected any advantage from his death, alleged, as a pretext for the enterprize which he meditated, his obligation to avenge his deceased friend, the vassal of his master. During the time of his repose at Tlascala, his attention was employed in making preparations for the siege of Mexico. He judged that the only expedient which could save him and his small band, even though victorious, from being ultimately destroyed by small but repeated losses, was to oppose a multitude to a multitude.

The tyrannic government of Montezuma, and the pride of the Mexicans, who, being themselves forced to bend beneath the yoke, took a pleasure in imposing it on others, had exasperated against them the chief part of the neighbouring tribes. Cortez carefully collected all those scattered sparks of hatred, and fanned the whole into one common flame. All those nations eagerly pressed forward to supply him with their respective quotas of warriors to humble the arrogance of that over-bearing city. The clothing of those troops cost nothing, as the bounty of nature superseded every expense of that kind among the Indians: their subsistence came equally cheap, each man carrying with him his own provision. The army which he conducted against Mexico is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand men. Of these the Tlascalans were the best; but the others were not destitute of martial merit; and he had trained them all, more or less, according to their respective disposition to discipline. The dangers which he had experienced on retreating along the causey through the lake inspired him with the idea of opening himself a passage through the lake itself: with which view he gave orders for the construction of great canoes or boats superior to those used by the Mexicans, and also of thirty brigantines to support them. The fleet taken from Narvaez supplied him with the cordage and other articles requisite for their equipment.

These preparations were necessary against the enemy with whom he proposed to contend. Quilavaca, who had only made a transient appearance on the throne, was succeeded by Guatimozin, that cacique and nephew to Montezuma, whom Cortez had caused to be stripped of his dignity for having attempted to rescue his uncle from captivity. Though young, he was already celebrated for his military talents: and he moreover displayed many virtues, unalloyed by any admixture of vices, the usual concomitants of absolute power. Elevated at so critical a season to the tottering throne, he thought it his duty to consolidate it by the affections of the people, which his predecessors had too much neglected to cultivate. With that view he alleviated the burden of taxation, and personally administered justice to his subjects. The nobles, released from that servile homage which they had been wont to pay to their master, and admitted to familiar intercourse with him, were no longer tempted to seek indemnification at the expense of their inferiors for humiliations inflicted on themselves. Guatimozin encouraged the warriors by honours and rewards, and devoted his whole time and attention to the affairs of the empire.

To Cortez's plan of stirring up the surrounding tribes against Mexico, he opposed that of arming his tributaries and allies, for the purpose of keeping the enemy at a distance from his capital. But those auxiliaries were in every instance defeated,

and proved unable to arrest the progress of the Spaniards. Cortez gained possession of all the towns on the borders of the lake, where the causeys terminated—rendered himself master of the causeys themselves, and began to dominate on that petty sea by means of his large boats and his brigantines. Thus Mexico—where all the men were become soldiers, and even the women converted into warlike Amazons, and which consequently contained above three hundred thousand combatants—was blockaded by eight hundred and seventy men possessing not more than eighteen pieces of artillery. As to their Indian associates, they served rather to guard the towns and causeys than to fight.

The history of that siege conveys the highest idea of the skill of Cortez, of his genius fertile in resources, of his cool deliberation amid surrounding dangers, and of the valour of his troops. It also excites our esteem for the courage and intrepidity of the Indians, their patience under toils and all the horrors of famine, and finally their tender attachment to their sovereign. Their most obstinate efforts of defence could not prevent Cortez from penetrating into the heart of the city. During the intervals of attack, proposals of peace had been made: the emperor was not averse from embracing them: but they were frustrated by the zeal of the idolatrous priests, who anticipated from any accommodation the inevitable

overthrow of their religion and their authority ; which consideration was sufficient to render them hostile to all agreement. They transfused their own obstinacy into the minds of the people, and even of the emperor's council. The monarch yielded to the plurality of suffrages, and to the assurances given by those priests, that the gods, appeased by the sacrifice of some Spaniards who had been made prisoners, would soon again become favourable, and that victory would thenceforward adhere to the Mexican banners. The courtiers, however, and the ministers, placing little confidence in these flattering promises, urged the emperor to provide for his personal safety : but he answered that he never would consent to abandon his people.

Nevertheless, when the Spaniards had made themselves masters of a part of the city, and had reached the great square, Guatimozin formed the resolution of effecting his escape with the intention of placing himself at the head of an army in the field, and returning to defend or retake his capital. To afford him the means of executing that project, and to cover his retreat, the Mexicans formed of all their remaining canoes a great fleet, with which they boldly advanced to assail the Spaniards. During the heat of the conflict, a captain, named Sandoval, observed that ten canoes had separated from the Indian fleet, and were escaping with the utmost speed of oars. He im-

mediately pursued them in his brigantine, came up with them, and leaped into the foremost. In that, was discovered the emperor, who surrendered himself prisoner, without testifying any regret or anxiety except for the empress his consort by whom he was accompanied.

On a signal given by the captive monarch, the oars throughout the whole fleet ceased to move, the weapons dropped from the hands of the combatants, several of whom threw them into the lake in token of submission. The nobles who were taken in the other canoes made earnest and affecting entreaties to be conducted to the emperor to lay down their lives at his feet. Equal consternation prevailed through the city; the Indians every-where submitted; and in an instant Cortez might have considered himself as emperor of Mexico. Guatimozin was presented to him; on which occasion the unfortunate prince approached his conqueror with a noble air and an appearance of greater firmness than seemed compatible with his fallen state.

He seated himself in presence of Cortez, who remained standing; after a while, suddenly starting from his seat, he laid his hand on the hilt of the Spaniard's sword, and said to him, "Why do you hesitate to take away my life? Prisoners of my rank are always a burden to their conquerors. Since I have not been so fortunate as to shed my blood in the defence of

“ my people, let me have the satisfaction of dying
“ by your hand.”—Happy that prince, if his desire had been instantly gratified!—Cortez appeased his emotion, promised him favourable treatment, and even flattered him with a prospect of the possibility of his being re-established on the throne.

After the first steps necessary to insure his conquest, the next object of the general's attention was to seize the treasures of the empire: and then indeed it plainly appeared that the possession of them had all along been his principal aim. Ye readers, who feel an esteem for Cortez! turn aside your eyes from an action which disgraces his character! He asked the emperor, where lay those treasures which were said to have been buried by Montezuma. It is not certain that there existed any such concealed wealth, or that Guatimozin knew where it was deposited. The opinion of its existence, however, was generally prevalent: and, under the persuasion that it was true, Cortez, besides questioning the emperor himself; interrogated also his chief minister, from whom not receiving the expected information, he ordered him to be put to the torture in his master's presence. The unfortunate sufferer mournfully fixed his eyes on the monarch, and seemed by his looks to swear to him inviolable fidelity and attachment. He expired under the hands of his tormentors.

That confession which he had been unable to obtain from the subject; Cortez hoped to extort from the emperor. The greedy Spaniard for that purpose made a trial of tortures. The empress was present, a young princess of charming figure, and admired for her graces, her affability, and the sweetness of her countenance. The tears and sobs which that cruel spectacle called forth from her, softened the hearts even of the barbarous executioners. Let us add, for the sake of diminishing the indignation against Cortez, that he too shed tears, and ordered the instruments of torture to be removed. The emperor had, without betraying any sensation of pain, endured the dreadful torment of being stretched on a red-hot gridiron. One of his courtiers, while suffering in the same manner, uttered loud shrieks; whereupon Guatimozin, turning his eyes toward him with an air of firmness, said, "And am I on a bed of roses?" Cortez afterward dragged that prince with him on different military expeditions. The unfortunate captive made several attempts to recover his liberty. One of them Cortez pronounced to be an act of treason, for which he caused him to be hanged.

After having cleared the town, converted the pagan temples into Christian churches, appointed magistrates, and established the best order that circumstances would admit, the general hastened to new conquests. In various expeditions not only

did he subdue all the countries which composed the empire of Mexico, but his exploits further strengthened him by the accession of other states as tributaries or allies. It can scarcely be doubted, that, enjoying so brilliant a reputation, he might have bound his brow with the imperial diadem, on winning over the Indians by favours, and admitting the principal Spaniards to a participation of the dignities and authority: but he ever conceived it his duty to continue dependent on the crown of Castile. Charles V, who at that time wore it, conferred on him the title of captain-general and governor of New Spain: but, at a moment when he least expected such an event, he was surprised by the arrival from Europe of treasurers, inspectors, controllers, a crowd of officers and judges, destined to supersede those whom he had himself appointed.

While he was engaged in one of his distant expeditions, those officers, on a false report of his death being circulated either by chance or design, sold all his property, and divided the produce among themselves, as if they had been his heirs. After his return, he punished them, and obliged them to make restitution. The complaints which he transmitted to Spain respecting their insubordination, and their recriminations against him, furnished the Spanish court with a pretext for nominating a vice-roy. The man appointed to that office was not Cortez, to whom

no other power was left than that of commander of the troops. Mendoza, the new vice-roy, could not brook an equal: Cortez could not brook a superior. The latter therefore returned to Spain, whither he had already made a voyage for the purpose of obtaining justice. Though received, as before, with great respect and distinction, he however discovered that the court were not disposed to re-instate him in the possession of an authority which they feared he might abuse. He endeavoured by every mean in his power to remove those suspicions: like a steady courtier, he attended Charles in his expedition to Algiers, distinguished himself there by his usual display of courage, had a horse killed under him in a battle against the Africans, and lost in the field two emeralds of inestimable value, part of the spoils of America. At length being fully convinced that his complaisant assiduities would never obtain for him a restoration of the authority and rank to which he was entitled, Cortez retired to a village near Seville, where he died in 1554, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Although he had ample reason to delight in the recollection of his glorious exploits, may we not reasonably suppose that the peace of his retreat was sometimes disturbed by regret for having laboured in the service of an ungrateful master—by the reproaches of his conscience on the subject of so many wretched Indians sacri-

ficed to his avarice and ambition—and by the shade of the unfortunate Guatimozin?

The Mexicans have none but oral traditions respecting their origin, which they do not carry farther back than the commencement of the tenth century of the Christian æra. According to their account, seven tribes, issuing from seven caverns of which the situation is not pointed out, chased before them the inhabitants of the plains, a race of naked savages living on berries and roots—mostly giants and very cruel—and drove them to the mountains, where their posterity still subsist. The victors, having reached the borders of the lake, built towns on its shores. The last of the seven tribes that emerged from the caverns was that of the Mexicans, who wandered during a period of eighty years before they could find a fit place to settle their residence. Their god Vitzliputzli had promised to them a country abounding in food, and in gold and silver and precious stones, and that they should reign over all the other tribes.

Confiding in the truth of this prediction, they commenced their march, carrying with them the image of their god inclosed in a chest which was borne on the shoulders of their priests. The chest, being consulted by those ministers of the divinity, regulated the motions of the obedient multitude, and indicated the road which they were to pursue. They never dared to encamp or decamp

without the approbation of those impostors, whom whenever they disobeyed, they were smitten and punished by an invisible hand. Whenever the priests stopped, an altar was erected in the middle of the camp, and on it was placed the idol, which thence issued oracles. These were interpreted by the ministers of the god, who, during this tedious peregrination, digested their system of religious worship, and framed all the regulations of a civil society.

When the Mexicans reached the lake, they found its borders already occupied by the other tribes. As a favour, the occupants ceded to the new-comers a small island on condition of their paying tribute for it. There the latter built a town which from their own name they called Mexico, placed in the centre of it the image of their god, and erected to him a temple. Their settlement was progressively enlarged by the addition of other little isles adjacent, which they joined to it by causeys. Thus was at length formed that great city, intersected by numberless canals, and exhibiting altogether an appearance equally singular as magnificent.

The nation being confined within a narrow compass, and multiplying in numbers, was obliged to send forth colonies; whence it was forced to sustain wars in supporting its emigrants against those who attempted to drive them back. Divisions also arose within the town: and these dif-

ferent causes determined the inhabitants to renounce the sacerdotal government, and place themselves under that of a king. As the chiefs and opulent men all advanced their pretensions to that dignity, it was agreed, for the purpose of obviating jealousy, that their monarch should be chosen from a neighbouring nation. The office of installing him in his dignity was committed to an old man, who, in placing him on the throne, addressed to him an affecting and instructive discourse respecting the duties of royalty: and that practice, which was not intended as an empty formality, was ever after continued.

This first king was not a conqueror, but contented himself with defending the Mexicans against their neighbours on the banks of the lake, by whom their prosperity was envied. During a reign of forty years, he employed his attention in embellishing the town, and perfecting its laws. That worthy prince left a numerous progeny, but did not choose to nominate any one of them as his successor—"being convinced," he said, "that to give a sovereign to a nation was to deprive her of her natural liberty."—The grateful Mexicans elevated to the throne one of his sons, who had the wise policy to marry the daughter of a neighbouring king, the most dangerous and implacable enemy to the Mexicans, hoping by that alliance to procure peace for his subjects; which end he accordingly obtained.

The third king was also of a pacific disposition. The fourth, a warrior and a conqueror, subdued the surrounding nations. He made his own people sensible of the inconveniences of popular elections which till then had prevailed, and persuaded the Mexicans to vest the power of choosing the sovereign in six electors only—of whom two were tributary kings in the vicinity, and the other four, princes of the royal blood. His successor, Montezuma I, extended the barbarous custom of sacrificing the prisoners taken from the enemy: That practice was previously in existence; for we find, that, at the first foundation of Mexico, the settlers immolated the son of a sorcerer who had pointed out to them the spot for its site: and from that period they had been in the habit of smearing their idol with human blood. This fifth monarch kept a magnificent court, bestowed his attention on the affairs of government, established tribunals of justice, and appointed censors to inspect the morals of his subjects. He also erected, in honour of his god Vitzliputzli, a temple which excited the admiration of the Spaniards.

The eighth king, named Autzal, is celebrated for his clemency, liberality, and humanity. He renounced the glory of conquest, which had been courted by some of his predecessors. This monarch employed his treasures in enlarging and embellishing his capital, imparting vigour to in-

dust, and promoting the welfare of his people. Placed between two lakes—the one salt, the other muddy and brackish—and having no other resource within the city than their wells which were tainted with those disagreeable qualities—the Mexicans were obliged to go in quest of potable water beyond the lakes. Autzal brought as it were home to their doors those springs which nature had placed at a distance: he perforated mountains, elevated valleys, led aqueducts along the sides of the cañons, and exhibited to the astonished inhabitants whole rivers of salubrious water flowing through their city. He was the immediate predecessor of Montezuma II, the ninth emperor of Mexico, and the last, if we do not count Guatimozin, who only bound on his temples a bloody diadem, and passed from the throne to the gibbet, to the eternal disgrace of the Spanish conquerors.

The Mexican year was, like ours, divided into months and weeks. At the end came four super-numerary days, which were to be exclusively devoted to festivity. All labours then ceased: commerce was interrupted: the proceedings of justice were suspended: even religion itself seemed forgotten; and the public mind was wholly engrossed by pleasure. The commencement of the year was fixed on the first day of spring. Perhaps it might have been better placed in autumn, the season when the fruits of the earth are gathered; because to begin to enjoy is to begin to live.

The Mexicans had a tradition, that, at the expiration of every fifty-second year of their æra, the world was in danger of being destroyed. In the evening of the concluding day, they bade adieu to the sun with sighs and tears, embraced each other as if never more to meet, shut themselves up in their houses, and there mournfully remained till the succeeding day, when, astonished to find themselves still alive, and to see that no alteration had taken place around them, they indulged in rapturous joy, sang hymns, and congratulated each other that a new period was happily begun, and that they might now live without fear fifty-two years more.

The religious ceremonies of the Mexicans, though fraught with many laudable practices, presented cruelties and absurdities and indecencies which appear very astonishing among a civilised people. They acknowledged a supreme god, creator, preserver, and benefactor. To express that great lord of nature, the Mexican language wanted a term. Those people testified their belief in the existence of that divinity by raising their eyes to heaven with great veneration. Although they allowed that god to be omnipotent, they could form no conception of his omnipresence, but imagined that, to govern the universe, he had under him subordinate divinities intrusted with that care. Next to this supreme god and his assistants, they particularly honoured the sun, the moon, the morning-star, and the sea. The image

of Vitzliputzli was the greatest visible god, and superintended the prosperity of the empire. Next to him came Tezcatliputza, who presided over expiations. He bore darts in his hand, importing that he punished the wicked. His throne was adorned with human skulls and bones, emblematic of his authority over famine and pestilence.

In some places they had a living object of their religious worship. This was no other than one of their prisoners of war, dignified with the name of the god to whom he was destined to be offered a victim. During an entire year, he was adored, decorated with precious jewels, and fed with the most delicious offerings. They obliged him to bestow his benediction on children and sick persons; and at the expiration of his term they sacrificed him. To pierce with the sacred knife the heart of the victim, to tear it from his palpitating entrails, to offer it smoking to the idol, and to squeeze from it the blood to bedew the image, was the honourable privilege of the high priest or his vicegerent. The college of priests possessed the greatest influence in state-affairs, because they directed the consciences of the people and of the sovereign. They acquired that credit by a life of austerity and self-denial. The office of priests to Vitzliputzli was hereditary in some families. In the temples of the other gods, the priesthood was obtained by election; or the individuals were destined to it by their education from the age of childhood.

Marriage, among the Mexicans, was a public rite. The priests interrogated the betrothed pair respecting their inclinations, pronounced to them an exhortation, and tied the extremity of the woman's veil to a corner of the man's garment. Linked by this emblem of union, and attended by the priest, they visited the domestic fire, and, prostrating themselves, paid adoration to it, as the future witness of their connubial happiness; then, sitting down, they received food in equal shares. There were public places of deposit to receive and preserve the articles of agreement. Divorce depended on the mutual consent of the parties; but they were forbidden, under pain of death, to come together again after they had once made a separation. While any spark of regard remained for that partner of the nuptial couch who had been the object of past affection, the impossibility of ever rekindling the once extinguished flame prevented married folk from suffering themselves to be hurried away by the impetuosity of anger, or misled by the errors of caprice. When such an event happened, the boys followed the father, and the girls remained with the mother. The conjugal misbehaviour of the wife reflected disgrace on her husband.

New-born children were carried to the temple with great solemnity, and placed on the altar. The priest pronounced a discourse on the miseries of human life, drew some drops of blood from the sexual parts of the infant, whom he then plunged into

water, repeating meantime a certain formula of words. Into the hand of a male was put a sword or some mechanic implement, according to the profession of the father : but no such distinction was observed with respect to females, who all indiscriminately received a spindle and distaff, whatever might be the rank of their parents.

At certain stated periods, the priests made of a kind of paste a human figure which they called the god of penitence. This they distributed in small scraps to the people, who received and ate them with great devotion. Human sacrifices were carried to an incredible excess. Will it be believed that in a single day the altars have been drenched with the blood of twenty thousand victims? The funeral of a king presented a tremendous spectacle. His entire household were obliged to die with him, on pain of being declared guilty of ingratitude—and ingratitude was by the Mexicans deemed the blackest of crimes. Among the higher class of subjects, it was customary for the wife to bury herself with her deceased husband. They erected magnificent sepulchres ; and, together with the dead body, they deposited in the tomb a quantity of gold and silver and jewels, and likewise provisions for the other world—a proof that they had at least some idea of the immortality of the soul.

The emperor was not crowned until he had distinguished himself by some military exploit. The chief priest anointed him with a certain

unguent consisting of many ingredients supposed to possess sovereign virtue against witchcraft and disease. He next sprinkled him with consecrated water, and laid on his shoulders a mantle exhibiting a painted representation of human skulls and bones, as an admonition that he must submit to the general law of mortality. The monarch swore to support the religion and laws of his predecessors, and to maintain the people in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. He promised that the sun should shine every day, that the rain should fall whenever it were necessary, and that the empire should not, under his reign, experience either pestilence or famine or inundation. The meaning of that promise was that he would act in such manner as never to draw down, by any misconduct on his part, those inflictions of celestial vengeance on his un-offending subjects.

The honours paid to the king were a species of adoration. Among his numerous concubines, were two favourites on whom he conferred the title of queens. His revenues were immense: every subject was obliged to pay to him one third of his property or of the produce of his industry; and those contributions were levied with extreme rigor. The soldiers were favoured above all other classes: they wore badges of merit, and military distinctions. There was an order of knighthood to which none but princes were admitted nor they, until they had entitled themselves to that honour by splendid achievements. It was a red

ribband binding their hair, and having tassels appended to it, of which the number was augmented on the performance of each meritorious exploit—a sure mode of keeping emulation constantly alive.

Justice was distributed in a summary manner. As the Mexicans were unskilled in the art of writing, their legal proceedings were short, and the punishments marked with a severity calculated to strike terror. The monarch's council attentively watched over the magistrates. Every opportunity was afforded of procuring education for children—public schools for the plebeians, and colleges or seminaries for those of noble birth. The teachers were held in great respect, and sometimes called to the ministry, as possessing superior knowledge.

The pupils of the first class were instructed in the rules of the calendar, and made to learn the songs composed in praise of great men, as well as the canticles in honour of the gods. The object of the second class was morality. The masters here studied the tempers of the youth under their tuition, and impressed them with the necessity of being docile, humble, modest, and well-behaved. It was not till their minds and hearts were duly formed that they were advanced to the third class, in which they applied themselves to bodily exercises: besides those of running, wrestling, swimming, they were taught to handle the sword,

to shoot arrows, to leap, to perform long races, to carry burdens, to suffer hunger and thirst, and inure themselves to all the inclemencies of the seasons.

After having been trained to these exercises, the young nobles were sent to the army to make trial of the military life during one campaign. They were obliged to carry their own baggage equally as the meanest soldiers, as well for the sake of hardening them, as of humbling their vanity, and accustoming them to subordination and obedience. After the conclusion of that campaign, they were at liberty to enter into a different sphere of life, if they felt a greater inclination for it.—Notwithstanding these fine institutions, the empire of Mexico was overturned in four years; and it is now governed by a Spanish vice-roy.

That country is the real treasury of the Spaniards. It is called New Spain, and their money-chest. It furnishes them with wool, cotton, sugar, silk, cochineal, chocolate, feathers, honey, balm, woods for dying, salt, tallow, tobacco, ginger, odoriferous and medicinal plants, amber, pearls, precious stones, gold, and silver.

New Spain is at present inhabited by a mixed population consisting of Indians, Spaniards, other Europeans, and even negroes. The descendants of unmixed Spanish blood are denominated *creoles*; those sprung from the union of the Spanish with the American race are called, in the second generation, *mestizos*—in the third, *tercerons*—in the

fourth, *quarterons*; the offspring of Europeans and negroes are termed *mulattoes*: the last class is that arising from the conjunction of negroes and Indians. The native Mexicans are tall, handsome, well-proportioned, active, supple, nimble. Their complexion is olive-coloured; they have large lively sparkling eyes, with a round visage and regular features. The women participate all these advantages, besides possessing a greater share of the agreeable qualities. Both sexes are fond of their hair, and delight to leave it flowing loose in the wind: but that of their heads is the only hair which they suffer to grow on any part of their persons.

In a country so extensive, we must expect to find a diversity of ideas and manners. Of the nations inhabiting it, some consider a flat nose as materially conducive to beauty, and take great pains to flatten the noses of their children: others squeeze their heads to make the forehead assume a pyramidal form. Like their ancestors, they still take a pleasure in disfiguring themselves by painting their faces. The custom of painting the body gradually wears away in proportion as they grow habituated to the use of clothing.

In no other part of the world does so great a variety in dress prevail. Both men and women universally retain the ancient passion for rings, trinkets, and jewels. But it is among the Indians who have preserved their liberty in the mountains, that we must look for the primitive cha-

rafter of the Mexicans, their genius, and the true imprint of nature. They are found to be brave, generous, humane : their morals are pure : they employ themselves in fishing, hunting, and agriculture. They sow and plant no more than what is barely sufficient for their sustenance. Ever chagrined and afflicted by the recollection of their former condition, they seem to disdain all superfluities, and confine themselves to what is indispensably necessary.

The country is divided by the Spaniards into three audiences or tribunals, all subject to the authority of a vice-roy who resides at Mexico. That city is the most regular in the universe. All the streets run in straight lines, and are so well disposed that they afford unbounded scope to the view. It has neither ramparts nor walls, the lake supplying the place of that defence. It is approached by five beautiful causeys, each running from a town built on the margin of the lake, which is moreover surrounded by villages presenting a delightful prospect from the centre of the city. The lake itself, at all times covered with boats and gondolas, forms a highly animated picture. That capital possesses every thing conducive to utility or beauty—vast hospitals, superb palaces, magnificent churches. The appearance of the shops, abundantly stored with rich merchandise, conveys the idea of a perpetual fair.

PERU.

IF ever fortune mocked the designs of men—Peru, in South America, on the South Sea. or, rather, if ever the all-provident being exercised his avenging justice, and as it were cleared himself from those crimes which he had permitted—it was in the catastrophes that befell the first conquerors of Peru. Hurried on by ambition, abandoned to all the excesses of their passions, and thirsty of blood and gold, they fell under the weapons, not of the Indians, but of Spaniards, the associates of their rapine and cruelty, and mutually inflicted punishment on each other.

It is to be recollected that Balboa, the founder of the colony of Darien, when he turned in an eastern direction to go make those discoveries which cost him his life, left to Francis Pizarro, an officer under his command, the task of seeking that western country where the people were reported to eat and drink from vessels of gold. Together with the hopes thus excited, he bequeathed to him the certainty of those toils and difficulties and dangers inseparably attendant on similar enterprises. Pizarro was not deterred by the prospect. He previously examined the state of the country in petty voyages along the coast; and, having found that he might venture to land in it with some probability of being able to proceed further, he associated with himself two part-

ners, of his fortune—Ferdinand de Luques, a priest, already proprietor of the isle of Tobago, who furnished the chief part of the expence—and Almagro, who had, by his good conduct, already acquired considerable reputation among the adventurers. Pizarro himself had served in the wars of San-Domingo and Cuba, and borne the chief command in several important expeditions. Those three men entered into an agreement not to abandon each other, or suffer themselves to be discouraged by any difficulty, until they should have completed the discovery and conquest of Peru.

Accordingly, in the year 1525, they equipped two small vessels, in which they embarked eighty men and four horses. Almagro and Pizarro took each one half of that force, and separated, for the purpose of discovering a greater extent of country at the same time. They did not go far asunder; and the necessity of affording each other mutual aid occasionally re-united them. But already they felt and showed that jealousy of command which was the predominant passion of the conquerors of Peru. With respect to Ferdinand de Luques, there is henceforward scarcely any more mention of him than it is usual, in enterprises of genius and difficulty, to make of those rich capitalists who lay out their money in them at interest.

After three years of excursions, Pizarro and Almagro had yet made no settlement in the

country: but they succeeded in acquiring a conviction that the success of their project was possible. Their funds, being now nearly exhausted, Pizarro formed the resolution of going in person to communicate his plan to the court of Spain, for the purpose of obtaining assistance. He experienced there a good reception, but received only the title of marquis with the commission of captain-general and governor of all the countries which the Spaniards might subdue in those regions. He carried back with him some adventurers, and was accompanied by his four brothers who were equally brave and enterprising as himself. During his absence, Almagro was employed in recruiting at Panama. He was highly incensed that Pizarro had procured the entire authority for himself: but the latter appeased him by appointing him his lieutenant; and they set out on their expedition in 1530 with three ships carrying two hundred men and about sixty horses; which force constituted their whole army.

Almagro remained with the fleet, while Pizarro advanced into the country. The first operation of his soldiers—adventurers picked up at random, and over whom, it must be owned, he did not possess perfect controul—was to pillage a little town where they had been received in a friendly manner. The cacique concealed himself, but, being discovered, was conducted to Pizarro, who vainly laboured to persuade him that the Spaniards

had not been guilty toward him of a violation of the laws of hospitality. On this occasion the soldiers, for mere amusement and to try the degree of hardness, broke to pieces some emeralds of whose value they were ignorant. Pizarro sent some specimens of the plunder to Almagro, who immediately sailed with that alluring bait to go raise recruits at Panama and in its vicinity. Their little army stood in great need of re-inforcement. Pizarro had acquired information in his excursions, and knew what resistance awaited him.

The empire of Peru was rent by a civil war between two rival princes, who severally claimed the throne, and were thus prevented by their mutual hostilities from attending to a handful of strangers arrived on their coasts. Those rivals were Huéscar and Atahualapa—the former a legitimate son of the deceased emperor, and already in possession of the crown—the latter, his spurious offspring, and aspiring to the imperial dignity. Three victories decided the contest in favour of Atahualapa: Huéscar was made prisoner; and these successes left the victor sufficiently at leisure to direct his attention toward the foreigners. At first he was not much alarmed: for their number did not exceed two hundred; and what could so small a band accomplish? That small band, however, had already defeated a numerous army with which they had been opposed by some tributary caciques.

The reader has not forgotten that Cortez was partly indebted for his successes to the opinion prevalent among the Mexicans that Quezalcoal, the founder of their empire, had set out from that country to subjugate the regions of the east,—that his successors were in turn to send warriors to Mexico, who should give laws to its inhabitants, and reform its government—that Cortez was the predicted ambassador from the prince of the east—and that consequently all attempts to resist him must prove ineffectual. By a very extraordinary co-incidence, a nearly similar opinion prevailed in Peru—that the Spaniards, whom their arms proved to be masters of the thunder, were brothers to the Peruvians, and, like them, were descended from the sun—that Pizarro, their chief, was more particularly the offspring of that luminary, was himself an inca, son of the supreme Virachoca, and thus nearly related to the inca Atahualapa—that the acts of violence committed by the Spaniards were punishments ordained by the great Virachoca—that it was necessary to submit to the authority of those strangers, and bow beneath the sceptre of Pacachamac, that is to say, the sovereign emperor, of whom Pizarro asserted himself to be the ambassador.

It is not known whether Pizarro, at the time of the first embassy which he sent to Atahualapa, was apprised of this prejudice so favourable to his views. That commander of seventy men sent

the following message to the general of a hundred thousand soldiers—"I am a subject of the greatest monarch in the world. He has sent me to reclaim you and your people from the practice of an impious and abominable religion. I hope you will give me a kind and friendly reception: in which case you may depend on my fidelity in serving you. But if, on the contrary, you seek to injure me—if you prefer war to peace—you shall soon feel that the Spaniards are equally terrible to their enemies as useful to their allies."

The inca's answer was submissive and correspondent to the prejudice he entertained. Ferdinand Soto, a young officer of pleasing figure, accompanied the messenger who carried to the emperor that species of challenge. At sight of him, Atahualpa exclaimed—"Behold the very figure, port, and dress, of our god Virachoca, exactly as described by the inca Virachoca, our ancestor." He added, that, being convinced that the great Virachoca had pre-ordained every thing that was to happen, he had not, although apprised of the victories gained by the Spaniards, taken any measures to oppose them; that he would submit to whatever they might require of him, and only entreated their clemency for his subjects, his wives, and his friends.

Such language appears very extraordinary from a monarch who at that very moment had a

hundred thousand combatants at his command. They were stationed in separate bodies at regular distances from each other, forming lines from the borders to the centre of the kingdom. This disposition gave an appearance of probability to the opinion that the Peruvian prince had suffered the Spaniards to penetrate so far into his territory only for the purpose of surrounding and destroying them. Indeed historians agree that little credit is to be given to those reciprocal discourses; and they allege a good reason, which is, that the Spaniards and Peruvians had none but unskilful interpreters, and could not yet without difficulty understand each other on points relating to the common concerns of life.

In the list of those particulars which appear to be related on at least doubtful grounds, may be placed the pretended discourse of the friar Vincent Valverde. If the harangue be genuine, that friar was a very astonishing enthusiast. He stepped forth from the ranks, it is said, at the moment when the two armies were measuring each other with their eyes. He advanced toward the emperor, who viewed with surprise his cowl and frock, so different from the dress of the soldiers: he spoke to the inca of the emperor Charles V, of the pope, of God the father, of the son, of the holy spirit, of the divinity and life of Jesus Christ. "And whence," asked Atahualapa, "have you learned all these things?"—"From this book,"

answered Valverde, presenting to him [his breviary. The emperor took it into his hand, put it to his ear, and, not hearing it speak, threw it to the ground. The following words are recorded as spoken by him—" You believe Jesus Christ to be
" God! And he died! I adore the sun and
" moon, which are immortal. I owe no tribute to
" any prince: nor do I choose to be a vassal except to the gods alone. I owe nothing to the
" pope: and I know not why he claims a right
" to dispose of my kingdom. With respect to
" my religion, it were an act of folly and impiety
" to renounce the doctrine which I have received
" from my ancestors, until you have proved to me
" the falsity of mine and the truth of yours."

Shocked by such blasphemies, the monk hastily withdrew, and returned to the Spanish ranks. The charge was immediately founded. Pizarro, being convinced that every thing depended on the fate of the inca, rushed, at the head of fifteen cuirassiers, on the troops who surrounded that prince's litter. He there met as great resistance as could be made by naked men against assailants coated in steel. A soldier, named Miguel, was the first who broke through the opposing band: he was followed by the others, who overthrew the bearers, and made the emperor prisoner. That misfortune was no sooner known through the Peruvian army, than its ranks broke in confusion, and dispersed. The Spaniards had no farther trouble

than that of killing, and soon found themselves the only living creatures in the field of battle.

The spoil was immense, because the Peruvians, confiding in their great superiority of number, had come to the conflict adorned as for a festival. The emperor offered, as the price of his ransom, as much gold as would fill, to the height of his extended arm, the apartment where he was confined. The offer was accepted; and passports were received from him to go and visit all the temples of the empire for the purpose of collecting that sum. These visits, for which the Spaniards did not choose to rely on the agency of others, afforded them an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the country. Atahualapa learned during his captivity, that his brother Huefcar, whom he kept in confinement, had made offers to Pizarro for the purpose of regaining his liberty. He therefore sent an order that he should be put to death; which was immediately executed: but Atahualapa himself shortly after experienced the same fate.

Although the promised gold was seen arriving in heaps, the Spaniards never thought they had enough. The victors could not refuse to allow a share to Almagro, though he had not joined them until after the victory. He came accompanied by a hundred and fifty men, and fifty horses. Between the old and the new soldiers, quarrels arose respecting the division of the spoil: the

chiefs too had some warm altercations : but from motives of common interest they again came to a good understanding. They agreed also, that, to preserve their soldiers from those vices which are the inseparable companions of idleness—debauch, and particularly the inordinate passion for gaming, which they indulged with extravagant eagerness—it was expedient to pursue their conquests with all possible speed. But the captive emperor was an obstacle in their way. Since they had received his ransom, they were bound to release him : and then what remaining claim would they have against the empire ? The unfortunate monarch earnestly solicited the performance of their engagements. He offered to submit to the heaviest yoke, promised to abstain from ever attempting any thing contrary to the interests of the Spaniards, to acknowledge himself the vassal of Charles V, to pay an annual tribute, to receive immediate baptism. Vain efforts ! His death was necessary.

Pizarro and Almagro established a tribunal, of which themselves were the chief judges. Six charges were brought forward against the inca—That, being an illegitimate son, he had seized on the crown ;—that he had procured the death of his brother and sovereign, Huascar ;—that he had given the order for his execution, while he was himself a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards ;—that he had authorised and commanded human sacrifices ;—that he had stirred up unjust wars, which had caused the destruction of multitudes ;—

finally, that, even since the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru, he had levied taxes without their authority, had squandered the public treasure which was their property, and had endeavoured to excite the Indians to revolt. Atahualapa made a very able defence. After having proved the incompetency of his judges to take cognisance of his brother's death, or of the wars or taxes in question, he denied the conspiracy of the Indians alleged against him, and called heaven and earth to witness the fidelity with which he had fulfilled his engagements. He was nevertheless condemned to be burned alive; but, as a special favour, in consequence of his having submitted to baptism, he was only strangled. The report of his death was no sooner made public, than the Peruvians proclaimed, as their emperor, Manco-Capac the brother of Huefcar.

Fame, whose voice exaggerates every thing, published in Europe from her hundred mouths that gold was as common as sand at Quito and Cusco and Lima, the principal towns of Chili and Peru; that the palaces were full of it; that the walls of the temples, where not built of the solid metal, were at least covered with it. That opinion attracted a multitude of adventurers. Some chose to make war on their own separate account: others joined the first conquerors, or sold to them at a high price the troops they had brought out, whom Pizarro and Al-

magro incorporated with theirs. Those two men were still at the head of the enterprise, but still jealous rivals. Under their orders, Spanish detachments were sent in every direction, who ransomed the towns and pillaged the provinces.

Affected by the calamities of his subjects, Manco-Capac determined to go in person to the Spaniards, and sue to them for peace, on any terms. “If,” said he to his courtiers, “they be
“really children of the sun, as were our ancestors
“whose first principle was truth, their actions will
“correspond with their words, and they will ob-
“serve their promises made to me. I cannot
“be persuaded that they wish to deprive me of
“my lawful inheritance. I will go to them with
“the accompaniments of peace: instead of arms,
“let us carry them presents: these will serve to
“gain for us the good-will of those greedy men,
“or to appease the wrath of the incensed gods.
“If, after the step which I intend to take, the
“Spaniards do not restore to me the empire, we
“may conclude that the prediction of the inca
“my father is accomplished—that our empire is
“transferred into the hands of strangers, our
“government destroyed, and our religion abo-
“lished. If the great Pacachamac has so or-
“dained, what else have we to do but to
“submit?”

The council acquiesced in the measure proposed by the good emperor. Manco-Capac repaired to the presence of Pizarro, who made with

him an occasional treaty—that is to say, the Spaniard granted advantageous conditions because he knew that several Indian generals were collecting troops, by whom he might perhaps be overpowered: but, when he had disarmed them by that negotiation, he resumed his former plan of operations, which consisted in erecting fortresses, taking towns, and forming colonies of Europeans, for the purpose of gradually rendering himself master of the empire. The monarch therefore, in spite of his repugnance, was obliged to have recourse to arms. The event proving in every instance unfavourable to him, he at length adopted a definitive resolution: he assembled his subjects; and having, in a discourse full of paternal tenderness, thanked them for the zeal which they had evinced in his behalf, he informed them that he was no longer willing to hold the imperial dignity at the expense of their blood and their happiness.

“ The prediction of the inca my father,” added he, “ is accomplished. A foreign nation “ has hurled me from my throne, has abolished “ our laws, and profaned our religion. Had I “ been perfectly sure of this before I took up “ arms, I would have submitted to the decree of “ heaven: for it must be owned, that, in every “ feature except that of justice, the Spaniards “ exactly answer the description given in the “ prophecy. They carry in their hands the

“ thunder of the gods, and thereby prove that
“ they are protected by the Almighty. With a
“ handful of men they defeat innumerable ar-
“ mies : they live without food ; they bring to
“ successive battles a vigor ever new. Hence we
“ must conclude that the arm of Pacachamac
“ supports them, and that, while he gives them
“ strength, he infuses terror and dismay into our
“ souls. Let us therefore submit : that is the
“ only mean of avoiding still greater calamities.
“ As to myself, I will retire to the mountains of the
“ Andes. There my greatest consolation will be
“ to hear that you enjoy peace and happiness
“ under your new masters. In my mournful
“ solitude, my thoughts shall be occupied by
“ your welfare. I conjure you to submit to the
“ Spaniards, to obey them to the utmost of your
“ power, that you may induce them to treat you
“ well : and I expect from you a sigh and a tear
“ when you recall to mind your unfortunate
“ prince who has ever loved and cherished his
“ people.”

This discourse affords a new proof of the opinion generally prevalent among the Peruvians, that the time was come when their empire was to be subverted. It may also be considered as an imprecation from that good prince against the tyrants who were preparing to oppress his people. If, in his solitude, he prayed for the destruction

of those tyrants, his prayers were granted by heaven.

The first who experienced the effects of the implied malediction pronounced against the conquerors was Almagro. He had constantly been at variance with Pizarro, sometimes in open quarrel, at others in secret misunderstanding. Ferdinand and Gonzales Pizarro, brothers to the marquis, being besieged in Cusco by the Indians, Almagro hastened thither, as if with the intent of aiding his co-adventurers: but it is said that his real design was to dispossess the Pizarroes, and to obtain possession of the town for himself. It is moreover added that he made to Manco-Capac, who commanded the besieging army, an offer of forming with him an alliance, and of aiding him to maintain himself on the throne, after that prince should have delivered Cusco into his hands. The emperor replied—"I took up arms to recover my just rights, and to restore liberty to my people, and not to forward the base designs of one usurper against another." In vain his council represented to him, that, by promoting discord among the Spaniards, he would weaken their strength, and that this was the most effectual mode of re-establishing his own authority. Steady in the principles of good faith, which are so little regarded by politicians in general, he replied—"Honour forbids dissimulation in an inca. I choose rather to lose my

“ empire and pass the remainder of my life in
“ exile and obscurity, than to secure the possession
“ sion of my dignity by deceit and treachery.”
The consequence of this determination was, that the Indians, discouraged by the repeated advantages which the besieged Spaniards gained over them, abandoned the enterprise ; and Manco-Capac, as we have seen, abdicated the sovereignty.

Almagro took the place of the Peruvians, and pushed on the siege which they had begun. In aid of force he employed the resources of art, gained over the troops of the Pizarroes, was admitted into the town, and made his rivals prisoners. He also defeated a detachment sent by the marquis to the assistance of his brothers, and captured its commander Alvarado. Elate with these successes, he at first refused to listen to the proposals, though fair and reasonable, which were made to him by the marquis. He afterward, however, consented to a suspension of hostilities, on condition that they should both send deputies to Spain in the same ship, to obtain a decision of their respective pretensions. Of these the chief article was the possession of the capital ; each asserting it to belong to his own jurisdiction. By that treaty Ferdinand Pizarro was restored to liberty. Gonzales had previously made his escape.

So soon as Ferdinand was beyond the reach of danger—without awaiting the issue of the depu-

tation sent to Spain, he returned at the head of a new army to attack Almagro. Instead of advancing to encounter Ferdinand before his troops were all collected—which he might have done with ease and advantage—Almagro confined himself to defensive operations, that he might not appear disposed to anticipate the decision which was to be pronounced in Spain. This delay afforded to Ferdinand an opportunity of increasing his army, inasmuch that, when at last a battle became inevitable, Almagro found the strength of his opponent much greater than he had expected. Moreover he was sick himself, and his soldiers were fatigued by a long march. Orgonez and de Lerma, his two principal officers, though men of talents, executed ill his commands. They imprudently rushed into the main body of the enemy. A wound brought down Orgonez, whose fall was the first cause of the rout. In vain Almagro, borne in a litter, endeavoured to check the flight of his men: he was himself hurried along by the fleeing crowd. Pizarro's troops pursued him into Cusco, and there made him prisoner.

Ferdinand, having his enemy now in his power, thought it necessary to cut off without mercy the heads of that hydra of division, ever sprouting up anew. Accordingly he gave no quarter. Orgonez, de Lerma, old soldiers who had been in the service from the commencement of the expedi-

tion against Peru, all those who were thought to be intimate friends of Almagro, or even to bear him any affection, were massacred. With respect to Almagro himself, Ferdinand thought proper to bring him to a formal trial. He was accused of having forcibly seized the town of Cusco, and thereby caused the effusion of Spanish blood—of having secretly attempted to form a league with Manco-Capac—of having encroached on the territories under Pizarro's jurisdiction—and of having fought two battles against his countrymen.

For these crimes the aged general was condemned to death. He appealed to the emperor—implored in the most affecting manner the clemency of Ferdinand—reminded him that he had formerly spared his life when he held him prisoner—that he had been Pizarro's first associate in the expedition to Peru, and the cause of all his successes—that he was already old and infirm—and entreated that he might be suffered peaceably to enjoy in a private station the short remainder of a life spent in a series of successive toils, difficulties, and misfortunes. But Ferdinand was inflexible; he had received directions from the marquis his brother to put Almagro to death, and thus remove the only obstacle to his ambition, the only person who could prevent him from exercising undisputed command in Peru. Almagro was strangled in prison, and afterward

publicly beheaded on a scaffold. Thus, by the order of his colleague, perished, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, one of the original conquerors of Peru. Almagro was kind and humane. He was regretted by the Indians, as their only protector against the tyranny of the Pizarroes.

In vain did those blood-thirsty brothers exercise the sword of vengeance against all the partisans of Almagro whom they were able to discover. There remained several of that class, who swore implacable hatred to the murderers of their friend. The marquis Pizarro thought the execution of his rival an action of such magnitude as to require justification in Spain. He sent thither his brother Ferdinand, the author of that atrocious deed, who is supposed to have committed there a new crime—that of procuring poison to be administered to Jago d'Alvarado, who, being guardian to Almagro's son, had also returned to Spain for the purpose of pleading his pupil's cause. The youth was detained in prison by the marquis, who had confiscated his property. Ferdinand, notwithstanding the rich presents which he lavishly distributed, was himself confined in the tower of Medina del Campo, where he remained twenty-three years.

It is not easy to form an accurate opinion of the conduct pursued by the marquis Pizarro toward Almagro's party which was numerous and powerful. Some writers say that he tried every

gentle method of dissolving the combination; that he tempted the principal chiefs by the offer of considerable sums, and of the most lucrative and honourable employments, if they would consent to renounce their hatred; and that it was not until he had ineffectually held out to them those brilliant hopes, that he determined to destroy them. Others, on the contrary, assert, that, without any previous recourse to those gentle means, he at once declared himself the irreconcilable enemy of all those whom he suspected of an attachment to his rival, and that he adopted every measure capable of reducing them to the lowest state of distress.

Whatever might have been his conduct in the first instance, it is certain that in the sequel his oppression of them was carried to the utmost extremity of rigor. He branded as rebels, or as persons suspected of rebellion, all those who had served under Almagro. He promulgated an edict forbidding all persons, under the severest penalties, to harbour them, or afford them any assistance. Not content with thus rendering their condition deplorable, the marquis adopted every possible measure to debar them from going to make their complaints in Spain. Necessity, which is sometimes the parent of despair, armed them with daggers against their persecutor. In spite of his precautions, they surprised him in Lima, which city himself had founded, and which was

the feat of his prosperity and glory. The conspirators attacked him in his own palace. He vigorously defended himself, killed with his own hand four of his assailants, wounded several others, but at length fell under the strokes of the survivors, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Pizarro was affable and generous before his amazing fortune had tainted his disposition with pride and avidity. His character is blackened by two deep stains—the murder of Atahualapa, and that of Almagro. The crown of Spain is indebted to him for its principal settlements in South America. The chief towns there were either founded by him or at least rebuilt after the European manner. He exerted unremitting diligence in planting colonies, and enriching Peru with the fruits of the industry and manufactures of Europe. But he stands reproachable with the introduction of personal slavery, which has entailed so many miseries on the Indians. He distributed to the Spanish settlers the possessions of the natives, and reduced the latter to the state of slaves on their own lands, obliged to toil for the benefit of their new masters, and subject to rigorous and degrading punishments, if they dared to disobey, or to complain of their condition. When Pizarro applied for a confirmation of that oppressive law, the emperor Charles V replied—
“ I am determined to make particular inquiry

“ into the customs of the country, and see
“ whether the application be consistent with jus-
“ tice.” Those who are at the head of affairs
ought to reflect, that, in the case of ty-
rannic laws, by neglecting to abrogate them as
soon as known, they in fact give them confir-
mation.

After the marquis's death, the conspirators committed the same fault of which he had been guilty on the death of Almagro. They not only invaded his authority and seized his riches, but attempted to compel every individual to approve their action and the measures which they had adopted in consequence of it. Those who did not come into their views were mal-treated, despoiled, banished, and several lost their lives. During these transactions, arrived Vaca de Castro, who had been sent out either as governor in case Pizarro were dead, or as commissioner to take cognisance of the disputes between the marquis and Almagro, and of the circumstances attending the death of the latter. His appearance was a thunder-stroke to the partisans of young Almagro, who had nominated the son of their deceased friend to the office of governor in the room of Pizarro. But discord had already arisen among them; and they plotted each other's destruction. It was not without difficulty that Almagro escaped from an attempt made against his life by an officer named Alvarado, who had once been his warm

adherent. The latter was taken in his own snare, and suffered that death which he had intended for his friend.

These misunderstandings proved highly advantageous to de Castro. When Almagro was informed of that envoy's powers, he confined his pretensions to a demand of the government of Cusco, which he asserted to have belonged to his father. But what he affected to consider as moderation on his own part, was not viewed in the same light by the other. The demand, however, being supported by an army, de Castro commenced a negotiation on the subject, deferred giving a definitive answer, drew near to the incautious youth, and corrupted his troops. In a battle, in which Almagro displayed a bravery and skill worthy of his father, he found himself betrayed: his artillery fired with powder alone; and he was obliged to flee. He might have escaped, as did the inca Manco-Capac, who had at length descended from his mountains to avail himself of the divisions existing among the Spaniards: but he determined to go to Cusco, to carry off his treasures. The magistrates whom he had himself appointed—venal souls and perfidious friends—hoping to secure the favour of the victor, seized their benefactor, and delivered him to de Castro. Almagro, though not more than twenty years of age, had already distinguished himself by his abilities in the cabinet and the field. These

talents, which rendered him formidable, were perhaps his chief crime. De Castro, without a moment's delay, caused him to be beheaded.

Gonzales Pizarro returned at this period from an unfortunate expedition which had lasted two years. Although he came reduced to the most deplorable condition and with only a feeble remnant of the troops who had accompanied him, yet his bare name and the partisans of his family were capable of creating considerable embarrassment to the governor. De Castro went to him, and, partly by force, partly by persuasion, prevailed on him to retire to his estate, as a private individual without distinction or authority. The governor was thus left at leisure to attend to the benevolent plans which shed lustre on his administration. He laboured to banish disorders, to reform abuses, to establish useful institutions, of which the Indians and Spaniards equally reaped the advantage.

In matters of police and justice, in the distribution of lands and the apportionment of taxes, he introduced as great a resemblance as he could between his government and that of the incas, respecting which he made diligent inquiries. By his careful exertions, schools were erected in the towns: the Indians were invited to them without violence, to receive lessons of morality and be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. The greater number of the caciques were

re-instated in the possession of their lands ; and he even allowed them to exercise a kind of jurisdiction which proved beneficial to their former subjects. De Castro provided for the safety and convenience of traveling, curbed the licentiousness of the soldiery, inspired them by proper encouragements with a disposition to marriage and industry, and was not afraid to inquire into the conduct of the king's officers who had amassed prodigious fortunes by rapine and oppression.

We say he "was not afraid ;" for it required no common share of boldness to attack those extortioners. It was the support which they gave to the mal-contents—a class of men who are every-where to be found—that determined the court of Spain to send over a vice-roy. The person appointed to that dignity, Nunez Vela, arrived under strong prepossessions against the governor, whom he pronounced to have been too moderate in his reforms. Whatever usages of a nature unfavourable to the Peruvians de Castro had yet consented to tolerate, the vice-roy considered as oppressive usurpations which ought to be instantly abolished. Such was that of the personal servitude of the Indians, and some other customs equally lucrative to the conquerors as burdensome and ruinous to the conquered.

Hence it happened that those same officers and magistrates who had supported the complaints against de Castro, being all personally interested

in continuing the servitude of the Indians which was extremely advantageous to them, became mortal enemies to the vice-roy. In vain did the ex-governor remonstrate to him that he exposed himself to danger by incurring the hatred of the Spaniards, and that reforms ought to be introduced by slow and progressive steps, so that people might grow accustomed to follow without perceiving them. Vela, considering these representations in the light of murmurs, and as indicative of a disposition to revolt, ordered de Castro to be arrested, put him prisoner on board a ship, and sent him home to Spain.

Gonzales Pizarro, whom de Castro had disarmed by his prudence, hearing in his retirement of the arbitrary conduct of the vice-roy, privately made to the mal-contents an offer of supporting them in opposition to him. Although Vela was not ignorant of the gathering storm, yet such was his obstinacy that he pursued with increased ardor the design of enforcing his regulations, of which the enfranchisement of the Indians was the principal article. The magistrates showed themselves adverse to it: and Pizarro, who fomented the general discontent, collected an armed force sufficiently powerful to excite the vice-roy's terror. Manco-Capac, who attentively watched to take advantage of those divisions, sent an offer of his assistance to Vela, by whom it was accepted. This alliance furnished Pizarro with a pretext for

proclaiming that he was engaged in supporting the cause of Spain against her natural enemies. Manco-Capac was killed by accident: after which event, Vela, now destitute of the inca's aid, and abandoned by almost all the Spaniards—who were incensed by his conduct which they considered as condemnable because it disappointed their avaricious views—was driven by Pizarro to the extremity of Peru, and there perished in battle.

There is no room to doubt, that, if Pizarro had chosen at this crisis to avail himself of his advantages, he might have encircled his brow with the diadem. The majority of the Spaniards had either openly declared themselves hostile to the vice-roy, or had rendered his operations abortive, by withholding from him the necessary supplies of money, by impeding his levies of men, and favouring on the contrary the projects of Pizarro. They all therefore had reason to be apprehensive of punishment; they were of course deeply interested in procuring protection for themselves under cover of the authority which they should confer on him, and consequently in vesting him with very extensive power. Nevertheless they contented themselves with giving him that of governor-general; and he rested satisfied with it.

Gonzales was possessed of that dignity, when he saw arrive a man without pomp and without pretensions, Pedro Gasca, a simple licentiate, clothed with the modest title of president of the

council, and who, as he himself declared, was neither a warrior nor obstinate in his resolutions.

“ I come,” said he, “ charged with an order from the emperor to Gonzales. If he refuse to obey, I will immediately return to Spain : for I have neither the intention nor the necessary talents to enforce obedience by arms.”

He sent to Pizarro a letter from the king of Spain, in which the monarch lamented that Pizarro had been obliged to oppose the rigid inflexibility of the vice-roy ; at the same time declaring himself persuaded that his conduct in that instance had been solely influenced by motives of public advantage, and desiring him to aid the president by his counsels and his credit. To this letter Gasca added one from himself, of which every line seemed as it were candied with sugar and honey. At the conclusion, however, there was a remark which favoured less of sweetness than the rest. “ You have never seen,” said he, “ either the court or the armies of Charles V ; and you may perhaps entertain a mistaken idea of his power. But learn from me that the grand Turk, who was marching against him at the head of three hundred thousand men, having advanced within sight of the imperial camp, was seized by terror, and precipitately retreated without daring to give battle.”

These words fixed the attention of Gonzales Pizarro. He saw in them an implicit menace

which taught him to view with suspicious eye the mildness displayed by Gasca. From Cusco, where he then resided, he sent to Lima an order to make ready a ship, to thrust the president on board of it, and send him back to Spain. But the adroit licentiate had so successfully exerted his diligence in a short time, that the fleet was already gained over to his side, while the governor had not yet even a suspicion of such defection. The latter attempted to drive from Cusco the messenger sent by Gasca to deliver him the letters, on discovering that he was privately employed in animating with fresh hopes the partisans of the deceased vice-roy, who were termed royalists. But the magistrates, having received from the president a promise of pardon and recompense, were already devoted to him, and protected his agent. Pizarro therefore had no other resource than to quit the town himself, and appear at the head of his troops.

The modest licentiate, who, to use his own language, had “neither the intention nor the necessary talents to enforce obedience by arms,” pursued him. Though not himself capable of fighting, he knew how to direct those who did fight. Nevertheless, in the first rencontre, the decision of arms was contrary to the royalist party. Gasca did not choose to try the issue of a second battle, but encamped opposite to Pizarro, and in few days so completely debauched his army from

their allegiance, that Gonzales seeing them pass over in a body to join the standard of the president, adopted the desperate resolution of presenting himself at the advanced post, and surrendering his sword.

Almost all the officers were taken, and, among the rest, Caryajal, one of the principal, who had never placed any confidence in the affected benignity of the president, and who had foretold every thing that was now come to pass. They were all condemned to death, as traitors to their king and country. Arrived at the place of execution, Pizarro addressed the surrounding multitude in terms to the following effect—"Gentlemen! "you are not ignorant of the services performed "by my family. My brothers and I are the conquerors of Peru. Several of you are indebted "to the marquis and me for all your possessions: "many of you owe to me pecuniary and other "obligations which I forbear to specify. As to "myself, I die poor and destitute of every thing. "Even the clothes which I at this moment wear "are not my own property: they belong to the "executioner, as the reward of the bloody service "which he is about to render me." He concluded by requesting the prayers of the assembled crowd, and laid on the block his head, which was severed from the body by a single blow.

Gasca was now greatly embarrassed to find sufficient recompenses for those who had served him.

Nobody was satisfied. The president, therefore, put affairs into the best order he could, petitioned for leave to resign, and departed, as he had arrived, without pomp or ceremony.

A vice-roy came to succeed him, by name Mendoza, who died within a short time after his arrival. Every thing then fell into confusion; and Peru found itself subject to a military government, or rather anarchy. The soldiers elected their own chiefs, whom they successively massacred: and it is to be remarked that nearly all those chiefs were of the number of the original conquerors of the country. The soldiery made themselves masters of the mines of Potosi, pillaged the royal treasury, nominated judges, and again deposed them at pleasure. Among those who figured on the throne and the scaffold, are reckoned Nonojosa, who aspired to a power equal to that of the Pizarros—Sebastian de Castilla, who, almost against his will, was raised by the murderers of the deceased to the station which he had occupied, and soon after killed by them in expiation of their former crime against Nonojosa—Basco Godinez, the avenger of both the preceding, and condemned to death by the magistrates who had called him to their aid against the mutineers—finally, Giron, an able general, who long supported his rebellion, but at length terminated his career, like the others, by a violent death, 'falling a victim under the sword of justice. In his

excursions he took the church-bells, and cast them into cannon: on which transaction the pious Garcilasso observes that he was unable to use those pieces of artillery; “the Almighty not choosing to permit that the sacred metal should serve for the destruction of mankind.”

Don Francisco de Toledo, marquis of Cananeta, succeeded Mendoza in the post of vice-roy. His administration was firm, and, being favoured by circumstances, was fortunate. All parties were weary of the past disturbances, and disposed to obedience. Some measures of severity which he adopted on his arrival contributed to the more speedy re-establishment of peace by disconcerting the intrigues of the factious. The vice-roy posted guards on all the roads leading to the great towns, with orders to question all passengers, and to inspect their papers. The Spaniards were obliged to have passports to go from one town or province to another; by which regulation vagrancy was abolished. They were also forbidden to carry arms: and all cannon, muskets, warlike stores, were locked up in the royal magazines and arsenals, whence they could not be taken without the vice-roy's permission. In a word, he took every possible precaution to extinguish even the last remaining spark of revolt, and to prevent its ever being rekindled.

The deceased inca Manco-Capac had left in the Andes a grandson named Sayri-Capac, whom

the Peruvians considered as their lawful sovereign. The vice-roy, with the view of securing peace in every way, undertook to allure that prince from the mountains, and engage him to accept a pension, and come to live among the Spaniards. Toledo found difficulty in accomplishing that object. On the day when the instrument of the treaty was presented to the Mexican, he took up the corner of the fringed velvet covering of his table, and said, "This table and this fringe lately belonged to me: but now the Spaniards insist that I shall be content with a single thread."—The comparison was just, and well expressed the value of the compensation.—Sayri-Capac did not long survive this agreement: and the vice-roy was suspected of having poisoned him, to avoid the future payment of his pension. To have been with any appearance of probability suspected of the deed and the motive, is a stain upon the character of don Francisco de Toledo: but what followed gives the finishing shade of blackness to the infamy of the transaction.

There lived in the mountains a brother of Sayri-Capac, named Tapac-Amaru. Him also the vice-roy endeavoured to attract to the Spanish settlements. But the reports concerning the fate of the deceased were not very encouraging to the survivor; and he refused to quit his asylum. Toledo undertook to compel him. The prince employed no other mean of defence than that of

retiring to a greater distance, in the heart of the Andes. Being pursued, however, and reflecting that he was unable either to resist or remain long concealed, he voluntarily surrendered himself, under a persuasion that the vice-roy would take compassion on a prince who was naked and half starved. But the Spanish barbarian no sooner had him in his power than he brought him to trial. He was accused of having plundered some merchants traveling through his deserts, and of having formed a league with his caciques for the overthrow of the Spanish government. He successfully justified himself, and appealed to the emperor and to the great Pachacamac from the sentence of the vice-roy.

“ This, then,” said the unfortunate prince, “ is the price which the Spaniards pay to me for my empire ! this the reward of the confidence which I placed in them ! If I had been guilty, would I have delivered myself into their hands ? I am the person offended ; and it is I who am to be punished by an ignominious death ! But the gods will not suffer that crime to pass with impunity : remorse, at least, will tear the bosom of the tyrant.” The Indians were nearly frantic with excessive grief : even the Spaniards solicited mercy for him, and entreated the vice-roy not to sully his administration by a murder of that kind : but Toledo continued inflexible. While the prince was conducted to the scaffold,

he was preceded by a crier, who proclaimed him to be a traitor and a rebel. Tapac inquired the meaning of what the man said; of which being informed, he exclaimed in a kind of phrensy—
“ Let it be published to all the world that I am
“ falsely accused, and that I die for no other
“ reason than because such is the tyrant’s will.”
He then stretched forth his neck to the executioner, who struck off his head at a single blow. Immediately the air was rent with the doleful lamentations of the Indians, and the sighs of the Spaniards.

Thus was extinguished the imperial family: thus ended the disturbances of Peru. Toledo was recalled, and severely reprimanded by the king of Spain. He attempted to justify his conduct: he even pretended that he was entitled to rewards for having, as he asserted, released his countrymen from all uneasiness by extirpating the remnant of the imperial race. The king ordered him to retire. “ I had chosen you,” said the monarch, “ to assist the wretched Indians in their calamitous state, not to be the butcher of kings.” He was confined to his own house, where he perished the victim of remorse and chagrin. His guilt must have been very atrocious indeed, since Philip II thought it so.

“ Formerly Peru was nought but a forest, a vast
“ desert; the inhabitants a kind of brutes, void
“ of religion or government. Destitute of all the

“ arts necessary for society, they knew not to
“ sow, to reap, to build, to spin, or to manu-
“ facture stuffs. They dwelt in the caverns of
“ the rocks and mountains, and fed on herbs,
“ roots, the produce of the chase, and human
“ flesh. They had no other clothing than the
“ leaves and bark of trees, or the skins of beasts.
“ In a word, they were entirely savage, un-
“ acquainted with the exclusive possession of
“ particular women: the females were common
“ to all; and the males, after the manner of
“ beasts, gratified their desires with the first ob-
“ ject that they met.” Such is the portrait drawn
by Garcilasso de la Vega of the ancestors of his
mother, who was descended from the race of the
incas. “ The sun our father,” he continues,
“ took pity on their wretchedness. He sent
“ down to earth one of his sons and one of his
“ daughters, to impart to our people a knowledge
“ of his divinity, to teach them how to pay
“ him their homage, and to give them laws and
“ precepts by which they might regulate their
“ conduct like beings endowed with reason.”

This first miracle was succeeded by others, as
ever is the case in the first origin of nations. The
celestial brother and sister, who also were man and
wife, separately peragrated the country in different
directions, instructing the people as they pro-
ceeded, and again met at Cusco, which became
the capital of their empire. When the sun their

father had settled them there, "You have," said he to them, "taught those barbarians to dwell in houses, to live together in society, to sow the earth, to propagate trees, to cultivate plants, to feed flocks, and to enjoy them like civilised creatures who ought to make fit use of their rational faculties. It is now your duty to establish the reign of justice, piety, clemency, gentleness. Acquit yourselves of that task to your subjects, as parents to their beloved children. Imitate the example of the sun your father, who does good to the whole universe, supplies it with light and heat, causes the seeds to germinate, the trees to grow, the flocks to increase, the earth to be refreshed by the dew which he raises on high and again lets fall, performs every day his course, and visits every part of the world, to discover whatever is defective, and apply to it the proper remedy."

The good inca, Garcilasso's father-in-law, who relates to him all these particulars, next enumerates with ecstasy the blessings which his ancestors, the descendants of the sun, to the number of thirteen emperors, had incessantly shed on the Peruvians and the surrounding nations. "Never," adds he, "did those princes take up arms except for the benefit of mankind." They subdued them, however; they annexed them to their kingdom, and thus formed for themselves a great empire. "But," adds Garcilasso with all the con-

fidence of implicit faith, “ it was for the sole purpose of bestowing on them the blessings of civilisation and laws, of infusing into their minds the principles of religion and morality; and making them partakers of the happiness enjoyed by their own subjects.” Unfortunately, that felicity, those happy conversions, were purchased at the expense of much blood, and of the ravages caused by all the various scourges which war introduces among the conquered.

It would be more equitable to leave every people to the enjoyment of happiness after their own manner: and such was the sentiment expressed to the inca Yupanqui by the inhabitants of a country where he wished to disseminate his instruction. “ We are,” replied they, “ perfectly satisfied with our own gods. They granted to our ancestors the enjoyment of liberty and independence. We have no reason to renounce them for a fantastic religion, which the inca employs for the purpose of imposing on the simplicity of his neighbours, and usurping over them a tyrannic authority.”—Other tribes, living in a sultry climate, whom the same prince wished to convert to the worship of the sun, declared to him that they did not choose to acknowledge the sun either as their god or as their king. “ The sea,” said they, “ is the only divinity that suits us; because its waters refresh us, and supply us with fish for our subsistence.

“ We would wish to be more distant from the
“ sun, whose rays only serve to scorch and tor-
“ ment us.”—But the reasonings of those nations
were ineffectual: he subjugated and converted
them both.

So far as we are enabled to judge from the
imperfect knowledge which remains of the Peru-
vian religion, it must be owned that paganism
does not present any other equally wise, equally
pure, equally exempt from fanaticism: Its mo-
rality was mild and engaging. We do not find
that it enjoined any practice of a troublesome
nature. Its worship was directed to the sun.
Young virgins; educated in the temples, were its
chief priestesses; and rendered its rites agreeable.
In the festivals, every circumstance bespoke
pleasure—songs; dances; elegant dresses; offerings
of flowers and incense in superb edifices covered
with gold and glittering with precious stones.

The Peruvians—who, instead of writing, used
only coloured fillets termed *quipos*—were not able
to leave us ample descriptions of those august
ceremonies. For the little which we know con-
cerning them, we are indebted to the memory of
the good inca, Garcilasso's father-in-law. He could
not recall the remembrance of them; or of the
glory of his progenitors, without experiencing the
sensations of poignant anguish. “ I restrain my
“ tears,” said he in concluding his narrative.
“ But; although my eyes do not overflow, my

“ heart is nevertheless deeply affected by the grief
“ arising from the calamities of our empire and
“ the misfortunes of our incas.”—Let us also
bestow our sympathy on a nation once so powerful,
which no longer rears its head but with humiliation
amid the ruins of its former greatness.

Those two great kingdoms of Mexico and Peru
are indeed the most brilliant jewels in the American
diadem of the king of Spain; but they do not
alone entirely compose it. Exclusive of numerous
isles, if he do not possess the whole extent of
California, New Mexico, Florida, Old Mexico
which is likewise called New Spain, he owns great
portions of those immense regions, which are sub-
ject to his empire. The general opinion, that the
Spanish possessions in America are not fine coun-
tries, is partly true, and partly false. The soil
is as various as the climates. In some of those
tracts, the eye is every-where cheered by the
prospect of vast plains, fertile fields, rich pastures,
and meadows watered by limpid streams. Others,
on the contrary, present nought to view but
parched deserts, muddy lakes, steep and craggy
mountains, immense forests coeval with the crea-
tion—in a word, nature arrayed in her most rude
and wildest dress.

Here we are scorched by intemperate suns;
there we are frozen by the intensity of cold. Even
the most favoured tracts are exposed to scourges
which ought to banish from them the human

kind. Such are the frequent earthquakes which ravage the conterminous provinces of Peru and Chili. Various precursive signs announce their approach: a hollow noise is heard to rumble in the caverns beneath the earth: the air is agitated by a vibratory motion: the dogs are heard to utter doleful howlings: the mules and horses stand motionless, with their legs stretched wide asunder: the birds fly in short starts, and are seen to strike against the walls, and dash themselves against rocks and trees, as if seized by a vertiginous stupor. Terrified by these alarming prognostics, the human kind now seek safety in flight, but sometimes with vain attempt; the plains, equally as the cities, swallowing them up in an untimely grave.

CALIFORNIA.

CALIFORNIA is a great peninsula, united to the continent on the north by a country little known, and by New Mexico. On every other side it is surrounded by the Pacific ocean, which forms between it and New Mexico a narrow sea called the gulf of California, or the Vermillion sea. In the gulf lie several islands, where the Jesuits formerly had fine settlements. To those missionaries we are indebted for what little knowledge we possess of the interior of California—that the inhabitants are not altogether savage—that

they have some principles of morality—that, among their opinions, there are some approaching to those of Christianity, such as a vague notion of the trinity and incarnation, which render them disposed to embrace the Christian religion. We do not however find that it has made great progress among them: whence we are authorised to conjecture that those reverend fathers have flattered themselves, like men of sanguine imaginations, who always fancy they see existing whatever they wish to find.

The same language prevails in California among the savage tribes and the civilised. They are not acquainted either with writing, or its substitutes, such as were the paintings of Mexico, and the quipos of Peru. The Californians are a handsome well-made race; nor are any deformed individuals seen among them. They are tainted with the usual vices of the Indians in general—insensibility, indolence, laziness; and they have no discriminative idea of vice or virtue. Whatever is advantageous to them they deem lawful. They pay no tributes: but they have a great number of sacred magicians—a circumstance which of course operates, though indirectly, in the same manner as taxation. They have no general chief: each district has one of its own, who points out the time and place for fishing, gathering roots, and collecting fruit, and who, in case of necessity, puts himself at the head of his tribe for the pur-

poses of war. That chief is elected by a plurality of voices. They have a kind of nobles named *rancherías*, to whom they pay some honour, but without allowing them any authority. The *rancherías* are all allied to each other by consanguinity.

The huts of the Californians are so small that they cannot extend themselves in them at full length. Those who seek refinements in the convenience of their habitations cover them with reeds; others leave them uncovered. They go naked, unless we may consider as clothing those figures which they imprint on their skin. The women cover themselves somewhat better than the men. The ceremonies of their religious worship are so absurdly ridiculous that they do not deserve to be related. They consist in dances continued till the performers drop down exhausted with fatigue—frantic shouts which they consider as musical concerts—the smoke of tobacco blown into each other's noses—deformed, grinning, monstrous idols, like those of Mexico. The Spaniards appear to have no other motive for retaining possession of this country, than that of preventing other nations from occupying it.

NEW MEXICO.

NEW Mexico lies between Louisiana, the gulf of California, and Old Mexico. The soil is fertile, rich in mines, and in timber for building. The rivers are numerous : but two alone of them are navigable. The natives are affable, generous, pacific : but it is dangerous to rouse them to anger ; for they possess courage, and handle the javelin and the bow with considerable dexterity. They wear clothing, build stone houses, and cultivate their fields.

Each tribe has its own distinct sovereign. As they were not united in a corporate nation, their subjugation was a task of the less difficulty. The Spaniards found in them little repugnancy to embrace the Christian religion ; their only fear being, lest their conversion should be used as a pretext for despoiling them of their liberty. Of that privilege they are extremely jealous, as is well known by experience to the Spaniards, who, for attempting to infringe it, suffered all the calamitous effects of their exasperate rage.

The sea-coast, however, they suffer to be possessed by those foreign invaders, who have built on it the city of Santa-Fé, which is the centre of their establishments in that quarter. As the country is pleasant and healthy, the Spanish government annually sends thither a certain number

of poor families—a measure suggested by judicious policy, since, besides affording a resource to indigent Spaniards, it presents an effectual mean of introducing among the savages, without violence, the arts, the principles of religion, with the advantages of government and social life.

FLORIDA.

FLORIDA is situate between the gulf of Mexico, the Apalachian mountains, Louisiana, and the great river Mississippi. It received the name of Florida either from the circumstance of its having been discovered on Palm-Sunday *, or because the eye is there habitually delighted with the variety of flowers, and the olfactory sense flattered by their perfume. These advantages announce abundant germination and great fecundity. In that beautiful region dwell a race of males and females who do not disparage the country that gave them birth. The former are robust, well-proportioned, light-olive-coloured, bold and perseverant in their undertakings. In the women, it is difficult to determine which we ought most to admire—their beauty, their courage, or their conjugal fidelity. Nakedness with them is not a sub-

* Called by the Spaniards “*Pasqua de Flores*,” from the flowers used in their religious ceremonies.

ject of either vanity or shame. The men are accused by the Spaniards of dishonesty in their traffic: but if they are guilty of cheating, their accusers do not fail to make ample retaliation.

The Floridans adore the sun and moon as superior divinities, beside many others of inferior grade, whom they represent by images. They refuse to embrace the Christian religion, not through any particular antipathy to it, but because they see it professed by cruel and avaricious men. They are divided into tribes under distinct chiefs styled *paraousti*. These alone enjoy the privilege of polygamy. Sorcerers, physicians, priests, enjoy great influence over them: they affect an air of gravity, appear clad in long skin-cloaks, are remarkably taciturn, and lead austere lives. The Spaniards hold Florida in subjection by means of two forts well supplied with artillery and pretty strongly garrisoned.

OTHER SPANISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA.

NEW Castile, New Grenada, New Andalusia, and several other countries, which the conquerors, by imposing on them these names, have as it were branded with their stamp as the property of Spain, occupy an immense extent in South America. Their interior parts are unknown. The Jesuits

alone have penetrated thither, and have, according to the accounts of some writers, “gained greater authority over the natives by their policy, without the effusion of blood, than the Spanish government has been able to acquire by the massacre of thousands.” Those interior parts contain in their forests not only their own indigenous race of inhabitants, but also great numbers of Indians from other parts, who have fled thither for refuge and protection from the oppressive yoke of the Europeans. There may be found descendents of the ancient Peruvians, who carried with them their old religion and manners. Their progenitors stepped forth from palaces, they step forth from caverns, at the moment when the bright luminary of day begins to pour his radiance over the land, or when his beams first pierce the tufted foliage of their forests. They hail his appearance by hymns, adore him, and offer him incense. They live together in fraternal concord, bestow frequent regrets on their past condition, pay respect to old age, congratulate each other on the occasion of a birth, indulge in festive joy at a marriage, and weep at a funeral. Nothing is carried to excess among them: their whole conduct is marked with the genuine simplicity of un-affected nature.

New Castile is as it were the link that connects the other Spanish possessions in South America which lie without the bounds of Peru. The air of New Castile is in general neither salubrious nor

agreeable : a stifling heat prevails, and a destructive moisture : but the country abounds in gold—a circumstance which, in the estimation of its conquerors, compensates every defect. The natives are very far from being entirely subdued : nor will they perhaps ever be completely bent to the yoke : for they are endued with courage and perseverance, and, when closely pressed, retire to places so strongly fortified by the hand of nature as to bid defiance to all attack. The ports of New Castile lie on the northern sea : but it has the advantage of communicating with the Pacific ocean by Darien. All those coasts, north and south, are dotted with Spanish towns, of which it will be sufficient to notice the principal.

Porto-bello is very unhealthy. The animals which are transported thither grow lean notwithstanding the utmost care in supplying them with food. It is the rendez-vous of the galleons ; and thither is brought from Panama the treasure with which they are to be freighted.—The latter city, strongly fortified, is the residence of the governor.—Carthagena, the centre of an extensive commerce, has good fortifications, and contains many wealthy inhabitants. The galleons touch there.—Santa-Martha, situate on the Rio-grande, has waned from its former opulence since the galleons have ceased to enter that river.—Hache, Venezuela, Maracaïbo, Camana, situate in the interior parts, with many other towns which we for-

bear to enumerate, have no other claim to that title than what arises from a comparison with the paltry villages of the country, and from some fortifications with which the former are surrounded. In some of them, not a hundred houses are to be seen.

Quito is perhaps the most elevated city in the world, and enjoys the purest air. To it sick persons are sent for the recovery of their health. With this advantage it unites that of a fertile soil. The country is blest with a perpetual spring, or—which is certainly not less desirable—an uninterrupted autumn. Beside the bud which begins to germinate, smiles the expanding bloom; near to that, the fading blossom is seen to droop, and make way for the fruit. On the same plain, the corn begins to sprout in one part: at a short distance, it shows the swelling ear: farther on, it wears the golden hue and invites the reaper's sickle.—Cusco, the ancient capital of Peru, has not degenerated from its pristine splendor.—Lima, the new capital and rival of the former, yields not to it in magnificence, and surpasses it in commerce, which the vicinity of the sea renders active and profitable. It is the residence of the vice-roy. Its environs are delightful.—Nothing, on the contrary, so dreary as the aspect of Potosi—an arid, sterile, rugged mountain, un-adorned by fruits or herbs or plants. But its womb incloses silver-mines, the richest in the universe, and

deemed inexhaustible—the most destructive present made by nature to the ill-fated Indians, whom greedy tyranny compels to drudge in those mines for the benefit of unfeeling masters.

PARAGUAY.

BETWEEN the Spanish and Portuguese possessions, extends Paraguay, an immense region, once covered with woods, but now rendered fertile by cultivation. In those forests, ancient as the soil on which they stood, formerly roamed, amid tigers and lions and bears, a number of scattered families, who lived like the cohabitant brutes, and never met each other but for mutual destruction. The Jesuits penetrated into their lurking-places, and, by unremitting attention and labour, succeeded in uniting about fifty families, whom they inspired with a relish for the social virtues and the Christian religion. The members of these families, becoming as it were missionaries, invited others to adopt this new mode of life, of which they extolled the comforts and advantages, and with such effect, that, in the flourishing state of that mission, those reverend fathers reckoned above forty thousand families subject to their jurisdiction.

They have been attacked by the reproaches of obloquy on account of that exclusive domination.

It has been imputed to them as a crime that they made the Indians acquainted with no other authority than their own—that they as anxiously kept them debarred from all intercourse with the Spaniards and Portuguese, as a jealous husband guards his wife, or a miser his treasure—that they armed their disciples, instructed them in military evolutions, taught them to fabricate gun-powder, to cast cannon, and to put themselfee into a respectable state of defence. To this charge they replied by showing their profelytes industrious, good fathers, faithful husbands, dutiful children, regular in their conduct, equal in riches, removed at once from luxury and poverty, assisted in their sicknesses, chearful, content, happy, and, in particular, warmly attached to their priest, whom they called “father” by pre-eminence, and who was at once their civil and ecclesiastic and military chief.

Each village is called a “doctrine;” and there, according to the account of a historian who is not a Jesuit, every thing is conducted as in a single family. The fields are cultivated in common: the produce is laid up in store-houses, and distributed in proportion to the wants of the members. Every morning and evening the children are summoned to prayer by the sound of the bell. No person is allowed to fail in his attendance at mass. Their assiduity in this particular enables the “father” to discover the sick and infirm, whom

he immediately visits, and to whom he carries the necessary aids and comforts. His house—which is ample and capacious, because all the councils and assemblies are held in it—is ever open to all who wish to seek his advice. The marriages are celebrated on Sunday, for the purpose of giving them greater solemnity. In his exhortation, the “father” recapitulates all the transactions of the week—he bestows praise or blame—inflicts penances—publicly reconciles those whom any casual ebullitions of warmth may have alienated. Thus peace reigns among the little community, attended by purity of manners, and a charity truly fraternal.

Even though some defects should have crept into that fine institution, it must nevertheless appear admirable, and entitled to the esteem and praise of all who are acquainted with it. It may be that the Jesuits, once established on a solid footing, have affected a kind of royalty—that, under the banner of the cross, their disciples actually became their subjects—that the “fathers,” after the wants of their little communities were supplied, converted to the use and advantage of their own order the remaining surplus of the common store, of which they rendered no account—that, in training those tribes to arms, it was their intention to strengthen them beforehand against any attempts of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns, which they might think to be

not destitute of pretensions to those flourishing regions. But it is certain that the Jesuits procured the punctual payment of the tribute imposed on the "doctrines," or, rather, paid it themselves, since it was they who held the purse. It was not, therefore, for the sake of recovering the tribute, that the Spaniards and Portuguese came to an agreement to wrest those tracts from the hands of the Jesuits: but perhaps, seeing an increase of wealth, they wished an increase of contribution, and feared resistance from the people under the direction of such guides.

With respect to the precaution of not suffering either Portuguese or Spaniards to approach the "doctrines," we may be allowed to commend the motive of the Jesuits—an apprehension lest the evil discourses and bad example of those negligent professors of Christianity should corrupt their proselytes, and divest them of that simplicity of faith and manners which constituted their happiness. Were they happy under those priestly conductors? Are they equally so since they have been deprived of them? Even though this question should be decided in favour of the crowned heads, still the Jesuits would remain entitled to the glory of an institution singular in its kind, and fraught with humanity. It is to be observed that those ecclesiastics did not suffer their Indians to work the mines of gold and silver contained in Paraguay; a conduct which merits our

applause, if its motive was the desire of screening their disciples from the effects of European avidity.

BRASIL.

Brasil, which lies contiguous to Paraguay, is the only possession of the Portuguese in America: but it is equal in value to several others, by its fertility, its riches, and its extent. When the Portuguese first arrived on its coast, the natives were divided among themselves, and engaged in open hostilities; which circumstance facilitated the success of the foreign invaders. It is said that the Brasilians were accustomed to feed upon human flesh; but that dreadful practice has never been fairly proved against them. The author who accuses them of that atrocity, says also that they have among them dæmoniacs who familiarly converse with the devil—that himself has seen and heard them—that those people do not live under any government, though he acknowledges them to have kings and generals and caciques—that they are unacquainted with police, though they have laws, and, among others, the *lex talionis*—that they have no religion, though they have priests, and expect a retribution of rewards and punishments after death—no idea of the immortality of the soul, though they place in the grave

with the deceased a supply of provisions for his journey. These contradictions encourage a belief either that the Brasilians are but imperfectly known, or that opinions entertained only by particular tribes are indiscriminately imputed to the whole nation.

The Brasilians are tall and well shaped and have handsome features, long black hair, and a copper complexion. Though lying under the same parallel of latitude as the negroes on the opposite side of the Atlantic ocean, they entirely differ from them in colour, in figure, and in manners. In running, the Brasilians are indefatigable: they march incessantly by night as well as by day, to take by surprise an enemy at the distance of two or three hundred leagues. It must ever be matter of astonishment, that hatred can subsist between people so far removed from each other.—This country supplies the Portuguese with dying-woods, ivory, amber, resins, balsams, indigo, tobacco, jasper, gold, diamonds, beautiful shells, crystal, emeralds, and sugar in great abundance. Epicures will not forget its sweetmeats, which are delicious, nor can the ladies fail to praise the feathers brought thence, which are the most beautiful in the world.

In a spot embosomed amid forests and inaccessible mountains, exists the republic of Saint-Paul, so called from the name of the town which is its centre. It is composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, creoles, negroes, mostly men guilty of crimes, and who have fled thither to avoid punishment. After

having for a long time lived without order or laws, they at length felt the necessity of establishing a government; and that which they chose is purely democratic. They pretend to be independent on Portugal: yet they pay to it a light tribute. Their number does not much exceed four thousand. Their capital is neat and well built. Those republicans do not suffer any strangers to enter among them; nor do they allow any of their body to emigrate. We have no knowledge of what passes among them, except from the information of some negroes who occasionally desert from their territory.

Some writers would persuade us, that, in the vicinity of Brasil, exists a republic of Amazons, from whom the great river which bounds their country has taken its name. Mention has been made of such martial viragoes in Asia and Africa: mention is also made of them in America; but it is equally difficult to find them in the new world as in the old.

GUIANA.

The Dutch formerly made attempts on Brasil; but, being repulsed by the Portuguese, they established themselves in the adjoining country of Guiana. By persevering toil they rendered that low and fenny tract fit for the habitation of human

beings. Their most difficult task was to cut avenues through the thick forests, to open free passages for the circulation of the air. Their capital is Surinam, which has dependent on it some islands rendered fertile by the exertions of industry.

The French have also obtained a footing in Guiana. Their chief settlement here is in the isle of Cayenne at the mouth of the river bearing that name. The island is about twelve leagues in circumference, and contains many populous villages. The colonists have applied their attention to the culture of coffee and the sugar-cane, in which they have been successful.

Both the French and the Dutch have the prospect of immense establishments on the continent, whenever they may be disposed to penetrate the forests. By mutually advancing on each side, the colonists of Guiana and the inhabitants of Paraguay may at some future period form a junction.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH POSSESSIONS.

The French and English possessions in America have so often passed from the hands of the one to those of the other people, that it is proper to comprise them under one common denomination.

They extend along the coast, from within a

short space on this side of the Mississippi, to a small distance beyond the river Saint-Laurence. In that tract of country, lie Virginia, Nova Scotia, New England, Canada, and several great islands. As we advance into the interior, we find those possessions in a greater or lesser degree hemmed in by savage tribes, who retire or approach according as they feel themselves conscious of their own strength or weakness.

Different from the savages of whom we have heretofore spoken, it is not by the allurements of gain or the desire of plunder that these hordes of barbarians are attracted to the European settlements: it is almost invariably by the thirst of vengeance, a kind of rage against the new occupants of the land, whom they consider as usurpers of their ancient domains. That rage has been increased and strengthened, and has become a motive and a mean of destruction, by the impolitic conduct of the English and French, who, in their mutual quarrels, fought to support themselves against each other by the alliance of those savages, furnished them with arms and taught them their use, and sometimes marched at the head of sanguinary expeditions, which they knew would terminate in the massacre of all the prisoners, after the endurance of tortures sufficient to make human nature shudder.

One essential difference between the enterprises against these northern coasts and the European

irruptions into the territories of Mexico and Peru is, that the principal object of the latter was the search for gold, silver, precious stones, and all the riches of luxury; whereas, among the adventurers who visited the more savage shores of the north with the desire of trying their fortune, there were many who sought only a resource from want, an asylum to shelter them from the disturbances by which their native country was agitated. These motives disposed them to undertake the cultivation of the soil, and in a short time raised their colonies to a flourishing condition.

VIRGINIA.

The first part of that extensive coast which the English occupied was called Virginia, in compliment to queen Elizabeth, who, by her jealous affectation of the fame of virginity, at length brought her character in that respect under suspicion. They landed there in the year 1584. At sight of them the inhabitants testified great surprise, but no hostile intention. Those savages were covered from the waist downward with skins of beasts; their arms were bows and arrows, spears of wood hardened by fire and pointed, shields made of bark, and a kind of wicker corslets. They had kings and a class of nobles. Both sexes painted their faces and bo-

dies, and ornamented themselves with necklaces of shells or pearls or birds' claws, according to their fancy and their means. Both men and women were well-shaped, had regular features, and a tawny complexion. The women were more fully clad than the men, the girls more profusely decked than the women, and more attentive to their hair, which they plaited in a pleasing manner. The women cut theirs in front, and supplied its place with a kind of chaplet in form of a crown. The old men and the priests were dressed in finer skins, and took great care to let the animal's tail hang behind as an ornament of distinction.

Beside the priests, whose particular functions are not perfectly known, they had a sort of jugglers or conjurers who enjoyed great influence over them. Men and women all had characters impressed on their backs, indicating the time and place of their birth, their tribe, to what prince they belonged, and their respective ranks. Four arrows were the mark of sovereignty. Of the other characters, which were extremely various, the signification is unknown. Those people were unacquainted with iron, but supplied that defect by the use of flint-stones wrought to an edge, and shells ground to sharpness.

When the rude simplicity of their implements was considered, it was impossible to behold without admiration the works which they performed. They cut down trees of the largest size, which they

hollowed by the aid of fire, to convert them into canoes. They employed that element with much dexterity, and knew so well to manage it, that they roasted their meat on wooden gridirons without injuring them. They also had earthen vessels fashioned with elegance by the hands of the women, without the assistance of the wheel. Their stews, in which they mingled flesh with vegetables and fish, would have appeared savoury to Europeans unaccustomed to salt and spices. They were skilful and dextrous in catching fish with the line, the spear, and wicker cribs. Each individual endeavoured to improve on the contrivances of his neighbours; and there existed in that respect an emulation which was productive of great variety. In general, the Virginians were temperate in their living, and, on that account, remarkable for longevity.

The practices prevalent among them at the period of the first discovery still subsist. Their chief pleasure is to assemble, men and women together, around a great fire, to yell forth rude songs accompanied by such instrumental music as they can elicit from a hollow gourd containing a number of small pebbles which they rattle with tremendous din. These festivals are chiefly celebrated after their return from a successful expedition. They also celebrate one of another kind, of which the origin is unknown. At an appointed time, all the inhabitants of the country repair to

it, even from very great distances. The men surround the circle of females, in the midst of which appear the three most beautiful virgins, with their arms entwined together, and in the attitude which the ancients attributed to the three Graces. With their feet they beat time to regulate the measure of the general dance. These meetings do not conclude without a banquet.

Their dwellings consist of posts fixed in the ground, and covered with mats, and having behind them gardens, the whole usually environed by a palisado. Assemblages of such huts form hamlets, and villages sometimes sufficiently considerable to deserve the name of towns. In the centre of these, always stands a hut larger than the rest, and covered with finer mats, which serves as a temple. Their idea of the divinity does not soar beyond their idols, which are formed of wood, and so hideous that one would almost imagine they were made on purpose to serve as objects of terror to their makers. We do not discover any precise functions assigned to the priests, except on the occasion of funerals. They watch the dead, and incessantly pray for them. Their habitations are the sepulchres: these consist of a scaffold nine or ten feet in height, on which are laid the skeletons, stripped of the flesh, and so dextrously covered again with the skin as to render it difficult to perceive that they had been dissected. Beneath the platform dwell the priests.—The principal

objects of their agricultural care are tobacco and Indian corn. Their fields are separated from each other. Polygamy is not practised among them: and the conjugal tie is held sacred.

We have dwelt with some minuteness on the manners of those savages, because they are nearly the same which prevail among all the northern tribes. We will be careful to note the variations as they occur. In like manner, what we are about to say respecting Virginia is to be considered as common to all the English settlements, except, as in the former case, some diversities arising from peculiar circumstances.

The English arriving in those regions, as we have before remarked, not like the Spanish adventurers who went in search of those countries where the inhabitants "ate and drank from vessels of gold," to carry off that metal, and return to enjoy their opulence in Europe—the English, on the contrary, fleeing from the troubles of the civil wars under Charles I, abandoned their country, never more to return, being determined to acquire for themselves a new habitation, and there settle themselves for ever. Nutritive husbandry was their chief occupation; whence they acquired the name of "planters," which has continued to the present day, indicating the original possessors of those colonies. The savages, gradually driven back by these new settlers, yielded to them the ground, but not without occasionally

defending their ancient property. Not being able to obtain any aid in their agricultural labours from the natives who fled their society, the colonists introduced negroes from Africa. Assisted by those subsidiary hands, they derived from their culture more than sufficient to supply all their wants. The surplus they sent to the mother-country, with which they still maintained a correspondence founded on the connexions of consanguinity and friendship. Thus was established a lucrative commerce, less brilliant but more certain than that of which gold was the basis, because subsistence ever takes precedence of luxury.

These colonists, on their first settlement, made laws among themselves: but diversity of opinions, and the disturbances which they had sought to avoid, pursued and found them out in their remote asylum. Some remained attached to the royal authority, although it seemed to have fallen together with the head of Charles I: others declared themselves in favour of the republic, and of the protector Cromwell. Disputes among themselves, together with attacks from the natives who were apprised and availed themselves of their dissensions, frequently reduced the colony to the utmost danger. Hostilities were carried on with furious animosity: the savages gave no quarter; nor did the English show any mercy. Although superior by the nature of their arms

and their military skill, the latter suffered severe losses by the ravage of their fields, their most precious wealth. They were therefore eager to conclude truces with their antagonists, of which the principal condition always was that the savages should retire to a greater distance. Thus, even war was productive to them of advantages.

When this colony had risen to importance, the king of England named a governor for it. The post, being lucrative, was solicited by noblemen of the first distinction, who found means to enjoy the profit without undergoing the trouble : they remained at court themselves, and sent deputies to officiate in their stead. On complaining of this practice, the colonists were told in answer that they did not understand their own interests, and that it was much more advantageous to them to have a permanent protector residing near the king and his ministers, than to see him live among themselves ; more especially as, for all temporary concerns, his place was supplied by the deputy. They were obliged to rest satisfied with this reasoning : but it is observable, that, almost from the very origin of the colony, there ever existed in Virginia a secret discontent against England, and a germ of discord between the mother and the daughter,

NEW ENGLAND.

NEW ENGLAND, lying farther to the north than Virginia, was frequented by the English at an earlier period than the latter. To retrace the progress of her establishment, her increase, her encroachments on the savages, the vicissitudes of her government, would be to repeat what we have already said concerning Virginia. We will content ourselves with remarking that the religious dissensions were more violent and acrimonious here than among the Virginians. A great number of puritans emigrated to New England after the death of Cromwell, and, together with their notions of superior perfection, imported into the country the spirit of intolerance. Even among themselves they came to variance. The efficacy of grace and the merit of good works—a topic so oft discussed—a point of doctrine on which the disputants never could agree—heated their minds, especially those of the women. Those female enthusiasts communicated the controversial spirit to their husbands; and a synod was assembled. Those who were not satisfied with the decision of that assembly withdrew to Rhode-Island, which they colonised and cultivated, and where they built a town, and established a considerable commerce. Thus one of the finest parts of the En-

glish colonies was indebted for its rise and prosperity to the religious dissensions.

Let the English, who on good grounds condemn the rigors of the inquisition, pay attention to what has happened in New England on the subject of quakers and forcerers; and they will acknowledge that errors—cruel and sanguinary errors—are common to all ages, to all nations. It does not appear that there existed any political reason for proscribing the quakers of New England, such as commercial interest, the fear of being opposed by merchants of superior industry, or other similar motive: the animosity against them seems to have arisen from pure theological hatred. They were subjected to a bloody persecution, of which the forms may be learned from the law promulgated on the subject.

By that law it was ordained that every quaker, guilty of returning to New England after having been once banished from it, should, for the first offence, be condemned, if a man, to suffer the loss of one ear, and be sent to the house of correction, there to be kept to hard labour, until he should procure the means of embarking at his own expense. For the second offence, he was to lose his remaining ear, and be confined in like manner. If the offender were a woman, she was to be severely whipped, and sent to the house of correction. For the third transgression, the delinquents, whether male or female, were to have

their tongues pierced with a hot iron, and be confined till shipped off at their own charge.

It is not surprising that fanatics—and that name may with propriety be applied to all persecutors—should at the same time be tainted with credulity. But we can hardly persuade ourselves that the same fanatics could have really believed in witchcraft. Among those persecutors, we find a governor, some puritanic ministers, and magistrates. In their presence tortures were employed to force from women a confession that they had bewitched others. Some persons were hanged on the evidence of ghosts. A magistrate who had issued many warrants against supposed witches, being weary of these sanguinary sentences, and refusing to issue any more, was himself accused as an accomplice, and obliged to flee. Some witnesses declared that his brother had been seen riding through the air on his dog to the meetings of forcereffes. On their testimony he was condemned; nor was it without the utmost difficulty that he saved his life: but his dog was put to death. We would pass over in silence these instances of barbarous madness, were it not important that men should, in the page of history, find examples capable of inspiring them with a horror for persecution. The reader shall therefore be informed that two hundred persons were accused, a hundred and fifty imprisoned, twenty-eight condemned to death, and twenty executed.

MARYLAND, &c.

MARYLAND, adjoining to Virginia, has ever enjoyed tolerable tranquillity.—The colony of New York, containing Long-Island and some other isles, gave great trouble to the mother-country on the subject of its government. It became necessary to alter and renew its charters.—New Jersey was in the beginning a retreat for the dissenters of every denomination, even papists and quakers.—Finally, Acadia or Nova Scotia passed from the hands of the French to those of the English, by whom it is now possessed. By means of it, they penetrated into Canada. It is not surprising that the latter province, exposed as it was to their invasions, and destitute of all aid except what was sent to it from France, should have fallen into the hands of the English, who easily repaired their losses, and abundantly provided for all the wants of their armies, by the near and convenient resources derived from their colonies.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

THE isle of Newfoundland, which may be said to command the river Saint-Laurence, after having long been a subject of dispute between the

French and the English, at length fell to the share of the latter. That river discharges itself into the sea through a mouth thirty leagues wide, intersected by several other islands, which have also been objects of desire to the two European nations. The fortresses which the French had established on them—among others, that of Louisbourg—successively fell into the hands of the English. Newfoundland is more advantageous by its position than by its productions. It is about three hundred leagues in circumference, and covered with forests. The weather is there extremely hot in summer, and intensely cold in winter. The natives are of small size, but strong. At first sight a European eye is astonished at the extraordinary breadth of their faces, on which moreover no beard is discovered. They are acute, cunning, treacherous, and unwilling to restore what they have stolen. But that disposition is not confined to the natives of Newfoundland.

The great bank, which may be called the empire of the cod-fish, is not far distant from the island. It may be about three hundred leagues in length, and in breadth one hundred. It is a sub-aqueous ridge of mountains, whose summits are unequal. The numbers of cod taken on it are incredible. When the fish approach that spot, which is as it were their rendez-vous, the air is darkened by a cold fog so thick that the sun can with difficulty penetrate it; while

Newfoundland, which lies so near to it, enjoys a pure and serene sky—a phænomenon for which naturalists are embarrassed to assign a cause. The English, French, and Dutch, participate in the fishery, a boon of providence from which they sometimes endeavour to exclude each other.

CANADA.

CANADA once bore the name of New France: but the French nation are not now its possessors. That country presents a state of things different from what we have hitherto observed. It was not by planters that this colony was founded. In proceeding up the river Saint-Laurence, the French met a race of savages clad in furs, which they willingly exchanged for the merchandise offered by the adventurers. The latter, gradually advancing into the interior of the country whence those valuable furs were brought to them, took care to establish places of rest and refuge, whence they might start to penetrate farther, and to which they might retreat for refuge when pursued. To this precaution the cities of Quebec and Montréal on the great river, and others on lesser streams, are indebted for their origin.

The constitutional activity of the French did not always suffer them to await in those towns the arrival of the spoils gained by the savages in the chase. They took pleasure in participating

the fatigues and dangers of their hunting-parties. The excursions which they performed in those pursuits enabled them to make very remote discoveries. But neither could they, on the other hand, mingle with the natives in their exercises, without taking also a part in their wars. The fire-arms rendered the Canadians extremely desirous of an alliance with their foreign visitors: and those tribes who could bring forth a few musketeers in their ranks thought themselves sure of victory.

Algonquins, Iroquois, Hurons, Natches, Esquimaux, Illinois—such are the names of the principal nations who are known to inhabit those extensive regions covered with forests, intersected by numerous rivers, and inundated by vast lakes. They all are, as hunters ought to be, diligent, active, and indefatigable. Their sense of hearing is acute, their sight piercing, and their olfactory powers, we are told, so accurate, that, on barely smelling the grass which has been trodden, they can tell to what tribe belongs the person who has passed over it. These advantages are highly serviceable to them in their wars with each other—wars entirely consisting in stealthy surprisals, and whose chief object is to make prisoners. The manner in which they act toward their captives presents irreconcilable contradictions: they caress and torment, they adopt and kill them. An account of their behaviour on one of those oc-

cations has been transmitted to us by an eye-witness.

An Iroquois chief having been captured by the Hurons, the latter agreed in their assembly to present him to an aged chief of their own nation; to supply the place of a nephew whom he had lost in the war; or to be disposed of as he might think proper. During the first moments of his captivity, the Iroquois had been beaten, wounded, burned, mutilated of two fingers. The Huron chief, seeing him in that state, said to him—
“Nephew! you cannot conceive the joy which
“I felt on learning that you were willing to supply the place of him whom I have lost. I had
“already prepared a mat for you in my cabin:
“and it would have afforded me great satisfaction
“there peaceably to spend with you the remainder of my days: but the condition in
“which I see you obliges me to alter my determination. The severe treatment which you
“have suffered must render life insupportable to you; and I think that I render you a service
“in shortening its duration. Take courage, my
“dear nephew! Prepare yourself to convince us
“that you are a man, and are capable of enduring every species of torture.” After this harangue, the prisoner was clothed in the finest dress and fed with the most delicate viands which could be procured. The sister of the youth whose place he was to have supplied lavished on him

every attention. A handsome young girl was given to him for a companion. He was pompously conducted in procession through the surrounding villages; and, when returned from that perambulation, the old uncle put his own pipe into the captive's mouth, and with paternal kindness wiped away the sweat with which his face was bedewed.

The day of the concluding ceremony being arrived, the uncle gave a great banquet. The nephew did the honours of the feast, and, rising at the conclusion of the entertainment, said to the assembly—"Brothers! I am prepared to die. "Divert yourselves around me; and be persuaded that I fear neither death nor any tortures which you can inflict on me." He now poured forth a song, in which he was accompanied by all the warriors present, who next conducted him to the "cabin of blood." There re-commencing his death-song, he was tied to a stake, and surrounded by the young men intrusted with the care of his execution. An aged chief exhorted them to acquit themselves properly of their task, and so to proportion the torments as to render them the more tedious and excruciating. In the presence of the devoted victim, the destination of his different limbs was pronounced—an arm to this village—a foot to that—the head to a third. He coolly listened to the discourse: after which a number of fires were lighted around

him. Red-hot irons were applied to the most sensible parts of his body : he was torn : he was hacked : he endured the whole without uttering a complaint, without betraying a single symptom of pain, speaking all the while concerning the affairs of his nation, as if he had been at home in the midst of his own family.

These barbarities, which had been commenced in the evening, were prolonged during the whole night, it being deemed important that the sun should witness his last agonies. So soon as that luminary appeared, the wretch received the stroke of death. His limbs were now cut from the body to be sent to the different places of their destination, and the trunk thrown into a kettle, to be cooked for a repast. It is a point of honour, a kind of religion, among all those nations, to make a parade of that inconceivable insensibility, that disdainful contempt not only of death but also of the most tremendous tortures.

Gain is nothing, in the estimation of those savages, compared to glory. A French governor offering to a Huron chief a ransom for certain Iroquois prisoners who had been captured by his tribe, the savage proudly replied, " I am a warrior, not a merchant. It was not to traffic that I quitted my cabin, but to combat. If you have a fancy to these prisoners, take them. I know where I can procure others, or die myself." This alternative is founded on their

custom which does not allow them, after they have gone forth from their village on an expedition, to return home without bringing prisoners, under the penalty of being deemed cowards.

These people clothe their treaties with all the solemnity of which such agreements are susceptible. The following description has been given of the ceremony of a peace sworn between the Algonquins and Hurons and Iroquois and other tribes, in presence of a French governor who had acted as mediator in effecting it. In the middle of the assembly was a space included by a cord, and destined for the performance of their orators. The deputies of the different nations were seated, and observed a respectful silence. The Iroquois orator entered the circle, wearing as many collars as there were articles in the treaty; and, addressing the governor, to whom, as a mark of honour and a species of adoption, he gave the name of a great man of his tribe—"Ononthio!" said he, "open thy ear to my words. All the Iroquois speak to thee through my mouth. My heart harbours not evil sentiments; and my intentions are upright. We wish to forget our wars, and no longer to chant any other than songs of joy." After this exordium sublime in its simplicity, he began a song, in which he was accompanied by a chorus of his countrymen. During the singing, the orator quickly walked about in the circle, suddenly stopped, steadily

viewed the sun, stamped with his foot, wrung his arms, and threw himself into various contortions, probably bearing relation to the sentiments expressed in the song.

Among the captives restored by the Iroquois, was a Frenchman. The orator took a collar, which placing round the governor's neck, he said to him, "Father! this collar restores liberty to thy subject." He then reproached him in friendly terms for having, when he sent home the Iroquois prisoners, not sufficiently provided for their safety; in consequence of which omission, they had been exposed to dangers on their return. "As to me," he added, "it was not so that I treated the man whom I restore to thee. I said to him, 'Nephew! come with me. I intend to conduct thee back to thy family, even at the risque of my own life.'—The other collars had been placed on the cord which formed the inclosure, each emblematic of one of the articles of the treaty. One signified the liberty of fishing and hunting: another prescribed the precautions to be taken for visiting each other without danger: a third typified the feasts which were to be celebrated in joy for the alliance: others announced the willingness mutually to restore all prisoners, the wish to see them arrive, and the friendly reception which they were to experience. In some cases, the articles were not expressed by words, but by very expressive gestures.

The principal occupation of the Canadian savages is the chase. Some animals they hunt for the sake of feeding on their flesh, others for their skins and furs, and some for both those advantages. The elk, a species of deer much larger than ours, furnishes them with a wholesome and delicious food. His skin is strong, warm, and light. He turns to attack the hunter who has wounded him. This animal, one of the most active that we know, has for his enemy the carcajou, one of the slowest of quadrupeds, which makes him his prey. Posted aloft on trees in the forests, he watches the elk, darts on him, fastens himself to his back, and, in spite of all his struggles, devours him. Common deer and buffaloes abound in the country. The furs of wolves, martins, ermines, wood-rats, musk-rats, squirrels, and pole-cats, are held in great estimation. The last mentioned of those animals, when pursued, discharges a stream of fetid water which infects the air to the distance of a quarter of a league around.

The most curious animal in that part of the world is the beaver. He is of the size of a large dog, a quadruped in the fore part, and almost a fish behind. He discovers a decided inclination to a social life, a pacific disposition, moderate appetites, an antipathy to blood and flesh, and the art of constructing works of which the beauty and extent and solidity prove him to possess an instinct nearly rivaling rational intellect. The

beavers assemble at the end of July, sometimes to the number of three hundred, to build their winter habitations. If they find stagnant water, such as that of a lake or pool which constantly preserves the same level, they settle themselves on its border. When they find none except running waters, they erect a causey, and form a pond in which they keep the water always at a uniform height by means of openings made in the causey to answer the purpose of sluices. Some of these causeys have been seen measuring a hundred feet in length, and ten or twelve in thickness at the base.

After the completion of this public work in which the entire society co-operate, the beavers separate into companies, to build their private habitations. These are small cabins supported on piles at the border of the pond, sometimes consisting of two or three stories, and rising from five to eight feet in height. They have two openings, the one on the land-side for the purpose of going in quest of the branches of trees whose bark serves them as food, the other toward the water, that they may plunge into it on the least alarm. There is also a hole above the water, which serves to admit light into the cabin. The whole is well plastered, impenetrable to water, and kept remarkably clean. The instruments used by the beaver in cutting down very large trees, lopping off their branches, and fitting them for

their destined uses, are two teeth, extremely hard, and adapted to the purpose either of cutting or sawing—besides strong claws to his feet, which are shaped like hands, and serve to guide those trees so as to make them fall into the water. His tail—which is flat, oval, covered with scales, a foot in length, an inch in thickness, and five or six in breadth, affords him a vehicle to convey across the water the plaster which he has tempered, and is his only instrument for beating and consolidating it. It also serves him as a rudder. He vigorously swims by the aid of the membranes with which his hind feet are furnished. He can support himself in the water with sufficient steadiness to hold against the stream the trees which he has thrown down into it, intended for his buildings.

The beavers, having finished all their labours by the end of September, spend the winter in family society, and propagate their species during that season. The males abandon the females in spring: they however return occasionally to the habitations, but no longer reside in them. It is they who collect, and place within convenient reach, the provision of wood for the winter. The mothers are engaged in suckling and rearing their young: when these have acquired strength, their dam leads them out to take the air, and regales them with craw-fish, fish of other kinds, and tender bark. The society re-assemble in autumn if their dwelling require only some

flight repairs for their winter accommodation ; but if, on the other hand, a flood or any other accident have considerably damaged the dike and the cabins, they unite earlier.

While the savages wanted no beaver-skins except for their own use, they contented themselves with those straggling individuals of the species which they found during their hunting excursions in the woods. But, since those skins have become objects of commerce and luxury, they now attack the aggregate society, break their dikes to obtain easier access to their cabins, and thus destroy whole tribes of those animals. To avoid these acts of violence, their pacific colonies have retired farther toward the north : but thither too the hunters pursue them. Already the race of beavers begins to grow scarce ; and there is reason to fear that it will soon be totally extinct.

During a hundred and fifty years, the French and the English waged destructive war against each other in Canada. Unfortunately also they found there two nations equally inveterate enemies—the Hurons and the Iroquois—exclusive of other less numerous tribes, which they engaged in hostilities. Thus they multiplied the number of massacres.

The importance of the colony of Canada is dated from the year 1668. The court of France, who had neglected it till that period, then em-

ployed their attention in raising it to a flourishing state. They sent thither noblemen of small fortune, to whom they granted lands decorated with the title of lordships, so that, even by a moderate share of industry, they were enabled to live in the style of men of quality. Private soldiers were converted into colonists and planters; and the officers became great land-holders. In this first moment of exertion, the French ardor gave a new face to the colony: the spirit of emulation introduced the habit of industry and toil: but that activity was not of long continuance. So soon as the French were able to live with comfortable decency, they ceased to labour: and from that time the English colonies gained a decided superiority over their Gallic neighbours.

A Frenchman has left us the following comparison between the colonies of both nations.

“ In New England and the other English posses-
“ sions, we discover wealth of which the owners
“ do not make use. In New France we detect
“ real poverty concealed under the appearance of
“ affluence. The English planter amasses riches
“ by refraining from all unnecessary expenditure.
“ The French Canadian freely enjoys all his acquisitions, and sometimes makes a parade of
“ what he does not possess. The former labours
“ for his posterity: the latter bestows no thought
“ on his, but abandons them to the same distress
“ which he has himself experienced, and leaves

“ to them the care of extricating themselves from
“ their difficulties in the best manner they can.”
It is to be wished, that, from the combination
of English parcimony and French improvidence,
there may result in Canada a national character
equally remote from both extremes. That coun-
try was ceded to England by the treaty of Paris
in 1763. It had cost France, during nine years
of warfare, a hundred and twenty-two millions
five hundred and ninety thousand livres*.

LOUISIANA.

IF the French could form a just idea of the
difficulties experienced by their ancestors, and
the torrents of blood which they shed, for the
sake of acquiring some small portions of land in
Louisiana and maintaining their possession, they
would congratulate themselves on the measure
adopted by the Gallic court, of altogether aban-
doning that disastrous colony. From the year
1560, when they first penetrated into the country,
they never enjoyed it a single day without being
engaged in hostilities with the most cruel of
savages, as well as with the Spaniards and En-
glish, who were jealous of their establishment there.

* Five millions one hundred and seven thousand nine
hundred and sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and four
pence, sterling.

The same was the case with respect to a part of Florida gained at the expense of equal toil and bloodshed. They were both alike relinquished by the French—Florida to the English, Louisiana to the Spaniards.

The design of the French in attempting to fortify themselves in those colonies was to take the English possessions in the rear, and to confine them between the great lakes which lie behind, and the two rivers, Saint-Laurence and Mississippi. Through Louisiana and Florida, they also expected to acquire a kind of dominion in the Mexican gulf, and, being conterminous to the English and Spaniards, to hold the balance between them. These political motives, which were good with respect to America, gave way to others which preponderated over them in Europe: and the French ceded both colonies, when, by the exertions of their valour and their patience, they had subdued the ancient inhabitants. We will add—be it praise, be it blame—that they had almost completely extirpated the indigenous tribes—among others, the Natches, the most barbarous of them all. From their manners we may form a judgement of those of the other nations.

It is probable that the different peoples of this vast portion of the globe—which is thought to be united to Asia, if not by an uninterrupted tract of continent, at least by interjacent isles—have all

one common origin. Their languages, though differing, bear similitude to each other. Their manners do not vary except in points of no material consequence: they all exercise like cruelty toward their prisoners; they all torture and devour them. In general, they are well made. In childbirth, the women experience little labour; nor do they take to their bed until they have personally gone to wash the new-born infant in the river, of which it is often necessary to break the ice for that purpose. The pillow on which the babe's head is placed in the cradle is not higher than the mattress; whence the head, pressing with its entire weight, remains flat, and does not assume the round form. In fastening the child to prevent it from falling, the belly and breast are left unconfined. They are born white: but their frequent unctions, in which great quantities of red paint are used, render them copper-coloured. They think these necessary to render them supple, and to harden their skin against the bites of flies.

The fathers and mothers respectively rear the children of their own sex. Their authority is much respected. The most honourable title which they can confer on any man is that of "father:" but they are not lavish in bestowing it. Hence it is an unfailing safe-guard to the individual whom they compliment with it. They bathe themselves every day, even in the coldest weather. The girls swim equally as the boys. All the household

labour falls to the share of the women. The men employ their time in hunting, fishing, agriculture, building: they assemble in parties for these labours, and make them their amusement. The children of both sexes are accustomed from their most early years to carry burdens, which are gradually augmented in proportion to their increasing size and strength, so that, in the vigour of their age, they sometimes carry loads of an astonishing weight.

The old men are the depositaries of their traditions. They do not communicate them to the young men: and, even of those who have attained the full age of manhood, they do not call in to the knowledge of the “ancient words” any except such as have invariably distinguished themselves by their prudence and good sense. They have an idea of a supreme being, whom they call the “great spirit,” and who has subordinate to him other spirits ever ready to execute his commands. The air, according to their notions, is full of mischievous spirits: and to these they pray, that they may not suffer from their malevolence. They make offerings to them, and, in honour of them, submit to very long fasts, during which they abstain from their wives. Many of them have no images in their temples: but they keep a fire burning in them, and perform certain rites which encourage a belief that they consider it as sacred. Every man is priest and physician.

No notice is taken of the familiar intercourse of the two sexes, provided that the females have no children: for which reason they are very skilful in procuring abortion. They acquire their marriage-portion by their condescensions: but, when once married, they bid adieu to all desultory amours, and substitute conjugal fidelity in their stead. Polygamy and divorce are rare. The heads of families are as it were the ministers of marriage. The ceremony is conducted with an affecting simplicity.

The family of the destined bride conduct her in silence to the cabin of the bridegroom, where she finds his family standing ranged before the door, and is received by them with acclamations, which she returns. The elder of the girl is introduced into the cabin, where he meets the elder of the young man. "You are there!" says the senior within to him who enters.—"Yes," answers the latter. "Sit down," replies the other. They now remain silent, as if meditating on what they are next to do. After a while they rise, and, having desired the young couple to "Approach," tutor them by a discourse on the reciprocal duties of the matrimonial state. Presents are then brought in: and the bridegroom says to the bride, "Wilt thou take me for thy husband?"—"With all my heart," she answers: "do thou love me as I love thee: I never will love any other man."—Hereupon he makes her his present,

saying, "I love thee: I take thee for my wife: and here is what I give to purchase thee." He then fastens at his left ear a feather and an oak-leaf, signifying that he is disposed to range through the forests with the rapidity of a bird to provide subsistence for his wife and children. In his right hand he grasps a bow and arrows in token of the engagement which he forms to defend them. The bride holds in one hand a laurel-branch, in the other an ear of Indian corn; presented to her by her mother. The laurel implies that she will ever be sweet and cleanly—the corn, that she will be careful to prepare her husband's food. The bridegroom now presents to her his right hand, saying, "I am thy husband:" to which she replies, "I am thy wife." He joins hands with the relatives of his wife, and she does the same with those of her husband, as an emblem of the union of the two families. In presence of that assembly, to which respect and decency impart an august appearance, he points toward his bed, saying to his wife, "Behold our bed: keep it in order; and take care that it never be defiled."—The remainder of the day is spent in feasting, dancing, and rejoicing. The women are in general treated with respect and tenderness, and have their vote in society.

The savages are divided into tribes. The bare names of those which are known in the tract extending from the European settlements to the

northward near the sources of the great rivers, would compose a long list. It would be difficult, not to say impossible, to particularise the customs of those various hordes. Each has its good and its bad practices, its peculiarities and its caprices. Some have elective kings—others, hereditary—others again, simple chiefs temporarily intrusted with the concerns of war and police. In some cases, even the women are not excluded from those functions. Almost all these varieties are found among the Natches, one of the most powerful among the tribes of Louisiana and Florida.

Their great chief, according to the accounts of the Europeans who have lived among them, bears the title of Sun. As among the Hurons and some other tribes, he is the son, not of the predecessor, but of his nearest female relative. She is called the woman-chief, and, though not interfering in the affairs of government, receives great honours. She even possesses, equally as the male chief, the power of life and death. Their subjects do not approach to or retire from them without saluting them three times by a kind of howl. It is not lawful to turn the back toward them. The best portion of whatever is taken in hunting or fishing, and of the plunder obtained in war, must be carried to them. At sun-rise the chief advances to the door of his cabin: as soon as that luminary appears, he respectfully prostrates himself on the ground, and howls three times. A pipe is presented to him: he blows the first three mouthfuls

of smoke toward the sun; and perfumes with equal number the north, the west, and the south. He acknowledges no superior except the sun; and he pretends to derive from him his origin.

On the decease of the great chief or the woman chief, all the domestics of the defunct participate the death of their patron; and it is accounted a great honour to them. The husband of the woman chief is not deprived of it: and custom has ordained that his eldest son should be the person who is to strangle him. Every thing contained in the cabin is piled together into a kind of throne, on which are laid the bodies of the husband and wife. The first offering made to them are twelve young children strangled by the hands of their own parents. Next follows a funereal procession, affecting however an appearance of cheerfulness and joy. In the midst are seen fourteen persons of both sexes, devoted to death, but obliged to wear the countenance of satisfaction. The neck of each is encircled with a cord, of which the end is held by a man on each side. While the two dead bodies are deposited in the grave, the victims undress themselves. The relatives then begin to chant a song: at which signal, the others are all strangled at the same instant, and thrown into the grave, which is immediately covered with earth.

Among the Natches, the great chief alone is allowed the indulgence of polygamy. The

daughters of noble families, who are called the daughters of the sun, are married only to men of plebeian rank. But the unfortunate husbands dearly pay for the honour conferred on them. The wives change their mates as often as they please ; and the lady has the power of death over her partner, if he be guilty of conjugal infidelity : but he does not possess the same power over her : on the contrary, she entertains as many paramours as she thinks proper, without his daring to complain. In her presence he behaves with attentive respect, and never eats with her. The only privilege which he derives from his alliance with her is that of being exempt from labour, and enjoying some authority over the domestics.

We never fail to shudder when we think of the dreadful tortures which those nations are universally accustomed to inflict on their prisoners of war. So astonishing is the insensibility displayed by the victims of that ferocious cruelty, that people have imagined that the savages of those countries were endued with less acute feelings, suffered less, were in a word less susceptible of pain, than the Europeans. But we do not see why the nerves, or any other seat of sensation, should be less irritable in them. More reasonably may we suppose that it is the power of example and of opinion which seals their lips in silence. They would be dishonoured, and their nation would participate their disgrace, if they suffered a

single sigh to escape from them. That is sufficient to inspire them with strength to command their external senses, and to regulate the expression of them. It is a fanaticism. There is no opinion which is not susceptible of similar enthusiasm, and capable of impelling the enthusiast to do and to suffer any thing.

While the French and Spaniards were contending in Florida for the right of pre-occupancy, a French captain, by name Ribaut, asked a conference of the Spaniards. A soldier singly approached the little Gallic detachment, called Ribaut from the ranks, and gravely asked him, "Do the French soldiers punctually obey the orders of their commanders?"—"Undoubtedly," answered Ribaut.—"Well, then," replied the Spaniard, "be not surprised that I obey the command of my general:" at which words he plunged a dagger into the Frenchman's bosom. The little party was immediately surrounded. It entirely consisted of protestants; and the soldiers were all hanged, with the following inscription—"Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics and enemies of God."

The Gallic monarch Charles IX suffered this atrocious deed to pass with impunity. But a Gascon gentleman, named Degourgues, being informed of the transaction, swore, though a catholic, to avenge the murder of his countrymen. He sold all his property, and equipped a small

armament, composed of brave foldiers. Arrived in Florida, he attacked the Spaniards, took the fort, and caufed the entire garrifon to be hanged; with this label affixed near them, “Not as “Spaniards, but as traitors and murderers.” Such an epitaph, proclaimed at the head of armies, would, for the fafety of prifoners, anfwer an equally good purpofe as any cartel of exchange.

CAROLINA, GEORGIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

CAROLINA and Georgia received their names from the kings Charles and George; and Pennsylvania was denominated from William Penn, its firft proprietor. Thefe three provinces—which rather conftitute four, becaufe Carolina is divided into two—enjoy the happieft climate, are enriched with all the gifts of bounteous nature, and, though fettled the laft, were fuddenly covered with a prodigious population by the influx of foreigners who crowded thither—French, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, Englifh, Irifh—of ever religious feft and denomination.

William Penn was defcended of a good family, and fon of Sir William Penn who enjoyed the poft of admiral under the proteftorate of Cromwell, and was afterward equally efteemed and employed under the reign of Charles II, from whom he received the promife of a grant of lands in America.

Sir William, being of the sect of the independents, educated his son in their principles, which disposed him to adopt the tenets of the quakers, the most independent of men, and the most tolerant. After the old admiral's decease, young William, now become his heir, solicited the performance of the promise made by Charles to his father, and accordingly obtained from that monarch the grant of an extensive tract of territory on the confines of Virginia, which he further enlarged by purchases made from the Indians. He threw his colony open to non-conformists of every description, and admitted all who applied to him for lands. The quakers—who, on account of their obstinacy in refusing to follow the same mode of speech or salutation or dress that other people used, were subject to many mortifications—flocked thither in crowds, and found themselves perfectly at ease in a country where each man was at liberty to speak and act and pray as he thought proper. They and the other settlers felt their situation so comfortable, and so successfully prospered in it, that the colony, which, at the time of its foundation by William Penn in the year 1681, consisted of more than two thousand persons, was found to contain three hundred thousand in 1748. Its capital is Philadelphia, one of the most regularly built cities in the world, its streets intersecting each other at right angles. It stands on the bank of the river Delaware, whose deep and

majestic stream wafts vessels of the largest burden to the foot of a long range of noble wharfs.

The love of liberty attracted to Pennsylvania a colony of those sectaries called the Moravian brethren, from Moravia, bordering on Bohemia, where that sect first took its rise. Being persecuted in their own country, many of them fled to England, where they were not viewed with more friendly eye than the quakers. Some of them passed over to America, where they were amicably received by the Pennsylvanians, who were glad to observe in them a great conformity to their own principles. They successively emigrated thither to the number of fifteen hundred. Some of them separated from the others for the purpose of leading a life of greater perfection.

At the distance of ten or twelve leagues from Philadelphia, lived a German hermit, who had erected his cabin in a spot perhaps the most charming in the world, between two mountains of which the one sheltered him from the north winds, and on the border of a pleasing stream, where he enjoyed beautiful prospects. The honest Moravians—having discovered his retreat, and being delighted with the simple life of their countryman, with his love of labour which supplied all his wants, and with the edifying piety of his conversation—formed the design of living with him, and imitating his example.

Around the humble abode of the hermit arose

a town which received the name of Ephrata. All the exercises of labour and religion are there performed as in a cloister. The inhabitants carry the profits of their industry to the common stock, which is applied to relieve all the necessities of the community, public and private. The women are never in company with the men, except at church, and in deliberations on public affairs, to which they are admitted. Each individual has in his house a private apartment, to meditate, and receive the inspirations of the "spirit." These recluses are called Dunkers, perhaps from the name of the hermit their founder*. To the juvenile members of their community who engage in matrimony they give some acres of land with every thing necessary for their establishment in the world. These young people settle themselves as near as they can to Ephrata, and send their children thither to receive their education.

Their garb consists of a long white robe, of wool for the winter, of linen for the summer, having a hood annexed, and bound round the waist with a girdle of the same stuff. Under the robe, they wear a shirt of coarse linen, with the addition of drawers for the men, and petticoats for the women—the sole difference in their dress. The Dunkers live entirely on vegetables, because they do not think animal food proper for a perfect

* *But* his name was Conrad Peyfel.

Christian. This abstinence renders them meagre: and their inattention to their persons, in suffering their hair and beard to grow neglected, gives them at first sight a hideous aspect: but their inoffensive good nature soon reconciles people to their appearance. They sleep on the bare boards, and use a small bundle of wool for a pillow.

This community of ascetics has within itself every thing necessary to supply all the wants of life—a flour-mill, a paper-mill, and even a printing-office. The members perform all the operations themselves. The women write well: some of them agreeably ornament their dwellings with paintings and other decorations. Their church is remarkably neat. There are some men among them who do not disdain the sciences. They administer baptism by immersion, and confine the ceremony to adults: but what advantage can they expect from it, since they consider as an absurdity the doctrine that original sin was transmitted to the posterity of Adam? They condemn all acts of violence, even when committed in self-defence. According to their notions, it is better that a man submit to be cheated and robbed, than engage in a law-suit. They are punctual in their observance of the sabbath.

Both men and women preach in their meetings without premeditation. They rise and speak extempore. The usual topic of their discourses is the practice of charity, of humility, of tem-

perance, and of the other Christian virtues. They deny the eternity of hell-torments. They nevertheless allow that punishments, but of limited duration, await those who refuse to believe in Jesus Christ. That all may enjoy an opportunity of participating eternal bliss, the souls of deceased Christians are employed, they say, in converting the souls of infidels who have not had the means of becoming acquainted with the gospel. Setting however their tenets out of the question, we have reason to admire the pious life of the Dunkers, the peace and harmony and mutual affection which reign among them: and the traveler may the more easily go to be edified by their virtues, as they practise the duties of hospitality with unexampled politeness, and are forbidden by the rule of their institute to accept any compensation.

UNITED STATES.

The countries which form the republic of the United States are thirteen* in number—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia. The reader recollects how these various provinces were peopled by men from all

* Fifteen, since Kentucky and Vermont have become separate states.

countries and of all religions. It might well have been foreseen too, that, in proportion as they should increase in wealth and population, not being attached to the mother-country by the tie of affection, and no longer standing in need of her aid, those colonies would feel a disposition to separate from her, and to become sovereign in their own territory.

None of those causes which usually produce revolutions in the old world was seen to operate in New England: neither the religion nor the laws of the country had been violated: the blood of martyrs and citizens had not streamed on the scaffolds: no insult had been offered to the national morality by a corrupted court: neither the manners and usages, nor any other of those objects which are dear to a people, had been turned into ridicule: the hand of arbitrary power had not torn any inhabitant from the bosom of his family and the society of his friends to plunge him into the horrors of a dungeon: the public order had not been disturbed: the system of administration had not been changed; and the principles of government were still the same. The whole ground of the dispute was reducible to the single question whether the mother-country did or did not possess the right of taxing the colonies directly or indirectly.

That question, which already had been privately discussed at different times when England had exerted the contested right, was more openly and

more warmly debated in the year 1764, on occasion of the stamp-act, which forbade the admission of any document by the courts of justice, unless written upon paper marked with a stamp, for which a duty was paid to the government.

No sooner was that act published, than the English colonies of North America were fired with indignation at that fiscal servitude. By unanimous agreement they renounced the consumption of the commodities furnished to them by the mother-country, until she should have repealed the oppressive law. The women were the foremost in submitting to that self-denial: they relinquished every article of embellishment in dress: flax, wool, cotton, coarsely wrought, were purchased, without a murmur, at the price antecedently paid for the finest and most elegant stuffs. The men, on their part, quitted their ploughs, their compters, their desks, to apply themselves in the manufactories to those branches of industry subservient to war, which they considered as inevitable unless the obnoxious act should be annulled.

After two years of disturbance and negotiation, England repealed the stamp-act in 1767, but substituted, in lieu of it, a law imposing duties on other objects, and particularly on tea, which the Americans received exclusively from the mother-country, and with which it was thought that they could not dispense. In 1770, the soli-

citations of the Americans were again successful in obtaining a repeal of those duties which England had been unable to levy; but she obstinately persevered in retaining that on tea. The colonists continued to evade it until 1773, when the British ministry gave positive orders for its collection.

To elude the effect of that injunction, all British America solemnly renounced the use of tea. The merchants to whom cargoes of that article came consigned refused to receive them. A declaration was published, branding as an enemy to his country whoever should dare to sell any of it. Those who kept any in their shops or warehouses were noted as bad citizens. The people in general burned whatever remaining quantity they possessed of that leaf which had been their delight. Of all the tea sent from England, estimated at the value of five or six millions sterling, not a single chest was landed. The principal theatre of this insurrection was Boston, whose inhabitants, in 1774, destroyed in their port three cargoes of tea recently arrived from Europe.

It was therefore against that town that the cabinet of Saint-James's directed the first storm of their resentment. They procured an act of parliament—the Boston port-bill—prohibiting the embarkation or debarkation of merchandise at that port. The minister had supposed that the provinces would be eager to avail themselves of

the disgrace of Boston, to establish their own commerce on the ruin of hers; and that the confederacy which they were forming together would thus be dissolved of itself. But the event belied his anticipation; for the other colonies openly declared in favour of the oppressed Bostonians. A skirmish in 1775, between the royal troops and some militia assembled near Boston, was the commencement of hostilities. English blood, so often spilled in Europe by the hands of Englishmen, was now also shed in America; and civil war was declared.

The English neglected to strike in the beginning a grand blow which might at once have dissipated the colonial league. They had to contend with farmers, merchants, lawyers, solely exercised in the arts of peace, and conducted to the mouth of the cannon by chiefs as little versed as the subalterns in the science of war. But they suffered these raw soldiers to acquire military skill; and the Americans had the good fortune to find and place at the head of their armies an intelligent and prudent man who judiciously availed himself of the resources derivable from local circumstances. Washington, commanding troops that stood in need of being trained to soldier-like steadiness, oftener employed his men in forming entrenchments than in fighting the enemy. While he presented in front a formidable line of fortifications which he was thought determined to de-

send, he was busily engaged in erecting others in his rear, to which he retreated after a slight defence, when he saw too great an uncertainty of success. Thus he harassed the British forces by long marches, and wore them down by petty engagements, which were uniformly advantageous to him, whatever might be his loss, because he found it easy to recruit his numbers*, while every such encounter was attended with a nearly irremediable loss on the part of the enemy.

At the same time when the United States were asserting their independence by the sword, they proclaimed it to the universe in their declaration of the fourth of July 1776. In the preamble they thus expressed themselves—"We hold
" these truths to be self-evident—That all men
" are created equal; that they are endowed by
" their creator with certain unalienable rights;
" that among these are life, liberty, and the pur-
" suit of happiness:—that, to secure these rights,
" governments are instituted among men, de-
" riving their just powers from the consent of
" the governed; that, whenever any form of go-
" vernment becomes destructive of these ends, it
" is the right of the people to alter or to abolish
" it, and to institute a new government, laying

* Not quite so *easy*, as will appear from the deplorable and discouraging picture drawn by General Washington himself in his "*Official Letters*."

“ its foundation on such principles, and organising
“ its powers in such form, as to them shall seem
“ most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

The congress who had assembled to issue this declaration agree “ that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes.” But they add, that, “ when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce” a nation “ under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, “ to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.”—The congress then enter into a detail of the grievances which they laid to the charge of the English government; and those grievances must have convinced the ministry that the schism was irreparable.

They must have still more strongly felt that conviction when they saw the Americans, whom they termed rebels, aided by a powerful nation, and acknowledged as an independent and sovereign people by the French in 1778. Thenceforward victory steadily attached herself to the republican banners; and two British armies were compelled to lay down their arms.—The war had been waged with a ferocity disgraceful to those who were guilty of it. The American prisoners were crowded together on board the ship *Jersey* off New York; and eleven thousand of the unfortunate

captives were thrown into the sea in the space of three years. After a defeat, the English kept their prisoners three days in an open court without food. A great number perished there through cold and hunger. They are also accused of having, contrary to the laws of war, rendered the effect of their arms more deadly. Finally, we cannot without indignation read the following passage of a letter from one of their generals to the English ministry—"I have the pleasure of informing you that I have not left one stone upon another in the town of Esopus."

The Americans avenged themselves on the English by successfully accomplishing their object. They consolidated their mutual alliance and formed a federal republic, in which each state, preserving as much as she thought proper of her former internal government, co-operates in promoting the general welfare by sending deputies to the supreme council of the nation, which assembles every year, and is called the congress. That body, with the concurrence of the president of the United States, decide on peace and war, regulate the finances, and enact laws on subjects of general interest.

The United States have framed for themselves a constitution, of which the principles are derived from the best sources, ancient and modern. It is considered by the best judges as a model of wisdom and prudence, though it discovers some de-

fects which leave it still marked with the stamp of human weakness. "Thus," says an author, "that world, which, three centuries ago, we did not yet look for even in imagination—and which fell into our hands with all the symptoms of an organisation barely begun in the infancy of the human species—has suddenly enriched itself with the experience of another world grown old amid the various revolutions of barbarism and civilisation. It now presents to our view the beautiful contrast of society brought to perfection on a soil yet rude and wild." England acknowledged the independence of the United States in 1782. Thus that revolution was accomplished after a war of seven years. How many other revolutions have required a longer space before they could attain stability!

HUDSON'S BAY.

HUDSON'S bay is a vast gulf of the Atlantic ocean, in the northern part of America, toward the arctic pole. Henry Hudson, an English navigator, explored it in the year 1607, in search of a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. In whatever direction the voyager turns his eyes upon these shores, he discovers nought but tracts which repel the hand

of culture, steep rocks towering to the clouds and separated by deep ravines, sterile valleys never visited by the rays of the sun, and rendered inaccessible by eternal ices and snows. The lakes are congealed to the depth of twelve feet. The sea wafts fragments of ice fifteen or eighteen hundred feet thick, torn by the violence of the winds from the recesses of the gulfs. Tempests are frequent in these regions; and those immense masses, tossed by the waves, put ships into the greatest danger. The sea is not open for navigation except from July to the end of September. The winter then begins, and gradually increases in rigor until the month of May. In December the sun does not illumine this horizon longer than five hours in the twenty-four.

Notwithstanding that the walls of the houses built by the Europeans, to shelter those who remain on the spot from one year to another, for the purposes of trade, be very thick—that the windows be small and furnished with shutters—that the people make very great fires in their habitations—that they endeavour to warm them with stoves, which they shut to confine the heat when the fuel is reduced to red embers—yet the walls and beds and furniture are covered with ice, produced from the vapour of the breath and perspiration, to the thickness sometimes of three inches, which they are daily obliged to clear away. During the long nights, they make large

cannon-balls red-hot in the fire, and hang them up to give light. Every kind of liquor freezes here. Those individuals who dare to encounter the open air, can scarcely go abroad—though guarded by double and triple furs covering not only their bodies but even their hands and faces—without incurring the risque of losing fingers, tip of the nose, ears, and other parts. On returning to the heat within their dwellings, the least misfortune that they experience is that the skin of the face peels off.

The English nevertheless venture to expose themselves to the intemperance of this dreadful climate, being allured to it by the furs which are there very beautiful, in great plenty, and at a very reasonable price. They are a company who regularly carry on that trade; and they carefully conceal their profits. A person, however, sent thither by government, pretends that he has discovered them. He relates various frauds practised to cheat the wretched savages, and concludes by saying, “I have on more than one occasion seen the company’s agents pique themselves on honesty, and carry their delicacy of conscience so far as to be satisfied with a profit of only a thousand per cent.”

The savage hunters from the countries in the rear of Canada and the United States perform long journeys to carry their furs to Fort Nelson, situate at the bottom of Hudson’s bay, where

they are always sure of meeting purchasers. The indigenous inhabitants of those frozen regions are of short stature, not exceeding the height of four feet, as if they were stunted by the intensity of the cold. They sleep together promiscuously to keep each other warm. Their food is fish, or the flesh of such animals as they kill in the chase. They bestow no pains on the storing of those provisions, but pile them in heaps, where they are preserved by the cold. The whale fishery, and that of other fishes furnishing oil, is successfully carried on in Hudson's bay.

BERMUDAS ISLES.

THE Bermudas islands, situate opposite to Carolina, but at the distance of two hundred leagues from the coast, compose a cluster of islands collected within the circuit of between thirty and forty leagues. The climate is mild: the earth bears two harvests in the year, and produces great variety of fruits. The largest of these isles, which does not exceed four or five leagues in circumference, was called Bermudas by a Spaniard, its first discoverer, who gave to it his own name. In Saint-George's island, which is less than Bermudas, stands a neat town bearing also the same name of Saint-George, where the sciences are held in honour, and there is even a

public library. The other isles, in proportion to their faculties, pique themselves on their emulation in that particular.

The English were driven upon these islands by a ship-wreck. They repaired their shattered vessels with the fine cedars which they found growing on the spot. At their departure, three of the sailors remained behind in Saint-George's, two of whom severally laid claim to the sovereignty of the isle, and would have cut each other's throats in support of their pretensions, if they had not been prevented by the prudent interference of the third, who reconciled the contending parties, and by his mediation terminated that civil war. Having found on the shore a mass of ambergris weighing eighty pounds, and some smaller pieces which they collected, they considered these as a fortune, abandoned their sovereignty, and went to sell their treasure in Virginia. The description which they gave of their kingdom attracted thither the English, who settled on the islands, which they now occupy with a population of about ten or twelve thousand souls.

BAHAMA ISLANDS.

THE Bahama isles, lying opposite to the point of Florida, are not so well peopled. If any one were willing to count all the islets or rocks of their

group, he would find them to be at least two hundred. One of these—San-Salvador—was the first trans-atlantic discovery made by Christopher Columbus. The Spaniards carried off the natives to toil in the pearl-fishery and mines of San-Domingo, where they all perished. These isles, extremely convenient as a receptacle for pirates, became the haunt of a set of English free-booters, whose sole wish was war, as affording them an opportunity of exercising indiscriminate pillage on friend and foe. But George I dislodged them from their lurking-places in 1719; and they have been succeeded by some peaceable settlers who carry on a small commerce. The principal island of the cluster is Providence, which contains a town of the same name; and the largest is Bahama, whose strait, rough with numerous rocks, is well known by the dangers of its navigation.—The Spaniards occupy a part of these isles: the others remain in the possession of their primitive inhabitants.

ANTILLES*.

THE Antilles—so called because the navigator falls in with them (*ante*) previous to his reaching the continent of America—form an arc, of which the chord extends from Florida to the

* We would say *West-Indies*, were not that term more comprehensive than the “Antilles” of the original.

mouths of the Orenoko. They are divided into the greater and the lesser Antilles. The former are San-Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and Portorricco. The lesser are very numerous. The climate is the same in all—moist and unhealthy, as it is generally found under the torrid zone. To one half of the Europeans who attempt to settle in them, they become a grave in the first years of their residence. The Antilles produce every thing that the inhabitants choose to cultivate, except corn. Their principal productions are sugar, indigo, tobacco, cocoa, cochineal, coffee, and *manihot*, a root of which is made a bread named *cassada*, the ancient food of the primitive inhabitants. Gold is likewise found there, and silver, copper, iron, talc, rock crystal, antimony, sulphur, marble. Those islands are also celebrated for their delicious liquors.

The Spaniards at first took possession of the lesser Antilles, not so much for the sake of any benefit to themselves, as to prevent their being of advantage to other nations. The French and the English expelled those occupants, and afterward disputed with each other for the property. Weary of mutual mischief, they terminated their contest by a division of its objects in 1660. By the treaty then concluded, France preserved Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada, with some other isles of inferior importance; and the English retained Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat.

The isle of Saint-Christopher remained common to both powers, who agreed to confine the Caribs, the original inhabitants, to the isles of Dominica and Saint-Vincent. The Dutch also acquired a share at the expense of the Spaniards. In general it may be asserted that no country has so often changed its owners as the Antilles. They resemble the interior towns of a kingdom whose frontier places are taken. When a hostile fleet obtains the command of the surrounding sea, they are sooner or later obliged to submit.

CARIBS.

THE Caribs are the natives of the Antilles. If we suppose these islands to be the summits of lofty mountains formerly connected with the continent, and separated from it by the submersion of all the intervening flat country, it is not difficult to divine the origin of the inhabitants: they derive it from North or South America. It is probable that they all descend from one common stock. In general they are of middle stature, strong-built, and muscular; their leg is full and well turned, their eyes large and somewhat prominent, their look stupid and wild, their teeth white and regular, their countenance dejected, their odor rank and disagreeable. The hair of

their heads is black and sleek : they have none on any other part of the body, whether naturally, or in consequence of their own care to eradicate it. On the foreheads of new-born infants they fasten a piece of board strongly tied behind, and suffer it there to remain until the skull be so flattened, that, without bending back the head, they can see objects placed perpendicularly over them.

“ We may,” says a certain writer, “ describe them, both men and women, as the Cupids, “ naked, armed with arrows, bearing quivers on “ their backs, and bows in their hands. Nothing “ more would be required than to transfer the “ bandage, placing over their eyes that which “ they wear about the waist. Such is the light “ and uncumbrous attire in which they appear “ in our islands : nor do they even make use of “ the veil except through deference to the “ Europeans ; for, among those of their own “ race, they think themselves sufficiently dressed “ in their red paint, annatto mingled with train- “ oil, with which they smear their whole bodies. “ Robed in their innocence alone, the women, “ without any sensation of shame, present themselves “ to the eyes of the men ; and the men feel little “ desire for that which the other sex take no “ pains to conceal from them.”

Sexual desire is with them a mere appetite, like hunger and thirst. When they have satisfied its cravings, they retain no greater attachment to

each other than people do for having eaten and drunk together. Although they do not feel that passion which we call love, the men are jealous of their wives, but no otherwise than as of a property. They take several, from the same family if possible—sisters, aunts, cousins—under the idea that greater harmony will reign among them. Immediately after child-birth, the woman resumes her usual employments; while the husband betakes himself to his bed, and there remains for a month to receive the compliments of his relatives and friends on the pains which he has taken in procuring to the world a new inhabitant.

A Carib passes his whole life sitting in a crouched posture or stretched at length, either asleep or smoking. He never bestows a thought on the moment that is to succeed the present. On his rising in the morning, he would sell his bed, without reflecting that he will want it again at night. In every other respect, he betrays equal improvidence. You may seat yourself beside him at table while he eats: he never invites; but neither does he exclude a guest. He uses the same privilege himself at the tables of others. He is a mere child of larger growth: like a child, he eagerly desires, and is again weary of the object of his former wishes: he will spend whole days in contemplating a toy, or taking to pieces a musket when he can procure one, and in again putting it together; and, as he possesses neither

attention nor industry sufficient to restore each part to its proper place, in a fit of pettish anger he dashes the musket to the ground, and breaks it.

The Caribs envenom their arrows, but those only which they use against their enemies of the human race. In money they know no other standard of value than the number; that is to say, they will prefer ten pieces of copper placed beside each other to one of gold. Their religion is difficult to be understood or defined. So far as we are enabled to judge, they acknowledge a good and an evil principle. They make offerings to the mischievous god whom they fear, and none to his adversary. Their priests, named boyez, are also their physicians. They readily embrace Christianity, and receive re-iterated baptisms, for the sake of presents. A Carib is the most vindictive of men. After the lapse of several years from the time of an offence which is thought to be forgotten, if he can surprise his enemy, he cleaves his skull with a stroke of his tomahawk, flees, and conceals himself until some relative of the deceased find him in turn, and inflict on him similar punishment.

Anthropophagy is not common among the Caribs; yet it is not entirely unpractised by them.—Their native language is an idiom possessed of some sweetness, and void of that guttural pronunciation which generally accompanies the

speech of savages. The two sexes have different expressions to signify the same things: the old men also have others which are not used by the young people: finally, for the national councils, they have a peculiar dialect which the women do not at all understand. They do not choose to learn any foreign language: they dislike even to hear the English spoken, whether on account of its hissings, or through hatred of the nation who use it: they are much better reconciled to the French. A race of negroes, introduced into Saint-Vincent's by shipwreck or otherwise, form in that isle a distinct people, called black Caribs, who do not live on friendly terms with the others. Both however unite in defence of their common interests whenever the island is threatened with danger.

When a Carib dies, it is necessary that all his relatives should see his dead body, to be assured that his death was natural. If any one of them has not been invited to that inspection, the united testimony of all the others will be insufficient to convince him: he will think that they have contributed to hasten his exit, and will conceive himself bound to kill some one of them to avenge the deceased.—The warriors paint on their face the representation of black whiskers. For each enemy whom one of them kills or disables, he has a notch cut in his club by the commander: and when there is question of electing a chief, the

choice generally falls on the person whose club has the greatest number of those honourable marks. Such are the manners of these tribes, at present almost all collected together in Dominica and Saint-Vincent's. They are now reduced to about five or six thousand, from a very considerable number which they could reckon at the time when the Spaniards first discovered the Antilles.

ENGLISH ANTILLES.

Jamaica extends nearly fifty leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth. It is broadest in the middle, and grows narrow toward the extremities. In the parts susceptible of culture, its soil is excellent. An irregular chain of mountains longitudinally intersects the island. They are covered with beautiful trees, whose roots are moistened by limpid springs falling in cascades; but the waters have a disagreeable coppery taste. There are some hot springs. The climate is unhealthy.—Columbus was detained here by bad weather, and in want of provisions. The savages, who at first had supplied him with necessaries, afterward refused to furnish any more lest they should themselves be reduced to want. His astronomic skill enabled him to foresee a lunar eclipse. He assembled the Caribs, and, in the tone of a man inspired, said to them—“To punish you for the

“ cruelty with which you suffer us to perish, the
“ God whom I adore is preparing to inflict on
“ you one of the most dreadful strokes of his
“ vengeance. This very night you shall see the
“ moon grow red, then turn black, and refuse you
“ her light. But that will be only a prelude to
“ your misfortunes if you persevere in refusing us
“ victuals.” Accordingly the moon was eclipsed,
and the barbarians, terrified by the phenomenon,
brought him provisions in abundance. That mild,
simple, and beneficent race have been extirpated
by the cruelties of the Spaniards and of their suc-
cessors the English. The latter, transplanting to
this petty isle the factious rage which tormented
them in their greater, have often drenched this
hospitable land with blood.

Jamaica was indebted for her first advances in
wealth to a contreband trade with the Spanish co-
lonies on the continent. Standing as a sentinel
at an outpost, she is the first to reap the fruits of
privateering when the Europeans engage in war.
The culture of sugar is considerable in Jamaica.
The isle is well fortified, and governed by good
laws. After having endeavoured to exterminate
the fugitive negroes dwelling in the mountains,
the colonists, seeing their efforts ineffectual, at
length consented to treat with them, leaving them
in the undisturbed enjoyment of their indepen-
dence on condition of their not admitting any
others into their society : and, to insure the more

punctual observance of this condition, they allow them a stipulated sum for every run-away slave whom they bring back. The number of blacks in this island is greater by one half than that of the whites. The latter may be compared to people living on a volcano which momentarily threatens a destructive explosion, since the only tie which binds the hands of their oppressed black co-habitants is the extreme rigor of the laws.

The situation of the oppressors is yet more perilous in Barbadoes, where fifty thousand blacks are reckoned, to ten thousand whites, within a space of less than twenty leagues in circumference. The soil of that island, being of little depth, seems to be exhausted: nor is it kept in bearing condition except by the application of sea-wreck used as manure. The sugar has little substance. Wood is abundant, and very beautiful. A small stream is covered with an unctuous liquid which burns like oil. In the rocks are found caverns, capable of containing three hundred men. Barbadoes had long been as it were the market for the sale of negroes to supply the other Antilles: but each island now supplies itself. Here are none but open harbours which afford little security to ships, and where naval armaments never venture to take their station. The isle is fertile of yams, a root which serves in lieu of bread, and is the only food of the slaves. As the whites stand in great dread of that ill-treated race of men, they constantly keep on foot an armed force of infantry and cavalry.

The following description may convey some idea of the hurricanes, whose disastrous effects are almost annually felt in the Antilles. “ A tremendous wind blew : nor doors, nor windows, nor any thing, could resist its violence. The whirlwind tore up the floors, and swept off the roofs. The houses were overturned, the fortifications raised to the ground, the plantations destroyed, the trees eradicated. To heighten the dire catastrophe, the sea returned with fury, and drove back to land the vessels, which were all dashed to pieces, so that the succeeding calm presented a spectacle as calamitous as the alarm had been terrible.”

We have said that Saint-Vincent's and Dominica were abandoned to the Caribs ; but that dereliction extends only to actual habitation and culture ; for the English still claim the sovereignty of those isles. The Caribs, red and black, have villages in the interior parts, where they live in wretchedness and under constant dread of experiencing the extremes of oppression. Saint-Vincent's is twenty leagues in circumference. Dominica is about the same size. Anguilla, so called from its shape, measures ten leagues ; Barbuda, the same number.

The isle of Saint-Christopher is twenty-five leagues in circuit. One remarkable circumstance in its history is that this island was as it were the cradle of the English and French colonies in those

parts. Some adventurers from both nations separately landed there on the same day, and signed with each other a treaty of perpetual alliance, which was not maintained in the sequel. In no other spot of the universe are the pleasures of rural life equally enjoyed as at Saint-Christopher's. The plain is covered with neat convenient houses ornamented with avenues in front, and surrounded by quick hedges. The groves and fountains give to the country a very picturesque appearance. The English planters live like sovereigns on their plantations, and have little intercourse with each other. "If the French," says an author who does not flatter them, "had not left in the island a town where their manners are preserved, we would not discover at Saint-Christopher's that spirit of society which produces more trouble than pleasure, which is matured by gallantry and terminates in debauchery, which begins by the pleasures of the table and concludes in quarrels engendered by gambling." If we were to paint none but the vicious part of the customs of a people, a French writer might pourtray in colours equally disadvantageous the sullen unsocial pride of the English inhabitants of Saint-Christopher's.

Nevis is not more than five leagues in circumference : Montserrat is of the same size. Antigua and Grenada measure each above twenty. The latter is accompanied by lesser isles, called the Gre-

nadines, to the number of a dozen, of four or five leagues in circumference. When the French took possession of Grenada, they found it occupied by a tribe of Caribs, who valiantly defended themselves, but were driven back to a steep rock, whence both men and women chose to throw themselves headlong rather than submit to their invaders. The French bestowed on that rock the name of the Leapers' Bluff, which it still retains.

In the history of Grenada we find a remarkable instance of popular justice. A greedy and brutal governor had been sent thither from France. The rich colonists, weary of his oppressions, retired to other islands. Those who, on account of their inability to seek refuge in other parts, were obliged to remain, formed themselves into a tribunal to bring their tyrant to trial. The president of that court, by name Archangeli, could write. The depositions were taken by a black-smith, who, instead of signature, affixed the stamp of a horse-shoe as a seal, round which Archangeli, who also acted as clerk of the court, wrote—"The mark of Monsieur de la Brie, reporting counsel."—The governor received sentence of death, and was hanged. Justice being executed, the judges dispersed. The transaction was known in France, but was passed over in silence.

FRENCH ANTILLES.

TOBAGO is of an oblong form, said to extend ten leagues in length, and four in breadth. It is not subject to the hurricanes which spread devastation over the other islands. Perhaps that happy exemption is attributable to the proximity of this island to the continent. Tobago is well watered. The labour of the planters, heretofore productive of large crops of sugar, has of late years been directed to the culture of cotton.

Saint-Lucia is twenty leagues in circuit, and has an excellent harbour. This isle is very fertile, but insalubrious. The French possessed, abandoned, retook, re-abandoned, and again regained possession of it. It has a road conducted round it, and is intersected by others. It is defended by a good fortress. Though it yet contain a considerable quantity of uncleared land, it receives little increase of population. The variety of plans formed with respect to this island—which was at one time destined for culture, at another for pasturage, afterward to serve as an emporium for certain kinds of merchandise—is perhaps the reason why people are not so well inclined to settle in it as might otherwise be expected.

Martinique may be about sixty leagues in circumference. The interior part is full of hills, whose intervals form great valleys divided into fa-

vannas or meadows, and lands fit for every kind of culture. It produces large quantities of coffee, is well wooded, and watered by numerous rivers and torrents. The climate is not fatal to Europeans, except such as are guilty of intemperance. This island, formerly containing only a few Caribbean villages, has, in less than a hundred years, been adorned with several opulent towns. It boasts of a good citadel, named Fort-royal. The little havens and creeks by which it is environed, are well sheltered. It is the centre of the French commerce in this part of the Antilles, and the seat of the civil and military authority.

Guadeloupe, which measures above twenty leagues in circuit, is divided by a small arm of the sea, called Salt-river, which is navigable for boats and canoes. Above a mass of piled up mountains, as on a throne, rises the *Souffrière*, which emits a thick smoke during the day, and illumines the night with bright flames. The first colonists extended their possessions at the expense of the Caribs, who finally abandoned the island, but were long accustomed to return occasionally from the neighbouring isles to revisit their native land, where they disquieted and harassed the usurpers. It was not until those savages were also compelled to abandon the neighbourhood, that the European settlers in Guadeloupe were able to apply themselves peaceably to their culture and commerce.

Those isles to which the Caribs had retired, and

from which they were again expelled, are called the Saints. They are only two in number, and lie in such position, with an islet between them, as to form a good harbour. Deseada, in an extent of four leagues in length and two in breadth, has no fresh water. It produces a small quantity of sugar and cotton. This isle and the Saints become important in time of war, because they serve as places of shelter for privateers cruising against the English vessels.—Marie galante is round, and fifteen leagues in circumference. Its shores are very steep.—Saint-Martin's is not more than seven leagues in circuit: but its salt-pits render it valuable.—Saint-Bartholomew's, eleven leagues in compass, has neither harbours nor springs, and is rarely moistened with rain. Its inhabitants are so notoriously poor, that even hostile cruisers faithfully pay for the provisions with which they furnish themselves there. It is remarked as a singular phænomenon that the masters in that island submit to the labours of agriculture equally as their slaves.

San-Domingo is divided between the French and the Spaniards. In making the circuit of the capes, voyagers assign to it six hundred leagues in circumference. The Spaniards found it inhabited by Caribs, whom they hunted like wild beasts, with guns and dogs. We figure to ourselves with horror those naked savages pursued by bloodhounds trained to feed on human flesh. They

fell on their knees in supplication before those fierce animals which they conjured to refrain from devouring them, while the barbarous Spaniards laughed at the simplicity of the unfortunate wretches.

When, from a comparison of the treasures of Mexico and Peru, the adventurers began to look with less regard on those found in San-Domingo, and transported themselves to the continent in quest of superior wealth, the thirst of gold changed its object in the island. The bucaniers*, a set of indefatigable hunters, attracted new riches into the country by the sale of the hides of wild oxen, with which they furnished Europe. San-Domingo also served as the asylum and almost as the nursery of the pirates who distinguished themselves by so many brilliant deeds of daring courage. At length the cultivation of the soil was introduced, and is now equally pursued by both nations, with a success proportioned to the nature of the land and the activity employed on it. Both divisions of the island contain towns, harbours, rivers, forests, and are separated by a chain of mountains intersected by torrents and impervious

* The term "*bucanier*" (*boucanier*) properly signifies a hunter of wild oxen. In that sense alone it is used here.—The vulgar application of it to the American pirates may have originated from the circumstance of the pirates occasionally hunting with the bucaniers, and the bucaniers in turn joining the pirates in their predatory cruises. T.

morasses, as if nature had studiously endeavoured to render those boundaries almost impassable.

SPANISH ANTILLES.

CUBA may be about three hundred leagues in circuit. It lies at the entrance of the gulf of Florida. A cacique, by name Hatney, had fled thither from San-Domingo for refuge, accompanied by a number of wretched Caribs, who fought to avoid the tyranny of the Castilians. He there governed his petty state in peace, and watched with inquietude the Spanish sails, of which he dreaded the approach. Seeing them direct their course toward his shores, he assembled the most determined of his subjects and allies, and exhorted them to defend their liberty: "but," said he, "all our efforts will be ineffectual, unless we begin by propitiating the god of our enemies. There it is," he added, pointing to a vessel full of gold—"there is that divinity! let us pay to it our adorations."—After some resistance on the part of the cacique, Velasquez made him prisoner, condemned him to be burned alive, and extirpated the inhabitants either by the sword or by drudgery in the mines. The harbour of the Havana in Cuba is capable of containing a thousand vessels.

The isle of Porto-ricco is covered with woods. It produces the manchineel-tree, of which the

milky juice is a poison of the most subtle kind. It kills as soon as the wound is made, unless salt be immediately applied to the injured part. This island is about three hundred leagues in circumference. It was at Porto-ricco that the Indians first discovered the fallacy of the opinion which they had entertained that the Spaniards were immortal. One of their caciques, being visited by Salsedo one of Columbus's followers, received him with great ceremony, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet. At the Spaniard's departure, the cacique, as a mark of honour, appointed an escort of twenty savages to accompany him. These men had received private orders from their chief for the regulation of their conduct.

Arrived at the border of a river, they requested Salsedo to grant them the honour of taking him on their shoulders, and carrying him across the stream. He cheerfully complied with their desire: but, when they had reached the deepest part, the Indians made a false step, the Spaniard fell into the water, and his officious carriers held him down under it as long as they thought requisite for the purpose of properly drowning him. They then dragged his body to land; and, being yet uncertain whether he were dead, they remained three days round it, incessantly entreating his pardon of their awkwardness: nor was it until the carcase had begun to putrefy, that the cacique and his subjects were convinced that the Spa-

niards had no greater claim than other men to the privilege of immortality. In consequence of that conviction they defended themselves with greater confidence of success : but they were nevertheless destroyed. The Virgins, Anegada, Sombrera, Chiloe, Trinidad, Margarita, Blanca, Tortuga, are small islands belonging to the Spaniards, and of so little importance as not to deserve further notice than that of barely mentioning their names.

DUTCH ANTILLES.

CURAÇAO is a rock extending ten leagues in length, and five in breadth. Scarcely is any earth to be found on it : but it has an excellent harbour. The Dutch here carry on a kind of retail trade : they have made this place an emporium of all sorts of merchandise, stuffs, spices, iron and steel wares, for the use of the neighbouring coast. Saint-Eustathius is another retail-shop. It is not two leagues long or one broad : and the centre is occupied by a great cavity, the remain of a volcano, a kind of gulf which retains no water, though all that falls on the island in rain flows into it. It is not easy to conceive how the Dutch could have amassed in that spot a property of thirty-seven millions, which was the estimated value of the spoil carried off from it by admiral Rodney, during the American war. The Dutch

keep the secret among themselves ; for they suffer no strangers to enter the island.—Saba, four leagues in circuit, is a rock inaccessible except by one steep and narrow path. Along the sides of that passage, the Dutch have erected several walls of uncemented stone, which they can easily throw down, either partially or totally, upon any enemy who should attempt to scale that natural fortress. The upper part of the rock is cultivated; and the cotton-plant succeeds well on it. The women excel in spinning and knitting, and are said to be the most handsome and fresh-coloured females in all the Antilles.

DANISH ANTILLES.

SAINTE-CROIX, or Santa-Cruz, is eighteen leagues in length, and four in breadth.—Saint-Thomas measures about four or five in circumference; Crab-island, eight or ten; Saint-John, somewhat less. To obtain possession of these isles, the Danes were not guilty of bloodshed: they either purchased them of the Europeans by whom they were occupied, or settled in them on finding them abandoned. When the French first landed in Santa-Cruz, they found a flat island covered with ancient trees which did not allow a passage for the winds to sweep away the putrid air of the morasses. Without giving themselves the trouble

of felling the trees, the adventurers adopted the more expeditious mode of setting fire to them, and, from their ships, watched the progress of the conflagration. It produced them a plentiful manure of fecundating ashes. But the consequent fertility was not of long duration, probably because the ashes, not finding a body of vegetable soil with which they might unite, did not acquire sufficient consistency to retain the nutritive juices. These four islands, if we except some small quantities of sugar which they produce, are of no other use to the Danes than as they enable them occasionally to display their flag on the neighbouring seas.

SOUTHERN LANDS*.

SUCH is the picture of the four parts of the world. We are in search of a fifth; and it probably exists between the southern point of Africa, the Moluccas, and America. Hitherto nothing has been discovered in that space except islands: but we find it difficult to conceive that so vast an extent of ocean should inclose no continent. That prodigious number of isles which have been discovered in it may be considered as so many fragments of a new world, more considerable perhaps than the largest of the four parts

* To rectify some mistaken notions which follow, see Cooke's and La Pérouse's voyages.

of that with which we are acquainted. There are even some of those islands, such as New Holland, whose coasts it was long necessary to explore, before a certainty could be obtained that they were not parts of a continent. We are yet ignorant whether New Zealand is separate from or united with other lands. But, were we never to make any new discoveries in addition to those already made, we might venture to say that those islands, by their number, their proximity to each other, and their great distance from the other parts of the world, constitute a fifth, of which the existence is already proved: and the only remaining task is to ascertain their extent. They are called the Austral or Southern Lands.

The productions found on the coasts, the forests, the verdure of the plains, the animals which sport in them, the fishes which abound in the seas and rivers, the fruits which the inhabitants bring to the vessels of their European visitors, enable us to judge that this division of the world was not more neglected by Nature than the others. There, as with us, she has shown her fondness of variety: for we find in one spot a favoured race, in another an unfavoured: we see tall, strong, muscular men, of agreeable physiognomy, and ornamented with beautiful hair: we observe others of diminutive size, with short woolly hair, and negro features: some are black, some copper-coloured, others rather red than

brown. When these are cleansed from the colours with which they stain themselves, and freed from the fantastic figures which they mark on their skins, we have reason to judge that they are born white, and that it is only the constant use of those pigments which alters their natural complexion. As to their manners and customs, what we have been able to discover of them is not more extraordinary than what we find among other savages, except that we have not hitherto found among them those cruel practices which make human nature to shudder, as among the Africans, the Americans, and some Asiatic tribes. We will select from the accounts of voyagers some traits furnishing as it were a sketch of the great picture which may be finished by those who shall enjoy the fruits of future discoveries.

The uncertainty of the disposition of the strangers who arrived on their coasts, and of the designs which they might harbour, sometimes inspired the savages with distrust, and impelled them to hostile aggression: but the discharge of a few muskets, or, at worst, a cannon-shot, soon rendered the Europeans masters of the shore. Gentle demeanour afterward rendered the savages familiar. Schouten experienced these vicissitudes at Cape-Horn. After he had with his fire-arms terrified those timorous tribes, he saw them resume courage in consequence of his pacific demonstrations, and bring him cocoa-nuts, roots,

hogs, which they eagerly exchanged for iron. They appear to be totally destitute of that metal, which they are extremely desirous of procuring.

He found their huts regularly ranged on the shore, rising about twelve feet in height, and covered with leaves. Their whole furniture consists of a bed of dry herbs, a line, and a club. The palace of their king did not display a more magnificent aspect. His majesty testified for the Dutch navigators a friendship and respect mingled with fear. He and his courtiers placed on the heads of their foreign visitors their caps ornamented with splendid plumes. He expressed a desire to see a cannon fired. A stage was erected for him on the beach, where he gravely sat with his wives and his courtiers. But, so soon as the shot was discharged, the monarch and all his court nimbly scampered away to the woods.

The men are tall, strong, and of a tawny yellow colour. Their hair is long and black. Some curl and frizzle it : others take great pains to render it flat and straight : others again wear it raised above their heads to the height of half a yard, by the aid of twigs to which they fasten it. This is the most difficult operation in the embellishment of their persons ; for they wear no clothing, except a light covering of leaves bound about the waist. The women, who are said to be very ugly, are neither better adorned nor better covered. The

nation appears totally destitute of religion and industry. All their instruments are clumsy and coarsely made. After the manner of beasts, they live on whatever fortuitous food presents itself to them : they neither sow nor reap, but leave every thing to nature and chance. They are utterly unacquainted with modesty, affecting no privacy in their intercourse with their wives, but unceremoniously coming together with them in public assemblies, and even in presence of their king, to whom nevertheless they show great respect. Schouten accuses them of a propensity to theft, because, whenever they had an opportunity, they drew out nails from the ship, and plunged into the sea to carry off their booty, and that one of them even stole a cutlas. But it is to be observed, that, in their mode of living, they have not the slightest notion of property : consequently we ought not to form, of their behaviour in that respect, the same idea as we entertain of theft. However, whether from a principle of justice or through fear of the strangers, the savage who had taken the cutlas was compelled by his countrymen to restore it, and was even punished by them.

The same Schouten draws, of the inhabitants whom he found in New Guinea, a picture which is not flattering either in a physical or a moral view. He calls them Papuas, which, in their language, signifies black people. " Their

“ uncouth dress, added to their natural deformity,
“ renders them objects disagreeable to the sight.
“ Each has his own ridiculous peculiarity. Their
“ whole structure is a fantastic compound, which
“ is not to be equaled in extravagance except by their
“ whimsical and capricious humour. They bear
“ no resemblance to other human beings either in
“ their features, their limbs, or their size. About
“ their necks they wear hog’s teeth strung after the
“ manner of a necklace : they pierce their noses and
“ ears, and in the holes fasten rings, from which
“ also they suspend their inestimable trinkets of
“ swine-teeth. Their hair is short and curly ; their
“ physiognomy dull and inanimate. The *contour*
“ of their face, and the arrangement of its several
“ parts, seem calculated to inspire disgust. The
“ women are not more agreeable than the men, and
“ possess a figure equally repulsive. These people
“ build their huts on posts, at the height of eight
“ or nine feet from the ground ; which custom in-
“ dicates that the soil is damp and unhealthy.”
This picture has the defect of making us ac-
quainted rather with the sensations excited in the
voyager, than with the object which he professes
to describe.

Roggewein, another Dutchman, conveys to us
a better idea of the inhabitants of Easter-Island.
He was approached by a savage, who did not
hesitate to quit his canoe and go on board the

ship. The voyagers gave to him a piece of cloth, glass beads, and nails, with which presents he was greatly delighted. He was tall, well-shaped, robust, lively, active, and disposed to gaiety. He disliked the smell of wine, but was fond of stewed meat. They clothed him: that cumbrous attire displeased him; and he quickly threw it aside. Music gave him great pleasure. It was not without regret that he quitted the ship: and he returned to it on the following day, with many canoes navigated by his countrymen, and laden with fresh provisions, among which were some trouts. Early in the morning the Dutch had, from their ships, seen the natives spread themselves along the shore, and offer incense to their idols. In one of their canoes they observed a white man whose ears were ornamented with pendants of extraordinary size. His demeanour was grave and solemn; and he appeared wrapt in meditation. They conjectured that he was one of their priests.

During the effusions of confidence which prevailed between the savages and the Europeans, a musket-shot—let off by accident, according to the journal—killed one of those unfortunate men. That first shot was, with the view probably of dispersing the inhabitants who began to assemble in crowds, succeeded by a volley, which put the whole nation to flight. Among the number of

the dead, was found the individual who, first of his tribe, had given so cordial a reception to the Dutch. Doleful cries and howlings resounded in the woods. However, as the savages found that they were not pursued, they resumed their native character of mildness and benevolence. The men and children came forward, holding up palm-branches, significant of their pacific intentions. The men offered fruits, especially excellent figs, with roots, potatoes, sugar-canes, and live birds which they seemed to have reared in their habitations. They offered even their wives, and omitted nothing which could afford to those strangers a testimony of their submission. Affected by these marks of profound humility, the Dutch condescended to treat the wretches with some kindness: they gave them childish play-things and a few baubles, in atonement for the blood which they had spilled. The stay which Roggewein made among those savages afforded him the opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of their manners.

In Easter-Island, where he landed, the only article of which he discovered a plentiful supply were birds, which the inhabitants were accustomed to tame and domesticate. But, from their signs, he had reason to conjecture that others bred quadrupeds. They cook their food, says he, in earthen vessels tolerably well made. Each family or tribe have their own distinct village.

The houses are from forty to sixty feet in length, and eight in breadth, well covered with palm-leaves, not stocked with much furniture, yet containing sufficient to show that their inhabitants are not deficient in industry. White and red stuffs of their own manufacture cover them during the night, and defend them in the day from the heat of the sun. The stuffs are soft and smooth. Fences of stakes surround their plantations, which are divided with symmetry, and well cultivated.

The men are straight and well formed, very active and nimble in running. In general their skin is brown: but some are black, others light-coloured, and nearly white. Some tribes among them are red, as if burned by the sun; others are variegated with different colours. Their skin is all over marked with figures of hogs, goats, serpents, which announce a happy talent for imitation. The women paint their cheeks with a vermillion more beautiful than any which is seen in Europe. They wear small hats made of rushes, which are very elegant; and they arrange their dress with coquettish taste. They appeared more than alluring to the Dutchmen: they were even forwardly pressing.

Among these islanders, Roggwein observed no other weapons than thick short staves, which he even conceived to be nothing more than badges

of authority. When they are attacked, they flee for refuge to their idols, whose protection they implore with fervent and pathetic prayers. The statues of their divinities are of stone, representing human figures, with long ears, and crowns on their heads. These images are accurately proportioned, and so well finished, that the Dutch were astonished at their skill in sculpture. They conjecture that some of the savages, whom they saw come oftener than the others to adore the idols, having their heads shaven and covered with caps ornamented with black and white feathers, and wearing white balls pendent from their ears, were their priests. They could however discover no appearance of government, no kings or other superiors; but great respect paid to the old men. They wear fringed hats or caps, and in their hands those staves which the Dutch supposed to be badges of authority.

Thus we see that an idea of a divinity, kindness, gentleness, affability, generosity, respect for parents, were the characteristic features observed by the Europeans in the inhabitants of those countries where they imprinted their bloody foot-steps. But—setting out of the question the fatal effects which our discoveries have entailed on those nations, among whom we have introduced more vices than virtues, more real evils arising from the contagion of our corrupt manners, than ad-

vantages derived from our arts and our industry—history owes her homage to the men of genius who conceived those vast projects, who by their intrepid activity succeeded in overcoming every obstacle, and who have laid open before us the barriers of another world.

NAVIGATORS.

At the head of the list stands Christopher Columbus, entitled to that pre-eminence in glory which invention claims over imitation. The efforts of jealousy were exerted to rob him of the honour of the discovery. It was, said his enviers, a thing so easy, that there was little merit in it. Weary of hearing such remarks, Columbus, at a public dinner, ordered an egg to be brought to him. "Which of you," said he to the company, "can make this egg to stand on the smaller end?" They all owned that they conceived it to be impossible. Columbus struck that end against the table, thus widened the basis of the egg, and made it stand upright. "A rare discovery!" they exclaimed. "Could not any man do the same?"—"I doubt it not," replied Columbus. "Yet none of you thought of it before. It is thus that I discovered the Indies, " It was first necessary to form the project of na-

“vigating in those parts ; and I formed it. Now
“that I have executed it, the most contemptible
“mariner may find his way thither as well as I.
“There are a thousand things which appear easy
“after they have been once done, but which
“were before deemed impossible. You cannot
“have forgotten the railleries which I underwent
“before I had carried my plan into execution.
“It was then a dream ! a chimæra ! and now,
“according to you, it was an idea which any man
“might have conceived.” Envy pursued him
even to the grave. He ordered the chains with
which it had loaded him to be buried in the same
tomb with his body : a kind of warning of the
persecution which awaits great men, but which
ought not to discourage them.

Magellan, Davis, and Le Maire, by opening a
passage to the Pacific ocean through the straits
which bear their names, pointed out the way for
those circumnavigatory voyages which have con-
ferred celebrity on several maritime chiefs. The first
of those enterprises, in point of date, was that of
Magellan in 1519. His ship, named the *Victoria*,
having returned by the cape of Good Hope to
Spain whence it had sailed, was hoisted on shore
at Seville, as a monument of perhaps the boldest
expedition ever accomplished by man.

A nearly similar mark of distinction was con-
ferred on sir Francis Drake's ship, which was laid

up in the dock at Deptford, with an honorific inscription affixed to the main mast.

Drake, who was the second that circumnavigated the globe, began his maritime career as it ought to be begun by all who are destined for it—that is to say, in early youth. At the age of eighteen years he was already master of a small vessel, which its former owner had, through esteem for his merit, bequeathed to him at his death. It was captured from him during a war with the Spaniards; which loss excited in his bosom a lively desire of being avenged on those enemies. He engaged in an invasion of Mexico: the enterprise proved unsuccessful; but its unfortunate issue did not discourage him. In two other expeditions, of which he had the direction in chief, he acquired so great reputation, that certain merchants furnished him with two ships, on board which he embarked some troops, at whose head he took and pillaged an opulent town of Mexico. The rich spoil which he obtained there he faithfully shared with his crews and his owners. With what fell to his own share, he contributed to the equipment of a flotilla of five vessels destined for the South sea, to which the English had not yet penetrated.

He set out on that voyage in 1577. There was no function on board a ship which he was not capable of performing, even to that of sur-

geon. It is remarked, that, when about to pass the equator, he with his own hand performed the operation of phlebotomy on all his crew. His voyage round the globe was the result of casual events: after having inflicted immense losses on the Spaniards in the South sea which he had entered by the strait of Magellan, he received information that he was awaited on his return by a force far superior to his own. Drake, being a man never destitute of resources, was not alarmed by the idea of traversing the great Pacific ocean. He visited the East Indies, touched at the cape of Good-Hope, and brought back to his native country rich treasures for which he was equally indebted to his bold enterprising genius and to his personal valour. Too much accustomed to success, he died in 1595 in the harbour of Portobello, a victim of the chagrin which he felt in consequence of having been less fortunate in this new expedition than usual.

The voyage of Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, in 1586, was entirely of a military nature. This navigator had already enriched himself by pillaging the coasts of Peru, where he captured at sea the Acapulco ship which completed his fortune. Having passed, as Drake did, through the strait of Magellan, he also touched, like him, at the East Indies, and brought home immense treasures to England. One remarkable feature of

resemblance between these two navigators is that Candish also died of chagrin caused by the adverse accidents which he experienced in a voyage to Brasil in 1591.

The voyages of these two English navigators excited the emulation of the Dutch, and stimulated them to undertake one of similar nature in 1598, under the command of Van-Noot, whose talents had already been displayed on other occasions. For this expedition, those rules of maritime discipline were established which still prevail on board the Dutch vessels. In the strait of Magellan, Van-Noot had to encounter difficulties which prolonged the duration of his voyage, and made the world better acquainted with that passage than they had before been. His victories over the Spaniards re-imbursed the expenditure of his owners, but did not enrich them.

In 1614, Spilberg set out on a more fortunate expedition. He defeated the royal fleet from Peru. From the period of his return in 1617, the Dutch company date the commencement of their opulence and power. They were both signally displayed in the great armament which they fitted out in 1623, under the direction of Peter l'Hermite, their first admiral. He passed through the strait of Le Maire, and died previously to the act of barbarity committed by the Dutch in the harbour of Callao, where they hanged their

Spanish prisoners because they had not provisions to feed them. But they might have sent them on shore. They evinced in this expedition an atrocious animosity.

William Dampier, an Englishman, made trial of the sea-faring life at the age of seventeen, in the year 1669. The attempt having proved unfavourable to him, and his fortune being unequal to his birth, he accepted a lucrative employment at Jamaica, went to cut log-wood in the bay of Campeachy, became acquainted on those seas with the pirates, and joined them. It was in their company that he achieved his expeditions, which were begun by the strait of Le Maire in 1682, and terminated in 1691. Dampier, whose voyage is very curious for the observations of every kind which it contains, relates the history of a sailor left behind in the isle of Juan Fernandez, who, when his powder and ball were exhausted, contrived, without the aid of other implements than those which he made of a hard stone, to saw the barrel of his musket into small pieces, which he converted into hooks and harpoons. Necessity was with him the mother of industry.

One of the most famous voyages, perhaps because so near to our times, is that of the British commodore Anson, begun in 1740. Its military successes have bestowed on it great celebrity: but, in the utility of discoveries, it is far

inferior to the two following, which indeed widely differed from it in their motives and objects.

In 1766, monsieur de Bougainville was sent by Louis XV with two vessels to make new discoveries, and to "procure for geography information useful to humanity." That bold and active and intelligent navigator principally employed his attention in accurately ascertaining the positions of places, in confirming the observations or correcting the errors of preceding voyagers, in tracing the trendings of coasts, faithfully describing the marks by which they might again be recognised, pointing out currents, shoals, rocks, variations of tides and winds, and every other circumstance capable of facilitating or impeding navigation in seas till then nearly unknown.

Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth in 1768, with similar intentions, but with means much more considerable. In speaking of this voyage in his preface, monsieur de Bougainville, seeming to forget his own services, says, "To me it appears, of all the modern voyages of its kind, to be that in which the most numerous discoveries have been made in every branch." In effect, natural history and botany have been largely enriched by the exertions of the men skilled in those sciences whom captain Cook had on board in much greater number than monsieur de Bougainville. His voyage was of three years' duration.

Navigating the same seas, and at the same time, those two discoverers, equally attentive and indefatigable, bore as it were mutual testimony to each other, inasmuch that we may consider as placed even beyond the reach of doubt every fact and observation in which they agree.

Unlike to their predecessors, the modern voyagers, instead of seeking to subjugate the nations whom they discover, and indulging themselves in the liberty of wresting from them by violence the treasures which their lands appear to contain, have, on the contrary, endeavoured for the most part to render them service, and promote their happiness. By means of the supplies which they have frequently left in the countries where they touched, the inhabitants may by this time have the pleasure of seeing in many places European cattle browsing in their pastures, tame fowls familiarly feeding around their cabins, rich harvests waving over their plains which heretofore lay uncultivated, and our industry taking the place of wild nature among them, or carrying it to perfection.

May these advantages be un-alloyed by vices or evils capable of inducing them to regret their former ignorance !

As to us, inhabitants of a civilised world, a busy turbulent race—we have during a period of eighteen hundred years been labouring to

realise the observation of Horace, and to accomplish the prophecy that was suggested to him by his knowledge of that history of which the following four verses contain a recapitulatory sketch—

*Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
 Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
 Nos nequiores, mox daturos
 Progeniem vitiosiore **

What feels not Time's consuming rage?—
 More vicious than their fathers' age,
 Our fires begot the present race,
 Of manners impious, bold, and base:
 And yet, with crimes to us unknown,
 Our sons shall mark the coming age their own.

FRANCIS.

* *Od. iii. 6.*

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.



