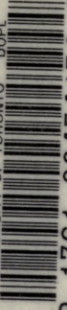
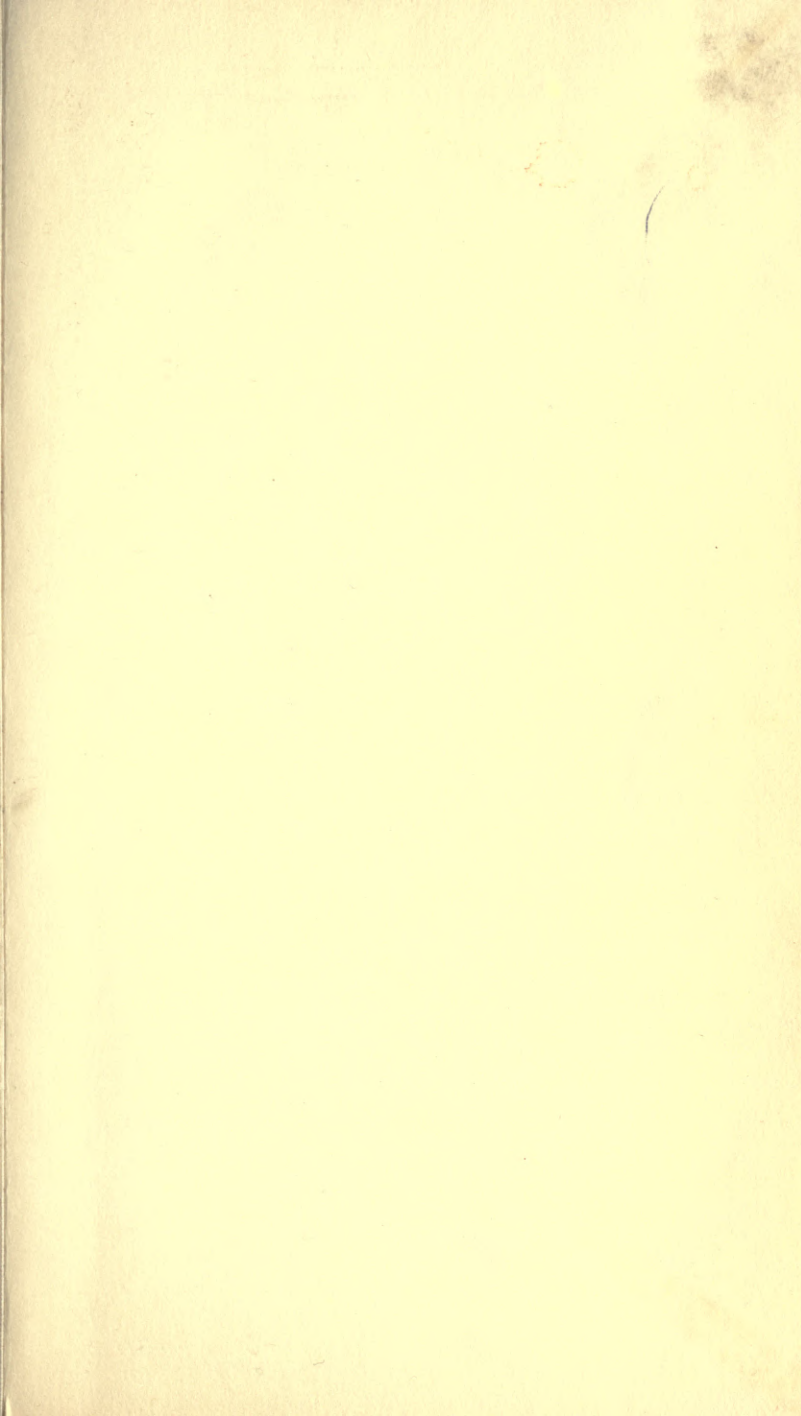


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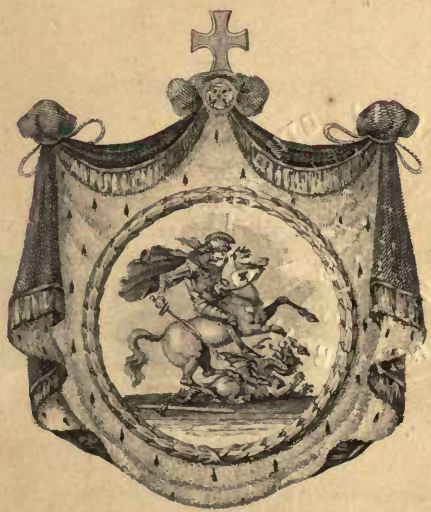
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R. Lornish

from G.M. I

THE  
**Broad Stone of Honour:**  
 OR,  
**RULES**  
 FOR THE  
**GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND.**



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LONDON, 1823.

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OR  
RULES  
FOR THE  
GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,  
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## The Prologue.



SEMPER FUIT IDEM

THE following sheets, which have been drawn up for the purpose of instructing youth, and of reminding maturity, are submitted, with respect and confidence, to the Gentlemen of England, of what rank or estate soever they may be; for although divided in political opinion (subjects upon which I make no comment), they are united upon the common ground of the faith, loyalty, and

honour ; and that writer who shall propose to explain the nature, and to enforce the obligations of the duties included under these titles, may be assured that his lessons will be regarded with a favourable ear ; and that the words of the Roman will express the resolution of those who receive them, “ aut hæc teneamus aut cum dignitate moriamur ;” since, as is said by the poet,

— ἢ καλῶς ζῆν, ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκεναι  
τον εὐγενῆ χρη.

It is known to all the world, that in ancient times it was the custom of our ancestors, to frame and set forth certain books of ensamples and doctrines, in every castle of mighty prince, lord, or gentleman, for the study and improvement of the youth which were there brought up in the fear of God, and in loyalty to their king :

————— “ In letters, arms,  
Fair mien, discourses, civil exercises,  
And all the blazon of a gentleman ;”

ensamples and doctrines which were designed to make the youth of gentle breeding ever mindful of their duties, and of the character which they were expected to support. The principle upon which they rested is explained in these words, by Isocrates. Ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις μεμνησο της Βασι-

λειας, και φροντιζε ὅπως μηδεν ἀναξίου της τιμης ταυτης  
πραξεις.

Now it has been desired by many lords, and divers gentlemen, as well of this realm of England, as of those famous kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland, now happily united in one mighty empire, that some short history and manual might be framed for the use of all the youth of this United Kingdom; wherein they should be taught the lessons which belong to gentle education, those of piety and heroism, of loyalty, generosity, and honour; whereby they might be taught, as servants of a British Monarch, to emulate the virtue of their famous ancestors, and as Christian gentlemen, to whom Europe is a common country, to follow the example of those worthies of Christendom, who were the patrons of the Church, the defenders of the poor, and the glory of their times: that so they might be induced to obey that noble and truly chivalrous precept of the Grecian sage, Ὦν τας δοξας ζηλοις, μιμου τας πραξεις. It would be idle and presumptuous to tell men of the present age, that they already possess for their instruction the Acts of King Arthur, and of his Knights of the Round Table, the Histories of Charlemagne, and Godefroy of Bouillon, and many other noble volumes of this description,

in French and English; for, sothe to say, these are no longer calculated to answer the purpose for which they were designed. Time changes all things. Manners become obsolete, opinions pass away.

“*Cuncta fluunt; omnisque vagans formatur imago.*”

These books, which were the delight of our ancestors, and which are now allowed by all competent judges to have been favourable to the increase of virtue, are but little read by our generation, seeing that the language is hard to be understood; that in some respects the duties and character of men have changed with the progress of knowledge; and that, at all events, the truth of these histories is questioned; albeit that most ingenious printer, who lived in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, was convinced, by many evidences, that “there was a kyng of thys lande named Arthur, and that in al places, Crysten and hethen, he was reputed and taken for one of the ix worthy, and fyrst and chyef of the Cristen men.” But this will not content men of our age, even though they could see “his sepulture in the monasterye of Glastyngburye,” or “the prynte of his seal at Saynt Edwardes shryne at Westmestre,” or even “the rounde table at Wynechester,” or “Sir Gaunway’s skulle in the Castel

at Dover." And therefore it did seem a great pity, that for want of some person to collect what was credible, and suitable to the present age, and worthy of acceptance, out of these and other noble histories, and to collect in like manner, ensamples and doctrines out of modern history, the gentle and virtuous deeds of honourable men should be forgotten, their memories sink into the depth and darkness of the earth, and the precious advantage of learning to admire and to emulate such glory, that rich inheritance of a virtuous example, should be lost to ourselves and to our posterity. Wherefore, sith that God has blessed me with leisure, and that long previous habits of seeking instruction and solace from the tomes of chivalry, and of ancient wisdom, must have somewhat qualified me for so great a task, I have enterprized, under the favour and correction of all noble gentlemen and gentlewomen, to frame and imprint a book of ensamples and doctrines, which I call **The Broad Stone of Honour**; seeing that it will be a fortress like that rock upon the Rhine where coward or traitor never stood, which bears this proud title, and is impregnable; where all may stand who love honour and true nobility,—may look down upon their enemies, who are vainly plotting in the plain below;

where they may enjoy a purity of feeling, which, like "the liberal air," that surrounds that lofty summit, is free from the infection of a base world.

— velut rupes, vastum quæ prodit in æquor,  
 Obvia ventorum furiis, expostaque ponto,  
 Vim cunctam atque minas perfert cœlique marisque,  
 Ipsa immota manens. —————

Mark then, I pray you, the strength and excellence of this proud fortress. As Cudworth proclaims of holiness, we hold that "it is in league with God and with the universe, and therefore it must needs be triumphant." Observe also the prodigious, formidable strength of every knight who fights in its defence. What said the Greeks of old? Δεινός ὁς θεοῦς σέβει: but the apostle proclaims it in a higher strain, "If God be for us, who shall be against us." God sends his blessed angels to encamp about them that fear him; and how safe and happy must be that Christian warrior who is under the conduct and protection of these wise, good, and mighty spirits! He may sit down in peace and sing with the Psalmist, "qui habitat in abscondito," &c. "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge and my fortress: his truth shall be my shield and buckler." But how comes

the faithful person to be thus secure? asks Bishop Bull. The Psalmist tells us, "for he shall give his angels charge over thee," &c. Observe too, the dignity with which this service invests him. It appeared to the revilers of Cicero as that of a king: "regium tibi videtur ita vivere, ut non modo homini nemini, sed ne cupiditati quidem ulli servias: contemnere omnes libidines: non auri, non argenti, non ceterarum rerum indigere: in senatu sentire libere: populi utilitati magis consulere quam voluntati: nemini cedere, multis obistere. Si hoc putas esse regium, me regem esse confiteor." Moreover, like the enchanted palace of a chivalrous tale, we have only to wish for this fortress, and it will be ours for ever! How must Stephen of Colonna, whom Petrarch loved and revered for his heroic spirit, have struck dumb with astonishment the base and impotent assailants, who thought indeed that he was at length in their power, and so demanded with an air of triumph, "where is now your fortress?" when he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "HERE:" as we read of Bias, when he and his fellow countrymen were removing for safety, and every one else had loaded himself with some article of property, being asked why he did not do the same,—

“Your wonder is without reason,” he replied,  
 “I am carrying all my treasures with me.” But  
 no doubt all this is fanciful and romantic extrava-  
 gance to our infidel philosophists and men of  
 practical wisdom, who know of nothing,

“Beyond the senses and their little reign,”

and who despise the antiquated and exploded no-  
 tions,

“That virtue and the faculties within  
 Are vital,—and that riches are akin  
 To fear, to change, to cowardice, and death!”

Nor is it upon a bare and barren rock, without  
 means of delight and refreshment, that I invite  
 you to take your stand against an enemy that will  
 besiege but never conquer you. Within the for-  
 tress of which I here deliver you the keys, you  
 will find scenes of sylvan beauty, of loveliness and  
 grandeur—“the gleam—the shadow—and the  
 peace supreme!”

*Hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum  
 Fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro  
 Imminet, et lentæ texunt umbracula vites:  
 Huc ades, insani feriant sine litora fluctus  
 Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata virensque  
 Hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer ævo.*



Scenes to which the Poet \* owed

————— that blessed mood,  
 In which the burthen of the mystery,  
 In which the heavy and the weary weight  
 Of all this unintelligible world  
 Is lightened:—that serene and blessed mood,  
 In which the affections gently lead us on,—  
 Until, the breath of this corporeal frame  
 And even the motion of our human blood  
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep  
 In body, and become a living soul;  
 While with an eye made quiet by the power  
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,  
 We see into the life of things.

Nor let it be supposed that we recommend the visions of a romantic imagination, and seek to raise the soul into some strange and enchanted world which exists but in a dream. No, as Malebranche declares †, “ it is not into a strange country that we conduct you, but it is into your own, in which, perhaps, you are a stranger. Men of a certain class accuse us of being misled by the imagination, whereas on the contrary it is they who are deceived by the imagination and the senses. So far are we from taking the imagination for our guide, that we invariably require its

\* Wordsworth.

† Entret. sur la metaphys, &c.

subjection to those powers which have been given to direct us. Believe me," he proceeds, " le stupide et le bel esprit sont également ferméz à la verité." But these images, which some men call imaginary, are in fact the only objects substantial, and which are capable of being demonstrated, since about the forms of the material world we in reality know nothing, but by the report of a deceitful and imaginary guide.

Now for this purpose I have collected and disposed passages from divers noble volumes in French and other tongues, the which I have seen and read beyond the sea, which be not had in our maternal tongue ; and to make the whole of easy comprehension, I have, with careful labour, drawn out the book into that modern English which is familiar to most readers ; for it was not necessary to maintain the ancient style in these sheets, seeing that virtue neither standeth in the sound of words, nor changeth with the speech of men. Moreover in choosing ensamples and doctrines to illustrate and enrich this book, I have not confined myself to the records of our English history ; for although these alone would doubtless furnish ample materials for a far more complete manual than the present, yet such a restraint would in some degree have defeated the object of my enterprise, seeing

that it has always been the pride of chivalry, as it was once of Pythagoras, "ut unus fiat ex pluribus," and that it should ever be the desire of those who profess it, to connect by ties of mutual affection and respect, the gentlemen of every country. Polybius, that illustrious soldier and historian, has furnished me with a similar lesson touching the duties of my ministerial office; for he affirms, that we must often praise our enemies, and dress up their actions to be the objects of the highest admiration, and that on the other hand, there may be occasions when we shall have to censure and loudly condemn our friends, and those who are upon our side. Without doubt in some instances, the learning or experience of my reader will enable him to substitute for the ensamples which are here given, others that may be more pertinent to the subject, or admirable in themselves. Enough, however, has been done, if his attention be excited, and if he should be induced to make this substitution for the instruction and solace of his own mind. Certes enough has been done towards accomplishing the general purpose of improvement in the career of honour, since it will need but a careless glance over the pages of this book, to justify me in applying the grand words of Manlius Torquatus, to the scenes and images

which are here produced, "si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit." Far indeed am I from hoping to please those men, whose hearts have been blighted and whose souls darkened by that prophane philosophy, as Plato terms it, which is ascribed by Cudworth to a want of consideration, or to a fond and sottish dotage upon corporeal sense, which hath so far imposed upon some, as to make them believe that they have not the least cogitation of any thing not subject to corporeal sense, or that there is nothing in human understanding or conception, which was not first in bodily sense, "a doctrine," says this profound thinker, "highly favourable to atheism," one certainly which is destructive of all chivalry, of all its generous raptures and refining fires, exalting and purifying the soul. Nor is the prospect altered, when I contemplate the number of men in these days, whose principles of life are taken from that perplexed and monstrous system of moral philosophy or refined selfishness, which has been held and recommended by a numerous class of writers in successive ages of the world, from the Epicureans of old, as represented by Torquatus in Cicero's first book de Finibus, to Hobbes and Paley. The contrary doctrine of the ancient philosophy, as well as of holy Scripture,

will indeed, as Bishop Butler observes, "be called enthusiasm," not in France alone, where Fenelon proclaimed it, but "every where by the generality of the world." Yet while, to pass over the authority of revelation, it can boast of such champions as Plato and Aristotle among the heathens, and under the Gospel, the first and most illustrious Fathers of the Church, and in later ages Malebranche and Cudworth, Bull, Butler, and Barrow, while all the glory of chivalry, all the mighty deeds "with which old story rings," bear evidence to its practical excellence and to its divine power on the heart of man, certes we need not fear the force of those who are in array against us. Ntheless we may lament the extent of the evil which they are enabled to occasion. In these days, alas! when many an empty head is shaken at Aristotle and Plato, it is little merveill if many a cold heart be insensible to the feelings of chivalry, and unable to kindle into rapture at the names of Charlemagne and Saint Louis, of Richard and of Henry. Nor can I address these pages with greater confidence to those who trust to dry mathematical reason, which Cudworth declares is incapable of giving an assurance of truth to men possessing "minds unpurified, and having a contrary interest of carnality, and a heavy

load of infidelity and distrust sinking them down." I remember once hearing a man of letters express a hope, that some writer of *enlightened views*, would undertake a *philosophic history of chivalry*, i. e. I presume, that some one by referring to the principle of Paley and Locke, for the convenience of the English modern *philosopher*, by submitting to an easy arithmetical process the egotism and self-love of contending individuals, would account for the phenomena of the chivalrous history, and by calculating the effect which the circumstances of those ages were calculated to produce upon the senses, and through them upon the mind and heart, would determine the exact material or human causes and natural motives which gave rise to this devoted spirit, or, as in strictness it should be termed, to this calculating balance of interests, which produced the piety of Saint Louis, and the generosity of Bayard. Such a treatise would no doubt be an acquisition to the *philosophic literature* of this century, and it would be highly curious to men of piety and virtue, as exposing the profound depth of that moral degradation into which the *irreligious part* of the literary and scientific world is at this day fallen. "Or il n'y a que l'esprit religieux qui puisse guerir cette maladie." In these words, the Count De Maitre points out

the only remedy ; for it is religion, which teaches the dignity of the human soul ; which convinces man that there are other things in heaven and earth besides those which are objected to his senses ; which declares self-love to be “ the capital and leading vice, the apostle placing it in the van.” “ Is there not,” asks Barrow, the christian teacher, “ to all men in some measure, to some men in a higher degree, a *generosity innate*, most lovely and laudable to all ; which disposeth men with their own pain, hazard, and detriment, to succour and relieve others in distress ? The frame of our nature indeed speaketh, that we are not born for ourselves ; we shall find man, if we contemplate him, to be a nobler thing than to have been designed to serve himself, or to satisfy his single pleasure ; his endowments are too excellent, his capacities too large, for so mean and narrow a purpose. How pitiful a creature were man if this were all he was made for ! how sorry a faculty were reason, if it served not to better uses ! he debaseth himself, he disgraceth his nature who hath so low conceits.” Moreover, the whole doctrine of chivalry is altogether a religious doctrine. ) Under various forms and in different degrees, it has always flourished wherever a sense of religion has prevailed : and in every instance where the

spirit of impiety, avarice, and corruption has pervaded a nation, as was the case with the states of Greece in their decline, and with Rome in the latter ages, this doctrine, and with it all its generous connections, have invariably yielded to the contrary influence of scepticism, riches, and profligacy.

The propriety of classical allusions in a book of this kind, will be obvious to every reader who is conversant with the chivalrous writers. They indeed give the substance of their information in French or English, but at the present day it would be insulting the reader, not to present him with the original passages. Moreover, the chivalrous writers during the middle ages, in recording the virtue of those gentle knights, Sir Hector, Sir Ajax, and Alexander, only assumed that they were gentle and chivalrous like themselves, but I hope in this book, to bring forward evidence sufficient to prove that this character, as far as was possible without the influence of our holy faith, did actually in many instances distinguish them.

Let us take a specimen of the kind of evidence which will be brought forward hereafter, that the reader may have some idea of what he is to expect, and what degree of certainty is attainable on this very interesting subject. And here, with-



out bringing forward the splendid proofs and illustrations that will be more suitable in a future place, I shall content myself, for the present, with producing a few extracts from the Greek tragedy of Rhesus, which will be sufficient to make you admit the possibility of proving, that many of the peculiar features and opinions appertaining to chivalry, belonged also in a very eminent degree to the ancient heroes. For in the first place, to view the more unfavourable side of their character, that which is termed their ignorance and intemperate zeal, observe the charge which Æneas here intimates against Ajax :

ἔιθ' ἤσθ' ἀνηρ εὐβουλος, ὡς δρᾶσαι χεῖρι !  
 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἄντος παντ' ἐπιστασθαι βροτῶν  
 πεφυκεν· ἄλλω δ' ἄλλο προσκείται γέρας,  
 σοὶ μὲν μαχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βουλευεῖν καλῶς.

Thus king Arthur's knights, as we shall see in another place, " could no council gyve, but said they were bygge enough." Now mark the doctrine of nobility in the testimony of Hector to the parentage and virtues of Dolon, who volunteers in a most perilous service for his country,

———— πατρός δὲ καὶ πρὶν εὐκλεῖα δομον  
 νῦν δις τοσῶς ἔθηκας εὐκλεεστερον.

Again, observe the noble spirit of this Dolon,

who scorns the offer of riches and title and splendid alliance, as the reward for his service, but demands for his prize *τους ἵππους Ἀχιλλεως* having previously had the promise of Hector, that his petition should be granted. This gives rise to another display of chivalry, for the possession of these horses was the grand object of Hector's ambition, as he informs him in reply,

*καὶ μὴν ἔρωντι γ' ἀντερας ἵππων ἐμοι·*

he concludes, however, with these noble words :

*ἀλλ' οὐ σ' ἐπαρας ψευσομαι· δώσω δὲ σοι  
καλλιστον οἴκοις κτημ' Ἀχιλλεως ὄχον.*

And now mark the generosity and frankness displayed by Hector, when having reason to suspect and condemn the conduct of Rhesus in coming to the army when the danger seemed to be over, he does not conceal his feelings, and so permit displeasure against his old friend and ally to rankle in his breast, but immediately upon their first meeting, he thus accosts him :

*παι τῆς μελῶδου μητερος, Μουσων μιας  
θρηκος τε ποταμου, Στρυμονος, φιλω λεγειν  
τάληθες ἄει, κού διπλους πεφυκ' ἀνηρ.  
πάλαι, παλαι χρην τῆδε συγκαμνειν χθονι  
ἐλθοντα, —————  
ταυθ', ὡς ἂν εἶδης Ἐκτορ' ὄντ' ἐλευθερον,  
καὶ μεμφομαι σοι καὶ λεγω κατ' ὄμμα σον.*

Nor let us overlook that chivalrous sentiment, so nobly pronounced by Rhesus ;

*ὄυδεις ἀνηρ εὐψυχος ἀξιοι λαθρα  
κτειναι τον ἐχθρον, ἀλλ' ἰων κατα στομα,*

And lastly, when Hector is accused of treachery by a stranger, observe how he appeals with noble simplicity and confidence to those who had known his former life, and could bear testimony to his reproachless fame.

Here, then, I conceive there is, within the compass of this short tragedy, evidence sufficient at least to justify our brave ancestors for speaking with such confidence of these ancient heroes, as being noble and chivalrous like themselves. Still, however, we must not attempt from any love of a preconceived theory to prove too much, for it is quite certain, as must be known fully to all who are impartial observers of antiquity, that chivalry derived some of its highest virtues from Christianity, for a single example of which, or of any thing at all approaching to them, we should in vain search the whole of Pagan records, from the description of the wanderers of the desert by Herodotus, to that by Thucydides and Livy of the most accomplished heroes of Greece and Rome.

This book, then, is directed unto all noble

princes, lords, and gentlemen, who delight in honour and in virtue, which are the true ornaments of gentle blood; as well as to all Christian men, who are friends to the present and everlasting interests of mankind. In addressing his instruction chiefly to noble princes and gentlemen, a writer may look forward to a double advantage resulting from his labours, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας παιδεύοντες, says Isocrates, ἐκείνους μόνον ὠφελοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ τις τοὺς κρατούντας τοῦ πληθοῦς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψειεν, ἀμφοτέρους ἀν' ὀνησεῖε, καὶ τοὺς τὰς δυναστείας ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας· Truly I will say of this book, what Sir Thomas Maleore pronounced of his history, "Me thynketh this present boke is ryght necessary often to be redde. For in it shal ye fynde the gracious, knyghtly, and virtuous werre of moost noble knyghtes of the worlde, whereby they gate praysing continually. Also me semyth by the oft redying thereof, ye shal gretely desyre to custome yourself in followynge those gracyous knyghtly dedes; that is to saye, to drede God, and love ryghtwiseness, feythfully and courageously to serve your soverayne prynce. And the more that God hath geven you the tryumphall honour, the meker ye oughte to be; ever feryng the unstablyness of this dysceyvable worlde." Seeing also that it is

a study which forsaketh subtil and knotty inquiries, which expandeth the heart, developeth its sensations, and filleth the mind with wonder and admiration, with splendid and illustrious objects, I might add and urge the authority of the profound Bacon, that it tendeth to cherish nature, to secure health of body and a long and happy life. Yet must it be confessed that in the course of this labour I have been drawn on to handle some subjects which, to be enjoyed, will require other peculiar qualities besides these of faith and high virtue. They who would comprehend and delight in these parts must learn, if they be old, as Cicero says, “repuerascere,” and if young, to exercise the feelings of youth, not to anticipate the prudence and distrust and sagacity of the old, “odi puerulum præcoci sapientia.” It is a wise precept, “miscere stultitiam consiliis,” which must be put in practice here. We must lay aside all that harsh and acrimonious and proud wisdom which constitutes the worldly wise: we must have some enthusiasm, and much simplicity, more imagination and innocence than discernment and experience of mankind, putting on “bowels of mercies, kindness, and humbleness of mind,” having hearts susceptible, in the highest degree, of generous and tender feelings, of admiration,

and love, and pity ; we must be content to humble ourselves, as the Holy Scripture teacheth, and even to become as little children.

“ For folk of other mould right well I wot,  
'Tis all time lost ; they comprehend me not.”

In the intellectual as well as in the political world there is a certain harmony and union between the highest and the lowest classes, founded upon principles and feelings which the intermediate ranks are either unable or unwilling to comprehend, but which being, as it were, taught by nature to the unsophisticated heart of man, are generally popular, and being, at the same time, sanctioned by religion and true philosophy, and connected, in some degree, with eminent qualities of soul, are therefore held and experienced, in all ages of the world, by men who are distinguished from their contemporaries by extraordinary genius and virtue. When Hannibal, upon leaving Italy, drew near to the African coast, and was anxious to determine the place where he should land, he ordered a sailor to the mast-top, to examine the country, who being asked what he saw, answered, “ the ruins of a tomb upon an eminence.” Hannibal sailed on.—“ What strange ominous abodings and fears,” says Bishop Bull,

“do many times, on a sudden, seize upon men, of approaching evils, whereof at present there is no visible appearance! And have we not had some unquestionable instances of men not inclined to melancholy, strongly and unalterably persuaded of the near approach of their death, so as to be able punctually to tell the very day of it, when they have been in good health, and neither themselves nor their friends could discern any present natural cause for such a persuasion, and yet the event hath proved that they were not mistaken? And although I am no doater on dreams, yet I verily believe, that some dreams are monitory, above the power of fancy, and impressed on us by some superior influence. For of such dreams we have plain and undeniable instances in history, both sacred and profane, and in our own age and observation. Nor shall I so value the laughter of sceptics, and the scoffs of the epicureans, as to be ashamed to profess that I myself have had some convincing experiments of such impressions. Now it is no enthusiasm, but the best account that can be given of them, to ascribe these things to the ministry of the angels of God.” About sixty years ago, Colonel Wolfe resolved upon giving to one of his tenants a house which stood in a retired part of his woods, and had been for a

long time quite deserted, and almost unknown to the people of the neighbourhood. This man, who had every reason to congratulate himself upon his acquisition, and had accepted of the present with gratitude, came the day after the first night in which he had occupied the house, and informed Colonel Wolfe that he could inhabit it no longer. Upon being interrogated as to the grounds of so strange a resolution, he said, with a tone of sincerity, which commanded attention, that upon lying down to sleep, a sensation of horror, quite indescribable, had seized him, and that all his endeavours to rally his spirits, and to banish the impression from his mind, which had quite exhausted his bodily frame, had failed, and that no earthly consideration, "not the Colonel's coach and six horses" should induce him to spend another night under the same roof. It was found useless to contend with this decision, and impossible to prevent its publicity. The statement had excited the laughter of some, the curiosity of others, and the horror of all. No person could be procured that would undertake the charge of the house; and after a short interval orders were given that it should be pulled down. Upon breaking up the floor of the sleeping apartment, the workmen discovered, within six inches of the



surface, and precisely under the spot where the bed of the late occupier had been placed, a dead body, the flesh and the clothes nearly decayed, but which was recognized by means of a certain silver buckle, belonging to a stock, which was lying on the neck of the body, to be that of a pedlar, who had been missing, under suspicious circumstances, for six months before. There were other strange stories related at the time, and upon sufficient evidence too, with respect to the appearance of this pedlar, when he must have been dead, to some children going to school, at the door of a house belonging to a woman who was found afterwards to be in possession of his property, and who fled from the country under suspicion of having murdered him; but these I need not relate here, for the above statement is sufficient, and its truth is beyond all question, although the reader must take it upon my authority. Democritus and some others of the ancient atheists, less bold than their successors in this age, acknowledged the fact of certain idols or spectres *ἰδωλα τινα* having appeared to men, but they evaded the argument by denying that they were immortal spirits; and Cudworth endeavours to vindicate the historic truth of the phenomena of apparitions, and the ancient divination against

atheists, who “obstinately denying matter of fact and history, will needs impute these things” to, &c. &c. The great Isaac Barrow speaks expressly on the same side, as indeed all writers of necessity must speak, who are of the same school. He says, that “concerning apparitions from another world, spirits haunting persons and places, visions made unto persons of especial eminency and influence, presignifications of future events by dreams,” &c. &c. he that shall affirm all such things to be mere fiction and delusion, must thereby, with exceeding immodesty and rudeness, charge the world both with extreme vanity and malignity; many, if not all, worthy historians of much inconsiderateness or fraud; most lawgivers of great silliness and rashness; most judicatories of high stupidity or cruelty; a vast number of witnesses of the greatest malice or madness; all which have concurred to assert these matters of fact. He concludes with a remark which, from its importance and immediate relation to our own subject, I must beg leave here to transcribe. “They are much mistaken who place a kind of wisdom in being very incredulous, and unwilling to assent to any testimony, how full and clear soever: for this indeed is not wisdom, but the worst kind of folly.—Compare we, I say, these two sorts of fools; the credulous fool, who yields

his assent hastily, upon any slight ground, and the suspicious fool, who never will be stirred by any the strongest reason or clearest testimony ; we shall find the latter, in most respects the worst of the two ; that his folly arises from worse causes, hath worse adjuncts, produceth worse effects. Credulity may spring from an airy complexion, or from a modest opinion of one's self ; suspiciousness hath its birth from an earthy temper of body, or from self-conceit in the mind : that carries with it being civil and affable, and apt to correct an error ; with this a man is intractable, unwilling to hear, stiff and incorrigible in his ignorance or mistake : that begets speed and alacrity in action ; this renders a man heavy and dumpish, slow and tedious in his resolutions and in his proceedings : both include want of judgment ; but this pretending to more thereof, becomes thereby more dangerous. Forward rashness, which is the same with that, may sometimes, like an acute disease, undo a man sooner ; but stupid dotage, little differing from this, is like a chronical distemper, commonly more mischievous, and always more hard to cure." The intelligent reader will not require to be told that these, and similar considerations, pressed upon his attention in various parts of this book, are strictly in connection with the precise subject

upon which I profess to treat: he is aware that opinions of the kind here maintained, and chivalry, have the same common enemies; and that it is impossible to defend the one without endeavouring to maintain the other; he is convinced that the spirit of the epicurean, or the Sadducee, must be, at all times, in direct opposition to the whole doctrine of chivalry; and therefore he will acknowledge that it becomes my indispensable duty to guard the inexperienced and inconsiderate from its baneful and fatal influence. In chivalry, as in childhood, there is a vital principle "from every-day forms educing the unknown and the uncommon. In that little Goshen there will be light, when the grown world flounders about in the darkness of sense and materiality\*," and while chivalry and childhood shall be left, imagination and piety shall not have spread their holy wings totally to fly the earth.

With respect to the necessity which calls for some work of this kind, I need speak but few words. So long ago as in 1351, the ordinance of the French King John, which was published on creating the chivalrous order of the star, complained of the gentlemen of that age, (it was the natural consequence of those internal distractions which had corrupted the heart of the nation)

\* Elia.

saying that they departed from the virtue of their ancestors, "honoris et famæ proh dolor! neglecta pulchritudine ad utilitatem privatam libentius declinantes." Now without entering upon any painful retrospect, or comparison, it may be sufficient to observe, that as a nation advances in wealth, to say nothing of any departure from the ancient principles of religion and philosophy, it is but natural to expect a pernicious influence extending itself even over the higher classes, and it is therefore but common prudence to provide against it some counteracting force. This consideration, at once, will suggest the extreme importance of the present undertaking. Much, indeed, may be expected from all writings which are directed, with any ordinary degree of skill, against this growing infection, provided we can induce readers to co-operate with the authors they read, for be it well remembered, that more will depend upon the use to which men apply their reading, than upon the actual information which the same may convey. When this book is perused, let the reader remember these words of Aristotle, το τέλος ἔστιν, οὐ γνώσις, ἀλλ̄ πραξις. If from these pages, as from those of a fictitious tale, he do not rise more ready to endure and to perform, if he suffer the impression made by



That this book may be of use it must be the subject not of one reading, but of thought and repeated attention. Improvement, and not novelty, is what it endeavours to afford. Therefore I have collected, out of various writings, whatever furnished, in the most striking manner, the instruction which I designed to convey, whether these passages were familiar or but little known, ὅπως οὐδ' μη παρ' ἑτέρου τα λοιπα ζητησ, ἀλλ' ἐντευθεν ὡσπερ ἐκ ταμείου προφερῆς. It is absolutely necessary, as Malebranche says, that the readers should be "comme pénétrés de ce que je viens de dire. Il ne suffit pas qu'ils me croient sur ma parole, ni qu'ils en soient persuadé par l'eclat d'une lumiere passagere: il est nécessaire qu'ils le sachent par mille expériences et mille démonstrations incontestables. Il faut que ces vérités (that these lessons and ensamples) ne se puissent jamais effacer de leur esprit et qu'elles leur soient présentés dans toutes les occupations de leur vie." The Broad Stone of Honour being a collection of those rules and doctrines, which have been received in all ages of chivalry, by the members of our order, to them I may say, with confidence, that it is a book of laws and of authority ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΜΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΟΥΣ 'ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ 'ΕΜΜΕΝΕΙΝ.

It may be proper to offer some general observations, in this place, touching the character of the works from which chiefly I have derived my materials. The declamations of the modern *philosophic* writers on history were, in the first place, passed by with the contempt, and even with the horror, which the world is beginning to evince for deceivers of this kind. But history in general, and that of the middle ages in particular, presented, of course, the most fruitful ground for the exercise of my labours. And here I must call my reader's attention to the benefit which may be derived from consulting these original historians who present such lively portraits of ancient chivalry, and to whose candour and love of truth their infidel transcribers of these days are indebted for all the information which they so proudly present, as if it were to them that the world was indebted for the discovery. There is now before me a volume of extracts from the Latin historians of the middle ages \*, and from these attractive pages I will now select a few passages, both for the purpose of inducing you to cultivate

\* Raumer's Handbuch Merkwürdiger Stellen aus den Lateinischen Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters.—Breslau, 1813.



a more intimate acquaintance with writers of this class, and also of producing that general temper and impression of mind which may be favourable to the reception of the lessons contained in this book. Turn we then to the last advice of Charlemagne to his son, as related by Theganus. "In prima die dominica ornavit se cultu regis, et coronam capiti suo imposuit, incedebat clare vestitus et ornatus, sicut eum decuerat. Perrexit ad ecclesiam, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, pervenitque ante altare, super quod coronam auream, aliam quam ipse gestabat in capite suo, jussit poni. Postquam diu oraverunt ipse et filius ejus, locutus est ad filium suum coram omni multitudine pontificum et optimatum suorum, ammonens eum, imprimis omnipotentem deum diligere et timere, ejus præcepta servare in omnibus, ecclesias dei gubernare et defendere a pravis hominibus.—Deinde sacerdotes honorare ut patres, populum diligere ut filios—Fideles ministros et deum timentes constituerat, qui munera injusta odio haberent:—semetipsum omni tempore coram deo et omni populo, irreprehensibilem demonstraret." Now mark the religious character of his son Louis, "Erat tardus ad irascendum, facilis ad miserandum. Quotiens mane in

cotidianis diebus ad ecclesiam perrexerat causa orationis, flexis genibus frontē tetigit pavimentum, humiliter diu orans, aliquando cum lacrymis; et omnibus moribus bonis semper ornatus— Nunquam aureo resplenduit indumento, nisi tantum in summis festivitatibus sicut patres ejus solebant agere.—Quotidie ante cibum eleemosynarum largitionem exhibuit, et ubicumque erat, xenodochia secum habebat.” The alliance between the heroic and the religious spirit may be strikingly observed in the custom of the English, as related by Ingulfus, in these words: “Anglorum erat consuetudo, quod, qui militiae legitime consecrandus esset, vespera præcedente diem suæ consecrationis, ad episcopum vel abbatem, vel monachum, vel sacerdotem aliquem contritus et compunctus de omnibus suis peccatis confessionem faceret, et absolutus, orationibus et devotionibus et afflictionibus deditus, in ecclesia pernoctaret; in crastino quoque missam auditurus, gladium super altare offerret, et post evangelium, sacerdos benedictum gladium collo militis cum benedictione imponeret; et communicatus ad eandem missam, sacris Christi mysteriis, denuo miles legitimus permaneret.” What breast will not kindle into generous enthusiasm at the words of

Pope Urban to the French nobles in the council of Clermont, as related by Robert, when the Pontiff reminded them of the crimes of the Saracens, saying that of these, "loqui deterius est quam silere," and demanding "quibus igitur ad hoc ulciscendum; ad hoc eripiendum, labor incumbit, nisi vobis, quibus præ cæteris gentibus contulit Dominus insigne decus armorum, magnitudinem animorum, agilitatem corporum? moveant vos," he continued, "et incitent animos vestros ad virilitatem, gesta prædecessorum, probitas et magnitudo Caroli magni regis, et Ludovici filii ejus, aliorumque regum vestrorum: qui regna Turcorum destruxerunt et in eis fines sanctæ ecclesiæ dilitaverunt. Præsertim moveat vos sanctum Domini nostri salvatoris sepulchrum quod ab immundis gentibus possidetur, et loca sancta, quæ nunc inhoneste tractantur, et irreverenter eorum immundiciis sordidantur. O fortissimi milites, et invictorum propago parentum, nolite degenerare, sed virtutes majorum vestrorum reminiscimini." Mark the character of Tancred, given by Radulphus. "Tancredus claræ stirpis germen clarissimum, parentes eximios Marchisum habuit, et Emmam:—ipsum nec paternæ opes ad lasciviam, nec ad superbiam traxit po-

tentia cognatorum. Adhuc adolescens juvenes agilitate armorum, morum gravitate senes transcendebat : nunc hic, nunc illis novum virtutis spectaculum. Ex tunc præceptorum Dei sedulus anditor, summopere studebat, et audita recolligere et quantum permittebat coævorum conversatio, recollecta implere, nemini detrahere, etiam cum sibi detrahebatur, dignabatur : immo hosticæ strenuitatis præco, aiebat, hostem feriendum esse, non rodendum : proinde somnos vigiliis, quietem labori, satietatem fami, otium studio, postremo superflua omnia necessariis postponebat : nec suo parcebat sanguini, nec hostili." Again, let us take the character of Henry I. of England, from William of Malmesbury. " Hanc curam vel primam vel maximam boni principis philosophia proponit, ut parcat subjectis, et debellet superbos : " and yet, " vincebat, si poterat, sanguine nullo, si aliter non poterat, pauco." What must have been the virtue of Rainulphus, whose death excited that general affliction described by Falco ! " O quantus luctus omnium civitatem illam invasit ! Lugebant ducem piissimum, et patrem universorum, qui totius sui ducatus habenas dulcedine, et humanitatis suavitate, disponebat,—sicque tota fere Italia de ejus probitate et præliis,

horis omnibus recitabat." What a lively portrait of Frederic I. of his person and his manners, is given by Rodericus? "Lactea cutis, et quæ juvenili rubore suffundantur, eum qui illi crebro colore non ira, sed verecundia facit.—Bellorum amator, sed ut per ea pax acquiratur. Ipse manu promptus, consilio validissimus, supplicantibus exorabilis, propitius in fide receptis. Si actionem diuturnam forinsecus perquiras, antelucanos basilicarum et sacerdotum suorum cœtus, aut solus aut minimo comitatu expetit, eosque tam grandi sedulitate veneratur, ut omnibus Italis, erga episcopos et cleros servandi honorem et reverentiam, ipse formam et exemplum tribuerit.—Si venationibus exercetur, in equis, in canibus, accipitribus, cæterisque ejus generis avibus, instituendis, spectandis circumferendis, nulli secundus. In birsando ipsemet arcum tendit, spicula capit, implet, expellit. Elligis quod feriat, quod elegeris ferit.—Erga familiares suos in proferendo alloquio non minax, nec in admittendo consilio spernax.—Scripturas et antiquorum gesta sedulo perquirit. Eleemosynas in ministerio pauperum plerumque ipse manu sua distribuit." This must be sufficient as to the character of the historians whom I have consulted for the composition of

this book ; but I must add a few words touching the writers of romance, whose works have come down to our age, and the benefit which may be derived from them. When I undertook to arrange and set forth this book, it was not from a blind conceit that the works of examples and recreation, which were the instruction and delight of our forefathers, were become absolutely obsolete and useless ; this could hardly be, indeed, unless Christian faith, virtue and honour, were become obsolete and useless : unless love, courtesy, humanity, friendship, generosity and heroism, were no longer to be cherished and revered by mankind. The writer of these pages is desirous of expressing his gratitude for the high gratification which he has derived from the labours of these ancient compilers, and at the same time of recommending his reader to cultivate a taste for works which will assuredly exalt his imagination and correct his heart ; works which can delight the poet and instruct the sage, which could yield inspiration to the genius of Milton and of Dante, where the student who has fathomed the depths of Platonic lore, will behold in action the sublime principles of his divine philosophy, and to which even the plebeian mind of

Locke \* could turn, as we are told, with delight, exemplifying (to those who hold that education and habits of thinking create all the essential differences which distinguish one man from another,) the truth of that well known line,

*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*

Take as an instance the first volume of the romance, entitled "l'Histoire du petit Jehan de Saintré." Is that frivolous and dangerous reading, it may be asked, which teaches him to combine the most amiable, the most exalted sentiments of which human nature is susceptible, with the faith and practice of Christianity? Which teaches him to separate what is innocent and noble from the abuse and perversion of men, and thus to satisfy the heart while he saves his soul? Can that reading be of an injurious tendency which inculcates the discharge of every religious and moral duty, as essential to the character of a gentleman, of a hero, of a lover? Which proves, that by every motive which can exert an influence upon a young and generous heart, he is induced to detest and avoid pride, anger, envy,

\* *Plebei videntur appellandi omnes philosophi qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident, Cicero. Tuscul. I. 23.*

avarice, sloth, intemperance, luxury and licentiousness, that he is delivered from them "il est quitte, franc et sauvé?" Is the influence of that lesson to be disregarded which the dame des belles Cousines gives to Saintré, recommending the form of invocation which he must daily use before the commencement of his enterprize, "que sur le point de desmarcher pour faire vos armes soit à pied, soit à cheval, vous mesme de bon cœur, en faissant le signe de la croix, faictes en disant.

' Benedicat mihi Dominus et custodiat me,  
Ostendat mihi faciem suam Dominus et misereatur  
mei.  
Convertat Dominus vultum suum ad me et det mihi  
pacem.'

Et lors partez seurement, et faictes vertueusement ce que devez faire, car par ainsi, ne pourrez faire chose, gaigne ou perte, que tout ne soit à honneur?"

Montesquieu has said, that if he could propose any new motive to render men religious and virtuous, he would regard himself as the most happy of men. And St. Paul has evidently sanctioned the policy of making our feelings and imagination to influence our conduct in subservience to the Christian faith, where he says to the Philippians,



“ Whatsoever things are lovely; whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.” Here then are new motives, here is additional inducement, an influence to which none but the base and unmanly can be insensible. Guided by these examples, youth may learn that the object of its pride and happiness is to be obtained by virtue; that the image which is beheld with all the rapture of imagination, is to be approached in the discharge of duty; and that while infidelity may present its temptations to the senses, whatever the heart holds dear in time and in eternity, is connected with our faith in Christ. But I cannot leave this subject without directing your attention to a peculiar feature in these ancient writings, which operating as a human cause, led the way to the glories of chivalry and to this regeneration of the human race. The religion of the Gospel secured the purity and the elevation of the female heart, and it was the consequent influence of women, that empire which they obtained by the power of virtue, meekness, and innocence, over the wild affections of our brave ancestors, which effected this marvellous revolution in the moral history of the world. In the course of this book, I shall have occasion to speak at large upon the

influence of chivalry upon the female sex ; for the present, let it only be remembered what a debt of gratitude is due to these productions of genius, purified and exalted by contemplating the model which it pleased God should be held forth for the refinement of the human soul, which taught women to look upon and ponder in their hearts, that image of innocence and love, and heavenly serenity, the ever blessed mother of the holy Jesus, in terms and simplicity that would not be unworthy of the purified and beautiful imagination of the sublime Taylor. “ The Virgin in her oratory, private and devout, receiving a grace which the greatest queens would have purchased with the quitting of their diadems, was held up as an ensample to all women, that they should accustom themselves often to those retirements where none but God and his angels can have admittance, that the holy Jesus might come to them too, and dwell with them, hallowing their souls, and consigning their bodies to a participation of all his glories. The holy Virgin arriving to her perfections by the means, not of the ostentous and laborious exercises and violences of life which they underwent, who travelled over the world and preached to the Gentiles, but of a quiet and silent piety, the internal actions of love, devotion and contemplation,

was held up as an ensample that the silent affections, the splendours of an internal devotion, the unions of love, humility, and obedience, the daily offices of prayer and praises sung to God, the acts of faith and fear, of patience and meekness, of hope and reverence, repentance and charity, and those graces which walk in a veil and silence make great ascents to God, and a sure progress to favour and a crown. In imitation of the Virgin Mary, who was mother and nurse to the holy Jesus, the woman in the innocent and healthful days of our ancestors maintained a natural piety, an operative charity, a just and valiant policy, a sincere economy and proportionable to the dispositions and requisites of nature, not giving way to that softness above that of Asian princes, into which these later ages of the world have declined. It is in the language of Jeremy Taylor, breathing the spirit of his purified and heavenly imagination, that I have described the object and effect of these compositions which contributed to build up that beautiful fabric of chivalry, which though now indeed in decay and ruin, is still the grand object to fix the eye of man, to captivate his fancy, and to correct his heart while passing on, a weary traveller, through this lower valley of tears and death.

There are indeed men, and in some countries they form no small portion of society, who seem destitute of all spiritual elevation, men of earthy tempers, unconscious of the enjoyment derived from the imagination, who are ready to affirm with Cyclops in the play :

*ὁ πλουτος, ἀνθρωπισκε, τοις σοφοις θεος·  
τα δ' ἄλλα κομποι και λογων εὐμορφιαι*

who “*fruges consumere nati,*” appear to be susceptible of no pleasure but that of providing against the present and possible evils incident to mere animal existence, and who may be truly said in the language of the Poet,

—————*propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*

There are men also (they seem peculiar to our philosophic, or rather unphilosophic age) who make a separation between the heart and the head, who teach us an axiom in philosophy, that self-love and self-interest are the operative principles of the soul, and who logically conclude that the chivalrous mode of existence is but the dream of an excited imagination. In their eyes, there is nothing admirable but intellectual ability, nothing in virtue but what is derived from calculation of expediency; they refer to matter and

the senses every thing but the dry skeleton of operations in the brain, and they regard all objects of study and observation, history, romance, poetry, painting, the beauties of nature and architecture, as fit for no other purpose but that of exercising and displaying the rational faculty; and hence they hold themselves privileged by their acknowledged ability, to play with the imagination, and to mock the elevated sentiments of the chivalrous part of mankind. Speak to them of history—they are concerned with dates and controversies, with speculations and political theories.—Of romance—they pretend upon the data of refined selfishness, and by submitting the inducements of persons to the operations of arithmetic, to account for the developement, and to explain the movements of human passions.—Of poetry and painting—they lay down rules and fit proportions which are to be the criterion in estimating their excellence.—Of music—they know the theory of vibrations, and by a mathematical process they can determine the exact relations of concordant and discordant sounds, but the soul of harmony, the precious music of the heart, they have, they know it not. Or speak to them—

Of scenery—the tall rock

The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood

Their colours and their forms—————

which were to the Poet in his youth,

An appetite ; a feeling and a love,  
That had no need of a remoter charm,  
By thought supplied, or any interest  
Unborrowed from the eye——

And when that time was past, which then did  
nourish feelings of delight and peace, of

————— a sense sublime  
Of something far more deeply interfused,  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man :

such as kindled into rapture the heart of Fenelon,  
when he cried anathema to those who did not feel  
the charm of that picture,

*Fortunate senex, hic, inter flumina nota  
Et fontes sacros, frigus captabis opacum.*

Speak of this, I say, and they will perhaps confess  
that these are lovely and magnificent objects, but  
they will at the same time caution you against  
being impressed by a false notion of the happi-  
ness which they seem to inspire. “ *Les eclogues  
de Virgile,*” they will tell you, “ *ne peignent ni ce  
qui est, ni ce qui doit estre mais plutot les rêves  
de bonheur que la vue de la campagne nous in-  
spire ; la simplicité, la douceur, l’innocence que*

nous aimons à faire contraster avec notre état habituel\*." Speak to them of architecture, this too they have studied as a science; they explain to you, even when surrounded by the cathedral's gloom, all about the Norman and the pointed arch, the double centre and the intersection, the cross ribs, the flowing tracery and perpendicular mullions. Draw them to a higher ground, and speak of all the elevated and generous dictates of chivalry, and demand why, upon such an occasion, they are not actually practised; they have a ready answer to silence all further objections, "my dear friend, beware of cant." It is right, that while I furnish you with amusement, you should supply me with money, and I hope, as Locke says in his epistle to the reader, "thou wilt as little think thy money, as I do my pains, ill bestowed," (quelle odeur de Magasin! cries the Count De Maistre), "manners too stately and pure for humanity," they proceed to observe, "are not for this world." These may be de-

\* Sismondi Lit. du midi de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 180. Dr. Johnson, in the Idler gives a sarcastic picture of the happiness of an Arcadian life, which proves nothing in my opinion, but his own melancholy want of taste and feeling; he would have sent Isaae out to meditate, not "in the field at even-tide," but into Fleet-street, in the bustle and heat of the day.

lightful images to divert your intervals of leisure, the mind requires relaxation after intense labours in scientific and mercantile pursuits. The mathematician, the economist, and the man of business, must provide some indulgence of this kind, but you are not to suppose that they have any thing to do with common life, or that they furnish fit rules and examples of conduct; that they are to interfere with your desire of gaining money, the proper compensation for labour, or interest, leading to the substantial and real good of this world. Endowed with versatile genius, (this it would be affectation to deny) we have composed histories and romances, where you will see represented in more charming colours than your imagination could have conceived, all these indefinable objects of your enthusiastic attachment. Here is chivalry in all its flower and pride, in all its boasted independence, generosity, fidelity, and heroism. What more can you desire—can you conceive? But

—*paulum a turba seductior, audi.*

it is all a delusion, it is all an idle vision, made to amuse and unbend the intellectual faculties of our weak nature: must you not submit to our judgment, you who could never have described



these things so well, or have given them half that appearance of reality which they derive from our pencil ?

O curvæ in terras animæ, et cœlestium inanes !

O the vain pride of mere intellectual ability ! how worthless, how contemptible when contrasted with the riches of the heart, with " the feeling soul's divinest glow ! " What is the understanding, the hard dry capacity of the brain, a mere dead skeleton of opinions, a few dry bones tied up together without any flesh and sinews, if there be not a soul to add moisture and life, substance and reality, truth and joy ! " Il est des vérités," says the Count De Maistre, " que l'homme ne peut saisir qu' avec *l'esprit de son cœur*. (Mente cordis sui.) Plus d'une fois l'homme de bien est ébranlé en voyant des personnes dont il estime les lumieres se refuser à des preuves qui lui paroissent claires ; c'est une pure illusion, ces personnes manquent d'un sens, et voila tout. Lorsque l'homme le plus habile n'a pas le sens religieux \*, non-seulement nous ne pouvons pas le vaincre, mais nous n'avons

\* Philosopher ! a lingering slave,  
One that would peep and botanize  
Upon his mother's grave.

WORDSWORTH.

meme aucun moyen de nous faire entendre de lui, ce qui ne prouve rien que son malheur." We have all of us, says Cudworth, *μαντευμα τι* (as both Plato and Aristotle call it) a certain presage in our minds of some higher good and perfection, than either power or knowledge. Aristotle himself declares, that there is *λογος τι κρειττον*, which is *λογουαρχη*: for, saith he, *λογος αρχη ε λογος, αλλα τι κρειττον*. And after quoting Plato de republ. VI. p. 477. he proceeds thus, "in all which of Plato's there seems to be little more than what may be experimentally found within ourselves; namely, that there is a certain life, or vital and moral disposition of soul, which is much more inwardly and thoroughly satisfactory, not only than sensual pleasure, but also than all knowledge and speculation whatsoever." In that sublime passage, where Barrow proves the being of God from the frame of human nature, he shews that there is at least some shadow of every attribute ascribed to God, discernible in man, and that there are "fair characters of the Divine nature engraven upon his soul," and that even the impressions of truth and virtue, are not quite razed out of it. "L'esprit devient plus pur," says Malebranche, "plus lumineux, plus fort et plus étendu à proportion que s'augmente l'union qu'il a avec dieu:" and again

he says, when man entering into himself, “écoute son souverain maitre dans le silence de ses sens et de ses passions, il est impossible qu’il tombe dans l’erreur.” If, from these sublime views of the dignity and capabilities of the human soul, we descend to mark the character of those minds, which with all their science and knowledge, are not more spiritualized, as Malebranche proves, than those of the vulgar crowd of worldly men, must we not feel horror at the view of what Barrow terms, “their monstrous baseness?” How far do the men of religious and chivalrous spirit, differ from these modern sophists? Aristotle once replied to a similar question, ὄσω οἱ ζῶντες τῶν τεθνηκότων. It is even so,—as much as the living from the dead. What is life to them? I say, what degree of happiness can they possess, whose spirits are thus enslaved by the senses and separated from the divinity, the centre of life and joy?

Signor del mondo, a te che manca?

says Seneca to Nero in a tragedy.

— — — — — Pace

is the reply.

Again I demand what is the value of an existence thus perverted from all the ends of high and pure enjoyment for which it was beneficently given?

“ While I am compass’d round  
 With mirth, my soul lies hid in shades of grief,  
 Whence, like the bird of night, with half-shut eyes  
 She peeps, and sickens at the sight of day.”

“ Longa dies igitur quid contulit ?” “ Fie de la vie,” cried a princess of France, when she was pressed to take a remedy for her disorder, “ fie de la vie, qu’on ne m’en parle plus.”

Certainly when a man of genius or religion is tempted to contemplate the common lot and condition of mankind,—when he looks down like the philosopher in Plato, upon the toils and vanities and delusions of a worldly life, ὡς ἐξ ἀποπτου θεωμενος—beholding in the regions from which he has descended all that is admirable and lovely, the το πολυ πειλαγος του καλου—his eye discerning what is invisible to the vulgar, the chariot and horses and countenances of the gods,—his mind haunted with the idea of perfection, of “ aliquid immensum infinitumque,”—his

“ ——body’s self turn’d soul with the intense  
 Feeling of that which is, and fancy of  
 That which should be.”

language must be inadequate to express his conviction, that men are formed for a nobler purpose, and for a higher enjoyment ;—that

“ The finer thoughts, the thrilling sense,  
 The electric blood with which their arteries run,”

were not designed to assist them in the painful pursuit of miserable gain, or in the search of that mean excitement which a perverse and degraded nature is content to substitute for the higher feelings of which it was originally susceptible. "Oh! que j'aime l'inutile," will be his reply to the maxims of the worldly wise. Life is not worth acceptance, if we are to be solely occupied with its realities.

Heaven-born, the soul a heaven-ward course must  
hold;

Beyond the visible world she soars to seek,  
(For what delights the sense is false and weak)

Ideal form, the universal mould.

The wise man, I affirm, can find no rest

In that which perishes: nor will he lend

His heart to aught which doth on time depend.

It will be said that this is to recommend enthusiasm. It may be so, but let the words which follow be remembered, "when we have once exposed enthusiasm to ridicule, we have removed every thing but money and power." In a thousand cases we have railed at superstition till we have recommended impiety. Men have complained of external forms, of processions, habits, and ceremonies, burdening the simplicity of religion, but they should look well whether, as I strongly suspect, the objection does not rather

prove that they who make it have lost sight of simplicity, whether if they had retained the innocence and warmth of feeling which belong to chivalry and youth, if they had been like little children in malice, evil imaginations, pride, and reliance upon their own reason, whether, I say, these very forms which still please men of poetical and refined and youthful minds, would not have been to them a recreation and a joy. Cudworth did not fear to proclaim, before the House of Commons, in 1647, "that many who pulled down idols in churches set them up in their hearts, and men who quarrelled with painted glass made no scruple of staining their souls with lust, corruption, and idolatry."

"There are but two distinct classes of men," says an eminent writer, "upon the earth: that which is susceptible of enthusiasm, and that which despises it. All other differences are the effect of society. The one has not words for his feelings, the other knows what should be said to conceal the vacuum in his heart: but the spring which flows from the rock at the command of heaven, this source is real talent, real religion, real love." Or perhaps it will be advanced, that the temper and habits of our age will not approve of our calling in the imaginations and feelings to assist the influence of religion. It may be so,

but let us remember what is the alternative if we abandon the attempt. The question is not, whether mankind ought to be influenced by feeling and imagination, but whether these are to be enlisted on the side of religion, or against it. Imagination, feeling, and associations, youth will have, and it is for us to determine only, whether these should be connected with the Christian faith, or left to be opposed to it. Who does not foresee the result, if this should be permitted; if at this critical period of life we suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that the precepts of the Gospel are injurious to human happiness, contrary to every thing that is beyond question, lovely and of good report, and inconsistent with the constitution of our nature?

It may be proper to inform the reader, that since the first printing of this book many histories and ensamples have been added, which are found in the present volume. I was led to make these additions from an increasing sense of the importance of the object in view, and from finding, by experience, that my expectations with respect to the effect of such reading upon minds well disposed, were fully realized. "The love of imitation," says Aristotle, "is in man's nature from his infancy, and herein he differs from other

animals, ὅτι μιμητικώτατον ἔστι." Lord Bacon has pronounced of examples such as are here submitted to the reader, that they may be of great service. "to quicken and strengthen the opinions and persuasions which are true. For reasons," he observes, "plainly delivered and always after one manner, especially with fine and fastidious minds, enter but heavily and dully; whereas, if they be varied, and have more life and vigour put into them by these forms and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddenly win the mind to a resolution." Certes the more I reflected upon the noble and joyous images presented in this book, the more I was assured that they must conduce to the confirmation of all those holy feelings which alone can give dignity and security to the higher classes.—The more I was persuaded that the principles which they illustrate and recommend are the most important that can be made the subject of their study—and that gentlemen can be happy and honourable, can obtain the blessing of God Almighty for themselves, for their country, and for mankind, only in proportion as they adhere to them.

It would have ill become a lay-man, accustomed to the scenes of active life, and knowing of no infallible criterion to guide us in the study



of Holy Scripture, further than what is promised to him who shall keep the commandments of our Lord Jesus, which require modesty and obedience to the judgment of his ordained ministers, I say it would have ill become me to have spoken in a decided tone upon the doctrines and mysteries of religion, albeit in this book some allusion to these awful subjects, some manifestation of my individual feeling upon matters of practice and common life connected with them, was unavoidable. But if herein I may have erred, I pray you all noble clerks and holy men, worthy ministers of God's word to believe me innocent of offending with a high hand and proud heart. Certainly to you I am most bound and most willing to submit, not with a deceitful shew of reverence, in the style of men whose base philosophy recommends the practice of a false tongue, but with simplicity and with sincerity. Yet I doubt not but that all good Christians will, in the end, acknowledge the justice of these opinions; for unless the mind hath been previously exasperated and misled by controversial writings, and the mistatements of infidel historians, all such persons will, of necessity, out of the simplicity of their hearts, regard as their brethren "those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Theologians in the schools may, perhaps, be justified in exposing the differences on secondary points, which divide the churches of Christendom; but I cannot overcome my persuasion that with their logomachy and speculative distinctions, and even with their just conclusions on subjects of such a nature, not affecting the broad principles of the Christian faith, a gallant and religious lay-man has no concern whatever. He who has been in countries where

“ The Cross with hideous laughter Demons mock,”

And who has never beheld the sects who adopt a philosophizing system of religion, under the name of the Gospel, exposed to any injury or insult from the enemies of the faith, but very often in league and friendship with them, reviling and disdaining the humble and simple spirit of those who trust in the cross, and who regard as their pride and glory this precious emblem of our salvation; that man, I say, may be expected and permitted, in the spirit of chivalrous simplicity, to draw from such observations the plain and natural inference. The age in which we live seems pregnant with the seed of some mighty events connected with the religious history of mankind. The enemies of Christ do not now disguise them-

selves under the cloak of a political party, and talk of religion with rapine in their soul: they avow their principles. If they do refer to the Gospel, it is to deny its divine character, and to make it but a human record of some ancient attempts, like their own, to overthrow superstition and government. Their forces, moreover, are now united, as it were, and fully bent upon the grand object,—the overthrow of the cross.—This is not a time, therefore, for the religious part of mankind to remain disunited and opposed to itself, and happily, I think, we have reason to believe, that the good men of all churches are beginning to feel the necessity for some measure of mutual defence. It is worse than folly, at such a crisis, to protract our animosities. At this moment the attentive eye may discern, in Germany, the beginning of some movement towards reunion amongst the soldiers of Christ; and England, too, may assuredly hope, that the day will come, when a blessed alliance, founded, no doubt, upon mutual concessions, shall once more restore the peace of God's Church, and inspire all her faithful sons with confidence and brotherly love.

But now that I may hasten to the conclusion of *The Prologue*, I must endeavour to awaken my

reader to an important and grave reflection, which is quite essential to the proper introduction of what is to follow in this book. Moreover, it is a touchstone to determine his own fitness for the study. If he shall disdain this reflection, let him at once close the book, for assuredly there is nothing in it that he can love or comprehend. In two sublime sermons of Bishop Bull there is a proof and an exposition of the Scriptural doctrine, touching the existence and office of the holy angels: he teaches how these blessed and mighty spirits are appointed by God, as the ministers of his especial providence over the faithful. "It is true, indeed," he observes, "they do not now ordinarily appear in visible forms, as in ancient times they did, before God had fully revealed his will to the world, although *the succeeding ages do afford us very credible relations of some such apparitions now and then*, but ordinarily the government of angels over us is now administered in a secret and invisible manner. Hence too many have been inclined either flatly to deny, or at least to call in question, the truth of the doctrine we are now upon. But they have souls very much immersed in flesh who can apprehend nothing but what touches and affects their senses; and they that follow this gross and

sensual way of procedure, must at last fall into downright epicurism, to deny all particular providence of God over the souls of men, and to ascribe all events to these causes that are next to them. But, although the ministry of angels be now, for the most part, invisible, yet to the observant it is not altogether indiscernible." And still further, he determines, "that every faithful person, during his life on earth, hath his particular guardian-angel more constantly to preside and watch over him." And now for what immediate purpose have we suggested this reflection? it is to make my reader aware that in every action of his life, and therefore in beginning the study of any book he is under the influence of some spirit acting upon his own, either that of his guardian-angel, suggesting to his mind good thoughts and affections, or else if he shall have grieved and banished this protector, that of the evil spirit, the devil, whose existence is so apparent, that Bishop Bull affirms, in a strain of bold eloquence, "he must needs be under a very strong and powerful delusion of the devil who shall deny it," and whose object is to inject evil thoughts, and to turn even the images and lessons of virtue into a stumbling-block and a snare. "Notre connoissance et notre amitié," says a

French writer in relating his connection with a certain individual, "durerent en tout environ six semaines, mais les suites en dureront autant que moi." What a reflection! now between an author and his reader there will arise an intercourse of some hours or days—but what shall we say as to the duration and extent of the consequences which shall result from this short interval?

Certes in the mysterious government of the world of spirits, besides these blessed ministers, the great God makes use of humble instruments, and of occasions which often to the eye of man appear least of all important. How often have we derived a strong and lasting impression upon our minds, from some chance word in conversation, or from the arguement of some friend, whose skill in the conduct of it may have been far inferior to ours in appearing to confute him? "How often," says Bishop Bull, "are there sudden and unexpected accidents, as we will call them, cast in our way, to divert us from certain enterprizes we are just ready to engage in, the ill consequences whereof we do afterwards, but not till then, apprehend? Again, quantum est in subitis casibus ingenium! How strange many times are our present thoughts and suggestions in sudden and surprising danger! Hither also

we may refer that lucky conspiracy of circumstances which we sometimes experience in our affairs, when we light upon the *τὸ πρῶτον*, or *nick of opportunity*, when the persons whose counsel or assistance we most need, strangely occur, and all things fall out according to our desire, but beyond our expectation.—For my part, I question not but that much of this is to be attributed to the ministry of the holy angels.” What have we observed with respect to the final consequence of these apparently accidental and temporary impressions? We spend a few hours in hearing or reading—perhaps, alarmed by reflecting on the responsibility of knowledge, we close the book for that day—for ever:—and yet as the French writer says of his six week’s acquaintance with another man,—the consequence may end only with our being—that is, may be eternal! I pray the Saviour of the world to send to us the eternal, uncreated Spirit of God, who only is able to overrule our wills, to penetrate the deepest secrets of our hearts, and to rectify our most inward faculties—I pray that his holy angels may guard and watch over us, and may convert to our good, the lessons and ensamples contained in this book—the fancies and imaginations which they may suggest. I pray that as he directs us to commemo-

rate his servants who have departed this life in his faith and fear, he may likewise give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of his heavenly kingdom! Finally, then, to use the words of Sir Thomas Maleore, " I humbly beseech all noble lordes and ladyes, wyth al other estates of what estate or degree they been of, that shal see and rede in this sayd book and worke, that they take the good and honest actes in their remembrance, and to folowe the same. Μη μοιρον ἐπαινειτε τους αγαθους ἀλλα και μιμεισθε.—Al is wryten for our doctryne, and for to beware that we falle not to vyce ne synne, but texercyse and followe vertu; by whyche we may come and atteyne to good fame and renomme in thys lyfe, and after thys shorte and transytorye lyf, to come unto everlastyng blysse in heven; the whyche he graunt us, that reyneth in heven, the blessyd Trynyte. Amen."



THE BROAD STONE OF HONOUR

THE  
**Broad Stone of Honour.**



IN the twentieth year of your age, when you are shortly to enter upon the stage of the world, and to attract either the approbation or the censure of your equals; at a period of great refinement, but also of much consequent dissoluteness of principle; of

## 2 THE BROAD STONE OF HONOUR.

national glory, but also of danger, which attends that exaltation, the formation of your character becomes a subject of interest to all who are members of the high order in which you are to be received. It is not Parents or Brothers or Tutors who alone are concerned in the direction of your youth, but it is the Gentlemen of England whom you are born either to honour or to disgrace.

I propose therefore to employ some moments of my leisure in placing before you the features of that character which belongs to your order, and I exhort you not to render useless by your own apathy and inattention, a disinterested effort that may contribute to your renown.

You are born a Gentleman. This is a high privilege, but are you aware of its obligation? It has pleased God to place you in a post of honour; but are you conscious, that it is one which demands high and peculiar qualities? Such, however, is the fact. "If the offspring of great men," says the herald, "vaunt of their lineage or titular dignity, and want their virtues, they

are but like base serving-men, who carry on their sleeves the badge of some noble family, yet are they themselves but un noble persons." Therefore the rank which you have to support, requires not so much an inheritance, or the acquisition of wealth and property, as of elevated virtue and a spotless fame. These are essential to the enjoyment of its advantages; and without these, it will be neither honourable to yourself, nor profitable to your country, since the words of the Roman Orator are for ever applicable, "splendor vester facit, ut peccare sine summo reipublicæ detrimento non possitis." You are a Gentleman. Therefore you have to frame and to support the character which belongs immediately to that rank. The vulgar and undisciplined live by chance, and confine their deliberation to estimate the expediency of particular actions at the moment when they are called upon to perform them: but you have to form in the first instance a general plan of life, to which your particular actions must be kept in subservience. You have a model and an outline to lay out, by which

the detail of your actions must be regulated. "A qui n'a dressé en gros sa vie," says Montagne, "à une certaine fin, il est impossible de disposer les actions particulières. Il est impossible de renger les pièces à qui n'a une forme du tout en sa teste." Conformable to that rule of Socrates, who taught that there should be a certain harmony in the character which he termed *Eὐνείδεια*, to which also Cicero seems to allude when he says, "talīs ordo actionum adhibenda est ut quemadmodum in oratione constanti, sic in vita omnia sint apta et inter se convenientia."

The powers of Dryden have been employed in asserting the great truths of nature, with regard to the equal origin of mankind. But after reading that incomparable passage with all admiration, for it relates to a truth which should be dear to every man, and in which the Christian is, above all others, interested; after reviewing the arguments which have been deceitfully founded upon this truth, there will still remain in the mind of the impartial estimator of the human character, a conviction and

a feeling which he cannot conquer, that elevated birth is entitled to respect; the inheritance, not of a title of nobility, but of noble blood; of a name which has distinguished an ancient and honourable race in the service of mankind, through successive generations. To receive such an inheritance, is indeed to be endowed with a high and an independent privilege, a privilege too, you must remember, of which no earthly power can ever deprive you. So thought even the republican Greeks.

*Δεινός χαρακτήρ, κάπσημος ἐν βροτοῖς ἰσθλῶν γενεσθαι.*

So thought the Romans, the votaries, the very slaves of freedom. You remember, that when the people became eligible to the offices of Military Tribune and Quæstor, they invariably returned men of Patrician family to the ninth election, and this, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Tribunes, and the leaders of the popular party. In the year 333, Antistius and Pompilius, both of them Tribunes, demanded the office of Quæstor; the first for his son, the second for his brother; and yet, strange to

6 THE BROAD STONE OF HONOUR.

relate, they were both disappointed, and Patricians were elected by the people. The expression which is used by the historian Hooke is remarkable. "The people," he says, "had not power to deny it to men, whose fathers and ancestors had been honoured with the Consulship." When Justinian gave Rome the simple form of an absolute Monarchy, he abolished these distinctions, and made all the people equally citizens of the empire; "yet," says Gibbon, "he could not eradicate the popular reverence which always waits on the possession of hereditary wealth, or the memory of famous ancestors." A more recent instance of a similar kind, will be observed in the History of the Insurrection of Genoa, in 1746. When the people had made this effort, "Worthy of the Romans," as Mr. Gibbon observes, there was a Council formed, which was called the Assembly of the People, and which had full authority in the government of the republic. That which is the most curious part of the relation, is the circumstance, that the people who had contracted this taste for supreme authority,

were soon disgusted with their own leaders, permitted the assembly to be discontinued, and actually returned the reins of government into the hands of the Nobles, without dispute, and without condition. The historian of the Decline and Fall, to whose authority, the philosopher at least must bow, will teach the pedant in liberty and patriotism, how he should respect and esteem this privilege of birth\*. “ Our

\* The observations of Nicolo in his treatise “ *De la Grandeur*, 1<sup>e</sup> partie, chap. v. are very striking. He remarks of those persons who would argue from analogy that the institution was absurd, “ *Ils raisonneroient bien, si les hommes étoient justes et raisonnables, mais ils raisonnent très-mal, parce qu’ils ne le sont pas, et qu’ils ne le seront jamais. L’injustice naturelle et ineffaçable du cœur des hommes rend ce choix, non seulement raisonnable, mais le chef-d’œuvre de la raison. Car qui choisirons nous? Le plus vertueux, le plus sage, &c. &c. ! mai nous voila incontinent aux mains.—Attachons donc notre choix à quelque chose d’exterieur et d’incontestable.—L’on calme l’orgueil des inferieurs, et l’on leur rend la grandeur de beaucoup moins incommode.—Un autre avantage qui arrive de cet établissement, est que l’on peut avoir des princes sans orgueil, et que les grans peuvent etre humbles. Car il n’y a point d’orgueil à demcurer*

calmer judgment," he observes in the *Memoirs of his Life*, "will rather tend to moderate, than to suppress the pride of an ancient and worthy race. The satirist may laugh, the philosopher may preach, but reason herself will respect the prejudices and habits which have been consecrated by the experience of mankind. The institution of hereditary rank, has been maintained," he proceeds to state, "for the wisest and most beneficial purposes in almost every climate of the globe, and in almost every modification of political society: wherever the distinction of birth is allowed to form a superior order in the state, education and example should always, and will often produce among them

*dans l'état ou l'on est né, et ou la providence de Dieu nous a mis, pourvu que l'on en use selon les fins de Dieu, et l'on peut avec cela conserver des sentimens d'humilité dans son cœur, connoître ses défauts et ses miseres; et regarder sa condition comme une chose étrangere dont l'ordre de Dieu nous a revetus.*" This admirable treatise will be found in the 2d vol. of the *Essais de Morale*, the book of which Madame Sevigné says in a letter to her daughter (lett. 376), "On croit n'avoir lu de François qu'en ce livre."



a dignity of sentiment\*, and propriety of conduct, which is guarded from dishonour, by their own and the public esteem. If we read of some illustrious line, so ancient, that it has no beginning; so worthy, that it ought to have no end, we sympathize in its various fortunes; nor can we blame the generous enthusiasm, or even the harmless vanity of those who are allied to the honours of its name." It will not be difficult, upon a hasty review of history, to discover instances, that will verify the truth of this observation. Thus, for example, in the ninth book of Livy, you will find it related, that when the Romans were proposing to break the treaty with the Samnites, their Consul insisted that he and the other Romans, who signed that treaty, should be

\* There can be but one opinion upon the courage which was displayed by the Duchess D'Angouleme, on a late occasion of the war in France. And while the name of this Princess, Maria Theresa, will remind us of her descent from the immortal Queen, who trusted her life to the fidelity of her Hungarian subjects, this heroic action will, I conceive, remind us of the effect which the memory of illustrious ancestors will generally be found to produce.

previously given up to them. But when the Tribunes came to speak, they concluded their harangue, with proclaiming, that they were sacred magistrates, inviolable, and that they must not be delivered to the Samnites. I do not quote this passage, to imply that the Tribunes were necessarily base in sentiment, but that the Consul displayed the virtue which was required by his birth. Thus, again, in Shakspeare's play of Henry VI. we have that fine passage,

“ Is my name Talbot ? and am I your son ?  
 And shall I fly ?——  
 The world will say—he is not Talbot's blood  
 That basely fled when noble Talbot stood.”

And how true to nature's law was Homer in relating of Telemachus after Minerva had been speaking of his father ?

—————Τῷ δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 Θῆκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, ὑπεμνήσεν τε ἑ πατρός  
 Πάλλον ἔτ', ἢ το παροίθεν·——

ODYSS. II.

I shall endeavour to make myself understood by examples, and first I will direct your attention to an anecdote in the history of

modern Italy, which I am inclined to think, will illustrate the subject. The event took place during the wars of the French king, Lewis XII. in Italy.

There is a mountain near Longara in which there is a natural cavern of more than a mile in length. The inhabitants of the country, terrified at the ravages of war, had fled for refuge into this grotto, to the number of two thousand persons, of all ranks and of both sexes. Here also they conveyed their treasure and their provisions. They had a few fire-arms to defend the entrance in case of an attack, and this entrance was so narrow that only one person could pass at a time. A party of banditti, the most cowardly of whom are generally the most ardent in pursuit of plunder, unfortunately discovered this asylum. They were proceeding to enter, when a remonstrance ensued between them and the persons who were on guard within; but as they did not attend to their entreaties, and were proceeding to force their way, they were fired upon, and two of their party were killed; the rest fled and collected

their comrades, and the whole party returned to the grotto, resolved upon revenge and plunder. When they found that it was impossible to enter by force, they had recourse to a stratagem. They collected a heap of wood and straw before the mouth of the cave, and to this they set fire. In a moment the grotto was filled with thick smoke, and as there was no other passage to admit air, the persons within were soon suffocated. There were found among these unhappy victims, a number of gentlemen and ladies who lay as if they had been asleep, and many of the younger women had infants and children by their side. The smoke dispersed; the robbers entered, and their booty was immense. Some of these miscreants were shortly taken and executed upon the spot. During the moment of this execution, there came out of the cave a kind of phantom, a youth of about fifteen; his body yellow and shrivelled with the smoke, and more dead than alive, he told his story to the people. When he perceived the dreadful smoke, he fled to the farthest end of the cavern, where he had discovered

a crevice running upwards in the rock, and from that he received a little air. But the circumstance which he related is that point to which I must call your attention. He said that there were some gentlemen and their wives, who, when they saw the preparations to smother them, had resolved and endeavoured to force their way out, and rather to die in battle than to be suffocated in the cave. But the peasants who were with them, and who were the most numerous, had pushed them back with pikes, saying, since we must die in this place, you shall remain and die with us. Now I am of opinion that this frightful narrative will illustrate and verify the preceding remarks, and that by proving the converse of our proposition; for as the sentiments of birth are generous and humane, so the spirit which is hostile to those sentiments and to that institution, will be mean and cruel. And as the gentleman will delight in valour and in mercy, so the churl, not the man of low extraction whose mind may be noble, not the poor man who stands in his honourable post, but the savage en-

vious hater of all superiority either in virtue or in rank; the victim of that fiend ambition, which almost rends asunder the very frame that it has to govern, will display the qualities which can only be ascribed to the influence of the great spiritual enemy to the virtues of the human heart.

I conceive this subject, to which our attention is now directed, to be of the very first importance, not merely as a necessary introduction to the lessons which I shall have to offer you in this book, but as containing the very basis of our religion and the first principles of moral philosophy. The corruption and depravity of human nature is established by both of these, and therefore follows the corruption and depravity of that class of mankind, which is not radically corrected by religion, or imperfectly by the education and associations belonging to the higher ranks of society. Let us take a review of mankind in distant ages, and let us mark what has been the general opinion of wise men in every generation on this particular subject. Not to mention the sentences of Holy Writ, I ap-

peal to every student who is acquainted with the writings of Plato and Aristotle, of Cicero, Seneca, and Horace, whether they had not as great a contempt for the vulgar (rightly understood) as the most powerful and ignorant Baron of the middle ages? therefore it is not the institution of chivalry which created this description of men: for it is coeval with the righteous Abel and with the first appearance of virtue upon the earth. But further than this, besides the corruption and depravity common to all mankind, there are particular descriptions of wickedness, to which some men more than others are born liable. This is a physical truth, which it would be idle to dispute. It is a general law of nature, that parents transmit particular genius and disposition to their children. Now in the lower ranks of society in all ages of the world, some vices are not so generally abhorred as they are in a higher, therefore in those ranks of society, parents do not transmit to their children that aversion to these vices, which seems hereditary in the blood of their superiors. True it is, that

when religion and care in youth have corrected the disposition of the poor, and when impiety and neglect in youth have been attendants on the great, the rule is broken and the scale reversed; but no examples of this kind, however numerous, and from their very nature conspicuous and striking, will be able to disprove the reality and power of this universal law. What these particular vices may be, to which men of low origin are born peculiarly liable, will be best understood by referring to the examples and opinions of antiquity and of our own age. But before I state these, it may be expedient to declare again, that in these observations I do not allude to the man who is born in an humble rank of life, as exemplifying the character of the churl, but to that numerous class of men, frequently possessing affluence and character in the world, though sprung from a low origin, who are under the dominion of uncorrected passions, who are the enemies to virtue and to restraint of every description, whether of religion or law, or authority, or example. So far from intending



any reproach upon the lower classes of society, I pronounce that there is even a peculiar connection, a sympathy of feeling and affection, a kind of fellowship, which is instantly felt and recognized by both, between these and the highest order, that of gentlemen. In society, as in the atmosphere of the world, it is the middle which is the region of disorder and confusion and tempest. The natural extremes of high and low are serene and untroubled. Nature there pursues her course without interruption or interference from discordant elements, and therefore all is wisdom and harmony and peace.

In the Morte d'Arthur, Sir Ebel relates, how his master, King Hermaunce, was treacherously murdered by two knights, whom he had brought up and raised to honour. "Thenne whan these two traytours understoode that they had dryven alle the lordes of his blood from hym, they were not pleased with that rule, but thenne they thoughte to have more, as ever hit is an old sawe, '*Gyve a chorle rule, and there by he wylle not be suffysed*' Therefor al

estates and lordes, beware whome ye take aboute you."

Sir John Froissart, when he relates the treacherous murder of Evan of Wales, at the siege of Mortayne in Poitou, by John Lambe, a squire who came out of England, observes that he was but a small gentleman, or little of a gentleman, as the event well proved, adding, "for a very gentyman wyll never set his mynde on so evyll an entent."

Mezerai, the great French historian, observes, in speaking of the insolence and vanity of low persons who assume the arms and titles of great families, "Ce qui seroit peut-estre supportable si en consequence ils s'efforçoient d'avoir l'ame aussi noble que les armoiries et les noms qu'ils usurpent\*." The common saying of the English Lords in the reign of Edward III. is upon record. "A man of base lynage canne nat knowe what parteyneth to honoure; their desyre is ever to enryche, and to have all themselves, lyke an otter in the water, which coveteth to have all that he fyndeth." By the

\* Abreg. ch. T. 2. p. 63.

way, and once for all, would it not be wiser for men of low origin to disprove these opinions by their practice, rather than by cant and declamation? And on the other, and still by the way, let gentlemen remember that such professions, unless borne out by action, will only turn in confusion upon their own heads. But let us proceed with the subject.

The famous anecdote related by Froissart of the knight who to fulfil his vow, rode to the gates of Paris in time of war, and struck at the barriers with his spear, so as to excite the astonishment and admiration of the French, will exhibit an instance of the spirit and disposition which were attributed to the enemies of chivalry; for the historian proceeds to mention, that the knight "as he passed on the pavement, found before him *a bocher*, a bygge man, who had well seen this knight pass by; and he helde in his handes a sharpe hevy axe with a long poynt; and as the knight returned agayne and tooke no heed, this bocher *came on his syde*, and gave the knight suche a stroke betwene the necke and the shoulders, that he

reversed forwards heedlynge to the necke of his horse, and yet he recovered agayne: and than the bocher strake him agayne, so that the axe entered into his body, so that for payne the knight fell to the earth, and his horse ranne away and came to the squyer who abode for his master at the stretes end ;” and so the squire rode forward to look for his master, “ and anone he sawe where *he lay upon the erthe, bytwene foure men, laying on him strokes as they wolde have stryken on a stethy*; and than the squyer was so affrayed, that he durst go no farther, for he saw well he coude nat helpe his maister; therefore he retourned as fast as he might. So there the said knyght was slayne: and the knyghts who were at the gates caused him to be buryed in holy grounde \*” In like manner it is recorded

\* The massacre of the Glencoes in Scotland is another instance; and it is singular to remark, that the parties who perpetrated and *winked* at this treachery, were those who deny all this doctrine of chivalry. There are other parts in these examples, which closely resemble the conduct of our English mobs at the present day. It is easy to point out their love of fair play at a prize fight, or at a rencontre in the street, where

of Sir Robert Sale in Wat Tyler's rebellion, that he fought on foot the mob of 4000 persons, who after they had at length slain him, cut off his arms and legs, and then struck his body all to pieces.

“*Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos,*” which words, says Mde. de Stael, “*renferment tout ce qu'il y a de divin dans le cœur de l'homme,*” might be selected as the motto of chivalry and of every gentleman; but if I were called upon to give any line that would express the general spirit and character of the churl in all ages, as proved by history and the opinions and records of men, I would say take this line, and the converse will display the portrait required. “*La vaillance,*” says Montagne, and he was not a man to flatter the nobility, or to like any chivalrous opinion as such, “*de qui c'est l'effect de s'exercer seulement contre la resistance,*

“*Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice juveni.*”

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the contrary would create a riot, and so interrupt their sport; but no gentleman who has ever encountered them with the mask off, will give them credit for a love of honour and fair play.

“ S’arreste à voir l’ennemy à sa mercy : mais la lascheté, pour dire qu’elle est aussi de la feste, n’ayant peu se mesler à ce premier roole, prend pour sa part le second, du massacre et du sang. Les meurtres des victoires, se font ordinairement par le peuple, et par les officiers du bagage : et ce qui fait voir tant de cruauté, inouyes aux guerres populaires, c’est que cette canaille de vulgaire s’aguerrit, et se gendarme à s’en sanglenter, jusques aux coudes, et à deschigneter un corps à ses pieds, n’ayant resentment d’autre vaillance.

“ Et lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursi,  
Et quacunque minor nobilitate fera est :

“ Comme les chiens couards, qui deschi-  
rent en la maison, et mordent les peaux  
des bestes sauvages, qu’ils n’ont osé at-  
taquer aux champs.”

Another instance is presented by Frois-  
sart, when he relates the cruel slaughter  
of the gallant young Lord Water of Dang-  
hien and his comrades, by the citizens of  
Ghent, who caught them in ambush and  
fought them, an hundred against one ; and

when they had slain the Lord Danghien “*they had great joy,*” says Froissart. The Earl of Flaunders “night and day made great sorrow for his death, and sayd, ‘O Water, Water, my fayre son, what adventure is this, thus to fall on you in your youthe.’ Then the Erle sende to Gaunt to have agayne the body of the Lord of Danghien, *the whiche the Gauntoysse wolde not delyver.* Then the Erle sende them a *thousande frankes* to have his body, the which the Gauntoyss dyde divide amonge themself; and so the body of the Lord was brought into the hoost.” These were the men whose embassadors in London were laughed at by the English for their insolence and avarice. “They demande to be comforted, sayd the lords among themselfe, and say how they have nede thereof, and yet for all that *they demande to have our money.* It is no reasonable request that we shulde both ayde and pay.” Sir John Froissart rejoices in the triumph of the French arms over these Flemish rebels. The infection had spread over great part of France where the villaynes rebelled and

threatened the gentlemen, *ladyes, and chyl-*  
*dren.* “The dyvell was entred into their  
heads to have slayne all noblemen if God  
had not purveyed of remedy ;” and he pro-  
nounces the battle of Rosebeque, in which  
the Flemish rebels were defeated, to have  
been “right honourable for all Christen-  
dom, and for all nobleness, for if these  
sayd villaynes had atchyved their ententes,  
there had never so greate crueltie have  
ben sene before in all the worlde, for the  
comonties in dyvers countries had re-  
belled.” And the same historian observes  
of the English rebels who followed Wat  
Tyler in the reign of Richard II. “these  
unhappy people showted and cryed so  
loude as thoughe all the dyvylls of hell  
had bene among them \*.” There were some

\* I would beg leave here to remind the reader of  
the description which is given of a revolutionary mob,  
by Madame de Staël in her work on the French Re-  
volution. “Leurs physionomies etoient empreintes  
de cette grossierete morale et physique dont on ne  
peut supporter le dégoût quelque philanthrope que  
l’on soit.—Ils offroient un spectacle epouvantable et  
qui pourroit alterer à jamais le respect que la race  
humaine doit inspirer.” A similar testimony occurs



that desyred nothyng but richesse and the utter destruction of the noble men, and to have London robbed and pyllled, and to slee all the rich and honest persons." And

in the introduction of that celebrated discourse, which was delivered by La Harpe, upon the opening of the Lyceum, on the 31st of December, 1794. " Il me semble les voir encore, ces brigands, sous le nom de *patriotes*, ces oppresseurs de la nation, sous le nom de *magistrats du peuple*, se répandre en foule parmi nous avec leur vetement grotesque, qu'ils appeloient exclusivement celui du patriotisme, comme si le patriotisme devoit absolument etre ridicule et sale, avec leur ton grossier et leur langage brutal qu'ils appeloient republicain, comme si la grossièreté et l'indécence étaient essentiellement républicaines; avec leur visage hagard et leurs yeux troubles et farouches, indices de la mauvaise conscience, jetant de tous cotés des regards à la fois stupides et menaçans sur les instrumens des sciences dont ils ne connoissaient pas meme le nom, sur les monumens des arts qui leur etoient si étrangers, sur les bustes de ces grands hommes dont à peine ils avoient entendu parler; et l'on ent dit que l'aspect de toute cette pompe littéraire, de tout ce luxe innocent, de toutes ces richesses de l'esprit et du talent, réveilloit en eux cette haine sourde et féroce, cette rage interne, cachée dans les plus noirs replis de l'amour-propre, et qui soulève en secret l'homme ignorant et pervers contre tout ce qui vant mieux que lui."

of the Jacquerie he sums up the character in these expressive words : “ qui plus faisoit de maux et de villains faits, tels que creature humaine ne devoit n’oseroit penser, celui estoit le plus prisé entre eux et le plus grand maistre.” *Κακος δ’ ὁ μὴ τι δρῶν Κακον*, says Euripides of the Jacquerie in his time\* ; and these were now the men “ qui pensoient qu’ils deussent destruire tous les nobles et gentils-hommes du monde.”

Who poor of heart and prodigal of words,  
 Born to be slaves and struggling to be lords,  
 But pant for licence while they spurn controul,  
 And shout for rights with rapine in their soul.

Certainly, if “ popular fury, that dares to trample on superstition, be deaf,” as Mr. Gibbon observes, “ to the cries of humanity,” it need not excite wonder, that when it is directed against the most ancient and venerable institutions among mankind, it should exhibit such instances as these.

“ It is not convenient,” said the Duke

\* Hecuba.

of Burgundy, when he promised to assist the Earl of Flaunders, "that such raskall shoulde be suffred to rule a countrey: for by them chyvalry and gentylness myght be destroyed, ye, and consequently all Christendom." — "Such descriptions of men," says Mr. Burke, "ought not to suffer oppression from the state; but the state suffers oppression, if such as they, either individually or collectively, are permitted to rule."

So much then for the character of the churl, who is the enemy of your religion, and of your race, and of all that is contained in this book, pertaining to honour.

Were it not irrelevant to the object which I have in view it would not be difficult nor would it be disagreeable to demonstrate the advantages which flow from the institution of hereditary rank and superior privilege. The division of labour is found to be of utility in the execution of the arts and in the study of the sciences; and in like manner the distinctions of rank may be regarded as the division of virtue, which is essential to the developement of the dif-

ferent qualities which exalt the character of our nature. With what force of philosophy and genius does Shakspeare proclaim this truth?

“ Take but degree away, untune that string,  
 And, hark, what discord follows! each thing meets  
 In mere oppugnancy: the bounded waters  
 Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,  
 And make a sop of all this solid globe.  
 Strength should be lord of imbecility,  
 And the rude son should strike his father dead.  
 Force should be right; or rather right and wrong,  
 Between whose endless jar justice resides,  
 Should lose their names, and so should justice too.  
 Then every thing includes itself in power,  
 Power into will, will into appetite,  
 And appetite, an universal wolf,  
 So doubly seconded with will and power,  
 Must make per force an universal prey,  
 And, last, eat up himself.”——

TROILUS and CRESSIDA, Act I. sc. 3.

It is not, however, upon any such philosophical speculations that we must rest the authority for our claim. Let us then honestly confess that it is upon the Bible alone, as the word of God, that we take our stand, since we receive Christianity, since that

Religion has sanctioned the institution \*, since it has prescribed rules for the poor and for the rich, since it has inculcated duties which cannot be discharged in a state of republican equality, since the analogy of Scripture confirms the appointment, there can be no need of any further enquiry, to those who are the servants of Christ.

\* Again I refer the reader to the *Treatise de la Grandeur*, by Nicole. He shews that we ought to respect the great, not merely out of respect for public opinion, but even "for conscience sake," since their rank is but a participation of the authority of God, from whom alone all power proceeds, and therefore he argues, "il est digne d'un respect veritable et interieur." He comments upon the Scripture precept, "not to speak evil of dignities." "C'est pourquoi c'est une chose tres-contraire à la véritable pieté, que la liberté que le commun du monde se donne de décrier la conduite de ceux qui gouvernent. Car outre que l'on en parle souvent temerairement et contre la verité, parce qu'on n'en est pas toujours assez informé ; on en parle presque toujours avec injustice parce que l'on imprime dans les autres par ces sortes de discours une disposition contraire à celle que Dieu les oblige d'avoir pour ceux dont il se sert pour les gouverner," not merely politically but morally ; that is, to influence them by example.

\* I shall proceed immediately to developé the sentiments which have directed me in the present attempt; and to this end I shall call your attention to six divisions, in which I shall treat of the Dignity, the Religion, the Virtue, the Profession, the Acquirements, and the External Condition which are essential or suitable to the order of which you are a member.

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THE

**Dignity of the Order.**

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THE observations which I have already had occasion to make, may have awakened your attention to this subject. They may have reminded you that something more is necessary than the name to give you a legitimate title to the rank in which your birth and education will place you. My endeavour in the present instance must be to convince you of this more fully.

We date the origin of our order from the early institutions which took place in Europe after the Christian Religion had been generally received: and it is therefore in the principles of ancient chivalry, in the character of the knights and barons of the middle ages, that we must look for the virtues and the sentiments which are to be our inheritance. Here then, at the very first step, we shall be convinced of the

dignity which was ascribed to this character. Not to detain you with the observations of those reasoners who took pains to shew the analogy between this order and that of the higher Clergy, in both a superior purity and grandeur of character being regarded as essential, and both being considered as of divine appointment. I shall find repeated opportunities to demonstrate the fact, in presenting you with extracts from the early writers.

Degeneracy of mind, united with ambition, is not the peculiar characteristic of any age, and the unworthy pretender of our own time to the title and privilege of a gentleman, will find examples of the same conduct in the ages of remote antiquity. Even in the infancy of the institution there were found men, either so hardy as to assume a character to which they had no title, and thus to brave the judgment of mankind, or so vain and short sighted as to imagine that they could escape detection: but there never were wanting those who would oppose themselves to the outrage of truth and of honour, to hypocrisy



of every kind whether in religion or in virtue. "He who does not possess these virtues," says the poet Arnaud de Marvelh, "though he may have the name of chevalier, I do not regard him as a knight." As Talbot exclaims when he plucks off the garter from the "craven leg" of Falstaff,

"He then that is not furnished in this sort  
Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight,  
Profaning this most honourable order,  
And should (if I were worthy to be judge)  
Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain,  
That doth presume to boast of gentle blood\*."

Such was the integrity and independence attached to the members of the order, that their opinion and advice were taken upon occasions of difficulty, and kings were warned not to disregard their decision†.

\* Shakspeare, Hen. VI. 1st Part. Act IV. Scene 1.

† Qui que preudomme ait conseiller

Soit Rois ou Quens, je le conseille

Pour s'onnour, croire son conseil.

What service might a gentleman in the country render to his tenants, and to the neighbourhood at large, if he would attend appeals to his judgment; and if the people had that confidence in his virtue, as to trust their disputes to his decision! I under-

A knight was not admitted to take part at a Tournament who had committed an action unworthy of his birth. If he was so hardy as to appear, he was instantly disarmed by order of the Judge, and placed upon a certain spot of the barriers, to undergo for an entire day the insults of the mob. This was the law of Tournaments.

Nothing indeed will display in a stronger light the dignity which was attached to this character, than the detail of the process which was pursued in the case of knights who had dishonoured their profession. "The knight," says Ste Palaye, whom I translate, "was at first conducted upon a scaffold, where his arms and the different pieces of armour, the nobility of which he had tarnished, were broken in his presence, and trampled under foot. The Priests, after reciting the vigils of the dead, pronounced upon him the hundred

stand that this was the practice of the late Marquis of Londonderry, upon his estate in Ireland, where the people thankfully and cheerfully submitted to his arbitration, as they will always do under similar circumstances.

and ninth Psalm, which contains many imprecations and maledictions against traitors. Three times, the king or the herald at arms, demanded the name of the criminal; each time the poursuivant at arms declared his name, and the herald replied that this was not the name of the person before them, since he saw in him only a traitor, a rebel, and a faith-breaker,—*foy mentie*. Then taking from the hands of the poursuivant at arms, a bason filled with hot water, he threw it with indignation upon the head of the infamous knight, to wash away the sacred character which had been conferred upon him. The criminal, thus degraded, was let down from the scaffold by a cord passed under his arms, and placed upon a hurdle, which was covered with a funeral cloth. Finally, he was carried to the Church, where the usual prayers and ceremonies were used which are practised for the dead.” How would the manners of the present age endure such a trial as this? If every gentleman that was received under that title, who had broken his word, neglected his post, or

who had committed any mean or unjust act, who was not, according to the language of the age, "sans reproche," was to undergo the execution of this sentence; or was to be exposed to the censure of his equals? It is material to remark, that by a clause in the statutes of the Order of the Star\*, there was a power of expiation for an act of cowardice or of neglect, but one base or unjust action was for ever fatal. What then must have been the dignity and privilege of that order, the forfeiture of which, by an unworthy action, was equivalent to death? Far from being inferior to the dignity of regal power, even kings considered themselves as deriving their chief glory from the profession; and to the present hour, the title of gentleman is the highest in the land †. To be as noble as the King was the Castilian's pride. It

\* Ordonn des rois de France. T. xi. p. 466.

† The distinctions of rank are founded upon the common ground of nobility, which is alluded to in the maxim, that, "un Gentilhomme n'est pas plus gentilhomme qu'un autre." See Dissertation ix. sur l'Histoire de S. Louis.

was the pride of Diomedes when he said to Agamemnon,

Σοι δε διανδιχα δωκε Κρονε παις ἀγκυλομητω  
 Σκηπτρω μεν τοι δωκε τετιμησθαι περι παντων  
 Ἄλκην δ' οὔ τοι δωκεν, ὅ, τε κρατος ἐστι μεγιστον.

“The two titles of nobility and gentry,” says Gwillim, “are of equal esteem in the use of Heraldry, though custome hath equally divided them, and applied the first to gentry of the highest degree, and the latter to nobles of the lowest rank.” The king can give a patent of nobility\*, but he cannot bestow the inheritance of virtue. The king can reward his favourite with wealth and with an honourable office, but he cannot command the riches of the heart or the sentiments of honour :

Princes and Lords may flourish, and may fade,  
 A breath can make them as a breath has made.

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\* A modern author attends to this capital distinction, in a note to one of his Poems, where he alludes to Lord Walpole, as being obnoxious, first because he was a gentleman, and secondly because he was a nobleman.

But you,—

*Flos veterum virtusque virum,*

can boast of an inalienable privilege. How grand and eloquent are the words of Pierre Cardinal, the old satiric Poet of Provence, in allusion to Simon de Montfort! “L’archeveque de Narbonne et le roi de France ne sont point assez habiles pour faire un homme d’honneur d’un méchant homme. Ils peuvent bien lui donner de l’or, de l’argent des habits des vins et des vivres; mais de la bonté, il n’y a que Dieu qui en donne.” Queen Elizabeth, amidst the omnipotence of her prerogative, declared her inability. Henry the Fourth, and Francis the First, of France, regarded the title of gentlemen as the highest that could belong to them\*; and it is impossible not to be reminded of the answer which Charles VI gave to his father when

\* Francis the 1st. in writing to Charles Vth. signed himself “François, premier gentilhomme de France.” And the saying of Henry IV. is famous; “la qualité de gentilhomme étant le plus beau titre que nous possédions.”

he offered him the choice of a crown of gold or of a helmet, as the badge of that chivalry which he professed to admire. "Monseigneur," exclaimed the young prince with energy, "donnez-moi le casque et gardez votre couronne."

Such then is the dignity of your high title. Remember that there is no alternative for you, between this and infamy: remember that as the pomp of false humility is the greatest pride, so the sentiments of honourable pride are the most humble\*.

\* If we had to select any class of persons, who have been most conspicuous for the exercise of unostentatious humble virtue, it would be the Princes of the House of Austria. Many of these illustrious individuals have been in the daily practice of acts of beneficence, which the most eloquent panegyrist of Christian humility would frequently disdain. The Empress Eleonora, notwithstanding the very harsh, and, I think, very unjust observations of Mr. Cox, might be quoted as a striking example; and chiefly to represent the general character of her house in these particulars. The last choice of these Princes, is worthy of their faith. The coffins of the Cæsars, are placed in a vault under the convent of the Capuchins, the bare-footed Friars, the poorest of the religious orders, alternately the objects and the dispensers of mercy.

It is one of the golden maxims of Pythagoras,

— Παντων ἐ μάλιστα αἰσχυνεο σαντον.

Let no man deceive you with hypocritical sophistry. This is a pride which the immoral hate, and at which the profane tremble. Where this pride is absent in persons of your birth, there will be vice and irreligion, levity and scepticism, indolence and despair.



THE

## Religion of the Order.

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FROM what we have had occasion already to observe with regard to the origin and authority of the institution, it is clear that you are bound to believe and to maintain the Christian faith. An infidel gentleman \* is an impossible character; or rather the expression is an error of language, since the very act of rejecting Christianity must exclude us from the order. Joinville relates a saying of S. Louis, when a Musulman entered his prison with a drawn sword, crying, " fais-moi chevalier ou je te tue : " to which the king replied, " fais-toi chrétien, et je te ferai chevalier." In Spain, when nobility was to be made out, it was necessary to prove a descent by both parents from " Vijos Christianos," that is,

\* But it would be correct to say, an infidel Lord, or Duke, who receives and honours infidels.

from ancient Christians, the blemish to be apprehended being an alliance with the Jewish or Moorish blood. You never observe that we attend to the family or hereditary honour of the Moors or Indians, although certainly there are individuals and clans among these nations who can trace the antiquity of their name to a very remote period. We are told by Mr. Gibbon, that the family of Confucius have maintained above 2200 years\* their peaceful honours and perpetual succession; yet it would be incorrect to adopt his conclusion, that it is therefore "the most illustrious in the world," as it was ridiculous in the person who boasted of Washington as an ancestor, when the only alliance consisted in both being natives of America.

If we examine the records of chivalry and the history of Europe from the commencement of that institution, we shall meet with convincing and indeed affecting proofs that the Catholic faith was the very

\* We are not concerned to prove the mistake of Mr. Gibbon. In his judgment of this computation he had contracted the common error.

basis of the character which belonged to the knight; that piety was to be the rule and motive of his actions, and the source of every virtue which his conduct was to display.

Whatever lessons may have been at other times inculcated, it cannot but be remembered that the first precept which was pressed upon the mind of youth was the love of God; a precept too momentous to be effaced by any subsequent instruction; the inconsistency of which we might be disposed to censure. "The precepts of Religion," says M. Ste Palaye, who was certainly no prejudiced writer, "left at the bottom of the heart a kind of veneration for holy things which sooner or later acquired the ascendancy."

Nothing can be more easy than for the modern philosopher or man of dissipated habits, to ridicule and to hold up to contempt those early precepts of chivalry. Nothing can be more easy than for the pious to be in astonishment and for the ignorant to condemn them; but I would exhort the men of the present day to take

heed lest their ridicule may only prove the vacuity of their own degenerate and vitiated hearts, lest their wonder may be at a shadow, lest their censure may be unjust. An age of civilization is incapable of comprehending an age of simplicity. We may decypher the manuscripts, but we cannot catch the spirit of the dead. What we may have perverted and annihilated, they may have used and possessed without offence. What may be our vice, may have been their virtue. And certainly if we could but suppose that the men of former time could take an interest in the judgment of a perishing generation, if they could desire to vindicate themselves from the charges which have been cast upon their memory, they might be comforted in witnessing the very extravagance of those who have condemned them, in beholding Fenelon accused of licentiousness, and martyrs of hypocrisy; ridicule exalted as the test of truth, and sentiment despised as the production of folly, infidelity in honour, and virtue without reward. A love

of the Christian faith was the very soul of chivalry\*. Every one has heard of the generous exclamation of Clovis, when he was first made acquainted with the passion and death of Christ—"Had I been present at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries." An expression which did not bespeak the clearness of his religious views, but which certainly evinced the sincerity and the affection of his heart. And here I must presume to remind you, that in observing this peculiar character of chivalrous devotion—the love of God, you have at once an evidence that the religion of your ancestors was far less removed from the true spirit of Christianity, than many have too hastily concluded from an imperfect acquaintance

\* This is strongly signified in the ancient mottoes of our great families.

Thus the noble family of Seymour, Dukes of Somerset, bear for their motto:—Foy pour devoir.

The Barons de la Zouch:—Pro deo et Ecclesia.

Ker, Dukes of Roxburgh:—Pro Christo et Patria, dulce periculum.

Edwardes, Barons of Kensington:—Gardez la foy.

with history. For let this truth be ever uppermost in your memory (though it is a precept of religion it is not therefore to be excluded from our consideration in this place) that it is the motive rather than the action which is peculiar to the religion of Christ. "A sound heart," says the wise man, "is the life of the flesh;" and the Scripture has pronounced, that "while man looketh on the outward appearance the Lord looketh on the heart." Now the religion of chivalry was altogether the religion of motives and of the heart. It was love, faith, hope, gratitude, joy, fidelity, honour, mercy; it was a devotion of mind and strength, of the whole man, of his soul and body to the discharge of duty, and to the sacrifice of every selfish and dishonourable feeling that was contrary; it was to obey a commandment which was in unison with all the elevated sentiments of nature, and calculated most effectually to develope every quality that was the object of esteem and reverence. The knights of old had neither the inclination nor the ingenuity to determine the minimum of love which was

compatible with the faith of Christ. They had not established it as the men of whom Pascal speaks, or adopted it as thousands who are not conscious of their own thoughts; who regard it sufficient if they love God at any time before death, or on the festivals, or if they keep the commandments and do not hate God, or who imagine that this burthensome obligation of loving him was part of the Mosaic law, which is dispensed with by the religion of nature and the Gospel; they had not subsided into that state of profound indifference to the truths of religion which the eloquent Massillon has compared to the condition of Lazarus, when the disciples said, "Lord, if he sleeps he will do well;" and were undeceived when Jesus said unto them plainly, "Lazarus is dead." But their affections were warm, their gratitude was sincere, and though their understanding on the doctrines of religion might sometimes fail them, their hearts did not. They were thankful under every circumstance of life, and like the Prophet of old, it was their boast "although the fig-tree

shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation\*.” They were slain in battle, they were cut off in the flower of their youth and in the moment of victory, yet they could exult in the words of the Psalmist, “my flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever †.”

“Thenne,” said Bors, “hit is more than yere and an half, that I ne lay ten tymes where men dwelled, but in wylde forestes and in mountains, but God was ever my comforte ‡.”

The defence of the Christian faith was the office and the pride of the ancient nobles. The duty of a knight, says the writer in a work which is quoted by St<sup>e</sup> Palaye, “is to maintain the Catholic faith,

\* Hab. iii. 17.

† Psalm lxxiii. 25.

‡ Morte d'Arthur, lib. xvii. cap. 19.



and the learned academician presents his reader with a passage from Eustache Deschamps :—

Chevalier en ce monde cy  
 Ne peuvent vivre sans soucy :  
 Ils doivent le peuple défendre  
 Et leur sang pour la foi espandre.

Perfectly agreeable to these injunctions was the conduct of the ancient nobility. The cross of Christ was no sooner lifted up as the standard under which the defenders of the faith were to rally, than all Europe was united in a band of brothers to worship the Saviour of mankind. Germany, France, and England poured forth the flower of their youth and nobility; men who were led by no base interest or selfish expectation, but who went with single hearts renouncing the dearest blessings of their country and station to defend the cause that they loved, and to protect from insult and wrong the persecuted servants of their Saviour. Saint Louis of France, the Lion-hearted Richard of England\*, Godefroy of

\* Michaud, in his History of the Crusades, is not led away by any enthusiasm for the character of Rich-

Bouillon, Robert Count of Flanders, Robert Duke of Normandy, Raimond Count Toulouse, Hughes the Great, Stephen Count of Chartres and Blois, Tancredi de Hauteville, Baldwin and Eustache, Josselin de Courtenay, Gerald founder of the hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, Raimond Dupuy the first military grand master, Hugues de Payens founder of the order of the Templars, Folques Count of Anjou. These, with the bravest and most noble of their generation, hastened to proclaim to the world by their deeds and devotion, that the Saviour of mankind was dear to them. They gave an evidence of their sincerity which was unquestionable. Witness the heroism

ard, though his expressions are sufficiently strong in testimony of his heroism. "Les plus violents murmures," he observes, "éclataient contre Richard, qui répondait à ses ennemis par des traits de bravoure, dignes d'Amadis et de Roland." In the *Pièces justificatives*, at the end of the 2d volume, he has inserted an extract from a MS. chronicle of the 13th century in the Sorbonne collection, which relates the particulars of the discovery of the king by Blondel. The remarks of Mr. Gibbon upon the character of Richard, and the events he was engaged in, can be to us only amusing. See his *Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. v. p. 488.

and fidelity of Renaud de Chatillon, grand Master of the Templars, who refused life upon condition of apostacy, and was beheaded by the hand of Saladin. Witness also that of the crowd of knights of the two orders, who suffered themselves to be massacred in prison by order of the same infidel rather than renounce Jesus Christ. Vertot relates, that the Chevalier de Temericourt, after gallantly defeating the Turkish fleet, was forced by a tempest upon the coast of Barbary, where he was taken prisoner. He was led to Tripoli, and thence to Adrianople, where he was presented to Mahomet III. who asked him if he was the man who had fought five of his great ships. "Moi-meme," replied the knight. "Of what nation are you?" demanded the Sultan. "François," said Temericourt. "Then you are a deserter," continued Mahomet, "for there is a solemn league between me and the king of France." "Je suis François," said Temericourt, "mais, outre cette qualité, j'ai celle d'être chevalier de Malte, profession qui m'oblige à exposer ma vie contre tous les ennemis du nom Chrétien."

He was conducted to prison, where he was at first well treated; every expedient was tried to prevail upon a youth of twenty-two years, to renounce his religion. He was offered a princess of the blood in marriage, and the office of grand admiral. But all in vain; the grand seigneur became irritated; the prisoner was thrown into a dungeon, where he was beaten with rods, and tortured; but this generous confessor of Jesus Christ did only invoke his name and pray for his grace. Finally, he was beheaded by command of the grand seigneur. The emperor Commenus was taken at the surrender of Trebizonde, where he was conducted by Mahomet to Constantinople. Here new terms were forced upon him, either to renounce the faith or to die. The Greek emperor, who had consented to surrender his empire to the conqueror, now recalling the ancient sentiments of religion, which ambition had suppressed, preferred death to apostacy; and he had the consolation to witness seven of his sons possessed of the same fidelity. The conduct of the brave mareschal, Gaspard de Vallier, go-

vernor of Tripoli, is well known: that of the chevalier, Abel de Bricliers de la Gardampe, during the memorable siege of Malta, is also remarkable. Having received a mortal wound, he would not permit his comrades to remove him from the spot, saying, "ne me comptez plus au nombre des vivans; vos soins seront mieux employés à défendre nos autres freres." He crawled into the chapel of the castle, and expired at the foot of the altar, in recommending his soul to God. On the eve of the 23d of June, the Turks being resolved to make the assault the following morning, the knights who defended the fort, having lost all hope of succour, received the sacrament in the dead of the night. They then embraced one another, and retired to their respective posts to fulfil their last duty, by delivering up their souls to God. The wounded were carried to the breach in chairs, where they sat with their swords grasped with both hands. They were killed to a man; and Mustapha ordered their dead bodies, after being cut into crosses and fastened to boards, to be cast into the

sea\*. These men may have been mistaken in their apprehension of some particulars in the religion of the Gospel, but they could not have been wanting in affection and sincerity : they might have erred in many instances of their conduct, led astray by hasty passion, unavoidable ignorance, or the influence of peculiar circumstances which occurred in that period of the world. It is human nature to offend, and certainly I am far from intending to imply that these men were not obnoxious like ourselves to the judgment of infinite justice and wisdom, but if they loved much, they had, (what we must seek for ourselves by other measures than a life of worldly-minded policy and sceptical indifference,) the promise of the Saviour, who has formally declared in allusion to their state, that "much would be forgiven."

There is a beautiful instance of the influence of religion, in the celebrated history of Huon de Bordeaux, peer of France. The

\* The reader will be reminded of the memorable scene in the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, upon the last night of the Roman empire.

emperor Thierry, enraged at the death of his nephews and attendants, who had been killed by Huon, had seized upon his noble wife Esclarmonde, whom he kept in a dungeon, with a number of attendants, intending at a future time to put them all to death. Huon had intelligence of this fatal event, and hastened to Mayence, the place of the emperor's residence. He arrived on Holy Thursday, in the disguise of a pilgrim returning from the Holy Land, and besought the maître d'hotel, whom he first met, to give him food ; this good man was greatly interested by his appearance, and in reply to his demand, if upon the morrow, good Friday, it was not the custom to give liberal alms, he replied, " Amy, bien pouvez croire certainement que l'empereur fera demain de grandes aumones, il departira de ses biens tant et si largement que tous pauvres qui la seront venus seront assouvis, car de plus prend'homme ne de plus grand aumonier ou ne pourroit trouver : mais bien vous veux advertir que l'empereur a une contume qu'à celui jour le premier pauvre qui vient au devant de lui est bien heu-

reux ; car il n'est aujourd'huy chose au monde ne si chere qu'il demande à l'empereur qui s'en voise esconduit et y convient estre à l'heure qu'il va en sa chapelle faire ses oraisons." Upon this information Huon greatly rejoiced, and resolved to attend carefully the following day. That night, the history relates, he slept not, but only thought upon delivering his wife and her fellow-prisoners. " Et fut toute la nuit en oraison en priant Dieu qu'il le voulut conseiller et aider, par quelque maniere il pourra sa femme ravoir." When the morning came he dressed, took his pilgrim's staff, and hastened to the palace, where there were already many poor people expecting the emperor, and each wishing that he might be seen the first, but Huon by his cunning contrived to place himself in so secret a corner that the rest could not see him, and where the emperor assuredly would. The emperor came and entered the chapel, and now the crowd was in anxious expectation till the service should be over. The crisis at length arrived, and Huon, by an artifice which is not worth



repeating, attracted attention the first. He then began by informing the emperor, that he came there upon the account of his custom to grant the petition of those who first presented themselves after the service upon that day. "Ami," said the emperor, "bien veus que sçachiez que si vous me demandez quatorze de mes meilleures citez que j'aye je le vous donneray puis que le vous ai promis, ja ne plaise à notre seigneur Jesus Christ, que à l'encontre de ma promesse le vueille aller car mieux aimerois que l'un de mes poings fut coupé tout jusque je fisse une faute, ne qu'à l'encontre de mon serment voulisse aller, et pource demandez seurement et aurez votre demande que ja ne serez refusé." Then Huon demanded first, pardon for himself and for all his who might have offended. "Sire autre chose je ne vous demande," the emperor replied, "pelerin, n'en faites donte quelconque n'avoir ce que vous ay promis des maintenant je le vous octroye: mais je vous suplie tres-humblement que dire me vueillez quel homme vous etes et de quel pais et de quel lignayes que tel don m'avez

requis à avoir.” “Sire,” said Huon, “je suis celui qui souloit estre le Duc de Bordeaux, que tant avez hay, maintenant je viens d’outre mer ou j’ay mainte peine soufferte et grande pauvreté, la merci de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, j’ay tant fait que je suis revenu et que vers vous suis accordé, et si j’auray ma femme et mes hommes que vous tenez prisoniers et toutes mes terres si votre promesse me vouléz tenir.” When the emperor heard Huon of Bordeaux, his colour instantly changed, and for a long time he was deprived of utterance; at length he spoke. “Ha Huon de Bordeaux, estes vous celui par qui j’ay tant souffert de maux et de dommages, qui mes neveux et mes hommes avez occis; pas jé ne sçay penser comment avez esté si hardi de vous avoir montré devant moi, ne estre venu en ma presence, bien m’avez surpris et enchanté: car mieux aimasse avoir perdu quatre de mes meilleures citez, et que tout mon pays fut ars et bruslé, et avec ce du tout mon pays je fusse banny trois ans, qu’icy devant moi vous fussiez trouvé: mais puisque ainsi est que je suis surpris

de vous sçachez de verité que ce que je vous ay promis et juré je le vous tiendray et des maintenant pour l'honneur de la passion de Jesus Christ et du bon jour ou à present sommes par lequel il fut crucifié et mis à mort vous pardonne toute rancune et mal talent, j'a à Dieu ne plaise qu'en soye tenu parjure vostre femme, vos terres, et vos hommes des maintenant je vous rends et mets en vostre main, et en parle qui en voudra parler, ja autre chose n'en sera faite, ne jamais au contraire ne voudray aller." Then the duke Huon threw himself on his knees before the emperor, and besought him to forgive the injury which he had done to him. "Huon," said the emperor, "Dieu le vous vueille pardonner, quant à moi de bon cœur je le vous pardonne." Then the emperor took him by the hand, and gave him the kiss of peace. "Sire," said Huon of Bourdeaux, "grandement ai trouvé en vous grande grace quand de promesse ne m'avez failly: mais s'il plaist à notre seigneur Jesus Christ le guerdon vous en sera rendu au double." The history then relates, how the prisoners

were released, and after a splendid entertainment, how the emperor accompanied Huon and his train on their journey to his estates at Bourdeaux.

There is nothing inconsistent in this beautiful narrative with the feelings and practice of the age to which it belongs. We may remember, that the approach of Christmas induced Godefroy de Bouillon to make peace with Alexis, and the feast of Pentecost was regarded as the most advantageous season to dispense the honour of knighthood.

But there were occasions of repeated occurrence on which this devotion of mind was manifested. The emperors upon certain fêtes, held a naked sword in their hand, while they read the Gospel, and it was universally the custom for the knights to rise from their seats, and to lift up their swords during this part of the Service in the Church. In Poland this usage continued to prevail, and even to the present day it has so far remained in England, that we stand upon the reading of the Gospel. I exhort you never to rise without recalling

to mind the origin of this custom, and regarding this fine demonstration of faith as the act of your own heart and approval. What an association of ideas must it then excite, to delight the imagination, and to awaken piety! The thought that you are treading in the steps of the brave and the noble\*; the champions of truth and honour, whose ashes are under your feet, but whose name liveth for evermore. That you are supporting the faith and the character of your ancestors, that like them you are steady, that like them you are proclaiming it to the world, that you are avowing yourself the soldier of Christ; that in an age of spreading infidelity, of hostile preparation, at a day when no man can tell what the

\* I pity the heart of that philosopher who would criticise and condemn those principles of unchangeable fidelity to ancient opinion, which are so proudly proclaimed in the mottos of several great families.

Thus the noble house of Derby has—*Sans changer.*

Of Townshend—*Stare super vias antiquas.* “*Je suis desgoutte de la nouvelleté,*” says the philosophic Montagne, “*quelque visage qu’elle porte, et ay raison.*” And again, “*le meilleur titre de nouvelleté est tres-dangereux.*”

morrow may bring forth ; when no man can say but that a new persecution may speedily assail the Church of Christ, you are among the number, the countless number, I trust and believe, who will die in her defence ; and that though attacked from without, and deserted from within, she still has sons and soldiers who will be faithful unto death.

In treating of the religion of your order, we are called upon to explain somewhat more at large what you are to hold with respect to any particular profession of faith. And here the question is at once determined, by declaring your right to the enjoyment of that liberty which is the common privilege of Christians. I cannot understand how any man of piety, learning, and good sense, can deny the enviable superiority which England possesses over every other Christian country in the form of her Church establishment ; but bound to her as we are by the reverence resulting from a conviction of her excellence, and by the sentiments of affection which are but the necessary consequences of our relation

to her, still let us not fail to remember that our first connection is with the church of Christ throughout the world, of which our own congregation is but a part. I allude not to those sects and communities, falsely termed religious, which unhappily have spread over this nation, for with the men who compose them, a gentleman as an ordinary Christian, has nothing to do in the way either of fellowship or of judgment:—not in the way of fellowship, since St Paul has said, “if any man obey not our word (and what his word is with respect to pride, *independance* of spirit in matters of religion, self-will, resistance, contempt and schism, I will not suppose you to be ignorant) note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed;” not in the way of judgment; since as the same Apostle has said, “what have I to do to judge them also that are without? them that are without, God judgeth.” But I direct your attention to those congregations of the faithful which exist throughout Christendom, obedient to the same lawful authority, of a church

which professes the same Gospel, and the same primitive creeds, which prescribes the same moral duties and the same sanctions ; but in which the exteriors of religion, that is, the forms and the ceremonies of worship, with the administration and form of ecclesiastical government, are submitted to the taste, the feelings and the judgment of each particular country. Men of narrow and uncharitable minds are incapable of comprehending this important lesson. If we should credit the report of our pedantic travellers, who have adopted what Sully so well terms "*cet odieux préjugé,*" there would be no true religion in any country but our own. "*Il faut se décharger de ces humeurs vulgaires et nuisibles,*" the precept of the benevolent father will equally suit the Christian and the temper of a gallant gentleman, "*in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*" In relation to this subject, who must not admire the conduct and sentiments of the great Sully? After being present at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, exposed himself to all its horrors, and to



the distractions of the period which followed it; he surmounted the prejudices which might have been pardoned even to good men under such circumstances, and he was enabled to distinguish the religion from the impiety of those who supported it. This indeed required qualities of an order almost higher than those which can be received by human nature, yet such were in this instance vouchsafed to the minister of Henry, "fortement persuadé," says this great man of his own mind, "comme je l'ai toujours été quoique calvinisté, sur l'aveu que j'en ai arraché aux ministres réformés les plus savans, que Dieu n'est pas moins honoré dans l'église catholique que dans la protestante," and that nothing had been capable of making Henry IV. embrace a religion which he had secretly despised, or of the truth of which he even had doubts, this wise and virtuous minister was, as he declares, fully persuaded, and he concludes his testimony with that magnificent sentence, "un prince qui n'avoit j'amaï trompé les hommes, étoit bien éloigné de vouloir

tromper Dieu." Madame de Stael, in her Germany, has written a chapter upon this subject, which merits the highest praise. "En quoi different-ils donc entre eux ces hommes religieux—et pourquoi les noms de Catholique ou de Protestant les séparent-ils?" All that I mean to say is but this, and it is the sentence of Hooker, "there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit." Learn therefore, in the words of a true gentleman and a pious Christian\*, to contemplate the different forms of worship which prevail in different parts of Christendom, not with the acrimonious contempt of a narrow-minded sectary, but with the compassionate indulgence of a mild and humble Christian. You will admit that Christianity is excellent in all her forms, that all Christian establishments receive the same primitive creeds, and admit the same moral obliga-

\* Mr. Eustace.

tions; you will remember that while the spirit of Christianity is, like its divine Author, immutable, its external form may change with the age and the climate, and as public opinion and authority shall direct, may assume or resign the pomp and the circumstance of worship; that whether the Gospel be read in the language and according to the simple forms of the Church of England, under the Gothic vaults of York or of Canterbury, or whether it be chanted in Greek and Latin, with all the splendor of the Roman Ritual, under the golden dome of the Vatican, it is always and every where, the same voice of truth and the same tidings of salvation."

The magnificent stone pew of the noble family of Radnor, inclosed within an iron grate, emblazoned with the coat of arms, and placed on the south side of the altar in the Cathedral of Salisbury, strikes the eye on entering the choir. A question has often arisen respecting this introduction of worldly grandeur into churches\*, and too

\* This however is a practice of the highest antiquity, certainly as old as the third century. During

often it has been decided, as I conceive, most improperly, in condemnation of the practice. The conclusion indeed is right, but then it is drawn from false principles, and therefore the whole is but idle declamation. Rank and grandeur are either according or contrary to the will of God. On the first supposition the objection is at once removed; on the latter it is extended further than is intended by those who propose it, for it necessarily must be argued with equal force against the institution in every place and at every time. But it is not sufficient to say, that on the supposition, which I presume must be allowed, the objection is removed, for we can go further and prove that this custom of antiquity is both reasonable and holy. Reasonable, for by these means worldly grandeur is seen to yield homage to the Almighty. When Canute the Great hung up his crown

the middle ages the most capricious symbols of rank were admitted into churches. The treasurer of the church of Auxerre had the privilege of assisting at divine service with a hawk on his fist, and the lord of Sassai enjoyed the distinction of perching his falcon on the edge of the altar.

in the Cathedral of Winchester, what did he but testify his subjection and fidelity to the Lord of all? When a nobleman enters the presence of his Sovereign, he appears with his hereditary symbols of grandeur, and in like manner, Kings and Potentates should worship before the Ruler of the World, and should bow their majesty and their glory at the feet of his throne. But it is also a holy practice, for it presents the world with examples of piety, which cannot fail of producing some effect, and it tends to confirm and strengthen in faith and holiness the great themselves. “*Si le plus grand Prince de son siècle,*” says an historian of Louis IX. “*a été Saint, qui ne peut aspirer à l’être.*” Who more holy and free from human pride than Robert, King of France, son and successor of Hugues Capet? and yet the historians record of this Monarch, that he was regular in assisting at Divine Service, “*chantant toujours avec le chœur, souvent même portant chappe la Couronne en tête et le sceptre à la main.*” And that this custom tends to confirm the great in faith and holiness, is

evident from the very nature of the service, which can never be reverently discharged without spiritual improvement. This leads me to observe in conclusion, that if it be the duty of the great to appear in their station at the public service of the church, not secretly, and as if detected of baseness and imposture before the eye of the Almighty, but with a modest boldness and a countenance expressive of their conviction, that they are instruments in the hands of God, and faithful to the duty prescribed to them; it is also expected from them both by God who wills, and by man who is to receive benefit, that they should display upon this occasion the utmost solemnity and decorum. We have seen Louis IX. on his death-bed, charging his children to remember this particular duty. Nor indeed are examples wanting. Froissart relates that the Earl of Foix would never permit any interruption while attending daily service. Lord Clarendon informs us, that when a gentleman came in suddenly, and apprised Charles I. of the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, the King, who

was in the act of prayers at the time, remained silent until the service was at an end. At this day, when a stranger enters a church, he cannot have a more certain indication of the rank of those who assist, than the degree of attention, reverence, and even studied and ceremonious solemnity, which they evince during the service. This is one of the many instances, when high-breeding and religion go hand in hand. I have been at many of the great Courts of Europe, and I have generally attended divine service in their respective places of worship; and I declare with the utmost sincerity, that if the same congregations had been promiscuously assembled, without any arrangement to distinguish rank, I could have pointed out the Sovereign and his nobles, from comparing their deportment with that of the crowd, whose vulgar levity and grossness, neither religion nor a sense of personal dignity had corrected.

So much for the particular profession of faith which you are required to adopt, and for the duty and manner of attending the public worship of the church.

Yet there is still some further observation necessary, before we pass from considering the general character of the religion of our ancestors.

“ And is there love in heaven ? And is there love  
 In heavenly spirits to these creatures base,  
 That may compassion of their evils move ?  
 There is : else much more wretched were the case  
 Of men than beasts. But O th’ exceeding grace  
 Of highest God ! that loves his creatures so,  
 And all his works with mercy doth embrace,  
 That blessed Angels he sends to and fro,  
 To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe.

How oft do they their silver bowers leave  
 To come to succour us, that succour want ?  
 How oft do they with golden pinions cleave  
 The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant  
 Against foul fiends, to aid us militant ?  
 They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,  
 And their bright squadrons round about us plant,  
 And all for love and nothing for reward,  
 O why should heavenly God to men have such regard \*.”

How consoling and how scriptural was the faith described in these beautiful lines of Spenser, which so many have now aban-

\* Fairy Queen, Book II. Cant. viii.



doned through superstition\* and infidelity. I say how scriptural; for is it not conformable to what we read of St. Michael and the rebel Angels, of an Angel visiting the Apostle in prison—of another troubling the pool of Siloam—of another quenching the flames which were to have devoured three Martyrs—of another opposing the Lion who was to destroy the Prophet—of another consoling Agar—of another conducting the servant of Abraham—of another protecting Jacob on his journey—of another delivering Lot from Sodom, “that the angels are spirits destined to serve those who are the heirs of salvation,—that they tarry round about them that fear God, and bear them in their hands †;” and, to our prayer in the collect of the church for the festival of St. Michael and all Angels, “that as thy holy angels always do thee service in heaven, so by thy appointment they may succour and defend us on earth?” :-

\* “There is a superstition,” says Lord Bacon, “in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received.”

† Heb. i. 14. Ps. xxxiv. 7. xci. 11, 12.

What lesson of Christianity more important than that which teaches us to have a concern for the spiritual welfare of our brethren? And, also, what lesson more faithfully practised in the chivalrous age? Robert, King of France, to save men from the crime of perjury, contrived to remove the reliques from the shrine which was supposed to contain them, and upon which the oaths were to be administered, "C'étoit mal raisonner sans doute," says the historian Velly, "puisque c'est l'intention qui fait le crime : mais le motif nous peint un prince aussi tendre pour ses sujets que zélé pour la gloire de Dieu." From the same desire of saving the souls of men, he gave that memorable instance of clemency which the historian deems to surpass all that is recorded of Augustus and Trajan. He was informed, at Compeigne, that twelve ruffians were resolved to assassinate him. They had been arrested, and their trial was commenced; but in the mean time, the pious King, upon their confession and repentance, gave secret orders that they should receive the Sacrament. He then

admitted them to the honour of dining at his table, when he pronounced a solemn pardon, and then sent them back to inform the Judges, “ qu’il ne pouvoit se résondre à se venger de ceux que son maitre avoit reçus à sa table.” Let it be remembered also, that he was an excellent King, always alive to the interests of his people, and justly celebrated for his moderation and wisdom. Let us take another instance of this christian tenderness for the souls of men. While Sir John Froissart and Sir Espaenge de Lion are riding together, the latter relates, among other histories, the account of a battle, in which two brave squires were slain, “ and to thentent,” he says, “ that this batayle shoulde be had in remembrance, wher as the two squyers fought ther was set a crosse of stone; beholde yonder is the crosse; and with those words,” says Sir John Froissart, “ we came to the crosse, and there we sayd for their souls a Pater-noster and an Ave-maria.” I meddle not with points of theology; but, a concern for the future condition of men’s souls, is a duty belonging to all christians,

to all who profess a belief in their immortality, to all who do not usurp the name of man. Not to be insensible to the nice distinctions of divines, not to be misled by such superstition, if it must bear that name, were but a little good a small compensation for the abandonment of that love which is the soul of religion and humanity. The effects of our scholastic refinements are at all events now clear. There is little danger of such a scene being repeated as that which is here described by Sir John Froissart. The soldiers of France will now pass by the cross with the most *philosophical* indifference as to the salvation of the man whose death it is intended to commemorate; there will be no superstitious prayer for the soul of the slain, not a thought respecting its everlasting welfare, but whether religion gains by this, let them look well who will have to answer hereafter for the lessons which they have taught the world. Let us observe also the office which the laity assumed in cases of emergency, of discharging the rites of religion. Every one remembers the affecting tale in the

Jerusalem Delivered, where the generous Tancred gives baptism to the dying Clorinda, who,

———“ though her life to Christ rebellious were,  
Yet died she his childe and handmaid deare.”

Nor are the facts of history less extraordinary to modern ears. When the assassins rushed into the dungeon where Joinville was confined with the constables of France and Cyprus, the Counts of Bretagne, Flanders and Soissons, these brave gentlemen proceeded instantly to confess each to the other whatever sins he recollected. “ Je me agenouillai,” says Joinville, “ aux pieds de l’un d’eux, lui tendant de cou ; et disant ces mots, en faisant le signe de la croix : ainsi mourut Sainte Agnes. Tout encontre de moi s’agenouilla le connetable de Chypre et se confessa à moi. Je lui donnai telle absolution comme Dieu m’en donnoit le pouvoir. Mais de chose qu’il m’eut dite, quand je fus levé, oncques me m’en recordai de mot.”

Lastly, let me call your attention to the exact and scrupulous delicacy of their alle-

giance to God, for this the ever memorable example of Louis IX. will be sufficient\*. After the captivity of the King, when the treaty was concluded by which he was to be delivered, the Sarassins prescribed an oath, which the King was to use in swearing to fulfil the conditions. The form was as follows: "qu'au cas qu'il ne tint pas les choses promises, il fut réputé parjure, comme le chrétien qui a renié Dieu, son bapteme et sa loi, et qui en dépit de Dieu, crache sur la croix et l'escache à ses pieds." When the King, says Joinville, heard this oath, "il dit qui ja ne le feroit-il." In vain did his friends and enemies unite against this resolution. He was reminded that it would cause not only his own death, but also that of all his friends. "Je vous aime," said he to the Lords and Prelates who remonstrated with him, "Je vous aime comme mes freres ; je m'aime aussi ; MAIS À DIEU NE PLAISE, QUOI QU'IL EN PUISSE ARRIVER, QUE DE TELLES PAROLES SOR-

\* The historical student will recollect a still more striking instance recorded of Louis VIII. upon the authority of Will. de Puislaurent.

TENT JAMAIS DE LA BOUCHE D'UN ROI DE FRANCE." "Pour vous," he added, in addressing the Sarassin Minister, "allez dire à vos maitres qu'ils en peuvent faire à leurs volontés; que j'aime trop mieux mourir bon chrétien, que de vivre aux courroux de Dieu de sa mere et ses saints." The Emirs, distracted with rage and disappointment, rushed into his tent with their naked swords, crying out, "You are our prisoner, and yet you treat us as if we were in irons; there is no medium, either death or the oath as we have drawn it." "Dieu vous a rendus maitres de mon corps," replied the invincible Louis, "mais mon ame est entre ses mains; vous ne pouvez rien sur elle." The King prevailed, and the infidels relinquished their resolution of requiring the oath on those terms. Let us, to conclude the subject, take a summary view of the character of two of our early kings, Edward the Confessor and Henry VI. Their memories are still dear, nay their very magnificence yet exists within the venerable walls of Westminster, Eton, and King's College; and the reader

of these pages may be even a partaker of their bounty. The Confessor was pious, merciful and good : the father of the poor and the protector of the weak, more willing to give than to receive ; and better pleased to pardon than to punish. “ King Henry,” says Grafton, “ which rayned at this time, was a man of a meek spirit and of a simple witte, preferring peace before war, rest before businesse, honestie before profite, and quietness before labour ; and to the intente that men might perceive that there could be none more chaste, more meek, more holye, nor a better creature ; in him raigned shamefacedness, modestie, integritie and pacience to be marveylled at, taking and suffering all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and such worldly torments in good parte, and wyth a pacient manner, as though they had chaunced by his own faulte or negligent oversight.—He gaped not for honour, nor thirsted for riches, but studied onlye for the health of his soule, the saving wherof he esteemed to be the greatest wisdom, and the losse therof the extremest folie that could be.”



Will it offend the manly age and dignity of our young men of family if I present them with the advice of the Dame Terrail to her son, the Chevalier Bayard\*? It may surprise, but it is impossible that it will not edify them; base must be the mind that will despise such admonition. The young page was going to enter the service of the Duke of Savoy, and before his departure his mother gave him her blessing and her charge. "I recommend to your attention three things, and if you fulfil them be assured that you will live with honour in this world, and that God will bless you. The first is, that you fear God, serve him and love him, without ever offending him, if that be possible. It is he who has created us, in whom we live, and by whom we are preserved. It is by him that we shall be saved. Without him and without his grace we should never

\* I have seen a delightful little book, by M. de Berville, published in Paris, containing the life of this incomparable man, the chevalier "sans peur et sans reproche." It should be read by every young man.

be able to perform the smallest good action. Be particular to pray to him every day, both morning and evening, and he will assist you. The second is, that you be gentle and courteous towards the nobility, that you evince neither '*hauteur*' nor pride towards any person, that you be ready always to oblige every person; that you avoid deceit, falsehood, and envy, these are vices unworthy of a Christian; that you be sober, faithful to your word, and above all, *charitable to the poor*, and God will return to you again whatever you shall give for the love of him. Particularly console the widows and orphans as much as will be in your power. Finally avoid flatterers, and take care that you never become one of them. It is a character equally odious and pernicious. The third thing which I recommend to you is again, charity. That will never bring you to poverty, and believe me whatever alms you give *for the love of God* will be profitable to both body and soul. Behold, this is all that I have to say to you. Neither your father nor I have a long time to live. God grant that before

we die we may hear news of you which may bring honour upon ourselves and upon you. I commend you to the Divine Goodness \*."

\* Compare this simple lesson with the celebrated advice of Madame de Lambert to her son, and how cold and formal will appear the lecture of the accomplished Marchioness, how little worthy of a Christian mother, how strained and unnatural, how incapable of either convincing the understanding or of affecting the heart! Well as Madame de Stael observed, in allusion to the effect of such lessons, "La religion reste dans les idées, comme le roi restoit, dans la constitution que l'assemblée constituante avoit décrétée. C'étoit une république, plus un roi." Let us hope that the ladies of England may continue to resemble their ancestors in discharging this important department of their duty, and that the reproof of the Spartan may be never applicable to them, "Scire, quæ recta essent, sed facere nolle." If it were only to please the imagination, the character of the devout lady, is essential to complete the personages of the drama of the world. If the knights in the field were brave and faithful, the ladies in the castle gave alms to the poor, and prayed to God in their chapel. To go back still further, it was Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, whose influence upon Adolphus secured his favour to the Romans. It was Prisca and Valeria, empress and daughter of Diocletian, who protected the Christians of that æra. It was Clotilda who converted Clovis, the king of France, to the Christian

Attend now to the modest reply of Bayard, "Madam, I thank you with all

faith; it was the princess of Olga who introduced Christianity into Russia. The history of the middle ages, romances, family portraits, records of public foundations, every thing that is venerable in antiquity, are associated with the piety of our female ancestors. Their devotion and charity furnish frequently the only means of tracing our genealogy. The names of persons who are not distinguished for these qualities can hardly be expected to endure like those of Elizabeth de Clare, Mary Countess of Pembroke, Margaret Countess of Richmond, and many others which are immortalized in the records of our universities. Who can read Froissart and not feel an interest in the character of those princesses and ladies of quality who retired to spend their remaining years in devotion and works of charity? Such as Madame Jehanne, who, he relates, "s'en vint demourer à Fontenelles sur l'escout et usa sa vie la, comme bonne et devote en ladite abbaye: et y fit moult de biens," or Isabella sister of Louis IX., abbess of Lonchamp, whose life was written by a sister of the convent, and the simple account of whose death, at midnight, and the feelings which it excited in the mind of the nun who records it, may be compared with the most sublime passage of antiquity. The annals of the house of Austria will supply repeated examples of this kind. That of Eleonora, who commanded that there should be no other inscription upon her tomb than this,

Eleonora, pauvre pécheresse.

my heart for these good lessons which you have given to me, and I hope by the grace of Him to whom you commend me, dearly to preserve them in memory, and to give you satisfaction by my faithful practice." The life of this generous and noble hero is a practical explanation of these instructions. Hereafter we shall observe instan-

That even of the great Maria Theresa, who was in the habit of attending service daily in the church of the Capuchins, and of visiting the vault which contains the coffins of her family. At the present day the order of the star cross subsists, for married ladies of noble rank, founded by Eleonora, and always patronized by the reigning empress. The device is a small cross, with the motto, "Salus et gloria," there is also a society in Vienna, to which none but ladies of the highest nobility belong, for the purpose of superintending and promoting the public charities. In our united kingdom there is not one useful religious or charitable institution which does not derive support from the influence and munificence, and even personal exertion of the female nobility. Let us hope then that the successors of Mr. Gibbon may repeat his remark that "Christianity must acknowledge important obligations to female devotion." The viscount De Ségur in his celebrated composition, "Les femmes," has treated this subject, in allusion to the rise of Christianity, with a charm of style and a sweetness of sentiment which are quite irresistible.

ces of his virtue, let us for the present confine our enquiry to the religious character of the order to which he belonged. S<sup>te</sup> Palaye informs us, upon the authority of the doctrinal MSS. of S. Germain, that the knights of old never allowed themselves to be absent from the morning service of the Church as soon as they were risen \*; and we meet with continued instances of this practice both among individuals, and in the public conduct of the camp, in Froissart, Joinville's History of St. Louis, the Ancient Chronicles, the Lives of Bayard, Du Guesclin, Francis I. and even Henry IV. Every one knows the famous reply of this latter monarch when he and his army fell upon their knees before the battle of *Coutres*, "Ou ne peut trop s'humilier devant Dieu, ni trop braver les hommes." What a testimony to the piety of Charlemagne is advanced by Eginhart. "Religionem christianam qua ab infantia fuerat imbutus sanctissime et cum summa

\* Thus the motto of the Marquesses of Buckingham is "Templa quam dilecta!" and the family of Ramsay has "Ora et labora."

pietate ac veneratione coluit.—Ecclesiam mane et vesperi, nocturnis item horis et sacrificii tempore, quando eum valetudo permiserat, impigre frequentabat.”

The details in Froissart are so curious in themselves that it may be worth while to select a few. Thus, upon the morning of the day on which the French and English armies were to fight at Vironfosse “quand vint le vendredy au matin, les deux osts s’ appareillerent et ouyrent la messe chacun seigneur, entre ses gens et en son logis et se communierent et confesserent plusieurs.” And on the morning of the battle of Caen, he relates, “En ce jour se leverent les Anglois moult matin : et s’ appareillerent pour aller devant Caen. Puis ouit le Roy messe devant soleil levant : et apres monta à cheval,” &c. Then at Crecy, on the Friday evening before the battle, the king gave a supper to his earls and barons, “et fit bonne chere : et quand il leur eut donne congé d’ aller reposer, et il fut demouré delez les chevaliers de sa chambre, il entra en son oratoire : et fut la à geneux et en oraïsons, devant son autel en prient Dieu

qu'il le laissast lendemain (s'ils se combattoient) issir de la besongne à honneur. Environ minuit s'en alla concher. Le lendemain se leva assez matin et ouit messe, et le prince de Galles son fils : et se communierent : et la plus grande partie de ses gens se confesserent et meirent en bon estat." The same historian, in his celebrated description of the Earl of Foix, relates that " he sayd many orisons every daye : a nocturne of the psalter, matyns of our Lady, and the Holy Ghost, and of the crosse, and dirige every day." If it be objected to this example, that the same historian has recorded the cruel deeds of this earl, such as the punishment of his son in prison, and the execution of so many noble youths upon mere suspicion, and that therefore his religion and his orisons are nothing, I will rather advise my reader to take the good and to leave the evil, to imitate the simplicity and the charity of Froissart, when he says, " thus the erle was buryed in the freers before the hyghe aulter : so there is no more mencion made of hym ; God have mercy upon his



soule." Or to exclaim with king Henry, after witnessing the death of Cardinal Beaufort, "O God, forgive him! Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all."

In every castle the morning service was read daily. Thus we are told of Sir Galahad, Sir Launcelot's son: "And at the laste hit happened hym to depart from a place or a castle, the whiche was named Abblasoure, and he hadde herd no masse, the whiche he was wonte ever to here or ever he departed oute of ony castle or place, and kepte that for a customme." Upon this subject I will exclaim with Sir Thomas Maleore, "Lo ye al englissh men, —Loo thus was the olde custome and usage of this londe." Froissart relates how the Earl of Pembroke when besieged in the house of the Templars, near Poitiers, dispatched a squire upon his best horse to Sir John Chandos. The squire "departed at the hour of mydnight, and al the night he rode out of his way, and when it was mornyng and fayre day, than he knew his way, and so rode towards Poitiers, and by that tyme his horse was wary: howbeit he

came thyder by nyne of the clocke, and ther alyghted before Sir Johan Chandos lodgyng, and entred and founde him at masse, and so came and kneeled down before him, and dyde his message as he was commanded." This was the famous Sir John Chandos, whom du Guesclin called "the moost renowned knight of the worlde;" and Froissart, "a right hardy and courageous knight," who was slain in battle and lamented by his friends and his foes. Sir John Froissart relates, that travelled for some days with Sir Esprenge de Lion, "a valyant and an experte man of armes, about the age of L yeres:—and this knyght every day after he had sayd his prayers, moost parte all the day after he toke his pastyme with me, in demaunding of tidynges." These instances will serve to shew what was the universal practice of the age. There were indeed, then, as there are now, men who objected to it as useless and superstitious. Thus they accused Saint Louis of devoting too much time to his prayers. "Les hommes sont étranges," he replied with sweetness, "on

me fait un crime de mon assiduité à la prière : ou ne disoit mot si j'employs les heures que je lui donne à jouer aux jeux de hasard, à courir la bete fauve ou à chasser aux oiseaux."

But let us return to the Chevalier Bayard. "He loved and feared God," says the President d'Expilly, in the conclusion of his *éloge*. "He had always recourse to him in difficulty, praying regularly, both morning and evening, for which purpose he would be always alone." I pity the understanding and the heart of that man who disdains to believe with Newton, and to practise with Bayard\*.

\* The mottos of several of the noble families proclaim their early piety. Thus the house of Percy bears for its motto—*Esperance en Dieu*.

Of Berkceley—*Dieu avec nous*.

Of Windsor—*Je me fis en Dieu*.

Of Edgcumb—*Au plaisir fort de Dieu*.

Of Digby—*Deo non fortuna*.

Of Pierrepont—*Pie repone te*.

Of Lascelles—*In solo Deo salus*.

Of Petre—*Sans Dieu rien*.

Of Arundel—*Deo Date*.

Of Dormer—*Cio che Dio vuole io voglio*.

Of Roper—*Spes mea in Deo*.

Nor let it be supposed that their piety consisted in a superstitious observance of external ceremonies. On the contrary, it was founded upon the spiritual and grand doctrine of Christianity—the cross of Christ. Would to God that we Protestants might receive and hold with more honour and fidelity this glorious truth, which we should at least carry in our hearts, albeit our condition must be still dubious if we continue ashamed to bear its image. The gentlemen of old were not deeply learned in the tomes of theological controversy, still less in the systems of moral philosophy; they had not learned to speculate upon the designs of Providence, they were not infected with a secret leaven of infidelity, they knew little of the ethics of Cicero, of the beauty of virtue, of its suit-

Of Lyon Bowes—*In te Domini speravi.*

Of Boyle—*Dominus providebit.*

Of Arbuthnot—*Laus Deo.*

Of Fraser—*In God is all.*

Of Caulfield—*Deo duce, ferro comitante.*

Of King—*Spes tutissima cælis.*

Of Wingfield—*Fidelité est de Dieu.*

Of Montmorency—*Dieu ayde.*

ableness to our nature, they had not learned to limit and to annihilate with their limitations, the doctrine of God their Saviour; but they bore his cross upon their breasts, and they trusted to it in death\*. Who does not feel the beauty of that description in the Fairy Queen?

“A gentle knight was prieking on the plain  
 Yolad in mighty arms and silver shield,  
 And on his breast a bloody cross he bore,  
 The dear remembrance of his dying Lord,  
 For whose sweet sake that glorious badge he wore,  
 And dead (as living) ever him adored:  
 Upon his shield the likè was also scored,  
 For sovaine hope which in his help he had.”

Let it not be said that their faith was superstition: it was not the creed of the

\* The mottos which distinguish several of our noble families, proclaim the simplicity of their faith.

Thus of Villiers, Earls of Jersey—*Fidei coticula crux.*

Of Stuart, Earls of Moray—*Salus per christum redemptorem.*

Of Beresford—*Nil nisi cruce.*

Of Netterville—*Cruce dum spiro fido.*

Of Bingham, Barons of Clanmorris—*Spes mea Christus.*

human philosopher, but it was the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. What were the words of St. Paul? "We preach," not the doctrine of this or that party, not the distinctions of scholastic subtilty, but "Christ crucified." And again, in what did he glory? "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." What was the lesson of our Saviour himself? "That as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so should the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life." This doctrine was to them neither "a stumbling block nor foolishness." It was the wisdom of God, and the power of God, and if they venerated with holy reverence the precious emblem of their salvation, if they did love and honour the very image of the cross, and if they did sign themselves with its mark, as a testimony of their belief, as an encouragement to confidence, as a tribute to him whom it represented, Oh, it will ill become those to censure them who have laid aside both the image and the substance,

both the sign and the truth which it was to designate\*.

Much ridicule has been expended upon what is termed the fanatical devotion of the middle ages : but it is indeed a subject which displays the inconsistency of human conduct? I confess it appears to me far otherwise. The Egyptians, after discoursing on the immortality of the soul, “ put themselves to death for joy.” Was it then wonderful that the hope of a happy resurrection should inspire a reverence for the very spot where that hope was confirmed to mankind? We have our honourable East India Company, and the Dutch had their honourable companies to monopolize the riches and luxury of the East, and is it for the lovers of chivalry, for the hoary Palmer and the Red-cross knight who departed from the land that they loved at the call of piety and honour, is it for them to

\* I once saw an inscription under a crucifix, which must have disappointed the bigot who was prepared to ridicule—

“ Effigiem Christi qui transis pronas adora

“ Sed non effigiem sed quem designat adora.”

blush and to be troubled at the scorn of a world which is destitute of both? A more perfect knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity has indeed convinced men that it is not by a journey to Jerusalem that they can evince their trust in the cross and their love for the Saviour of the world; but surely there are men acquainted with this truth, who might be addressed by a Crusader in the words of Boileau to Racine. "Je conviens que j'ai tort; mais j'aime mieux l'avoir que d'avoir si orgueilleusement raison que vous l'avez."

Michaud, in his History of the Crusades, describing the deplorable condition of the Christian army, in passing the deserts of Sauria, observes, "les stériles vallées de la Pisidie retentirent pendant plusieurs jours de leurs prières, de leurs plaintes, *et peut être aussi de leurs blasphèmes* \*." Ridiculous as this last sentence may appear, it is not in fact more extravagant than the ungenerous and illiberal insinuations which are continually occurring in the pages of

\* Tom. I. lib. ii. p. 224.



Gibbon, Hume, and even Robertson, wherever the character of Christians falls under their consideration, and copied from them in the thousand popular writings of the day, which are repeating ancient misrepresentation and calumny. The expression of the English historian, that the Crusades furnish the most lasting monument of human folly, is but in character, coming from the pen of a writer to whom Christianity itself was a monument of human folly; but it is impossible not to be surprised at the language of other writers upon the subject, who cannot plead consistency in excuse. The great French historian Vélly, thus remarks; “ On se croisa donc à l’envie; les uns par libertinage, les autres par un faux zèle de religion, ceux-ci pour se faire un nom, ceux-la pour changer de place, quelques-uns pour se soustraire aux importunités de leurs créanciers, quelques-autres pour aller chercher dans un pays étranger une fortune plus favorable que celle dont ils jouissoient dans leur patrie.” Tom ii. p. 441. If a crusade were undertaken in the present age, what worse motives could

be ascribed to the men that would engage in it than false zeal, licentiousness, and ambition? And surely in the eleventh century there were other motives that might have actuated the heroes of Europe. Does our philosophy teach us only to regard the vices of these men, and to take no account of their virtues; to overlook those, who, like the intrepid Brançon, thought themselves too happy “*de mourir pour Jesus Christ* \*;” or those who went repeating the verse of the Psalmist, “*adorabimus in loco* †,” and who devoted themselves to death, thinking only upon the mercy of God and the captivity of Jerusalem? The Crusades are a monument of human folly, and the whole religion of our ancestors was mistaken. Be it so:—but if mankind had always been as *wise* and discerning as our modern philosophists, they would not have left to us the paintings of Raphael, or the poetry of Tasso; we should possess moral and metaphysical essays, not the Loss of Paradise and the Minstrel’s Lay; our Creed

\* Joinville, p. 55.

† Psalm cxxxii. 7.

would be the maxims of selfishness, not the religion of chivalry and honour.

It is much to be lamented that the acquaintance of the English reader with the characters and events of the middle ages, should, for the most part, be derived from the writings of men, who were either infidels; or who wrote, on every subject connected with religion, with the feelings and opinions of Scotch Presbyterian preachers of the last century, not the most enlightened estimators of Christianity or human nature. Nor is it foreign from the original design of the writer of these pages, if he thus endeavours to dissuade his reader from too hastily adopting a general opinion which in fact throws contempt upon religion, and which dishonours human nature; an opinion which is unfair, illiberal, and ungenerous, for it is adopted, partly without having made a due estimate upon the testimony of prejudiced writers, and partly upon detected calumny; for it is founded upon the opinion of our own peculiar age, country, and associates; for it is wantonly insulting to the memory of men, from whom

we have inherited every thing that gives Europe a pre-eminence over the rest of the earth, manners, learning, and Christianity.

When Louis IX. was on his death-bed he commanded his children to be summoned, and with his own hand he wrote out the following instructions, which he committed to the prince who was to succeed him.

“ Beau fils, la premiere chose que je t’enseigne et commande à garder, si est, que de tout ton cueur et sur toute rien, tu aymes Dieu, car sans ce nul homme ne peult estre sauvé. Et te garde bien de faire chose qui lui desplaise : c’est a savoir peché. Car tu deverois plutort desirer à souffrir toutes manieres de tourmens que de pêcher mortellement.”—“ If God shall visit you with adversity, receive it humbly, and be grateful, and consider that you have well deserved it, and that the whole will tend to your good. If he shall give you prosperity, be thankful with humility, and take care that you be not corrupted by pride, for we should not employ the gifts of God in service against him. Let your confessor be a wise and good man, who

can instruct you in religion, and take care that your confessors, your relations, and acquaintances, may be able boldly to reprove your fault, whatever it may be. Attend the service of God and of our holy mother church devoutly, and with the service of heart and lips, &c. Have a gentle and pitiful heart for the poor; comfort and assist them as much as you can. Maintain the good customs of your kingdom, and correct the bad. Be on your guard against covetousness, and against great taxing and subsidies, unless the defence of your kingdom shall require them. If your heart be sad or in trouble, lay it open to your confessor, or to some good person, who is discreet, and so you will be enabled to endure your misery. Be sure that you employ in your company good and loyal men, who are not covetous, whether ecclesiastics or others. Fly from evil company, and oblige yourself to hear the words of God, and retain them in your heart. Continually desire prayer, instruction and pardon. Love your honour. Take heed that no man may be so hardy as to utter in your presence

any word which might tend to excite others to sin, that none should slander the absent, or abuse those who are present. Never permit any thing to be uttered disrespectful towards God, the holy virgin, or the saints. Thank God often for his grace, and for your prosperity. Exercise justice to all, to the poor as well as to the rich. Let your servants be loyal, liberal, and decisive in speech, that they may be feared and loved as their Master. If any dispute shall arise, be exact in searching for the truth, whether it be for or against you. Love and honour churchmen and all ecclesiastics, and take care that no person shall deprive them of their revenues, gifts, and alms, which your ancestors have given to them. I have been told that King Philip, my grandfather, replied to a minister who said to him that the churchmen caused him to lose many rights and liberties, and that it was a matter of wonder how he permitted it, that he believed it to be so, but that God had bestowed upon him so much grace and goodness, that he had rather lose his wealth than have any dispute or contest

with ministers of the holy church. Honour and reverence your father and mother, and take care not to grieve them by disobedience to their commands. Bestow the benefices which belong to you upon good persons, and of pure manners. Take heed how you go to war with a Christian man without deep reflection, and unless the case is of necessity; and on these occasions take care that neither the clergy nor those who have not injured you may suffer. Take care also that no sin shall prevail in your kingdom, nor any blasphemy or heresy. And, finally, be mindful of me and of my poor soul, &c. And now I bestow all the blessings that a father can give his child, praying to the whole Trinity of Paradise, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that he may keep and defend you from all evil, and especially from dying in mortal sin. So that after this life ended, we may meet again before God, to praise him, and return thanks for ever in his kingdom of Paradise. Amen."

He then received the sacrament, repeating the Psalms with a clear memory and

with profound devotion; he then caused himself to be placed upon a bed covered with ashes, and looking up to heaven with his hands placed upon his breast, he yielded up his spirit to his Creator. “Piteuse chouse est,” cries Joinville, “et digne de pleurer, le trespassement de ce saint Prince, qui si saintement à vesqu, et bien gardé son Royaume et qui tant de beaux faitz envers Dieu a faitz.” Vély has pronounced the éloge of Saint Louis in few words.—“Il eut tout ensemble les sentimens d’un vrai gentilhomme, et la pieté du plus humble des Chrétiens.” The testimony of an infidel to the virtues of this great Prince is still more striking. “Louis IX. paraissait un prince destiné à réformer l’Europe, si elle avoit pu l’être, à rendre la France triomphante et policée, et à être en tout le modèle des hommes. *Sa pieté qui était celle d’un Anachorite, ne lui ota aucune vertu de roi.* Une sage économie ne déroba rien à sa libéralité. Il sut accorder une politique profonde avec une justice exacte, et peut-être est-il le seul souverain qui mérite cette louange. Prudent et ferme dans le conseil,



intrepide dans les combats, sans être emporté, compatissant comme s'il n'avoit jamais été que malheureux, il n'est pas donné à l'homme de pousser plus loin la vertu.— Attaqué de la peste devant Tunis, il se fit étendre sur la cendre et expire, à l'âge de cinquante cinq ans, avec la piété d'un religieux et le courage d'un grand homme." How deplorable to reflect, that we can neither love nor reverence the master who has bequeathed this portrait to posterity!

I never read without a tear the simple account which has been delivered down to us of the death, the prayer, and the last words of the incomparable Bayard, a name which the hero will never pronounce without reverence and love. When he received the fatal wound his first cry was "Jesus! ah, mon Dieu, je suis mort!" then he kissed the handle of his sword, for want of a cross; he changed colour, and his men seeing him stagger ran, and were about to carry him out of the press: his friend D'Alègre endeavoured to persuade him, but he would not permit it. "It is all over with me," he said; "I am a dead man; I should be

sorry in my last moments, and for the first time in my life, to turn my back to the enemy." He had still the strength to order a charge, when he saw that the Spaniards were beginning to advance. Then he caused himself to be placed by some Swiss at the foot of a tree, so that "I may have my face to the enemy." These were his words. His maitre-d'hotel, who was a gentleman of Dauphiny, named Jacques Jeffre de Milieu, burst into tears by his side, as did also the other attendants, whom Bayard endeavoured to console. "It is the will of God," said he, "to draw me to himself; he has preserved me long enough in this world, and he has bestowed upon me more mercy and grace than I have ever deserved." Then, in the absence of a priest, he made his confession to his gentleman, whom he commanded to take care that he was not moved, since the least motion occasioned insupportable pain. The Seigneur D'Alègre, Mayor of Paris, asked what were his last wishes, and he received them, and immediately John Diesbac, a Swiss Captain, proposed to remove him for fear that

he should fall into the hands of the enemy ; but he replied to him, as he did to all the officers who stood around. " Leave me to think of my conscience for the few moments I have to live. I beseech you to retire, lest you should be made prisoners, and that would be an addition to my pain. It is all over with me ; you can be of no assistance to me in any thing. All that I beg of you to do for me, Seigneur D'Alègre, is to assure the King that I die his servant, and only regretting that I cannot serve him any more.

Present my respects to my Lords the Princes of France, and to all the gentlemen and captains. Farewell, my good friends, I recommend to you my poor soul." Upon this they took their last leave of him and retired. At the same moment the Marquis de Pescara came up to him, and with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, would to God, Seigneur Bayard, that I had shed my blood, as much as I could lose without dying, to have you now my prisoner in good health ; you should soon know how much I have always esteemed your person, your cou-

rage, and all the virtues which you possess, and for which I have never known your equal. He then caused his own tent to be carried and spread round him, and he assisted him upon the bed. He placed a guard to take care that no one should plunder or disturb him, and he himself went for a Priest, to whom Bayard confessed, in full possession of his faculties, and with an edifying piety. The Spanish army from the highest to the lowest hastened to admire the expiring hero. The Constable de Bourbon came with the others, and said, "Ah, Capitaine Bayard, que je suis marri et déplaisant de vous voir en cet état ! je vous ai toujours aimé et honoré pour la grande prouesse et sagesse qui est en vous ; ah ! que j'ai grande pitié de vous !" Bayard summoned up his strength, and with a firm voice, made him that answer for ever memorable. "Monseigneur, je vous remercie ; il n'y a point de pitié en moi, qui meurs en homme de bien, servant mon roi ; il faut avoir pitié de vous, qui portez les armes contre votre prince, votre patrie et votre ser-

ment\*.” The Constable remained a short time with him, and gave him his reasons for having left the kingdom; but Bayard exhorted him to seek the king’s pardon and favour, for that otherwise he would remain all his life without wealth or honour. Bayard was left alone, and now he thought only of death. He devoutly recited the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*; after which he prayed in the following words with a loud voice †—“ O my God, who hast promised an asylum in thy pity for the greatest sinners who return to thee sincerely and with all their heart: in thee do I place my trust, and in thy promises all my hope. Thou art my God, my Creator, my Redeemer. I confess that against Thee I have mortally offended, and that a thousand years

\* This passage will remind us of the account which Lord Clarendon gives of the last words of the Earl of Lindsey, who was slain in the battle of Edge-Hill. The instances are precisely parallel, only that the treason of the Earl of Essex was less excusable than that of the Constable de Bourbon. Guilt admits of degree, but the man of honour must be every where the same.

† His Confessor was present.

of fasting upon bread and water in the desert, could never efface my sins ; but my God, thou knowest that I had resolved to repent if thou hadst prolonged my life ; I know all my weakness, and that by myself I should never have been able to merit the entrance into Paradise, and that no creature can obtain it only through thy infinite mercy. O my God ! my father ! forget my sins, listen only to thy clemency—Let thy justice be appeased by the merits of the blood of Jesus Christ”—death cut short the sentence. “ His first cry,” says the amiable M. de Berville, who has written his life, “ his first cry, when he felt himself mortally wounded, was the name of Jesus,” and it was pronouncing this adorable name that the hero yielded up his soul to its Creator, the 30th of April, 1524, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

You have been told of those who died “ the death of a philosopher ;” this which you have witnessed is the death of the Christian. In the History of Galien Restauré, there is a very affecting account of the death of that hero’s father, the noble

Count Olivier, the brother of Roland. He lived to discover his son, and to commend him to the care of his uncle. "Peu de tems après Olivier jetta un grand soupir, disant. Dieu tout puissant faites-moi misericorde et ayez pitiez de ma pauvre ame. Apres que le comte Olivier ent achevé son Oraison il leva les yeux au ciel et mit ses bras en Croix, et rendit l'esprit à notre seigneur : Roland qui étoit la voyant mourir son cher ami, commença à pleurer amerement celui qui avoit été le fleau des infidelles, et le zélé protecteur de la religion Catholique. Galien étoit encore dans une plus grande tristesse, il embrassoit son pere et fondoit en larmes, disant ainsi : O cruelle mort, pourquoi m'as-tu si tot enlevé mon pere ? qui étoit le confert des Chrétiens et l'aumônier des pauvres." If we return from romance to réal history, no instance more memorable can present itself, than the last actions of Charlemagne. The historian Vélly, relates the numerous symptoms and presages of his death, which were observed at the time. "Il la vit approcher," he then adds, "avec cette meme intrépidité avec

laquelle il l'avoit affrontée dans les combats. Il travailloit sur l'écriture sainte, et en corrigeoit une exemplaire qu'on lui avoit donné, lorsque la fièvre le surprit. Se sentant près de mourir, il fit le signe de la croix sur son front et sur son cœur, posa les mains sur son estomac, ferma les yeux et expira en prononçant distinctement ces paroles du Psalmiste : *In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum : redemisti me Domine Deus veritatis.* Ainsi mourut le héros de la France et de l'univers, le modèle des grands rois, l'ornement et la gloire de l'humanité. — Aussi célèbre dans les fastes de la religion par sa piété qu'illustre dans les annales du monde par ses exploits, l'église l'a mis au nombre des saints et toutes les nations du concert lui ont donné le nom de grand."

Turn we now to witness the last moments of the great Orlando, wounded to death at Ronceval, as related by Archbishop Turpin. The following was his prayer. "O Lord Jesus—to thee do I commit my soul in this trying hour. Thou who didst suffer on the cross for those who deserved not thy



favour, deliver my soul I beseech thee from eternal death! I confess myself a most grievous sinner, but thou mercifully dost forgive our sins; thou pitiest every one, and hateth nothing which thou hast made, covering the sins of the penitent in whatsoever day they turn unto thee with true contrition. O, thou who didst spare thy enemies, and the woman taken in adultery; who didst pardon Mary Magdalen\*, and look with compassion on the weeping Peter; who didst likewise open the gate of Paradise to the thief that confessed thee upon the cross; have mercy upon me, and receive my soul into thy everlasting rest." Then stretching his hands to heaven, he prayed for the souls of them who perished in the battle, and immediately after this prayer, his soul winged its flight from his body, and was borne by angels into Paradise.

In witnessing scenes of this melancholy grandeur, the admiration and astonishment

\* Qui Mariam absolvisti,  
 Qui Latronem exandisti,  
 Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

of the historical student will be continually excited. “ C’est un exemple instructif pour tous les états, que la mort d’un grand qui sait allier l’humilité chrétienne à la noblesse des sentimens.” This is the observation of the French historian Anquetil, when he prepares to relate the tragical death of the gallant Montmorenci, who was abandoned by the Duke of Orleans to the resentment of his brother Louis XIII. or rather perhaps of Richelieu. Permission it seems had been granted to him to have his hands at liberty on going to execution, but he refused to avail himself of this indulgence. “ Un grand pécheur comme moi,” said he, “ ne peut mourir avec assez d’ignominie.” Of his own accord he took off his superb dress, in which he was at liberty to have appeared. “ Oserais-je bien,” he said, “ étant criminel comme je suis, aller à la mort avec vanité, pendant que mon sauveur innocent meurt tout nu sur la croix.” Every action of his last moments was marked with the seal of Christianity ; he was so full of confidence that he seemed rather to desire than to fear

death; there did not escape from him either complaint or murmur: he stepped with firmness upon the scaffold, placed his head upon the block, cried to the executioner "strike boldly," and he received the blow in recommending his soul to God\*.

We expect to meet with such principles in the martyrs of the Church. We are then the less astonished at such instances of the power of God in the doctrine of the Cross; we are prepared for the conduct of the Archbishop of Arles, who generously stepped forward to his assassins to save his clergy, who were pressing round him, and to lay down his own life with these few words—"Je suis celui qui vous cher-

\* The Duke was beheaded at Toulouse, where an epitaph was written, of which the following lines were the conclusion:

"Toi qui lis et qui ne sais pas  
De quelle façon le trépas  
Enleva cette ame guerrière,  
Ces deux vers t'en feront savant:  
La parque le prit per derriere  
N'osant l'attaquer par devant."

chez\*;" but it overwhelms the mind with surprize when this mysterious power is exercised upon the proud heart of conquerors and statesmen. Above all it is in the death of kings that the observation of Anquetil is most strikingly displayed. Charles I. of England, Louis XVI. of France, their death was clothed with all the pomp of royalty. It was the monarch who died while the saint ascended into heaven.

All these great sufferers acknowledged the power to which they were indebted for this support. The words of Louis XVI. when he attended mass for the last time in the tower of the temple, are very striking. "Que je suis heureux, d'avoir conservé mes principes de religion ! où en serais-je, en ce moment, si Dieu ne m'avoit pas fait cette grace ?" In every sense of the word, their death was the death of kings ; they were monarchs of France and England, but they were still greater, they were the lords of themselves, of fortune, and of the

\* The account is given in a letter to Mr. Gibbon. Miscel. Works, vol. ii. 8vo. edit.

world. They might have addressed their murderers in the immortal language of the Greeks—*ὡς' αποκτειναι μενδυνανται, —Βλαψαι δε ε̄ δυνανται, και γάρ η̄ τυχη δυναται νοσω περιβαλειν, ἀφελεσθαι χρηματα, διαβαλλειν προς δημον η̄ τυραννον*\* *κακον δε και δειλον, και*

\* It will not be necessary to consult Thucydides, or Livy, or the annals of the French Revolution, to discover how perfectly these terms are synonymous. The lesson will be found nearer home in Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. If tyrants have put men to death contrary to law and justice, the English parliament did the same. If tyrants have imposed bands upon the consciences of their subjects, the parliament ordered "that no man should presume to bow at the name of Jesus," according to the command of Scripture and the canon and custom of the Church. If tyrants have had recourse to opening private letters, the parliament pursued the same policy. If tyrants have employed spies, the parliament had spies in every room of the royal palace, and in every private house. "Spies," says Lord Clarendon, "were set upon, and inquiries made, upon all private, light, casual discourses which fell from those who were not gracious to them:" witness the case of Mr. Trelawney, who was accused by these means, and left to die in prison for want of common necessaries. If tyrants have silenced even the ministers of religion, the parliament did the same. If tyrants have put men to death for their religion, the parliament were cou-

ταπεινοφρονα, και ἀγεννη και Θρονερον ἔδυναται  
ποιησαι τον ἀγαθον και ανδρωδη, και μεγαλοψυχον.

tinually searching into all the prisons, and urging the *speedy execution* of the priests, who were confined by order of their inhuman and execrable law. If tyrants are tormented with fear and jealousy, the parliament expected invasion when there was no nation of Europe in a state to attack England; they feared the ruin of trade when the country had never been in so flourishing a condition; and they accused Lord Digby of levying war, because he went to Kingston-upon Thames in a coach and six. If necessity be the plea of tyrants, it was urged by the parliament to justify their arbitrary decrees. If tyrants have recourse to falsehood, the parliament invented and published a list of names to prove that the King had given objectionable passes. If tyrants refuse to listen to the people, the House of Commons rejected with contempt the petition of certain citizens of London, because "it was prepared by a multitude." If tyrants fawn upon their creatures, so the parliament received Griffith "as their bravo," Mr. Hampden taking him in his arms, and saying, "his soul rejoiced to see that God had put it into his heart to take the right way." If tyrants have had the art of drawing over men of rank to co-operate in the destruction of every other power but their own, the parliament was supported by the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Warwick, Holland, and Sir John Hotham. If tyrants reign by terror, so did the parliament. If tyrants hate, dread, and despise the generous spirit of chivalry, so did the parliament. To be a gen-

“The just man,” says the great Massillon, “is above the world, and superior to all events, he commences in the present life to reign with Jesus Christ. All creatures are subject to him, and he is subject unto God alone \*.”

Of this more than regal dignity, the most illustrious example that the world has ever

tleman was to be an enemy to their government. O glorious testimony to the faith and honour of our ancestors! But it is useless to multiply instances. If tyrants are bloodthirsty and vindictive, unjust, and arbitrary, base and treacherous, jealous and cowardly, false and full of hypocrisy, artful and discerning, if their measures are calculated to deceive their stupid victims, and to conquer even the spirit of the brave, the English parliament resembled them in every act and principle, and in the final issue. The parliament did more than this,—it held up to the lasting detestation of the generous and the good, the still more terrific image of the tyrant people, the result of every popular government, the concentrated villany of the multitude, that monster which had been the scourge of Greece and the slavery of Rome, and which now appeared in the latter times to proclaim the unalterable law and nature of things, and to inflict that punishment upon a proud and avaricious people which the Almighty in his wisdom had thought fit to decree.

\* Homilie sur Lazare.

beheld, excepting in the case which admits of no comparison, that of our blessed Saviour, was presented by Louis IX. in prison. This meek and holy saint was more than conqueror over his enemies, who declared "que c'étoit le plus fier chrétien qu'ils eussent jamais connu." In vain did they threaten him with the most dreadful torture, that which they called putting him "*en bernicles*," by means of which invention, every bone of the body was gradually broken; the King replied with modesty, "Je suis prisonier du Sultan, il peut faire de moi à son vouloir." What an astonishing scene of horror and grandeur was that when the Sarassin rebel rushed into his prison after murdering the Sultan, with his hands dropping blood, and crying out with a ferocious voice, "What will you give me for having made away with an enemy who would have put you to death if he had lived?" Louis, more struck with horror at the crime, than with fear for his own safety, remained motionless, and disdained to answer. Then the ruffian drawing his sword, presented him the point, saying with



an accent of fury, "Choose either to die by this hand, or else to give me this very moment the order of knighthood." "Fais-toi chrétien," replied the intrepid monarch, "et je te ferai chevalier." The musulman rushed out of the prison.

I must desire you to observe the deep humility of mind which was evinced upon every subject connected with their relation to God. The following will serve as an instance; it is an extract from the will of Sir Lewes Clifford, who was convicted by the Archbishop of Canterbury of some real or imaginary errors. "In nomine Patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen. The sevententhe day of September, the yere of our Lord Jesu Christ, a thousand foure hundred and foure, I Lowys Clifforth, fals and traytor to my Lord God, and to all the blessed company of hevене, and unworthie to be cleypd a christen man, make and ordeyne my testament and my last will in this manere. At the begynning, I most unworthie and goddis traytor recommaunde my wrechid and sinfule soule hooly to the grace and to the grete mercy of the blessed

trynytie, &c. &c.” From the bequest which is mentioned in conclusion we may learn what importance was attached by the laity to every thing connected in any manner with religion. “ Now first I bequethe to Sire Phylipe la Vache, knight, my masse book, &c. &c.” We shall find something similar in the last dispositions of the unfortunate Louis XVI. a scholar, and certainly not a bigot, and living in an age of knowledge and philosophy; the latter instance may therefore be regarded as explaining the former, and as teaching us not to ascribe the bequest of Sir Lewes Clifford to his ignorant superstition, but to those common feelings of our nature which true piety, under every circumstance and in every age, is calculated to excite in the human heart. “ Nous ne sommes point parfaits,” says the incomparable Fenelon, “ je l’avoue et je vous en avertis par avance; mais nous gémissons de ne l’être pas. Vous verrez parmi nous des scandales mais nous les condamnons et nous désirons de les corriger. Il y en a eu jusque dans la plus pure antiquité: faut-il s’étonner qu’il en

paroisse encore dans ces dernier siècles ? Mais si vous trouvez dans notre tres-nombreuse Eglise beaucoup de Chrétiens qui n'en ont que le nom, et qui la déshonorent vous y trouverez pour votre consolation des ames recueillies, simples, mortes à elles-memes, qui sont detacheés, non seulement des vices grossiers, mais encore des plus subtiles imperfections, qui vivent de foi et d'oraison, dont toute la conversation est déjà au ciel, qui usent du monde comme n'en usant point, et qui sont jalouses contre leur amour propre pour donner tout à l'amour de Dieu. Si vous ne voulez pas me croire, essayez le avec confiance en Dieu. Venez goutez et voyez combien le Seigneur est doux !" There has been no period within the Christian era when this language could not have been justly used. If the sentiment and practice of chivalry did not always display such perfection, they were at least in harmony with it, and they favoured its advancement. This humility of mind is continually displayed in the confidence which is expressed in the assistance of Heaven, as the only support

in danger. In the romance of Huon de Bordeaux, when the two boys are on their journey, Huon encourages his brother who was terrified by a dream: "Mon tres doux frere," he says, "ne vous esbaissez en rien ains faictes bonne chere et joyeuse; nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ nous guarantira et conduira à sauvement." They join company with the Abbot of Clugni, and when the conspirators rush out upon them, the Abbot exclaims to the youths, "N'avez vous à nul homme fait tort, pour Dieu, si vous sentez qu'avez fait ou detenu aucune chose que pas ne soit vostre, mettez vous devant, et allez faire raison et vous offrir de l'amender. Sire," said Huon of Bordeaux, "je ne scay homme vivant au monde à qui moy ny mon frere aye fait aucun déplaisir, ne qui de nous soyons hais:" and when Gerard is wounded, the author observes that he was not mortally; "car nostre Seigneur garentit le jeune enfant:" and at a subsequent period, when Huon was going to meet his enemies at Mayence, he dismissed all his noble attendants, saying, "Je ne veux mener avec moy personne

que Dieu et ma bonne épée, ne vous ebahissez de rien, car celui qui toujours m'a aidé, ne me laissera point."

In the romance of Amadis de Gaul\* there is a passage of much beauty, that may serve to illustrate the real spirit and manners of the age. His son Esplandian, who has nearly conquered Matroco, the infidel, in single combat, refrains his arm, and calls upon him to become a Christian. "Le Dieu qui m'éclaire te poursuit par ma main; ce n'est point à moi que je te conjure de te rendre, c'est au Dieu vivant, qui te trouve digne d'être au nombre de ses enfans." Matroco falls upon his knees, "Dieu des Chretiens," he cries "tu triomphes! O grand Dieu que je reconnois prends pitie de moi!" With these words he throws away his sword, and leaning on his left hand, he draws the figure of the cross with his right upon the sand, and prostrates himself in adoration. At this

\* There is a dissertation in the Memoirs of the Academy, by S<sup>te</sup> Palaye, in which he shews the propriety and necessity of regarding the ancient romances as a source of historical instruction.

convincing mark of the divine grace, Esplandian falls upon his knees, and presenting his sword to Matroco, with the handle towards him, "Ah! digne chevalier," he cries, "recevez cette épée comme un gage de la victoire que vous remportez sur vous meme."

Firmly grounded in the Christian faith, and sensible of its superior importance above every earthly consideration, is it wonderful that they should regard with reverence its ordained ministers, who had an unquestionable title, and a divine authority? strange indeed would it have been if the case had been otherwise. Proud and self-willed men hold every restraint and prescription in rooted aversion. If they are to be saved it must be in the way of their own approval, and of their own choice. If they are to be members of a religious community it must be of that particular sect or party, or family that appeareth most agreeable in their own eyes. They have no notion of submitting to the Church as their mother, or to the Clergy as the successors of the Apostles, and as bearing a

divine commission. If they happen to dislike their curate, the conventicle and the preacher afford an instant resource, and while they think that they are worshipping God, they are indulging their pride, emulation, and resentment. Submission is a virtue which they regard as the vice that will be the ruin of their rights and liberty. They utterly scorn and disown the principle. Humility is for ever on their tongue, but we must conclude that their practice is deferred till they arrive in the eternal world, for certainly it is not exerted towards any object of the present scene. To such spirits what are the clergy, what are the rules and discipline, the prayers and sacraments of the Church? they are nothing, or worse than nothing; they are the badges of tyranny and oppression, of a government which they hate, and of authority which they disown. *Ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει*, says St. Clement in his First Epistle, and since “love is the fulfilling of the law,” the inference is clear with respect to those men of whom Dryden said with not less truth than pleasantry, that “they were always the

most visible Church in the Christian world, if spiritual pride, venom, violence, contempt of superiors, and slander, had been the marks of orthodox belief." "Suppose we," says Hooker, "that the sacred word of God can, at their hands, receive due honour, by whose incitement the holy ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt?" No, *it is not possible*, (mark the strength of this expression, from the mouth of Hooker, the mildest and most considerate of men) "it is not possible they should observe as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unnecessarily their own or their brethren's obedience." But the humble and the contrite spirit of the Christian is displayed in gentleness, submission, gratitude, and charity. To the Church he looks with veneration, to her clergy, to her prayers, to her sacraments, to her discipline, they are associated in his mind with that glorious system of truth which is the support and the life of his soul in time and in eternity; and such was the spirit, such was the opinion, and the practice of ancient chivalry. The



gentlemen of old were brave and independent, but they knew when they should be humble and obedient.

————— κείνοισι δ' ἂν ἄτις  
 Τῶν, οἳ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιχθονιοὶ, μαχεῖτο·  
 Καὶ μὲν μεν βαλεῶν ξύνιον, πειθόντό τε μύθῳ.

I care not for any charge which the bigots of infidelity may cast upon this opinion, but I maintain and I exhort you to remember that a deference for the clergy, an unfeigned respect and veneration for their order, not terminating in an assent to the general proposition, but leading to the habitual practice of the disposition towards individual ministers, towards the priest, who is a stranger, as well as towards the curate of your own parish, is the bounden duty of every gentleman, both as a Christian and as a man of rank, which latter circumstance only increases the general obligation by the weight of example, which double obligation is deduced at once from the reasoning of Nicole, in the treatise to which I have already referred. Earthly rank and grandeur are but the instruments

of Providence to enforce and recommend the observance of his will : “ Ainsi la grandeur est un pur ministère qui a pour fin l’honneur de Dieu et l’avantage des hommes, qui ne les rapporte point à elle-même. Elle n’est point pour soi, elle est pour les autres ;—pour établir l’empire de Dieu et pour procurer sa gloire.”

Upon no subject of history have *the philosophers* of the day so loudly declaimed as upon the disgraceful deference, as they term it, with which the clergy were regarded in the middle ages. It is most true, it is most consoling to reflect, that they were the objects of this respect. “ Souvenez vous,” said the Constable Du Guesclin, when he was dying, “ que partout ou vous ferez la guerre, les ecclésiastiques, le pauvre peuple, les femmes et les enfans, ne sont point vos ennemis ; que vous ne portez les armes que pour les défendre et les protéger.” These were his last words. When the town of Mounte Ferante, in Auvergne was taken by Perot le Bernoys and his company, this captain had charged on pain of death, “ that no

man should be so hardy to hurte any Church, or trouble any man of the Church." "This maner," says Froissart, "ever Perot used, whensoever he wonne any towne or fortresse," so that the freebooter treated the Clergy with the same respect as did the Constable of France. The hero, Galien Restauré, is called, by the writer of his history, "un veritable enfant de la sainte Eglise, et un genereux deffenseur de la Religion Chrétienne," which imply the quality that his actions every where display, of an unfeigned attachment to the clergy. Of Louis IX. the historian Vélly testifies, "j'amaï prince n'eut un plus sincere respect pour les ministres de Jesus Christ." Rhodolph of Habsburgh being engaged in hunting, met, between Fahr and Baden, a priest on foot, and as the road was extremely dirty, and the torrents swollen with rain, he alighted, and gave his horse to the priest, saying, it ill became him to ride while the minister of God (the bearer of Christ's body), walked on foot: at the same time he expressed his gratitude and veneration to the Supreme

Being who had raised him from the huts of his ancestors to the throne of the empire. Many other instances might be produced from history : but the ridicule and the indignation of such men are not calculated to lessen that respect with which Christians, and I trust with which Christian gentlemen, will for ever regard the Clergy. It will be an evil day for the first, and it will be the signal of destruction for the second, when this respect shall be no longer extended. The clergy were esteemed, protected, and honoured by Justinian and Theodosius, by Charlemagne and Alfred, by Louis IX. Louis XII. Henry IV. and Louis XVI. of France ; they were by Henry VI. by Charles I. by George III. of England, they were defended by the greatest of their subjects, who were eminent for virtue, for learning, and for wisdom, by a Leibnitz and a Newton, a Pascal and a Locke, and it is not the pedantic triflers in a despicable philosophy, it is not the blood-thirsty assassins of the French Revolution, it is not the present infidel anticipators of democracy, impiety,

and plunder, that will overthrow the weight of such a sanction, or shake the force of such an authority.

You will observe that I do not attempt to enter upon a defence of the clergy during the middle ages. That they have been calumniated, misrepresented, and ungratefully recompensed, every hour of historical research leads me to believe. That such is the fact you will find maintained by some of the most eminent and profound writers, both laymen and ecclesiastics. I waive all considerations of this kind, for it is neither my plan nor province to detain you upon the subject. Having, however, once excited your attention, I cannot direct you to the pursuit of other inquiry, without wishing to engage your affections, as well as to convince your judgment; in a cause which I certainly regard as of the highest importance to the best interests of mankind; I allude to the influence, the proper influence of the clergy\*.

\* Charlemagne in forbidding the clergy to serve in the army, concludes his edict with these words, "quanto quis eorum amplius suam normam servaverit, et Deo

It was in the year 404 that the gladiatorial shows were finally terminated by the courage of Telemachus, a Christian monk, who had travelled from the East to Rome, expressly for the purpose. He rushed into the midst of the area of the Flavian Amphitheatre, and endeavored to separate the combatants. Alypius, the Prætor, who was fond of the games, gave orders to the gladiators to slay him, and Telemachus obtained the crown of martyrdom. Even Mr. Gibbon is forced to admire instances of this kind. On another occasion he observes, "the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge."

During the middle ages the voice of the clergy was uniformly, and often successfully raised against the oppression and injustice of the great knights and barons. They even obtained certain intervals of in-

*servierit, tanto eum plus honorare et cariorem habere volumus.*—CAP. DE BALUZE, z. 1. p. 410.

termission from every act of violence. If they did not accomplish more than this, we must lament their inability, but not condemn their indifference. They were the best landlords, the most merciful, the most humane masters, and they censured and endeavoured to prevent all cruel and injurious diversions. No country of Europe is more indebted to this influence of the clergy than England. In the reign of Henry III. it was the clergy who secured the execution of the great charter. Magna Charta itself is partly the work of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. And the doctrine of passive obedience as belonging to the orthodox creed, was not heard of in this kingdom till Henry VIII. had destroyed the privileges of the clergy, had abolished their influence in the House of Peers, and had arrogated to himself the spiritual supremacy.

Against duelling their labours were incessantly directed, and when they could not prevent they at least diminished the guilt of their generation. There is a striking narrative in the history of French chi-

valry which will illustrate the subject, and point out the general benefit, and the scenes of exquisite beauty in point of taste, which might sometimes arise from the exercise of this influence. Two Spanish gentlemen, the Seigneurs Sainte-Croix and Azēvêdo, were made prisoners at Bologna, where they had a quarrel. It was during the wars of Louis XII. in Italy. Azēvêdo accused Sainte-Croix of a treacherous design to assassinate him: Sainte-Croix had given him the lie, and had offered to exculpate himself by mortal combat, “par combat à outrance.” Azēvêdo commissioned the baron of Bearn to ask permission from the Duke of Nemours. This being granted, and the field for combat, he challenged Sainte-Croix, who accepted the duel, and the parties met without delay. The spot chosen was before the palace of the Duke of Ferrara. Sainte-Croix was accompanied by a hundred gentlemen. Among others by Don Pedro d’Acugna, his relation, knight of Rhodes, and grand Prior of Messina. Azēvêdo appeared with a similar attendance and his relation Frederic de Gonzagues,



Count of Bozolo. As soon as Azēvêdo entered the lists with all arms, either to fight on foot or on horseback, the grand Prior of Messina advanced towards him, and presented two sharp swords and two daggers, that he might choose, for Sainte-Croix would not permit any other arms. Then their relations came forward to feel that they had no concealed armour under their dress. The combatants proceeded to prayer, and the lists were cleared, only the two relations remaining and Bayard, whom the Duke of Ferrara had appointed judge of the field. The herald having proclaimed silence, the two adversaries marched up fiercely and commenced to fight with such address that each had need of a firm foot and a sharp eye. After many ineffectual blows, Sainte-Croix aimed with all his strength at the face of Azēvêdo, who parried the blow with great skill, and in return forced his sword into the thigh of Sainte-Croix from the hip to the knee. The blood burst out, and Sainte-Croix made but one step, and fell. Azēvêdo cried out, Surrender Sainte-Croix or I will kill

you, but without answering he sat on the ground, with the sword in his hand, and continued to thrust against his adversary. Azēvêdo pressed him to rise, saying that he was unwilling to strike him on the ground. Sainte-Croix attempted to rise, but he only made two steps, and fell upon his face; the other lifted up his sword to strike off his head, but he stopped his hand. The Duchess of Ferrara, terrified, entreated the Duke of Nemours to separate them. I cannot do it with honour, madam, was his reply. Justice gives the conquered to the conqueror. Sainte-Croix was bleeding to death, but he would not surrender. The Prior of Messina accosted Azēvêdo, and said to him, Seigneur, I know the heart of Sainte-Croix, and that until death he will not surrender, I am his relation, I surrender myself in his stead. Then the surgeons were called, and Sainte-Croix was carried from the field.

The lesson which you should derive from this striking narrative, is, first, that it is the duty of the clergy, of every priest, whether curate, or rector, or bishop, to in-

terfere; and to exert all the powers of influence and authority with which the Gospel and the law have invested them, in the prevention, or at least in the diminution of human crime, and secondly, (which is the lesson more immediately applicable to you,) that it is the duty of every layman, whether the country gentleman or the noble, the general or the monarch, to receive this act of interference with respect, and to acquiesce in their measures of religion, benevolence, and mercy. A very beautiful example of the same nature occurs in the sixteenth book of the *Morte d'Arthur*. When Sir Lyonel had overthrown his brother Sir Bors, and was preparing to strike off his head, "Thenne came the heremyte rennyng unto hym, whiche was a good man and of grete age, and wel had herd alle the wordes that were betwene them, and soo felle doune upon Syre Bors. Thenne he sayd to Lyonel, " O gentyll knyghte, have mercy upon me and on thy broder, for yf thow slee hym, thou shalte be dede of synne, and that were sorrowful, for he is one of the worthyest knyghtes of the world,

and of the best condycyons." 'Soo God me help,' sayd Lyonel, 'Syr Preest, but yf ye flee from hym, I shall slee yow, and he shalle never the sooner be quyte.' 'Certes,' said the good man, 'I have lever ye slee me than hym, for my dethe shalle not be grete harme, not halfe soo moche as of his.' 'Wel,' sayd Lyonel, 'I am greed,' and sette his hand to his sword, and smote hym soo hard, that his hede yede backward." For the honour of knighthood it is recorded of this murderer, that "the fende had broughte hym in suche a wyl." My great grandfather who was a prelate, and honoured by a personal intimacy with James II. never omitted an opportunity to remonstrate against his unjust proceedings, and though the King disregarded his lessons he did not the less respect his person.

I shall only observe in conclusion of this subject, that as the clergy were respected from a principle of religion, so from a regard to every thing connected with this venerable subject, the erection and the maintenance of churches was considered as highly becoming in the nobles and fa-

milies of ancient rank. This may be thought a trifling circumstance, but it is important both in an historical and in a religious point of view, as illustrating the manners and spirit of the age. It is a subject, however, upon which I shall not detain you, because I am conscious that we should not betray our enthusiasm in any but the most important cause. When I behold the tower of Exeter cathedral, built by the Courtenays, and when I hear the deep-toned bells which were the gift of that once illustrious family, when I walk in the cathedral of Salisbury, and read the inscription upon the beautiful tomb of Edward Poore, Esq. the lineal descendant of Richard, bishop of the see, and founder of the cathedral, in 1220, and when at another time I behold the stately palace of some modern lord erecting its proud towers as if in disdain of the humble fabric by its side, which is dedicated to the worship of the most high God, then I confess I admire the indignation of Johnson at "the despicable philosophy which despises these monuments of sacred magnificence," and I

adore and venerate the piety of our ancestors\*.

\* What would have been the feelings of Johnson, if he had lived to see a Cathedral in England closed upon Sundays, with the exception of a small part of the choir; the nave and the great body of the building, converted to all intents and purposes into a museum, to afford amusement to the curious, and emolument to the vergers: and an order recognized and established, which decreed, *that they should never be entered as a place of worship and for the purpose of devotion?* Yet such is the regulation which now exists (I write in the year 1822,) in the interior of the most celebrated of our ecclesiastical structures. Upon what grounds can such a proceeding be justified? Is it that the conduct of the people who resorted there was inattentive and profane? But it is not by excluding them that they can be made devout. Is it that the people are thought to be insensible to the secret devotion, and to the religious feelings, which the building itself is calculated to excite, and therefore that they may be excluded from all parts but such as must be open to constitute a place of worship? What is our authority for this opinion? And if it were just, where would be our excuse in withholding the very remedy which has been provided *for the vulgar* against this particular evil of indifference to which they are subject? Madame de Sevigne, indeed, alludes, in one of her letters to the saying of a certain Prelate, who treated the people of his diocese as the "*Canaille chrétienne*," but let us hope that in England the sentiment may be as strange as the ex-

Madame de Stael has had the courage to point out the advantages of an ancient

pression. Is it to preserve the decorations and the pavement from being sullied? But who that has seen the floor of St. Mark's Church at Venice, of St. Anthony's at Padua, and of St. Stephen's at Vienna, with the indentures and inequality caused by the tread of the faithful for successive generations, and can approve of the taste which could dictate such a regulation? I would respectfully suggest to the individuals who have the care and superintendance of our cathedrals, that they were not raised by the charity of the faithful to form a museum or exhibition, to be open every day in the week, excepting Sundays, for a stipulated price. I would remind them of the indelicacy, of the sacrilege which is committed, when the house of prayer is converted to such purposes. What! have we not exhibitions to furnish entertainment in our metropolis, or despise we the Church of God? In the treaty which Musa made with Roderic the Gothic king of Spain, A.D. 712, on the conquest of that kingdom by the Mahometans, one of the articles insisted upon was, that the doors of the churches should be closed, except upon the intervals of worship. The infidels knew the effect which was produced by the custom of having them always open. Have we lived to see the same law, unqualified by any exception, but that of payment, enacted by the friends of Christianity? Will it be said that this regulation is necessary to preserve the beauty of the building? But to such a motive, let not the name of taste be applied.

custom, which had been discontinued, and even regarded with contempt by those who

The taste which terminates in the admiration of white marble, and a spotless pavement, is contemptible. There is nothing confined or exclusive in what appertains to genius; and the mind which can endure to deprive the faithful of the delight and edification prepared for them, by the piety of their ancestors, in the erection of these sacred edifices, must of necessity be void of all sense to relish, or even to comprehend what is elevated or venerable, beautiful or sublime. If it be imagined that censure may be escaped because men are generally indifferent upon such subjects, the clergy will do well to remember, that such indifference proceeds either from the fanaticism which abhors both the church and its ministers, or from the secret or avowed infidelity which despises both; and what may be apprehended from both or either of these causes, it is for them to consider. On the other hand, though surely not in justification of these regulations, of this most coarse and unskilful remedy, it must be confessed, that from whatever cause it may arise, the conduct of the lower ranks of society in England, in many instances, is such as to make their exclusion almost necessary to the existence of a sanctuary. How often does the congregation present a crowd of persons who seem alike ignorant of the forms and of the faith of the church? Nor is it to be wondered at, for when persons after struggling to leave the station of life to which it has pleased God to call them, are arrived at that condition, as



profess the religion of Calvin, but which can never fail to interest and to please persons of a religious mind, until they have been instructed to associate it with the object of their aversion, in the detestation of which a great part of some men's religion may depend. The remark is made upon the occasion of a visit to the cathedral of St. Stephen's, at Vienna. "It is a pious custom of the Catholics, and one," she continues to observe, "which we ought to imitate, to leave their churches always open; there are so many moments when we stand in need of this asylum, and we can never enter without experiencing a sensation which benefits the mind, and which restores it to strength and purity, as if by a holy ablution." And upon another occasion the same writer has observed, in allusion to St. Peter's Church, at Rome, "I

actually to occupy no specific place in society; they are necessarily deprived of the education which belongs to any. There are indeed many occasions when it will be difficult not to acknowledge the truth of Mr. Southey's assertion, "that the populace in England are more ignorant of their religious duties than they are in any other Christian country."

frequently enter and walk there to restore my spirits to the serenity which they sometimes lose. The view of such a monument is like a continual music, which is ever ready to produce a happy effect upon your mind when you draw near to enjoy it\*.”

\* Men of sectarian minds cannot be expected to relish these concessions to an ancient enemy. Upon their side of the question the infidels and new philosophers will be found. A Frenchman of this class came up very officiously to my friend, who was entering a church in Germany, and observed that the custom of leaving the church always open was very good, “*Pour les gens sans lumière.*”

In the royal chapel at Dresden I have been shocked by the behaviour of the Protestants, who resort there to hear the music, to see their acquaintances, to lounge away the morning in hearing and conversing, and who appear with shameless effrontery to insult the piety of their King in the very sanctuary of his temple. In England such conduct is unknown; but it must be confessed that during the intervals of service the nave or the anti-chapel is disgracefully profaned. I know of nothing more calculated to excite the romantic sentiments of the heart, not to speak of the more important influence of religious feeling, than the distant chaunt and the solemn delivery of those inimitable prayers which are offered by our Church in the evening service. Yet what is the practice of the persons who are within hearing of this solemnity? they are engaged in

At the present day, when the fury of innovation has passed away with the laudable zeal for correcting the abuses which had deformed the doctrines of the Church, there are I conceive but few persons of *genuine* religion who will not acknowledge the justice of this remark, and admit the advantages which are here spoken of.

“Whatever ridicule to a philosophical mind,” says Mr. Hume, “may be thrown on pious ceremonies, it must be confessed that during a very religious age, no institution can be more advantageous to the rude multitude, and tend more to mollify that fierce and gloomy spirit of devotion to which they are subject.”—“It only remains to observe,” says Mr. Gibbon, in that passage where he eulogises the effects of the Reformation, “whether such sublime sim-

conversation and mirth, never considering what an injury they inflict upon the more acute feelings of those who would derive from that moment the sweet serenity of religious meditation, and the dignified enjoyment of uniting public worship with the unseen devotion of the closet.

plicity be consistent with popular devotion : whether the vulgar in the absence of all visible objects will not be *inflamed by enthusiasm*, OR INSENSIBLY SUBSIDE IN LANGUOR AND INDIFFERENCE." Prospective reasoning of this kind, combined with the facts which present themselves at the present day, will excite the curiosity at least of every religious enquirer. On the one hand he may have attended the meetings of the Welch Methodists, and he knows the character of our own ; on the other, he may have assisted at the service of our holy church in Vienna, where the walls of the apartment were decorated with tapestry, representing images of debauch, and he has attended the same service at home in a modern London chapel, designed *for use and general accommodation*. I will confess that the conclusion at which he arrives is both painful and alarming. It is true the most sceptical philosopher could find no ordained ceremonies to ridicule in the former case, nor any vestige of superstition to despise in the latter ; but there was

extravagance that excited horror, but there was an infidelity that could not be disguised.

It is true the sign of the cross was not visible, but he would ask the spectators who were present, did they feel an interest in the preaching of its doctrine? the feelings with which he withdrew were certainly not disgust at the superstition of the people, but rather of terror for their undisguised indifference, and for their sceptical content.

But to return, and resume our subject. Upon the whole, the conclusion seems to be this, that there is a natural connection between the sentiments of high honour and sincerity of Christian faith; between heroic valour and profound piety. "There is nothing narrow, nothing of slavery, nothing confined in religion; it is the immense, the infinite, the eternal." The high sentiments of honour, the generous enthusiasm of chivalry,—so far are these from being contrary to its influence, that they confirm and exalt it. "Imagination soars above the limits of the present life, and the sub-

lime in every subject is a reflection from the Divinity." Fenelon, who certainly cannot be accused of a worldly disposition in his views of religion, was of this opinion, and in writing to the Countess of Gramont, upon the recovery of her husband from a dangerous illness, he expresses himself in remarkable terms, which sanction the spirit of chivalrous devotion. "This restoration to good health," he observes, "is indeed delightful; it is the gift of God, and it would be unjust to employ it against him. The Count must pursue an open line of conduct, and full of honour towards God as well as towards the world. God is pleased to accommodate himself to noble sentiments: true nobility requires fidelity, firmness, and confidence. Will a man who is so grateful to the King for the gift of perishable good, will he be ungrateful and faithless to God who bestows so much? I can never believe." And the virtuous instructor of the Duke of Burgundy had acted upon the same principle. "Je promets, foi de prince," was the form of engagement to which the pupil subscribed,

and which Fenelon was accustomed to impose when he had occasion to desire an adherence to a particular duty. The child of eight years of age was made to comprehend the force of these words, "foi de prince et d'honneur."

That many acts of faith were recommended from a principle of honour is strikingly displayed in a remark of Brantorne, upon an act of suicide. "This," he observes, "is not the mark of a Christian; for we must never abandon the garrison of this life without obtaining our dismissal from the great General, who is our sovereign God, and for this reason we cannot praise his death\*."

\* Let this principle be compared with the philosophical tenet of Cicero, which is so well known to the classical student. *Tuscul. ii. 27.* And for which the Roman moralist had certainly no excuse since he must have been aware that the impiety of suicide was the grand doctrine of the mysteries, taught to all, as beneficial to society, and since he himself relates, "*vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere,*" (*de senec.*) The words of Plato also were before him, *ὡς ἐν τινὶ φρουρᾷ ἴσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δη ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λυεῖν οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν.*—*PHLED.*

And this advantage to the cause of virtue was not overlooked even by the ancient moralists. “Una Hanibalem hiberna solverunt,” says Seneca, “et indomitum illum nivibus atque alpibus virum enervaverunt fomenta Campaniæ, armis vicit, victiis victus est. \* Nobis quoque militandum est et quidam genere militiæ, quo nunquam quies, nunquam otium datur.”

It is still less difficult to trace the connection between heroism and piety. When Philip entered Peloponnesus, at the head of his army, it was said that the Lacedæmonians would have to suffer much if they did recover his favour. “Ah, coward!” replied the Spartan, “what have they to suffer who fear not death?” Mark the union of qualities attributed to Alexander by that most accurate historian Arrian, το τε σωμα καλλιστος, και φιλοπονωτατος, και οξυτατος νενομενος, και την γνωμην ανδρειοτατος, και φιλοτιμοτατος και φιλοκινδυνοτατος, και τε θειε επιμελεστατος \*. Remember the answer of the poet’s hero to the praises of his sister, who commended him for his deed.

\* Ar. lib. vii. 28.



Θεους μεν ἡγου πρωτον, Ἡλεκτρα, τυχης  
 Ἀρχηγετας τησδ', εἰτα κᾶμ' ἐπαινεσον,  
 Τον των θεων τε της τυχης θ' ὑπηρετην\*.

And upon the memorable retreat from Syracuse, when the Athenian general was endeavouring to raise the spirits of his disheartened soldiers, we may rely upon the truth of that statement which he produced relative to his own character and conduct through life, saying *και τοι, πολλα μεν ἐς Θεους νομιμα δεδιτημαι, πολλα δε ἐς ἀνθρωπους δικαια και ἀνεπιφθογα. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ μεν ἐλπις ὄμως θρασεια του μελλοντος* †. If heroism and piety were thus united in the character of the heathens, need we wonder at the same connection subsisting when men have embraced a religion which powerfully corrects the feelings, and developes the virtues of the human heart? “When we are Christians,” says Fenelon, “we can no longer be cowards. The essence of Christianity, if I may so express myself, is the contempt of this life and the love of another. Let it be observed also that the

\* Eurip. *Electra*. 885.

† Thucyd. lib. vii. 77.

courage of the Christian, and his contempt of death, arising from his perfect resignation to the will of God, have a tendency to preserve him upon occasions which prove fatal to men of less firm character.

“ Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia.”

And in the following words Xenophon teaches this memorable lesson, the result of his own experience, to the anxious and dispirited soldiers of the Greek army.

Ἐντεθυμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, και τουτο, ὅτι, ὅποσοι μεν μαστευουσι ζην ἐκ παντος τροπου ἐν τοις πολεμικοις, οὗτοι κακως τε και ἀισχρως ὡς ἐπι πολυ ἀποθνησκουσιν· ὅποσοι δε τον μεν θανατον ἔγνωσαν πασι κοινον εἶναι και αναγκαιον ἀνθρωποις, περι δε του καλως ἀποθνησκειν ἀγωνιζονται, τουτους ὄρω μαλλον πως εἰς το γηρας ἀφικνουμένους, και, ἕως ἀν ζωσιν, εὐδαιμονεστερον διαγοντας\*.

Surely, then, every sentiment of your soul will lead you to the belief and practice of this glorious religion, so venerable, so grand, so animating in the association with

\* Anab. iii. 1.

which it presents itself. Surely you will fully comprehend and acknowledge the truth which has been taught by such masters. “ Combien il est grand d'être chrétien, combien il est honteux et funeste de l'être comme on l'est dans le monde.”

which it presents itself. Surely you will fully comprehend and acknowledge the truth which has been taught by such man-

THE

**Virtues of the Order.**



I HAVE endeavoured to make you feel what are the duties of your station in regard to religion ; I shall now proceed to state what are the obligations which it imposes upon you to the practice of virtue. I trust that you have been too well instructed in the elements of religion, in the doctrines of our holy and Apostolic Church, to misunderstand my meaning in the use of this term. Indeed, the division which I have followed would never have been adopted if I had not presumed that you were acquainted with the essential articles of the Christian faith. Virtue, as independent of religion, and as deriving its origin from mere human principle, is an ideal phantom with which we have nothing to do. Let us leave it to such

men as the apostate Julian, who sacrificed the preserver of his life ; as the royal philosopher of Prussia, who was the scourge of his generation ; as Voltaire and Hume, and the followers of their school, whose principles led to the revolution of France. I do not say to a reformation of government, but to the enormities of the Revolution, to the plunder of property, to the massacre of the clergy, to the demolition of churches, and to the temporary overthrow of the Cross. Let us turn aside from such a spectacle, let us be content with admiring the ancient virtue of those unpretending characters who were the pride and the ornament of their generation, who ascribed their best actions to the grace of God, and their principles of life to faith in the Saviour \*. That such was the language, such the opinion and sentiments of the great and the brave, whose character you aspire to imitate, will be evident upon a superficial review of what we have already

\* The mottos of the nobility proclaim this ; thus that of the Marquis of Thomond is

*Vigreur de dessus.*

observed in the different histories which record their renown.

But first it may be expedient that I should direct your attention to that general tone of feeling, to that habitual temper and inclination of mind which are the peculiar distinctions of this character, and the highest privilege which you can inherit by birth. All virtue proceeds from God, and from the influence of his grace, and that high honour the profession of which is so often hypocritically assumed, but whose reality is so dignified and divine, must be considered not as a human and counterfeit quality, but as a portion of that pure and elevated spirit which descends from heaven, to exalt and purify the human heart.

When Charles V. desired the Marquis de Villena to lend his house to the rebel Constable de Bourbon, the reply of the Castilian was, that he could not refuse gratifying his sovereign in that request, but that his majesty must not be surprised if, the moment the Constable departed, he should burn to the ground a house which, having

been polluted by the presence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour. It is easy to ridicule this reply, and it would not be difficult to suppose motives of pride and affectation as dictating the sentiment, but we shall gain nothing to the cause of Christianity, or of Christian virtue, in adopting the one or the other of these views respecting it. Such ridicule and such scrupulous anatomy of the mind which so expressed itself, have a direct tendency to the debasement of our nature, and to the rejection of the Gospel. "Ceux qui aiment M. Fouquet," says M<sup>de</sup> de Sevigné, in her Letter to M. de Pomponne, "trouvent cette tranquillité admirable, je suis de ce nombre ; les autres disent que c'est une affectation ; voila le monde." Neither the Christian nor the gentleman have any thing to do with such criticism of human conduct, or with such judgment. In both capacities we are bound to ascribe the best and not the worst motives which are assignable. The saint will hope and believe all things ; the man of honour will not suspect a virtue which is only similar

to his own. Let us therefore take the reply of the Spaniard, as intending to express that spirit of truth and purity which are incapable of being associated with deceit, and which must be kept distinct even to the outward sense and perception of mankind. There are however young men who take a pleasure in the very reverse of all this, who delight in raising suspicions as to the reality of virtue, who are full of scruples and diffidence, having a long reach in detecting the projects of their acquaintance, believing that no one has any real affection but for himself. They may be destined to gain future eminence or riches, but I can seldom forbear to consider them, says Dr. Johnson, "as villains early completed beyond the need of common opportunities and gradual temptations!" To such I would relate the following magnificent passage of history. Crillon was surnamed "l'homme sans peur." The young Duke of Guise, wishing to prove whether he deserved the title, caused an alarm to be sounded in Marseilles at break of day, and rushing into the chamber



where Crillon lay, he awoke him, crying out that the enemy had gained possession of the fort and city, and that the only hope was in instant flight. "Plutôt mourir!" cried Crillon, seizing his arms, "battons nous tant qu'il nous restera une goutte de sang dans les veines." They both rushed out of the chamber, and descended the staircase, but when about half-way, the duke, with a laugh and at the same time a faltering voice, informed Crillon that the whole was but a jest to prove him. "Jeune homme," said the man without fear, but with a look of indignation which struck the coward who had suspected him to the heart, "ne te joue jamais à sonder le cœur d'un homme de bien. Par la mort! si tu m'avois trouvé foible, je t'aurois poignardé."

And here I am obliged to remark, that this spirit of ridicule, the offspring of infidel philosophy\*, is a temper of mind

\* "Neque enim ita generati à natura sumus ut ad ludum et jocum facti esse videamur; sed ad severitatem potius et ad quædam studia graviora atque majora."—Cicero de Officiis.

against which you must be carefully on your guard. The most awful and sublime truths are the most exposed to its influences, and were it to prevail, which God forbid, there would be really nothing left in the world to please the imagination, to exalt the character, or to attract the heart. There would be nothing in the world worth living for; and, as a great master of reason has well observed, there would be "never a virtue left to laugh out of countenance."

"These sentiments," says a celebrated French lady, in one of her letters to a young nobleman, (she wrote a few years before the commencement of the Revolution, and her sentiments may be regarded as those which arose and continued to prevail in the higher circles, during the reign of Louis XV.) "These sentiments would doubtless deserve great praise, if in fact and in practice they could procure you the happiness which you expect from them, but experience proves that all these fine words are only pure illusions. What do you pretend to do, I beseech you, with

these chimeras of reason? I say readily, here is beautiful coin, it is a pity that it cannot be passed in the world." "Man," says Madame de Stael, in a chapter of her Germany, "has a great dominion over man, and of all the evils which he can inflict upon his fellow-creatures, the greatest, perhaps, is to place the phantom of ridicule between generous feelings and the actions which they could inspire. Love, genius, talent, even grief, all these are exposed to the power of irony, and it is impossible to calculate how far the dominion of this irony may be extended. There is something in vice which excites, there is something weak in goodness. The admiration of great objects may be laughed away in jest, and he who thinks nothing of importance, has the appearance of being above every thing. If enthusiasm then does not defend our heart and mind, they will permit themselves to be taken on all sides by this aversion to virtue which unites indolence with gaiety." The subject is solemn, and therefore I will remind you of what the Scripture has said, that the

bands of mockers shall be made strong. Remember also, that peculiar character which distinguished the men from whom your order derives its origin, whom Tacitus describes in these memorable words. "Nemo enim illic vitia ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur." In fact the temper of mind essential to the true gentleman is the very subject which is most exposed to this ridicule; for I must exhort you to remember that it is the duty of your order not to follow the custom and principles of the world, and of the age, but to display an example for the world and for the age to imitate. It is not from the ordinary and vulgar maxims of mankind, not even from the received and perhaps approved practice and custom of a profession that you must seek for direction in sentiment and action, but it is from the elevated principles of Christianity and of honour.

Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem;  
Fortunam ex aliis.

It may be that you will find but few persons willing to reward, or even able to

appreciate your best qualities. Nothing is more possible. "Il faut s'attendre à tout de la part des hommes," says the great Sully, "Ils ne tiennent pour la plupart à leurs devoirs à la société, à la parenté, que par leurs espérances et leurs succès, non par les bienfaites, la bonne foi et la vertu." Those who display a higher character will be accused perhaps of hypocrisy, of mysticism, or folly. Montagne declares that his virtues which he terms his qualities that are not reprehensible, were useless in his generation. My facility of manner they term fawning dissimulation and weakness; faith and conscience, are overscrupulous and superstitious; frankness and liberty of deportment are troublesome, inconsiderate and insolent, yet did he not therefore abandon the character which he had formed to himself, nor fear to lift up his voice against what he conceived worthy of his sovereign contempt and hatred, though it were vested with all the credit of public opinion. Hence it will follow that the apparent utility of a measure can never excuse gentlemen who make use, in any

cause, however admirable, of the vices and instruments of the vulgar. It is a mournful indication of degeneracy when no mark of degradation is visited upon the gentleman who differs from the churl only in the cause which he embraces, and not in the measures which he pursues to advance it. Οὐ το ποιεῖν τὰ ἀδίκᾳ ἀλλὰ το πασχεῖν φοβημενον\*. When both use the same inexact and vulgar language, both are equally mean in their suspicions, violent and careless in their censure, personal in their criticism, unmanly in their attacks upon private character, coarse and daring in their outrage to delicacy of sentiment, ignorant and overbearing in their religious prejudices, insolent and audacious in their treatment of superiors who may justly or unjustly offend them, when with both, "Maledicus pro libero, temerarius pro forti accipitur †." When both, like the Thebans, despise every opinion but their own ‡, avoiding crime not from disdaining it, but

\* Plato de Repub. l. † Quintil.

‡ Οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἰ τις ἄλλο τι βελοῖτο λεγείν.

from fearing its result \*, relinquishing the labour of patient investigation, and resting in the first and most ready conclusion †. “It is an advantage,” says Burke, “to all narrow wisdom and narrow morals, that their maxims have a plausible air, and on a cursory view appear equal to first principles. They are as light and portable; they are as current as copper coin, and about as valuable. They serve equally the first capacities and the lowest, and they are at least as useful to the worst men as to the best.” That these are the maxims of the vulgar class of mankind is no new discovery, but that they should be proposed for adoption to the gentlemen of England ‡,

\* Οὐδ’ ἀπεχεσθαι τῶν φανλῶν δια το αἰσχρον, ἀλλὰ δια τας τιμωρίας.—ARISTOT. Ethics. x.

† Καὶ ἐπι τα ἔτοιμα μάλλον τρεπονται.—THUCYD.

‡ There must, perhaps, in this age be writings for the vulgar, for those whom Montagne calls, “les ames boiteuses,” answerable in exercise of the mind to cripples in trials of bodily exertion, and who nevertheless all lame and crippled as they are affect to teach other men to walk, but then if these writings must appear, let them, whatever may be the cause they pretend to advocate, be consigned to their proper station in the ale-houses and night-cellars of the metropolis.

and that in some cases they should actually be adopted for use and service, is an event which unhappily and fearfully demonstrates the degeneracy of those upon whom the virtue and the happiness of society is in a great measure depending.

The sentence of King John of France is for ever memorable, that "if justice and good faith should be banished from the rest of the world, they must be still found on the lips and in the heart of kings." And this maxim must be adopted for your use, and made applicable to your guidance. If the sentiments of high honour, if an unutterable reverence for religion, a devotion to truth and justice, fidelity and gratitude to God; if these qualities should be unknown and incomprehensible to the vulgar class of mankind, as they will for ever be, if they should be alternately suspected and condemned, neglected and ridiculed by the world in general, in public as well as in private society, in Parliament\*, or even in

\* The friends of religion and humanity have shuddered at the sacrilegious enormities of the French mob, but is the feeling of horror excited by such outrages



the retired seats of science and of learning, still will it be for you to cherish and display them, to afford them shelter and encouragement. And let not my meaning be misunderstood when I speak of sentiment and feeling as essential to form an elevated character, as the proudest privilege of your inheritance. Let no man be encouraged by this to deceive himself, by assuming the profession without the reality of virtue. It is not the sentiment and feeling of Nero, who used to say, in signing death-warrants, "vellem nescire literas." It is not the hypocrisy of the tyrant Periander, who inculcated the maxim, that the best guard

to human sentiment increased by reflecting on the baseness of the perpetrators! I think not, but rather the reverse. If an English mob should ever again be infected with the rage of profanation, I do not know how they can exceed the examples of sacrilege set before them by men in authority. A bridewell erected over the ashes of Alfred, an iron manufactory where stood the Abbey of Tintern; Westminster Abbey and the tombs of our kings converted into a museum of monuments! We need look no farther. It is impossible to outrage more completely the more delicate ties, albeit unfelt by men of gross and popular capacities which bind us to our religion and to our country.

for a king is the affection of his subjects. It is not the sensibility of Cæsar, who was shocked at the cruelty of Critognatus, in exhorting his comrades never to yield, while he forgot that it was his own injustice which placed them in that condition. It is not the piety of Louis XIV. who loved to hear Bourdaloue, while his generals were visiting the Palatinate with fire and sword. It is not the philosophic cant of Frederic the Great, who says, in allusion to the earthquake at Lisbon, "how dreadful it is that men, not content with the ravages of nature, for the sake of a worthless heap of rubbish, will fight and spill one another's blood," forgetting to apply this reflection to himself, while he was the scourge of Germany. It is not the sentiment and feeling of Voltaire at the court of this same prince, of whom Condorcet relates, "en louant ses exploits, en caressant sa gloire militaire, il lui prechait toujours l'humanite et la paix." "Quid verba audiam," you may well exclaim when such sentiment is commended, "cum facta videam?" But the sentiment and feelings

of which I speak are those which operate without ostentation to soften the heart, to elevate the thoughts, and to raise the soul above the world; it is that inspiration from on high which makes men of piety and virtue, of genius and of honour. It is not the vanity of seeming to be good, but it is the desire to be good, like that of the man whom Plato commends, *ἀνδρα ἀπλοῦν καὶ γενναῖον, ἃ δοκεῖν ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀγαθόν ἐθέλοντα* \*.

Madame de Sevigné relates a circumstance, which admirably displays the great character of Turenne. “ Depuis la mort du héros de la guerre celui du bréviare (meaning the Cardinal du Retz (s'est retiré à commercer;) il n'y avoit plus de sureté à Saint Michel. Le Premier Président de la Cour des Aides a une terre en Champagne; son fermier vint lui signifier l'autre jour; ou de la rabaisser considérablement ou de rompre le bail qui en fut fait il y a deux ans; ou lui demande pourquoi ou dit que ce n'est point la coutume; il répond que, du tems de M. de Turenne, on pouvoit recueillir avec sureté, et compter sur

\* De Repub. lib. ii.

les terres de ce pays-la; mais que depuis sa mort, tout le monde quittoit, croyant que les ennemis vont entré en campagne. Voila des choses simples et naturelles qui font son éloge aussi magnifiquement que les Flechier et les Mascaron." Evidence of a similar description is that testimony to the merit of the Earl of Foix, which Sir John Froissart adduces in concluding his character: "Surely it is grete damage," he observes, "that suche a persone sholde be olde or dye." He had his faults, "and yet for all that his people alwayes prayde to God for his longe lyfe: and I herde it reported, howe when he dyed there were in Foyze and in Byerne XM persones that sayd that they wolde gladly have dyed with hym, whereby it is to be thought that they sayd not so without it had been for grete love that they had to their lorde; and surely if they loved hym, they dyd but ryght and accordynge to reason, for he alwayes maynteyned them in theyr ryght and kepte ever true justyce, for all his landes and the people therein had as grete lyberte and fraunchesse, and lyved in as

good peas as though they had ben in paradyse terrestre. I say not this for flattery nor for favour, nor love that I bere hym, nor for the gyftes that he hath gyven me ; but I can well prove all that I have sayd for I am sure there be a M knyghts and squyers wyll saye the same." Thus it is that sentiment is to be displayed in action, and that nobility and virtue are to be proclaimed by facts against which there can be no dispute. These are the grandest monuments of great men, as Xenophon declared to the Greeks when he reminded them of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis, saying in conclusion, ὧν ἐστὶ μὲν τεκμηρια ὄραν τὰ τροπαια, μεγιστον δὲ μαρτυριον ἢ ἐλευθεριᾶ των πολέων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγενεσθε καὶ ἐτραφητε. But we must not lose sight of our subject,—the general spirit and disposition of the chivalrous character as opposed in many instances to those introduced by our modern system of civilization.

“ Formerly,” says Montesquieu, “ the power of virtue was regarded as the stability of nations, but now we hear of nothing but manufactures and commerce, finance,

riches, and even luxury. There is a trade of human actions and of all moral virtues ; the smallest matters, those required by humanity, are only to be procured by money." And here an allusion will necessarily suggest itself to the immortal production of Cervantes, which seems at first to rise up in awful array against whoever shall dare to maintain the virtue of the chivalrous character. No man will be so hardy or so insensible as to deny the genius and the inimitable humour evinced by the author of Don Quixote, but with respect to the moral tendency of that work as affecting the ordinary class of mankind, in this or in any age, there will arise quite a legitimate subject for discussion. Many are the men of reflection who think with me that it is a book never to be read without receiving melancholy impressions, without feelings of deep commiseration for the weakness and for the lot of human nature. What is the character of the hero in this history ? It is that of a man possessing genius, virtue, imagination and sensibility, all the generous qualities which distinguish

an elevated soul, with all the amiable features of a disinterested and affectionate heart. Brave, equal to all that history has recorded of the most valiant warriors—loyal and faithful, never hesitating on the fulfilment of his promise—disinterested as he is brave, he contends but for virtue and for glory; if he desires to win kingdoms it is only to bestow them upon Sancho Panza—a faithful lover—a humane and generous warrior—a kind and affectionate master—a gallant and accomplished gentleman—and this is the man whom Cervantes has represented as the subject of constant ridicule and of occasional reproach. Without doubt there is an important lesson to be derived from the whole, the lesson which teaches the necessity of prudence and good sense, of moderation and respect for the institutions of society, of guarding the imagination from excess of exercise, and the feelings from an over excitement. But this is a lesson to be gently hinted to men of virtue, not to be proclaimed to the profane amidst the mockery of the world. This is not the lesson which the ordinary class of

mankind will derive from it ; and if it were, this is not the lesson of which it stands in need. Sismondi has indeed pronounced in favour of the moral tendency of the whole, but not to reject his authority from the general character of his principles, while he acknowledges that the moral of the book is profoundly sad, we can never agree to the justice of his conclusion. Certainly it will require no prejudiced eye in favour of chivalry, to discern what may be read by him who runs, that the faults of the present age are not on the side which incurs the reproach and ridicule of Cervantes. There is no danger in this enlightened age, as it is termed, of men becoming too heroic, too generous, too zealous in the defence of innocence, too violent in hatred of baseness and crime, too disinterested and too active in the cause of virtue and truth ; the danger is quite on the other side : there is much to be apprehended from the ridicule which is cast upon sentiment, from the importance which attaches to personal convenience, from substituting laws for virtue, and prudence for devotion, from the calcu-



lating spirit of the commercial system, from the epicurean principles of enjoyment which are proclaimed by the modern philosophers. Cervantes exposed the knight errant to the ridicule of the world, but did he stop when he had done this? Moliere held up the hypocrite to the contempt and abhorrence of mankind, but did his shaft reach no farther? The pleasantry of Cervantes upon his death-bed, and the effect which follows the representation of Tartuffe at the present day foreseen and deprecated by Fenelon, may well inspire the lover of virtue and of mankind with a distrust for all champions who employ ridicule against subjects which appear, though it were only in the eyes of the vulgar, to have any connection with virtue. Cervantes in exposing what he conceived to be the danger and absurdity of chivalrous sentiment, held up to mockery not alone the excess and the abuse, but the very reality of virtue. It would be in vain to dispute as to his real object with the reader of his Persiles and Sigismonde, where falsehood and treachery, and dissimulation are repre-

sented, not for censure, but, strange to conceive, for admiration ; where virtue is identified with success, and where personal interest is made at once the motive and the justification of every crime. Upon the whole, therefore, the lover of chivalry may be permitted to remind the critic who eulogises the object of Cervantes, that the character of this writer is not calculated to add weight to his censure, and that by the confession extorted from him in the course of criticism, the literature of Spain from which has issued this most formidable attack that was ever made upon the chivalrous character, is the same literature which is distinguished from that of all the Germanic nations by a spirit of dissimulation and treachery, selfishness, and impiety, and by an open disavowal of the common principles of truth and virtue. "The spirit of chivalry," says Segur, "born in the midst of disorder, after triumphing over the ferocity of the northern barbarians, could but faintly contend in a more tranquil period against a general corruption of manners. The men became vicious, the

women were degraded. It was in vain that some memory of ancient principles presented itself between passions and those over whom they tyrannized; it was in vain that some remnant of virtue opposed a barrier to the progress of vice: there was too much reason for mutual reproach. In need of each other, the two sexes forgave their mutual weakness, shut their eyes to mutual wrongs; a veil was spread over vice; and from that hour, there was no more restraint. The fine institution of chivalry lost its empire; and at length, the romance of Don Quixote by its success and its philosophy concealed under an attractive fiction, completed the ruin by fixing ridicule even upon its memory."

Madame de Stael, in the same work to which I have already referred you, has written a chapter upon the morality which is founded on utility and personal interest. It should, by all means, be read. It cannot be expected that I should apply these sheets to the discussion of a metaphysical question, which seems to be concerned either with mere words, (if we can even

admit the possibility of this alternative,) or else with denying one of the highest attributes which belongs to our nature. Whatever effort, says Madame de Stael, a man of extraordinary ability may exert, to extend the score of utility, "il ne pourra jamais faire que ce mot soit synonyme de celui de dévouement." In the year 1592, Sully thus describes the movement of his own mind, during that important crisis of public affairs. "J'envisageai la pesanteur du fardeau dont je me sentis charger, et je tremblai au milieu de ma joie que ma foiblesse et mon incapacite n'allassent m'engager dans quelque fausse démarche qui nuisit non pas à moi, (je crois que dans ces occasions c'est à soi que l'on pense le moins,) mais au prince qui se reposoit sur moi." I would propose this passage as the only proper answer to those that deny the possibility of forgetting our own interest in devotion to the cause of others. If this should not put them to silence, they may be reminded of Lord Bacon's words, which treat the question with the contempt that it deserves. "It

is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself; it is right earth, for that only stands fast upon its own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another which they benefit." But we cannot too quickly abandon all enquiries and mysteries of this nature, when there is certainly no knowledge to be gained that can enlarge the understanding, or improve the heart.

As a summary statement, I would also refer you to that chapter in the same book which treats of the morality founded upon national interest, in which statesmen may learn, to their surprise, perhaps, that their duty as Christians, and their interest as statesmen, in transacting the affairs of their country, are inseparably united, that the true and the only policy is the policy of virtue. But were it otherwise "*non potest esse dubium, quid faciendum nobis sit.*" The Christian religion acknowledges but one rule of action for all situations, not many rules for different. All these maxims, such as that of Richelieu, "*Les*

Chrétiens doivent oublier les offenses mais les ministres doivent punir," or that ascribed to the Chancellor Seguier under Mazarin, "qu'il y avoit deux sortes de consciences : l'une d'état, qu'il falloit accommoder à la nécessité des affaires, l'autre à nos actions particulieres," a maxim which was pressed upon Charles I. by the Archbishop of York, who persuaded him to sacrifice the Earl of Strafford, or that framed by Louis XI. of France, "qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare \*," or that

\* When Brantome relates this maxim of Louis XI. he observes that it is sinful "ainsi que j'onys une fois prescher à un grand Prédicateur, Docteur de Sorbonne, nommé, Monsieur Poucet qui preschoit à la Paroisse S. Sulpice à S. Germain des prez, qui dit *tout haut* sur un sujet que je ne diray pas, que telles paroles estoient d'un vray Atheiste et qui ouvroit le chemin aux Roys et aux Princes pour aller à tous les Diables, et les rendre vrais Tyrans. Possible qui en voudra bien pesser les raisons, il trouvera ce Prescheur tres veritable, et fort homme de bien selon nostre bon seigneur Jesus Christ, qui hayt mortellement les hypocrites, les quelles on peut nommer proprement Traistres dissimulez, disoit ce bon Prescheur. C'estoit le Prescheur autant hardy à parler que jamais a entré en chaise," &c.

which was practised by the companions of Ulysses in Sicily.

Οἱ δὲ, ἕως μὲν σιτον ἔχον καὶ οἶνον ἔρυθρον  
 Τόφρα Βοων ἀπέχοντο, λιλαιομενοὶ Βιοτοιοῖο.

All these, and a thousand others, are nothing but the devices of wicked men, deceiving and being deceived, which may be briefly stated in that line of monstrous impiety :

“Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.”

And here let me put you on your guard against the sophistry of the modern writers who dare to tamper with those decrees of wisdom which secure happiness and dignity to the female sex. The men who have set themselves in array against religion, and the principles of chivalry, have almost invariably called in the senses to their aid, and the base passions of the human heart, to effect by treachery what they could not otherwise accomplish. Without doubt, in this they have done wisely. It is the precept of our blessed Saviour that we should learn wisdom from them, and hence we

may conclude the propriety of calling in the high and generous feelings of the soul to aid revelation. Mr. Gibbon has said, "that certain laws of Constantine were dictated with very little indulgence for the most amiable weaknesses of human nature, since the description of the crime was applied not only to the brutal violence which compelled, but even to the gentle seduction which might persuade." Now mark how different is the opinion recorded by the great Xenophon, *και μην οτι γε ου Βιαζεταιαι, αλλα πειθει, δια τθτο μαλλον μισητεον. ο μεν γαρ Βιαζομενος, εαυτον πονηρον αποδεικνυει. ο δε πειθων, την τε αναπειθομενον ψυχην δια φερει.* Conviv.

Let no man be so mistaken as to suppose that there is any connection between habits of licentious enjoyment, and what is generous, spirited, or amiable in the human character. On the contrary, habits of this kind tend more than any other derangement of the moral government, to blunt the feelings, to harden the heart, and to destroy the imagination. "Nullum denique scelus," says Cicero, "nullum



malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere\*.”

Finally, and as an additional testimony to the truth of these opinions I will present you with a passage which M<sup>de</sup> de Stael has selected from a work of the celebrated Schlegel. “ Europe was united in one during these grand ages, and the soil of this general country was fruitful in generous thoughts, which served to guide both in life and death. One common chivalry converted adversaries into brethren in arms, and it was to defend one common faith that they were armed. Love inspired every heart, and the poetry which sung this alliance expressed the same sentiment in different languages. Alas! the noble energy of the ancient time is lost. Our age is the inventor of a narrow policy, and what weak men are unable to conceive, is in their eyes only a chimera. Nothing that is divine can succeed when it is un-

\* Let every young man read Anquetil's description of the death of the Duchess de Fontanges one of the last victims to Louis XIV.

dertaken with a profane heart. Alas ! our age has knowledge of neither faith nor love, how could it have preserved hope ?”

“ This know also,” says the Apostle, “ that in the last day, perilous times shall come ; for men shall be lovers of their own selves.” That these times were accomplished, in the days of chivalry, it is impossible to suppose ; but a new age has arisen, and new principles are said to be necessary. The ancient orders of Christendom are superseded by clubs and associations, whereby men can enjoy some of the pleasures of society without fulfilling the duties attached to social life, and may escape the burden of personal obligation without forfeiting their rights and honour. That love which was the soul of chivalry, that devoted affection of the youthful heart, in conformity with nature’s law, which expelled every selfish thought and wish, and refined and developed every generous virtue, is exposed to the counteracting influence of the new philosophy, which teaches the young that there may be pleasure without love, and that the vacuity of

their heart may be supplied without the exercise of virtue, without being devoted and faithful\*, disinterested and sincere;

\* The example of the Dame des belles Cousines, was, it must be confessed, less edifying than her instruction, yet those lessons which she gave to the young page were entirely conformable to the opinions and even to the practice of the time. The complaint of Sir Thomas Maleore, at the end of the 18th book of the Morte d'Arthur, was certainly less generally applicable at the time when he wrote, than it would be in a subsequent age. "Lyke as wynter rasure doth alway arase and deface grene somer, soo fareth it by unstable love in man and woman; for in many persons there is no stabylte. For we may see al day for a lytel blast of wynter's rasure, anone we shall deface and lay apart true love, for lytel or nooghte that cost moch thyng. This is no wysdome, nor stabylte, but it is feebleness of nature and grete disworshyp whosomever useth this. Therefore lyke as May moneth floreth and floryssheth in many gardyns, soo in lyke wyse lete every man of worship florysshe his herte in this world, fyrst unto God, and next unto the joye of them that he promysed his feythe unto." The character of Sir Launcelot affords a striking example of this virtue: "'Wel, sayd the Quenes (who desired their prisoner to chuse one for his love) is this your answer that ye wylle refuse us;' 'ye on my lyf,' sayd Syr Launcelot, 'refused ye ben of me. I wylle

which places avarice and ambition (for the consideration of wealth is avarice, and the love of rank and high connection is ambition,) in the innermost sanctuary of the human heart, and thus defiles, in its noblest feature, the image of the Almighty, which leads its disciples to regard all duty and obligation, "which grey-beards call divine," as matters in which he has no concern, and to say to his selfish heart, like Richard,

" I am myself alone \*."

The convenience and profit of individuals, not the everlasting distinctions of right and wrong are consulted and regarded as the only public good; riches and presumption overpower the opposite scale of virtue and modesty. In a word, the principles and thoughts of men have changed with their political situation. What was once

none of yow; and as for my Lady Dame Gueneuer, were I at my lyberte as I was, I wolde preve hit on yow or on yours, that she is the truest Lady unto her Lord lyvyng.'"

\* Hen. VI. Part III. Act v. Scene 6.

honourable is now said to be obsolete and worthless, imaginary and ridiculous ; what was once baseness and crime is now prudence and moderation, and philosophy. The question will therefore again present itself to every lover of his species, to every thoughtful observer who casts a philosophic eye upon the character and transactions and interests of mankind, and to him it will indeed be a subject of serious enquiry how far this new direction which has been given to the movement of the human heart, how far the principles and temper which now influence the actions of men may fulfil the prediction of Holy Scripture.

I shall make a selection from the books which are before me, for the purpose of pointing out to you somewhat more in detail the peculiar virtues which distinguished the spirit of the chivalrous age. And first we have to remark their trust in divine aid.

“ There is no Knyght lyvinge now, that ought to kenne God soo grete thanke as ye,” said the friend of Sir Launcelot, “ for he hath geven yow beaute, semelynes, and grete strengthe above all other Knyghtes,

and therfor ye are the more beholdyng unto God than any other man to love hym and drede hym, for your strength and manhode wille lytel awaylle yow, and God be ageynste yow." Thenne Sir Launcelot sayd, "Now I knowe wel ye saye me sothe," and his usual cry was, "Jhesu, be thou my sheld and myn armour." And Froissart relates of the English after the battle of Cressy, "this night they thanked God for their good adventure, and made no boast therof; for the kynge wolde that no man shulde be proude, or make boost, but every man humbly to thanke God." And the brave knight who writes the history, remarks upon the delivery of Ghent, "that it was by the grace of God, but that the captains were so proude therof that God was displeased with theym, and that was well sene ere the yere passed as ye shall her after in this storie, to gyve ensample to all people." The same lesson is inculcated in that beautiful romance of Sir Isambas, which is familiar to the reader of Ellis's specimens of early English metrical romances. Were it not for the too sarcastic

vein which pervades the narrative given by this amusing writer, these volumes would be read with unmixed pleasure, but what mind can submit to have these objects ridiculed which are at the same time to excite its interest? This is surely to trifle with a reader's good nature. The Earl of Foix had a custom of celebrating the feast of St. Nicholas with great solemnity, upon which occasion, the Earl used to "departe all afote fro his castell, and go with the clergy in processyon to the churche, where they sange a psalme of the psalter, 'Benedictus dominus deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prælium, et digitos meos ad bellum.'" An interesting emblem of this reliance was displayed in the coat armour of the High and Mighty Prince Duke Albertus de Alasco of Polanda, which bore the hull of a ship having only a main-mast and a top without any tackling, with the motto "Deus dabit vela," shewing that heavenly guidance is that whereby worldly affairs are governed; and Andrew Doria, who was admiral to Charles V. bore a ship with masts and canvass under full sail,

with the motto "non dormit qui custodit;" and we read on the medals struck by Queen Elizabeth on the defeat of the Armada, "Afflavit Deus et dissipantur."

But a belief in the superintendance of Providence, accompanied by a trust in divine protection, has been characteristic of the hero in all ages. What sentence of antiquity is more memorable than this in the Iliad,

Ὅττι μάλ' ἔδηναιος, δς ἀθανατοῖσι μαχοῖτο,  
Ουδὲ τι μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γυνασι παππαζέσιν,  
Ἐλθοντ' ἐκ πολεμοῖο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊότητος.

Thus again Achilles says to Æneas,

Ζεὺς δ' ἄρετὴν ἀνδρεσσιν ὀφέλλει τε, μινυθεὶ τε,  
Ὅπως κεν ἐθέλησιν· ὁ γὰρ καρτισὸς ἀπαντων.

And Hector expresses it more forcibly in these affecting words,

Οἶδ' ἄδ', ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἐσθλὸς, ἐγὼ δὲ σεθεν πολὺ χειρῶν.  
'Ἄλλ' ἤτοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γυνασι κεῖται,  
'Αἶκ σε χειροτεροσ περ ἰῶν ἀπο θυμον ἔλωμαι  
Δερί βαλῶν.

S<sup>te</sup> Palaye, in relating the various ceremonies which took place at the famous



banquet of the Duke of Burgundy, presents us with the list of the twelve virtues which were there represented as the necessary companions to the true knight \*. These

\* *Le Breviaire des nobles par Maistre Alain Chartier* will prove the high expectations which were entertained of all gentlemen who were bound to display "foy, loyauté, honneur, droicture, provesse, amour, courtoisie, diligence, netteté, largesse, sobriété, perseverance;" and the description of the knight in Chaucer's prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* may be produced, as upon the whole a favourable specimen of their real character.

" A Knight there was, and that a worthy man,  
 That fro the time that he first began  
 To riden out, hee loved chevalrie,  
 Trowth, honour, freedome, and courtesie :  
 Full worthy was he in his Lord's warre,  
 And thereto had he ridden no man so farre,  
 As well in Christendome as in heathenesse,  
 And ever had honour for his worthenesse.  
 At Alisaundre he was when it was won,  
 Full often time he had the bourd begon ;  
 Aboven all nations in Pruce :  
 In Lettowe had he ridden, and in Luce  
 No Christen man so oft of his degree :  
 In Carnade at the siege had he be,  
 At Algezer, and ridden in Belmarie,  
 At Leyes was he, and also at Satalie :  
 When they were wonne, and in the great sea,  
 At many a noble armie had he be ;

were faith, charity, justice, good sense, prudence, temperance, firmness, truth, liberality, diligence, hope, and valour\*. And

At mortall battailes had he been fifteen,  
 And foughten for our faith at Tramissena.  
 In listes thries, and aye slaine his fo ;  
 This ilke worthy Knight had been also  
 Sometime with the lord of Palathie,  
 Agenst another Heathen in Turkie :  
 And evermore he had a soucraigne prise,  
 And though he was worthie he was wise ;  
 And of his sport as meeke as is a maid,  
 He never yet no villanie ne said  
 In all his life, unto no manner wight ;  
 He was a very perfite gentill Knight."

In the *Piecès justificatives* at the end of the two first volume of Michaud's History of the Crusades, the reader will find extracts from various travels to the Holy Land, which will convince him, that those of Chaucer's knight were by no means extraordinary for a gentleman of noble family. The itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem will be read with interest, and, indeed, on every account, these collections are highly curious.

\* The mottoes of the old families will be found to proclaim these virtues as their inheritance. The house of Willoughby has—*Verite sans peur*.

Of Napier,—*Sans tache*—ready, aye ready !

Of Howard,—*Sola virtus invicta*.

Others are of a similar kind.

the same writer confesses that the laws of chivalry breathed nothing but religion, virtue, honour, and humanity. He quotes Jouvencel, who speaks of sobriety, purity, and the other virtues which are essential to the profession of arms, and of the vices which are contrary to it, such as swearing cruelty and avarice, perjury, pride, impurity, indolence, anger, gluttony, drunkenness, and these he observes, "doivent etre en horreur au chevalier," that he must abstain in like manner "de toute parole vilaine ou injurieuse\*." "I have lived," says Joinville, speaking of Saint Louis, "twenty-two years in his company, and never during that time have I heard him swear or blaspheme God, or the virgin, or any saint, whatever might have been his passion or provocation. When he wished to affirm any thing, he used to say "truly

\* These may seem strange precepts to propose to the gentlemen of the present day, yet experience proves how necessary it still is to have them in remembrance. Even in the House of Peers we have heard words which no gentleman would utter, and directed against the only person who could be insulted with impunity.

it is so, or truly it is not so." The remark which Joinville adds, on this occasion, is curious, as it proves the antiquity of the custom which is the disgrace of French conversation to this day. "Et est une tres honteuse chose au royaume de France de celui cas, et aux Princes de le souffrir ne oyr nommer, car vous verrez que l'un ne dira pas trois motz à l'autre par mal, qu'il ne die: va de par le diable, ou en autres langaiges." Nor was it sufficient if the knights exercised these virtues themselves, without attending to influence their dependants. After Saint Louis had published his ordinance against swearers, Joinville, to whom such characters were odious, made a regulation for the interior management of his house, "que celui de ses gens qui jureroit seulement par le diable seroit puni d'un soufflet ou d'un coup de poing." "En l'hotel de Joinville," says the Joinville MSS. "qui dit telle parole, reçoit la sufle on la paumelle."

I trust you will not be of opinion that these are trifling or insignificant details. They aim directly at the great end of all

writing and of all reading—the practical improvement of mankind.

It may seem strange to some persons, before consideration, that good sense should be classed among virtues which are essential to the order; yet it will not be difficult to convince them that this decision is perfectly just, and founded upon right reasoning. “It is a people of no understanding,” says the Scripture, “therefore He that made them will not have mercy on them, and He that formed them will shew them no favour\*.” Now the whole apparent mystery of this language is resolved at once if we remember that the understanding here spoken of, as well as the good sense which is classed among moral virtues, depends more upon the heart than upon the head; that it consists in the honest use of those faculties, which are given with hardly any exception, to all men alike, in the practice of pursuing, under the guidance of conscience, the broad and straight forward course of piety and virtue, loyalty

\* Isa. xxvii. 11.

and honour; and that unless in the very rare cases of absolute mental incapacity, the absence of this quality, by whatever term we may think fit to designate it, is sure to indicate some vice or moral blemish of the mind. The importance of this virtue cannot be too highly appreciated in a religious point of view as well as in relation to the conduct of life. "Christianity," says Montesquieu \*, is full of good sense. It is opposed on the one hand to the pedantry, solemn trifling, and impudence of men who have zeal without knowledge, and profession without charity. In religion, as in every concern and transaction of human life, there must be discretion and right judgment to a certain extent to perfect the character, or rather where these are wanting there is no religion. Men may render the most important obligations of no effect, and the most solemn truths ridiculous by failing in this particular. The very acts of piety may be perverted to the scandal of religion. "Toutes choses ont

\* *Esprit des loix*, xxiv. 26.

leur saison," says Montagne, "et je puis dire mon patenostre hors de propos." We do not desire men to be moderately Christians in their language and demeanour, but to be moderate in both, that they may be Christians. We do not desire them to have all wisdom and all knowledge, but to possess that ordinary good sense which is only another expression for ordinary virtue. Again, on the other hand, what is of still greater importance to remember, Christianity is opposed to the blind extravagance of enthusiasts, who, in every age of the world, have neglected the great laws of nature and morality, and to the hypocrisy and impious profanation of those reformers in England, during the reign of Charles I., who persecuted the Church and overthrew the government of the kingdom. In allusion to this particular period you must be reminded that it was impossible for a gentleman to have halted between these two opinions which divided the nation. If Cromwell, Hampden, and Sir Harry Vane were at any interval of their career the dupes of their own base hypo-

crisy, they did not rise in the rank of honour for being the less egregious villains. The plea of error could never be admitted in their excuse, for as long as they had continued true and virtuous, single hearted and sincere, a mistake of such a nature was impossible. And here I cannot refrain from indulging in a short digression upon a subject of vast importance, that I may place you upon your guard against the advance of a crafty and insidious enemy, who attacks the noblest as well as the most vulgar minds, and whose final triumph, as it has been well remarked, is in destroying the vital principles of virtue and veracity. Calvin, the great reformer of France, John Knox, the leader of the Scotch enthusiasts, who approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, who opposed the Christian religion from principle, and by supposed inspiration, the English regicides, who murdered Charles I., and who marched to the scaffold with the confidence of martyrs; these were men of very different dispositions and constitutions of mind, yet were they all the victims,



of the same fanaticism which commenced and perfected its triumph over each individual, the moment when he abandoned the post of honour, the great "vantage ground" of morality and natural revelation. Well might Hooker say in allusion to such impressions, "it behoveth wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear." What wisdom and what sublimity in that reply of Hector to Polydamas!

Τυνη δ' οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερυγέσσι κελνεύεις  
 Πειθεσθαί των ἔτι μετατρεπομ', εἰδ' ἀλεγιζω,  
 Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξιῖσι πρὸς ἡώ τ' ἥλιον τε,  
 Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερα τοιγε, ποτι ζοφὸν ἡεροεντα.  
 Ἡμεῖς δὲ μεγαλοῖο Διὸς πειθόμεθα βεβλη  
 Ὅς πασι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνασσει.  
 Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ὁμνεσθαὶ περὶ πατρης.

There is a beautiful illustration of the lesson which I would impress upon you, in the first book of Herodotus. Pactyas, the Persian rebel, had fled as a supplicant to the Cymeans, who received and sheltered him, as they were bound to do, by their law of conscience. Upon receiving orders from the Persian monarch to deliver this

person to his resentment, they were thrown into dismay. They dreaded the power of the tyrant, and while they were necessarily conscious of their duty, they obeyed the dictate of their fear by affecting to doubt it, and so they sent to consult the Oracle of Branchis, to learn the will of God, although they already knew what that required. The answer was instantly given, "to deliver up Pactyas." The messengers returned, and the Cymeans, thus *confirmed*\*, prepared to deliver up the victim. Aristodicus, a just and prudent man, entreated that nothing might be concluded until he should be sent with other messengers to the same oracle. His request was granted, and the new embassy departed for the oracle. They propose the former question, and the same answer is as quickly returned. But Aristodicus being now convinced of some mistake, proceeded to explore the temple, and to disturb the birds, to whom religion afforded that asylum; whereupon a voice cried out, "O most unholy man,

\* The words of Major Harrison, whose prayer was still less excusable than the demand of the Cymeans.

why do you dare to commit such deeds? Do you venture to disturb my supplicants?" Aristodicus replied, "O king, are you resolved to protect your supplicants, and do you command the Cymeans to deliver up theirs?" Upon which the celebrated answer was returned, "Yea, I do command you this, seeking your destruction as impious men, that you may never again consult the oracle, and enquire whether you should abandon your supplicants." These words might convey memorable instruction, they might teach lessons of prudence and moderation to religious men, lessons of fidelity and truth in the sacrifice of inclination to duty, of hasty passion to the unalterable laws of nature and the Gospel. They might teach them to be just before they are generous, to obey before they sacrifice.

Such is the importance of this virtue with regard to religion: it is of equal consequence in relation to the conduct of life. "I am confident," says Lord Clarendon, "with very good warrant, that many men have, from their souls, abhorred every ar-

ticle of this rebellion, and heartily deprecated the miseries and desolation we have suffered by it, who have themselves, with great alacrity and industry contributed to, if not contrived those very votes and conclusions from whence the evils they abhor have most naturally and regularly flowed and been deduced." And the absence of this virtue will for ever be calculated to produce evil of equal magnitude. Those miserable effects which are witnessed from time to time, arising from the infatuated policy of men of rank, who reward and encourage traitors against religion and against civil government, who seem to regard infidelity as giving men a claim to favour, and disloyalty as entitled to reward; and who meanly imagine from the suggestion of their own covetous hearts, that the proffer of their pitiful treasures can wipe away the stain of merited disgrace,—these effects are to be attributed, not as is generally supposed, to the mental imbecility of half-hearted, half-witted men, and wanting natural discernment, but rather to the far

less excusable failing of common principle and ordinary virtue, to the folly of undisciplined passions and of a worldly heart. It is the folly of disappointed ambition, it is the folly of personal enmity, it is the folly of turning aside from the view of inevitable consequences, from the evidence of experience and of judgment, to follow the impulse of selfish passion and of selfish interest. It is the folly of preferring sophistry, which pleases, to truth, which opposes private inclination. It is the folly of preferring the praises of a party, or of a thoughtless multitude to the testimony of a good conscience and to the approval of the wise. How could such folly be compatible with the spirit of a gentleman? What union could take place between qualities so opposite as selfishness and public spirit, deceit and generosity, a slavish devotion of body and soul to the scheme of a political intrigue, and the noble, the high and glorious independance of conscience and of honour? The whole case is clearly stated and profoundly argued by the incomparable Locke, in his chapter upon

power. "Here," he observes, "we may see how it comes to pass that a man may justly incur punishment, though it be certain that in all the particular actions that he wills, he does, and necessarily does will that, which he then judges to be good. For though his will be always determined by that which is judged good by his understanding, yet it excuses him not; because, by a too hasty choice of his own making, he has imposed on himself wrong measures of good and evil; which, however false and fallacious, have the same influence on all his future conduct as if they were true and right. He then vitiated his own palate, and must be answerable to himself for the sickness and death that follows from it. The eternal law and nature of things must not be altered to comply with his ill ordered choice. If the neglect or abuse of the liberty he had to examine what would really and truly make for his happiness, misleads him, the miscarriages that follow on it must be imputed to his own election. He had a power to suspend his determination; it was given him that he might ex-

amine, and take care of his own happiness, and look that he were not deceived. And he could never judge that it was better to be deceived than not, in a matter of so great and near concernment\*.”

Rightly then did our ancestors regard good sense as a virtue, which was essential to the chivalrous character, and perfectly clear and agreeable to right reason was their view of its origin and importance.

Generosity and liberality were considered, as they will always be, two essential qualities in the character of a gentleman. The hospitality of these times became a positive virtue in the chivalrous character. When the poor youth desired food for a twelvemonth at King Arthur's Court, “ ‘ Wel,’ sayd the Kynge, ‘ ye shal have mete and drynke ynouz, I never deffended yt none, nother my frende ne my foo.’ ” This was according to the Apostolic precept “ if thine enemy hunger feed him.” The Duke of Montmorency passing by

\* See also Aristotle, *Ethics*, lib. iii. 5.

Bruges when his nephew the young Duc d'Enghein was at school, took occasion to make him a present of a hundred pistoles for pocket money. Upon his return he again paid him a visit, when he enquired to what use he had applied the money. The young Duke shewed him the purse full as he had received it, upon which the Duke of Montmorency took the purse and threw it out of the window, saying to his nephew, " apprenez Monsieur qu'un aussi grand prince que vous ne doit point garder d'argent." The pupil of Fenelon knew to what purpose money might be well employed. When the young Duke of Burgundy heard that La Fontaine was converted, and had renounced the profit arising from an edition of his Tales, he sent to him a purse of fifty livres, with an assurance " that his liberality was not to terminate with that first present " Let it be well understood also that this disposition may be displayed as well in refusing as in employing money, and that a laudable use will never remove the disgrace attached to an improper zeal in its acquirement. It



happened upon a sudden swell of the waters in the Adige, that the bridge of Verona was carried away with the exception of the centre arch, upon which stood a house, with its inhabitants, who were seen supplicating for assistance, while the foundations which supported the building were visibly giving way. The Count of Spolverini proposed a reward of about an hundred French Louis, to any person who would venture to deliver them. A young peasant offered himself from the crowd, seized a boat and pushed off into the stream : he gained the pier and received the whole family into the boat, with which he returned in safety to the shore. The Count was about to give him the reward, "No," said the young man, "I do not sell my life, give the money to this poor family which has need of it. This was the spirit of a gentleman in a peasant: but how rare are such instances in a commercial country? Let it be observed also, that the spirit of a gentleman is opposed to these narrow schemes of selfish enjoyment, to these threatening

denunciations and murderous contrivances for the protection of property which are so frequently adopted by rich mechanics and persons in the middle ranks of life, who fancy themselves great men when they frown upon the poor. The neighbourhood of a gentleman, should be marked not by threatening notices and objects of terror, but by a general system of beneficence and liberality, extending its influence in a greater or less degree to all persons of whatever condition who may approach it. In enforcing the virtue and the obligation of practising liberality, you must be careful to observe that it is not the extravagant and unmeaning abuse of money in which the thoughtless heir is so likely to indulge, nor the system of ruin and degradation which leads men to "the turf" and the gaming table. But it is that habit of despising the instrument in the pursuit of the end, of regarding money as the means of rewarding, encouraging, and relieving those who are the proper objects of such a disposition. It is to reward those who

have rendered us any service, to encourage the industrious \*, who have to struggle with difficulties in their laudable efforts at independence, to relieve the poor and the destitute, the fatherless and the widow. Who has learned to trust in the Cross, to look up to Christ as his Saviour, and will not pant after the exercise of these virtues! "Christo in pauperibus," what a thought to animate him! Who can look back with satisfaction upon the dignity of a worthy race, to which he is allied, and will not aspire to imitate that charity and munificence which are associated with its name! Has it been his office to discharge the last duties to the dead? Can he forget the impression which overwhelmed him when he heard that anthem which proclaims in simple words, but in all the pomp and triumph of music, the choice which they made of life eternal. "When the ear heard

\* Not to be always considering for how little we can discharge the debt of service, but rather to be actuated by the spirit of Tiberius the Second, who "measured his bounty to the people not so much by their expectations as by his own dignity."

me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him." And here I shall take occasion to observe that the ideas and manners of our own country, in the present age, although they differ from those which we are considering in this particular of charity to the poor, yet do they not, in the smallest degree, dispense with the exercise of similar virtues. This is an age of system and of civilization (as it is termed) pushed to an extreme; too much is expected from the operation of law, and too little from the virtue of individuals. We are too careful in looking forward to general results, and too remiss in discharging particular acts of duty when we cannot be certain of their consequence. I do not wish, however, to speak with censure of those institutions which certainly contribute to great good, while they relieve men as far as is compatible with the attainment of that end, from feeling and obeying the obligations of religion. But there are men so earnestly de-

sirous of promoting their benevolent plans for the instruction and benefit of mankind, that they will overlook the attendance of positive evil upon the measures which they adopt, and will be indifferent to the disposition of mind in the individuals who contribute to their finance, provided the result of all will be an increase of funds to be expended in the creation of that good in which they are the chartered traders. With the very best intentions their motto is in fact

“ *O cives, cives, quærenda pecunia primum est  
Virtus post nummos.*”

Forgetting that these great general results, however the instrumentality of human means may be exercised, are after all in the hands of a higher Power; that the missionary who indulges his converts in the practices of idolatry, and the man of benevolence at home, who neglects positive and immediate advantage for a future good, are both actuated by a worldly prudence which is condemned by the Gospel, and that in every circumstance of life, the first duty of Christians is not to sacrifice

but to obey. It is related of Mr. Burke that " he was liberal even to the common mendicants ; and used to attribute inattention to their requests rather to the love of money than to the professed policy of discouraging beggars." Whatever may be our opinion with respect to this particular practice, *let it be made the rule and resolution of every gentleman* to answer all just and reasonable appeals to his charity ; for it is a duty which he owes to himself as well as to God and his fellow men. Let him give alms, however small, whether it be on passing the prison or hospital, on being presented with an authenticated statement of suffering, or on witnessing an actual scene of distress. There are, indeed, duties which he must discharge as a member of society, under the worst of laws, but he has also to fulfil duties as a man and as a gentleman, with the performance of which no human institution has a right to interfere. It is absurd and unchristian to argue against such habits of liberality from the ingratitude of men. " Il est beau de faire des ingrats," says a French poet.

With respect to the evil which arises from the indiscriminate dispensation of alms, which relates more particularly to my object in these remarks, you will remember that Paley, in his Moral Philosophy, is careful to warn his reader from tampering with those fine and exquisite feelings, which should be ever ready to prompt and to direct us. This is the lesson which I wish to press upon you. The corruption and the arts of complicated wickedness which prevail in a great capital may require that kind of provision for the necessities of the poor which is not liable to be abused. But after all, upon every occasion and in every place, the Christian and the gentleman should both remember, that their own individual temper of mind must not be neglected for the sake of any general result to society, and besides this, that cases of desertion and of need will exist notwithstanding the exertions of a public body; they will remember that in the very scene of the greatest opulence, human beings are found, from time to time, reduced to such a state of hopeless and of insurmountable

misery, that death is at once both its consequence and its termination. And further, the latter must bear in mind that it is not to become a parish officer that he is called by his order, not a mere instrument in the hands of a public body, who is to forget the culture of his individual character in furthering the ends of a general institution; that he is not to be content with the simple dispensation of money to be converted into virtue by the piety of other men, still less the avowed votary of a system and a theory who will sacrifice the best affections of his heart, and disobey the commands of religion in order to pursue his system and his theory, the result of cool calculation in his closet—He will recollect that this is not what is required of him, but that the duty is clear and simple, at once beneficial to others and to his own mind. The success and the issue resteth with God, but the virtue, without prying into its possible consequences, is for us to discharge\*.

\* I am aware that the policy of the heathen world is against my reasoning on this subject. The Greeks had a horror of mendicity. Herodotus relates that



Arrived at this subject, when we have to display the charity and unostentatious

Amasis, King of Egypt, punished public beggars with death. The Romans condemned them to the mines and public works, and even punished the persons who gave them money. It is the saying of Plautus in *Trinum*. "De mendico male meretur qui dat ei quod edat aut bibit; nam et illud quod dat perdit et producit illi vitam ad miseriam." The instinct of animals agrees with this reasoning, which seems to be essential to every good government,

"Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent;"

and even

— "Pars agmina cogunt  
Castigant que moras." —

"Potius expedit inertes fame perire quam in ignavia fovere," is the savage maxim of the Roman emperors. The Germans, according to Tacitus, condemned all beggars to be thrown into their morasses, where they perished. Upon the suppression of the monasteries, the mendicants who had formerly obtained relief at their gates, wandered in want and wretchedness through the country. To abate this nuisance, a statute was enacted in the first year of Edward VI. According to which, whoever "lived idly and loiteringly for the space of three days," came under the description of a vagabond, and was liable to the following punishment. Two justices of the peace might order the letter V to be burnt on his breast, and adjudge him to serve the informer two years as

benevolence of ancient manners, the review of history becomes truly delightful; although we are continually reminded of that truth which the introduction of Christianity has made so much more indisputable. "O quam multarum egregia opera in obscuro jacent\*." When the Earl of

his slave. His master was bound to provide him with bread, water, and refuse meat; might fix an iron ring round his neck, arm or leg, and was authorised to compel him to "labour at any work, however vile it might be, by beating, chaining, or otherwise." If the slave absented himself a fortnight, the letter S was burnt on his cheek or forehead, and he became a slave for life: and if he offended a second time in like manner, his flight subjected him to the penalties of felony. These particulars are curious as marking the effects which followed the return from Christianity to the philosophy of the pagans, or rather to that infidel frame of mind which actuated Somerset and his associates. The milder spirit of the Gospel, while it will sanction a rational and beneficent policy, will be cautious how it prevents the alleviation or increases the misery of individual suffering. Gregory the Great interdicted himself during several days from the exercise of the sacerdotal functions, because a beggar had perished in the streets of Rome.

\* When the executors of the great Montesquieu were inspecting his papers, they found a note of 6,500 livres, as sent to M. Main of Cadiz, who, upon en-

Flanders sought refuge in the "poor smoky house" of an old woman in Bruges, crying out, "O good woman, save me; I am thy Lorde therle of Flaunders." "The poor woman," says Froissart, "knewe hym well, for she had ben often tymes at his gate to fetche almes, and had often sene hym as he went in and out a sportyng." Acts of charity where they are thus indirectly presented, are the more striking. Froissart relates of the famous Earl of Foix, that "he gave fyve florins in small money at his gate to poore folkes, for the love of God." How extensive and truly primitive in its dispensation was the charity of Charlemagne, as stated by Eginhart? "*circa pauca pauperes sustentandos et gratuitam liberalitatem, devotissimus, quam non in patria sua solum, et in suo*

quiry being made, related that the money had been employed in delivering a native of Marseilles, who had been captured and confined at Tetua. If this memorandum, intended for personal use, had not been thus accidentally found, the name of the person who acted this most generous part, would have been for ever unknown.

regno facere curaveret, verum trans-maria in Syriam, et Ægyptum, atque Africam Hierosolymas, Alexandriam atque Carthaginem ubi Christianos in paupertate vivere compererat, penuriæ eorum compatiens pecuniam mittere solebat.”

Let us attend to Joinville's account of Saint Louis. “ From the time of his earliest youth he was pitiful towards the poor and afflicted, and during his reign there were always twenty-six poor people fed daily in his house, and in Lent the number was increased. Frequently he waited upon them himself, and served them from his own table, and on the festivals and vigils he always served them before he ate or drank ; and when they had enough, they all received money to carry with them. In short, it would be impossible to relate the number and greatness of acts of charity which were performed by the King Saint Louis.” And he observes that when some persons complained of his expense, he made reply, “ qu'il aimoit mieux faire grans despens à faire aumones, que en boubans et vanitez ;” and the

historian adds what should be attended to with care, that for all his alms there was nothing deficient in the expenditure of his house, or unworthy of a great prince. Whenever he travelled within his kingdom he was in the habit of visiting the poor churches, and hospitals, he would enquire for poor gentlemen and widows, and for young ladies who were in distress, that he might enable them to marry. Wherever there was suffering and distress there he bestowed his money and his interest. The commissioners whom he sent into the provinces to make restitution, were directed to draw up a list of the poor labourers of each parish who were disabled, and these were provided for by the king. His will contained a vast number of donations to monasteries and hospitals; to poor young women for their dowry, to the poor in general who wanted clothing; to scholars who had not the means of defraying the expense of their education; to widows and orphans, and lastly to clerks, until they should procure a benefice. It is related of King Robert, son of Hughes Capet, that

he fed three hundred poor people every day. Upon Holy Thursday he served them on his knees and washed their feet, and thence the custom prevailed in France as in Germany for the king to perform this pious ceremony every year. In Archbishop Turpin's chronicle we read of the Saracen Argolander, who found Charlemagne at dinner, when he came to be baptized and to confirm the truce. The king was surrounded with knights and priests, who sat at many tables, but Argolander espied also thirty poor men in mean habiliments, without either table or table cloth, sitting and eating their scanty meals upon the ground. He enquired what they were? "These," replied the king, "are people of God, the messengers of our Lord Jesus, whom in his and his Apostles names' we feed daily." Upon this Argolander concluded their religion to be false, and refused to be baptized. "Here then," says the writer of this renowned history, "we may note the Christian incurs great blame who neglects the poor. If Charles, from inattention to their comfort, thereby

lost the opportunity of converting the Saracens, what will be the lot of those who treat them still worse? They will have this sentence pronounced:—Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; naked, and ye clothed me not.”

I must again direct your attention to the character of the Chevalier Bayard. The President d’Expilly from the passage which I have before quoted, proceeds to relate, as follows, these distinguishing features of his character. “He never refused to assist his neighbour, either in doing him a service or in affording him money, and this he always performed in secret and with the best grace. No poor gentleman ever experienced his refusal, whatever he might have wished from him. It is calculated that he enabled, and caused to marry, during his life, more than a hundred poor orphans, both of noble and of common family. The widow was sure to meet with his assistance and consolation. In war, he used to mount a soldier, to give clothes to one man, money to another, and contrived

always to persuade them that it was he who was under an obligation. He had great and frequent opportunities of gaining money, but he gave away the profit of ransoms, and reserved nothing. He never departed from a house in which he had been lodged, or from a conquered country without paying exactly for what he had required." This is not careless praise, for I will present you with particular instances that will verify and confirm it. It happened, that an unfortunate young lady, abandoned by her mother, and enticed away by his valet, excited at once his commiseration and curiosity. "Plut à Dieu," cried the unhappy girl, "que je fusse morte avec honneur avant que me voir entre vos mains ; mais ma mere ne m'y a forcée que par misère, car nous mourons de faim." Here she was overpowered with her grief. Bayard deeply affected, and observing so much virtue in this young person, replied to her. "Indeed, my dear young lady, I shall take good care how I combat these noble sentiments which you evince. I have always respected



virtue, and I respect it particularly in the nobility. Be comforted and come with me, I will conduct you to a house where your honour will be in safety. Saying this, he took the light from his servant, and conducted her to the house of a lady to whom he was related, and who lived near his own. The following morning he sent to enquire for the mother, whom he reproached in the most severe terms for having been induced to an act of such infamy as to deliver up her daughter. And above all," said he, "being of noble family you are still more guilty." The poor woman terrified at what had happened, assured him of her daughter's honour, and that her fault was only occasioned by hunger and misery. "But tell me," replied Bayard, "has no one proposed marriage to her?" "One of our neighbours," she answered, "a gentleman of fortune, spoke to me on the subject a short time ago; but he demanded a fortune of six hundred florins, and that is more than double of all that I possess in the world." "And would he marry her," replied Bayard, "if she had

this fortune?" "Yes, my lord, very certainly," replied the widow. Then the knight sent for his purse, from which he drew three hundred crowns, which he presented to her, saying, "here are two hundred crowns, which are worth more than six hundred florins, to portion your daughter, and a hundred crowns for her dress and toilet;" he then presented another hundred crowns to the mother, and charged his valet-de-chambre to keep a watch upon the conduct of the parties, and to give him an account of it, until she should be married. The wedding took place in three days, and the generosity of Bayard was rewarded by the satisfaction which he felt in preserving the honour of a young, noble, and virtuous girl, and of having rendered her, by his conduct, a respectable and exemplary wife\*.

An example of this kind requires no

\* Scipio restored the captive to her lover Allucius, but it was *upon condition* that the prince would assist the Roman people: the republican evinced his Roman selfishness even while he talked of generosity and love.

comment. That man's heart must be in a state of hopeless debasement who can contemplate it without admiration.

In the storming of the city of Brescia, by the French, Bayard received a severe wound at the commencement of the action, and was carried by some soldiers into a magnificent house which was near, belonging to a gentleman who had fled, leaving his wife and two young and beautiful daughters without human protection. It was the lady who opened the door, and admitted Bayard, who was thought to be dying. He ordered the soldiers to remain without the door, and to allow no person to enter. He was carried into a splendid apartment, where the lady fell upon her knees before him, and entreated his protection for herself and for her children. "Madame," replied Bayard, hardly able to speak, "I do not know whether I shall survive my wound, but as long as I live there shall no more harm happen to you or to your daughters than to myself." A surgeon was procured, and as soon as he had dressed the wound, Bayard enquired for

the master of the house. Upon hearing that he had fled for safety to a convent, he dispatched two soldiers who conducted him back to his house, when Bayard assured him of his friendship and protection. In this house he was confined to his chamber for six weeks, and when at length the surgeon had consented to his plan of rejoining the army, the gallant Bayard could not endure further delay. The gentleman and lady at whose house he lodged, hearing of his proposed departure, and considering that themselves, their children, and all their property, which might amount to a yearly income of two thousand gold ducats\*, were at his disposal, were greatly at a loss to anticipate how he would treat them, and at the least they reckoned upon having to pay ten thousand ducats for their ransom. But the lady, who had opportunities of knowing the nobleness of his sentiments, had hopes that he would be contented with the offer which she prepared to make, and she inclosed two thousand five hundred

\* It was a small coin of the value of eleven livres ten sous of present French money.

gold ducats in a small steel box, richly ornamented, and on the morning of the day when Bayard was to set out, she came into his room, followed by a servant who carried the box. She began by falling on her knees, but he obliged her to rise, and refused to hear her until she was seated by his side. "My Lord," she commenced, "I shall render thanks to God all my life, for having been pleased, in the storming and pillage of our city, to conduct to our house so generous a knight. I shall always consider you as our guardian angel, to whom I, my husband, and my two daughters are indebted for life and honour. Since the day that you entered our house, we have only received marks of your goodness and friendship; your people have failed in nothing, and have paid for every thing that they took. We confess that we are your prisoners. The house, and every thing which it contains, is yours by the right of conquest; but you have displayed so much generosity and greatness of soul, that I am going to entreat you to have pity upon us, and to be satisfied with the small

present which I have the honour to offer you." In saying this, she opened the box and displayed the contents. The knight, who had always despised gold and silver, began to smile. "Madame," said he, "how much is there in the box?" The lady conceiving that he said this in disdain at the insignificance of the present, replied, trembling, "My Lord, there are only two thousand five hundred ducats, but if you are not satisfied, order what you require, and we will endeavour to find it." "That is not what I was intending to say," replied Bayard, "if you should offer me a hundred thousand crowns I should not regard it worth as much as the kindness with which you have treated me in your house, and the good company which I have enjoyed in your family. Instead of taking your money, I give you my promise that as long as I shall live, you will possess in me a gentleman for your servant and your friend, and that I will dearly cherish the remembrance of your kindness." The lady, quite astonished at such an unexpected reception, burst into tears, and falling at his

feet, conjured him to accept her present. "My Lord," she exclaimed, "I shall regard myself as the most unhappy woman in the world if you refuse it, and I shall feel that during your abode with us, I have not deserved the kindness with which you have loaded us." "Then Madame," replied Bayard, "since you absolutely wish it, I accept it, but I beg that you will desire your daughters to come here, that I may take my leave of them." While she was absent, in calling her daughters, Bayard divided the ducats into three portions, each of the two containing a thousand ducats, and the other, five hundred. The young ladies, upon entering, were about to kneel, but he obliged them to sit down by his side. Then the eldest began: "My Lord, you behold in us two young persons who are indebted to you for life and honour. We are very sorry that we have no other means to recompense your favour, but that of praying to God for your lordship all our lives, that he may reward you in this world and in the next." Bayard, affected almost to tears, thanked them for their assistance,

and for the pleasure which he had enjoyed in their company, (for they had been constantly in his room, and had diverted him while they were at work, either by singing or by playing on the lute.) “ You know,” said he, “ that soldiers are not generally loaded with jewels or other articles to present to young ladies, but Madame, your mother, has just forced me to accept from her two thousand five hundred ducats, which you see there. I give a thousand to each of you for your marriage portion.” In spite of their efforts, he obliged them to accept it, requesting only that they would pray to God for him. Then turning to the mother, “ Madame,” said he, “ these five hundred ducats remain for me, and the use which I wish to make of them, is to distribute them among the poor nunneries, which have suffered most during the plunder; and as I am going to depart, and you have better opportunity of ascertaining the most deserving of these objects, I trust this work in your hands, and now I must take leave of you and of your daughters.” They threw themselves at his feet, and la-



mented as if they had lost a father ; they clasped his hands in their own, and the mother with difficulty found utterance to wish him farewell. " Too generous knight, God alone can recompense you ; we shall pray that he may do it, every day that we shall live." After this they withdrew. Bayard sent to request that the father would come to dine with him. Informed of what had passed, he attended and expressed his gratitude. As soon as they had dined, Bayard, who had given orders for his equipage to be ready, was making preparations to set out, when the two young ladies presented themselves, and entreated him to accept from each a piece of their work. The eldest gave him two bracelets of gold and silver thread, and the youngest, a purse of crimson satin, richly embroidered : he received them with as much gratitude as if they had been his fortune ; he put on the bracelets in their presence, and placed the purse in his pocket, promising the young ladies that as long as their presents should last, he would carry them with him. Adieus and tears were

again commencing, but they must, at length, separate.

From this affecting narrative our thoughts will naturally lead us to the memorable instance of chivalrous virtue displayed by Alexander the Great, towards the captive family of Darius, that well known but never-too-often-admired example of delicate attention and of generous forbearance, which would have reflected grace and glory upon the most virtuous hero of Christendom. Leonnatus, says the historian, whom Alexander employed to communicate his wishes to the prisoners, *παρελθοντα ἐς την σκηνην, τα τε περι Δαρειν ειπειν, και οτι την θεραπειαν αυταις ζυγχωρει Αλεξανδρος την Βασιλικην, και τον ἄλλον κοσμον και καλεισθαι Βασιλισσας* \*. When the unfortunate Darius was apprized of the generosity of his enemy, he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed in these celebrated words, 'Αλλ' ὦ Ζευ Βασιλευ, ὅτω ἐπι-  
 τετραπται νεμειν τα Βασιλεων πραγματα ἐν ἀν-  
 θρωποις, συ νυν μαλιστα μεν ἐμοι φυλαζον περσων  
 τε και Μηδων την ἀρχην, ὡσπερην και ἔδωκας.

\* Arrian, lib. ii. 12.

Εἰ δε δη ἐγὼ ἔκτετι σοι Βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, σὺ δε μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδῆναι τὸ ἔμῳν κρατος\*.

There cannot be a more affecting instance of the virtue and glory belonging to the hero of these days, than that which occurs in the History of Galien Restauré, when the brave Galien hastens to defend the cause of his innocent mother, the beautiful Jacqueline, who was falsely accused by his wicked uncles, and about to suffer a cruel death. The first thing he heard upon his arrival was the lamentation of the poor. "La meillure Demoiselle de ce pais," they cried, "sera aujourd huy exilée à grand tort, les pauvres étoient souténus par elle; maudit soit celui qui est cause que nous la perdrons." And now the awful hour arrived when Jacqueline was conducted forth to hear the fatal sentence. Alas! in vain did she call upon her faithful Olivier who was slain at Roncevaux. Burgaland was the foe who defied her friends. She supplicated one of her relations to accept the

\* Arrian, lib. iv. 20.

challenge, but he replied, "Je n'entreprendrai pas cela, de combattre contre Burgaland." When Galien saw his mother thus forsaken, and that no person dared to defend her, he advanced, took her by the hand, and said, "Madame, faites bonne chere, car jusqu'à la mort je prendrai votre cause en main et vous défendrai pour justifier votre innocence." Then the challenge was accepted, and the lists cleared. Jacqueline knew not her son: "Si elle l'ent. connu," says the writer of this history, "elle eut aimé mieux être bruslée que de le laisser combattre contre Burgaland." The combatants prepare for action: Galien, raising his hand, and making the sign of the cross upon his forehead. Burgaland defied him in bitter terms, while Galien, we are told, "reclama le nom de Jesus, en le priant qu'il lui voulut être en aide." The battle commenced, and Galien seemed to sink under the blows of his adversary: "Quand la pauvre Jacqueline vit ce coup, elle se jetta la face contre terre, et se prit à pleurer en disant: vrai Dieu vous sçavez que je suis accusée à tort, n'étant coupable

aucunement de la mort de mon pere; protegez s'ils vous plait, le chevalier qui combat pour moi." But Galien recovered himself, and replied to the taunts of Burgaland, saying, " Jesus Christ a toujours été le protecteur des innocens, j'ai esperance en lui," Burgaland foamed with rage; the people cry out for pity: " Helas! il est trop jeune, si ce n'etoit son courage il seroit deja mort." Galien pronounced the high name of our Saviour. " Car celui," says the writer, " qui le nommera ne perira le jour qu'il les aura prononcez, s'il n'est faux ou parjure et qu'il n'ait tort en ce qu'il veut disputer." Once more all hope of Galien seemed to be at an end, but our Lord had mercy on the child, and he gave his adversary a mortal wound who fell dead upon the spot.

The historian goes on to relate, after some delay, how Jacqueline discovers him to be her son; " Quand Jacqueline l'entendit parler elle fit un cry, puis tomba pâmée; quand elle fut revenuë elle commença à pleurer, et vint vers Galien et l'embrassa et dit. Loüe soit Dieu, quand

il m'a fait la grace de révoir mon fils, et que je le vois en santé devant moi. De tout le mal que j'ay souffert et enduré il ne m'importe, puisque j'ay recouvert mon enfant." The same union of courage and generosity, every instance of which excites the rapture and enthusiasm of the brave, is displayed with admirable force in the speech of Achilles to the unfortunate Clytemnestra, who supplicates his assistance to save her innocent daughter from the hands of Agamemnon. Nothing can be more truly chivalrous than the delicate sense of honour which the Greek poet in this instance has attributed to his hero, and it is highly worthy of remark, that even in the form of expression he has given an exact portrait of the knightly character, of its independence, its simple and straightforward integrity, its generosity and its tenderness of soul.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς ἐνσεβέστατου τραφεῖς,  
 Χειρῶνος, ἔμαθον τοὺς τροποὺς ἀπλοὺς ἔχειν.  
 Καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαϊς, ἦν μὲν ἡγῶνται καλῶς,  
 Πείσομεθ' ὅταν δὲ μὴ καλῶς, οὐ πείσομαι.  
 Ἄλλ' ἐνθαδ' ἐν Τροίᾳ τ' ἐλευθερὰν φύσιν  
 Παρέχων, Ἄρη το κατ' ἔμε κοσμησῶ δορί.

Σε δ', ὡ σχετλια παθουσα προς των φιλτατων,  
 "Α δη κατ' ἄνδρα γιγνεται νεανιαν,  
 Τοσουτον δικτον περιβαλων καταστελω,  
 Κοῦποτε κορη ση προς πατρος σφαγησεται,  
 'Εμη φατισθεισ'·————— \*

If we turn for a moment from such scenes, to observe the spirit which characterised the heroes of ancient Rome, the models of republican virtue, the examples that are absurdly held up for the instruction of an age which must execrate and despise them, what a contrast is presented? With what feelings can we regard Scipio, when he is represented preaching a sermon upon continence to the young prince Masinissa, with murder and treachery in his heart, endeavouring to persuade him either to murder the beautiful woman he had just married, or to give her up to be murdered by the Romans? The Numidian had not the courage to resist the inhuman minister of republican tyranny; he had not the virtue to protect the helpless princess who had thrown herself upon his mercy. Overcome by persuasion and terror, he sent a trusty

\* Eurip. Iphig. in aulid.

slave who had charge of the poison which was kept ready against unforeseen adversities, and bade him, when he had prepared a potion, to carry it to Sophonisba with this message: “ Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the marriage engagement, the obligation of a husband to a wife; but since to do this is denied him, by those who have the power to hinder it, he now performs his other promise that she should not be delivered up alive to the Romans. Sophonisba, mindful of her father, her country, and the two kings whose wife she has been, will consult her own honour.” When the minister of death came to the queen, and with the message presented her the poison; “ I accept,” said she, “ this marriage gift; nor is it unwelcome if my husband could indeed do nothing kinder for his wife. This, however, tell him—that I should have died with more honour if I had not married at my funeral.” She spoke these words with a resolute countenance, took the cup with a steady hand, and drank it off. The wife of Syphax had sacrificed her honour when she sought life



and safety from the hands of Masinissa ; but was it for the man who murdered, or for the slave who betrayed a beautiful and helpless woman, to talk of virtue and fidelity ? The voice of his country proclaimed the glory of the Roman conqueror, and the prince who consented to be the base instrument of his vengeance was soothed by the honours of a kingly crown, and by the assurance from the lips of Scipio that “ he was the only foreigner the Roman people thought worthy of them.” But the fate of that unfortunate queen will excite the pity of all generous hearts ; while every man of honour will regard with execration the policy which persecuted, and the cowardice which betrayed her. But let us return to the character of Bayard. “ He was the sworn enemy,” says D’Expilly, “ of all flatterers and of flattery ; and with whatever great prince he had to speak, it was always the truth which he uttered. Scandal was hateful to him, and he never took part in it ; on the contrary, he repressed it as much as he could. Bayard despised riches all his life, and he little esteemed the rich if

they were not also virtuous. He equally hated the hypocrite, and the bully who affected to be brave; and he punished with severity those who quitted their standards for plunder. The history of his life will display his valour, his wisdom in council, and his prudence in action. Finally, we conclude this panegyric by observing that Bayard was not one of those who, having commenced well, fall off with years; nor on the other hand, of those who finish their career more honourably than they commenced it. His virtues were displayed from the earliest youth, they were developed by maturity; they were unaffected by honours, and they were crowned by a death of glory and by a renown which will endure to the latest posterity.

Yet there is one feature of this admirable character which has not been sufficiently laid before you—his high honour. This will lead me, in the end, to select other instances which enrich and dignify the page of history: but the life of Bayard will furnish the first of these examples, without which the dark scenes of this deceitful

world would present neither light nor object worthy of our regard.

The Pope Julius the Second had failed in his attempt to take the city of Ferrara by siege and stratagem, he conceived a third plan; this was to employ persons who should influence the Duke to deliver up the French to his discretion. The Pope had in his service a gentleman of Lodi, in the Duchy of Milan, named Augustin Guerlo, a man of intrigue, ever more ready to commit a base than an honourable action. The Pope had a conference with him, in which he charged him to have a private interview with the Duke of Ferrara, and to offer him, on the part of the Pope, one of his nieces for his eldest son, with the rank of gonfalonier and captain-general of the Church; and that besides, he would abandon all their present bones of contention, on condition that he would unite with him to destroy the French utterly. For this purpose you have only to dismiss them from your service as no longer necessary. They will then be obliged to pass through my terri-

tory, and I wish that not a man may escape. Guerlo was pleased with the commission, and he promised to fulfil it. He came to Ferrara, and had an interview with the Duke, who heard his proposals without betraying his horror: he only replied that he would willingly lend himself to further the wishes of the holy father although unexpected, and that he would have preferred the loss of his estates, or even death itself to an ingratitude and a treason so unworthy of him. However, he treated the messenger well, and apparently with favour, but he ordered him to be conducted into a room, the door of which he locked and kept the key. He instantly went to the house of Bayard, accompanied with one gentleman. The account which he gave of the bad intention of Julius, filled Bayard with horror; who could with difficulty believe that the account was true; but the Duke proposed instantly to conduct him to the palace, and to place him in a cabinet whence he could himself hear Guerlo repeat the Pope's commission. But, he added, I felt the same horror when it was

first related. I know the obligations which my ancestors have had to the kings of France, and what I have myself to the reigning king, and rather than repay them by treason, I would consent to be torn asunder by four horses. Bayard replied that he need not justify himself, that he knew his greatness of soul too well to fear for the result as far as he was concerned, and that he should feel himself as secure in Ferrara as in Paris. Then the Duke proposed to adopt a similar measure against the Pope, and to play him *some good trick* in return; and so without explaining himself farther he went back to the palace where he first entertained Guerlo. After this he accosted him upon business. "I find that the plan of the holy father is not practicable, and for two reasons; first, how can he suppose that I can trust him when he has declared a hundred times that he hated me more than any other man in the world; and that he would put me to death if I fell into his hands; and when I know that all he desires is to obtain my city and estates? In the second place, how could I

have the assurance to tell the chevalier Bayard and the other French officers, that I do not require their services, and they may be gone. They are twice as strong as I am here. They will take time to inform the king or his lieutenant-general the grand master of Chaumont, and if in waiting for their orders, they should happen to discover my intelligence with the Pope, they will be right in treating me as a faithless enemy. But, seigneur Guerlo, you know the Pope to be a terrible man, passionate and revengeful; he has said one thing to you, while perhaps he has been thinking of another, and he is quite capable of repaying you ill for your services. Besides this he is mortal, and once dead, what a recompence might you expect from his successor? Are you ignorant that in that court, gratitude for services does not pass from one Pope to another? You know that I can be of service to you, and I give you my word to act with such generosity that you shall be a rich man all your life, if you will only assist me in getting rid of my enemy." Guerlo had a soul too base and

too selfish not to surrender upon such conditions; he assured the Prince that he had long wished to quit the Pope's service for his, and that no one was more able to do that which he desired, being with the Pope night and day; waiting upon him at table, and being so much in his confidence that they used to converse together on the most secret affairs. "So, my Lord," said he, "if you wish to agree handsomely with me, within eight days he shall not be alive, and I do not ask for any reward until he is dead; but I must have your word absolutely pledged." The Duke, who had already given him his promise, now confirmed it, on his *word of honour*, to bestow two thousand ducats in hand, besides a yearly income of five hundred. The treaty was no sooner finished than the Duke left him to inform Bayard. He met him upon the ramparts, and having drawn him aside, he said, "you know that deceivers and traitors often fall into their own snares. You and I, and all the French shall be soon revenged on our enemy. I have gained the Pope's commissioner, and I have his word

that his master will be dead within eight days." "How is that?" cried Bayard! "Does this man dive into the secrets of Providence to predict events of life and death?" "Do not trouble yourself," replied the Duke, "I am well assured of what I tell you." Bayard had too pure a heart to suspect what was the fact; but when he discovered that Guerlo was to poison the Pope, he shuddered, and with energy he expressed his astonishment to the Duke at a scheme which was unworthy of a Prince; and he said, that if he could think that it was true, he would inform the Pope that very day. The Duke justified himself on the ground that Julius had laid a treacherous plot for them both, and that he was informed that his spies had been lately discovered and hanged. "It does not matter," said Bayard, "I will never consent that he should perish in that manner." The Duke replied, "that he should wish to do as much for all his enemies; but," he added, "since you resist, it shall come to nothing. Nevertheless, if God does not assist us, I promise you we shall



both have time to repent it." "I hope not," replied Bayard, "and if you will but deliver to me 'le galand qui veut faire ce chef-d'œuvre,' he shall not have one hour before he is hanged." The Duke, who had pledged his word for the safety of Guerlo's person, insisted upon affording him a secure retreat; but the wretch was shortly afterwards hanged at Brescia for another crime. Thus, says M. De Berville, Bayard who had defeated the projects of the Pope against the Duke, and those of the Duke against the Pope, saved the life of one, and the estates and honour of the other. This is at once a frightful, an instructive, and an animating narrative. The contrast between the man of false honour whose language and professions are hardly to be distinguished from those of the hero, and the character of real and sterling virtue, cannot be too well remembered. Words are deceitful, and high professions but of little value; and they that are the loudest in boasting of their honour, may be among the vilest and most worthless of mankind. How affecting and how characteristic of the

hero and the Christian, are the words of King Henry V, to the traitor knights?

“ Oh, how hast thou with jealousy infected  
 The sweetness of affianced shew men dutiful?  
 Why, so didst thou: seem they grave and learned?  
 Why, so didst thou: come they of noble family?  
 Why, so didst thou: seem they religious?  
 Why, so didst thou:  
 And thus thy fall hath left a kind of blot  
 To mark the full-fraught men, the best endu'd  
 With some suspicion. I will weep for thee\*.”

Still, however, it would be as ridiculous as it would be base and wicked, to suspect the reality of what is thought admirable among men. It was “in his haste,” that the Psalmist had said, “all men are liars.” Still is there truth and virtue, honour and religion left in the world, and he that would argue from such instances against the reality of their existence, will only betray the conscious failings of his own mis-giving heart.

While the sentiments of high honour are thus exercised to preserve the lives and fortunes of other men, they will be found to

\* Henry V. Act II. Scene 2.

operate in a manner equally as admirable in promoting the interest and safety of the individual himself who possesses them. This will best be understood by referring to a most singular anecdote which is related by Lord Clarendon. "The Lord Digby, at the commencement of the civil war, when proceeding to Holland upon the king's service, was taken by the enemy and brought prisoner with the other passengers into Hull, which was then in rebellion under the command of Sir John Hotham. The Lord Digby being in disguise, and speaking French as a native, was considered as some wandering Frenchman, and left under a guard in some obscure corner, whilst his companion, Colonel Ashburnham, was regarded as the only prisoner of consequence, and conducted without delay to the governor. The situation of the Lord Digby was however desperate, since he was well known to many persons in the town; and when it was considered that he was the most odious man of the kingdom to the parliament. However, in this eminent extremity, he resolved not to

give himself over, and found means to make one of his guard in broken English, which might well have become any Frenchman, understand 'that he desired to speak privately with the governor.' He was accordingly brought before him in the presence of much company, when he gave an account of himself, as having seen much of the French service, and as having come over recommended to the king for some command. After he had entertained the company with such discourse, he applied himself to the governor, and told him 'that if he might be admitted to privacy with him, he would discover somewhat to him which he would not repent to have known.' The governor drew him to a great window at a convenient distance from the company, and wished him to say what he thought fit. The Lord Digby asked him, in English, 'whether he knew him?' the other, surprised, told him 'no;' 'then,' said he, 'I shall try whether I know Sir John Hotham, and whether he be, in truth, the same man of honour I have always taken him to be,' and, thereupon, told him who he was;

and 'that he hoped he was too much a gentleman to deliver him up a sacrifice to their rage and fury, who, he well knew were his implacable enemies.' The other, being astonished, and fearing that the by-standers would discover him too, (for, being now told who he was, he wondered he found it not out himself,) he desired him 'to say no more for the present; that he should not be sorry for the trust he reposed in him, and should find him the same man he had thought him: in the mean time that he must be content to be treated as a prisoner: and so he called the guard instantly to carry him away. He then explained to the company, with some confusion, that the fellow had told him something which the parliament would be glad to know, and so departed to his chamber. 'Hotham,' says Lord Clarendon, 'was, by his nature and education, a rough and rude man; of great covetousness, of great pride, and great ambition; without any bowels of good nature, or the least sense or touch of generosity; his parts were not quick and

sharp, but composed, and he judged well ; he was a man of craft, and more like to deceive than to be cozened ; yet after all this, this young nobleman, known and abhorred by him, had so far prevailed and imposed upon his spirit, that he resolved to practice that virtue which the other had imputed to him ; and not to suffer him to fall into the hands of his enemies ; and so he contrived to have the Lord Digby privately conducted out of the town, beyond the limits of danger.' To us who are conversant with the deeds of chivalry, and the sentiments of honour, nothing can be more striking than the accounts which are given of actions where this generous spirit was unknown. Thus we read in the history of the Saracens, during the war in Syria, of a combat between Serjabil Ebu Shahnah and a Christian officer. The infidels perceiving that their champion was in danger, from the superior skill and firmness of his foe, had recourse to a deed of black treachery. Derar seized his dagger, and while the combatants were involved in dust,

came behind the Christian and stabbed him to the heart. The Saracens gave Derar thanks for his service ; but he said that he would receive no thanks but from God. Upon this there arose a difference between Serjabil and Derar concerning the spoil of this officer. Derar claimed it, as being the person that killed him. Serjabil, as having engaged him, and tired him out first. The matter being referred to Abu Obeidah, he proposed the case to the Caliph, (one of their best princes, whose virtues are extolled even by Christian writers,) who sent him word, that the spoil of any enemy was due to him that killed him ; upon which Abu Obediah took it from Serjabil, and adjudged it to Derar. Joinville also relates an instance of the treachery of the infidels. Five hundred horsemen came to surrender to the French ; the King received and treated them well, but an occasion soon presented itself, when they rose in an instant, and fell with fury upon the Templars.

There is no duty inculcated by our reli-

gion which is so generally regarded as inconsistent with the character of the man of honour, as that of forgiveness and condescension. "I have known many men," says Brantome in his life of Charles IX., "who never revenged their injuries. The most strict and reformed Christians, praise them for this, and assert that it is right to forget offences according to the word of God. That may well become Hermits and Franciscans, but not those who make profession of true nobility, of carrying a sword by their side, and their honour on the point. Unless indeed they hang a crucifix from their bed, and absolutely enter some religious order, as many have done, and have been therefore excused by this good cloak of devotion." Certainly this is the language of the world, and it would appear that it was the sentiment of uncorrected nature. Storza, the African rebel, fell in a single combat before the gates of Carthage; but he smiled in the agonies of death, when he was informed that his own javelin had reached the heart of his anta-



gonist. And Crebillon seems to express the feelings which are common to human nature, when he makes Atrée exclaim ;

“ Un ennemi qui peut pardonner une offense,  
Ou manque de courage, ou manque de puissance \*.”

But it will not be difficult to prove that the opinion of the vulgar class of mankind, in this as in almost every other particular, is founded upon a mistake, and that the difficulty of the virtue only renders it more noble. For though it be the coat-armour pertaining to a right ancient family, to bear three dexter arms and hands conjoined and clenched, to signify a treble offer of revenge for some injury done to a former bearer, yet still, as Juvenal saith,

*Infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas ultio.*

Which is the dictate even of natural reli-

\* ————— *ἐκ γὰρ εὐτυχούς*

*Ἡδιστον ἐχθρον ἄνδρα δυστυχουνθ' ὄραν.*

Says the messenger in the play. Eurip. Heracl. 934. But Thucydides has expressed it in still stronger terms. Ἐναντι τιμωρησασθαι τε τινα περι πλειονος ἤν, ἢ αυτον μη προπαθειν, iii. 82. Yet this is adduced by the great historian as an evidence of the extreme corruption consequent upon civil war.

gion and magnanimity, as may be learned also from the answer of the Emperor Adrian to the man who had given him offence before his accession, "Approach, you have nothing to fear from me, I am emperor." And from the argument by which Phœnix endeavours to persuade Achilles,

Ἄλλ', Ἀχιλεῦ, δαμασὸν θυμὸν μέγαν· ἔδε τι σε χρὴ  
 Νηλεὺς ἦτορ ἔχειν· στρεπτοὶ δὲ καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,  
 τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετῆ, τιμῆ τε, βιῆ τε.

Philip-le-Bel replied to his courtiers, who were exciting him to punish a Prelate who was obnoxious, "Je sais que je puis me venger; mais il est beau de le pouvoir et de ne le pas faire." The saying of Descartes is very admirable, "quand on me fait une injure je tache d'élever mon ame si haut que l'offense ne parvienne pas jusqu' à moi." Richard of England, Cœur de Lion, was mortally wounded before the castle of Chalons by an arrow shot from the walls. The castle was taken by assault, and the archer who had wounded the king was conducted into his presence. "Malheureux," said the king, "que t'avois-je

fait pour t'obliger à me donner la mort ?  
" Ce que tu m'as fait," replied the prisoner,  
" je vais te le dire, sans aucune crainte des  
horribles tourmens que tu me prepares.  
Je les souffriroi avec joie, puisque j'ai été  
assez heureux pour venger la mort de mon  
père et de mes freres que tu as tués de ta  
propre main." Richard was of a temper  
so prone to fury and excitement, that when  
delivered from prison, the French king  
wrote to his brother John, " Prenez garde  
à vous, le diable est déchainé." This lion-  
hearted warrior was now bleeding from the  
wound which in a few hours was to deprive  
him of his kingdom and his life, and the  
man who had inflicted it was before him  
and in his power; but at this moment  
religion had an authority to which he sub-  
mitted. His anger instantly passed over,  
and he said to the prisoner, " mon ami, je  
te pardonne." He then ordered his chains  
to be taken off, and that he should have  
liberty to depart. The words of Henry the  
Fourth of France, to Schomberg, on the  
morning of the battle of Ivri, are well  
known; and the last sentence of Louis the

Sixteenth, upon the scaffold, is for ever memorable, " I forgive my enemies." These are the examples of a hero, and of a religious monarch ; and if it be true what has been said by Mr. Gibbon, that " it is more easy to forgive four hundred and ninety times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior," these instances will serve to shew that it was the hero and not the saint who made the greatest sacrifice of feeling to the duty of his religion. The anecdote of Henry IV., to which I allude, is so well known, that I refrain from relating it at length. It is sufficient to observe, that the king was troubled by the reflection that he had uttered reproachful words against a brave, deserving officer, the German general Schomberg. They had been uttered in a moment of impatience and anxiety ; but the remembrance was a weight upon his spirits. Immediately before the commencement of the battle, Henry rode up to the general : he stated what were his feelings, that there was a possibility of his not surviving the day, and that he should be sorry to die without making amends to

a brave gentleman whose honour he had injured. He concluded with an entreaty to be forgiven: "Je vous prie de me pardonner." What words for a king to utter! "Il est vrai Sire," replied the generous and gallant soldier, "que votre majesté me blessa l'autre jour, mais aujourd'hui elle me tue; car l'honneur qu'elle me fait m'oblige de mourir en cette occasion pour son service." He was killed, fighting by the side of his master. In the Romance of Huon of Bordeaux, when that hero laments the malice which has banished him from France, he apostrophises his country, and exclaims, "Je prie nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ que le pardon vous en fasse;" and when he confesses himself to Oberon the dwarf, he says, "Sire, sçachez qu'au mieux que j'ay peu me suis confessé de tous mes pechez, je suis repentant et dolent que tant en ay fait, et ne sçay homme vivant à qui je ne pardonne, quelque injure qu'il m'aye fait, aussi je ne sens que à nul aye fait tort, et ne hays aujourd'huy homme qui vive."

But the sphere of this virtue is far from being confined to the limit of forgiving our own enemies. Louis IX., the model of every excellence, will teach us to understand better the duties and obligation of our religion. This admirable king was continually labouring to promote peace between his subjects. His personal exertion prevented a combat between Hugue Comte de la Marche and the Vicomte de Limoges. He sent the most able of his ministers into Burgundy, to reconcile the Comte de Chalons and the Comte de Bourgoyne, who were at war. He had the happiness of succeeding. He also reconciled them to Thibaut V., King of Navarre. The Comte Thibaut de Bar had taken prisoner the Comte de Luxembourg, in a combat near Pigney. Louis dispatched his chamberlain Perron, in whom he chiefly confided, who contrived completely to reconcile these two enemies. A cruel division had long subsisted between the Dampierres and the Avenés, children of Marguerite, Countess of Flanders. Louis had laboured

with all imaginable diligence to put an end to this, and he at length succeeded. The religious monarch had the happiness also of reconciling the Comte d'Anjou with the Comtesse dowager of Provence. The ministers of the pacific king "le repronoient aucune fois," says Joinville, "de ce qu'il prenoit si grande peine à appaiser les étrangers. C'étoit à leur avis, tres-mal faire que de ne pas les laisser guerroyer, parce que les appointemens s'en feroient mieux apres," but Louis, always guided by the maxims of the Gospel, replied with Jesus Christ, "blessed are the peacemakers." Let it be remembered also that even the heroes of the Iliad did not disdain to exert their influence in reconciling enemies. With what affecting eloquence does Nestor address himself for this purpose to Achilles and Agamemnon!

Ατρείδη, συ δε παυε τεον μενος' ἀνταρ ἔγωγε  
 Λισσομ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ μεθεμεν χολον,————

And how well might a Christian warrior adopt the resolution and even the very words of Patroclus when he said,

Σπενσομαι εις Ἀχιλῆα, —————  
 Τις δ' οἶδ' εἶκεν οἱ, συν δαιμονι, θυμον ὀρινω  
 Παρειπων; αγαθη δε παραιφασις ἐστιν ἑταιρη.

It is not the success or utility of a measure that should determine its expediency. The expression of Francis the First of France, is for ever memorable. "Tout est perdu hormis l'honneur," or as it is expressed by Dryden;

"Unsham'd though foil'd, he does the best he can,  
 Force is of brutes, but honour is of man."

And this was the established principle among the Greeks, as is affirmed by Demosthenes with all the pomp of his matchless eloquence :

—— ἐς ἀπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιω-  
 σασα τιμῆς, ἐθαψεν, —— ἐχι τῆς κατορθωσαντας  
 αὐτῶν, ἔδε τῆς κρατησαντας μόνως· δικαίως. ὁ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἀπάσι πεπρακται  
 τῆ τυχῆ δε, ἦν ὁ δαιμῶν ἀπενειμεν, ἐκάστοις  
 ταυτῆ κεκρηνηται\*.

But we are still to pursue the subject of the strict honour and delicacy which were



required by the laws of chivalry. A remarkable example is presented in the delivery of Du Gueselin from confinement by our Black Prince. The constable had made some remark on the fear which the English seemed to entertain of his valour, by their continuing to hold him prisoner. Upon which the Prince said hastily, "far from it, you have only to pay 100,000 franks and you shall be free," to which, Du Gueselin taking him at his word, made answer, "Sir, in the name of God, so be it. I wyll pay no lesse." "And when the Prince heard him say so," Froissart observes, "he wolde then gladly have repented hymselfe: and also some of his counsayle came to him and sayd, 'Sir, ye have not done well, so lightly to put him to his ransome:' and so they wolde gladly have caused the Prince to have revoked that covenant; but the Prince, who was a true and a noble knight, sayd, *sythe that we have agreed thereto, we wyll not breke our promysse* \*."

\* Mr. C—i, from whom I was purchasing an expensive engraving, had hastily stated its value. Upon examination he found that it was worth three times

Froissart relates how the young Earl of Saint Poule continued for a long time a prisoner in England, "in the fayre castell of Wynsore: and he had so curtesse a kepar that he might go and sport him a haukyng betwene Wynsore and Westminster: he was beleved on his faythe. The same season the princess, mother to kyng

the sum, but he persisted, in spite of remonstrance, in declining to receive a shilling more than he had first specified. The spirit of chivalry has ennobled many men who never pretended to its titles and rank. When Sir Raymon of Marnell was on his journey from Paris, he fell among a band of English, led by a knight of Poyton, and so he was taken prisoner and brought to the said knight's castle. This knight, Sir Geoffrey Dargenton, was about to deliver him to the king of England, who had written expressly to desire him; Sir Raymon justly alarmed, discovered his sorrow to his keeper who was an Englishman, to whom he promised "on his faythe and trouthe," the half of all his lands. The keeper, who was a poor man, had compassion on him, and delivered him from the tower, making his escape at the same time. "And Sir Raymon," says Froissart, "wolde have delyvered to hym the one half of his herytage, accordynge as he had promysed to him before, but the Englysshe squyer wolde in no wyse take so moche: and so he took all only but CCII of yerely revnues, sayinge it was sufficient for hym to maynteyne therwith his estate."

Richarde, lay at Wyncore, and her daughter with her, my Lady Maude, the fayrest lady in all Englande: therl of Saynte Poule and this young lady were in true amours togyder eche of other, and somtyme they met togyder, at daunsynge and carollyng; tyll at last it was spied; and then the lady discovered to her mother howe she loved faithfully the youngerle of Saint Poule: then ther was a marryage spoken of bytwene therle and the lady Maude, and so therle was set to his ransome to pay six score M franks, so that when he had marryed the lady Maude then to be rebated threescore thousande and the other threescore M to pay. And when this covynant of marryage was made bytwene therle and the lady, the kynge of Englande suffered therle to repasse the sea to fetche his raunsome, on his only promyse to retourne agayne within a yere after." The king of France detained him in prison on a false charge for a long time, but at length he was delivered, and then the young Earl returned to England and wedded the lady, and so he and the countess his wife went

to live in the castle of Han, on the river Ewre.

At the siege of Bayonne, when the governor was on the walls in treaty with the English general, there was an alarm sounded within the city. The governor accused the general of an attempt to surprise him. The English protested their innocence, and suggested that it must arise from an incursion of their German allies, and proposed to enter the city with the governor's permission, and chase them out, after which they promised to return before the walls and finish the treaty. The governor consented. The gates were thrown open to the English, who rushed in and delivered the city from their barbarous companions, and having driven them out at an opposite gate, they proceeded to resume their former position, and to finish the treaty with the governor.

After the battle of Poitiers, the English and Gascon knights questioned their prisoners, upon their honour, as to what ransom they could pay without inconvenience; and they trusted to their statement. "If these springs of action," says

Mr. Hallam, "are less generally beneficial, they are however more connected with elevated character than the systematic prudence of men accustomed to social life."

The question of King Henry the Eighth's divorce from Queen Catherine, and the subsequent measures relating to the proposition of the king's spiritual supremacy, gave occasion to a display of virtue and intrepidity, not to be surpassed by any examples on the page of history. The names of Reginald Pole, of Sir Thomas More, and of Bishop Fisher, will be dear and venerable as long as the sacrifice of worldly interest and life itself to the dictates of justice and honour shall have a claim on the reverence of mankind. But, besides these striking examples, delivered in detail, history will sometimes afford evidence of eminent virtue which produces a new and powerful effect upon the mind, from the indirect manner in which it is brought forward. Thus by many writers the murder of the Duke of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI. has been attributed to the policy of the Duke of York, who deemed it ne-

cessary to remove so faithful a minister, before he should openly take any measures to place himself on the throne, and a similar hypothesis is certainly true in accounting for the arrest and murder of the adherents of Edward V. The Earl Rivers, the Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse, who were beheaded in Pontefract castle, the Lords Hastings and Stanley, with the prelates of York and Ely, who were arrested at the Council in the Tower, whence Hastings was led to instant execution. I need not multiply instances which will abundantly present themselves to the recollection of the reader. Cardinal Richelieu took pains to prevail upon Gassion, a brave officer, to act as a spy towards the Count de Soissons. This would have been a step to certain advancement; but the man of honour was above the bribe. "Je ne puis vous rien donner de plus que ma vie. Je la perdrai volontiers pour le service de votre emineau; mais il ne m'est pas possible de lui sacrifier mon honneur." Equally memorable is the reply of the Viscomte d'Orthe, Mayor

of Bayonne, to the execrable circular order of Charles the Ninth. “ J’ai communiqué le commandement de votre M. à ses fidèles habitans et gens de la garrison. Je n’y ai trouvé que bons citoyens et fermes soldats *mais pas un bourreau.*” Nor must we omit, while we are upon the subject, to remark the answer of Jacques de la Vacquiere, head of the French Parliament, who went with its other deputies to return the edicts which they could not conscientiously sign. The enraged king, Louis XI., demanded what they desired ; but the presence of the tyrant did not overcome their virtue. The reply was instant : “ La perte de nos charges on meme la mort plutot que de trahir nos consciences.” These are passages of history, well known indeed, but which cannot be too often repeated, for they have a tendency to elevate our sentiments and to developè the finest feelings of our nature \*. Cicero has observed this

\* Thus for example, it is impossible to read the speech of Menelaus to Agamemnon in the Iphigenia of Euripides without benefit, such as can hardly be appreciated both to the mind and to the heart.—Eurip. Iph. in Aulid. 463.

advantage to the cause of virtue : “ Sumus enim naturâ, ut ante dixi (dicendum est enim sæpius) studiosissimi appetentissimique honestatis : cujus si quasi lumen aliquod aspexerimus, nihil est, quod, ut eo potiamur, non parati simus et ferre, et perpeti \*.” It is a grand saying of Montagne, and admirably characteristic, “ On me garotte plus doucement par un notaire que par moy-mesme—j’aymeroy bien plus cher, rompre la prison d’une muraille et des loix que de ma parole.” This is the spirit of all gentlemen—

“ Saturni gentem haud vinelo nec legibus æquam  
Sponte sua veterisque Dei se more tenentem †.”

When Scipio was called upon to deliver up an account of the money which he had received and expended in the province of Antioch, he came into the senate and produced the book from under his robe, which contained, he said, the exact account of the whole ; but when they desired him to deliver it, he refused with dignity, saying, that he would not so dishonour himself ;

\* Tusc. ii. 24.

† Æneid. vii. 200.



and with his own hands, and in the presence of the senate, he tore the book to pieces. Thus the hero in a famous tragedy exclaims :

“ Ce n'est point moi : ce mot doit vous suffire ;  
 O'est aux hommes communs, aux ames ordinaires  
 A se justifier par des moyens vulgaires,  
 Mais un prince, un guerrier, tel que vous tel que moi,  
 Quand il a dit un mot, en est cru sur sa foix.  
 Mais c'est trop me defendre, et trop m'humilier  
 La vertu s'avilit, à se justifier.”

Thus the Duke of Buckingham refused to solicit mercy, which would have saved his life, when the Duke of Norfolk in tears informed him that he had been found guilty, and pronounced sentence of death, Buckingham replied with a firm voice, “ my Lord of Norfolk, you have said to me as a traitor should be said unto. But I was never none. Still, my Lords, I nothing malign you for that you have done unto me. May the eternal God forgive you my death as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious Prince, and more grace may come from him than I deserve; I desire you, my Lords,

and all my fellows, to pray for me." He persisted in his resolution not to solicit mercy \*, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, amidst the groans and lamentations of the spectators. " God have mercy on his soul," says the reporter of his trial, " for he was a most wise and noble prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."

All these, and a thousand instances which I might produce, indicate that grandeur of soul which every gentleman should cultivate. There are, indeed, occasions when it will induce him to adopt a conduct which might seem at first to be contrary to the charity of our religion, but it will be only in appearance and at the first; for, to illustrate my meaning by an example :

"  Disgust concealed  
Is oft-times proof of wisdom, when the fault  
Is obstinate, and cure beyond our reach."

Nay, may we not even repeat the Poet's

\* The grandeur of this resolution depended on the character of the King and the innocence of the Duke. For in the case of Biron, who refused to accept the mercy of Henry IV. the same resolution under the different circumstances of this case, argued a want of generosity and nobleness of soul.

words concerning the vulgar class of mankind? that

“ All are not fit with them to stir and toil,  
 Nor is it discontent to keep the mind  
 Deep in its fountain, lest it overboil  
 In the hot throng, when we become the spoil  
 Of our infection, till too late and long  
 We may deplore and struggle with the coil  
 In wretched interchange of wrong for wrong,  
 Midst a contentious world, striving where none are  
 strong.”

And again, it can never be expected that the man of religion and virtue should be the voluntary sport of every trifling and unprincipled enquirer who may desire to exercise his patience. Are there not men of whom the Poet says—

“ Whose only care, might truth presume to speak  
 Is not to find what they profess to seek?”

“ C'est un triste emploi pour l'innocence,” says Sully upon occasion of his own disgrace, “ que d'avoir sans cesse à se produire et à se préconiser elle meme.” He might have added, it is an unworthy employment. Surely if as he affirms, the man of virtue will experience on a thousand

occasions, that without chance and industry co-operating, his virtue will not be sufficient to save him from hatred and public contempt, he may be allowed to dispense with a motive so replete with uncertainty and degradation. I am, therefore, far from holding that we are always and upon every subject to correct the errors of men. The English press at this moment teems with falsehood and misrepresentation, while it professes to be moved with a zeal for virtue, but will a gentleman condescend or will any moralist prescribe it as a duty, to remove the ignorance or to satisfy the doubts of the sullen, discontented, and suspicious class of men who are governed by it?—who take a pleasure in believing the worst, and in being deceived? The Holy Scripture records, that men of old were visited from God with a strong delusion “that they should believe a lie,” and we know what he obtained who once demanded “what is truth?”

“—————” Thus Pilate's question put  
 To truth itself, that deign'd him no reply.”

Another peculiar feature which distinguished the chivalrous character, was its independance. To ask a favour was not to pursue a laudable plan for our own advancement, to solicit interest, to remind the rich and powerful of our merit was not a prudent conformity to general custom. These were measures, the baseness of which our ancestors had not learned to disguise. Their feeling was natural and just. “*Molestum verbum est, onerosum, et demisso vultu dicendam, rogo.*” “*Ceux qui sont nez pour mériter les graces,*” says a French writer\*, “*ne sont pas faits pour les demander.*” The conduct of those who had it in their power to advance the deserving youth, dispensed with such a sacrifice of virtue. Their maxim of liberality was precisely similar to that inculcated by Seneca†. “*Sero beneficium dedit, qui roganti dedit.*”‡ It

\* L'Abbé de Canaye.

† De Beneficiis, lib. xi. 2.

‡ Yet the custom of the court was otherwise. “*S'il est paresseux et nonchalant d'avoir prouffit,*” says Alain Chartiers, of the gentlemen at court, “*il sera laissé avoir souffreté. Car s'il ne sçait ou ne veut reins*

is a fine answer which is recorded of Charlemagne, when the traitor Ganelon, in an old romance, desired him to take the horse upon which young Galien was mounted, saying, that it was the finest in the world; to which the Emperor replied, "Il convient mieux à Galien qu'à moi." In that curious little book in Latin, by his secretary Eginhard, the reader will find many very interesting particulars respecting his private life: but every thing connected with Charlemagne partakes of his grandeur. The writer of these sheets has never experienced an hour of greater interest than that which he spent in the cathedral of Aix la Chapelle, pacing the solemn aisles of that ancient church, and gazing upon the stone which marks the spot where the ashes of the hero lay \*. The King of Prussia was at Aix at this time, and he devoted a cer-

demandeur, aussi ne trouvera il qui riens luy donne. S'il y entre importunement les importuneux le rebouteront."—*Le Curial*.

\* He was buried in his imperial robes, with his book of the Gospels placed upon his knees.

tain portion of the day to solemn meditation in this church. He chose an interval when the doors were closed, and his person being unknown to the verger who admitted him, he was permitted as a common stranger to enjoy, what a monarch perhaps can only find in the sanctuary of God, silence and peace.

In the order of knighthood translated by Mr. Way, the new-made knight is thus instructed to say,

“ Still to the truth direct thy strong desire,  
And flee the very air where dwells a liar.”

Thus also when Sir Bourbon says, in Spenser,

“ To temporize is not from truth to swerve,  
Ne for advantage term to entertain,  
Whereas necessity doth it constrain.  
Fie on such forgery, said Arthegall,  
Under one hood to shadow faces twain,  
Knights ought be true, and truth is one in all,  
Of all things to dissemble foully may befall.”

As Achilles says to Ulysses in those well-known lines,

Εχθρος γὰρ μοι κείνος, ὁμῶς αἶδαο πύλῃσιν.  
Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κενθεὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ Βαζει.

When I was at the University there occurred an incident which I am happy to relate in this place, as affording an example of that high sensibility to the baseness of deceit, which has been the pride of chivalry in all ages. A gentleman of ancient family, who at that time discharged the duties of a painful but honourable office, had occasion to demand the name and college of a person whom he perfectly recognized as belonging to his own. The young man gave a false name and address. The other turned from him in disdain, and never condescended to take any notice of his irregularity. This was dignified and truly great. He was the officer of an institution which was concerned with the education of gentlemen; but here was a hopeless case; for there were not even the materials out of which the character of a gentleman could be composed.

As the chivalrous character possessed virtues which do not belong to the world or to its maxims, so on the other hand, it was without those qualities which the vulgar class of mankind, however it may be



designated, admires as philosophy and virtue, although they are clearly, in the judgment of true reason and Christianity, neither the one nor the other. The knights of old had not learned to sacrifice virtue to refinement, and truth to policy. They did not look with careless indifference upon the distinction of right and wrong, because they were not to feel the effects of either in their private interests. They did not resemble that easy character of whom the Poet speaks :

“ \_\_\_\_\_ laudat Callistratus omnes.

Cui malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest.”

A lukewarm disposition, that was alike indifferent to virtue and vice, was not then philosophic liberality ; and to countenance men of base or doubtful character was not, in their estimation, either dignified moderation, or honourable refinement ; but they rather resembled those philosophers who esteemed that person as not worthy of the name of man who was incapable of honest anger, and rather than disguise their abhorrence of evil, they would burn their

houses to the ground, like the Castilian, and set the world and fortune at defiance. Their sincerity of character induced them always to declare displeasure against whoever had given them offence. History will furnish many examples like the following : “ Most serene and most gracious Prince, Frederic, King of the Romans, I, Henry Mayenberg, make known to your royal grace, that from this time I will no longer obey your grace, &c.” Dated at Yderspewgor, the Wednesday before Palm-Sunday. Thus Lord Clarendon relates of the Duke of Buckingham, “ that he never concealed his displeasure, and never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him.” And in like manner Tacitus relates of Agricola, “ honestius putabat offendere, quam odisse,” and the principle is laid down expressly by Aristotle in these words, Ἀναγκαιον δε και φανερομισον ειναι και φανεροφιλον το γαρ λανθανειν φοβουμεν \*. So also the ambassadors of the Athenians re-

\* Ethics, lib iv.

soned, saying, *προς ἕκαστα δε δεῖ ἢ ἐχθρον ἢ φιλον μετα καιρα γιγνεσθαι* \*. It is idle to object that enmity being contrary to our religion, these lessons are needless, because as long as it becomes Christians to treat good and bad men with a different indication of regard, so long will there never be wanting an occasion upon which we may be required to practise them.

The saying of the Spartan, who had beheld vice without shame, at Athens, might remind us of our own deceit. He was asked, when he returned home, what he had seen in that city, and what the people were doing? and he replied, *Παντα καλὰ* ——— *ὅτι παντα παρα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καλὰ νομιζεται, αἰσχρον δ' ἔδει.* We should remember also the testimony delivered by the greatest of historians, when he described the corruption of Grecian manners, *καὶ τὸ ἔνηθες, οὗ τὸ γενναίου πλείστον μετέχει, καταγελεσθὲν ἠφανισθῆ†.*

Again, among the virtues of this high order, let us not forget that which is so

\* Thucydides, lib. vi. † Ibid. iii. 83.

sacred, loyalty in friendship; that also of which the annals of chivalry present so many splendid instances: when the Cid was banished from his country and his ancient house, the wrath of a king was unable to deprive him of his sixty lances, at the head of whom he traversed Burgos in triumph. Henry IV. of France was so inconsistent as to complain of the Count d'Aubigné for evincing his friendship for the Seigneur de la Trémouille, who was exiled from court in disgrace. "Sire," replied the Count, "M. de la Trémouille est assez malheureux, puisqu'il a perdu la faveur de son maître; j'ai cru ne devoir point l'abandonner dans le temps qu'il avoit le plus besoin de mon amitié." When the right hand was once given as a pledge of this connection, it became inviolable. This feeling was admirable, even when it deviated into superstition. Who does not respect that sentiment of the Arcadian king,

— "Quam petitis, juncta est mihi frædere dextra."

But if loyalty was the duty, religion was, to our ancestors, the grounds and the se-

curity of friendship. Fellowship of this sacred character, between a servant of Christ and an infidel, who despised or deserted the faith, was an anomaly unknown to these plain men of honour. The reply of Godfrey is for ever memorable.

“He knows, who fears no God, he loves no friend\*.”

Let us take some instances to illustrate the spirit of chivalrous friendship. “I perceive,” said Sully to Henry IV., “that your majesty is more pleased with me than you were fifteen days ago.” “Quoi! vous souvient-il encore de cela,” exclaimed this Prince, “O que n’on fait pas à moi. Ne savez-vous pas bien que nos petits dépits ne doivent jamais passer les vingt-quatre heures.” And upon another occasion, being opposed by his minister, he parted from him in anger, but on the following day he came to visit him, and expressed his wish that Sully would not remember what had passed, concluding with this sentence, so admirably characteristic of the excellence

\* Jerusalem Delivered, Book iv.

of his judgment, “des l’heure que vous ne me contredirez plus dans les choses que je sais bien qui ne sont pas de votre gout, je croirai que vous ne m’aimerez plus.”

How true was the friendship which actuated the kinsmen and comrades of Sir Launcelot du Lac! How striking the generous reply of Sir Bors when he is informed of the hero’s misfortunes! “Sir,” said Sir Bors, “alle is welcome that God sendeth us, and we have had moche wele with you and moche worshyp, and therfor we wille take the wo with yow as we have taken the wele.” The following words of Eginhart exhibit the character of Charlemagne as most amiable and admirable: “Nunciato etiam sibi Adriani Pontificis obitu quem amicum præcipuum habebat, sic flerit ac si fratrem aut charissimum filium amisisset. Erat enim in amicitias optime temperatus, ut eas et facile admitteret et constantissime retineret; colebatque sanctissime quoscunque hoc affinitate sibi conjunxerat.” It was a fine saying of the Greeks,

*Χρηστου προς ανδρος μηδεν υπονοει κακον.*

In like manner we should have the most perfect confidence in the virtue of our friends. A gentleman should be able to answer for his friends as if for himself, he should profess to know what they will do in every circumstance, and he will never be disappointed. Of each of these he can say, in the words of Henry IV., when he presented the Mareschal Biron to the deputies of the Parliament, “voila un homme que je présente également à mes amis et à mes ennemis.”

Loyalty to their king, descending through all the subordinate ranks of society, from the highest class of subjects to the vassal, who was proud of his dependance upon a generous chieftain, was the essential virtue of those ages\*. But it was also a virtue

\* The nobles of England are proud to proclaim their loyalty:—

“Loyaultè n’a honte,” is the motto of the Clinton family. The house of Paulet has “aymez loyalté;” of Onslow, “Semper fidelis;” of Lyttleton, “Une Dieu, une roy.” Thus the Chevalier Bayard replied to Pope Julius II. “qu’il n’avoit qu’un maitre au ciel, qui étoit Dieu, et un maitre sur terre, qui étoit le roi de France et qu’il n’en serviroit jamais d’autres.”

which has been displayed by the generous part of mankind in every period and country of the world. Thus when Menelaus threatens with death the messenger of Agamemnon if he does not deliver up the letters with which he was entrusted, this faithful servant triumphantly exclaims,

'Αλλ' ἐυκλεες τοι δεσποτων θνησκειν ὑπερ\*.

Herodotus relates that when Xerxes was returning to Asia in a Phœnician vessel, a dreadful storm arose, so that the pilot declared the only chance of safety depended upon lightening the ship. Xerxes hearing this opinion, had the baseness to cry out, *Ἄνδρες Περσαι, νυν τις διαδεξατω ὑμεων Βασιληος κηδομενος· ἐν ὑμιν γαρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοι ἡ σωτηρηη.* This appeal to the generous feelings of human nature was successful, and several of the Persians leaped into the sea †. The apparent incredibility of this relation will be removed upon recollecting the notorious fact, that when the Duke of York, afterwards James II., had entered the boat which was reserved for his escape

\* Iph. in Aulid. 301.

† Lib. viii.



from the sinking vessel, the crew who remained on board, saluted him with cheers as they went down. During the massacre in the second triumvirate, when freedom was given to slaves who dispatched their masters, one of these faithful men suffered himself to be slain sitting in the litter, that his master might escape as one of the bearers. The famous anecdote of Lucilius will remind us of an event in the history of Italy, which might be selected as a splendid example of chivalrous loyalty. On the descent of Ferdinand upon the coast of Calabria, against the French, who were then in possession of Naples, the Spaniards were defeated, and Ferdinand returned to Messina, after owing his life to the generosity of his page, Giovanni di Capua, brother to the Duke of Termini, who when the horse of the king was slain, gave him up his own, and thereby met with that death which would otherwise have been the fate of his master. Let not the declamations of false patriotism deprive this virtue of its high value and of its ever honourable renown. "In a moral

view," says Mr. Hallam, "loyalty has scarcely perhaps less tendency to refine and elevate the heart than patriotism itself; and it holds a middle place in the scale of human motives, as they ascend from the grosser inducements of self-interest to the furtherance of general happiness, and conformity to the purposes of infinite wisdom." How striking is the anecdote related by Joinville, as an example of this generous spirit? When the Sultan required the person of Saint Louis as a hostage from the French army, the words were hardly pronounced when "le bon chevalier Messire Geoffrey de Sargines," exclaimed with a furious voice, "on doit assez connoître les François, pour les croire prêts à souffrir mille morts plutôt que de livrer leur prince entre les mains de ses ennemis. Ils aimeroient beaucoup mieux que les Turcs les eussent tous tués, qu'il leur fut reproché qu'ils eussent baillé leur roi en gage." The King desired to be given up, but the army was resolute in its determination to refuse him. This was the only occasion when the King was disobeyed.

If we now direct our attention more particularly to England, we shall not be long in discovering a period of her history when the highest virtues of chivalry were displayed to the eternal renown of her nobles, and to the vindication of her national character, which, if these had not appeared, would have been justly consigned to the detestation of the world. I allude to the dismal period of the great rebellion, when the monarch, the nobles, and the lowest gentlemen of the kingdom were engaged in the same field of honour, in a protracted trial of virtue, which seldom falls to the lot of one individual, and which the bravest and most eminent of men might have trembled to anticipate. Yet the issue was all that the friends of virtue and the lovers of England could have hoped for and desired; and the whole terminated in the disclosure of false professions and plausible dissimulation, which, under other circumstances, might have been handed down with honour to posterity; and though vice was developed, and to the vulgar apprehension of mankind, for a time, suc-

cessful, yet never had the world beheld a more illustrious display of chivalrous excellence, of high honour, of constant fidelity, of unshaken principle, of disinterested virtue.

What can be more admirable than the character of the king? His moderation and gentleness in peace; his courage and personal firmness in war: Lord Clarendon relates that when he was nearly surrounded by the enemy in Oxford, and when he was pressed by his nearest counsellors to surrender his person to the rebel general, he made answer, that "possibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of Essex, but he would be dead first." And in his letter from Cardiff to Prince Rupert, he confesses that there was no probability but of his ruin, and that he cannot flatter himself with expectation of good success more than this, to end his days with honour and a good conscience; and Lord Clarendon affirms, that "he did more desire to have lost his life in battle, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever likely to obtain by treaty." In the

letter which he had written from Hereford, after the battle of Naseby, to the Prince of Wales, he had charged him, upon his blessing, never to yield to any conditions that were dishonourable, though it were for the saving of his life. The prince had concealed this letter from the Council until he was under the necessity of obeying the order. It begins as follows: " Charles, my late misfortunes remember me to command you that which I hope you will never have occasion to obey; it is this:—if I should at any time be taken prisoner by the rebels, I command you, upon my blessing, never to yield to any conditions that are dishonourable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory to royal authority, upon any considerations whatsoever, thought it were for the saving of my life.—Let their resolutions be never so barbarous, the saving of my life, by complying with them, would make me end my days with torture and disquiet of mind, not giving you my blessing, and cursing all the rest who were consenting to it. But your constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising God for

giving me so gallant a son, and heaping my blessings on you." To the rude importunity and threats of the Chancellor of Scotland, the King made answer; "that no condition they could reduce him to could be half so miserable and grievous to him as that which they would persuade him to reduce himself to; and therefore bid them proceed their own way; and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not." "He was so great a lover of justice," says Lord Clarendon, "that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just." When we arrive at the period of his last suffering, the friendship of the historian relinquishes the detail: he thinks it "needless to repeat the saint-like behaviour of that blessed martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death." He concludes with this testimony, that "he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived, produced." And here it is impossible not

to stand amazed at the mysterious dispensations of that Providence which decrees such different consequences in this world to the same virtue. Saint Louis, like the martyr Charles, was just and devout, virtuous and wise; but how different were their fortunes? The piety and noble firmness of the one, had amazed and converted infidels. They were unbelievers, but they had "hearts of flesh," and were men. Not such were the enemies of the other. Selfishness, avarice, hypocrisy, united with religious enthusiasm, had stifled in their bosoms every feeling of mercy, every delight in justice, every sentiment of honour, every dictate of nature and humanity. The Turks were ready and proud to honour courage and piety in their enemy, but the canting and hypocritical rebels of Scotland and England neither respected the virtue, nor admired the spirit, of their King. Yet there was one mercy which the God of grace, whom they served, vouchsafed to them alike. They were mighty Kings, and yet they had each a friend. They lived in an age of darkness and confusion, when

their best actions might have been lost and unknown to posterity ; yet the memory of each is immortal, and their deeds of devotion and virtue have been graven in everlasting characters, to be the admiration and praise of all good men. And if the piety and amiable tenderness of Joinville had induced him to erect a chapel in his house, dedicated to the spirit of his cherished master, and for a continual invocation of blessing upon his soul ; the ability of Clarendon has enabled him to erect a temple to the martyr King, of such marvellous excellence and beauty, of such spotless purity and admirable design, that it will stand while the world shall endure, to receive the homage of the heart from the good and the wise, the honourable and the brave of every future generation ; a sanctuary for precious recollections and for generous thoughts, where age may remember, and youth may learn the lessons of patriotism and honour, of loyalty and virtue. Let not the virtuous friends to the liberties of mankind, and to the rights of Englishmen, imagine that they detect a political error



in the spirit which dictates these pages. Let them be reminded, once for all, that according to the design of our undertaking, the necessity of political discussion is obviated in this place; that in the present instance we are but advocating the general principle, which was certainly involved after the first stage in the contest with the King. Once for all, let them be assured that the spirit of chivalry breathes nothing servile, nothing cowardly; that abject submission to an oppressor, does not belong to gentlemen, to men of honour and of independence. We have already quoted the words of Achilles to Clytemnestra. Let them be again called to your remembrance,

*Ἐγὼ δ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβέστατον τραφεὶς,  
Χειρῶνος, ἔμαθον τοὺς τροποὺς ἀπλοῦς ἔχειν.  
Καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις, ἣν μὲν ἠγωνταὶ καλῶς,  
Πεισομέθ'· ὅταν δὲ μὴ καλῶς, οὐ πεισομαι.*

If we pass from the character of the King, to survey the virtues of his faithful gentlemen\*, we shall experience the delight

\* Circumstances of a similar nature will generally occasion the development of the same combination of virtues which distinguished so many of these de-

of admiration at every name which is recalled. The catalogue might be extended to a greater length than would agree with the limits of this work ; but the list which follows may be sufficient for all the purposes of instruction and benefit which the examples of eminent virtue are designed to afford.

The Earl of Northampton, who was slain on Hopton Heath, being dismounted, and having killed with his own hand the colonel of foot who made fast haste to him, refusing quarter when they offered it, and answering, that “ he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels as they were.”

*Οία χρη τον ευγενη\**.

The Earl of Lindsey, who had such public spirit as to suppress all his private voted defenders of the royal cause. Thus, for instance, in the army of La Vendée, the characters of M. de Lescuré and of M. de la Rochejaquelein, as described in the memoirs of the Marquise de la Rochejaquelein, present instances exactly parallel to those given by Lord Clarendon.

\* Eurip. Heraclid. 820.

feelings and resentments, and though general of the army with a real inferiority in command, to fight and die like a private soldier in the ranks.

The Duke of Richmond, who sacrificed all he possessed to the King's service, and engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service, in which they all lost their lives.

The Lord Digby, who had boldly protested against the murder of the Earl of Strafford in face of the Parliament and the mob that were thirsting for his blood, and who afterwards fought for his King and country, distinguished for his gallant conduct and wonderful escapes.

Sir Bevil Greenville, slain in the battle of Lansdown, who was the leader and pride of the brave Cornish army, possessing every noble and amiable virtue, the brightest courage and the most gentle disposition.

Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord Hopton, the man of piety and of every religious virtue, "the soldier's darling," and the Christian's example.

Sir Nicholas Hanning and Colonel John Trevennion, slain in the storming of Bristol, "the life and soul of the Cornish regiments," neither of them above twenty-eight years of age, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenville, who being led by no impulsion but that of conscience, engaged their persons and estates in the King's service.

The young Lord Grandison, whom no temptation or provocation could corrupt, and of that rare piety and devotion that the court or camp could not shew a more faultless person; who used to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligation of gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his house, were such, as his life was but a due sacrifice," and therefore he engaged himself and his three brothers in the service.

The Marquis of Vieu Ville, a gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the Queen out of Holland, and put him-

self as a volunteer into the Lord Jermyn's regiment, and was killed a few days before the battle of Newbury.

The Earl of Sunderland, being not above three and twenty years of age, who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person under the obligation of honour; and putting himself, on the day of the battle of Newbury, in the King's troop, as a volunteer, was taken away by a cannon bullet.

The Earl of Carnarvon, the accomplished traveller, the finished gentleman, who fought for the King, and fell in the same battle.

The Lord Viscount Falkland, slain in the same battle, "a person," says Lord Clarendon, "of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous and exe-

crable to all posterity." Before this Parliament, his condition was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement; he was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men, of high honour, of unbounded generosity, exposing his own life to save that of his enemies who had thrown away their arms in battle; so that though addicted to the profession of a soldier, and brave, even to a fault, "he appeared to come into the field," says Lord Clarendon, "chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood." The lover of peace, who mourned in tears over the calamities of his country: in the morning of the battle he put himself into the first rank of Lord Byron's regiment, in which he was slain by a musket ball, in the four and thirtieth year of his age.

Sir Henry Killigrew, who having been called upon by the parliament to join his subscription of horses, arms, &c. for their service, stood up and said, that "he would provide a good horse, and a good sword,

and made no question but he should find a good cause," and so went out of the house, and rode post into Cornwall, and there joined with the gallant gentlemen who had risen in defence of the King.

The whole body of the University of Oxford, who, when some committee men and Presbyterian ministers were sent down by the parliament to reform their discipline and doctrine by the rule of "*the covenant*," all persons being required to subscribe that test, met in their convocation, and "to their eternal renown," says Lord Clarendon, "(being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the parliament, the King in prison, and all their hopes desperate) passed a public act and declaration against the covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it, indeed, to be answered, but must remain to the world's end as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the highest

malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation; and which these famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction, or to take the covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole university: scarce one governor, or master, of college or hall, and an incredible small number of the fellows, or scholars, submitting to either."

Captain Burly, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered, in the Isle of Wight, for having been roused with honest indignation at the captivity of the King, and putting himself at the head of the people who flocked together, crying, "for God, the King, and the People."

Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, who were shot to death by order of General Fairfax, after the surrender of Colchester. Lisle, who united the fiercest courage with the softest and most gentle nature, kind to all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy. Lucas, of equal bravery, though of morose and forbidding manners, yet a man whom all his fellow



prisoners desired to accompany in death. Both gentlemen, who were the constant and faithful servants of the Crown, who were united in their lives, and whom Capel and his generous comrades would have died to save.

Sir John Digby, the disinterested and indefatigable servant of the King, who was the first to take up arms in his cause, and the last to abandon them, who was one of the six whom Cromwell excepted from pardon in the treaty of Pontefract Castle, and whom that famishing garrison refused to deliver up, though upon condition of their own safe deliverance.

Sir John Owen, who, when he received sentence of death with the Lord Capel, and others, made a low reverence, and gave his judges humble thanks; and, being asked by a stander-by what he meant? he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords."

The Lord Capel, whom Cromwell knew to be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; to have great

courage, industry, and generosity; and to be a man whose death was necessary for the good of the commonwealth; who died without affectation, but with all the dignity and serenity which became a good conscience, a sincere faith, and an elevated mind. He had always lived in a state of affluence and general estimation, having a noble fortune, a lovely wife, a numerous issue in which he took great joy and comfort; so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy in that he thought himself most blessed in them. And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all these blessings behind him; and, having no other obligation to the crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles. The man, in a word, with whom the noblest of the English nation that shall succeed, may be proud to be compared in courage, virtue, and fidelity.

The Earl of Derby, who returned that

memorable answer, breathing the very soul of chivalry, when he was desired by Cromwell to surrender the Isle of Man.

The gallant Marquis of Montrose, who told his murderers that "he was prouder to have his head set upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have had his picture hung in the King's bed-chamber: that he was so far from being troubled that his four limbs were to be hanged in four cities of the kingdom, that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered."

Mr. Gerard, who was not above twenty-two years of age when he was beheaded by order of Cromwell, merely for his attachment to the crown, and who told them on the scaffold, "that if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the King any service, and was now willing to die upon that suspicion."

Captain Wogan, who when he was of the age of three and twenty, devoted himself to death to expiate the treason into which he

had been led, when he was a youth of fifteen years. The account which Lord Clarendon gives of his undertaking deserves to be transcribed in this place. The following is the substance of it. There was attending upon the King a young gentleman, Mr. Wogan, a very handsome person, of the age of three or four and twenty. The gentleman, when he was a youth of fifteen years, had been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the Parliament service against the King, when the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved of all. By the time of the murder of the King, he was so much improved in age and understanding, that, by that horrible deed, and by the information of sober men, he grew into so great a detestation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation; and after serving in Ireland under the Marquis of Ormond, who gave him the command of his own guards, he came over with the Marquis into France; and being restless to be in action, no

sooner heard of Middleton being arrived in Scotland, than he resolved to find himself with him; and immediately asked the King's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the court as he could persuade to go with him, declaring to his Majesty, "*that he resolved to pass through England.*" The King, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majesty, nor the Marquis of Ormond could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations: and there was no news so much talked of in the court, as that Captain Wogan would go into England, and thence march into Scotland; and many young gentlemen who were in Paris, listed themselves with him for the expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Clarendon himself, who describes the interview), to desire the dispatch of such passes, letters, and commissions, as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much

kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the court, represented the danger of the enterprise to himself, and the dishonour that would reflect upon the King, for suffering men with his commission to expose themselves to inevitable ruin; that it was now the discourse of the town, and would without doubt be known in England before he could get there, so that it was likely they would be all apprehended the first minute they put their foot on shore; and how much his own particular person was more liable to danger than other men's, he knew well, and upon the whole matter, he very earnestly dissuaded him from proceeding farther. He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it; but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him), to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expressly refused to make his dispatches, till he could speak with the King, "with whom," he said, "he would do the best he could to persuade his Majesty

to hinder his journey ;” with which the young man was provoked to so great passion, that he burst into tears, and besought him not to persuade the King ; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the King, that he caused all his dispatches to be delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris and took post for Calais. They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked through the town ; stayed there about three weeks, till they had bought horses, which they quartered at common inns, and listed men enough of their acquaintance to prosecute their purpose ; and then appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell’s soldiers, with full fourscore horse well armed and appointed, quartered that night at St. Alban’s, and thence by easy journies, marched safely into Scotland ; beat up some quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure

joined Middleton in the Highlands, where poor Wogan perished after performing many brave actions, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him.

But it would be endless to relate the virtue of individuals, when all were gentlemen of honour. The Marquises of Hertford, Newcastle, Worcester, and Ormond; the Earls of Southampton, Devonshire, Clare, Monmouth, Westmoreland, Rivers, Kingston, Newport, Dorset, Litchfield, Berkshire, Derby, Dover, Cleveland; the Lords Littleton, Willoughby of Eresby, Newark, Coventry, Pawlett, Savile, Dunmore, Mowbray, Howard, Lovelace, Mohun, Seymour, Falconbridge, Herbert, Aubigny, Windham, Berkeley, Bernard, Stewart, Withrington, Arundel of Trerice, Montague; Sir Richard Gurney and Judge Mallet, Sirs Jacob Astley, John Ackland, Matthew Appleyard, Allen Apsley, Edmund Verney, Marmaduke Langdale, John Strangeways, Peter Ball, John Colepepper, William Boteler, William Clarke, John Causfield, George Carteret, Hugh Cholmondeley, William Courtney, F. Dodding-



ton, Bernard Gascoigne, William Throgmorton, Lewis Dives, Gervas Scroop, John Stawell, John Smith, William Morton, Thomas Glemham, Michael Earnly, Philip Musgrave, Richard Hutton, William Compton, Thomas Tildesley; Colonels Slingsby, Trelawny, Bernard, Astley, Ashton, Gage, Hastings, Ley, Boles, Captains Wake, Kettleby, Stradlin; and of Esquires, Sidney Godolphin, Murray, Kenelm Digby, Bridgman, Lutterel, Dudley Smith, Lane. These and others which history has not preserved, are the names of honourable gentlemen who have transmitted to their posterity the inheritance of a virtuous example, and of a spotless fame. Their virtue was in the heart, and the tribute of the heart is worthy of them. They are to be proclaimed to posterity, not because they were a band of brothers united in any party or political fellowship, the recollection of which can only serve to perpetuate the base passions of jealousy and ill-will, but because they were men, who, amidst a world of dissimulation, and treachery, and selfish ambition, discharged their duty un-

moved by interest, unconscious of fear, and deaf to the strongest inducements of private friendship; who were actuated by pure, abstracted, and unbending virtue; because they left the surest testimony of their sincerity that it was in the power of mortal men to give, by preferring a good conscience to the bribes of fortune, and death with dignity to life with dishonour; death, in the service not alone of their King and country, but of truth, of justice, and of God. May the brave and virtuous of every nation, and of every generation to come, cherish and reverence such names, and such a memory! and while there is nobility in England, and a reward for virtue among mankind, may they be handed down with honour! "These were honoured in their generation, and were the glory of their times: their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore."

But if we behold in the Monarch and gentlemen of England, at this eventful period of their history, the elevated sentiments of honour and virtue displayed in

personal sacrifice and activity, the view is far different if we turn our regard to the conduct and tone of feeling which distinguished at that time the other nations of Europe. "With what countenance did the Kings and Princes of Christendom fix their eyes upon the sad and bloody spectacle of a murdered Sovereign, of a brother King, the anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a malefactor by the lowest and vilest of human beings? What combination and union was entered into, to take vengeance upon these monsters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly spilt?" Where were the gentlemen of France and Spain, the nobles of Germany, the champions of innocence, the knights and heroes who lived only for honour, to defend the right of the fatherless, and to punish the guilt of the oppressor? Alas! they were no more. Commerce, manufactures, religious animosity, warfare converted into a course of assassination, these had grown up with the progress of the age towards refinement and commercial prosperity. "Where were the sovereigns of

Europe, whose majesty was insulted, and whose very thrones and persons menaced by this outrage? alas! there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the Prophet Isaiah, ‘Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled;’ they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered Monarch.” This is the testimony of Lord Clarendon. Cardinal Mazarine sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown; of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris. Don Alonzo de Cardinas bought for his master, the King of Spain, as many pictures and other precious goods appertaining to the crown, as, being sent in ships to the Corunna, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, Queen of Sweden, purchased

the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and some pictures of a great price. The Archduke Leopold disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures which adorned the several palaces of the King; which were all carried by him into Germany\*. I have been led incidentally to notice that apparent disorder and uncertainty in the government of human affairs which have so frequently induced men of vulgar capacity and hasty temper to argue against the existence of moral retribution. Without doubt the retrospect of history with a view to this particular object will furnish scope for endless reflection, even to men of thoughtful and philosophic minds. Louis XV. dies tranquilly on his bed;

\* These pictures are now at Vienna, where I have seen them displayed to the public with a notice in form, signifying the manner in which they had been obtained. This was complete. I have heard of a certain Society who had concealed their plate during the troubles, lest they should have been called upon to deliver it to the King; and who are now very cautious in acknowledging that they possess any. This is as it should be; for "where there is still shame there may in time be virtue."

Louis XVI. upon the scaffold. There is nothing more celebrated in the early history of France than the lives and fate of Frédégond and Brunehaut. Frédégond, described by all writers as a monster of iniquity, dies tranquilly in her chamber. Brunehaut, whether equally guilty according to the ancient opinion, or as the historian Velly maintains, wholly innocent, expires amidst torment and horrors which the pen refuses to detail. Turning to the pages of our own history, we behold Richard II. deposed and murdered in Pontefract Castle, and Henry IV. wearing the crown for fourteen years, then seized with his last illness while praying in St. Edward's chapel, and dying peaceably in the Abbot's chamber at Westminster, transmitting the crown to his son. Henry VI.\* deposed and murdered in the

\* I remember once having assisted at the annual commemoration in the college of King Henry VI. at Cambridge. The second lesson was peculiarly applicable to the occasion. It was the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the apostle inculcates subjection to the Father of spirits, who chastened us for our profit, "that we might be partakers of his holiness." A doctrine at all times essential to the stu-

Tower; and Edward IV. (what different associations excited by these names!) enjoying the crown for twenty-one years, then before his death, spending entire days in the exercises of religion, expiring in the end without pain or terror, and transmitting the crown to his son Edward.

ὦ Ζεῦ, τι λέξω; ποτέρα δ' ἀνθρώπους ἦραν;

Ἥ δοξαν ἄλλως τὴν δε κεκτησθαι ματῆν

Ψευδῆ, δοκουντας δαμμων εἶναι γενος

Τυχῆν δε παντα τ' αν Βροτοις ἐπισκοπειν \* ;

Such were the complaints and the doubts of one who had only reason and nature for his guide.

“Dunce, dotard!” cries the philosopher in the play †,

—————“were you born before the flood

To talk of perjury, whilst Simon breathes,

Theorus and Cleonymus, whilst they,

Thrice-perjured villains, brave the lightning's stroke

dent of history, and which upon this occasion in particular, was calculated to remove the mournful feelings and the otherwise inexplicable difficulties so naturally awakened in the thoughtful breast when reminded of the most virtuous and unfortunate of kings.

\* Euripid. Heecuba.

† Aristoph. The Clouds. Cumberland's translac.

And gaze the heaven's unscorch't? would these escape?  
 Why, man, Jove's random fires strike his own fane,  
 Strike Sunium's guiltless top, strike the dumb oak  
 Who never yet broke faith or falsely swore \*."

Nor was this the mere effusion of poetical fancy, since history records the names of many men, who, like Diagoras, were induced from similar observations to deny even the existence of a God. "Videtisne Amici," said Dionysius, when he was sailing to Syracuse with a fair wind, "quam bona a diis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis detur." The truth is, however, that all objections and reasoning of this kind are utterly groundless, depending both upon an erroneous estimate of happiness, and an imperfect observation of the natural order of events. It is not true that we are unfurnished with evidence sufficient to prove a moral retribution. The very reverse of this is the fact, and instances in confirmation may be adduced from almost every page of history. What a magnificent passage is that in the *Electra* of Sophocles, when the

\* The reader of Rabelais will recollect a curious passage, in which the same objection is artfully stated.



chorus exclaims to one who beheld in despair the prosperity of the wicked!

Θαρσει μοι, θαρσει, τεκνον  
 Ἔστι μεγας ἐν Ουρανῷ  
 Ζεὺς, ὃς ἐφορα, παντα και κρατῦνει·

And with what power and majesty does the genius of Demosthenes proclaim this truth to the desponding Athenians: 'Εγὼ γαρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφοδρα ἂν ἠγυμνη και αὐτος φοβερον εἶναι και θαυμαστον τον φιλιππον, εἰ τα δικαῖα πραττοντα ἔωρων αὐτον ἠϋξημενον.— ἔ γαρ ἐστιν, ἢκ ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικηντα και ἐπιορκηντα, και Ψευδομενον, δυναμικ βεβαιαν κτησασθαι· ἄλλα τα τοιαυτα εἰς μεν ἀπαξ και βραχυν χρονον ἀντεχει· και σφοδρα γε ἠνθεσεν ἐπι ταις ἐλπισιν, αν τυχη τω χρονῳ δε φωραται, και περι αὐτα καταρρῖει· ὡσπερ γαρ οἰκίας οἰμυι, και πλοιη, και των ἄλλων των τοιστων, τα κατωθεν ἰσχυροτατα εἶναι δει· ἔτω και των πραξεων τας ἀρχας και τας ὑποθεσεις ἀληθεις και δικαῖας εἶναι προσηκει \*.

\* Olynth. 1. The Christian religion has taught us to reconcile completely the appearances of disorder in the moral government of the world with the constant superintendance of God. We may further remark, that

Upon the whole, then, the conclusion is consolatory, nay, highly animating. We have the undoubted fact, establishing the connection between obedience to God and human happiness. A moral retribution even in this world, admitting that there are difficulties in the way of our perfectly discerning its operation in every instance, is fully confirmed. Who will presume to say that it is merely a superstitious prejudice which leads men in all ages and countries, to treasure up and record observations similar to what were made by the contemporaries of Edward IV., who remarked that this usurper when he landed in England to dethrone Henry VI. disembarked at Ravenspur, the very place where Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II.? All history is full of evidence confirming this most important lesson, that sooner or later, punishment is sure to be visited on the guilty ;

the wisest of the ancients were enabled to derive the right inference from the same phenomena. See Plato de legibus, lib. iv. and x, Plutarch de fort. Roman. de sera numinis vindicta. Juv. Sat. xiii. Cæsar's answer to Divicus the Helvetian Ambassador, &c. &c.

that vice is never without its penalty, and with most wonderful exactness, its peculiar penalty; nor virtue without its proper reward\*. But hence will arise another lesson. Though virtue and utility are in the end inseparable, yet it is by the former as dictating a rule that our views and actions must be regulated; for attend to the distinction observed by Cicero, "nec quia utile honestum est, sed quia honestum utile †." We are not to examine whether an action be expedient that it may be virtuous, for here is a point which we may not be able to determine; but whether it be virtuous that it may be expedient, which is an enquiry that will never terminate in uncertainty. This is not, I must repeat, a mere verbal refinement. They who first look to expediency, supposing that they therefore consult virtue, are generally defeated in both objects which they desire to secure: their virtue is forfeited, and their policy unsuccessful.

\* "Nec sine pœna unquam esse vitia, nec sine præmio virtutes."—Boethius Consol.

† De Off. II. xxx.

The words of the Corinthian ambassador to the Athenians, as recorded by Thucydides, are for ever memorable, *μη (τις) νομιση δικαια μεν ταδε λεγεσθαι, ζυμφορα δε ἄλλα εἶναι. το τε γαρ ζυμφερον, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τις ἐλαχιστα ἁμαρτανη, μαλιστα ἔπεται.* I. 42.

“ Je ne sais par quelle fatalité les hommes injustes nuisent presque toujours à leurs interets, en multipliant sans besoin les moyens de reussir :” but the Abbé de Mably, who makes this observation, might have gone farther, and taken higher ground. He might have shewn to individuals and to statesmen\*, that all policy which interferes with the common duties of humanity and religion, that all careful provision for future exigencies, which leads men to overlook or neglect the ordinary dictates given to direct and determine their actions, are condemned by the eternal and immutable law of Providence, to be eventually frustrated and unsuccess-

\* There is a passage in Montesquieu's *Esprit des loix*, xix. 11. which seems open to great abuse. Let it be compared with Plato's principle, *de repub.* iii. and *Alcibiad.* i.

ful, and that therefore the motive of expediency, however proper in theoretical reasoning, should be altogether excluded from the province of directing or determining the actions of men. Take, as an instance, the misfortunes and failure of the Persians after they had treacherously broken their treaty with the Greeks. The case is produced by Polyænus, in his book on stratagems, as illustrating how justice may be made an instrument of policy. The truce had been ratified for three months with Agesilaus. The Persians made a sudden attack upon the Greeks. Agesilaus seized with eagerness the advantage, and encouraged his army with these words, *χαριν οἶδα Τισσαφερνη της ἐπιτορκίας· ἑαυτῶ μεν γαρ πολεμίουσ τοὺσ Θεοὺσ ἐποίησεν, ἡμῖν δε συμμαχοὺσ. Ἰωμεν δη θάρρηντες, ὡσ μακχόμενοι μετα τηλικυτων συμμαχων*, the barbarians were routed in a moment. Again, observe how Xenophon availed himself of a similar advantage, arising from the sacrilege committed by the enemy. To the Greek army he affirmed, *ὅτι πολλαι και καλαι ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν σωτήρίας. Πρωτον μεν γαρ ἡμῖσ μεν ἐμπεδου-*

ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ὄρκους· οἱ δὲ πολεμιοὶ ἐπιωρη-  
 κασι τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λελυκασιν.  
 οὕτω δ' ἔχοντων, εἶκος, τοῖς μὲν Πολεμίοις ἐναν-  
 τίους εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμαχοὺς \*.

In modern history, we have the instance of the Allies giving to Louis XIV., their enemy, the inestimable advantage of a good cause. Here again the policy of the opposite party was similar. When they, by their unreasonable and cruel demands, had fully demonstrated the extent of their ambition, Louis published their terms, appealed to his people, and from that moment France recovered her ground and prevailed against the power of her united enemies.

But to resume the subject from which I have been induced to digress. It was not to the splendid qualities which excite admiration, that the virtues of chivalry were

\* Anab. iii. 2. The policy of such opinions in the ancients is indisputable, and they who are inclined to speculate upon their validity as entertained by men involved in the guilt and errors of idolatry, will do well to consult the arguments of Pridcaux, when he attributes the fate of Crassus and of Pompey, to their profanation of holy things.

confined. Their sphere was of much wider dimensions, since it included those less conspicuous, but equally valuable dispositions, which are of every-day use, and which contribute to refine and preserve from interruption, the beneficial intercourse of social life.

“ Amongst them all grows not a fairer flower  
 Than is the bloom of comely courtesy,  
 Which though it on a lowly stalk do bowre,  
 Yet brancheth forth in brave nobility,  
 And spreads itself through all civility.”

“ There was no country,” says S<sup>te</sup> Palaye, “ where chivalry did not exert its influence to promote public and private good.” Nothing was little or contemptible in the eyes of a knight, when it related to doing good ; and he proceeds to point out that this exercise of benevolence was extended to all classes of men, even to the person of the very lowest and most abject condition. He quotes a precept of the chevalier de la Tour, in his book of instructions, which requires the practice of courtesy towards inferiors. “ Ceux la,” he says, “ vous porteront plus grant louenge et plus grant

renommée et plus grant bien que les grans : car l'honneur et la courtoisie qui est portée aux grans, n'est faite que de leur droit que l'en leur doit faire ; mais celle qui est portée aux petits genlitz hommes et aux petites genlitz femmes et outres mendres, tel honneur et courtoisie vient de franc et doulx cuer, et le petit à qui on la fait s'en tient pour honoré."

Spenser devotes the whole of the sixth book to celebrate the examples and beauty of courtesy. His description of Sir Calidore is quite perfect.

" But'mongst them all was none more courteous knight  
 Than Calidore, beloved over all :  
 In whom it seems, that gentleness of spright  
 And manners mild were planted natural,  
 To which he adding comely guize withall,  
 And gracious speech, did steal men's hearts away.  
 Nath'less thereto he was full stout and tall  
 And well approv'd in battailous affray,  
 That him did much renown, and far his fame display.  
 Ne was there knight, ne was there lady found  
 In Fairy Court, but him did dear embrace,  
 For his fair usage and conditions sound,  
 The which in all men's liking gained place,  
 And with the greatest, purchast greatest grace ;



Which he could wisely use, and well apply  
 To please the best, and th' evil to embrace,  
 For he loath'd leasing and base flattery,  
 And loved simple truth and stedfast honesty."

In the third canto it is related how Sir  
 Calepine was insulted by a proud and das-  
 tardly knight, whom he defied in these  
 grand words :

" Unknightly knight, the blemish of that name,  
 And blot of all that arms upon them take,  
 Which is the badge of honour and of fame,  
 Lo, I defie thee, and here challenge make,  
 That thou for ever do these arms forsake,  
 And be for ever held a recreant knight,  
 Unless thou dare for thy dear Ladie's sake,  
 And for thine own defence on foot alight  
 To justify thy fault 'gainst me in equal fight.  
 Tho dastard that did hear himself defide,  
 Seem'd not to weigh his threatful words at all,  
 But laught them out, as if his greater pride  
 Did scorn the challenge of so base a thrall,  
 Or had no courage, or else had no gall."

A similar adventure once befel me. It  
 was an officer in the service of the King of  
 Sardinia, whom I met in the mountains of  
 Piedmont. I was looking back from my  
 horse, when this discourteous coward,  
 pricking down the road, rudely seized my

bridle, and before I was aware of his presence, turned round my steed to clear the way. Like Sir Calepine, I reviled and defied him in the moment of wrath, but as dastardly as he was discourteous, he quickened his pace without venturing to reply. Thibaud, in his Memoirs of the King of Prussia, relates an amusing anecdote of a Prussian prince, who severely admonished some young military pupils at Strasburg, for treating him with insolent contempt, when they regarded him as an obscure stranger, (for he travelled in disguise.) And the conduct of Henry IV. of France was somewhat similar, in punishing the discourteous lawyers, in the inn at Charenton, who refused to allow him, whom they mistook for a common gentleman, to have a small portion of their dinner, or to sit at the bottom of their table, there being no other provision in the house. To respect strangers, "*à être une autre fois plus civile avec les gentilshommes,*" was the lesson inculcated upon both occasions, in a manner which could hardly fail to make a lasting impression. The

rule laid down by Demetrius, as related by Diogenes Laertius, may be adopted as the lesson of chivalry : *τους νεους ἔφη δεῖν ἐπιμεν τῆς οἰκίας τους γονεῖς αἰδεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τους ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἑαυτούς.*

Of the advantage and excellence of this gracious disposition, it seems quite impossible to entertain a reasonable doubt. Yet is it not exempt from the lot of all virtue in this world, for it has to endure the contradiction of wayward men, and even to meet arguments (if they can deserve the name), which would prove its injurious tendency. There are persons in the world who ridicule and condemn these peculiarities of manner, as defective and vicious in principle, as generating servility in the person who receives, and pride in him, who bestows this mark of benevolence. They will even, perhaps, go so far as to assert, that this whole system of refinement is contrary to our national character, and unworthy of it. It is true there have been periods in our history \* when these virtues could find no

\* The language and manners of the deplorable time to which I allude are well known. I have now before

place of refuge from the storm which overthrew the throne, and which threatened to

me an engraving of Phillips, who was Confessor to the Queen. The inscription is as follows :

“ Father Phillips, Confessor to Henrietta Maria, was by many supposed to influence that bigoted princess to the steps *which cost her husband his head.*” Yet it must be confessed that no bad manners, no instance of the *feritas inamabilis*, can offend the taste of the classical student who has learned to admire the sentiment and demeanour which distinguished the Romans, in their social intercourse, *during the period of their virtue* ; who has prevailed upon his judgment to respect such feelings as dictated the reply of Fabricius to the invitation of Pyrrhus, and the censorial edict of Metellus. A. U. 622.

The French, since the reign of Louis XIV., have been admired by all the nations of Europe for their refinement and elegance of manners ; and the loss of that distinction was not the least evil that was inflicted upon that country during the revolution. The accomplished La Harpe appears to feel the possibility of a total forfeiture of that title which they had justly deserved, of the most polished nation. “ Sans doute,” he observes, “ la nation ne renoncera jamais à l’un des avantages les plus aimables qui l’aient distinguée jusqu’ici. On ne détruira pas le respect des convenances sociales sous prétexte d’égalité.”—Cours de Littérature, tom. ii. The manners of good company in France, and those introduced by the revolution, may be regarded as the highest perfection, and the very lowest debasement of the intercourse of social life.

overwhelm our faith, under the mass of hypocrisy, infidelity, and licentiousness, which overspread the land. It is also true, that in America, that land of refuge for the pretended patriotism and virtue of the world, these graces and peculiar dispositions are not to be found. But, how far the proud spirit of a republican\*, the os-

\* When I was in Paris some years ago, I conversed with an American, who was regarded as a man of piety and of letters. He asked me how we could reconcile our institution of rank and hereditary distinction with Christian humility. Five minutes had not elapsed, when he said, with much energy, "if I were in England, I could not endure that another man should take the step of me, because he had a title!!" There are three facts which must astonish a youth who has been brought up by republican parents. First, that there should be slaves bought and sold, and established in America. Secondly, that the lower orders of people in England, are generally, if not always, desirous of serving gentlemen instead of persons of inferior rank. Thirdly, that all his republican friends in England continually interlard their conversation with sayings of his Grace the Duke of ———, and of my Lord — ; and are repeating continually anecdotes which display their habits of familiar intimacy with these exalted personages ; and at the same time, he observes frequent instances of their supercilious treatment of poor people.

tentatious piety of seceders from their church, the stubborn and unyielding enemies of all subordination in civil and ecclesiastical affairs,—how far their disposition can be united with the meekness and gentleness of Christ, with obedience to the indispensable duties of his religion, nay, even with submission to his kingly and supreme authority \*, is a discovery of which I hope to remain for ever in ignorance, “*Les ames humbles et pacifiques,*” says Fenelon, “*qui ne vivent que de recueillement et d’amour, sont toujours petites à leurs propres yeux, et ennemies de la contradic-*

All this must appear to him very unaccountable. Alas! “*ingenui vultus puer!*” he knows not that at Athens, when Demosthencs was attacking Æschines, his rival, he began by representing his mean extraction. He forgets that when Jack Cade was inspired with the spirit of putting down kings and princes, he took great pains to make the people suppose that his father was a Mortimer and his mother a Plantagenet.

\* We must not forget the fact, however absurd and extravagant it may be, that the independents of England actually infused their political principles in that most adorable prayer of our blessed Saviour. “*Thy commonwealth come,*” was the amended form of petition!!

tion; elles sont bien éloignées de s'élever contre le corps des pasteurs, de décider, de condamner, de dire des injures, &c. — Les dons intérieures, loin de leur inspirer une élévation superbe et un sentiment d'indépendance, ne vont qu'à les anéantir, qu'à les rendre plus souples et plus déifiantes d'elles-mêmes, qu'à leur faire mieux sentir leurs ténèbres et leur impuissance, enfin qu'à les desapproprier davantage de leurs pensées. O combien ont-elles horreur *au zèle amer* et de tous *les combats de paroles*. Au lieu de la dispute elles emploient l'insinuation, la patience et l'édification; au lieu de parler de Dieu aux hommes, elles parlent des hommes à Dieu afin qu'il les touche, qu'il les persuade, et qu'il fasse en eux ce que nul autre n'a pu faire." "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." There is freedom from deceit, from pride, from envy, hatred, avarice, and from the thousand inextricable bands of the worldly mind; but there is not a dispensation to despise ordinances, to hate and slander our superiors, to be discontented with our

condition, to set up our own authority above that of the church, to free all men from the bonds of their social obligation, and to leave our own heart in chains. This is not "the liberty of the Lord," but it is the licence of hell.

This peculiar disposition of mind, which produces courtesy of manner, is of high moral importance, and I cannot dismiss the subject without endeavouring to fix this upon your memory. The same virtue, arising from a different and much less elevated principle, existed in all civilized nations, from the earliest antiquity. It was the boast of Athens; it was the virtue of the stoics: it was deified in the Roman mythology, who borrowed it from the Greeks\*; it was panegyricized by Cicero. Their precepts are express.

\* There are two dissertations in two of the early volumes of the Academy of Inscriptions, one by the Abbé Gedoyn, upon the urbanity of the Romans; the other by the Abbé Massieu, upon the poetry of the Ancients, in which he explains the character of the Graces; and these are both well worthy of perusal.



Βελε δ' αρεσκειν πασι, μη σαυτω μονον.

Ἦδεως εχε προς ἀπαντας, χω δε τοις Βελτιστοις.

And again, when they enter into the detail,

Τω μεν τροπη γινε φιλοπροσηγορος, τω δε λογω ευπροσηγορος. Εστι δε φιλοπροσηγοριας μεν, το προσφωνειν τωσ ἀπαντωντας· ευπροσηγοριας δε, το τοις λογοις αὐτοις δικειωσ ἐντυγχανειν.

“ Non cadit in mores feritas inamabilis istos ;

\* \* \* \* \*

Artibus ingenuis, quarum tibi maxima cura est,  
Pectora mollescunt, asperitasque fugit.”

That delicate attention to propriety which was evinced by Pisistratus, in giving the cup first to Minerva, because apparently older than Telemachus, seemed to Homer as worthy of the applause of perfect wisdom.

Χαιρε δ' Ἀθηναιη πεπνυμενω ἀνδρι δικαιω,

Οἴνεκα οἱ προτερη δωκε χρυσειον ἀλεισον.

And we may recollect that Augustine, by neglecting to rise from his seat, on the approach of the British Bishops to the Oak, in Worcestershire, lost their assistance, and defeated the great object of his mission.

Cicero says, in his oration for Cn. Plan-

cius, "Omitto illa quæ si minus in scena sunt, at certe cum sunt prolata, laudantur : ut vivat cum suis, primum cum parente, Quid dicam, cum patruo ? cum affinibus ? cum propinquis ?——Atque hæc sunt indicia solida, jūdices, et expressa ; hæc signa probitatis, non fucata forensi specie, sed domesticis, inusta notis veritatis."

And again, in his "Orator," he says, "itaque efficias, ut, cum gratiæ causa nihil facias, omnia tamen sint grata, quæ facis."

"Quid enim tam distans quam a severitate comitas ? quis tamen unquam te aut sanctior est habitus, aut dulcior."

And again,

"Sic profecto res se habet nullum ut sit vitæ tempus in quo non deceat leporem humanitatemque versari \*."

Nor was this virtue overlooked by the divine Author of our religion. It is from the institution of chivalry, founded upon this faith, that we derive it. The perfect model of all excellence, the character of our blessed Saviour himself, is uniformly marked with these milder features of goodness, and we may strictly, I trust, not irre-

\* De Oratore.

verently apply to his adorable manners, what Cicero has said of his own master. "Cujus et vita, et oratio consecuta mihi videtur difficillimam illam societatem, gravitatis cum humanitate\*."

Let it be considered, therefore, as indisputable, that courtesy is an essential quality in the character of a gentleman. But the subject is not yet exhausted. We have still to put you on your guard against a mistake very prevalent in the world, which tends to defeat the beneficial effect of this virtue by an erroneous estimate of its real nature. Nothing is more common than for those who are the loudest in its praise to be entirely ignorant of its character, and from this very error effects the most fatal have been the consequence. "I should like to know," says Montagne, "en quel temps print commencement cette coustume, de si exactement poiser et mesurer les parolles, et d'y attacher nostre honneur." It is clear that it did not exist among the Greeks and Romans. "On appelle Cesar, tantost voleur, tantost yvrongne, à sa barbe. We

\* De Oratore, Legibus iii. 1.

see liberty of invective mutually used between the greatest warriors of these nations, when words were only followed by words, without drawing any other consequence."

So far, Montagne. That this custom prevailed among the Greek and Trojan heroes is known to every reader of the Iliad. It may be strikingly observed in the language of Agamemnon, when exciting the Greek warriors to battle, who so far from evincing displeasure at his reproaches, always obey his command, and sometimes even applaud his solicitude. But what will, perhaps, surprise many persons much more, is the fact that this liberty of speech was practised by the knights and barons of the middle ages, with the same effect. When Joinville had given his opinion in favour of the King remaining in Palestine, the other great officers of the army were highly displeased, and indulged themselves in ridiculing Joinville, calling him *poulain*, to which he used to reply, "il aimoit mieux etre poulain que *chevalier recrue*," that is, recreant knight. *Poulain* signified degeneracy; from the union of a

Syrian man with a French woman, whose son was supposed to be of a base and degenerate nature. Both expressions were, therefore, as we should think, highly insulting, "on ne voit pas néanmoins," says Ducange, "que cette affaire ait en aucune suite : ce qui prouve qu'on n'étoit point si délicat qu'aujourd'hui sur le point d'honneur, ou du moins, qu'avec la même bravoure, on sçavoit mieux entendre raillerie dans l'occasion." Upon all occasions of this kind they seem to have adopted, by mutual consent, the custom of the Greek and Trojan heroes, as described in the words of Achilles to Æneas :

Ὅπποιον κ' εἶπησθα ἔπος, τοιον κ' ἐπακροσαιο.

Sismondi observes, "Les égards mutuels qu'une civilisation raffinée nous inspire les uns pour les autres étoient alors peu en usage ; la délicatesse du point d'honneur n'étoit pas dans ce siècle facilement offensé, et quand on avait rendu injure pour injure on se croyait lavé de tout reproche." He refers to a "tenson" between the Marquis Albert Malespina and Rambaud de

Vagueiras, two of the greatest seigneurs, and most valliant captains, “at the commencement of the thirteenth century, in which they mutually reproach one another with having robbed on the highway, and with perjury.” The truth is, that this liberty of speech never offends when men are innocent, and it is absolutely unavoidable when frankness, good humour, and high spirits are united in fellowship. Who that remembers his youth can forget the pleasure which he gave and received by indulgence of this kind? I love that feeling expressed by Montagne, so full of truth and honesty, of benevolence and good sense, “*Je souffriroy estre rudement heurté par mes amis ; tu es un sot, tu resues : j’ayme entre les galans hommes, qu’on s’exprime courageusement, que les mots aillent ou va la penseé. Il nous faut fortifier l’ouie et la durcir contre cette tendreur du sòn ceremonieux des paroles. J’ayme une societé et familiarité forte et virile : une amitié qui se flatte en l’aspreté\**”

\* Yet not leading to the temper condemned by Hor.  
Ep. I. xviii. 15.

et vigueur de son commerce, comme l'amour en morsures et esgratigneures sanglantes."

Henry IV., of France, recapitulating, before all the court, the names of the most distinguished warriors, placed his hand upon Crillon's shoulder, and said, "Messieurs, voici le premier capitaine du monde.—Vous en avez menti, Sire, c'est vous," replied Crillon.

Once more then let us ask with Montagne, at what period was this custom introduced, which obliges men to measure with such delicacy the phrases of their conversation. The answer will delight those who know how to love the virtues while they detest the abuse and the perversion of chivalry. "The opinions on the point of honour," says Sismondi, "which have had such an influence not only upon chivalry but upon all our modern system of civilization, have come to us from the Arabians, to whom they belong, and not to the Germanic nations. It is from them that we have derived this religion of vengeance, this so delicate appreciation of offence and affronts which makes them to sacrifice

their lives and those of their family, to wipe away a stain upon their honour, which in 1568 caused to revolt all the Alpuxarra of Grenada, and to perish 50,000 Moors to revenge the blow of a cane given by Don Juan de Mendoza to Don Juan de Malec, descendant of the Aben Humeya."

From this lesson we may learn to distinguish the liberal courtesy of a gentleman from the disgusting servility, the insipid ceremonious monotony of the mere pretenders to honour; the men of dull spirits, cold hearts, and affected deportment. We may learn also that it is not the refinement of the academy \*, the attic elegance of the

\* Gressét expresses his aversion to the false and strained refinement of literary society:—

“ Parmi la foule trop habile

Des beaux diseurs du nouveau style

Qui, par de bizarres détours

Quittant le ton de la nature

Répondent sur tous leurs discours.

L'académique enluminuse

Et le vernis des nouveaux tours ;

Je regrette la bonhomie

L'air loyal, l'esprit non pointu

Du curé de la seigneurie.”



man of letters, or the artificial polish of the courtier that is here recommended, but the natural fruit of a benevolent mind, developed more or less by the assistance of that education, which, in this country, belongs chiefly to the higher circles, and which cannot exist without virtue. It is the ornament of honour, not its substitute. It has been remarked that it is so unnatural a thing for the Spanish court to stoop to any mean action, that they always do it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own countenance, and quickly to recede from it; and certainly that artful dissimulation and unblushing effrontery, which men of experience in base transactions know so well how to practise, when they would conceal their treachery, or win by confident assurance the judgment that can be forced, were unknown to chivalry, and will be forever wanting to men of honour. These dispositions of mind, this politeness and gracious benignity which are essential to the character of a gentleman, are termed philosophy by Montagne; and the observa-

tions which he has made upon the subject, are striking.

“ L’ame qui loge la philosophie doit par sa santé rendre sain encore le corps : elle doit faire luire jusques au dehors, son repos, et son aise : doit former à son moule le port extérieur, et l’armer par conséquent d’une gracieuse fierté, d’un maintien actif, et allaire, et d’une contenance contente et debonnaire. La plus expresse marque de la sagesse c’est une esjouissance constante.”

In like manner, when Sir Calidore has overthrown the proud discourteous knight, he says,

“ ————— By this now may ye learn  
Strangers no more so rudely to entreat,  
But put away proud look, and usage stern,  
The which shall nought to you but foul dishonour  
earn.”

They both direct their censure against that morose gravity, that disdainful pride, that suspicious, ridiculous reserve, which is condemned by Aristotle, and exposed by Rochefoucault \*, and which is now only to

\* His definition of this demeanour is well known :  
“ Un mystère du corps, inventé pour cacher les défauts

be observed in the vulgar class of English society. Froissart relates of the gentyll knight, Sir Richarde Dangle, that "he was merry, true, amorous, sage, secrete, large, prewe, hardy, adventurous, and chyvalrous." A combination of qualities which could not fail to constitute the polite and accomplished gentleman. Of the Earl of Foix the same historian records, that "he was of good and easy acquayntance with every man, and amorously wolde speke to them :"

and of Sir William Daucenys, that he was "ryght courtoys and swete of words." Whatever opinion people of the world may entertain upon the advantage of the ceremonies and civilities which continue to be requisite in good company, the real Christian has it not in his power to decry or neglect them. They are adopted and practised by him from a high religious principle, and therefore there is no instance of *ill breeding* in a person really religious; that is, not *professedly* religious, but who is *de l'esprit*." But in the present case, it is rather to conceal the want of education, and of acquaintance with good company.

animated with *the pure and unmixed spirit of Christianity*. This true politeness does not indeed include that which Madame de Sevigné so well terms “un métier tuant,” but it certainly involves the practice of that virtue which Fenelon ascribes to the natives of every country, and which is referred by Nicole to the very highest principle that can influence the heart. See the “*Essais de Morale, Tom. II. de la Civilité Chrétienne.*” What a practical treatise on this subject will occur to the recollection of those who have lived in intimacy with characters of this description, from the Monks of St. Bernard and the French curates, to the ecclesiastics and men of genuine religion who belong to our own church\*.

Finally, to convince you that an attention to these smaller matters is not unworthy of your character, even without reference to religious obligation, I will

\* M<sup>me</sup>. de Sevigné, in relating the conversion of M<sup>me</sup>. de Marans to a religious life, concludes with this beautiful remark, “*enfin elle est bien plus aimable qu'elle n'etoit.*” See Tom. iii. Lett. 282.

present you with a sentence of Cicerò, whose judgment I conceive to be decisive on all questions of this nature. “ Sed ea quæ multum ab humanitate discrepant, ut si quis in foro cantet aut si qua est alia magna perversitas, facile apparent, nec magnopere admonitionem et præcepta desiderant. Quæ autem parva videntur esse delicta neque à multis intelligi possunt, ab iis est diligentius declinandum. Ut in fidibus aut in tibiis, quamvis paulum discrepant, tamen id a sciente animadverti solet, sic videndum est in vita, ne forte quid discrepet; vel multo etiam magis, quo major et melior actionum quam sonorum concentus est\*.”

There is a disposition of mind against which all gentlemen should be on their guard, for it will assuredly expose those who entertain it to the just contempt of every man who has had experience of the world. I mean that opinion which seems hereditary with the vulgar, and quite incurable; “ quod soli mortalium barbari non

\* De Officiis, l.

sint," which Erasmus pleasantly attributes to the happy influence of folly. I would advise every gentleman to travel\*, not to become more self-sufficient and national in faults, but more humble, and more acquainted with the duties which belong to him as a man, not to return with his tales of terror, strengthening the absurd prejudices of his own countrymen, and increasing their contemptible antipathies to other nations, but to bring back with him the recollection from every country that he visits, of gentlemen of honour, virtue and religion. As for myself, I fully agree to the truth of that opinion, "quand une fois on connoit bien les hommes, aucune préférence vive n'est possible pour telle ou telle nation †." The vulgar, the multitude

\* Yet what traveller has not experienced the feeling expressed in the following exquisite lines of Pindemonti?

" Oh felice chi mai non pose il piede  
Fuori della patria sua dolce terra ;  
Egli il cor non lascio fitto in oggetti  
Che di piu riveder non ha speranza,  
E cio che vive ancor, morto non piange."

† M<sup>dme</sup>. de Stael.

are every where the same. The Christian and the gentleman are in like manner the same in every country. The advantage of travel must not be estimated by what many men chuse to derive, for this would be to argue from its abuse. You will find some who descant upon the wretchedness of a country, because they found no carpets or sofas; and others upon the character of a nation, because they did not like their travelling companions; and foreigners will complain quite as absurdly of our trivial peculiarities which may happen to offend their habits, and perhaps their palate, "*que telles gens gardent leur cuisine.*" A great advantage to be derived from travel is the acquirement of manners that will characterise the gentleman in every country, for a facility in these will generally be accompanied with a noble liberality of mind, not an abandonment of our own honest prejudices, (for I am not such a philosopher as to find fault with the term) but a desire to respect the prejudices of other men. "A traveller," says Lord Bacon, "should let it appear that he doth not

change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only pricketh in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country." Still let it be remembered that there are prejudices, peculiarities, and even established rules of good breeding belonging to each nation of Europe, and that to neglect or despise these when an attention to them may be required, is not more indicative of contemptible stupidity and ignorance than it is of irreligion. There are few travellers who do not need this advice, practical and commonplace as it may appear. This liberal and Christian spirit has always been the ornament of gentlemen. Froissart relates how "the Duke Frederic of Bavaria, of hyghe almayne had greatly desyred ones to bere armes for them of France, and to se the estate of France, *for he loved all honour*; also he was enfourmed that all the honour of the worlde was in France;" and in that celebrated description of the castle of the Earl of Foix, he observes, "there was sene in his hall, chambre and court, knights and squyers of honour goyng up and downe,



and talkyng of armes and of amours ; all honoure ther was founde, all maner of tydynges of every realme and countre ther might be herde, for *out of every countre ther was resort*, for the valyantnesse of this erle." Upon Sir John's arrival at Ortaise, he descended at the sign of the moon, while his friend, Sir Espaenge de Lion, went to the castle "and incontynent," he says, "I was sente for to my lodgyng, for *he was the loorde of all the worlde that moost desyred to speke with straungers*." In another place, Sir John Froissart says, that Olyver de Clysson, Constable of France, spoke with the English knights, "*and made good company with them in divers maners, as noble men of armes wyll do eche to other*, and as Frensshmen and Englysshmen have always done." And thus Eginhart relates of Charlemagne, "*Amabat peregrinos, et eorum suscipiendorum magnam habebat curam ; adeo, ut eorum multitudo non solum palatio, verum etiam regno non immerito videretur onerosa*."

Modesty is another feature of the chival-

rous character \*, which has distinguished the brave and generous class of mankind in all ages of the world. How fine is that trait of ingenuous modesty in Telemachus, when he replies to Mentor, who desired him to address Nestor :

Μεντορ, πως τ' ἄρ' ἴω, πως τ' ἄρ' προσπτυξομαι αὐτον ;  
 Οὐδε τι πω μυθοισι πεπειρημαι πυκνοισιν·  
 Αἰδως δ' αὖ, νεον ἄνδρα γεραιτερον ἐξερέεσθαι.

Nothing can be more express than the precept of civalry in requiring this virtue. The author of Jouvencel represents his hero in the following terms : “ Il conduisoit tout soulz la main de Dieu et en son nom pour s'employer en faits notables sans vanter ou haut louer soi-meme, car louenge est réputée blame en la bouche de ce lui qui se loe ; mais elle exaulce celluy qui ne se attribue point de lœnge, mais à Dieu. Si l'Escuyer a vain gloire de ce qu'il a fait, il n'est pas digne d'estre chevalier, car vaine

\* Thus, “ Faire sans dire,” is the beautiful motto of the noble family of Strangways, agreeable to the great rule of chivalry :

“ Un chevalier n'en doutez pas  
 Doit ferir haut et parler bas.”

gloire est ung vice qui destruit et anéantit les mérites et les guerdons, ou bénéfices de chevalerie.” King Perceforest, according to these principles, tells his knights in instructing them, “ Si me souvient d’une parolle que ung Hermite me dist une fois pour moy chastier ; car il me dist que si j’avois autant de possessions comme avoit le roy Alexandre, et de sens comme le sage Salomon, et de chevalerie (valeur, bravoure) comme eut le preux Hector de Troye, seul orgueil s’il régnoit en moy destruiroit tout.”

We shall do well to remark how the modesty of the chivalrous character preserved our ancestors from that spirit of ridicule and disdain which their descendants have so generally adopted in reference to their companions and brethren. It was a fine and honest boast of Hippolytus, which might have been repeated by every knight who practised the principles of his order.

Ουκ ἐγγελασθῆς τῶν ὀμιλούντων, πατερ,  
Ἄλλ’ αὐτος οὐ παρῶσι κάγγυς ὦν φίλοις.

A great indication of nobility was mildness with an unassuming deportment.

When Sir Gareth of Orkney had at length prevailed over the prejudices of the damoyssel, who had despised him as a kitchen-boy: “ ‘ O Jhesu, merueille have I,’ she exclaimed, ‘ what manner a man ye be, for hit may never ben otherwise but that ye be comen of a noble blood, for soo foule ne shamefully dyd never woman rule a knyghte as I have done you, and ever curtoisly ye have suffred me, and that cam never but of a gentyl blood,’ as he is described in another place; ‘ Truly, Madame,’ sayd Lynet unto her syster, ‘ wel maye he be a kynges sone, for he hath many good tatches on hym, for he is curteis and mylde and the moost sufferynge man that ever I mette with al.’ ” And we are told, that while he was page of the kitchen, “ he endured alle that twelvemoneth, and never displeasyd man nor chylde, but alweyes he was meke and mylde \*.”

\* The virtue of Archedice was commemorated in Lampsacus by a pillar which testified—

Ἦ πατρος τε και ἀνδρος, ἀδελφῶν τ' οὔσα τυραννῶν,  
Παιδῶν τ', οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην.

Thucyd. lib. vi.

The old historians speak of Godefroy de Bouillon as having the wisdom of Nestor, the prudence of Ulysses, the valour of Achilles, the strength of a giant, "la douceur enfin et la vertu d'un moine qui auroit l'esprit de son état." It is worthy of remark also that the order of "la Cosse de Geneste," instituted by Saint Louis, has for the motto, "*exaltat humiles.*" Even the heralds contrived a distinction to dishonour the knight who was convicted of vain boasting. "He beareth Argent, *a point dexter parted, Tennè*: this diminution," says Gwillim, "is due unto him that overmuch boasteth himselfe." A striking instance of the modesty and good sense of a true gentleman who never assumes any title to which he has not a right, will be found in an anecdote related of Chevert, who had risen from obscurity. Upon a certain occasion, a person who sought his interest

But this peculiarity of mind, which appeared so marvellous to the heathens, became in the age of chivalry a virtue of ordinary occurrence, which every man of royal or noble birth was bound to display, both by the precepts of his religion and by the express injunctions of his order.

pretended to be his relation. "Etes-vous gentilhomme?" asked Chevert. "Si je le suis! en pouvez vous douter," replied the stranger, "En ce cas," answered the hero, coolly, "nous ne sommes point parens; car vous voyez en moi le premier et le seul gentilhomme de ma race." The force of this example, without doubt, consists in his acknowledging the advantage of the rank to which his personal merit had raised him. The vulgar, who seldom judge from any impression but that of the senses, are unable, or unwilling, to distinguish between the vanity of an upstart and the humility of a gentleman in filling the station of life to which he has been born, and in which his fathers have left him. An amusing instance of this kind is related by Joinville, which occurred in a dispute between him and Maitre Robert de Sorbonne, who thought proper to censure and ridicule the magnificence of the seneschal, "Et me print à mon mantel," says this historian, "et me demanda en présence du roi et de toute la noble compagnie; si le roi se seoit en ce prael, et que vous allissiez seoir

en son banc plus haut que lui n'en seriez vous point à blamer? Oui vraiment, répondis-je. Or donques, fit-il, êtes-vous moins à blamer quand vous êtes vetu plus richement que lui? Non maître Robert, lui dis-je, je ne suis mie à blamer, sauf l'honneur du roi et vous. Car l'habit que je porte tel que le voyez, m'ont laissé mes père et mère, et ne l'ai point fait faire de mon autorité. Mais au contraire est de vous, dont vous êtes bien fort à reprendre : vous, dis-je, qui étant fils de vilain et de vilaine, avez laissé l'habit de vos père et mère, et vous êtes vetu du plus fin camelin que le roi n'ait. Alors je prins le pan de son surcot et de celui du roi, que je joignis, l'un près de l'autre, et lui dis : or regardez si j'ai dit voir." The company was delighted at this just reproof, and a general laugh disconcerted Master Robert, " qui fut tres-esbahi."

The peculiar humanity which was required in war, and which certainly gave a singular character to the melancholy scenes of devastation which marked the protracted hostilities of the French and English, dur-

ing the immediate influence of this spirit, cannot but have struck the most superficial reader of history \*. The same principles of modesty, says S<sup>te</sup> Palaye, induced the successful knights to bestow particular

\* If we turn from such scenes to observe the spirit and conduct of the Greek and Trojan heroes in the Iliad, what a contrast is presented! Although even Hector has insulted the dying Patroclus, yet still the reader is unprepared for the last horrible act, the brutality of Achilles to the dead body of the Trojan hero. Yet in the Odys. χ. 412. Homer makes Ulysses reprove the exultation of Telemachus over the slain—

*Οὐχ ὅση, κταμενοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδρασιν εὐχετασθαι.*

A sentence which expressed the general feeling of the Greeks in a subsequent age. Eurip. Electra. 897. Suppl. 526. Phœniss. 1663. At the same time it is curious to remark with relation to this virtue, the similarity of the churl's character in all ages and countries, however far removed. The description in the Andromache, of a mob flying from the single victim whom they wished to sacrifice, till at length he is laid at their feet by some chance blow, and they turn to insult his dead body, would convey an exact idea of an English mob at the present day.

—————ὡς δε προς γαιαν πιτνει,  
Τις οὐ σιδηρον προσφερει; τις οὐ πετρον,  
Βαλλων, ἀρασσων;—————

Eurip. Androm. 1129.



attention in comforting the vanquished, and in assuaging their grief. "To-day the fortune and lot of arms have given me the advantage," they used to observe on these occasions: "I owe nothing to my valour; to-morrow, perhaps, I shall fall under the blow of an enemy less formidable than you." Thus Sir Calidore addresses the knight whom he had overthrown:

"All flesh is frail and full of fickleness,  
 Subject to fortune's chance, still changing new;  
 What haps to-day to me, to-morrow may to you\*."

"When two noble men encountre," says King Arthur, "nedes must the one have the werse, lyke as God wil suffre at that tyme," and the great rule of chivalry is explained in that sentence which occurs in the *Morte d'Arthur*, "ye shold gyve mercy unto them that aske mercy, for a knyte withoute mercy is withoute worship." Well might the Poet exclaim—

"O goodly usage of those antique times!  
 Then honour was the meed of victory,  
 And yet the vanquished had no despight †."

\* Fairy Queen, vi.

† Spenser.

But further, I would suggest to such of my readers as it may more immediately concern—

“This thought which ever bribes the beauteous kind.”

That the motive which induced our brave ancestors to be so careless of each other's blood, was the result of a disposition which in its legitimate sphere, is allied to honour, to humanity, and to goodness.

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“They neither came  
For pride of empire nor desire of fame.  
Kings fight for kingdoms, madmen for applause,  
But love for love alone; that crowns the lover's cause.”

When the governor of Calais perceived the intention of the English to reduce him to famine, “he constrayned,” says Froisart, “all poore and meane peple to yssue out of the town: and on a Wednesday, ther yssued out of men, women, and chyl-dren, mo than XVIIIIC: and as they passed through the hoost, they were demanded why they departed, and they answered and sayde, bycause they had nothyng to lyve on: then the kyng dyd them that grace that he suffred them to passe through his

hoost without danger, and gave them mete and drinke to dyner, and every person 11<sup>d</sup>. sterlyng in almes, for the which dyvers many of them prayed for the kynges prosperyte." Even the very scenes of carnage were marked with marvellous traits of generosity and love. A knight of the besieging army had scaled the wall of a fortress, and was in the act of assisting his men to enter, when he was discovered by a captain of the garrison, who after a desperate struggle succeeded in throwing him headlong over the battlements, yet this captain was heard to exclaim at the same moment, "God have mercy on his soul, for he was a gallant knight." St<sup>e</sup> Palaye therefore had reason to know, that the lessons of generosity and humanity which were enforced at tournaments, were not forgotten even amidst the carnage and fury of battle. "Our knights," he adds, "never lost sight of the maxim, to be as compassionate after victory as inflexible before it. Without attempting to decide between the French and English, as to which of these two nations first introduced chivalry, the humanity

and courtesy which they displayed mutually towards their prisoners, should make them be regarded by all the nations of Europe, if not as its founders, at least as its most firm supporters. This alone could have inspired such pure sentiments, such generous actions, as those of which we see repeated examples in the two nations, whilst the neighbouring countries were presenting the most frightful instances of cruelty and barbarism\*." Froissart relates upon the English arriving at the castle of Poys, in which there was no body but two fayre damsels, daughters to the Lord of Poys, that these ladies were in danger, "and two Englysshe knyghtes had not ben, Sir Joan Chandos and Sir Basset: they defended them, and brought them to the kynge, who for his honour made them gode chere, and demaunded of them whyther they wolde faynest go; they said to Corbe: and the kynge caused them to be brought thyder without paryll." But that this spirit did not prevail

\* The motto of the noble family of Osborne is singular:—

"Pax in bello."

in Germany we have the authority of Froissart, who relating how " Sir Wyllam of Melle was prisoner with the Englysshmen, and so sett to his fynauce and so went into Fraunce by his bond of obligacion, as all gentylnen Englisshe and Frenche were wont to do eche with other," observes, " but so dyd not the almayns, for when an almayn hath taken a prisonere, he putteth hym into yrons and into harde prison without any pytie, to make him pay the greater fynauce and raunsome."

Every one knows what treatment the French king, John, received from our Black Prince, and the conduct of the King in return, which is equally memorable. But it may not be as generally remembered what took place at the siege of Chateaufort, which fortress was finally surrendered to the French, or rather to the shade of Du Gueselin, whose valour had conducted the siege, and who died of a fever before the day which had been fixed upon by both parties for the surrender of the English garrison. During the illness of the Constable, and as soon as the phy-

sicians had declared that his life was in danger, the besieged, that is the English, whose fate had been determined by his life, when they were informed of his situation, instantly proclaimed public prayers, and implored God that he would restore an enemy, so formidable indeed to them, but so full of virtue, so good, so generous in victory, that they would consider it a glory if it was to him they must surrender. These are passages of history which alternately gratify and astonish. Far less pleasing, let it be confessed, is the perusal of the annals of modern warfare. Such sentiments are no longer expected or admired. Much may be ascribed to the change which has taken place in the general system of warfare; something, perhaps, to the different character of our enemies,

Οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φυλοπις αἶνη,  
Ἄλλ' ἤδη Δαναοὶ γε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μαχονται.

But after all, the consideration is equally melancholy, if the hero is to be justified who teaches his men to hate their enemies, and if such a sentiment can be

worthy of the brave. And here, I conceive, it may be worth while to dwell for a few moments, upon contrasts of this kind, which will serve to make you more fully sensible of what belongs to the character which you are bound to imitate. The Roman people, in the person of their general, had contracted an inglorious treaty with the Samnites; but upon the faith of that treaty their army had been permitted to escape. Their general, Posthumius, surrendered himself to the enemy, and during the ceremony he deliberately struck the Roman ambassador, crying out, that he was now a Samnite, and maintaining that the treaty was broken, and that the Romans were justified in pursuing the war. The Samnite general did not regard this act of patriotism with the same admiration as that with which it was doubtless viewed by the republican Romans: And the decision which we ourselves shall come to upon a consideration of the deed, will be a tolerable criterion of our advance in the spirit of the chivalrous age.

When the fortunes of King James II.

became desperate, he desired an interview with the Bishops, who were within a certain distance of the court. Four prelates attended, two of whom, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Peterborough, were in the number of the seven who had been put on their trial by order of the King. They were now questioned by James touching the invader's declaration. The Bishop of London, whose political principles, at least in this instance, overcame those of his religion, replied by an artful falsehood. But the conduct of his brethren was equally illustrative of that vice common to men of low origin, until religion has inspired them with the same graces which, from human motives, are essential in persons of a higher rank. Sancroft reminded the King that he had been put on his trial, and had given himself for lost. "I thank you for that, my Lord of Canterbury," said the King, (let it be remembered that he now lay at the feet, as it were, of these subjects, whom he had grievously injured, and of whom he was now a supplicant.) The Archbishop went on,



and in a speech of great length recapitulated all the proceedings of the trial against him and his brethren; the other Bishops continued the complaint, in accusing their judges of improper language. "There was another of your judges, Sir, Baron R., who attacked us in another manner, and endeavoured to expose us to ridicule, alleging that we did not write true English, and it was fit we should be convicted by Dr. Busby of false grammar."—"Sir, that was not all," cried another, "the same judge, as we are certainly informed, presumed to ——" "My Lord," said the King, for he at length interrupted these loud speakers, whom religion unhappily had not supplied with the common feelings and delicacy of gentlemen, "My Lord, this is querelle d'Allemand: all this is a matter quite out of the way. I thought this had been all forgotten."

Henry VIII. dispatched ambassadors to Bologna, where Pope Clement and the Emperor Charles V. were residing, the object of whose mission was to further his divorce with the good Queen Catherine. The charge

was intrusted to the father of his mistress, created Earl of Wiltshire, who, though deemed by most men an objectionable agent, was chosen by Henry, as he declared, because *no one could be more interested in the event of the mission than the man whose daughter would reap the fruit of it.* When the ambassadors were introduced to Charles, that prince did not conceal his feelings at the sight of the father of her who was the rival of his aunt. "Stop, Sir," said the Emperor, "allow your colleagues to speak. You are a party in the cause." *As the price of his consent the ambassadors offered to Charles the sum of 300,000 crowns, the restoration of the marriage portion paid with Catherine, and security for a maintenance suitable to her birth during life.* But he replied, that "he was not a merchant, to sell the honour of his aunt. The cause was now before the proper tribunal. If the Pope should decide in her favour he would support her cause with all the means which God had placed at his disposal."

The account which is given by the French historians, of the faction which appeared

under the name of the Jacquerie, and which spread itself over a great part of France, is one of the most remarkable in the history of that country. I will select a famous anecdote of the time, which will display the contrast between the character of the knights, and that of the faction which was opposed to them. More than a hundred thousand armed peasants, resolved to exterminate the nobility; they ravaged the country, burned the castles, and laid hands upon all knights, and squires, and gentlemen, and did not spare even women or children. Their number increased as they spread through the provinces. To display their inveterate aversion to the nobles, as if they had wished to insult the gentleness and humanity of the knights, they made a virtue of the most brutal ferocity and barbarous inhumanity. When they were brought before officers of justice, and required to state their reasons for such a conduct, they replied, that they could not tell; and that they knew no reason, but that they wished to exterminate all gentlemen. The Duchess of Normandy,

wife of the Regent, (afterwards Charles V.) the Duchess of Orleans, and three hundred ladies, were at Meaux with the Duke of Orleans, where they were exposed to the danger. Some detachments of these desperadoes, accompanied by ruffians who had come from Paris and its environs, were regarding their prey as certain. The inhabitants of the town were in concert with the plunderers. They had opened their gates, and had forced the ladies to take refuge in the place which is called the market of Meaux, which is separated from the rest of the city by the river Marne. The danger was extreme. There was no excess that was not to be expected from this lawless banditti, whom nothing could appease, and who respected nothing. It was at Chalons that the Count de Foix and Captal de Buch, were informed of this fatal event; and although they had only sixty lances, that is, sixty knights with their usual suite they immediately resolved to march to the assistance of the small troop which defended the fortress of Meaux. The honour of the ladies did not permit the Count de

Foix to reflect upon the danger, nor Captal de Buch to consider that he was an Englishman; he anxiously availed himself of the liberty which was afforded by the treaty between France and England, to follow that sentiment which was more deeply rooted in the heart of a knight, than all national enmity. They were both near the Duke of Orleans, when the Jacquiers in a body prepared to make an attack from all sides, and to gather the reward of their labours. Our brave knights and their suite had no other prospect than certain death, nor any other ramparts to oppose to the rebels than the banners of Orleans, and De Foix, and the Captal's flag. They ordered the gates to be opened, and marched boldly against the enemy. At this spectacle, terror seized the troops of the Jacquerie; the knights charged through their broken ranks, killed seven thousand, and returned in triumph to the ladies.

Similar instances may be found in the history of our own country, particularly in the war with the tyrant parliament in the reign of Charles I. "It was an obser-

vation," says Lord Clarendon, "of that time, that the men of most licentious lives, who appeared to be without any sense of religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrained by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that party, and pretended an impulse of religion out of fear of popery." So also the English rebels, who made war upon women too; witness their brutal assault upon the house of the Countess of Rivers, near Colchester, where they destroyed valuable goods to the amount of forty thousand pounds, the Countess hardly escaping with her life, after great insolence had been used to her person, and for which outrage the parliament would give no redress; witness also the discharge of a hundred cannon loaded with cross-bar shot, for the space of two hours, from four of the King's ships, in Burlington road, commanded by Batten, vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick, upon the house where the Queen was lodged, whereupon she was forced out of her bed, some of the shot making way through her own chamber, and to shelter herself under a

bank in the open fields ; “ which barbarous act,” says Lord Clarendon, “ was so much the more odious, in that the parliament never so far took notice of it as to disavow it. So that many believed it was very pleasing to, if not commanded by them ;” witness also the cruelty of the rebel army after the battle of Naseby, when they killed in the pursuit above one hundred women, some of whom were the wives of officers of quality :—these base and execrable rebels, I say, had one sin more than even the Jacquerie, which was hypocrisy, alone sufficient to make them the cowards that they were. Certainly the fact of their cowardice is as unquestionable as their treason \*. Mr. John Digby, Sir John Stowel and his sons, with some volunteer gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourscore horse, and fourteen dragoons, charged a greater body of horse, and above six hundred foot of the rebels, led by a

\* The saying of Cromwell gave great offence, “ that their army would be good for nothing until they could enlist some gentlemen’s sons to give spirit to the rest.”

member of the House of Commons ; and, without the loss of one man, killed seven in the place, took their chief officers, and as many more prisoners as they would ; and so routed the whole body, that six men kept not together, they having all thrown down their arms. And Lord Clarendon tells us that he had heard many knowing men, and some who were then in the city regiments say, that when the Earl of Essex's army, and the trained bands of London, were led out upon the heath near Brentford, their numbers, without the advantage of equipage (which to soldiers is a great addition of mettle) being five times greater than the King's harassed, weather-beaten, and half-starved little handful of men—then if the King had advanced and charged that massive body, it had presently given ground. Such is the power of virtue, when men of honour trust to it alone.

But I must not omit to mention one feature in the chivalrous character which is peculiarly striking, and the imitation of which, although now impossible, is too fre-



quently pretended in justification of a practice which is utterly without precedent in these ancient times, and for which, certainly, as the state and opinions of the world exist, no excuse can ever avail. I allude to the practice of duelling. I shall not trouble you with many words upon the subject. The duel of the ancient knights arose from their excess of faith, if the term can be permitted to a layman. It was an appeal to heaven, and the Almighty was supposed to interfere in pronouncing upon the guilty. The motto of the Spencer family professes this principle:—"Dieu defend le droit," which is true in metaphysical strictness, since as a king exclaims—

"What stronger breast-plate than a heart untainted!  
 Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just;  
 And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,  
 Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted\*."

It was an appeal to heaven when the Marquis of Mantua, as described in the famous ballad, takes an oath in the hermit's cell, upon the death of his nephew Baldwin, not

\* Shakspeare, Hen. VI. 2d Part, Act iii. Scene 2.

to use a razor, or change his clothes, not to enter town or city, or be unarmed, or eat on a table cloth, or occupy a seat at board, for he adds—

“ Till I see Carlotto punish'd  
Or by justice, or in fight  
Till he dies when I accuse him,  
Pleading in the cause of right.”

Consistent with these views was the practice of the time. The duellists prepared themselves by prayer, and by receiving the sacraments of the Church: their arms were blessed by the priest,—they fought, and the result was the judgment of God. This was the ancient duel. But for the modern practice, for that unmeaning association of revenge and honour; of infidelity with the customs of men who believed in the actual interposition of the Deity, to decide between man and man; for this practice there is no precedent in the annals of chivalry. It is for the Clergy to pronounce upon the sin of duelling, and upon the danger in which it will involve the soul\*: it is for me

\* Richardson's hero, relating his answer to a challenge which he had received in Italy, and in which he

to represent to you that it is by other deeds you will have to manifest and defend your character. It is for the swaggering upstart who is but just risen out of nameless insignificance, or for the vain carpet knights

———'επω μαλα είδοτα θεριδος άλκῆς,

to boast and to talk high of his courage,

had expressed his unwillingness to risk the final perdition of his adversary as of himself, concludes with observing, that "this hint of a still superior consideration was likely to have more force in that Roman Catholic country, than, I am sorry to say, it would in this Protestant one." The truth is, that the church on the continent of Europe has uniformly and loudly expressed its abhorrence of duelling. In the ninth century, at the third Council of Valence in Dauphiny, it excommunicated all duellists, forbidding their bodies to be buried with Christian burial. The Canon of this Council has been confirmed by five Popes, and by a decree of the Council of Trent. Finally, in 1654, at the General Assembly of the Clergy of France, the decree against them was extended to all who were voluntary witnesses of a duel, and absolution from the sentence of excommunication was reserved solely for the Bishops. Our English dissenters cannot indeed be pressed with such authority, but I conceive that all gentlemen who are sons of the Church, must, by the very principles of their order, acknowledge their duty of obedience to its lawful decree.

his honour, and his dignity. "Il n'y a rien que de monstreux," says Sully, "dans la démarche de deux petits-maitres, qui s'en vont furtivement sur le pré, tremper dans le sang l'un de l'autre des mains pousseés par un instinct tout pareil à celui des betes carnassieres." The true gentleman holds his honour, not upon his tongue, but in his heart. Your station and habits of life will remove you at a distance from vulgar society, where cowardice may be awed into order, and savage licence be restrained by the certainty of punishment; and with gentlemen it is almost impossible for any occasion of difficulty to arise, as long as you conduct yourself with honour and integrity, with prudence and good sense. In another place we have seen removed one great cause of the quarrels which disturb inferior society. We have seen that an over-scrupulous attention to words in conversation, and a delicate sensibility to rough raillery, are unworthy of gentlemen and gallant men. We have seen that the custom of resenting such injury is not derived from our chivalrous ancestors, but from the

Arabians, with whom, I presume, we need not claim a fellowship. Finally, we are aware that the duel of the ancient knights was an act of religion, of law, and of justice, however ill understood; and we need hardly be informed that at the present day, a single combat by appointment under ordinary circumstances, is an act of impiety, of outrage to the law, and of the highest possible injustice. The most heroic monarchs of Europe have endeavoured to prevent this abuse of the ancient duel. The legislation of the French monarchs presents a continued effort to repress the practice of duelling. Saint Louis substituted evidence and written proofs, instead of judiciary combat: his ordonnance was confirmed, in 1303, by Philippe le Bel; Charles IX. declared it high treason. Henry IV \*. made it death, and he appointed the Marshals of France to decide upon particular cases. This was confirmed, in 1626, by Louis XIII; under whose reign the Counts Montmorenci, Bouteville, and Deschapel-

\* The conversation of this monarch with Sully, as related in the memoirs of this minister, should be read.

les were found guilty, and executed by a sentence of the Parliament. Louis XIV. published his code, which pursued other measures. By this law, the seconds as well as the principals were punished with death, and forfeiture of nobility. This was confirmed by Louis XV. In England the law is express in denouncing punishment upon duellists, regarding their crime according to circumstances, either as murder, manslaughter, or misdemeanor. Duelling has been much more frequent in England than in France \*; yet in the latter country, from the reign of Henry IV. to 1757, there were twelve ordonnances, and at least eight acts of regulation, each of which is introduced by a confession that the act preceding it had been ineffectual. Such was the result to be expected. Edicts may follow and confirm edicts, but laws and acts of Parliament † are of little avail in the prevention

\* Duelling will always increase with pride, gloom, and discontent; and we must confess that these features do not belong to the French national character.

† The absolute authority of Louis XIV. was incapable of securing obedience to his edicts in this parti-

of an evil which is not regarded as a crime. The best writers upon the subject have placed their hopes of its ultimate suppression, in the improving knowledge and virtue of mankind, and in the consequent change of public opinion, in the absence of all restraint upon such as wish to distinguish themselves in this character, and they might have added, in the deserved contempt with which, sooner or later, a custom must inevitably be regarded which can derive support neither from the virtue nor from the rank of its followers. The remark of the Chevalier de Savarin, in his historical and critical essay on duelling, may explain this more clearly: he observes, "il nous semble aussi que le préjugé du point d'honneur perd de sa force depuis qu'il appartient à tout le monde, et peut être, jamais le temps ne fut-il mieux choisi pour pouvoir sans inconvénient mépriser, ou pardonner une injure."

ular; and how were private gentlemen to have recourse to the laws, when the Comte d'Artois, brother to the reigning King Louis XVI., accepted a challenge, and fought before all Paris in the bois de Boulogne?

There are few if any virtues belonging to the character of your order, or indeed that can adorn human nature, which we have not considered ; but before I conclude what this part of my undertaking requires, I wish to remind you, in a general way, of two grand features which have distinguished it from its commencement. Its influence upon the female sex, and its simplicity as favourable to virtue. The limits of this work will prevent me from giving either of these subjects the degree of study and attention which they deserve, but in a book which is written under the favour and correction of all noble gentlewomen, and in an attempt to bring back the members of our high order to the virtue of its first founders, it would be quite unpardonable were I to omit some allusion to them. And first with respect to the influence of chivalry upon the female sex. This is a vast subject upon which alone volumes might be written. I can pretend to no higher office than that of reminding you of truths which are admitted upon undoubted authority ; nor, perhaps, can I discharge a more effectual service,



than by inducing you to consult the work of the accomplished Segur. "From the age of the Patriarchs to within a period very near our own time," says this elegant writer, "women were only splendid slaves, who, like victims crowned with flowers, announced by their decoration the sacrifice to which they were destined by those who ought to have admired, respected, and protected them." In Egypt, indeed, their slavery assumed a less cruel character; but throughout the other vast nations of the East, it was unlimited. In China it continues so to this day. If we pass to more civilized nations, in ancient Greece women were held in the most complete subjection, their minds condemned to ignorance\*, and their per-

\* Ladies should ever be jealous of an extreme attachment to the classic authors. Who can doubt whence Montagne derived his notion. "*La plus utile et honorable science et occupation à une femme c'est la science du mesnage.*"

The sentiments of Homer form an exception to this charge. He speaks of marriage with respect and regard, *Odys. vi. 182.*: and a similar testimony is extorted even from Euripides.

Γαμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὐ καθεστασιν Βροτων,  
Μακαριος αἰων

sons to confinement; and even in Rome their lives were at the disposal of their husbands. Thus, before Christianity, one half of the human race was condemned by the injustice and tyranny of the other, to a servile subjection. But now was at length justice rendered to the most lovely of the Creator's works. Being Christians, women had now, for the first time, hope; the world being subdued to that religion, they were restored to their original dignity; they exchanged the command over the senses for an empire in the heart. This was confirmed to them by the influence of chivalry; wherever it prevailed, women recovered their rights, and the intention of their Creator was fulfilled; wherever it was overthrown, they sunk again into subjection, and the gracious provision of nature for the comfort and correction of our imperfect race was justly forfeited. And this is actually the situation of women, still depending for their influence and dignity upon the continuance of this chivalrous spirit, that is, upon the power of your order to assert their rights. We have seen, in

other places, that every opposition to this order has been accompanied by a total abandonment of all respect and affection and tenderness for the female sex. The French philosophers, in the reign of Louis XV., before they effected the demoralization of France and of Europe, had degraded women, and reduced them to their former state of obscurity. In France, during the revolution, and since that period, under the usurpation of Buonaparte, and even to the present day, the party which is absurdly called liberal, is not more easily recognized by its hatred to Christianity and to the chivalrous system than it is by the most sovereign contempt for the female sex, and by even an affectation of the most brutal insensibility to all the charms of their character. In perusing the annals of that dark period we must observe that the enemies of religion, and of its institutions were in every instance the advocates of whatever tended to counteract the influence, to depreciate the merit, and to insult the dignity of the female sex.

The happiness and dignity of women are therefore identified with the influence of the chivalrous spirit. Let them remember, and well reflect upon this truth before they lend their assistance to a philosophy which, from its very origine, must for ever despise them : let them pause before they assist to overthrow those ancient bulwarks of honour, the institutions belonging to the chivalrous system ; for when these shall fail, they may assuredly bid adieu to dignity and influence, to all that makes beauty enviable, and their existence dear\*.

So much then for the fact of this influence of chivalry upon the female sex. Let us endeavour to learn precisely what were its effects, and in what it consisted. Its effects may be stated in few words, women were placed in that particular rank, where

\* And yet there are women who lend what assistance they can to this system of reforming the world, and are praised by men of genius, who, in opposition to Christianity, are almost below the vulgar, whose works are so truly said to be " fearless," and I trust may long continue to be with truth " *matchless*," *mutuum muli scabunt*, says Erasmus.

their virtues were best developed, and where their influence upon the ruder sex was most beneficial. "Il est une sorte de supériorité," says Segur, "que les femmes doivent conserver sur nous, et qui tient meme à leur foiblesse, au respect qu'elles inspirent. Elle est plus facile à sentir qu'à exprimer. Il en est une autre qui tient à la dignité de l'homme, que non seulement sa compagne reconnoit, mais qu'elle ne lui pardonne meme pas de lui sacrifier." It was from losing sight of this latter distinction that arose the absurd and pernicious cases of base influence which were at one period the scandal of the French court; and there is no departure from the dictates of wisdom and propriety more contrary to the chivalrous spirit, than this very abuse of female influence. But, on the other hand, how admirable were its effects when confined by this generous spirit to its proper and legitimate sphere. Women, sustained by the hand of chivalry in the place appointed by their Creator, prompted man to the pursuit of virtue.

“ For love does always bring forth bounteous deeds,  
And in each gentle heart desire of honour breeds.”

They sacrificed with pleasure their own feelings for the sake of his duty; they became his adviser, his support, his consolation in trouble, and the source of his purest terrestrial joy. These are the objects of their mission upon the earth, and these they were now permitted to fulfil. Love was then the handmaid of religion and of manly virtue; it was not the cold impiety or the morbid sensibility of the calculating and repining wretch \*, who dared to dress it in such base disguise; well might he wish for a more virtuous age than that which would delight in such a counterfeit of the human heart; but he that sung the loves of chivalry had a noble theme, unworthy of man in no condition to which he is destined on this side of eternity †.

But if the spirit of chivalry secured liberty to the female sex, it also in a most

\* The author of the *Nouvelle Heloise*.

† Such for instance as the tale of *Elerz and Zuzilda*, by Segur.

remarkable manner rendered them worthy of it. We need appeal to no other example than that of the Countess of Salisbury, in the reign of Edward III. as related by Sir John Froissart. The dignity and grace with which this lady replied to the king, who was guest in her castle, cannot be surpassed by any passage in history or romance.—

“ The king prepared to draw after the Scottes,” says the historian, “ and he toke leave of the lady, sayeng, my dere lady, to God I commende you tyll I returne agayne, requiryng you to advyse you otherwyse than ye have sayd to me : noble prince, quoth the lady, God the father glorious be your conduct, and put you out of all vylane thoughtes ; Sir, I am, and ever shall be redy to do your grace servyce to your honour and to myne ; therwith the kyng departed all abashed.”

It may be observed in a general way, that the chivalrous spirit was equal in its influence upon both sexes, the same virtues being required from each where the nature of the case would permit. Of these, firmness and an exemption from unworthy

weakness, may be selected as the most deserving of attention. When D'Aguesseau had determined to resist Louis XIV. and his chancellor, he informed his wife upon wishing her farewell, that it was probable he should have to sleep in the Bastille. The reply of that lady is upon record: "allez Monsieur, et agissez comme si vous n'aviez ni femme ni enfants; j'aime mieux vous voir conduire à la Bastille avec honneur que de vous voir revenir ici deshonoré." Hence it was that their advice was never neglected or despised. When the Sultan was about to deliver Louis IX. he enquired what money the French king would give for his ransom, to which Louis replied, "C'est au Sultan à s'expliquer; si ses propositions sont raisonnables je manderai à la reine de lui faire compter ce qui sera convenu." The infidels were lost in astonishment at such respect for a woman. "C'est," replied the king, "qu'elle est ma dame et ma compagne:" and upon that memorable occasion, when he was hesitating between a cloister and his crown, "si ce que j'entends est vrai," he said to his advisers, "comme je



le crois d'esprit et de cœur, je suivrai votre conseil ; mais je ne puis rien que du consentement de la reine : sa vertu et mes engagements vis-à-vis d'elle, ne me permettent pas de rien conclure sans sa participation." The result is well known, as presenting an instance of the ingenuity and excellence of the female mind. Yet it was the power of affection and of tenderness which influenced him, certainly not a weakness unworthy of a king and of a man. It was in his private chapel that he was made acquainted with the death of his Queen Marguerite. He uttered a great cry, and burst into tears, but recollecting in whose presence he was placed, he fell upon his knees before the altar, and exclaimed, " Je vous rends grâces ; O mon Dieu, de m'avoir conservé jusqu'ici une mère si digne de toute mon affection. C'étoit un présent de votre miséricorde : vous le reprenez comme votre bien ; je n'ai point à m'en plaindre. Il est vrai que je l'aimois tendrement ; mais puisqu'il vous plaît de me l'oter, que votre saint nom soit béni dans tous les siècles."

Segur has said, that if we impartially re-

view the conduct of women in every country, we shall be convinced that without exercising any particular office, they have rendered as great service as men. It is the professed object of this order, to teach women that all the virtues of their character should be developed. It never was the spirit of chivalry to prescribe duties of danger to women, excepting upon cases of emergency, but then it certainly did require that they should exert that courage and intrepidity of soul with which nature has endowed them. They who engage upon ordinary occasions in the exercises appropriated to men, will almost always in moments of difficulty, claim the privilege of their weakness; and they who appear in general to be the most delicate and incapable of any manly office, are nevertheless the very persons who will astonish the world by their spirit and their ability, equal at least, if not even superior to that of men, when the crisis arrives in which alone nature intended such qualities to be exercised. It may be worth while to select a few instances from history of the courage displayed by gentlewomen

of honour upon extraordinary occasions of this kind. We may propose the examples of Marguerite of Anjou, of Marguerite de Bethune, wife of the Duke of Rohan, of the Empress Maria Theresa, of the Countess of Montford, in the reign of our Edward III. of whom Froissart says, in relating the battle of Guernsey, “ the Countess that day was worth a man : she had the harte of a lyon.” When the Britons rode before the castel l’Archer, Du Guesclin sent to the lady, “ wyfe to Sir Richard Dangle, who was then within, to yelde up the castel ; and she desyred to have assurance that she might go to Poictiers, to speke with the Duke of Berry : the constable granted her desyre, and caused her to be conveyed thyder by one of his knyghtes ; and whan she came before the Duke, she kneled downe, and the Duke toke her up, and demaunded what was her request ; Sir, quoth she, I am required by the constable of France that I shulde put me and my landes under the obeysaunce of the Frenche kyng ; and Sir, ye knowe well that my lord and husbande lyeth yet prisoner in Spayne, and

Sir, his lande is in my governance ; I am a woman of small defence, and Sir, I can not do with the heritage of my husbände at myne owne pleasure, for peradventure if I shulde do any thyng agaynste his pleasure, he wolde can me no thanke therfore ; and so shulde I be blamed ; but, Sir, to appease you, and to set my land in peace, I shall compound with you for myself and all myne, that we shall make you no warr, so that ye wyll make no warr to us ; and Sir, whan my husband is come out of prison, I beleve well he wyll drawe into Englande, than I shall send hym worde of this composition, and than, Sir, I am sure he wyll sende me his mynde, and then I shall answeere you." The terms were accepted, and the lady had the happiness of beholding the constable and his army withdrawing from the castle.

Equally memorable, though of less celebrity, was the conduct of that excellent lady Offalia \*, from whom we boast our descent,

\* This lady was the widow of Sir Robert Digby, the only daughter of Gerald, eldest son of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, (who died before his father, brother of Thomas,

bearing the arms of her family, a field argent, a saltire gules, quarterly upon our paternal coat, who was besieged in her castle of Geashill, in the King's county, in Ireland, by an army of the rebels, in the year 1642. The following letter was sent to the castle previous to the attack.

“ Honourable, we his Majesty's loyal subjects, being at present employed in his highnesses service, for the taking of this your castle, you are therefore to deliver unto us free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully that your ladyship, together with the rest in the said castle restant, shall have a reasonable composition. Otherwise upon the not yielding of the castle, we do assure you we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the castle. Consider, Madam, of this our offer, and impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that

beheaded 28th of Henry VIII.) She was entituled Lady Offalia, by the special favour of King James, in a ward betwixt her and George, late Earl of Kildare; otherwise she could not have borne that title which belonged to the eldest sons of the Earl of Kildare.

here we brag. Your ladyship, upon submission, shall have a safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you where you please. A speedy reply is desired, with all expedition, and thus we surcease." Here followed the signatures, superscribed to the honourable and thrice virtuous Lady Digby. The following was her answer.

"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle, by his Majesty's authority. I am, and ever have been, a loyal subject, and a good neighbour amongst you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety; and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his Majesty, or doing any wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God; and though I have been, and still am, desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked your threats shall no whit dismay me.

"LETTICE OFFALIA."

Philip Sidney, Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, immediately upon landing at Dublin, undertook the relieving of this castle, which he effected with 120 foot and 300 horse, accompanied by Sir Charles Coote.

When Englishmen record instances of female heroism, let them ever remember the words of Lady Fairfax, to the murderers of King Charles. It was this lady who exclaimed from the gallery in Westminster Hall, after hearing the form of accusation stated in the name of the Commons, "not half the people; it is false; where are they or their consents? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor."

I shall only detain you with observing, in conclusion of this subject, that if the law and practice of chivalry gave an undisputed authority to women, they had reason to take care how they forgot the tenderness and peculiar humanity of their character in requiring any unreasonable service of danger from a knight. In the *Morte d'Arthur* we read that the knight performed the ser-

vice, and then exposed to the hatred and contempt of the world the woman at whose command he had endangered his life ; and we may remember the saying of an old officer in a famous novel, “ si une femme m’avoit obligé à me battre, je le ferois, mais le lendemain je me raccommoderois avec mon adversaire et je me brouillerois avec elle.”

Let us turn to the last subject which I proposed to consider in a general way,—the simplicity of the chivalrous character, as favourable to virtue. And here our view will naturally be directed to the peculiar system of education which prevailed in those ages ; which, notwithstanding what we are pleased to term its barbarism, had, I conceive, many advantages, in which our own is too often deficient. From the discipline and exercise to which youth was then subject, when the whole character, the body as well as the mind, was called into action, and when even the qualities of the heart formed a means of advancement ; from the charge of a stable, the occupations of personal attendance on a knight ;



from the habits of fellowship with equals, and of submission to superiors, who were themselves gentlemen ; from the service of the hall and the banquet, where the softer sex were to be entertained ; from the office of receiving and of waiting upon strangers ; from these were learned independance of spirit, and skill in the performance of the services belonging to a gentleman ; strength of nerve and generosity of soul ; a graceful deportment with gentle affections ; habits of courtesy, modesty, and attention to the wants of others ; a pride in sacrificing personal convenience and comfort to gratify others ; that manly firmness, with a gentle spirit, which constitutes the quality opposed to the savage independance and the selfish pride which so frequently follow from our modern system. These, indeed, were lessons which might not be necessary for the scholar or the man who was doomed by the love of gain, or of advancement, or perhaps by dire necessity, to sacrifice the general features of his character to the developement of some one in particular, but certainly they were admirably calculated

to form the gentleman and the gallant man. The advantage of subjecting boys to the controul of each other in our public schools has been generally acknowledged; and surely where this authority was placed in the hands of gentlemen of mature age, without caprice or inconsiderate desire of rule, there could be no question as to the effects which would follow? In that interesting account which Sir John Froissart gives of his riding in company with Sir Espayne de Lyon, he does not disdain to relate how upon arriving at Tarbe they took their lodging at the Star, and that "it was a town of great easement bothe for man and horse, with good hay and otes, and a fayre ryver," nor does he forget, amidst the splendour of the Earl of Foix's castle, where he resided for more than twelve weeks, that his "horse was well entreated." I love to observe these instances of acquaintance not merely with the use and pleasure resulting from the horse, but with the care and attention which he requires in the stable, and this derived from personal experience and prac-

tice. Eginhart relates of Charlemagne, "tam filios, quam primum ætas patiebatur more Francorum equitare, armes ac venationibus exerceri fecit; filias vero lanificio assuescere, colique ac fuso, ne potius torperent, operam impendere atque ad omnem honestatem erudiri jussit."

Montagne alludes to a mode of education which seems to have succeeded the chivalrous system, and which certainly prevailed in this kingdom at no very distant period. "Si j'avoy des enfans masles je leur desirasse volontiers ma fortune: le bon pere que Dieu me donna, qui n'a de moy que la réconnoissance de sa bonté, mais certes bien gaillarde, m'envoya des le berceau nourrir à un pauvre village des siens et m'y tint autant que je fus en nourrisse et encores au dela: me dressant à la plus basse et commune façon de vivre. Ne prenez jamais, et donnez encore moins à vos femmes la charge de leur nourriture; laissez les former à la fortune, sous des loix populaires et naturelles: laissez à la coustume de les dresser à la frugalité et à l'austerité, qu'ils agent plus tost à des-

cendre de l'aspreté qu'à monter vers elle." This was partly the mode pursued with Henry IV. of France, who used to go bare-headed on the mountains, and without shoes or stockings, like the other children of the province; and there are many who can remember being told by their fathers that their childhood had been inured to hardship in the same manner\*.

But whatever may be thought of these plans of education, there can be no doubt, I conceive, with respect to the justice of what Montagne observes in reference to the conduct of early life, that nothing is to be avoided with greater care than habits of delicacy and a dependance upon any formal system for the preservation of health. All that refinement and prudence and regularity, which so many practise under pretence of a delicate constitution, is perfectly unworthy of a gallant gentleman. Nay it is even destructive of its professed object, since Celsus giveth it, as I am told by Lord

\* The same policy obtained the applause of Xenophon.—Lacedæm. Reipub. II.

Bacon, for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, "Un jeune homme," says Montagne, "doit troubler ses regles pour esveiller sa vigueur, la garder de moisir et se poltroner : et n'est train de vie si sot et si debile que celuy qui se conduit par ordonnance et discipline. La plus contraire qualite à un honneste homme c'est la delicatesse et obligation à certaine façon particuliere, et elle est particuliere si elle n'est ployable et souple."

Without doubt men may fall victims to this daring spirit in the spring of life, thus :

Arcite is doom'd to die in all his pride,  
Must leave his youth and yield his beauteous bride.

Thus Anna,

——Wept the terrors of the perfect wave,  
Too oft, alas! the wandering lover's grave.

The startling steed, the remorseless billow, these and a thousand accidents incidental to human life, may accomplish, in an unlooked-for hour, the stern decree of fate. The ancients beautifully expressed their concern at the death of a man when his

form is yet in perfect symmetry, and bears the sweetness and the bloom of youth.

How could poison pass these lips, and yet retain its venom \*? Early life is, on many accounts, more subject to sudden destruction than maturity and age.

Tho', in the visions of romantic youth,  
 What years of endless bliss are yet to flow!  
 But mortal pleasure, what art thou in truth,  
 The torrent's smoothness, ere it dash below!

“*Quin etiam ætas illa,*” says Cicero, “*multo plures, quam nostra, mortis casus habet.*” How beautiful is the description of the death of young Simois in Homer! Cicero compares youth dying to a flame extinguished by water; death, he says, overpowering them, “*adversante et repugnante natura.*” Again, he compares it to an unripe apple, which is torn with violence from the tree, “*quasi poma ex arboribus, si cruda sunt, vi avelluntur,—sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert.*” The lessons which are usually given upon these occasions, never fail to remind me of that ob-

\* Πως τεν τοις χειλεσσι ποτεδραμε, κούκ ἐγλυκανθη'.  
 Moschus, Id. II.

servation of Lord Bacon, when he says, "It seemeth to me that most of the doctrines of the philosophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requireth; so have they increased the fear of death in offering to cure it; for when they would have a man's whole life to be but a discipline or preparation to die, they must needs make men think that it is a terrible enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing." If men die in youth by a violent death, how much suffering and misery are they thereby spared! All those associations, arising from the customs observed during a protracted sickness, which are more grievous far than the actual stroke, are then unexperienced.

What youthful bosom does not sympathise with those feelings so piteously expressed by the chevalier Bayard, when he lay on the bed of sickness, dying, as he thought, by a gradual and inglorious decay, like a woman. O how different now was the face of death to the animal part of his nature, in the stillness and solitude of a sick room, forsaken at once by those

limbs of strength in which he had trusted, and by that elasticity of spirit which had so often led him on to victory!

Ω ποποι, ἢ μαλα δὴ μαλακωτερος ἀμφαφασθαι  
Ἐκτωρ, ἢ ὅτε νηας ἐνεπρησεν πυρι κηλεψ.

What must have been the power of these words, which Talbot addresses to his dying son upon the field of battle?

“ Brave death by speaking, whether he will or no ;  
Imagine him a Frenchman, and thy foe.  
Poor boy ! he smiles, methinks ; as who should say,  
Had death been French, then death had died to day.”

Marini describes the death of a youth, saying—

—————“ E morte in si bel viso e bella.”

Is there not something agreeable to a delicate mind, in the idea that death may be stript even of its deformity? How beautiful is that description in Virgil, where the dead body of Evander’s youthful son is exposed to view!

“ Hic juvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt ;  
Qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem  
Seu mollis violæ, seu languentis hyacinthi ;  
Cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua ferma recessit  
Non jam mater alit tellus, viresque ministrat.”



The young are cut off by a violent and cruel death? But how sweet to think of those who sincerely lament them! for

“ Ill bears the sex a youthful lover’s fate.”

How sweet to think of that soft hour when our names and hard fortune may be told to weeping maidens—

“ While lisping children, touch’d with infant fear,  
With wonder gaze, and drop th’ unconscious tear.”

Surely this life, which awaits the young and generous in the heart and recollection of those whom they love, is an enviable protraction of existence?

Again, if we reflect upon the uncertainty of all human happiness, how often in braving danger might it not be wisdom to exclaim with Evander—

“ Nunc, O nunc licet crudelīm abrumpere vitam  
Dum curæ ambiguæ, dum spes incerta futuri.”

If Pompey had fallen by the chance of war in the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his country’s liberty, how glorious would have been his death! But what a

result awaited him ! “ He who a few days before commanded kings and consuls, and all the noblest of Rome, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves, murdered by a base deserter, cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand, and when the whole earth,” as Velleius says, “ had scarcely been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it for a grave !”

But sudden death is terrible ; and is not that also sudden, and even unforeseen, which occurs in the thousand ordinary cases when the sufferer, after a protracted illness, is unconscious of danger to the last, and resolved to disbelieve the warnings of friends and the misgivings of his own heart ? “ *et tout est mort que l’esperance vit encore.*” Buffon appeals for the truth of this statement to the testimony of physicians and clergymen, who are in habits of witnessing the last hours of men. But even if the sick were conscious of approaching death, and had lived a life of wickedness, what would then avail their tears, and groans, and hypocrisy ? There is an honesty belonging to the character of

a gallant man, that would disdain to affect a feeling of which he knew the origin to be servile and base. Xenophon complained to his army, that the soldiers who were when in safety the most intemperate and petulant, had been the most helpless and despairing during the danger of the retreat, and he pointed out an instance of a man who had committed some shameful act of violence, who had before appeared too feeble to carry his shield. The transition is generally sudden from open presumption and impiety to servile fears and base superstition. Jocasta, when terrified at the condition of Œdipus, enters the stage with boughs of supplication in her hand, and goes with cringing humility to the temples of those very gods, whose oracles she had just before treated with contempt. Thus Livy says of Tullus, “ tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam po-

pulum impleret." Thus, the messenger in the Persæ relates, that when the army came to the river Strymon, on the ice of which they had to pass, although it had begun to thaw,

————— Θεους δε τις

Το πριν νομιζων ουδαμου, τοτ' ευχετο

Λιταισι, γαιαν ουρανον τε προσκυνων.

And so I have been assured by one who knew the fact from observation, that Volney, in America, being in danger of shipwreck, was on his knees and loudly praying, even to the disturbance and interruption of the brave men who were engaged in managing the vessel. What man of spirit would in his fall and ruin supplicate the individual whom he had trampled upon in his prosperity? or who but a base sycophant would despise and forsake a king during the period of a rebellion, and then cringe and fawn upon him when he came in his power and great glory? Man, indeed, as Sir Philip Sidney so well said in his admirable prayer before a battle, man in his best estate of mind "may for a time forget his God, and

yet hope that his God may not forget him ;” but surely it is not the part of a man of honour, to provoke and forsake God in the world, and to call upon him with tears in death ? But again, what an alternative if he is to brave the Almighty, the moment before he is called into his presence ! What a prospect ! “ *Qu’y-at-il plus monstrueux,*” says Charron, “ *que d’estre brave à l’endroit de Dieu !*” The truth is, however, that this is to suppose an impossible case, for no man of real high honour, has ever been an obstinate rebel to his God, and therefore the same writer who used this expression, has well added, “ *et couïard à l’endroit des hommes.*” The man of virtuous and gallant spirit is obedient to the voice of his dear Lord, who calls upon him to be “ always ready.” Merlin laughed at the young man for purchasing a pair of shoes when he was not to reach his own gate alive, and yet it did not follow that the youth, however ignorant of the precise hour of his summons, was therefore unprepared for it, and a fit object of the magician’s ri-

dicule. It is for the rich man trusting in his riches, to cry out—

“ Miser! O Miser!—omnia ademit,  
Una dies infesta mihi tot præmia vitæ.”

It is for the worldly-minded politician to sigh his soul away, like Mazarine, saying with his last breath, “ il faut quitter tout cela!” Nay, let us not be surprised to hear the philosopher, as he is termed, gravely argue—

Ἀπαντα μᾶλλον, ἢ θανεῖν.  
Ἐτοιμος ὢν ὑπουργεῖν.

But let us remember, what Montagne so well expresses, that the gentleman and gallant youth, like the page and esquire of chivalry, must be always booted and ready to obey orders, “ ready, ay ready,” is his cry. Who with such a light and merry heart, and who so ready to endure suffering, and to brave the face of danger? not arising from an impious contempt of life, but from an assurance that ἔν τω Θεῷ, το τέλος ἐστὶ, from a conviction that the event is in the hands of God, and from an entire

resignation to his will. No acquisition of riches, or authority, or connection unduly attaching us to life, can ever compensate for the loss of that spirit which is the joy and the glory of our nature.

But to return from this digression. It is to descend to a much lower subject, if I should call your attention to the opinion and practice of our ancestors with respect to dress; and yet these must not by any means be overlooked. How admirable was the moderation and judgment of Saint Louis? “qu'on se doit vetir bien honnetement, afin d'etre mieux aimè de sa femme, et aussi que vos gens vous en priseront plus. C'est aussi le dire du Saige, qu'il faut se porter selon son état, de telle maniere que les prudes du monde ne puissent dire, vous en faites trop; n'aussi les jeunes gens vous en faites peu.”

Upon Sunday and on the festivals, it was the custom for the knights when unarmed, and all the youth of the castle to be adorned in their richest attire. The little page, Jehan de Saintré, is very particular in commanding that his embroidered suit may be finished on the Saturday night. It is impossible not

to be pleased with the simplicity of these ancient manners. Nor is it immaterial to observe, the difference between the taste and opinions of our ancestors and of our own age, in relation to the internal arrangement of a house. It is the general idea at present, that every thing in the furniture and decoration, and in the whole domestic establishment should be complete, and, as it is said, consistent. Hence it is, that foreigners are astonished in finding persons of the highest rank, condemning themselves to inhabit cottages of much smaller dimensions than those which belong to the peasantry of other countries. This is the result of pride and bad taste, in the fullest sense of the terms, as in truth, vice and an insensibility to the associations of genius generally go together; it follows, from our having forsaken that ancient simplicity, to which the members of our order should return. Buildings, with apartments of a certain magnitude, are necessary for the sake of health, which requires liberty of exercise for the body—the lofty tower, the pointed arch, the commanding terrace, are



objects which please the imaginations of those who have learned to associate them with the virtues of chivalry, and which involve their occupier in no system of ruin, as long as he retains the simplicity and virtue of his order; but the decoration of these apartments, the splendid furniture, the gallery, the paintings and statues, the pompous liveries, the consistent equipage, the endless banquets and assemblies; these, however suitable to the fortune of princes, and of some nobles, are perfectly unnecessary, and even injurious to gentlemen of ordinary means. “The taste which is directed to one of these objects,” says Sully, “will soon degenerate into a kind of madness, whence, the loss of time is the least consequent evil. Prodigality, ruin, and dishonour, are the ordinary result.”

From what we have had occasion to observe in another place, you will be sensible of the peculiar character of the charity and hospitality of our ancestors. But, besides the excellence of these virtues in themselves, I wish again to call your attention to the simplicity which distinguishes them;

and which, I conceive, even constituted a separate virtue. James Amiot, the son of a shoemaker at Melun, having ran away when a boy, from his father's house, mistook his road, and fell sick upon the highway. A gentleman passing by had compassion on him, and setting him on the saddle before him, he conveyed him to Orleans, where he placed him in the hospital. Upon his recovery, which soon followed, he was dismissed with a present of twelve sous. At a subsequent period, when grand almoner of France, and Bishop of Auxerre, he settled twelve hundred crowns upon this hospital, in memory of his own fortune. Now here might have been only an act of general charity, but did not the simple form in which it was dispensed, render it also one of particular obedience, "go and do thou likewise?"

I am aware of no public institution in this country which retains in form and simplicity the charity of ancient times, excepting the Hospital of the Holy Cross, near Winchester, where I have been regaled, as a common traveller, with bread

and beer, delivered without any demand, to every stranger who appears at the gate. But in the distant parts of this kingdom from the metropolis, and in the provinces of Ireland, the form of charity still continues as of old, by the custom of particular families. It is a fact, however it may disgust the economical science of some at the present day, that at my father's gate there were never less than eight or nine poor people fed daily, and at stated hours. Nor can I furnish any tale of abuse and disorder ensuing that could be of service to their theory.

Let us observe another very striking instance of this simplicity, in adherence to the precepts of the Gospel. The Sire de Joinville, before setting out for the Holy Land, assembled his neighbours and vassals to make restitution for any wrong which they might have suffered through his means. "Je fus toute la semaine," he states, "à faire fetes et banquets avec mon frere de Vauguelour et tous les riches hommes dupay, qui la estoient et dissoient apres que avions bu et mangé, chausons les une

apres les autres, et demenoit grant joie chacun de sa part. Mais quand le vint le vendredi, je leur dis : Seigneurs, scachez que je m'en vais outre mer. Je ne sçais si je reviendrai jamais, ou non. Pourtant s'il y a nul à qui j'aye jamez fait aucun tout, et qui veuille se plaindre de moi, se tire avant. Car je le veux amender ainsi que j'ai contume de fair à ceux qui se plaignent de moi ne de mes gens. Ainsi le fis par commun dict des gens du pays et de ma terre." And Louis IX. pursued a similar conduct. Not only did he send regular commissioners to examine into the grievances of his subjects, but also he dispatched clergymen and holy men to make a more careful enquiry. The result furnished but few subjects of complaint, and these were instantly removed. It is painful to observe that Henry, King of England, was willing to take advantage of the piety and simplicity of Louis ; but the firmness of the Queen Mother, and the judgment of the French nobles, determined the king to reject demands which were as unreasonable as they were ungenerous.

During the middle ages some degree of chirurgical and medical knowledge was considered as a necessary female accomplishment. This is another instance of primitive simplicity, of which examples are not wanting at the present day. How many gentlemen have I known, (not to mention my own history,) who are indebted for their lives to the consolation and unwearied kindness of women; of ladies, who, as in the case of Bayard, at Brescia, watched and tended them in their peril, amused and strengthened them in their recovery? Nor do I allude to their mothers, albeit in one at least of the cases which I could relate, it was the tenderest, the most devoted, and the most pitiful of the Almighty's creatures. One to whom I owe more than man should owe his fellow mortal.

*Parva quidem fateor pro magnis munera reddi,*

*Cum pro concessa verba salute damus.*

*Sed qui, quam potuit, dat maxima, gratus abunde est;*

*Et finem pietas contigit illa suum.*

My poor remembrance is not more frail and vain than the flowers of the poet, yet

what spirit could despise the hand that strewed them :

His saltem adcumulem donis et fungar inani  
Munere.

Another instance of ancient simplicity is, the kind of friendly connection which subsisted between the master of a house and his domestics. Of this, one example may be sufficient, where even the memory of my readers will present them with many. During the pestilence which visited the army of Saint Louis, William de Chartres relates, that being in the tent with an old valet de chambre of the King, named Gangelm, who was dying, this faithful servant said to him, "j'attends mon saint maître : non, je ne mourrai point que je n'aye en le bonheur de le voir." The king arrived at the moment, and remained with him for a considerable time, testifying the tenderest affection.

The enterprises and valorous feats which distinguished the present age have been compared with those of our chivalrous ancestors. But I conceive that the objects

and motives of our contemporaries are alone sufficient to prove clearly that there is not any justice in the comparison. For what was the prize which excited the latter? Let us hear Froissart. "After dyner knyghtes and squyers were armed to just, and so they justed in the markette place, xi knyghtes of the one syde; the yonge Kyng Charles justed with a knyght of Heynalt, called Sir Nycholas Espinoit; so these justes were nobly contynued, and a yonge knyght of Heynalt had the prise—this knyght justed greatly to the pleasure of the lordes and ladyes: he had for his prise, a gyrdell gyven by the Duchesse of Bourgoyne, from her own wast."

I conceive wherever this primitive simplicity be found, there at least we may always reckon with the fullest assurance upon the discharge of all the great leading duties of humanity and religion, which men of more sagacity and learning will often forget to practise, while they define and limit them with exceptions, and even obscure and counteract them with their limitations and refinement. Nor is this an unimportant

feature of its character, for after all, however the man of high virtue and religion in his cabinet may be disposed to admire the profound and eloquent expositions of the philosopher and the casuist, considering the general wants and the ordinary dispositions of mankind, it is of far greater consequence that men should learn to obey, with singleness of mind, these first great leading lessons upon the plain common principles of Christianity and the human heart, than that they should be able to understand and to adopt these schemes of metaphysical subtilty, and, wise with their own wisdom, and virtuous on their own principles, by attempting to limit and to refine, should lose sight, by degrees, of the substance and the reality of virtue. Who could have convinced Sir John Froissart, when writing on the death of Richard II., that he should refrain from assigning the motive of his personal obligation, for the grief which he testifies at the death of that prince? or that in estimating the conduct of public men we should never suffer our private feelings to affect our affection for



them. He never knew “ the generous murderer of a friend \*.” Such refinement was unknown to these plain men of honour, and should ever be the scorn of a gentleman. It is a fine passage in Euripides where he proclaims the perspicuity and simplicity of virtue.

Ἄπλους ὁ μυθος της ἀληθειας ἐφν  
 Κού ποικιλων δει τ' ἀνδιχ' ἐρμηνευματων  
 Ἐχει γαρ ἀντα καιρον· ὁ δ' ἀδικος λογος  
 Νοσων ἐν ἀντω, φαρμακων δειται σοφων.

“ I was in his court,” says Sir John, alluding to Richard II. “ more than a quarter of a yere togider, and he made me good chere, bycause that in my youth I was clerke and servaunt to the noble Kynge Edwarde the Thirde, his graunt father, and with my Lady Philyp of Heynault, Quene of Englande, his grandame, and when I departed fro hym it was at Wynsore, and at my departyng the kyng sent me by a knight of his, called Sir John Golofer, a

\* Montagne's expression in alluding to Brutus, which is not more atrocious than the reasoning of Cicero on the same subject, in the third book of his Offices, founded on the maxim of the Roman people.

goblet of sylver and gylt, weyeng two marke of sylver, and within it a C nobles, by the which I am as yet the better, and shal be as long as I lyve ; wherefore I am bounde to praye to God for his soule, and with moche sorowe I write of his dethe.” In like manner we have seen, elsewhere, that the young Lord Grandison did not hesitate to declare publicly, that “ his obligation of gratitude to Charles I. on the behalf of his house, had determined him to offer the sacrifice of his life.”

Turn we now to the account which Sir John Froissart has given, “ howe Quene Philyp of Englande trepassed out of this mortall lyfe, and of the thre gyftes that she desyred of the Kynge, her husbande, or she dyed.” The whole is an instance of this primitive simplicity to which I direct your attention.

“ In the meane season there fell in Englande a heavey case and a comon: howbeit it was right pyteouse for the Kyng, his chyl dren, and all his realme ; for the good Quene of Englande, that so many good dedes had done in her tyme, and so many

knichtes so coured, and ladyes and damosels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goodes to her people, and naturally loved alwayes the nacyon of Heynaulte, the countrey wher as she was borne, she fell sicke in the Castell of Wyndsore, the whiche sickeness contynewed on her so longe, that there was no remedye but dethe; and the good lady whanne she knewe and parcyved that there was with her no remedye but dethe, she desyred to speke with the Kynge her husbände, and when he was before her, she put out of her bedde her right hande, and take the Kynge by his right hande, who was right sorrowful at his hert: than she said, Sir, we have in peace joye, and great prosperyte, used all oure tyme toguyder, Sir, nowe I pray you at our departyng that ye wyll graunt me thre desyres: the Kynge right sorrowfully wepyng, sayd, Madame, desyre what ye wyll, I graunt it: Sir, sayd she, I requyre you firste of all, that all maner of people, suche as I have dault with all in their merchaundyse, on this syde the see or beyond, that it may please you to pay every thyng that

I owe to them or to any other \*: and secondly, Sir, all suche ordynaunce and promyses as I have made to the churches, as well of this countrey as beyonde the see, wher as I have hadde my devocyon, that it may please you to accomplysse and to fulfill the same: thirdely, Sir, I requyre you that it may please you to take none other sepulture whensoever it shall please God to call you out of this transytorie lyfe, but besyde me in Westmynster: the Kyng al wepyng sayde, Madame, I grant all your desyres: than the good lady and quene made on her the signe of the crosse, and commaunded the Kyng her husbände to God, and her yongest son Thomas, who was there besyde her; and anone after she yelded up the spiryte; the which I beleve surely the holy angels receyved with great joy up to heven, for in all her lyfe she dyd neyther in thought nor dede thyng, wherby to lose her soule, as ferr as any creature coulde knowe. Thus the good Quene of Englande dyed in the yere of our Lord

\* A most important lesson for all gentlemen to remember.

M.CCC.LXIX., in the vigyll of our lady, in the myddes of August."

The writings of a celebrated Queen are introduced with the following description of a lady of rank, as given by herself. The Dame Oysille had been requested by her company to devise some method of amusing their vacant hour, and of inspiring them with the same liveliness and gaiety of heart, for which she was so remarkable. "Si vous me demandez," replied the lady, "ce que je fais pour etre si gaie et si saine dans une age avancé, je vous dirai qu'ausitot que je suis levée, je lis la sainte écriture. Je vois et je contemple la volonté de Dieu, qui a envoyé son fils en terre pour nous prescher cette sainte parole et nous annoncer cette bonne nouvelle qui nous promet de nous pardonner nos péchés et de payer nos dettes, en nous donnant son fils qui nous a aimée, qui a souffert, et est enfin mort pour nous.—Le soir je fais la revue de tout ce que j'ai fait durant la journée; je demande pardon de mes fautes, je remercie Dieu de ses graces et me couche en son amour, en sa crainte et en

sa paix—voilà, mes enfans, quel a été depuis long tems mon divertissement. Apres avoir bien cherché je n'en ai point trouvé de plus solide et de plus satisfaisant.— Ainsi je vous prie de me croire, si vous voulez trouver des agrémens dans la vie.”

It only remains that you should remark the simplicity of ancient manner in the minor details, where it affects the taste and feelings more than the essential virtues of mankind. What a picture does Sir John Froissart give of the fire-side after supper, in the great castle of the Earl of Foix? He had brought with him a book, called “the Melyader, conteyninge all the songes, ballades, rundeaux, and vyrelayes, which by imagynacyon he had gathered toguyder,” which book he says, “the Earl of Foix was gladde to se; and every night after supper, I reed thereon to hym, and whyle I reed ther was none durst speke any worde, because he wolde I shulde be well understande, wherein he tooke great solace.” This will naturally lead us to mention the legends and romances of this age. And here, while I refer my reader for an ample fund of

amusement and interest to the thousand tales of chivalry, suiting the midnight hour, and the holy feast of Christmas, when the knights sat assembled in "the sounding vaulted hall, about the round, massy stone table, when the awakening storm would drive a wild snow-dust against the clattering windows, making all the doors to tremble in their oaken casements, and the heavy bolts to rattle violently," let us exclaim with Chaucer—

———"God forbede but that men should believ  
Well more thing than thei hau seen with eye!"

Let him be assured that in the choir of the church belonging to the convent of St. Claire, at Valladolid, they shew the tomb of a Castilian knight, whence groans and accents issue every time that any members of his house are to die; that there is a bell in Arragon, in a small town called Vililla, on the Ebro, which tolls of itself previous to great events; that it was heard when Alphonso V. king of Arragon, went into Italy to take possession of the kingdom of

Naples; again, at the death of Charles V. that it denoted the departure of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal; for Africa; that in the convent of Cordova, there was a clock which struck a particular note every time that a religious man was to die; and that around the ancient mansion in which the author of these sheets spent his childhood, there was a vision which never failed to predict to the domestics of the house, the approaching death of one of its members. Let him hear Froissart's account of the appearance before the battle of Rosebeque, and the testimony of Sully as to what he beheld at Passy. Let him go back to the days of Homer, and reflect upon the parting words of Hector to Andromache—

*Εν μιν γαρ τοδε οίδα κατα φρενα και κατα θυμον,  
 "Εσσεται ήμαρ, ετ' αν ποτ' ολωλη" Ιλιος ιρη,  
 Και πριαμος και λαος εϋμμελιω Πριαμοιο.*

Let him compare the feelings of Henry IV. of France, before his assassination, with those of Hector, when he says to his wife—

—Με τεθνεωτα χυτη κατα γαια καλυπτοι.



And with those of Achilles—

*Εὐ νυ τοι οἶδα και αυτος, δ μοι μορος ενθαδ' ολεσθαι  
Νοσφι φιλε πατρος και μητερος.*

Let him hear the statement of Aristotle, respecting the death of Eudemus, as predicted by a vision, which furnishes occasion to Cicero for one of his most beautiful passages. Let him observe the same popular opinions prevalent at the present day, as in the age of Sophocles, who introduces a voice to hasten Œdipus to death—

*'Ω οντος, ούτος, Οιδιπους, τι μελλομεν χωρειν \* ;*

\* Epictetus speaks of death as a summons from the pilot that the ship is arrived, and we must go on board. Thus Alcestes cries—

*'Ορω δικωπον, δρω, οκαφος.*

Eurip. Alcest. 260.

Thus, Queen Catherine in Shakspeare. But where have we met with a more beautiful or affecting passage than the following account of the music, which announced the death of Isabella, sister of Louis IX. and Abbess of Louchamp, written by a sister of the convent? “*Sœur Clemence d’Argas dict en verité que la nuit que nostre sainte et reverente dame et mere trespassa, un peu devant matins, elle ouvrit la fenestre qui estoit prés son liect, en intention pour sçavoir si elle ouroit aucun en la court, car elle sçavoit bien que Madame estoit prés de sa fin et arregardoit l’air qui*

Let him be reminded of Calphurnia's dream before the death of Cesar, of the vision which appeared to Brutus (for to hint at an evil conscience when there is no sense of guilt, is an abuse of words); of Xenophon's testimony (*qui vir et quantus*) *mentiri Xenophontem an delirare dicemus?* that of Aristotle, of Sophocles, of Socrates him-

estoit tres-bel, et tres-serain, elle ouit une voix moult douce, et moult melodieuse sur la maison ou elle gisoit, et l'ouit si longuement que li semble en verité que elle n'ouit onques si longue haleine en ceste mortelle vie. Scelle Sœur Clemence mit sa chef hors des fers de la fenestre pour mieux sçavoir qui c'estoit, et apres ce l'on sonna Matines et nous apporta l'on la nouvelle que Madame nostre sainte mere estoit trespasé. Aussi sœur Avelue de Hennaut en celle heure ouit chants moult doux et moult melodieux, et se leva en son seant en son lict, mais elle ne sçait que ce fut. Nous croyons fermement que c'estoit la melodie des saints Anges qui conduisoient sa benoiete ame en la gloire du ciel." Touching presentiment before death, let the reader compare the celebrated prediction of the grand master of the Templars, in the reign of Philip le Bel, with that of the Rhodian, related by Cicero from Posidonius. (*de divin. I. 30.*) These sentiments have always been controverted by the Epicureans. "*Unus dissentit Epicurus,*" and in our time the followers of his philosophy, I mean among men of study and reflection. This consistency is worthy of remark.

self, who declares in his conversation with Crito, Εδοκει τις μοι γυνη προσελθουσα καλη και ευειδως, λευκα ιματια εχουσα, καλεσαι με και ειπειν, Ω Σωκρατες Ἡματι κεν τριτατα Φθιην εριβαλον ικοιο. Let him hear the testimony of the gravest writers of the stoics. What? Those two dreams which they commemorate, “quis tandem potest contemnere?” The first is of Simonides, who finding the dead body of a stranger, had it placed in a grave, and was intending to embark on a voyage, when the man whom he had buried appeared to him, and warned him not to sail lest he should perish in shipwreck. Simonides, therefore, returned, and those who put to sea perished. The other is still more celebrated. Two Arcadian friends going the same journey, came to Megara, when the one slept at a public-house, the other went as a guest to a friend. During the night, he who had gone to the public-house appeared in a dream to his companion, and entreated that he would come to his assistance, as the man of the house was going to murder him. Terrified at this dream, he at first rose up, but on reflection, when

his mind recovered itself, the whole seemed to be a delusion, and he again lay down. Upon falling asleep the same vision appeared to him, beseeching that since he had not come in time to find him alive, he would not suffer his murderer to remain unpunished: his dead body was at that moment, he said, thrown into a cart by the landlord, and covered with dung, and he besought him to come quickly to the door of the public-house, before the cart should leave the town. Greatly moved by this dream, the friend rose at the dawn of day, and came to the inn door, where he saw a herdsman standing with a cart. Upon demanding what it contained, the herdsman fled. The dead body was then discovered at the bottom, and the affair being disclosed, the landlord suffered due penalty. Instances nearly as remarkable have fallen under the personal observation of men now living. It has, I believe, been generally allowed by men of judgment, that the arguments adduced by Quintus in the first book of Cicero's "De Divinatione," remain unrefuted in the second. At all events, the

impression from the whole is certainly calculated to counteract that presumption which the moderns so frequently cherish upon subjects of this kind, and which is after all, as unphilosophical as it is contrary to the pleasures of imagination.

“ There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,  
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.”

And so I pass over and turn again to my matter.—“ The great Earl of Foix,” says Froissart, “ kept the hyghe feestes of the yere ever ryght solempne, when he made good chere to every man \*.” Sir John relates an anecdote, which I will insert without apology, for it illustrates in a striking manner, the simple character of their hospitable scenes. “ It was on a Christmas day the erle of Foix helde a great feest, and a plentiful of knightes and squyers, as it is his usage ; and it was a colde day, and the erle dynd in the hall, and with hym great company of lordes ; and after dyner he departed out of the hall, and wente up into a galarye of xxiiii stayres of heyght, in which galarye

\* Compare Eurip. *Alcest.* 870. and Heb. xiii. 2.

ther was a great chymney, wherin they made fyre whan therle was ther; and at that tyme there was but a small fyre, for the erle loved no great fyre; the same day it was a great frost and very colde, and whan the erle was in the galarye and sawe the fyre so lytell, he said to the knightes and squiers about hym, Sirs, this is but a small fyre, and the day so colde: than Ernaltton of Spayne went down the stayres, and beneth in the courte he sawe a great meny of asses laden with wood to serve the house: than he went and toke one of the grettest asses, with all the woode, and layed hym on his backe, and went up all the stayres into the galarye, and dyde cast down the asse with all the wood into the chymney, and the asse's feet upward. Wherof the erle of Foix had great joy, and so hadde all they that were there, and had merveyle of his strength." For it was in the proof of strength that the knights took pleasure, as Homer, upon similar occasions, when he exclaims:

—Μεγα ἔργον, ὃ εἰ δυο γ' ἀνδρε φεροειν,  
Οἱοι νυν Βροτοι εἰσ'· ὃ δὲ μιν ῥεα παλλε και ὀιος.

In all these details of life and manners

there is an Homeric simplicity, which continually reminds us of the scenes of our first, and perhaps our highest rapture, those of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Nay, their very festive hours, unchilled by the influence of that effeminate delicacy which grows out of the excessive refinement of modern manners. (Witness what is recorded by Archbishop Turpin, of Charlemagne, that "he ate sparingly of bread; but that it was not thought strange if he eat a whole peacock, crane, or hare,") will recall the well known lines of the bard,

Δαινυντ', ἔδε τι θυμός ἐδευετο δαίρος ἔισης,

And the words of Diomedes to the Greek warriors, calling upon them to refresh their hearts,

Σιτα καὶ οἴνοι· το γὰρ, μενος ἔστι καὶ ἀλκή·

In conclusion of the subject, it is essential to observe, that the unvarnished style and spirit which distinguish the literary compositions of our ancestors, were not contrary to virtue and religion, as our morbid critics of the present day too hastily

suppose. Open one of the old chivalrous romances, and a reader who is accustomed to the vitiated page of a modern novel, to all its low and degrading detail of vulgar sentiment and vulgar vice, will affect extreme disgust at what he will term the grossness and indecency of its contents\* ; but the truth is, however it may surprise him, that these compositions were neither gross nor indécant in the view of those who framed or read them. “ Tout est sain aux sains,” says M<sup>de</sup> de Sevigné, “ il y a des exemples des effets bons et mauvais de ces sortes de lectures. Pour moi, qui voulois m’appuyer dans mon gout, je trouvois qu’un jeune homme devenoit généreux et brave en voyant mes héros, et qu’une fille devenoit honnête et sage.—Quelquefois il y en a qui prennent un peu les choses de travers ; mais elles ne feroient peut-être guère mieux quand elles ne sauroient pas lire : ce qui est essentiel c’est d’avoir l’esprit

\* Lewis, in the early pages of his celebrated novel, objects to young persons reading the Bible, on this ground, and the same objection is continually urged by the demoralized followers of the French infidels.



bien fait; on n'est pas aisé à gater."— "Modesty," says Montagne, "forbids us to express, by words, the things which are lawful and natural, and we obey it; reason forbids us to commit unlawful and irregular actions, and it is disobeyed." The truth is too clear to be concealed. That extreme delicacy which shudders at the simple language and tale of our plain ancestors, is an evidence that our imagination, as well as our principles of taste, that our hearts, as well as the sentiments which we deem honourable, are vitiated and base.

The advantage of impressing the mind with an admiration for the high virtues which have been illustrated in the preceding sheets, and with what may be termed a taste for the qualities of chivalry, must be acknowledged by every man who thinks with the great English philosopher, that "whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the scale of rational beings." There are indeed matter-of-fact persons, who will call in question the mo-

tives, and deny the reality of the virtues which have been here ascribed to the ancient knights of Europe : but if this is to be the result of our acquaintance with letters, it had been better for ourselves and for the world, as far as we can influence it, if we had remained in ignorance. With such persons I wish not to dispute : even if their criticism be just, and their doubts founded on reality, their folly in obtruding it is still unquestionable.

“ They forget how superior for mortals below  
Is the fiction they dream to the truth that they know.”

If they will maintain that the portrait is too favourable when applied to represent ancient manners, let them further the great object of this writing by making it a resemblance of those which they practise. Men of this unhappy temper might learn a lesson of great wisdom from the heathen historian of Alexander the Great, who was himself equally famous as a soldier and as a philosopher. “*Ὅστις δε, says the excellent Arrian, κακιζει Ἀλεξανδρον, μη μονον ὅσα ἄξια κακιζεσθαι ἐστι προσφερομενος, κακιζετω, ἀλλα*

ξυμπαντα Ἀλεξάνδρῃ εἰς ἓν χωρίον ξυναγαγών,  
 ἔτω δὴ ἐκλογιζέσθω, τίς τε ὢν αὐτός, καὶ ὅποιος  
 τυγχῆ κεχρημένος, ὄντινα γενομένου ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς  
 ὅσον εὐτυχίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔλθοντα, Βασιλεῖα τε  
 ἀμφοῖν ταιν ἠπειροῖν ἀναμφιλογώτατα γενομένου,  
 καὶ ἐπὶ παν ἐξικομένου τῷ αὐτῇ ὀνόματι, κακίζει,  
 σμικροτέρως γε ὢν, καὶ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς πονημένος, καὶ  
 εἶδε ταῦτα ἐν κόσμῳ τιθεμένος\*. Reflections of  
 this kind might be urged on almost all oc-  
 casions, when the character of ancient he-  
 roes is submitted to animadversion. Cicero  
 has feelingly remarked the pleasure with  
 which we visit the places which were once  
 consecrated by the presence of great men.  
 The student of classic lore will fly to  
 Greece and Italy, and with eager rapture  
 will gaze upon the Parthenon and the ruins  
 of the Capitol; but he who thinks that real  
 virtue is preferable to vain declamation,  
 that heroism and piety, a generous sacri-  
 fice of every selfish interest at the call of  
 religion and of honour,

“ The feeling soul’s divinest glow,”

are to be preferred to the cant of philoso-

\* Lib. vii. 30.

phers, to the morality of hypocrites, to the professions of cruel, unjust, and selfish men, falsely termed sages, heroes, and patriots, such as were too many of the eminent worthies in Grecian and Roman history; he who associates the idea of such characters with the antiquities of Greece and Italy, will chuse other objects by which this feeling, so powerfully efficacious in exciting generous thoughts and virtue, may be more reasonably produced. How can he contemplate, with benefit to his heart, the Areopagus or the forum, to suffer the agony of recollecting deeds of atrocious wickedness, and of republican tyranny?

Quid memorem infandas cædes? quid facta tyranni  
Efferat?—————

Why must he join the thoughtless crowd of travellers who flock to classic land, endowed with what Cicero terms “*tam insolens domesticarum rerum fastidium* \*,” when he can behold in England, France, and Germany, the towers of his rude but generous ancestors; whose vices were the

\* De Finibus, I. 4.

vices of men, but whose virtues, every feeling of his heart must honour? When he can explore the dreary vaults and ruins of Griffinstein and Chillon, of Pontefract and of Conway, where the gentle have mourned and the brave have fallen; where virtue and faith, generosity and love, have triumphed over the oppressor: or, if he prefers a higher tone, when he can tread the proud summit of Dranchenfels, or pace the terrace of Habsburg. Here the husbandman will discover the rust-eaten weapons and the empty helmets:

*Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.*

And here, as well as when beholding the ruins of Ægina and of Megara, of Piræus and of Corinth, the philosopher reflects upon the transitory nature of all human greatness:

*Reliquias veterumque videt monumenta virorum.*

How affecting are the words of Sir Thomas Maleore, when in the conclusion of his history he leads his reader to behold, as it were, the tombs of the great personages

with whose lives and glory he has made him so familiarly acquainted! "O ye myghty and pompous lordes shynynge in the glory transytory of thys unstable lyf, as in reigynge over realmes grete and myghte countreyes, fortyfyed wyth stronge castels and toures, edified with many a ryche cyte. Ye also ye fyers and myghty chyvalers soo valyaunte in aventurous dedes of armes, behold, behold, see how thys myghty conquerour Kyng Arthur, whom in his humayne lyf all the worlde doubted, ye also this noble Quene Guenever, that somtyme sate in her chare adourned wyth golde, perles, and precyous stones, now lye ful lowe in obscure fosse or pytte, covered wyth cloddes of erth and claye. Behold also thys myghty champion Launcelot, pyerless of knyghthode, see now how he lyeth grovelynge on the colde moulde, now beyng soo feble and faynt that somtyme was so terrible, how and in what manere oughte ye to be so desyrous of the mondayn honour so daungerous." But there are other feelings excited by these scenes. What Englishman will turn aside

from Griffinstein \*, where once a British monarch was a prisoner, and what lover of chivalry can ascend that tower, or pace that small chamber, which once confined the Lion-hearted Richard, without enthusiasm and awe? It was a lovely evening in August, when I beheld the delicious view which is obtained from the heights above the castle. The sun was setting over the Danube, which rolled in many a channel between gloomy forests, which were tinged with a hue of the richest purple. The pencil of Claude could not have done justice to the landscape :

“ It was a scene, at least to me,  
As fate allows but seldom here.  
One of those rare and brilliant hours,  
Which like the Aloe's lingering flowers,  
May blossom to the eye of man  
But once in all his weary span !”

\* Richard I. was removed from this castle, which is within a morning's ride of the gates of Vienna, to that of Durrenstein, on the Danube, which is more generally celebrated as being the place of his longer confinement. I know of no spot on the continent of Europe which will furnish an artist with finer subjects for his pencil, than that presented in the neighbourhood of these two castles.

In my days, the spirit of chivalry continued to exist in Germany, and indeed to the present time it maintains its ground. Visitors of all ranks are in habits of frequenting the romantic spot which I have been describing. Some spend a night in the prison. I was assured that a short time before my visit, the Russian General Czernicheff, had insisted upon passing a night in the huge cage of oak which is placed in this chamber, and in which it is asserted the King of England used to be confined for the night, during the first months of his imprisonment. The Prince of Lichenstein is particularly attentive to the preservation of this, as of the other ancient castles which are in his possession. The castle of Chivalry, in the gardens of Laxembourg, is a proof of the taste which distinguishes the present Emperor. In this edifice, which he caused to be erected upon an island in a lake, after the model of a castle in the middle ages, there is collected and admirably disposed a vast variety of valuable antiquities, which have been removed from different castles of the empire. I do not



advocate the general plan of such improvements, but they may sometimes afford the only method of preserving objects of interest. The castle is approached by a moveable bridge : passing under a portcullis, and through the court of offices, you arrive at the inner gate. The apartments are small, disposed and furnished in the ancient style. The ceilings and wainscot, the doors and window-frames are, in many instances, five hundred years old. The ornaments of the chapel belonged to Rodolph of Habsburg. In one apartment various pieces of his furniture are deposited : there are numerous paintings of coronations and tournaments. In the armoury are several figures of knights and ladies in stee armour. The chamber of justice is represented as disposed for the interrogation of prisoners, whose bodies are drawn up by a cord from the dungeon beneath, so that their head appears through a round aperture in the table, around which the examiners are seated. A narrow winding flight of steps leads the visitor to the dungeon, where he beholds the figure of a knight templar in chains. The prisoner

lifts up his hands as you enter, and his chains clash as they resume their former position. Years may pass away, but the memory of the writer can never lose the feeling of that hour; when upon arriving at the lake which surrounds the castle of Sigismondsbourg (it is situated between Nassereit and Lermoos, in the Tyrol) he swam across to the island, and mounted the castle wall. It was a tranquil hour: the moon shone bright, and not a sound met the ear, but the ripple of the gentle wave receding from his stroke. The lake must be of prodigious depth, for the mountains rise abruptly from every side. He regarded it as a bottomless pool, and well might fancy raise up the spirit of the kelpy, and hear his cry;

“Is it layman or priest that shall sleep in my cove,  
Or lover, who crosses to visit his love.”

— juvat O meminisse beati  
Temporis, —————

Εἰθ' ὡς ἤβωοιμι, Βῆ τε μοι ἔμπεδος ἔη  
'Ως ὁθ' ὑπο Τροίη λοχὸν ἠγομεν ἄρτυναντες·

If he has wandered, gentle reader, from the subject which should occupy your at-

tention, allow him to plead the privilege of that age whose delight is in the past, whose life is in recollection. Slowly and heavily does an old man return from such retrospects ; for when he recalls those scenes and adventures of his youth, when the heart was full of fancy's dream,—the midnight ride over the mountains,

Eheu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris  
Sudor!

the dismounting at the castle gate, the stride along the sounding cloister ; for he too has seen the Monk \* who bowed in silent reverence as he entered, whose steps he followed through many a vaulted pas-

\* Lord Byron alludes to the Monks of St. Bernard, as “ the miserable drones of a contemptible superstition,” or in some such words. To this I would only reply, in the words of the admirable lyric poet, who observes of the consul at Norfolk in Virginia, “ his house is the very temple of hospitality, and I sincerely pity the heart of that stranger, who, warm from the welcome of such a board, and with the taste of such Madeira still upon his lips, ‘ *col dolce in bocca,*’ could sit down to write a libel on his host, in the true spirit of a modern philosopher.”

sage to the cell! Then the return to the festive board, to the cheerful hearth,

————— Τερπνον ἐκ κυναγιας  
Τραπεζα πληρης\* —————

to the friends whose remembrance sweetened danger, and whose presence made every “dear scene of enchantment more dear;” O then, he can exclaim with Crassus, “me senem esse sum oblitus.”

THE

## Professions of the Order.

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THE first profession to which a Christian can aspire, is the service of God as his Minister. In a worldly point of view, the highest profession for the younger branches of nobility, is the Church. Princes and emperors have left their thrones to clothe themselves in the mantle of Religion. Knights and heroes have sought a similar refuge, from the disappointments and misery of the world. The nobles in every country of Europe, who were not devoted to arms, have esteemed it highly honourable to be dedicated to the service of the Altar; and such is still the prevailing opi-

nion and practice of Europe. The Archduke Rodolph, son of the Emperor, is at this moment vested with the sacerdotal character; and some of the highest nobles of England have brothers and sons among the Clergy. Nor is this custom confined to those countries which enjoy the light of Christianity. The Priests in the religion of the East, are, necessarily, noble; and the offices of religion were of equal consequence in the nations of Greece and Rome. This is nothing but what the natural sense and piety of mankind will recommend and require. It is right that, in every view, the ministers of God should be vested with the highest dignity; that they should exalt their mitred front in Courts and Parliaments; that they should be dispersed throughout all the classes of society. "The people of England," says Mr. Burke, "know how little influence the teachers of religion are likely to have with the wealthy and powerful of long standing, and how much less with the newly fortunate, if they appear in a manner no way assorted

to those with whom they must associate, and over whom they must exercise, in some cases, something like an authority. Our provident constitution has therefore taken care that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, those who are to be censors over insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt nor live upon their alms." And he affirms that the people of England must suspect the principle of those who maintain the contrary of this position, and who affect "to carry back the Clergy to that primitive evangelic poverty, which in the spirit ought always to exist in them, (and in us too, however we may like it) but in the thing must be varied, when the relation of that body to the state is altered; when manners, when modes of life, when indeed the whole order of human affairs has undergone a total revolution, we shall believe these reformers to be then honest enthusiasts, not as now we think them, cheats and deceivers, when we see them throwing their own goods into common, and submitting their own persons to the austere discipline of the early Church."

This, however, is a profession for which I am to suppose that you are not intended. It would be indeed an awful undertaking had I to instruct you in the duties of that solemn ministry. The limits of my object preserve me from this difficulty, and I hasten, therefore, in pursuance of this object, to consider what may be the nature of the profession which, as a gentleman and as a layman, you may be called to exercise. But having been once under a necessity of adverting to the subject, I feel that it would be highly criminal in me to turn from it without calling your attention, and endeavouring to imprint upon your memory, the guilt and the disgrace which must rest upon those young men who embrace this profession unworthily; that is to say, who take holy orders from a base desire after the emoluments and comfort which the profession may hold out, while their hearts are conscious that they are not dedicated to God. Would to heaven that the degenerate spirit of our youth did not render this caution necessary! A worldly



Priest \*, a clerical adept in the crooked paths of modern civil policy, a trifling, sporting, dissipated Curate, these denote a character which of all others in the examples of human inconsistency, is the most contemptible. These vices and defects, which he gathers from other professions, acquire from his character a new stain of

\* Grosserete, Bishop of Lincoln, had promulgated a diocesan statute which "forbade all ecclesiastics, and all in holy orders, to exercise secular employments in future." Οὔτε γεωργον—ἱερεα καταστατεον, says Aristotle, ὑπο γαρ των παντων πρεπει τιμασθαι τους θεους. Po. vii. c. 9. In the romance of Huon de Bourdeaux, the Abbot of Clugni laments his inability to defend Huon when they are attacked by the conspirators, saying, "Ha beau neven regardez que vous ferez et n'avez en moy fiance d'ctré secouru, car bien sçavez que nullement je ne vous puis en ce cas aider, je suis prestre qui sert à Jesus Christ, nullement je ne puis estre ou homme soit occis ou mis à mort par glaive;" so that the practice, during the Holy Wars, was an exception to the acknowledged duty of the clergy. Upon these occasions, however, they made no scruple of appearing in complete armour; and at one period we read, that there were present the Archbishops of Ravenna, Pisa, Canterbury, Besançon, Nazareth, Montreal, and the Bishops of Beauvois, Salisbury, Cambrai, Ptolemais, and Bethléem.

deformity. To borrow the language of a great and excellent Magistrate, whose sentence I would apply to this example : “ Depised by those to whose wisdom he cannot attain, he is still more so by those whom he endeavours to surpass in dissipation. Deserter from his God, the vice to which he flies does not give him any credit for his desertion ; and always a stranger wherever he finds himself, the world rejects him, and he is disowned by the Gospel\*.” Whatever may be the opinion of laymen at the present day, touching the duties of the ecclesiastical profession, certain it is, that in the age of chivalry, the character to which we have alluded was held in contempt and horror. How could it have been otherwise ? The knight, himself a Christian, himself a devoted servant of the blessed Jesus—could he look with feelings of indifference or indulgence at a Priest, a Minister of God, who should be cold and careless, and destitute of all heavenly-mindedness ? I repeat it, the institution

\* The Chancellor D’Aguesau.

of chivalry favourable to the developement of all virtue, was powerfully calculated to preserve the clergy, as far as knowledge could point the way, in the principles of their holy profession. A Priest, according to the sentiments of chivalry, is to be esteemed by gentlemen of other professions, not in proportion to the skill and zeal which he displays in wielding the weapons of controversy, to the bitterness and severity of wit with which he conducts the combat of the schools, to his proficiency in the exercise of laymen, and in mere worldly accomplishments, to the rank of the society in which he may have been placed by birth, and accustomed to move; but in proportion to the holiness of his character, answering to the habit which he bears; to his meekness, to his charity, to his disinterestedness, his devotedness to the Gospel, and his discharge of those offices, which in all ages of the world, and under all modifications of human society, are incumbent upon the ministers and stewards of the mysteries of Christ. This judgment respecting men of the ecclesiastical profes-

sion, every gentleman who respects the principles of his order is bound to hold and to display. Beware then how you approach the sanctuary, and how you touch the altar. Beware lest you undertake a service for which you are not qualified by courage; for remember that no man can discharge the office of a Christian Priest, "nisi qui honeste dicere et sciet et *audabit* \*," unless he is prepared to preach "Christ crucified; to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness." Examine then your own character. Attend to your age, to your taste; these are not to be overlooked. Defer, meditate, do any thing but decide hastily; you will have difficulties to surmount, prejudices perhaps to overcome, hostility and indifference to endure; but though the world may forget its duty, and escape contempt, you will have to discharge yours, or to incur indelible infamy. Though others may refuse to co-operate with your endeavours, though they may be careless, and inattentive, and

\* Quintilian.

displeased, it will be for you to stand alone. Have you the courage to proclaim your resolution in the words of Cicero? “Hoc onus si vos aliqua ex parte allevabitis, feram, ut potero, studio et industria,—sin a vobis (id quod non spero) deserar, tamen animo non deficiam, et id, quod suscepi, quoad potero, perferam. Quodsi perferre non potero, opprimi me onere officii malo, quam id quod mihi cum fide semel impositum est, aut propter perfidiam abjicere, aut propter infirmitatem animi deponere \*.”

Above all, remember that the essential qualifications for this order are piety and love. “Jesus Christ,” says Fenelon †, “must demand of you as he did of St. Peter, ‘lovest thou me?’ And you must make answer, not with your lips, but from your heart, ‘yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee;’ then you will deserve that he should say unto you, ‘feed my sheep.’”

I must trespass upon my reader’s attention while I relate a familiar anecdote. It

\* Cicero, pro Sex. Roscio Amer.

† In his letter to the Elector of Cologne.

was upon a damp and stormy evening, in the month of January, that I dismounted at the Inn in Basingstoke, having ridden about fifty miles from the west. When my horse was lodged in the stable, and my dinner ordered, I walked towards a ruined Church which stands upon a hill about half a mile from the town, on a spot which is still the burial-ground of that place. It was about the hour of evening song, but the darkness of the weather threw a shade of deep gloom over the country, which well accorded with the feelings that such a spot was calculated to inspire. In addition to this, I stood by the tomb of a knight who had served in the holy land. It was a moment for reflection :

“ Oh ! there’s a holy calm profound  
 In awe like this, that ne’er was given  
 To rapture’s thrill ;  
 ’Tis as a solemn voice from heaven,  
 And the soul, listening to the sound,  
 Lies mute and still !”

The tolling of a bell from the church in the town, announced the departure of a funeral procession, which I observed at a distance

approaching and ascending the hill. The presence of a stranger upon such occasions, whose indifference to the scene will naturally be presumed, can never be desirable. I retired, therefore, among the ruined walls, to a spot whence I could observe the solemnity without appearing as a spectator. The Priest was arrived at the grave ; a little boy who followed his steps, appeared to suffer all the agony of woe. At that moment, when every unhallowed thought was subdued within me, when I was listening with breathless awe, to catch, between the gusts of wind, those solemn words which commence the service for the dead, what was my astonishment when the Priest began, in a vulgar tone of rage and menace, to reprove the Clerk for having mistaken some previous orders respecting the surplice which he was to wear on that occasion ! Has the writer done wrong in disclosing the fault, the crime of an individual whose order he venerates, and whose person it should be his pride to honour ? It is not to point out the evidence of inhumanity, which this example affords, that he here records it ;

but it is for the purpose of illustrating that new principle, that vulgar opinion, which would assimilate men of all orders and professions to one model. Upon this, as upon many occasions in human life, the feelings of the Poet and of the man of virtue are necessarily the same; and from the whole we are led to conclude that there is a connection between genius and the best affections of our nature: that a want of what is generally termed taste, will argue to a certain extent the absence of virtue; and that a vulgar mind, which attends to nothing but matter-of-fact and interest, which disbelieves the existence of sentiment, and despises the dictate of feeling, will be an evidence that nature, in every line of her operation, is unassisted by the Divinity, and that vice has dominion in the heart. To these observations, addressed to men of the clerical order, let me be allowed to add one word of admonition, to remind those of the laity who may possess ecclesiastical patronage, that they also have duties to discharge in reference to the qualifications for holy orders. It cannot be



necessary in this place, to expose the atrocious impiety of those gentlemen invested with such privileges, who exercise them with a view solely to the interest of their families and estates, and not to that of the Church, whose sons and defenders they are. It must be sufficient to pronounce, once for all, that they sin not alone against religion, but also against the rules of their order and the first principles of chivalry. The practice of the middle ages, even at the period of greatest corruption and darkness, might be produced in confirmation of this statement. Even the example of William the Conqueror may be cited, who readily concurred in the deposition of his uncle Malger, Archbishop of Rouen, for having disgraced his dignity by the immorality of his conduct, and who showed that it was to merit he had regard, by endeavouring to place in the same church the monk Guitmond, from whom he had formerly received a severe reprimand. We have said that knights and emperors have sought a refuge in this profession, from the disappointments and misery of the world.

The description of the priests and hermits in the *Morte d'Arthur* is very interesting. They are always spoken of as "the good man," or with some approving epithet. When Sir Launcelot recovered from his swoon from the wound in his side, he cried out, "O Lauayn, helpe me, that I were on my hors, for here is fast by within this two myle, a gentyl heremyte, that somtyme was a fulle noble knyghte, and a grete lord of possessions. And for grete goodenes he hath taken hym to wylful poverte, and forsaken many landes, and his name is Sire Baudewyn of Bretayn, and he is a ful noble surgeon, and a good leche." And the hermit says of himself, "for somtyme I was one of the felauship of the round table, but I thanke God now I am otherwyse disposed."

"And thenne anone the hermyte staunched his blood, and made hym to drynke good wyn, so that Sir Launcelot was wel refreshed, and knewe hymself. For in these days it was not the guyse of heremytes as is now a dayes. For there were none heremytes in tho dayes, but that they had ben men of worshyp and of prowesse; and tho

heremytes held grete housholde, and refreshyd peple that were in distresse." Sir Launcelot himself ends his life in a hermit's habit. After taking leave of the Queen, "he rode alle that daye and alle that nyghte in a foreste, wepyng. And at the last he was ware of an hermytage, and a chappel that stode betwene two clyffes, and than he herd a lytel belle ryng to masse, and thyder he rode and alyghted, and teyed hys hors to the gate, and herde masse. And he that sange the masse was the byshop of Caunterburye. Bothe the byshop and Syr Bedwere knewe Syr Launcelot, and they spake togyder after masse, but whenne Syr Bedwere hadde told hym his tale, Syr Launcelot's herte almost braste for sorowe, and Syr Launcelot threwe abroad hys armour, and sayde, Allas who may trust thys world. And then he knelyd doune on hys knees, and prayd the byshop for to shryve him and assoile hym. And than he besoughte the bysshop that he might be his broder. Than the byshop sayde, I wylle gladly, and than he putte an habyte upon Syr Launcelot, and than he served God day and nyghte

with prayers and fastynges." In like manner Sir Bors comes to the chapel, and follows his example. So does Syre Galyhud, Syr Galyhodyn, Syr Bleoberys, Syr Vyllyars, Syr Clavrus, and Syr Gahalantyne. "And whan they sawe that Syr Launcelot had taken hym to such perfecyon, they had noo lyste to departe, but toke such an habyte as he had. Thus they endured in grete penaunce vi yeres, and thanne Syr Launcelot toke the habyte of preesthode, and a twelvemonethe he sange mass."

Some years ago, when I visited the convent of the grand chartreuse in Dauphiny, one of the Fathers was pointed out to me as having been once a general officer in the French army, and a member of several high military orders. The last memorable action of Charles V. is known to all the world; so also is the history of the Abbé de Rancé. A French lady of rank, who travelled in Spain at the commencement of the seventeenth century, has related a curious instance of this abandonment of the world for the service of the altar, which fell under her own observation. The morning after

her arrival at Alava, a town in Castile, she went to the church to hear mass. "I espied an hermit who had the air of a person of quality, and yet begged alms of me with such great humility, that I was greatly surprised at it." Don Fernand having notice of it, drew near and said to me, "the person whom you behold, Madam, is of an illustrious family and of great merit, but his fortune has been very unhappy." Upon my requesting that he would satisfy my curiosity, he replied, "that he would endeavour to prevail upon him to relate his own adventures:" he left me, and went to embrace him with the greatest civility and tenderness. Don Frederic de Cardonne and Don Estere de Caragal, had already accosted him as their old acquaintance. They all earnestly entreated that he would come to them when mass was over; he as earnestly excused himself, and being told that I was a stranger, and very desirous of hearing from his own lips what had induced him to turn hermit, he appealed to the company, saying, "do us justice, and judge you whether it is fit for me to relate such

particulars, in this habit which I wear?" They confessed that he was in the right to decline it. The substance of his history, which was then related by these gentlemen, was as follows. "His mistress, one of the most beautiful women in Spain, had been stabbed by his rival, who then made his escape. Don Lewis de Barbaran, for that was the hermit's name, one of the finest gentlemen in the world, and of the first family, had pursued the murderer over half Europe, traversing Italy, Germany, Flanders, and France. It was on his return to Valencia, while still breathing out vengeance against his enemy, that his conscience was awakened by Divine grace to a sense of the vanity and wickedness of his own heart. From that moment his ardour for revenge was changed into a desire of repentance and of religious consolation; he returned to Sardinia, where he sold his paternal estates, which he divided among his friends and the poor. It was upon a mountain near Madrid, where he first established his hermitage, but his health declining, he was prevailed upon to draw nearer the abode of

men, and to reside in a convent within the walls of this town." The lady desired the gentlemen to present her compliments to Don Lewis, and to give him two pistoles. Don Fernand and his friends gave the same sum. Here, they said, is wherewith to enrich the poor of the province, for Don Lewis never appropriates such great alms as these to himself. "We told him," continues the lady, "that he was the master, and might dispose of the money as he pleased."

It was about four o'clock, upon a summer's morning, when I mounted the steep and difficult track which leads to the convent of the Capuchins, standing upon the side of the mountain which overlooks the city of Saltzbourg. I passed through the house, a picturesque and simple dwelling, and went into the garden, which commands one of those awful and magnificent views which no person can conceive who has not witnessed the finest Alpine scenery; a splendid city with a river at your feet, a castle upon the opposite bank crowning the brow of a dark and ragged rock of proud elevation, a narrow valley enclosed by steep mountains,

the summits of which seem nearer than their bases, alps on alps, vast tracts of snow reaching into the higher clouds—while the little spot itself on which you stand, divided into plots, planted with a few flowers and common culinary vegetables, bespeaks, like the minds of the holy men who cultivate it, nothing but sweetness, humility, and peace. One of the old friars was busily employed in weeding his bed of onions, with a look of cheerfulness and content, mixed with a little of self-importance, which was far from forbidding. At this moment, the trumpets sounded from the court of the palace in the city below, the beat of drums, and the cracks of whips, announced that the emperor, who happened to be at this time in Saltzbourg, had mounted his carriage to make an excursion to the neighbouring baths. The echo resounded along the sides and through the chasms of the mountains, till it was lost in the upper regions of ice and snow. The old friar continued to weed his onions, presenting a contrast with the bustle and confusion of the world which he had forsaken,



that must have struck the most giddy and thoughtless of mankind. It may be possible for those who read the description of this scene to declaim upon the indifference of the modern cynic, upon the lazy seclusion of an ignorant friar; but he who beheld the reality can think only upon the virtues and the happiness of a religious life, the dignified wisdom, the lofty independence, the everlasting peace of the Christian and the sage.

My object in having detained you so long upon this unusual subject may be briefly stated. If men in holy orders should be weaned from the love of this world, and convinced of the truths which they have to enounce, the experience of an active life may be a useful qualification for those who undertake this sacred office. "Après tout, il n'y a de vraie joie que celle d'aimer Dieu \*," was the lesson derived from a long acquaintance with the world, and not from mere study and reflection. Therefore we should not discourage those who may

† M<sup>de</sup> de Sevigné,

have purchased this great advantage, from applying it to so excellent a purpose, nor for the sake of securing mere literary accomplishment, abandon the practice of the primitive ages, and sacrifice the cause of God. But, secondly, I was anxious to draw your attention for a moment to the means of securing consolation and honourable employment for yourself in the event of future adversity or change of circumstance. We live in a world where every thing around us is uncertain :

*Τα μὲν οὖν μελλοντ' οὐδεὶς ἐφορᾷ.*

All that we hold dear and secure may fail us in an instant. It may happen that we shall lose the ability of exercising our original profession, and of appearing any longer in the station to which we thought ourselves designed. Our means, our talents, our very hearts may fail us. And in this event, Philosophy herself could not picture so great a blessing as that of being permitted to close our day in the Lord's vineyard, as that of being received into this haven of rest and quietness, against which

the storms of this cold world may beat in vain, where,

“ In strains as sweet

As angels use, the Gospel whispers peace \*.”

With us in England, the doors of Parliament throw open an important and certainly a most honourable stage for the exercise of ability and virtue, but we must be sensible that the entrance is replete with obstacles which may employ the one to the neglect and forfeiture of the other. To be an independent member of the lower house, is the boast of many, but the fortune of few ; and while the walls may re-echo with the eulogies of freedom, and the Ministers of the State be called upon to reform the ancient fabric of the government, it is impossible to forget that this same eloquence has been prostituted at the shrine of false liberty, and that they who are the loudest in the censure of others, are often the most deeply involved in the crimes which they condemn. It is quite astonishing how gen-

\* Yet remember, “ *O quanta dementia est spes longas inchoantium ! Emam, ædificabo, credam, exigam, honores geram, tum demum lassam et plenam senectutem in otium referam.*”

plemen of virtue and of honour can descend to the steps and measures which the people have sometimes, and in certain places, required of those who aspired to represent them. It is quite unaccountable how men of rank and property can adopt a political career, the success of which would lead inevitably to the suppression of the one and to the plunder of the other.

“ If thou canst hate, as, Oh ! that soul must hate  
 Which loves the virtuous and reveres the great :  
 If thou canst loathe and execrate with me  
 That Gallic garbage of Philosophy,  
 That nauseous slaver of these frantic times,  
 With which false Liberty dilutes her crimes !  
 If thou hast got, within thy free-born breast,  
 One pulse, that beats more proudly than the rest  
 With honest scorn for that inglorious soul  
 Which creeps and winds beneath a mob’s control \*,  
 Which courts the rabble’s smile, the rabble’s nod,  
 And makes, like Egypt, every beast its God.”

— Hope and perseverance may support the statesman even in the most adverse and conflicting moments—Virtue will induce the Patriot to stand by the Constitution of his country, and thus to discharge

\* “ Nihil ista, quæ populi speciem et nomen imitatur immanius belua est.”—Cicero de *Repub.* III. 33.

the highest duty that can fall to the lot of a mortal man, since, as Cicero has said, “neque enim est ulla res, in qua propius ad deorum numen virtus accedat humana, quam civitatis aut condere novas aut conservare jam conditas\*.”—A sense of honour and of justice will urge a gentleman to oppose the cowardly artifices, and the base sophistry of men who would pull down the government of their country, with the hope of joining in the spoil,—but I do not know that the desire of happiness, or the dictate of dignified ambition, would lead any gentleman of elevated sentiments to *solicit* an appointment to public life. “Non enim multum prodest vitia sua projecisse si cum alienis rixandum est.” It can be but little honour or pleasure, under any circumstances, to sit down with men who are disloyal to their King, and traitors to their religion; to be joined in fellowship with *honourable* pretenders, who have no thoughts in common with men of honour; to be fronted with the vain insolence of new-made wealth; to suffer the agony

\* De Repub. I. vii.

which every generous mind must experience when its judgment and its feelings are insulted by that fallacious declamation, by that secret abandonment or open disavowal of all the elevated sentiments of Christianity and honour, by which men in every station of life, who have minds like the vulgar, are invariably distinguished, to be borne down by the empty clamour of proud ignorance and obstinate prejudice, to listen to the hypocritical suggestions of selfishness and avarice, or to the dull, reiterated murmurs \* of disappointed ambition.

The profession of the law will of course present itself, and the question will arise whether it be consistent with your order. Now this appears to me to be altogether a question of individual character, and not one that will admit of any general conclusion. If you are of studious habits, of a decided disposition of mind, not to be influenced by the subject of your study, and of

\* "Accusatores multos esse in civitate utile est, ut metu contineatur audacia: verum tamen hoc ita est utile, ut ne plane illudamur ab accusatoribus."

Cicero, pro. S. Ros.

a devotion to truth, not to be perverted or overcome by sophistry ; if you are firmly established in the principles of religion, and if you are one of those elevated spirits which are raised above the world, above its temptations and its opinions, in that case you may embrace this profession, and look up to a Cicero, a Sulpicius \*, a D'Aguesau, a More, a Bacon, a Clarendon, a Hale, a Mansfield, and an Eldon, as your dignified masters. But if this be not your character, if nature has not so fashioned, and practice confirmed these habits, if a higher power has not so refined and elevated your mind, I exhort you not to undertake it.

I confess this is the only conclusion that I can come to upon the subject. What authority more weighty, what judgment more sound and impartial than that of Lord Clarendon? And yet what observation does he make upon the effects of a legal education? He says, " it introduces men

\* The legal character of Ser. Sulpicius was admirable, " neque ille magis juris consultus quam justitiæ fuit: neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere."

into the language and practice of business; and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, inclines young men to more pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatistical and insolent, though they have the skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it." And with what a lively image does Lord Bacon represent the danger of an indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, though the mind may be convinced at the time, when he says, that "certain it is that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment;" which is not wonderful if we consider what Cicero has said: "nihil est tam incredibile, quod non dicendo fiat probabile: nihil tam horridum, tam incultum, quod non splendescat oratione, et tamquam excolatur\*;" and which may be regarded as the judgment of heaven by those who hold the opinion of Socrates, *ὅτι γὰρ πού θεμίσ τῳ ὀρθῶς λήγοντι με συγχωρεῖν* †

\* Paradox vi.

† Plato Hipp. Major.



It is not that I object in toto to the theory of the legal profession, for though Cicero perceived the grand objection to which it is exposed, and seemed to distrust his own sentence against the objection and in favour of the practice, (very remarkable indeed are his words, and very slender the authority which removed his scruples \*), but that I observe and deprecate its practical tendency; its effect upon the mind, upon the judgment, and upon the heart. It is not that I would subscribe to the definition of an advocate, as lately delivered and laid down before the most solemn audience that the world could produce. Of that portrait there certainly can be but one opinion among honest men. It has however, I trust, no original to make it of importance, and therefore it cannot be too quickly effaced from our memories; for while there are diseases of the body which it is dangerous to behold, there are also mental images from which we should turn

\* "Quod scribere (præsertim cum de philosophia scriberem) non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo stoicorum Panætio." De Off. II. xiv.

aside to escape pollution, to both of which that verse is applicable.

“ *Dum spectant oculi læsos, læduntur et ipsi.*”

The arguments of Cicero are the same as those of the later writers, who profess to defend the ordinary practice of the profession, although the Roman lawyer seems less confident of his argument than content with his authority; “ *vult hoc multitudo, patitur consuetudo, fert etiam humanitas.*” It must be confessed also, that were the question one that could be determined by the conclusion, from a naked, abstracted theory, the writers who support it would easily overcome their opponents: but this is not the case, as I have before observed. We must pay attention to a multitude of effects, connections, and circumstances, which follow from it, and which must be taken into account when we are to decide for ourselves, or for any individuals who are estimating its advantages. The reasoning upon the one side is plausible, and perhaps unanswerable; yet from the abstracted line of the argument, without be-

ing guilty of resisting truth, the mind may remain in suspense till the experience, the observation, and the individual feeling of the enquirer may at length confirm him in the opposite opinion, that "the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong contracts the understanding, while it corrupts the heart. Subtilty is soon mistaken for wisdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be any instance upon record, as some there are, undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer, they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as exceptions." In this very severe sentence, the author of Junius has excluded all considerations of a religious nature, though it certainly appears to me that it is from such the objection can be most forcibly urged, and it was not incumbent upon either the philosopher or the politician to exclude them from his regard. I confess, however, freely, that views and reasoning of this kind have appeared to me to determine the question. That desire of establishing a legal reputation, so essential to the candidate for future employment, while the words

of Cicero are before me, "Difficile est, cum præstare omnibus concupieris servare æquitatem, quæ est justitiæ maxime propria;" that habit of regarding the side of justice (vain men, how little qualified are we to judge \*) instead of mercy; that habit of looking up to authority and law as the restraining principle of human conduct, instead of relying for virtue upon the piety and principle of individuals †, that dispo-

\* We are told that a woman of Sycyone who had poisoned her husband and son, in revenge for their having put to death her son by a former marriage, a youth of hopes, and her chief pride, was dragged from tribunal to tribunal, before any judge would venture to decide upon her case. She was at length brought before the Areopagus, and after a long consideration, the sentence was postponed, and the parties were ordered to appear and attend the trial after a hundred years. What would our modern lawyers say to this? "You are not fit to be a judge," said Cromwell, in a passion, to Judge Hale. "I know it," was the reply.

† "La politique," says Montesquieu, (*Esprit des loix*, 3. v.) "fait faire les grandes choses avec le moins de vertu qu'elle peut—L'Etat subsiste independamment de l'amour pour la patrie, du desir de la vraie gloire, du renoncement à soi-meme, du sacrifice de ses plus chers interêts et de toutes ces vertus heroïques que nous trouvons dans les anciens et dont nous avons

sition to regard the utility and practical result of measures as the criterion of their value, and that custom of office which identifies impunity with innocence, which is ready to sacrifice the end to the means, the object of the legislator to the letter of the law \* ; these effects, all and separately, are death to the high and generous feelings which refine and purify the soul : they tend to destroy those grand general impressions of right and wrong which must be kept alive, and ready at the call of a

seulement entendu parler. Les loix y tiennent la place de toutes ces vertus, dont on n'a aucun besoin : l'état vous en dispense ; une action qui se fait sans bruit, y est en quelque façon sans consequence."

\* Those are fine lines in the French Tragedy.

" Le devoir le plus sainte, la loi la plus chérie,  
Est d'oublier la loi pour sauver la patrie."

A sentiment which is open to abuse, but which is nevertheless just. The words of Aristotle are memorable.

" Και το μη προς τον νομον, άλλα προς τον νομοθετην σκοπειν. Και το μη προς τον λογον, άλλα προς την διανοϊαν τε νομοθετε σκοπειν. Και μη προς την πραξιν, άλλα προς την προαιρεσιν. Και μη προς το μερος, άλλα προς το ὅλον."

Rhetor. i.

moment to direct you ; that habit of mercy which must be the first feature of your character ; that full confidence in the virtue of other men which must spring from the conviction of your own ; that unqualified preference of principle and worth, above the mere service of interest and necessity ; that disdain for the bands and trammels of the letter of rule ; that utter indifference to the utility and consequences of virtue, which are all and separately essential to that elevated character which you desire, and are bound to imitate. Upon the whole then, after a consideration of the question, with all its relations, and after an honest examination of your own powers, habits, and disposition, you will make that decision which disowns every base and unworthy motive ; the decision of conscience and of honour, which will ensure to you your own respect, whatever may be the subsequent opinion which experience shall induce you to adopt.

The transition is sudden from the law to the army, from the practice of the courts to the exercise of the camp. From what has

already appeared in relation to the virtues of the chivalrous character, you will be sensible that this must be a profession highly honourable, and worthy of your rank. The great advantage of the profession of arms, is its practical influence, the effect which it produces upon the character; and this, you will remember, is the criterion by which we should judge of all professions and modes of employment. The soldier is religious and brave, humane\* and merciful, open-hearted and just, frank, sincere, faithful, and firm.

————— Quo justior alter  
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis :

the lamb and flag were borne by the knight templars, to signify the union of these qualities, of gentleness with the martial spirit. These are high virtues, and certainly it

\* There is a curious passage in Plato's republic, I think in the second book, where Socrates explains how mildness and the warlike spirit (*πραον και μεγαλοθυμον ηθος*) may be united in the soldier, and both, he says, are essential. 'Αλλα μεντοι τετων οποτερι αν στερηται φυλαξ αγαθος ε με γενηται.

would seem from experience that these are the result of its natural tendency. What is taken from the mind may be made of service to the heart, “ Car jusque dans l’embarras et au milieu du bruit des armes,” says the great Sully, “ il se présente à qui sait les chercher, des écoles excellentes de vertu et de politesse.” History will indeed present us with instances that seem to contradict this opinion; we shall meet with men like the Duke of Alva and Count Tilly; Frederic the Great and Oliver Cromwell: like the Baron des Adrets and his friend Montluc, who distinguished themselves by cruelty in the reign of Charles IX. of France: like Peter the Cruel of Spain, and Napoleon Buonaparte: but these are undoubtedly exceptions to the general rule, which may be laid down, “ intus fide, foris ferro se muniunt,” said Saint Bernard of the knights templar; and in the same exhortation to these holy warriors, he affirms “ miro quodam ac singulari modo cernuntur et agnis mitiores et leonibus ferociores \*.” The soldier is often deficient in learning, but he

\* Exhortatio ad milites Templi.



is frequently the most religious \* without hypocrisy, and the most sound in his judgment without vain pretension : he is little skilled in the intricacies of legal justice, and still less is he qualified to adjust the theological balance of the schools ; but his decision will be seldom mistaken, and his piety will be sincere. Like the Centurion in the Acts ; like the grand master of the order of St. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, the first captain of his age, the father of the poor, the saviour of Rhodes, the sword and buckler of Christendom ; like a Bayard, a Hopton, or a Falkland, he will be devout towards God, and benevolent to man. Our attention has been elsewhere directed to the humanity and generosity which were required and practised in chivalrous warfare.

\* Xenophon lays it down as essential to the character of a General, that he should be impressed with a deep sense of religion, Agesil. 3. calling it, *μεγα και καλον κτημα ανδρι στρατηγῳ* ; and Polybius, in comparing the characters of Scipio and Lycurgus, attributes to both of those renowned generals the same disposition ; the former, he says, was continually impressing it on the people, *ως μετα της θειας επιπνοιας ποιουμενος τας επιβολας*, lib. x. 2.

It may be proper to select two instances from history, that will exhibit, in a striking manner, these virtues which are more peculiarly developed in the profession and exercise of arms. In the battle of Waterloo, a French officer mounted upon a powerful charger, rode up to Colonel Hervey, whom he was about to strike to the ground, when perceiving that the Colonel had lost his right arm, he saluted him, turned aside his horse, and galloped off.

Among the slain in the battle of Creci, the most distinguished was John, King of Bohemia : age had not chilled in him the fire of youth ; though blind, he placed himself in the first division of the French, and as the issue grew dubious, ordered the four knights, his attendants, to lead him into the hottest of the battle, " that I too," said he, " may have a stroke at the English." Placing him in the midst of them, and interlacing their bridles, they spurred forward their horses, and were almost immediately slain\*.

\* A similar instance will occur to the recollection of scholars, where the Greek tragedian represents the old king of Thessaly putting on his armour, and desiring

That is a grand passage in the chronicle of Archbishop Turpin, where heroes are reminded of their double warfare. With a similar lesson, in conformity with the spirit of our order, and in the very words which once transported the warlike nobility of France, I will conclude my remarks on the noble profession of arms. “Guerriers chrétiens, qui cherchez sans cesse de vains prétextes de guerre, réjouissez vous, vous en trouvez aujourd’hui de véritables. Voici le moment de montrer si vous êtes animés d’un vrai courage.—Soldats de l’enfer, devenez les soldats du Dieu vivant.—” The heroes were roused to an enthusiasm such as never before had been excited by the tongue of man. The whole assembly rose up and shouted, “Dieu le veut, Dieu le veut.” The chorus exclaims—

Λημα μιν ὄπω σπορουσι χρονος  
 Το σον, ἀλλ’ ἦβα· σωμα δε φρουδον.

The old warrior declares that he will enter the hottest throng, and that they shall see him,

Δι’ ἀσπίδος θενοντα πολεμιων τινα.

Eurip. Heraclid.

veut.—Oui, sans doute, Dieu le veut,” continued the Pontiff, “vous voyez aujourd’hui l’accomplissement de la parole du Sauveur, qui a promis de se trouver au milieu des fideles assemblés en son nom; c’est lui qui vous a dicté ces paroles que je viens d’entendre; qu’elles soient votre cri de guerre, et qu’elles annoncent partout la presence du Dieu des armées.” Still there is a holy war, still it is our duty to engage in it. Dieu le veut. Rise up then, soldier of the living God, and take from God’s armoury a sword of etherial temper. Set forward in full assurance of faith, arrayed in that panoply divine, which alone is able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

I have now sufficiently occupied your patience with respect to the selection of a profession which may be suitable to your birth and rank. I have said enough to inform you what are my views and habits of thinking upon the subject. It did not appear necessary to enter upon a review of those pursuits which are chiefly directed towards the attainment of wealth, because I had no reason to suppose that there was

any motive or influence that could induce you to embrace them. In the sequel of these instructions, I shall have occasion to touch upon the subject of property somewhat at large. For the present I shall be satisfied with assuring you that the absence of affluence is no misfortune, and that the inheritance of a virtuous name is of more value than all the treasures of the East\*.

*’Ουκ ἔστι τοῦδε παισι καλλιον γερας,  
’Η πατρος ἔσθλου κάγαθου πεφυκεναι †.*

\* Οὐδεις ἐπλετησε ταχεως δικαιος ὦν, was the sentence of Menander. Brantome repeats an old saying which was applied to the heirs of men who had made money: . . .

“ Bien heureux est le fils de qui l’ame du Pere est damnée.” To which Shakspeare makes Henry VI. allude in his reply to Clifford,

“ And happy always was it for that son  
Whose father for his hoarding went to hell.”

The justice of the reproof is admitted by Lord Bacon, where he says, “ there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts,” yet it would be idle to deny that wealth is sometimes the reward of virtuous exertion, unaided by evil arts.

† Eurip. Heracl. 298.

It is not for you indeed to cherish prospects of future wealth, “semper eris pauper, si pauper es,” for as the great master of philosophy and human nature has wisely observed, it is not easy for a gentleman to become rich, being neither disposed to receive nor to keep money, but liberal, and esteeming it only as the instrument of generosity. Therefore, wealth is termed fortune, because they are the least rich who are the most deserving of riches.

Πλῆτειν δὲ οὐ ῥαδιον τον ελευθεριον, μητε ληπτικον ὄντα, μητε φυλακτικον, προετικον δε και μη τιμωντα δι αυτα τὰ χρηματα ἀλλ' ἐνεκα της δοσεως. Διο και ἐγκαλειται τη τυχε, ὅτι οἱ μαλιστα ἀξιοι ὄντες ἥκιστα πλῆτθοσι \*.

\* Aristotlé. Ethics iv.

THE

## Acquirements

WHICH BELONG TO THE ORDER.

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IT must be confessed that the cultivation of literature was a subject but of little importance in the estimation of the ancient knights and barons of Europe. They had few examples to encourage them. It is true, of Charlemagne, Eginhart relates, "Inter cœnandum aut aliquod acroama, aut lectorem audiebat. Legebantur ei historiæ et antiquorum Regum gesta. Delectabatur et libris S. Augustini, præcipue iis, quæ de civitate Dei inscripsit;" and again, "Latinam ita didicit, ut æque illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus: Græcam vero melius intelligere quam pronuntiare poterat. Tentabat et scribere tabulasque et codicil-

los ad hoc in lectulo sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut cum vacuum tempus esset, manum effigiendis literis assuefaceret. *Sed parum prosperè successit labor præposterus, ac sero inchoatus.*” Still a thousand instances of ignorance might be adduced from history. The renowned Du Guesclin had never learned to read, and the heroic Bayard was certainly not a man of letters. The Poet Alain Chartier pours forth a doleful complaint of the ignorance which prevailed among the great lords of his time. “ This foolish language is current,” he observes, “ parmi les curiaulx, that a noble man should not know the alphabet, and they regard it as a reproach against their gentility if they are thought to read or write well. Alas ! who could say any thing more foolish, or publish a more dangerous error.” And there is a curious anecdote related by another writer, to prove that it was sometimes considered a disgrace to be seen for a moment in the society of learned men. “ Le comte d’Anjou Foulques grise gonelle, piqué de ce que le roi Louys fils de Louys le Simple et ses courtisans s’etoient



*mocques de lui*, l'ayant rencontré parmi les clercs en l'Eglise de Tours, leur respondit fort hardiment qu'un Roy non lettré et un asne couronné ne differoient en rien." But what is worse still, it would be useless to deny that this ignorance sometimes extended to subjects of the greatest practical importance. When I read the deed by which my worthy ancestor bequeathes a portion of his land to the brothers of S. Lazarus, for the salvation of his own soul, and the souls of his family\*, it would be in vain to silence the judgment which suggests the sad probability that his want of information may have involved him in dangerous practical error. True it is that the simplicity and the faith of these men may

\* It may be worth while to give this document as a specimen.

Carta Johannis de Diggeby militis de dimidia acra terræ in Billesdon.

Sciant (&c.) quod ego Johannes de Diggeby miles, dedi (&c.) fratri Roberto de Danby, magistro de Burton S. Lazari et fratribus ibidem Deo et S. Lazaro servientibus unam dimid. acram terræ arabilis in territorio de Billesdon in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute animæ meæ et antecessorum meorum, &c.

Dugdale Mon. II. 399.

have preserved and sanctified them even in their mistakes, so that even these apparently vicious and superstitious acts may not, after all, have proceeded from the compromising principles and the base superstition to which we now so generally ascribe them. But, however this may be, it would be great injustice to bring a charge against the knights and barons, or to suppose that their vices and errors were part of the spirit of chivalry, since they were rather the vices and errors of their age, and since the very authorities which we have quoted will prove that the spirit of chivalry condemned them. It would not be difficult to discover instances in every age, where men of learning were patronized by the unlettered nobles, not to bring forward the examples of Charlemagne and Alfred. Rodolph of Habsburg being presented by a citizen of Strasburgh with a manuscript, describing the wars of the Romans against the Germans, he bestowed on the author a gold medal and chain, which he was accustomed to wear round his neck. His reply to the complaints of his relation who reminded

him that the troops wanted their pay, is strikingly characteristic of that great man. "Would to God I could employ more time in reading, and could expend some of that money on learned men which I must throw away on so many illiterate knights." The Emperor Maximilian I. was himself an author, and he employed persons of learning to promote the general interests of literature. But even where this ignorance of letters, and almost of the common principles of policy, was palpable and acknowledged, there was an honesty and a certain confidence in personal courage and virtue which indicated a great generosity and nobleness of soul. Thus Sir Thomas Maleore relates, that "after the feste and journeye, Kyng Arthur drewe hym unto London, and soo by the counceil of Merlyn, the kyng lete calle his barons to counceil, for Merlyn had told the kyng that the sixe kynges that made warre upon hym wold in al haste awroke on hym and on his landys, wherfer the kyng asked counceil at hem al, *they coude no counceil gyve, but said they were bygge ynough, ye saye wel,*

said Arthur. I thanke you for your good courage, but wil ye al that loveth me speke with Merlyn\*." Upon the whole, we may learn from the fact of this general ignorance, a lesson which may be of great importance to the men of our age, who are engaged in the cultivation of science, or in the eager pursuit of literary fame.—That the want of these advantages may be compatible with the exercise of honour, virtue, and Christianity; that the religion of the Gospel, which had formed the heart of Bayard, is far more efficacious in the correction and refinement of our nature, than even the learning of a Bentley, or the theology of a Bossuet. The scholar may instruct the world with his learning, the philosopher may astonish and benefit it by his researches, the man of letters may give a polish and a charm to society, but he who is possessed of simple faith and of high honour, is, beyond all comparison, the more proper object of our affection and reverence. His qualities, his acquirements,

\* Cap. x.

are more or less connected with the immortal part of his nature. "Every thing else," says the incomparable Fenelon, "dies;" then, alluding to religion, he adds, "elle ne meurt jamais."

—— οὐ γὰρ ἠυσέβεια συνθνήσκει βροτοῖς.

Κἄν ζῶσι, κἄν θανῶσιν, οὐκ ἀπολλύται.

Sophocl. Philoctet. 1444.

The facts of subsequent history will furnish a convincing evidence that the spirit of chivalry was not hostile to the advancement of knowledge. We are sufficiently ready to condemn the roving disposition of chivalry; but however plausible may be the arguments with which we endeavour to expose its absurd and injurious effects, we should not forget, that this habit or propensity may not be, after all, prejudicial even to the interests of letters. Erasmus was the greatest traveller of an age, when learned men were in habits of visiting the different countries of Europe. What greater traveller than Cicero, who used to pursue his studies even during his voyages? and if we look back still farther, we shall find

it related of Plato, that he was continually moving about.

*Ἐξετοπιζε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα.*

Diog. Laert.

But these are considerations of greater importance to a gentleman than the interest of letters. What says Montagne? “*Je ne scache point meilleur escole, comme j’ay dit souvent, à former la vie, que de luy proposer incessamment la diversité de tant d’autres vies, et luy faire gouster une si perpetuelle varieté de formes de nature.*”

Since the dawn of science, and the revival of learning, the higher ranks of society have more than kept pace with the growing cultivation of the age: they appear conspicuous in the researches of learning, in the discoveries of science, in the service of religion, and in every branch of useful knowledge which has been cultivated by the nations of Europe. In Spain the warriors have been distinguished as men of letters. The Prince Don Juan Manuel, descendant of Saint Ferdinand, is the first distinguished

author of the fourteenth century. Succeeding to him we are reminded of Pedro Lopez de Agala, grand chancellor of Castile. With us in England, the first historian and the first philosophers have been gentlemen—a Clarendon, a Boyle, a Bacon, a Newton. And in Italy, France, and England, the most humble, the most virtuous, and the most pious Priests that ever adorned the Church of Christ, have been men of noble or ancient blood,—a Borromeo, a Fenelon, a Pole, a Berkeley \*. I wish to make you

\* It may be an invidious, but it will certainly be an obvious, and, I conceive, an important question, whether the custom in England of rewarding men of low origin with the Episcopal Office, be favourable to the promotion of piety, *humility*, and virtue, in the high station. I certainly fear that the effect is the reverse; there have been always, and there are at this day, shining examples which might be urged against this opinion, but I regard them as exceptions, and I hold that experience will still warrant my conclusion. There will be frequently, if not always, learning and ability, sometimes independence and humble piety, in men of this description, who rise to be dignitaries of the Church; but the common sense and observation of mankind will still proclaim that authority is always dangerous, and often fatal to the minds of persons who have been thus raised from insignificance. No reason-

sensible of two facts, which may appear at first to contradict each other. On the one hand, that it will be of the highest consequence to your future happiness and means of utility, if circumstances shall enable you to cultivate a taste for literary pursuits, and a habit of philosophic reflection. And upon the other, I wish to encourage your honourable ambition by assuring you that if circumstances may not permit you to provide this source of future enjoyment and assistance, the path of Christianity and honour is still open, with every thing that is noble, lovely, and of good report, to animate your exertions in that career. It is wonderful that men of leisure and of affluence, of sensible minds and of virtuous intentions, should overlook the advantage

ing can ever set aside this incontrovertible axiom of experience. Yet is there evil attending every expedient and policy, and therefore the conclusion from the whole is not that any new direction should be given to the patronage of the Church, but that the danger consequent upon the present system, in which liability it only resembles every other human system, should be perceived by those who are exposed to it, and that these men should be on their guard.



which is afforded to them in the acquirement of general knowledge. They have every thing to enable, to encourage, and to reward them. Affluence, or at least a competent fortune, will place the volumes of history and philosophy within their reach. The respect which is sure to attend the acquisitions of the great, might serve to encourage them. The "haud facile emergunt," &c. is not to dishearten them at the threshold, but the certainty of success is to stimulate their exertion.

————— ille

Clarus erit, fortis, justus, sapiens ne? etiam! et rex,  
Et quidquid volet. ———

The benefit which they might confer upon mankind, and the desire of exalting the renown of their family, might, we may well imagine, awaken their virtue and excite all their laudable ambition. You will probably remember that passage where Mr. Gibbon employs himself in tracing the origin of Fielding to the Counts of Habsburg, and when after artfully contrasting the knights and sheriffs of Leicestershire with the Emperors of Germany and kings of Spain, he

goes on to observe, with one of those pointed sentences in which the literal sense is nothing, but in which this powerful writer will frequently urge and illustrate a general truth with the most captivating ingenuity. "The successors of Charles the Fifth," he observes with proud satisfaction, "may disdain their brethren of England; but the romance of Tom Jones, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the Palace of the Escorial, and the imperial Eagle of the House of Austria."

How insignificant and unprofitable must appear the most splendid prize of vulgar ambition, when contrasted with the dignity and serene enjoyment of a Christian philosopher or man of letters in his retirement from public life? It was on the 25th of March that M. Both and M. de la Barthe, arrived at Hartwell, bearing the intelligence to Louis XVIII. that his nephew had been received at Bordeaux with transports of joy, and that the flag of the Bourbons was waving over the second city of the French empire. It was the day of the Annunciation, and mass was celebrating at the mo-

ment. The court resounded with acclamations, but the King and Madame continued in devout prayer, without betraying any emotion. It would be difficult to find upon the page of history a more sublime exemplification of the lesson which is here inculcated. Again, take an example from the records of heathen antiquity. What were triumphs and fasces, what were consular power or political renown to Cicero \*, in his

\* I have no patience with Montagne, when he criticises the conduct and character of Cicero, or rather of every man of learning and science, saying that "mille femmelettes ont vescu au villaye une vie plus equable, plus douce et plus constante que ne fut la sienne," which proves nothing but what is well known, that dullness is uniform and consistent while the full tide of genius, and even of piety, are subject to that ebb which brings back man to the appointed level of humanity. Neither can I endure his degrading and often ridiculous argument, to prove that brutes are but little inferior to men, or his contemptuous mention of the ancient romances which, by the way, is not wonderful, since he speaks of "ces genereux meurtriers de Cæsar," and since by his very constitution he seems hostile to whatever ascribes dignity to man. "J'ai en general cette humeur," he says, "que toutes les opinions que l'ancienneté a euës de l'homme, celles que jé embrasso plus volontiers, et auxquelles je m'attache

hours of study and reflection at Tusculum—when he was composing his *Hortensius*, the *Academics*, the *de Finibus*, the *Tusculan Disputations*,—learning to despise death, to endure adversity, to submit with patience to the accidents of human life, to moderate the passions, to feel that virtue is sufficient to make men happy? There are persons who find no enjoyment comparable to that of philosophic conversation. How many instances may we recollect, even in the page of chivalrous history and romance, where the inestimable advantage of having a mind capable of such enjoyment is exemplified!

*Sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,  
Nec, male necne Lepos saltet ; sed quod magis ad nos  
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus ; utrumne  
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati ?  
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos ?  
Et quæ sit natura boni ? summumque quid ejus ?*

le plus, ce sont celles qui nous mesprisent avilissent, et aneantissent le plus.” A passage of this kind requires no comment. I have had frequent occasion to quote Montagne, and therefore I avail myself of this opportunity to disclaim any unqualified admiration of his philosophy, which in many instances would better become a heathen cynic than a Christian gentleman or philosopher.

Let no man, in the sun-shine of youth and fancy's dream, neglect opportunities and the means of securing a future good, of which, if life be spared, he will assuredly stand in need, and which can never be recalled if they be once neglected. "Retirement and leisure without letters are death:" this was the opinion of Seneca; and retirement and leisure await us all.

Quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores!  
 Quam cito formosas populus alba comas!

So is it with the pride of man. Youth will lapse into age, alas! how imperceptibly?

— ταχα γαρ σε παρερχεται, ως οναρ ηβη.

The delight of bodily exercises will wane with the season which required, will fail with the strength which supported them. What higher feelings of enjoyment than those which swell the bosom of the warrior, the *ἵπποδομος* Εκτορ when mounted upon his exulting steed? And yet the day is not far distant, when the horse and his rider will cease to know each other. Fled will be that

buoyant spirit which lived by exercise ; withered and gone that superfluous strength which excited the desire of activity.

“ *Heu senibus vitæ portio quanta manet ?*”

“ *ὡστ’ ὀνειρον ἰσχυρῶν ἔχων.*”

But though these enjoyments shall fail, the pleasures of a cultivated mind, the delight of literary or philosophic pursuits in union with religion, will accompany him unto the end. Nor need we attend to that groundless objection which has been produced from the days of St. Paul to the present time, by men who restrain the manifold ways which wisdom hath to teach men by to one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture. Who shall define and limit the bounds of wisdom ? Wisdom was Adam’s instructor in Paradise : wisdom endued the fathers who lived before the law with the knowledge of holy things. “ Reason,” continues Hooker, “ is as the weapon that slew Goliath, if we be as David was that use it.” There is no kind of knowledge whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious : whether it be that Egyp-

tian and Chaldean wisdom, mathematical, wherewith Moses and Daniel were furnished; or that natural, moral, and civil wisdom wherewith Solomon excelled all men; or that rational and oratorical wisdom of the Grecians, which the apostle St. Paul brought from Tarsus; or that Judaical, which he learned in Jerusalem, sitting at the feet of Gamaliel: to detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himself."

When Montagne went to reside at his chateau of Montagne, he began the composition of his Essays, because, as he tells us, he liked neither shooting, nor building, nor gardening, nor the management of a farm; and the pursuit of literature, we well know, transported the suffering and terrified Ovid from the snows and wilderness of Thrace.

————— Tu solatia præbes  
 Tu curæ requies, tu medicina mali  
 Tu dux, tu comes es; tu nos abducis ab Istro,  
 In medioque mihi das Helicone locum\*.

And when Cicero was fatigued with the distractions of political warfare, he preferred

\* Trist. iv.

the study of Atticus, and the bench under the statue of Aristotle, to the curule chair of the forum \*. But besides this, a certain degree of learning is necessary not only to amuse our intervals of leisure, but even to form our minds and habits of thinking into that mould which corresponds with the character of our order, and to prepare and qualify us for the scenes of active life which are appropriated generally to our estate. For instance, we have seen elsewhere that a proper contempt of death is an attribute of chivalry which followed necessarily from the faith it professes, but let me remind you, in this place, that the volumes of history and of poetry are calculated to produce the same effect. It was no idle insult over a suppliant enemy when Achilles said to the youthful son of Priam,

Ἄλλα, φίλος, θανε καὶ σὺ τῆ δλοφυρεαὶ αὐτως ;  
 Καθανε καὶ Πατροκλος, ὅπερ σεο πολλων ἀμεινων.  
 Οὐχ ὄραας, ὀιος κἀγω· καλος τε, μεγας τε,  
 Πατρος δ' ἔμ' ἀγαθοιο, θεοι δε μ' ἐγεινατο μητηρ.  
 Ἄλλ' ἐπι τοι καμοι θανατος καὶ μοιρα κραταιη  
 Εσσεται, ἢ ἦως, ἢ δειλης, ἢ μεσον ἡμαρ.

\* Epist. ad Attic. iv. 10.



Ὅποτε τις καὶ ἐμεῖο ἄρει ἐκ θυμὸν ἔληται,  
Ἦ ὄγε δευρὶ Βαλῶν, ἢ ἀπο νευρηφιν δίστω.

In these words the victim of approaching death was reminded of a lesson which will appease and gratify the dying hero in every age. Thus Lucian represents Antilochus endeavouring to reconcile Achilles to his death. "Behold how many of your companions are now here: and Ulysses himself will soon arrive; ὄρας τὸν Ἡρακλεῖα, καὶ τὸν Μελεαγρον, καὶ ἄλλους θαυμαστὸν ἀνδρας." Again, in the tragedy, how the terrors of death are dissipated when the idea of again beholding Hector occurs to Polyxena, and she addresses her mother in these affecting words,

Τι σοὶ πρὸς Ἑκτορ, ἢ γεροντ' εἶπω ποσιν;

Feelings of this description, so closely allied to the highest virtues that grace the human heart, can never be inconsistent with that divine religion, which conduces, by still more effectual means, to the same great end, of enabling man to meet death with firmness and resignation. From considerations of this kind I would lay it

down, as a rule, that every gentleman should have a personal and intimate acquaintance with the great men of all ages, particularly with the heroes of the Iliad. Homer has been the rapture of high and generous spirits in all periods of the world, and indeed it seems an anomaly to suppose a gentleman to be ignorant of the subsequent events and heroes of the Grecian and Roman histories ; but these are advantages which can only be obtained through the medium of the Greek and Latin languages, of which we may still say, “ non tam præclarum est scire, quam turpe nescire :” for though it be true that our ancestors were destitute of the learning that could enable them to enjoy the ancient authors in their original language, we are not therefore to conclude that they were uninspired by their spirit and their genius ; that their bosoms did not glow with emulation at the names of Hector and of Cæsar ; that their minds were not exalted by the strains of Homer, or by the lessons of Xenophon. The very reverse of this will be our conclusion when we remember how feeble must be the efforts

of a modern translator when compared with those of the minstrels who sung to knights in their castles, inspiring them with the spirit, while they described the actions of the ancient heroes. But this channel of knowledge is now unknown; that of translations and abridgement is puerile and inefficient, and therefore with the Greek and Latin languages every gallant man should, if possible, be acquainted. Some learning is, indeed, quite indispensable, seeing the alternative which now must await those who are deprived of it. For, however we may justly deplore that perversion of genius, which sacrifices many of the highest qualities of the human character to the acquirement of a minute acquaintance with the learning of the ancients, still it is far, and indeed beyond all comparison preferable that a gentleman should be occupied with the deeds and fortunes of the heroes, and even with the very words which are immortalized by Homer and by Xenophon, by Virgil and by Tacitus, than that his time and his thoughts

should be devoted to the pursuit of money, or of some other ignoble object, destined to be the gaze of vulgar men, than that his mind should be fixed upon the plow and the furrow, and "his talk be of bullocks." Still, however, let it be confessed, there are circumstances and events in human life which may debar you from an advance in the paths of literature and science. But let not this discourage or afflict you. There is still a field thrown open for honourable exertion, and for the attainment of dignified renown. In the country, in the camp, in Parliament, at Court, you may seize that "vantage-ground," of piety and independence, integrity and honour, which will give you a pre-eminence above the proudest flights of mere human glory, and even beyond the reach of human applause. There you may stand, a terror to the wicked, and a beacon to direct the good; and, clothed in this simple, humble, unattractive, and unpretending character, it may be your lot to encourage or to intimidate the scholar, the philosopher, the minister, and the Sovereign.

Γνοιη δ' ἄν ὡς τα πολλὰ γ' ἀνθρώπου περι  
 Το σχημ' ἰδίων τις, εἰ πεφυκεν ἐυγενής\*.

Such is the testimony of the poet, which the experience of men in all ages will illustrate and confirm.

Frangere miser calamos.

†

This is a dignity to which no learning or science, or mere worldly attainments will ever conduct you. It is a dignity upon which the pride of intellect may gaze with hopeless envy. Virtue, virtue only can secure it. It is, in fact, above all grandeur and above all praise; and this, you will remember, by prayer to God and by honourable efforts, may be made your own.

With respect to the advantages attached to a literary life, there are many considerations that will occur to qualify the regret with which you may contemplate their absence.

“ Deign on the passing world to turn thine eyes,  
 And pause awhile from learning to be wise.”

Τι πλειαδεσσι κα' μοῖ  
 Τι δ' ἀστρασι Βωπτει;

\* Eurip. Ion. 242.

Life is too short, and the duty which we must fulfil too important to recommend these exclusive pursuits which terminate with our present perishing existence. "Il ne faut rien desseigner de si longue haleine." Far more truly wise is the philosophy of Seneca. "Quid te torques et maceras in ea quæstione quam subtilius est contempsisse quam solvere."

"Why do you trouble and distract yourself in that question, which it is more profound and acute to despise than to determine? I have no leisure for these vanities. A momentous affair is in my hands: what shall I do? Death pursues me, life is on the flight. Against these difficulties teach me something. Stop death in the pursuit, prevent life from flying. Exhort me to endure difficulties, to maintain an even temper, to contemplate what is inevitable, to escape from the pressure of the time. Teach me that the good of life consists not in its duration, but in its use: that it is possible, nay that it happens frequently, for him who has long lived to have had but a short life. Say to me, when I am about

to lie down to sleep, you may never rise again: say to me when I have risen, you may never sleep again. Say to me, when I go out from my house, you may never return: say to me when I return, you may never more go out \*?" These are, after all, the more essential lessons for a gentleman and for a Christian; and if it be a fact what has been beautifully expressed by an English writer, that "true wisdom comes more from the heart than from the head †," certainly we shall be confirmed in our opinion, that it is in action and not in the sedentary employments of the study, that we can promote the cause of virtue. "In omnibus fere minus valent præcepta quam experimenta." And this just observation of Quintilian has been urged and enforced by Cicero, when he affirms that the discipline which includes all the rules for a virtuous conduct, is to be acquired in life,

\* Epist. xlix.

† Every one has heard of the remark of Lord Shaftesbury, while few are aware that the Christian Father has made the same: "in corde sapientia est."

Lactantius, Inst. iii.

and not in books \*. The historian, of whose death Montagne was a witness, complained in his last moments that fate was cutting short a history which he was writing at the fifteenth or sixteenth of the French kings, whereas it was the maxim of Montagne, amidst the occupations and even amusements of life, "il faut estre tousjours boté et prest à partir, en-tant qu'en nous est."

Of what inferior importance are all the advantages and accomplishments of human learning, nay, even the most sublime attainments of philosophy, when compared with the acquisition of that temper, which, while it avoids the Platonic extreme of affecting to be accustomed to die †, leads the mind to contemplate the certainty of death with cheerfulness, and to meet its approach with spirit? I have known many gallant gentlemen who have lamented the injudicious zeal of those ministers of religion who choose the subject of the terrors of death, to display the grace and pathos of an ora-

\* Tuscul. IV.

† "Tota enim philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est." Cic. Tus. I. 30.



torical composition, far better adapted to a heathen audience than to an assembly of Christians. Montagne's idea, that we should be always armed and spurred, like the young esquires in attendance of a baron's castle, has always appeared to me more wise and Christian than the tone of these classical declamations, albeit the words of Socrates, when he said, speaking of his own death, ἀπειμι δε, ὡς εἰοικε τημερον\* ; the encouragement of Leonidas to his Spartan heroes at Thermopylæ, "hodie apud inferos fortasse cenabimus †," or that glorious tribute to the defender of his country,

Τεθνηκεν, οὐπερ τοις νεοις θνησκειν καλον ‡,

or that interpretation of the dream recorded by Aristotle, which Cicero so beautifully relates, "ut, cum animus Eudemi e corpore excesserit, tum domum revertisse videatur §," (to produce no other of the many similar examples from the classic writings,)

\* Plato Phæd.

† Cicero produces the instance, Tuscul. I. 43.

‡ Æschyl. Sept. Cont. Theb. 1013.

§ De Divin. I. 25.

might stimulate the mere follower of heathen philosophy to assume a higher and more encouraging ground. Our youth should be accustomed to hear, not that death is the most terrible of all terrible things, φοβερωτατον δε ο θανατος \*, but that it is often an indication of the mercy and love of God. Even the heathens used to say, ον οι θεοι φιλοισιν αποθνησκει νεος †. The eloquence of religious men should not be expended in reminding them that they are soon to lie

————— Withering in the grave !

Never, O ! never more to see the sun !

Still dark, in a damp vault, and still alone ‡ !

but rather in enlivening their imagination with cheerful and splendid images, such as belong to heroism and glory, to innocence and peace,—the blue expanse of heaven, the spring of everlasting youth, fulness of joy, eternal sun-shine. The sage of Greece

\* Aristot. Ethics. III. 6. of the abuse of which I complain.

† See also the stories of Cleobis and Biton, of Trophonius and Agamedes, in Cicero, Tuscul. I. 48.

‡ See the same complaint, and the sublime reasoning of Socrates against it, in the Axiochus of Plato.

was transported with the assurance of beholding Homer and Hesiod, Palamedes and Ajax, *εγω μεν γαρ*, he said before his judges, *πολλακις εθελω τεθνασαι, ει ταυτα εστιν αληθη*. And certainly it were hard for the mind of man to conceive a more glorious prospect than that of being admitted into the company of those kings and heroes who, in successive ages of the world, have furthered the happiness, and exalted the dignity of the human race. We should be taught to regard death not as the sad issue of protracted suffering, the lot of whatever is helpless and timid, and infirm, but as a service of danger, to which the young and the daring, and all who would win worship, are first exposed. In meeting this enemy we should not feel like slaves and hirelings, like the *αναγκαιοι πολεμισται* of Homer, but as the willing soldiers of Christ, our captain and our king, performing a duty incumbent upon the most generous, the most faithful, and the most heroic of men. These views of death are not so often the result of application to letters and philosophy, as

of an active life, spent in the occasional sacrifice of personal ease, and in the constant exercise of generosity and spirit. But further, “to be just, is better far than to be wise\*,” therefore these habits and circumstances of life, which have a tendency to expand the heart and to correct the temper, are preferable to the most favourable opportunity for the attainment of literary fame. The “glorious name of wise” was proposed by Ulysses, as the prize which was to stimulate his companion to a deed of treachery :

*σοφος τ' ἂν αὐτος κάγαθος κεκληθ' ἄμα.*

The reply was what the tempter desired.

*ἴτω ποιησω, πᾶσαν ἀισχυνην ἀφεις.*

Nothing can be finer than the contrast between the prudent Ulysses and the generous Neoptolemus †. “I know thy noble nature abhors the thought of treachery or fraud ; but how sweet is victory ! Therefore be bold.”

\* Let the reader refer to *Electra* Eurip. 50.

† *Sophocles, Philoctet.* 80.

———δίκαιοι δ' ἀνθις ἐκφανομεθα  
 νυν δ' εἰς ἀναιδεις ἡμερας μερος βραχυ  
 δος μοι σεαυτον, κἀτα τον λοιπον χρονον  
 κεκλησο παντων ἐυσεβιστατος βροτων.

So spake the man of craft and learning.

*Εἰδῶς παντοίως τε δολως και μηδεα πυκνά.*

How different is the sentiment of honour !

ἐγω μεν οὐς ἄν των λογων ἀλγῶ κλυων,  
 Λαερτιου παι, τουσδε και πρασσειν στυγω.  
 ἔφυν γαρ οὐδεν ἐκ τεχνης πρασσειν κακης,  
 δυτ' ἄντος, θυθ', ὡς φασιν, οὐκ φυσας ἔμε,  
 ἀλλ' ἔμ' ἔτοιμος προς βιαν τον ἀνδρ' ἀγειν,  
 και μη δολοισιν.

The lines which follow, may be the cry of every gentleman at this day. They deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be graven on the tablets of the heart.

———βουλομαι δ' ἄναξ, καλως  
 δρων ἐξαμαρτειν μᾶλλον, ἢ νικαν κακως.

“ ——O king, believe me  
 Rather much would I fall by virtue,  
 Than rise by guilt to certain victory.”

It was the advice of Minerva to Telemachus, that he should consider—

“Οπως κεν μνηστῆρας ἐνι μεγαροισι τειοισι  
 Κτεινης, ἠε δολω, ἠ ἀμφαδον·

*Wisdom* permitted a question which honour would have scorned; and is it not worthy of remark, that her next words are to desire him to forsake the ways of his youth?

————— οὐδὲ τι σε χρη  
 Νηπιαας ὀχρεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔτι τηλικος ἴσσι.

What is literary fame or the glory of transcendant genius, if compared with the exercise of those moral qualities which correct and dignify our nature?

Non hæc humanis opibus, non arte magistra,  
 Proveniunt. —————  
 Major agit Deus, atque opera ad majora remittit.

“Si nostre ame n’en va un meilleur bransle,” says Montagne, “si nous n’en avons le jugement plus sain, j’aymeroy aussi cher que mon escolier eust passé le temps à jouer à la paume, au moins le cors en seroit plus alegre.” Morganore was a clerke, learned and cunning in divers tongues, but how much to be preferred was the character of his unpretending brother, “the most gentle squire, that ever served a baron bold, with light and merry heart, the most generous

youth that ever spurred a steed, or bled for ladies love." Certes I can say with Montagne, " Je m'aymeroy mieux bon escuyer que bon logicien."

———— Non alius floctere equum sciens  
 Æque conspicitur gramine Martio,  
 Nec quisquam citus æque  
 Tusco denatat alveo.

We are told of a certain man of science, that " his moral character was as correct as his mathematical investigations \*." But how different is the language of Scripture, in proposing an example for our imitation? " Blessed is the man whose unrighteousness is forgiven : and in whose spirit there is no guile." How different is the portrait of that character, which satisfies the judgment, and interests the heart !

Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello  
 Dexterâ!

" It were harde for ony tonge to telle the doleful complayntes that he made for his

\* This curious expression will be found in the life of M. Coulomb, contained in the 3d Suppl. Vol. of the Encyclop. Britt.

broder," says the author of a famous history. "A syr Launcelot, he sayd, thou were head of all crysten knyghtes, and now I dare saye thou syr Launcelot ther thou lyst that thou were never matched of none erthly knyghtes handes. And thou were the curtoyste knyghte that ever bare shelde. And thou were the truest frend to thy lover that ever bestradde hors, and thou were the truest lover of a synnfull man that ever loved woman. And thou were the kyndest man that ever stroke with sworde. And thou were the goodelyest persone that ever came among prees of knyghtes. And thou were the mekest man and the gentylllest that ever ete in halle among ladyes. And thou were the sternest knyghte to thy mortall foo that ever put spere in the reyst." Again, what an affecting portrait of the knightly character is given in the last book of the Jerusalem delivered, where Edward hastens to the expiring Gildippe, whose gentle bosom had been pierced by the Soldan's spear?

Her lord to helpe her came, but came too late,  
Yet was not that his fault, it was his fate.



What should he do? to divers parts him call  
 Just ire and pittie kinde, one bids him goe,  
 And succour his dear ladie, like to fall;  
 The other calls for vengeance on his foe.  
 Love biddeth both, love saies he must doe all,  
 And with his ire, joines grieffe; with pittie, woe.  
 What did he then? with his left hand the knight  
 Would hold her up, revenge her with his right.

But to resist a knight so bold  
 Too weake his will and powre divided, were;  
 So that he could not his faire love uphold,  
 Nor kill the cruell man that slew his deare.  
 His arme, that did his mistris kind enfold,  
 The Turke cut off, pale grew his lookes and cheare,  
 He let her fall, himselfe fell by her side,  
 And for he could not save her, with her dide.

Again, if there be a bond of fraternal union between the brave and generous of every age and country, what Christian knight will refuse to shed a tear when he is told of the youths who fought before the towers of Thebes, and who died for their king? History or romance present few scenes so affecting as that described by the most tragic of all poets \*, where the dead bodies of these warriors are exposed to view, while

\* ὁ Εὐριπίδης, τραγικώτατος γε τῶν ποιητῶν.

Aristot. Poet. xxvi.

Adrastus relates to Theseus the virtue and the fame of each.

*όρας, το διον ού Βελος διεπτατο;*

Are the words with which he commences his simple tale. “ This is the body of Capaneus, who had large possessions, and yet in all his prosperity he was meek and mild, as a man of humble fortune\* ; he scorned those who took pleasure in luxurious living, and who disdained frugal fare, for he used to say that it were hard to maintain virtue while the belly was pampered, and that men should learn moderation. Present or absent, to his lovers he was the truest friend ; simple and undisguised in his nature, courteous and gentle in his speech, faithful to his word, whether given to slaves or to equals †. This second

\* Friendship must have blinded the judgment of Adrastus, if we are to credit the other accounts of Capaneus. Eurip. Suppl. 498. Phœniss. 1175. Æschyl. Sept. cont. Theb. 421.

† φίλοις τ' ἀληθῆς ἦν φίλος παρῶσι τε  
καὶ μὴ παρῶσιν· ὡν ἀριθμὸς οὐ πολὺς,  
ἀψευδὲς ἦθος, εὐπροσηγοροῦ στομα,  
ἄκραντον οὐδὲν ὄνδ' ἐς οἰκετὰς ἔχων,  
οὐτ' ἐς πολίτας.

is Eteoclus, another man who cherished virtue. Young he was, and poor indeed in fortune, but many honours had he in the Argive land. The gifts which were often presented by his friends, he received not into his house, lest, conquered by gold, he should contract the manners of a slave. The third of these is Hippomedon, who, from childhood, had despised the pleasure of the muses, and the delicacy of luxurious life. Dwelling in the country, inured to labours and to hardship, ever engaged in hunting or on horseback, or with the bow for it was his desire to possess a hardy frame, that might do good service to his country \*. Here is Parthenopæus, the son of Atalanta, a boy of the goodliest form, an Arcadian by birth, though brought up at Argos, where he was ever gentle and kind

\* ὁ δ' αὖ τρίτος τῶνδ' Ἴππομεδῶν τοιοσδ' ἔφυ-  
 παις ὣν ἔτολμης' ἔνθ' οὐδ' ἔπος ἠδονας  
 Μουσῶν τραπέσθαι, πρὸς τὸ μαλθακὸν Βίον,  
 ὄγρους δὲ ναιῶν, σκληρὰ τῇ φύσει δίδους  
 ἔχαιρε πρὸς τ' ἀνδρείον, ἔς τ' ἄγρας ἰῶν  
 ἵπποις τε χαιρῶν τοῖα τ' ἐντεινῶν χερσίν,  
 πόλει παρασχεῖν σῶμα χρησιμὸν θέλων.—

to all; regarded as a native and fellow countryman, he was admitted into the martial rank, a defender of the land: he rejoiced in its prosperity, and he mourned when it was unfortunate: the idol of the gentler sex, he was the most careful to avoid crime of all that ever loved woman. Few words will express the mighty praise of Tydeus: a cunning sophist was he not in tongue, but in arms, and in the stratagems of war\*. Though in other knowledge inferior to his brother Meleager, yet did he acquire an equal share of military renown. The clash of arms was music to his soul†, the vigour of his mind was his richest treasure, and not in words, but in deeds, was he glorious. O Theseus, after hearing what you now have learned, wonder not that these men dared to die before the towers of Thebes ‡.”

\* πολλους δ' ἐραστας, κάπο θηλειων θσας,  
 έχων, ἐφρουρει μηδεν ἐξαμαρτανειν.  
 Τυδεως δ' ἔπαινον ἐν Βραχει θησω μεγαν.  
 οὐκ ἐν λογοις ἦν λαμπρος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσπιδι  
 δεινος σοφιστης, πολλα τ' ἐξευρειν σοφα.

† ἐυρων ἀκριβη μουσικην ἐν ἀσπιδι·

‡ Eurip. Supplices.

It is by calling your attention to such passages, however familiar to the critical student of antiquity, that I can best discharge the duties of my ministerial office; for these are the appointed sources to kindle and to keep alive within the bosom of the brave, those particles of heavenly flame, which form the man of mighty soul. "Errare, mehercule malo cum Platone," cried Cicero, in a strain of sublime exultation, "quam cum istis vera sentire." Certainly when I compare the simple character of our unlettered, and upon many subjects, ignorant ancestors, with the qualities which so often distinguish those of their descendants, who ridicule and condemn the principles and qualities of chivalry; when I think upon the pomp and affectation of learning, the insolence of flattered talents, the veil of refinement which is thrown over dishonourable thoughts and base passions, that devotion of mind to intellectual pursuits which removes men from the softening intercourse of domestic life, the remorseless selfishness unsubdued by the habit of yielding to the wish of

others, the calculating and compromising prudence which looks to nothing but pleasure and profit, and immediate personal interest, while it boasts of a foundation in the principles of an enlightened philosophy; the harshness of that disposition which, proud of intellectual ability, is insensible to every genial glow of tenderness, insensible to the need of continual prayer for the preventing grace of God, insensible to the value of meekness, piety, and love; that principle, the curse of modern times, which leads men to idolize the reason and understanding, and to neglect and even despise the virtues of the heart; the cold indifference to the religion of the blessed Jesus, if not the avowed rejection of his law; that temper which chills all warmth of heavenly-mindedness in the possessor, and which renders him the enemy of all display of heavenly-mindedness in others; in a word, the disposition and the principles which have been substituted for those of chivalry, for all those generous thoughts and holy feelings, which bound men to their religion and to their country, which

preserved them faithful in allegiance to their God, and devoted in the discharge of their relative duties ; when such a contrast presents itself, I am tempted to adopt a similar expression, and to say, that if the cultivation of the intellectual faculties is to be followed by the developement of the qualities which I now behold in men of knowledge and practised ingenuity, I, for one, had rather err with such men as Sir Launcelot and Huon, as Bayard and de Foix, destitute of human wisdom, unacquainted with the discoveries of science, knowing nothing of the historians or the philosophers or the moralists of any age, and yet taught by God's word in all essential truth, for so these men unquestionably were, and in other respects, as we readily acknowledge, the children of untutored nature, accomplishing what the wise and learned are so often unwilling or unable to perform, deeds of generosity and heroism in the service of God, and to the honour of women. I, for one, had rather err with such men, had rather be convicted of all their ignorance, and what seems to some their absur-

dity and their folly, than be crowned with the highest success in the pursuit of that learning and philosophy, which, after all, leaves the individual worse in every essential respect than nature made him, a bad Christian, and a bad man, false to his religion, false to those principles of honour, and destitute of those affections of the heart which give security, dignity, and happiness to the human race.

οἱμοι, κακουργους ἄνδρας ὡς ἄει στυγω,  
οἱ συντιθεντες τᾶδικ', εἶτα μηχαναις  
κοσμουσι \* !

Who that has had intercourse with men of letters, and of extraordinary powers of reason, and has never given utterance to the same sentiment! Again I say, that the ignorance of our chivalrous ancestors is better than such learning, than such ability.

φανλον χρηστον ἂν λαβειν φιλον  
θειλοιμι μαλλον, ἢ κακον σοφωτερον.

In the description of Sir Launcelot's character, we have read that he was the

\* Eurip. Ion. 831.



sternest knight to his mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest, as Froissart describes Gascone de Foix, who "in every thyng was so parfite, that he cannot be praised to moche; he loved that ought to be beloved, and hated that ought to be hated," adding a testimony to his practice, that "he never had myscreant with hym." Now let us again pause and consider calmly, what was in fact the ignorance of which we accuse the ancient barons and knights of Europe. It is conceded that they were destitute of those acquirements which now constitute men of learning and general knowledge, but does it follow from this, that they never attained the great end of all learning and of all instruction? Surely I think that the preceding examples will dictate a very different conclusion. When Agesilaus desired that children should be educated at Sparta, it was not that they might be better instructed in rhetoric or dialectics, but in the first and best of sciences, that which should teach them how to obey and how to command. The knights and barons of Europe were unlettered and ignorant? Be

it so. But were they less true, less faithful, less generous, less meek and humble, less lofty in spirit, less devoted to religion and virtue than their posterity, or than their posterity would be, if placed with their learning in the age and circumstances of their ancestors? Before consideration, the following observation of Montagne, will no doubt be read with astonishment. “Qui contera les hommes par leurs actions et deportemens il s’en trouvera plus grand nombre d’excellens, entre les ignorans qu’entre les sçavans ; Jedy en toute sorte de vertu,” and he adds, “la peste de l’homme c’est l’opinion de science.” The truth is, that it is an absurdity to expect men will become virtuous in proportion as they acquire mere knowledge, because the advantage which is to result from knowledge, must always depend upon the character of the mind which receives it. It will be the ornament, and the excellence, and the religion of one man, when, from the very lot and condition of our nature, it will be the dishonour, the malice, and the impiety of an hundred, “en telle main c’est un scep-

tre ; en telle autre c'est une marotte." Take that numerous class of men in this country, whose minds are formed, and to a certain degree furnished with knowledge by the newspapers and by communication with men of reading, and compare them with people of their condition in countries where this knowledge is not attainable, and it is quite certain that the moralist will decide in favour of the latter ; he will find them to be superior, as Montagne says, " in every kind of virtue." It is easy for gentlemen and good men, to declaim on the excellence of knowledge, but they should observe and reflect to what a vast multitude of their species it will be a source of vice and ruin. They should reflect, that neither by the ordinary course of nature nor by the scheme of revelation, are virtue and grace depending upon its acquirement. Let the reader turn to the xxvth chapter of Montagne's Essays, where he treats of pedantry \* ; let

\* Every hour of reflection and observation convincing me more fully, of the importance of the truth which I have endeavoured to explain in this place ; I beg leave to refer my reader to the opinion of the following emi-

him read it twice over, as our ancestors, who read from a desire of wisdom, and not

gent men, which may place it in a clearer point of view. The fourth Letter of Leibnitz to Mr. Thomas Burnet, tom. vi. Charron la Sagesse, lib. iii. cap. 14. Mr. Burke's Letter to the Duke of Bedford. The Convivium of Lucian, after the description of the philosopher's revel. The De Legibus of Plato, vii. Seneca Epist. lxxxviii. Cicero Acad. l. 4. Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, where he treats of the proper bounds of human knowledge, and of the danger from mistaking or misplacing the last or farthest end of knowledge. And, above all, the observations of Malebranche, in the preface to his "Recherche de la Vérite." I am convinced, that the perusal of these passages will prove of general utility, while they will serve to remove, or at least to diminish, a ground of objection, which is generally adopted against the habits and character of chivalry. At all events, however, experience will conduct us to the same truth, and will assuredly convince us in the end, that science and learning without religion, or the feelings which result from the education of a gentleman, are rather an injury than a benefit to the individual who possesses them. "Toute autre science est dommageable à celui qui n'a la science de bonté." "En mon pays et de mon temps," says Montagne, "la doctrine amende assez les bourses, rarement les amés." It is in vain that men of this description take pride in their acquirements. They may be scholars and mathematicians, and men of general research, but they are still

from vanity, would assuredly have deigned to do, and when he has applied these profound observations, then let him say honestly whether he believes the learning of the moderns, as far as the vulgar, that is the great body of mankind, is concerned, to be worth more than the ignorance (if we must still so term it) of the ancient knights. Can it be necessary to proclaim that the lovers of chivalry in this or in any age, are far from wishing to undervalue wisdom and true learning? Surely they are not obnoxious to such an accusation, from expressing their contempt for words without ideas; a mere memory of facts without the wisdom of experience, opinions without understanding, authority without individual judgment, learning, in fine, without superior piety, or justice, or goodness, without a higher reverence of God, or a warmer re-

the vulgar; and from their company, highly as they may themselves esteem it, no true philosopher or man of virtue, no gentleman, a character beyond all comparison superior to theirs, even in an intellectual sense, if we admit the reasoning of Malebranche, can derive either the delights of society or the lessons of wisdom, that is, either pleasure or profit.

gard for man? We have alluded to the hatred which knights were expected and enjoined to entertain, according to the maxim in Spenser, who says of Braggachia \*—

—————“Nought car'd he for friend or enemy,  
For in base mind nor friendship dwells nor enmity.”

It was the rule of chivalry, that if an infidel were to impugn the doctrines of the Christian faith before a Churchman, he should reply to him by argument; but a knight should render no other reason to the infidel, than six inches of his falchion thrust into his bowels. The accomplished writer † of a late very ingenious and interesting memoir upon chivalry, has remarked upon this passage, that “even courtesy and the respect due to ladies of high degree, gave way when they chanced to be infidels. The renowned Sir Bevis, of Hamptoun, being invited by the fair Princess Josiane, to come to her bower, replies to the paynims, who brought the message,

\* Book III. Cant. iv.

† Encyclop. Britt. Suppl. Vol. III.

“ I will ne gou one foot on ground  
 For to speke with an heathen hound,  
 Unchristen houndes, I rede ye flee,  
 Or I your hearte’s blood will see.”

This intemperate zeal for religion, the knights were expected to maintain at every risk, however imminent. Like the early Christians, they were prohibited from acquiescing even by silence, in the rites of idolatry. In the fine romance of Huon, of Bourdeaux, that champion is represented as having failed in duty to God and his faith, because he had professed himself a Saracen for the temporary purpose of obtaining entrance into the palace of the Amial Gaudifer. “ And when Sir Huon passed the third gate, he remembered him of the lie\* he had spoken to obtain entrance into the first. Alas! said the knight, what but destruction can betide one who has so foully falsified and denied his faith towards Him who has done so much for me!” It is easy to point out the danger resulting from the abuse of these chivalrous principles. It is easy to declaim upon the savage inhuman-

\* Mark the expression. Now a days it would be ingenuity.

nity of such intolerant zeal, and upon the inconsistency of cherishing hatred with the religion of the Gospel. All this to a certain degree is known and acknowledged. But still it may be allowable to suggest, that the striking passages which are generally selected to illustrate the zeal of chivalrous devotion, may exhibit instances of its degeneracy, and not of its essential character. Surely, at all events, the Christian may be permitted to ask of these railers at superstition\* and intolerant zeal, what would have been the fate of Europe, if Charles Martel, and the gentlemen of his age, had been actuated by that easy indifference to the religious interests of mankind, and to the triumph of the Cross, which is so often professed and eulogised by men of false philosophy and learning, under the name of toleration and liberality? When it is remembered, that the arms of the Saracens were, for a certain period, successful upon every side; that the infidels had at one time

\* "On ne cesse de parler de la grossièreté de nos aïeux: il n'y a rien de si grossier que la philosophie de notre siècle; le bon sens du douzième s'en seroit justement moqué."—De Maistre, *Soirées de St. Petersburg.*



nearly possessed themselves of Aquitain, certainly it will be difficult for a Christian to condemn that zeal which prevented the Crescent from dispossessing the Cross of the fairest portion of Europe; and with respect to the present situation and interests of mankind, may he not reasonably institute a comparison in favour of that zeal, between the extravagance of the Crusaders, and the conduct of those men of learning at the present day, who come forward to countenance and protect from the just vengeance of outraged laws, the miscreant who insults the adorable name and religion of the Saviour; and who, with cowardly cunning, has examined how far he can do it with impunity? May he not reasonably suggest, to all who acknowledge the truth of revelation, that zeal, even without knowledge, is better than indifference, with whatever accomplishments it may be accompanied—better than that practical renunciation of the Gospel, commencing with a contemptuous neglect of its injunctions, and concluding in avowed apostasy, which so frequently throws a shade of gloom and de-

spair over the evening of a literary life? It is indeed a common opinion, that knowledge is the mother of virtue; and that all vices arise from ignorance. "Mais si cela est vray," says Montagne, "il est sujet à une longue interpretation\*." Highly as every lover of mankind must admire the philosophic reflections of the amiable writer, to whose memoir we have lately referred, deeply as he will lament that fatal result consequent upon all human institutions which perverted into intolerance and superstition, the effects of a theory, than which even its enemies have acknowledged, "nothing could be more beautiful or praiseworthy;" still must it be the conviction of his understanding, and the feeling of his heart, that the degree of superstition, which is ever likely to be found in England, is less awful than the indifference to revealed truth, which may be observed so often in general society; still is it unquestionably certain, that the enthusiasm of chivalry, in loving a name at which "every knee should

\* Essais. Lib. II. Chap. xii.

bow ;” and a cause, for the service of which every heart should beat, while it may excite alarm and regret to the friends of virtue and Christianity, must, at the same time, be regarded with admiration, and even with reverence. There is something in it noble and dignified—something which indicates the presence of those high and generous feelings, which are the proud prerogative of the human soul ; whereas, on the contrary, apathy and indifference upon such a subject, the abuse of that Name, the abandonment or neglect of that cause must not only be deprecated as fatal in consequence, but must be despised as base, unmanly, and ungenerous in origin ; it is human nature to sin, but it is something below human nature to treat the name and religion of the Saviour with indifference and ingratitude.

The conclusion will still be unshaken ; that it is safer and more virtuous, that it is more becoming gentlemen, and men of honour, to err upon the side of zeal, than that of apathy. Perish the name of that false philosophy, which first taught men to think

otherwise! That it is less injurious to the best interests of individuals, and therefore less hostile to the general happiness of mankind.

But indolence is to be your privilege under no circumstances. "In cœlo quies," is the proud motto of an English nobleman\*, and it should be the directing sentiment of your heart.

*Ου χρη πανυχιωι ευδειν βεληφορον ανδρα,*

was the lesson to a king. If you are not to acquire the literary accomplishments of the scholar, you are bound to engage in the more active pursuits that may benefit your

\* Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth. "Action and labours were the pride of chivalry."

"Virtus in actione consistit," is the motto of the noble family of Craven,

"Labor ipse voluptas," of King, barons of Oakham. But the motto of the house of Lindsay brings us back to the very time when the gallant knights spent the night on horseback, or lay on the ground with the sky and the stars for their canopy:—

"Astra, Castra, numen lumen."

country\* ; and besides this, you must cultivate those habits of bodily exertion

*νεανίαν πόνον*

which can develope and exercise the other powers with which nature has entrusted you. Effeminate delicacy and the love of luxurious ease, may be consistent with persons of base profession, whose only spirit is in insolence, but with the temper and the courtesy of a gentleman, they are incompatible. It is an admirable sentiment which Xenophon attributes to Agesilaus, and one that should animate every man who has a right to bear arms, *ἦγειτο ἄρχοντι προσηκείν, οὐ μαλακία, ἀλλὰ καρτερία τῶν ἰδιωτῶν περιεῖναι. Ταδε μὲντοι πλεονεκτῶν οὐκ ἠσχυνέτο, ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει, τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι, τοῦ φυχῶς †.* Men, like Horace, of an Epicurean turn of mind, will naturally maintain the wisdom of indulgence, excepting upon what they term cases of necessity. To them, for instance, nothing seems more ridiculous than

\* Let the reader remember the address of Xenophon to the officers of the Grecian army.—Anab. III. 2.

† Agesil. 5.

the advice given by Thompson, in these lines—

“ Nor, when cold winter keens the brightening flood  
Would I, weak-shivering linger on the brink.”

To be convicted of swimming daily three times across the Tiber, in winter, is sufficient ground in their estimation, to send any man to Anticyra ; yet the pleasure and the advantage resulting from such habits do not merely exist in the Poet's imagination, as many, I doubt not, who read these pages, know from experience. For my part, being from my childhood, like Cicero's friend Trebatius, “ studiosissimus homo natandi,” I am ready to seize any occasion to recommend a practice which has been to me, and to many whom I have known, a source of health and much enjoyment. It was a precept of the Greeks :—

*πειρω το μεν σωμα είναι φιλοπονος,  
την δε ψυχην φιλοσοφος.*

What an admirable instance was that of manly virtue, when Alexander, in passing the Gadrosian desert, poured the water upon the ground which his fainting soldiers

had carried to him in a helmet; and of what importance to the common cause was this act of generous self-denial, since as Arrian relates, the army was so encouraged, *ὡς τε εἰκασαί ἄν τινα ποτον γενεσθαι πασιν ἐκείνο το ὕδωρ το προς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκχυθεν*. The Romans had a proverb to express their contempt for persons who were neither scholars, nor skilled in bodily accomplishments:—

“*Neque natate, neque literas novit.*”

Nor was it mere caprice that dictated this alternative, since, as the poet has well remarked,

—————“ The same Roman arm  
That rose victorious o'er the conquer'd earth,  
First learn'd, while tender, to subdue the wave.”

How admirable, how true is the sentence with which he concludes his picture of “the purest exercise of health!”

“*Even, from the body's purity, the mind  
Receives a secret sympathetic aid.*”

I would lay it down, as an essential rule, that a gentleman should excel in bodily

accomplishments. I do not say in the ordinary sports of the field, for these may be pursued by an effeminate and plebeian crowd, who can neither swim nor ride, nor walk as gallant men; but that he should be able to avail himself of every advantage which nature has attached to the manly and dexterous employment of his bodily powers. How admirable is that description in the *Andria* :

“ Quod plerique omnes faciunt adolescentuli  
 Ut animum ad aliquod studium adjungant aut equos  
 Alere, aut canes ad venandum; aut ad philosophos  
 Horum ille nihil egregie præter cætera,  
 Studebat; et tamen omnia hæc mediocriter  
 Gaudebam.”

The Scripture has pronounced that the pride of a young man is his strength, and we must remember those lines of Homer;

Ὀὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος, ὄφρα κεν ᾗσιν  
 Ἦ δὲ τι ποσσὶν τε ῥέξει καὶ χερσὶν ἔησιν\*.

This, without doubt, is the sentiment of nature; a little reflection will convince us that it is just.

\* *Odys.* l. viii. 147.



Cernis ut ignavum corrumpant otia corpus,  
 Ut capiant vitium, ni moveantur æquæ \*.

Our frame requires an occasional relaxation; and even the mind may be injured by the total abandonment of youthful and laborious amusement: *δοκει δε*, says Aristotle †, *ἡ ἀναπαυσις καὶ ἡ παιδία ἐν τῷ βίῳ εἶναι ἀναγκασιον*. Theophrastus, we are told, wrote among his innumerable treatises, one *περὶ ἰδρωτος*; and while the philosopher in his study was vainly contemplating the phenomena, the thoughtless lover of the Stadium, “*multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit,*” was accomplishing the design and profiting by the provision of nature. Certain it is that exercise of the body will prepare the mind for future and more valuable labour: and while nature has imposed upon us this necessity, she has beneficently, and with the most admirable uniformity, imparted that propensity in the hearts of the young, which carries them, with an almost irresistible ardour, to adopt the remedy

\* Ovid Epist. ex Pont. l. v.

† Ethics. IV. 8.

which their subsequent judgment will recommend and dictate.

*Gaudet equis, canibusque, et aprici gramine campi.*

Montagne objects to the education of children by their parents, because, he says, these latter are unwilling to see their son "nourry grossierement comme il faut et sans delicatesse," and he adds in conclusion, "car il n'y a remede, qui en veut faire un homme de bien, sans doute il le faut hazarder un peu en ceste jeunesse et souvent choquer les regles de la medecine." "Study," says a learned Spaniard of the fifteenth century\*, "drains the mind and heart." And Lord Clarendon says of the famous Chillingworth, "his only unhappiness proceeded from his sleeping too little and thinking too much." At the moment of horror excited by the prospect of an eruption from Vesuvius, or amidst the ruins of a city perishing by an earthquake, who

\* Vincent Ferrer. Let the reader consult Sismondi lit. du midi de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 34. for the character of the great revivers of learning in Italy, during the fifteenth century.

can endure the studies of Pliny or the calculations of a naturalist? It was a fine sentence of the Greek tragedian—

*ἄισχρον, τα μὲν σε θεία παντ' ἐξείδεναι,  
τα τ' ὄντα καὶ μὴ, τα δὲ δίκαια μὴ εἶδεναι\*.*

A reproof, unhappily, which men of letters in every age, have too often deserved †.

\* Eurip. Helena, 923.

† In the Inferno of Dante, there are the names of persons, contemporaries of the Poet, in the number of those who are punished for their crimes, and who were in reality men of unblemished character. In Canto XV. the name of an innocent individual is thus selected, not that he was thought to be guilty, but because his profession in general seems to have been obnoxious to the charge, and the euphony or quantity of his name suiting the verse, he is made to stand for the whole body of which he is a member. St. Thomas a Becket, a martyr not merely to the rights of the clergy, but to the principles which secured liberty to the English people, murdered by a despot under circumstances which, if impassionately considered, would have recommended him to the commiseration of every Christian man, has been misrepresented, and held up to detestation by a succession of fine writers, who, utterly careless of the authority on which they produced charges, selected him as an eminent character who might be made to exemplify the pride and tyranny which they thought proper to attribute to every zealous servant

Whereas, the effects of exercise and activity, and even of the violent amusements \* of ancient chivalry and of our modern youth, are, I conceive, unquestionable, in warming the heart and in exciting the love of virtue.

—mihī mens juvenili ardebat amore  
Compellare virum et dextræ conjungere dextram.

of the Church. Our own great dramatist will furnish too many instances of this species of calumny. For the charges so generally admitted upon his authority against Cardinal Beaufort, a man of the most primitive integrity and of the most Christian munificence, there is literally no other foundation but what was raised by the imagination of Shakspeare. Remember that no splendour of genius, can excuse that writer, as a gentleman, who, in order to point a sentence, or adorn a poetic image, shall neglect virtues which are essential to every Christian and to every man of generosity and honour.

\* The advice of Xenophon is similar. “*Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νεοῖς, μὴ καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσιῶν, μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας.*” And after shewing how hunting and all violent sports, may be favourable to the increase of virtue, he adds, “*Οἱ δὲ μὴ θελόντες διὰ τὸ ἐπιπονοῦν διδασκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἀκαιροῖς διαγεῖν, φύσει οὗτοι κακιοὶ. Οὔτε γὰρ νομοῖς οὔτε λογοῖς ἀγαθοῖς πειθόνται· οὐ γὰρ εὐρίσκουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν, οἷον χρῆναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὥστε οὔτε θεοσσεβεῖς δυνάμει εἶναι, οὔτε σοφοί.*” De Venatione, c. 1.

And, let it be remembered, that the great master of philosophy was never disappointed in his hopes when he directed his lessons to the young: εὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι ὅπη ἄν ἐλθῶ, λεγοντος ἔμει ἀχροασονται οἱ νεοὶ ὡσπερ ἐνθάδε\*.

It is a remark of Lord Bacon, “ that for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic; and this has always been the opinion of wise men. When Demosthenes is desirous of expressing any great and generous sentiment, he uses the term νεανικὸν φρονήμα; and it is the saying of Plautus, when surprise is evinced at the benevolence of an old man, “ benignitas hujus ut adolescentuli est.” Nor does this reflect honour only upon the young in years. The principles of chivalry are productive of immortal youth; they constitute the spring and flower of the mind. Age does not affect it †: for

\* Plato Apolog. Κξ.

† Upon this principle we may give an instant answer to the despairing question of a modern author:—

“ Can we then 'scape from folly free?

Can we reverse the general plan,

Nor be what all in turn *must be*?”

No—if we disdain the lessons of Scripture and philo-

what Cicero says of Q. Maximus is perfectly true of every man who preserves this spirit and these sentiments ; “ nec senectus mores mutaverat.” “ Here is the fountain,” says Erasmus, “ qui non solum revocat elapsam adolescentiam sed quod optabilius, perpetuam servat.”

What transport to resume our boyish plays,  
Our early bliss, when each thing joy supplied !  
The woods, the mountains, and the warbling maze  
Of the wild brooks !—————

There is no difference, says the philosopher, between youthful age and youthful character ; and what this is cannot be better evinced than in the very words of Aristotle : “ The young are ardent in desire, and what they do is from affection : they are tractable and delicate ; they earnestly desire, and are quickly appeased ; their wishes are intense, without comprehending much,

sophy, we can not reverse this general plan, but if we learn from the one, to become “ as little children,” and from the philosophic Erasmus, to praise and adopt folly, that which the world deems folly, we may escape both sin and misery, and be young and happy to the last.

as the thirst and hunger of the weary:— They are passionate and hasty, and liable to be surprised by anger; for being ambitious of honour, they cannot endure to be despised, but are indignant when they suffer injustice: they love honour, but still more victory; for youth desires superiority, and victory is superiority, and both of these they love more than riches; for as to these, of all things, they care for them the least. They are not of corrupt manners, but are innocent from having never beheld much wickedness, and they are credulous from having been seldom deceived; and sanguine in hope, for like persons who are drunk with wine, they are inflamed by nature, and from their having had but little experience of fortune; and they live by hope, for hope is of the future, but memory of the past, and to youth, the future is every thing, the past but little: they hope all things and remember nothing; and it is easy to deceive them for the reasons which have been given, for they are willing to hope, and are full of courage, being passionate and hasty, of which tempers it is

the nature of one not to fear, and of the other to inspire confidence : and they are easily put to shame, for they have no resources to set aside the precepts which they have learned ; and they have lofty souls, for they have never been disgraced or brought low, and they are unacquainted with necessity : they prefer honour to advantage, virtue to expediency, for they live by affection rather than by reason ; and reason is concerned with expediency, but affection with honour : and they are warm friends and hearty companions, more than other men, because they delight in fellowship, and judge of nothing by utility, and therefore not their friends ; and they chiefly err in doing all things over much, for they keep no medium ; they love much, and they dislike much, and so in every thing ; and this arises from their idea that they know every thing : and their faults consist more in insolence than in actual wrong : and they are full of mercy, because they regard all men as good, and more virtuous than they are, for they measure others by their own innocence ; so that they suppose



every man suffers wrongfully. And being gay, and inclined to laughter, they are therefore of gracious and polished manners, for elegance of manner is only insolence refined." Such are the words, or at all events (for I have hastily perused the passage) such is the sense and opinion of the greatest genius that ever studied the human heart. If this disposition have "the pre-eminence for the moral part," certainly there can be no question but that it is the first in subservience to the Christian faith, to put you in possession of the highest pleasures that this life can afford. How lively was the joy of the young Bayard, when he first mounted his little horse to visit his uncle at Chamberi! "Bayard," says his biographer, "n'ayant de sa vie ressenti tant de joie qu'il en avoit de se voir à cheval." True it is, and once for all we must proclaim it, there are certain limits and distinctions to be observed in the pursuit of amusement. But it is a broad line which separates base from laudable recreation; "unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscœnum; alterum, elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum."

I would appeal to all who have had experience of life, whether the pleasures which they have received from the possession of riches, or from their attainment of the objects of ambition, have been at all comparable to those which they derived, in their earlier years, from boyish and apparently trivial sports. I demand of all whether experience does not fully verify the remark, "ils ne valaient pas dans tout leur éclat un quart d'heure de vrai plaisir et de liberté dans la jeunesse." These pleasures of youth will, of course, depend as to the objects which excite them, upon the peculiar genius and character of individuals, but there are few, if any men, so unhappy as not to possess some disposition or ability that will secure their continuance. For my part, there was a time when I should have had no difficulty in determining those to which my preference was given. The

" Well-known pool, whose crystal depth  
A sandy bottom shews,"—————

was to me a fountain of the liveliest joy, though certainly far more elevated was that

rapture of the soul which was felt when swimming with one or two companions, in the sea, and at a distance from the shore, riding over the billows, in the midst of gulls and other sea-fowl, who only rise for a moment to skim over the surface of the blue abyss, or in the same ocean as I have often glided over the gentle wave, when

Adspirant auræ in noctem, nec candida cursus  
Luna negat ; splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.

While wandering thus over the watery waste, man is then restored, as it were, to a state of wildness, and natural liberty, in which his proud heart triumphs; nay, there is a joy which cannot be described even in braving the horrors and confusion of a tempest :

Quum medio celeres revolant ex æquore mergi  
Clamoremque ferunt ad litora. —————

when the sight is darkened, and the only knowledge which you retain of a faithful comrade is derived from hearing between the interval of roaring billows,

—————The bubbling cry  
Of a strong swimmer in his agony.

But in a moment even this ceases, for you recover from some rude shock of rushing waters to find yourself alone!

—Venti volvunt mare, magnaue surgunt  
Æquora ; dispersi jactamur gurgite vasto.

But it is the approach to shore that presents the greatest scene of terror, and here the stoutest hearts may for a moment fail!

—Ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus  
Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulosque superjacit undam  
Spumens, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam :  
Nunc rapidus retro, atque æstu revoluta resorbens  
Saxa, fugit, litusque vado labente relinquit.

In equestrian exercises most men will be inclined to feel with Bayard ; at least it may be said that they afford pleasure which may be commanded at any time. Certainly I can say with Montagne, “ Je ne demonte pas volontiers quand je suis à cheval ; car c’est l’assiette en laquelle je me trouve le mieux et sain et malade.” What delight more pure and exhilarating than that which I have so often experienced in wandering over the snow-tracts which compose the higher Alps, when the air

itself inspires fresh fire in the mind, and vigour in the limb, and where the scenery is impressed with a certain character of solitude and grandeur, combined with the cheerfulness resulting from the splendour and brilliancy of a southern sky? Here again man leaves behind him the earth and its infections: like the chamois, he breathes the liberal air, and triumphs in his liberty: here too the man of feeling may find that vast wilderness,

“ Where rumour of oppression and deceit,  
Of unsuccessful or successful war,  
May never reach him more.”—

But why leave our own land, with its climate however imperfect, when

“ Nature in every form inspires delight,”

and is ready to afford the most perfect pleasures to every man who will deign to accept them?

“ Whom call we gay? That honour has been long  
The boast of mere pretenders to the name.  
The innocent are gay—the lark is gay,  
That dries his feathers, saturate with dew  
Beneath the rosy cloud.—————

Every youth and gentle squire too

————— a witness of his song,  
Himself a songster, is as gay as he."

How is he described by Chaucer ?

" Singing he was or floyting alle the day,  
He was as freshe as is the moneth of May."

" Ah, joyous season ! when the mind  
Dares all things boldly but to lie.  
When thought ere spoke is unconfined,  
And sparkles in the placid eye."

Who has not experienced the pleasure spoken of in the following exquisite description ? " J'étois dans la plus heureuse situation de corps et d'esprit ou j'aye été de mes jours. Jeune, vigoureux, pleine de santé, de securité, de confiance en moi et aux autres ; j'étois dans ce court mais précieux moment de la vie, ou la plénitude expansive étend pour ainsi dire, notre etre par toutes nos sensations, et embellit à nos yeux la nature entiere du charme de notre existence.—Jé n'ai voyagé à pied que dans mes beaux jours, et toujours avec délices. Bientot les devoirs, les affaires, un bagage à porter, m'ont force *de faire le*

*monsieur*, et de prendre des voitures : les soucis rongeurs, les embarras, la gêne y sont montés avec moi ; et des lors, au lieu qu'auparavant dans mes voyages je ne sentois que le plaisir d'aller, je n'ai plus senti que le besoin d'arriver."

"Principio quis nescit," says Erasmus, speaking in the character of folly, "primam hominis ætatem multo lætissimam, multoque omnibus gratissimam esse? Quid est enim illud in infantibus, quod sic exosculamur, sic amplectimur, sic fovemus, ut hostis etiam huic ætati ferat opem? Deinde quæ succedit huic adolescentia, quam est apud omnes gratiosa, quam candidè favent omnes, quam studiosè provehunt, quam officiosè porrigunt auxiliares manus? At unde quæso ista juventæ gratia? unde nisi ex me? Cujus beneficio quam minimum sapit, atque ob id quam minimè ringitur. Mentior, nisi mox ubi grandiores facti, per rerum usum ac disciplinas virile quiddam sapere cæperint, continuo deflorescit formæ nitor, languescit alacritas, frigescit lepos, labascit vigor. Quoque longius à me sub-

ducitur, hic minus minusque vivit donec succedat το χαλεπὸν γῆρας." Nor does he allude to an advantage that can be despised with wisdom. "Je ne puis dire assez souvent," says Montagne, "combien j'estime la beauté.—Non seulement aux hommes qui me servent mais aux bestes aussi je la considere à deux doits pres de la bonté."—"In hoc vos pudore, judices," said Cicero, in pleading for P. Sylla, "tanto sceleri locum fuisse creditis? adspicite ipsum; contue mini os." Τυφλου το ἐρωτημα, replied Aristotle to one who enquired gravely why the countenance was said to indicate character \*. In the crowded streets of a commercial and manufacturing city, or even in the walks of men who are engaged in the drudgery of a learned profession, or in the harassing pursuit of distinction or wealth, or of any end which excites the base passions

\* Has it never occurred to us that hardened impiety is often accompanied with some deformity of person, and almost *always* with a disgusting expression of countenance? De Maistre has a splendid passage on this subject, in allusion to Voltaire. Soire de St. Petersburg. tom. i. The opinion was decidedly held by Plato.



of the human heart, with what ease and pleasure does the eye recognize a countenance which denotes an exemption from these evils, the "ingenui vultus puer," the true, frank, and courteous gentleman, the look of ease and sweetness, of cheerfulness and dignity, such

—————"as virtue always wears,  
When gay good nature dresses her in smiles?"

It would be quite endless to enumerate the various descriptions of English exercise in which we can engage. Let us only recollect the example in Sterne, of the corporal and his gallant master, and what delight they derived from the fortress in the garden. Here is an exercise replete not only with pleasure but with advantage, for here we may employ strength of limb and generosity of soul, here we may spare the weak and confound the proud, be humble in victory, and comforted in defeat: what higher duties, what prouder pleasures could have been the lot of Turenne or of Marlborough? I wish to make you sensible that these pleasures and advantages

which may be obtained by all, are to be preferred far above the comforts and luxuries which accompany riches, and are therefore but the lot of few. I wish to convince you that they are superior to the formal, though useless and pernicious follies of a maturer age, towards which the advance of years, by the caprice of custom, and the effeminate spirit which degrades so many of our youth, will conduct you; the poet has enumerated them\*, as he wrote for all; limited in the persons whom I address, this page may be spared the indignity. I have endeavoured to persuade you that they are in real advantage, both

\* Let the reader consult Cowper, in the Sixth Book of the Task, for a brief description of these base and unmanly follies, which seem to have been, in his time, precisely the same as at present. "The library, the shop, the auction, the picture gallery," but the very allusion, needs an apology from this place. Once for all, these are to be avoided and despised. Nor will I listen to those who argue that the men who practise them may be often the first in the chace, and the bravest in the field, for even were it certainly true, as it is possible, this could not give them a title to be base and effeminate upon other occasions, or to assume the manner which belongs to baseness and effeminacy.

as an honourable exercise and as a source of happiness, beyond comparison superior to all that accompanies the dignity of rank; the gilded chariot, the brilliant assembly, the pompous banquet, the thousand toils and occupations of a worldly life, in which all is formal, insipid, and wearisome, enfeebling to the body, and vexatious to the spirit: in the simple view, in the untutored heart of youth, to exchange them for such a mockery of nature would be a sacrifice of "life's prime pleasure:" they who regard such an exchange as desirable, may, indeed, give an instant answer to the question of the poet,

" Quæ tibi summa boni est ?"

but will they be able to endure the reproof that will follow ?

" Expecta : haud aliter respondeat hæc anus."

" Ne'er tell me of glories, serenely adorning  
 The close of our day, the calm eve of our night ;  
 Give me back, give me back, the wild freshness of  
 morning,  
 Her clouds and her tears are worth evening's best  
 light."

Plato, Erasmus, and Montagne, are continually reminding us, that true philosophy, like Christianity, is calculated to gratify these inclinations natural to youth, and to give permanence and reality to its dream. This Christian wisdom comprizes all the science necessary to a gentleman. “ Il n'est rien plus gay, plus gaillard, plus enjoué, et à peu que je ne die, folastre. Elle ne presche que feste et bon temps ; une mine triste et transie montre, que ce n'est pas là son giste.”

Finally, I would only remind you that these are advantages of which no outward circumstances can deprive you. Wealth, retirement, leisure from active pursuits, are so far from being necessary, that they are rather obstacles in the way of their attainment. When there is youth and virtue, the field will be always open ; and while there is strength and life, we shall never be driven from it. When the physicians warned Vespasian, in his last illness, that his exertions in transacting public affairs were increasing his disorder, “ well,” said he, “ imperatorem stantem mori oportere.” “ Nous som-

mes nés pour agir," says Montagne, " et je suis d'avis, que non seulement un Empereur, comme disoit Vespasien, mais que tout galanthomme doit mourir debout."

" Cum moriar, medium solvar ut inter opus."

Stewart, the great Duke of Northumberland, when he found his death approaching, ordered his servant to clothe him in a complete suit of armour, and sitting erect on his couch with his spear in his hand, he declared that in that posture, the only one worthy of a warrior, he would patiently await the fatal moment. From exactly the same principle, Montagne declares his wish that death may surprise him in the act of pursuing his rural occupations; and you will recollect, that it was the pride of Bayard, even in the article of death, that he died in the exercise of duty. " Si vous avez fait vostre profit de la vie," says Montagne, " vous en estes repeu, alles vous en satisfait."

THE

## Outward Condition

ATTACHED TO THE ORDER.

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THE preceding remarks ought properly to have conducted me to the termination of these instructions. The principles and the theory of your order have now, I hope, been sufficiently explained, and if you have received them with a due attention, little more can now be required but your own application. The pressing realities of human life are, however, presenting themselves to discourage our first efforts towards every perfection; and certainly that writer will have done but little for your actual assistance who shall have disdained to take notice of them, and to supply you with that homely practical advice which may serve

to remove or to alleviate their pressure. You are born a gentleman, or you have risen to that rank by your own merit; but it does not follow that you are born rich, or that your merit will have raised you to riches. This last is difficult to imagine, because the merit which can have made you noble, has nothing to do with avarice, or with the pursuit of wealth; it is not the art of collecting or of retaining money, neither of seeking nor of acquiring interest, but it is rather the merit of the brave and generous, the disinterested and sincere, which is too often the poor unknown and neglected child of hardship and poverty. *Dantur opes nulli nunc nisi divitibus.* But if this be your fortune in the world, there is nothing to discourage your honourable ambition, as long as you cherish the sentiments of your birth, or practise the virtues which have made you noble. As a true and faithful servant of chivalry, you hold and exercise the precepts of the faith, and therefore, in a religious point of view, you are independent of fortune. I wish to convince you, that in a worldly point of view, you

are alike independant. “Dies deficiat,” exclaims Cicero, “si velim paupertatis causam defendere\*.” In England, it may be the pride of a gentleman to be destitute of the riches of fortune. That is but a poor dignity which exposes its owner to the reproach, “generosus es ex crumena.” I should be of this opinion if I had never indulged for a moment in philosophic reflection. It must unavoidably attend a taste for good company, and an aversion to bad. Recollect then, and do not mistake the end and object of all my preceding instructions. I do not stand up for the insolence of new made riches, for the pride of commercial aggrandisement, for the practical infidelity, the remorseless worldly-minded indifference which are not unfrequently acquired in union with the employments and treasures of the East.—I have nothing to do with this subject, I dare not answer for the effects and influence of such habits and of such aggrandisement †; but

\* Tuscul. iv.

† The distinction which is observed by Aristotle is remarkable:—“*Διαφέρει δε τοις νεωστι κέκτημενοις,*



it is to you I speak who are gentlemen of England ; I exhort you to remember, that if

καὶ τοὺς παλαι, τὰ ἤθη, τὼ ἅπαντα μᾶλλον, καὶ φανλο-  
 τερα τὰ κακὰ ἔχειν τοὺς νεοπληθεῖς· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπαιδεύσια  
 πλουτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ νεοπληθὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἀδικήματα ἀδικῶσιν  
 ἢ κακουργικά, ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ὑβριστικά, τὰ δὲ ἀκρατευ-  
 τικά”—De Rhetor. xv. A distinction which was not  
 overlooked by the poet. Eurip. Suppl. 743. Plato  
 expresses his opinion in strong terms. πλουσίους δ’ ἀν-  
 σφοδρὰ καὶ ἄγαθους, ἀδύνατον· See this curious pas-  
 sage in the Fifth Book de Legibus. It is of Agesilaus  
 that Plutarch relates the anecdote, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὸ φίλοις  
 παρηγγεῖλε, μὴ χρημασιν, ἀνδρεία δὲ καὶ ἀρετὴ σπουδα-  
 ζεῖν πλουτεῖν. The same spirit dictated these famous  
 words of Socrates, τοὺς υἱοὺς μου ἐπειδὴν ἠέησωσι,  
 τιμωρησασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὰντα λυπουντας ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς  
 ἐλυπον, ἐὰν ὑμῖν δοκῶσιν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλον τοῦ  
 προτεροῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ ἀρετῆς· Plato Apolog. It had  
 been my intention to give some of the striking pas-  
 sages in the writings of Plato which expose the base-  
 ness of that money-making or commercial spirit from  
 which England has so much to fear ; but my extractt  
 would exceed the just limits of a note, and I found it  
 impossible to decide upon the most admirable. “ It  
 were happy for these lands,” says Mr. Coleridge, in  
 his lay Sermon, “ if our young nobility and gentry,  
 instead of modern maxims, would imbibe the notions  
 of the great men of antiquity.” An opinion to which  
 I most heartily subscribe, whatever may be said by  
 men such as Brucker, who are born to be only gram-  
 marians and verbal critics. This is not the place to

you are ambitious, honour, and not the passing splendour of the day, must be the

shew that the new systems of moral philosophy and metaphysics, those of Paley and Locke, are contrary both to revealed religion and to the doctrines of sound natural philosophy; this has been shewn by abler pens: but it becomes my duty to protest against a system which is destructive of all the principles which belong to chivalry. Not to speak of the doctrine of refined selfishness, which, at one blow, destroys honour, generosity, love, devotion in the chivalrous and only rational sense of these terms, I must put you on your guard against the monstrous principles derived from that essay, not on the human understanding, (God forbid that it should answer its title,) but as De Maistre pleasantly observes, on Locke's understanding, that gross system, as he terms it, which is "tres-certainement (I use the words of this admirable writer,) et soit qu'on le nie ou qu'on en convienne, tout ce que le défaut absolu de génie et de style peut enfanter de plus assommant" (Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg, tom. i.) If through inadvertancy or compliance with custom in any particular society, I may have added a commendatory epithet to the name of Locke, I beseech my reader to believe that I did not think at the time upon his philosophy. It is devoutly to be wished that the ancient masters of wisdom might be substituted in place of such writers, for the office of attendants and hand-maids to religion. There is hardly a virtue belonging to the chivalrous character which is not enforced and illustrated in the life-breathing philosophy of Plato.

object of that ambition; that if you will endeavour to arrive at distinction, the prize must be, not riches, but virtue \*; not the admiration of lackeys, and the faithless praises of the dissipated, but the blessings of the poor, and the reverence of the good; that if you will engage in political life, the object in your view must be, not the giddy applause, the unmeaning honour, the humiliating approbation of a fickle, ignorant, and worthless multitude, (hear and consider the justice of these epithets) but the answer of a good conscience, and the impartial approval of the wise; that if you will aspire, as it may well be your ambition, to serve and benefit your country, you must discharge your duty, not by giving yourself up, body and soul, to obtain the favour of a party, but by following the dictates of your honest judgment, and only expecting justice from the sure and inevitable sen-

\* The alternative laid down in the Gospel—"God or Mammon," may be compared with the words of Plato, *ὄκουσιν δὴλον ἦδε τετο ἐν πολει, ὅτι πλετον τιμαν και σωφροσυνην ἀμα ἱκανως κτασθαι ἐν τοις πολιταις, ἀδυνατον, ἀλλ' ἀναγκη ἢ τῷ ἑτερο ἀμελεῖν ἢ τῷ ἑτερο.*

De Repub. Lib. VIII.

tence of impartial posterity. “ Un tel homme,” says Montagne, “ est cinq cens brasses au dessus des Royaumes et des Duchez : il est luymesme à soy, son empire et ses richesses : il vit satisfait, content et alegre ; et, à qui a cela, que reste-il ?”

Observe then, I exhort you, how perfectly the man of honour may despise fortune, whether she offers him her riches or her glory, whether she forces them upon his acceptance, or withdraws them at her pleasure.

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metus omnes et inexorabile fatum  
 subjecit pedibus, strepetumque acherontis avari !

If you shall be induced to enter more minutely upon a consideration of the circumstances in which you are placed by fortune, every moment of reflection will tend to remove the error of early impressions, and to confirm you in the lessons of virtue. For what can be the great objects which, as a Christian gentleman, you are bound to desire ? Must they not be the favour of God, the service of Christ, the maintenance of his faith, of the faith and

virtue and honour of your ancestors? Every reader who is conversant with the opinions of the chivalrous age, must recollect, that the highest glory was to be called "a veray knyghte and servaunt of Jhesu Cryste," as it is related of Sir Ector de Marys, "and thenne he kneled downe and made his prayer devoutely unto almighty Jhesu, for he was one of the best knyghtes of the world that at that tyme was, in whom the veray feythe stode moost in." "And soo Syre Percyval comforted hymself in our lord Jhesu, and besought God no temptacyon should brynge hym oute of Godde's servyse, but to endure as his true champion;" and Sir Bors uses an expression in his prayer still more singular, "Lord Jhesu Cryste whoos lyege man I am," &c. and the flower of chivalry is accosted by king Mordryans in these words, "Galahad, the servant of Jhesu Cryst." So we read in the Jerusalem delivered,

"Cursed apostate, and ungracious wight,  
I am that Tancred, who defend the name  
Of Christ, and have been aye his faithful knight."

Subordinate to such objects must not your desire be the acquirement of friends,—of persons who will love you for your valour, your sincerity, your freedom, your generosity,—for your elevated sentiments of truth and honour,—the sincere affection of youth and men of virtue, who will love you for your personal qualities, and not the false professions of parasites, who will basely flatter you for the accidental advantages of wealth? Do you not shudder at the idea of power without virtue, of riches without a friend?—of these lines becoming applicable to you;—

“ Nec amet quemquam, nec ametur ab ullo \* ?”

“ Who’d be so mock’d with glory? or to live  
But in a dream of friendship † ?”

It was indeed a strange error to excite  
the fear of poverty;—

————— γιγνωσκων οτι  
πεινητα φευγει πας τις εκ ποδων φιλος

\* Juvenal. Sat. XII.

† Tim. of Athens, Act IV. Sc. ii.

when the very circumstances of its creating friends, that is, of trying all and presenting him with true friends, was the great consolation of the Sage. “*Desine nunc amissas opes quærere; quod pretiosissimum divitiarum genus est, amicos invenisti* \*.”

“You desire to be at court with me,” says Alain Chartier, in the book which he terms “*Le Curial*,” “*es tu ennuyé de vivre en paix? Telle maleurté seuffre nature humaine, qu’elle appete ce qu’elle n’a pas, et se fuyt du bien qu’elle a sans aultruy dangier. Ainsi mesprises tu la paix de ton courage, et de leur estat de ta pensée: et par l’erreur du mesprisement que tu en as acquis, les choses qui de leur mesme condition sont plus à mespriser, que par vices d’autruy à priser, tu loues et exauces. Je me merveille moult comme toy qui es prudent et sage deviens si forcené de toy oser exposer à tant de perils. Et se ta veux user de mon conseil, ne prens de riens ex- ample à moy à poursuivre les cours et publicques murmures de hauts Palais: ainçois*

\* *Bœthius Consol.*

te soit mon peril exemple de les fouyr et eschever. Car je n'oserois affermer que entre le bruit de ceux qui y touruoient, y ait chose seure ne salutiere. Tu cuideras espouvoir trouver exercise de vertu en misere ainsi publique : et aussi certes les y trouverastu, se tu fais veu de batailler constamment contre tous vices. Mais donne toy garde que tu ne soyes de premiers vaincus. Car je te dis que les cours des haux Princes ne sont jamais desgarnies de gens desloyaux par beaux langage decevans, ou par menaces espouventans, ou par envie contendans, ou par force de dons corrompans, ou par flaterie blandissans ou par deliz aleichans, ou en quelque autre maniere le bon vouloir des preuds hommes empeschans. Car nostre poure humanité est de legier inclinée à ensuir les meurs des autres, et à faire ainsi comme ils font. Et à peine peut eschapper celuy, qui est assiegé et assailly de tant d'adversaires. Or prenons que tu perseveres en ta vertu, et que tu eschappes la corruption de tels vices, encores en ce cas n'as ta pas rien vaincu sinon toy mesmes ; mais c'est à plus



grant ahan que tu ne l'eusses facit en ton secret et privé. Et soyés certain, ou que ta vertu te y fera mocquer ou ta verité te y fera hayr, ou que ta discretion te y rendra plus suspect á mauvaises gens, qui mesdisent de ceux que ils cognoissent estre sages et loyaulx." And after exposing the vice and dangers of the Court to his brother, he observes, how happy his condition should render him : " Car qui a petite famille, et la gouverne sagement, en paix, il est Seigneur. O fortunez hommes qui vivez en paix ! O bienheuree famille, ou il y a honneste pourreté, qui se contente de raison, sans manger les fruicte d'autruy labeur ! O bienheuree maisonnette en laquelle regne vertu sans fraude ne barat, et qui est honnestement gouvernee en crainte de Dieu et bonne moderation de vie ! Illecques n'entrent nulz pechiez, illec est vie droicturieuse, ou il y a remors de chacun peché, et ou il n'a noise, murmure, ne envie. De telle vie esiouyst nature et en telles aises vit elle longuement, et petite à petit s'en va jusques à plaiante vieillesse et honneste fin." Do we wish to behold an

example of this happiness? Let us hear Eustace describe a scene at Procida. "The moon rose—a table was placed before me, covered with figs, apricots, and peaches. The man and woman who took care of the palace, a young couple, the husband strong and comely, the wife handsome, seated themselves opposite to me: their son, a smart lively boy, served at table. After a little conversation the man took his guitar and accompanied his wife, while she sung the evening hymn, in a sweet voice, and with great earnestness. Occasionally the man and boy joined in chorus, and while they sung, the eyes of all three were sometimes raised to heaven, and sometimes fixed on each other with a mixed expression of piety, affection, and gratitude. I own I never was present at an act of family devotion more simple or more graceful. It seemed to harmonise with the beauty of the country and the temperature of the air, and breathed at once the innocence and the joy of Paradise." After such a picture, how delightful are these lines of Spenser?

—————“ Through foul intemperance  
Frail men are oft captiv'd to covetise :  
But would they think with how small allowance  
Untroubled nature doth herself suffice,  
Such superfluities they would despise,  
Which with sad cares empeach our native joys ;  
At the well-head the purest streams arise ;  
But mucky filth his branching arms annoys  
And with uncomely weeds the gentle wave accloys.”

Again, if virtue be alone nobility, and if riches present temptations on every side, to mislead and overcome it, if they harden the heart to the impressions of generosity, and inspire the mind with a contempt for the sentiments of honour. If they be indeed the

—————“ Root of all disquietness ;  
First got with guile, and then preserved with dread,  
And after spent with pride and lavishness,  
Leaving behind them grief and heaviness.”

If, as the same sweet poet sings,

“ Infinite mischiefs of them do arise ;  
Strife and debate, bloodshed and bitterness,  
Outrageous wrong, and hellish covetise,  
That noble heart (as great dishonour) doth despise.”

If it be difficult to unite them with the ser-

vice of God \*, and with the exercise of virtue,—O ! will you lament your deliverance from danger without glory, from difficulties without reward, from a secret, protracted, and uninterrupted struggle, where it is no honour to be victorious, and where it is ruin, eternal death, and infamy to be overcome ?

The story of the embassy of Aristagoras to Sparta, is a fine moral lesson. The Spartan king had refused to accede to the proposals, and had commanded the ambassador to withdraw. The last resource of Aristagoras was in a bribe, but his hopes were defeated by the acute simplicity of a child ;—*πατερ διαφθερει σε ο ξεινος, ην μη αποστας ης* †. This reminded the King, and saved Sparta.

And besides this, mark how contrary to the spirit of a gentleman and a gallant man, are these pompous luxuries and effeminate refinements which are now so generally the

\* *Τον τοι τυραννον εδσεειν ου ραδιον.*

Sophocles Ajax, 1350.

† Herodotus, Lib. v.

attendants upon wealth. This may be illustrated by a fine passage in the Agamemnon of Æschylus. When the King arrives, after his long absence at the siege of Troy, and Clytemnestra prepares to greet him with a sumptuous parade.

—————μη γυναικος ἐν τροποις ἔμε  
 "Ἄβρυνε, (exclaims the hero,)  
 Μηδ' ἔμασι στρωσασ' ἐπιφθονον πορον  
 Τιθει· θεους τοι τοισδε τιμαλφειν χρεων·  
 'Εν ποικιλοις δε θνητον ὄντα καλλεσιν  
 Βαινειν, ἔμοι μεν οὐδαμως ἄνευ φοβου.  
 Λεγω, κατ' ἄνδρα, μη θεου σεβειν ἔμε \*.

To affirm that wealth and its attendants are conducive to happiness, is, says Plato †, the sentence of a woman or a child: and you have been already told that a contempt and aversion for the delicate indulgences of an effeminate life, and a consequent indifference to the means which may be required to secure them, should for ever distinguish the temper of a gentleman.

\* Agam. 903.

† Epist. VIII. Let the reader consult Xenophon's book, Hiero, where he will find a strong case made out against the happiness ascribed to the rich. In one particular Paley has copied the argument.

The observations which occurred to us in another place, where we treated of the dignity of the order, may have served to apprise you that the basis of nobility, or, in other words, the true ground for that laudable elevation of mind which unites the pride of a generous spirit with the humility of the Christian, is independant of the outward circumstances in which you may be placed by fortune. This is a truth which some men appear to be incapable of comprehending, and which, it must be confessed, can never be grateful to minds of the ordinary stamp in any station of life. Men of rank and affluence, without the inheritance of corresponding virtues, of whom Plutarch has said, that they are gentlemen by fortune, and churls by choice, *τη τυχη μεν ελευθεροι, τη προαιρεσει δε δελοι*\*, cannot be expected to assent to these conclusions, or be brought to believe that there is any other possession but their riches and titles necessary to establish their superiority. Such men have in all ages of the world been the scandal of religion;

\* De Educand.

they wish to be great without deserving honour, and to enjoy the decoration without possessing the reality of virtue. But never let virtue and honour, high sentiment and generous thoughts, be discouraged by the effrontery of this fallacious declamation, nor from a just hatred of sophistry and selfish pride, let them fear to avow the grounds upon which they admit superiority\*. It is not the savage, selfish ambition which desires a republican equality, that will furnish gentlemen with the sentiments which should characterise

\* The opinion of Plato, as given by Diogenes Laertius, will explain these different grounds of respect.

“ Διαιρείται δε ἡ εὐγενεία εἰς εἶδη τετταρα. ἐν μὲν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ προγονοὶ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους, εὐγενεῖς φασὶν εἶναι· ἄλλο δε, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ προγονοὶ δεδυναστευκοτεὶς καὶ ἄρχοντες γεγεννημένοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων εὐγενεῖς φασὶν εἶναι. ἄλλο δε, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ προγονοὶ ὀνομαστοὶ, οἷον ἀπο στρατηγίας, ἀπο σεφανιτῶν ἀγωνῶν· καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους, εὐγενεῖς προσαγορευομέν. ἄλλο εἶδος, ἐὰν αὐτὸς τις ἢ γενναῖα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μέγαλο ψυχὸς, καὶ τούτον εὐγενὴ φασὶ. καὶ τῆς γε εὐγενείας αὕτη κρατίστη τῆς ἄρα εὐγενείας, τὸ μὲν ἀπο προγονῶν ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δε δυναστῶν, τὸ δε ἐνδοξῶν, τὸ δε ἀπο τῆς αὐτοῦ καλοκἀγαθίας.” Lib. III.

their order, and which should equally distinguish every individual that belongs to it: neither is it a silly presumption that would arrogate a rank and precedence which are the privilege of other men, and which can never be assumed upon false pretences without absurdity: but it is the conviction, inseparable from nobility of mind, that while you yield precedence, and respect, and service to those persons who occupy a higher rank in the scale of nobility\*,—while you are ready to honour them with that becoming submission and graceful generosity which bows to constituted prescription, and which delights in ho-

\* The morose pride of those persons who shun the highest circles and the acquaintance of great men should be corrected by perusing the admirable letter of Fenelon to his nephew, on the proper use of the world, and on the conduct which we should pursue towards the great. “*Souvent il n’y a que paresse, que timidité, que mollesse à suivre son gout dans cette apparente modestie qui fait négliger le commerce des personnes élevés.*” Who that has attended to the movements of his own heart will not feel the justice of this statement? Self-love and pride are often the beginning and end of our philosophy.



nourable obedience,—while you are ever ready to extend honour to whom honour is due, and service to whom service, you cannot yield, with consistency and truth, to any gentleman, whatever may be his title, or acquisitions, or fortune, in spirit and fidelity, or surrender upon any condition, or to any of your race, the palm of fearless independance and of unspotted honour. To you will still belong the pure and stately manners which confer the proudest distinction,—the commanding air, the ceremonious lignity which characterised the ancient knights, and which lifted them above nature.

In your application of the lines of Dryden, there is nothing of republican sophistry, nothing but what every lover of chivalry and virtue must sanction and applaud.

“——he whose mind is noble is alone of noble kind,  
Though poor in fortune, of celestial race,  
And he commits the crime who calls him base.”

Profoundly humble, and conscious of guilt before God, regarding no human be-

ing as possessing an inferior claim to your own upon the Divine favour, trusting for mercy solely to the merits and atonement of Jesus Christ, you may hear without fear, the reproaches and misrepresentations of those, who either from ignorance or malevolence, will imply that your elevation of mind is a departure from the humility of the faith; for you will be confirmed by the testimony of your conscience, which encourages every step towards the attainment of that self-respect, of that uncompromising dignity of mind which is essential to distinguish the humility of a Christian from the misgivings of a worthless heart, or from the presumptuous indifference which so frequently accompanies an abandonment of all religious principle. The observations of Aristotle upon this subject will be just and admirable to the end of time. They occur in the chapter upon Magnanimity, in his Ethics. The case is clearly stated in these words. “Ὁ μὲν γὰρ μικροψυχὸς ἀξίως ὧν ἀγαθῶν, ἑαυτὸν ἀποσέρει ὧν ἀξίος ἐστὶ καὶ εἰσὶ κακῶν ἔχειν τι, ἐκ τῆ μὴ ἀξιῶν ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν,

και ἀγνοεῖν ἑαυτον.—Δοκεῖ δε μεγαλοψυχος εἶναι ὁ μεγαλων αὐτον ἀξιων, ἀξιος ὤν.” Nor is this unjust, as the poet has said,

“ Ἔνν τῷ δικαίῳ γὰρ μεγ’ ἕξεσι φρονεῖν.”

Sophocles Ajax, 1125.

How clearly does Cicero mark this distinction, where he says of the confidence displayed by Socrates before his judges, “ a magnitudine animi ductam non a superbia\*.” The words of Darius to Alexander, are admirably illustrative of that consciousness of dignity which distinguishes the gentleman in every age, αὐτος δε βασιλευς παρα βασιλεως γυναικα τε την αὐτε αιτειν, &c. And the following is still a more striking instance. When Alexander saw Porus for the first time, το τε μεγαθος ἐθαυμαζεν, says Arrian, ὑπερ πεντε πηχεις μαλιστα ξυμβαινον, και το καλλος τε Πωρη, και ὅτι ἐ δεδελωμενος τη γνωμη ἐφαινετο, ἀλλ’ ὡς περ ἀνηρ ἀγαθος ἀνδρι ἀγαθῷ προσελθοι, ὑπερ βασιλειας της αὐτε προς βασιλεα ἄλλον καλως ἠγωνισμενος. To Alexander’s command that Porus should declare his wishes, the king replied, ὅτι βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλεξ-

\* Tuscul. I. 30.

ανδρε. The generous conqueror made answer, ΤΗΤΟ ΜΕΝ ἜΣΤΑΙ ΣΟΙ, ΠΩΡΕ, ἘΜΕ ἘΝΕΚΑ· ΣΥ ΔΕ ΣΑΥΤΗ ἘΝΕΚΑ ὃ ΤΙ ΣΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΝ ἈΪΣ. But the reply was still the same, ΠΑΝΤΑ ἘΝ ΤΗΤΩ ἘΝΕΙΝΑΙ. Thus again, we have the answer of Menedemus to Antigonus, who upon a certain occasion sent to require his advice respecting the conduct he should pursue. σιωπησας τ' ἄλλα, says Diogenes Laertius of the philosopher, ΜΟΝΟΝ ἔκελευσεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὅτι βασιλεως υἱος ἔστι. Guided by the same spirit which actuated Francis I. and Henry IV. of France, our late Sovereign Lord, George III. signed himself upon one occasion, “a gentleman of Berkshire.” It is of essential importance, that gentlemen should be impressed with a just sense of the dignity with which they are individually invested,—a dignity which is connected with all that is pure and holy, and elevated in the human character, refined and exalted by piety, by faith, and love; for

“ True dignity abides with him alone  
 Who, in the silent hour of inward thought,  
 Can still suspect, and still revere himself,  
 In lowliness of heart \*.”

\* Wordsworth.

The arguments of those persons who would prescribe a lower standard of feeling and sentiment, with a corresponding habit of expression and demeanour to gentlemen of less elevated rank and of inferior fortune, have a direct tendency to vitiate and destroy the very first principles of all nobility, to confound the true lines of distinction in human life, and to leave nothing in the most important and beneficial institutions of society which can develop the virtue, or promote the happiness of mankind. The external rights of primogeniture as established by the law of almost every nation, and by the spirit of virtue transmitted to us from the age which was the enemy to selfish ambition, under whatever title or specious character it might appear, however beneficial to society and honourable to the possessor, will never be the object of envy to any but to men of base, avaricious, and selfish minds; who know nothing of honour or of generous sentiment; to whom the pleasure of danger, the reward of exertion, the elevated principles of nature and Christianity, are all a chimera, are all nothing,

or worse than nothing ; the image of virtue which they wish not to possess, the standard of duty which they have deserted and forgotten.

In the romance of Guerin de Montglaive, we read, that upon occasion of a solemn feast in the castle of this prince, Mabilette seeing at table her four sons, Arnault, Milou, Regnier, and Girard, all splendidly apparelled, " noble Duke," she said to her husband, " do you not thank heaven with me, for having given us four such sons, the least of whom has already the air and address d'un preux chevalier?" Guerin, for the first time in his life, evinced to Mabilette impatience and anger. " Eh ! non, de par Dieu ! dame," he replied, " je n'ai plus de plaisir à les tenir dans ma cour ; car je les vois mener une vie fainéante, entre balo, souldas, chasses et festins : telle vie ne leur acquerra nul los, nens bornera leur chevanci a n'être jamais que de tres-petits compagnons." Then looking at his four sons with much great fierceness, " et vous autres quatre grands gaillards, ne rougissez-vous point de perdre temps et jeunesse à ban-

queter, comme poussins sous une mue? Par la foi que je dois à Monseigneur Saint Martin, mieux aimerois je n'avoir point lignéé, que de la voir, comme la folle vigne qui ne porte point de raisins." The departure of the four youths was the consequence of this scene, and when the day arrived upon which they were to take leave of the Duke and Duchess, Guerin, says the romance, shed no tear. On the contrary, "j'envie votre sort," he said to them, "et, bien que gouverner doucement mes vassaux et caresser Mabilette soit un genre de vie qui me plaise assez, mieux aimerois-je encore aller chercher les hautes aventures, comme je le faisois autrefois, avec mes deux amis le terrible géant Robastre et l'enchanteur Perdrigon. Age et mariage, voyez vous, mes enfans amoindrissent souvent chevalerie : me voici comme lion apprivoisé : mes amis sont devenus dévoté ; Robastre s'est fait hermite \* Perdrigon a fait voen de ne plus avoir affaire au diable ;—Baste,

\* The reader will forgive my detaining him with the following amusing anecdote, relating to this formidable hermit. The bastard Hunaut, after treacherously

notre vie à tous trois n'est plus q'un espèce de sommeil." Whatever may be our feeling

surprising Arnaud and Frégonde, and delivering them to the Sultan, after renouncing the faith and embracing that of Mahomet, was on his return to Aquitaine, when a horrible dream brought him to a sense of his wickedness and his danger. It was in a forest when he was about to put an end to an existence which had become intolerable, that he heard the sound of a little bell in the wood ; directing his steps in the direction whence it came, he arrived at the door of a hermitage, and was confused at the sight of a cross, in which he thought he could no longer hope. Trembling, he knocked at the door of the hermitage, and his trembling increased when he beheld a Giant of a horrible aspect ; his red and bristly hair surrounded his large forehead, a long and rough beard, descending to the cord which girt his waist. It was the celebrated Giant Robastre, son of Mallebruno, who after assisting the Duke Guerin to conquer Montglaiue, had retired into the forest to lead a life of devotion. " Chrétien, que veux-tu de moi ?" said this terrible hermit with a hoarse voice. This single word of a Christian, was a crash of thunder to the wicked Hunaut. " Alas," he replied, " I am no longer a Christian," and he threw himself on the ground in despair. " Chien de mécréant," said the Giant, " puisque tu n'es pas chrétien, que me demandes-tu donc ?" " Alas!" said Hunaut, " if the most bitter repentance can move Divine justice, I demand at your feet, that you hear my confession and give me absolution." " Ah, ah!" said the Giant, " tu



with respect to the character of this old gentleman, certain it is that the aspiring spirit of youth, led on by hope, and cou-

veux te confesser? e'est autre chose. Mon ministere ne me permet pas de te refuser; allons, voyons; rappelles tes esprits. Ne sais-tu pas qu'il ne peut etre si grand pécheur, que la miséricorde du ciel ne puisse laver s'il revient à loyauté?" Hunaut fell on his knees, smote his breast, and made his confession, detailing the atrocious treachery of which he had been guilty. The Giant had been making horrible grimaces during the recital. "Ce coquin-la," said he to himself, "est bienheureux d'avoir une contrition aussi parfaite. Comme ministre, je ne peux lui refuser de l'absoudre; mais il est bien à craindre qu'une ame aussi gangrenée ne retombe pas bientôt dans le cloaque d'ou je vais la tirer." The good Giant was a very bad theologian; he thought that the best part which he could take was to seize this moment to save the soul of Hunaut, and that the safest way was to absolve him, and then knock him on the head. The Giant hermit, accordingly, giving him his benediction and absolution with one hand, smote him on the head with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. The Giant then laid by his hermit's dress, and proceeded to the Mussulman court to deliver his dear friend Arnaud, whom he had never seen, from the prison in which he had been left by the traitor Hunaut. Success crowned his generous efforts; he delivered Arnaud, baptized Frégonde, and married the faithful lovers.

rage, and generosity, is ready to accommodate itself to every condition of human life, to pity rather than to covet the objects of vulgar ambition, the obstacles to virtue and honour, and to endure, with perfect content, the pressure of circumstances, which would be intolerable to men of vulgar thoughts and worldly minds. “*Que le poltron s’amuse à vivre tant qu’il voudra, c’est son métier ; mais qu’il ne vienne point nous étourdir de ses impertinences sur le malheur de ceux qui ne lui ressemblent pas\*.*” Such is the language dictated by this disposition of soul. Youth is too virtuous to be influenced by the desire of selfish enjoyment and imaginary independence, to share with women the easy comforts of life, without participating in its hardships and dangers ; and withal it is too sharp-sighted to be deceived by the vulgar estimate that would identify rank with honour, or a title with possession. When Sir Tristram refused to attend king Arthur’s feast at Pentecost, because La

\* De Maistre.

Belle Isond declined his invitation to accompany him, that lady exclaimed, " God defende, for thenne shall I be spoken of shame amonge alle quenes and ladyes of estate, for ye that ar called one of the noblest knyghtes of the world, and ye a knyghte of the round table, how maye ye be myst at that feest. What shalle be said amonge alle knyghtes. See how Sire Tristram hunteth, and hawketh, and coureth within a castle with his lady, and forsaketh your worshyp. Allas, shalle some say, hit is pyte that ever he was made knyght, or that ever he shold have the love of a lady. Also what shal quenes and ladyes saye of me, hit is pyte that I have my lyf that I wille holde soo noble a knyghte as ye are from his worship." And this abuse of the liberty and comforts of independent fortune, has been eloquently lamented by the Duc de Sully in his *mémoires*, when he says, " il ne faut que jeter les yeux sur tant de gentilshommes métifs, dont la cour et la ville sont pleines, vous n'y voyez plus rien de cette vertu simple, male et nerveuse de leurs ancetres, nuls sentimens, nulle solidité

dans l'esprit, air étourdi et évaporé, passion pour le jeu et la débauche, soin de leur parure, raffinement sur les parfums et sur toutes les autres parties de la mollesse : vous diriez qu'ils cherchent à l'emporter sur les femmes." The rights of primogeniture are coeval with the earliest records of human society ; they have been sanctioned by Divine revelation, and confirmed by the general judgment of mankind in all ages ; yet such is human nature, or rather such is the temper and tone of feeling which characterises every young man of well-constituted mind, that so far from envying the external privileges from which fortune has excluded him, if the choice were in his power, he would prefer the spur to the label \*, the post of personal exertion with the neglect of men who seek their own interest, to the privilege of ease, and comfort, and power, with the applause and professions of the same crowd ; that is, he would

\* Alluding to the mullet or spur rowel which is used by heralds to distinguish the third son, and the label which denotes the eldest who inherits the estate of his house.

prefer the occupation and freedom, and even hardship which accompany an inferior rank, to the enjoyments, or incentives of enjoyment, with the privileges and obligations which are attached to a more conspicuous station : he feels that it is more gratifying to extend than to receive honour, and that the generous pride of power is even surpassed by that of service. He would rather faithfully obey than command with authority. These feelings and associations may have been despised by him,

“ Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies, et  
Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam,”

but it is not the less certain that they have a firm foundation in the highest and purest principles of our nature. Where there is health and strength, there is nothing which virtue cannot endure with cheerfulness : nay, with all the pride and extasy of youth. In comparison to the delight and recompence of feeling which the Creator has attached to life, and inseparably connected with the discharge of duty, even in the

present world, what are the choicest luxuries, the richest parade, the proudest distinctions that can be the gift of fortune or of the world? What are they to the heart of man but disappointment and vanity? It is easy for men of ordinary minds to stigmatize these sentiments as chimerical, and to boast of solid blessings as opposed to vain, imaginary pleasures, but they should be reminded that this is to be guilty of the very declamation, and to be the sport of the very imagination which they propose to censure. What is comfort, that idol of the modern ages, which it is madness and folly, and ingratitude not to worship?—What is this specious object of desire, when there is no activity or excitement? No alternate succession of fear and hope? “Il faut oster le masque aussi bien des choses, que des personnes.” Take away the masque, and what remains? It is a phantom ready to mock our bitter misery when he has perfected his scheme of deceit, and when our experience must disclose his treachery. It is a fiend that expects his evening prey. What are riches without

the ability of enjoyment \*? What is dignity without honour? The Archbishop of Rouen was about to pull down the archiepiscopal palace and rebuild it on a grander scale. Fenelon endeavoured to dissuade him, “*esperez-vous trouver le bonheur et la paix du cœur dans ces pierres entassées?*” But if the hardships and dangers of human life be conducive upon the whole to the happiness of the individual who is to experience them, if their very presence be animating and their remembrance at least a source of pleasure—*Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit*,—certainly there can be no question as to their tendency to correct and ameliorate our nature. Kings have confessed that it was good for them to have been afflicted, and no person who had not struggled with the world and with fortune, who had not felt in his own bosom what were the sufferings incident to the various conditions in the changes and chances of this mortal life, could have left that sen-

\* The reader may refer to Sophocles *Antigone*, 1165. Eurip. *Phœnissæ*, 550. *Ion*. 627. *Iph. A.* 16. Ovid, *Trist.* III. Hor. *Od.* XXIV. *Lib.* III.

tence, memorable for its instruction, and immortal in the page of poetry :

Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores  
Jactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra,  
Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

“ We can not be alwayes at Parys or Dygeon, at Beaune or at Chalons,” said the admiral of France to the barons and knights who complained of their sufferings in Scotland, “ it behoveth them that wyll lyve in this worlde, thynkyng to have honoure to suffre sometyme as well povertie as welth \*.

Do not then suppose that you must of necessity fall a martyr to your high principles, or that you will be singular in maintaining them. It is true that from the earliest times poverty has been an obstacle to the advance and reception of merit, while the admiration of riches has grown with the vices of civilization. “ *Corrupti mores depravatique sunt admiratione divitiarum,*” is the complaint of Cicero, which has been repeated by all successive friends to the virtue and best interests of mankind. The

\* Froissart, Vol. II. Cap. iii.



Greek and Roman poets have incessantly laboured to expose and deprecate the baneful influence of wealth, in tending to remove the more important distinction among men. In their writings we are told, that without riches there can be neither virtue nor an ingenuous birth \*, that no poor man is nobly born †, that riches make the man ‡, that the poor can with difficulty find relations §, that poverty even exposes men to insult ||, that in the purchase of beasts we look to their pedigree and intrinsic goodness, but that in forming human connections men only regard riches, and that therefore wealth has confounded the just distinctions of mankind ¶. Descending to the age of chi-

\* Eurip. *Electra*. 37.

† Phœnissæ, 438.

‡ The saying of Aristodemus.

§ Menander.

|| Juv. Sat. III.

¶ Theognis ; the passage is as follows—

Κριως μεν και ονες διζημεθα, κυρνε, και ιππως  
 Ευγενεας· και τις βηλεται εξ αγαθων  
 Κτησασθαι· γημαι δε κακην κακω ου μελεδαινει  
 Εσθλος ανηρ, ην οι χρηματα πολλα διδω.

valry, we are still presented with similar complaints. The poet Eustache Deschamps, laments in bitter language the disorders which had been introduced in the established orders, by the insolence of the rich in his time. But in all these instances the subject is brought forward for complaint, and not for approval. The very facts recorded are but cases of deviation and not examples, illustrating the established rule. The saying which is recorded of Cicero, is still the language of every gentleman, “Ego—malo virum qui pecunia egeat, quam pecuniam, quæ viro.” And the rule which he lays down for determining the dignity of a house is precisely the very sentiment of chivalry. “Ornanda est enim dignitas domo non ex domo tota quærenda: nec domo dominus sed domino domus honestanda est\*.” What gentleman has not

Ουδε γυνη κακε ανδρος αναιρεται ιναι ακοιτις  
 Πλεσις· αλλ' αφνειον βελεται αντ' αγαθε.  
 Χρηματα γαρ τιμωσι, και εκ κακε ισθλος ιγημε,  
 Και κακος εξ αγαθε· πλετος ιμιξει γενος.

\* De Off.

learned to repeat these triumphant words of King Henry V.?

“ By Jove, I am not covetous for gold ;  
 Nor care I, who doth feed upon my cost ;  
 It yearns me not, if men my garments wear ;  
 Such outward things dwell not in my desires :  
 But, if it be a sin to covet honour,  
 I am the most offending soul alive \*.”

“ I am not the king of gold,” said the Emperor Maximilian to his father, “ but of men.” The epithet of ‘ Maximilian the moneyless,’ might indeed have indicated a culpable neglect of economy, which was dangerous in a Sovereign, for though it is but little to learn that it was used as a reproach by the vulgar class of mankind, we are obliged to respect the judgment of the impartial historian ; but I must repeat it, and it should be again and again proclaimed by every man who wishes to promote the virtue of his fellow-creatures, that the temper of mind which despises money, which regards it as an instrument, not as an object, which is neither overjoyed at its pre-

\* Act IV. Scene III.

sence, nor afflicted at its loss, is a virtue of the very first importance in the human heart, that it will for ever be the pride and the badge of nobility, and that it will insure to the possessor a more sovereign command and a more proud dominion than even the imperial crown of Austria, and the sceptre of the Cæsars.

Above all, is it not the pride of youth, is it not written in the great charter of its liberty and privilege, "Nature's sanction and her first decree," that riches can neither secure nor prevent the attainment of what it loves?

"Love gives a grandeur to created things,  
Kings it makes Gods, and meaner creatures kings."

For though it be true what the poet was constrained to learn from tale and history, that

"The course of true love never did run smooth :  
But either it was different in blood,  
Or else it stood upon the choice of friends."

Yet nature and virtue are still, and will be for ever, triumphant. When Pierre de Provence received the crown from the fair Maguelone, Princess of Naples, he was

only known at that court as a young and poor French chevalier, for he had followed the advice of the old knight, who had said to him, on leaving Provence, "en cachant quelque temps votre haute naissance, peut-etre obtiendriez-vous de votre bras et de l'amour seul la belle Maguelone." It was William, the stranger, not the Lord of Rosna-hall, who woo'd and wed the pride of minstrel's song. It was Sir Cauline "the comelye youth of humble fortune, the stranger wight whom no man knew," who won the desire of

"Manye a kinge and manye a duke,  
And lords of high degree."

And who does not remember that the joy which fled from the splendour and affluence of Federigo, came to visit him in his poverty; that the killing of a hawk \*,

\* The feelings of Federigo, so well described in this delightful narrative, will remind the scholar of the husband of Electra, who sorrowfully says when he is about to entertain his guests—

*ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δ' ἦνικ' ἄν γνῶμη πῆσω,  
σκοπῶ τὰ χρημαθ', ὡς ἔχει μέγα σθένος,  
ξένοις τε δούναι.* —————

the last treasure of that ruined lover, gained a heart which prosperity could not dazzle, nor luxury command, which preferred "a man who stood in need of riches to riches without a man?"

"But if thou go'st, I follow—" "Peace!" he said—  
 She looked upon him and was calmed and cheered;  
 The ghastly colour from his lips had fled;  
 In his deportment, shape, and mien, appeared  
 Elysian beauty—melancholy grace—  
 Brought from a pensive though a happy place.

"He spake of love, such love as Spirits feel,  
 In worlds whose course is equable and pure;  
 No fears to beat away—no strife to heal—  
 The past unsighed for, and the future sure.

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"Love was given,  
 Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for this end:  
 For this the passion to excess was driven,  
 That self might be annulled; her bondage prove  
 The fetters of a dream, opposed to love."

What is the most sublime speculation of philosophy,—what the most persuasive lesson of the moralist when compared with such poetry, with such revelations? This is not the offspring of man's polluted, unassisted spirit; it is the gift; it is the voice of God. May a blessing descend upon him

who is thus the servant and the minister of religion, employed to exalt the imagination, to defend and furnish that vantage ground ! May the praise and the gratitude of mankind attend such labours ! Mark how important is the benefit resulting from them. The language of life sinks with the spirit of the age, it abandons truth and honour, and accords with the degeneracy of the vulgar crowd ; but that of the imagination, guided by such masters, is still, and will be for ever triumphant. Is the hypocritical oppressor to tremble at the reproof of injured innocence ? Who does not catch the enthusiasm of the poet ?

“ Away, with women weep, and leave me here,  
 Fix’d like a man, to die without a tear :  
 Or save or slay us both this present hour,  
 ’Tis all that fate has left within thy power.”

Is resolution to be expressed ?

“ ————Tell Tancred, on his daughter’s part,  
 The gold, though precious, equals not the heart ;  
 But he did well to give his best, and I,  
 Who wish’d a worthier urn, forgive his poverty.”

Yet with what inimitable tenderness does she express the degree of her affliction ?

“ Source of my life, and lord of my desires,  
In whom I liv'd, with whom my soul expires.”

In every age of the world the spirit of  
poetry has harmonized with that of nature.  
Who does not repeat that line ?

“ Non ego miror opes, nec me tua regia tangit.”

But Horace rises still higher.

“ Non possidentem multa vocaveris  
Recte beatum ; rectius occupat  
Nomen beati, qui Deorum  
Muneribus sapienter uti,  
Duramque callet pauperiem pati ;  
Pejusque leto flagitium timet :  
Non ille pro caris amicis  
Aut patria timidus perire.”

While it is Tibullus who affects the heart.

“ Quid prodest cœlum votis implesse, Neæra,  
Blandaque cum multa tura dedisse prece :  
Non, ut marmorei prodirem e limine tecti,  
Insignis clara conspicuusque domo :  
Aut ut multa mei renovarent jugera tauri,  
Et magnas messes terra benigna daret :  
Sed, tecum ut longæ sociarem gaudia vitæ,  
Inque tuo caderet nostra senecta sinu,  
Nam grave quid prodest pondus mihi divitis auri ?  
Arvaque si findant pingua mille boves ?



Quid ve domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis,  
Tœnare, sive tuis, sive, Caryste, tuis?

\* \* \* \* \*

Quid ve, in Erythræo legitur quæ littore concha,  
Tinctaque sidonio murice lana juvat?

Et quæ prætera populus miratur? in illis

Invidia est; falso plurima vulgus aniat.

Non opibus mentes hominum curaque levantur;

Nam Fortuna sua tempora lege regit.

Sit mihi paupertas tecum jucunda, Neæra,

At sine te regum munera nulla volo;

O niveam, quæ te poterit mihi reddere, lucem!

O mihi felicem terque quaterque diem!"

Finally, you may apply to yourself the reasoning and advice of Seneca \*. "Si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper, si ad opinionem nunquam dives." If you live for Christianity and honour you can never be poor; if you wish to vie with the magnificence of mercantile opulence you can never be rich.

Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum  
Finge Deo;—————

That poverty in members of the order was respected and ever assisted by the more fortunate knights and barons, is clear, from

\* Epist. xxvi.

repeated passages of history. It was their duty to receive poor gentlemen and their families with the greatest marks of honour; to entertain them in their castles, even to present them with houses and lands, with fiefs and pensions; to give money to one, a horse to another, arms to a third, and whatever the particular necessities of each might demand. The advice which is given to King Arthur, in *Lancelot du Lac*, is really a fine passage of romance. “Là où tu verras les chevaliers en poureté, et que prouesse de cuer n’aura pas oubliée, et il sera laissé entre les poures hommes s’il ne l’oublie pas pour sa poureté d’avoir souvent grant richesses de cuer—&c. “Why, Sir,” quoth I, “hath he so great plentie of florins?” (it is Sir John Froissart who thus addresses a knight that was describing the Earl of Foix,) “Sir,” quod he, “there is no lorde lyvenge as now that is so large and lyberall in gyveng of gyftes as he is. Then I demaunded of hym to what maner of peple he was so lyberall?” he answered, and said, “to straungers, to knightes, and squuyers comyng through his countre, and

to heraldes and mynstrels, and to every man that speketh with hym : there is none departeth fro him without some rewarde : for if any refuse his gyft he is not content." This leads me to an observation which must be regarded, as at all times, of great practical importance, and one which, in this particular place, becomes more necessary, in order to preserve the design and tendency of these labours from an abuse to which I am fully aware they may be sometimes liable. It will be said, for instance, not indeed, I trust, by those who have studied this book, that the effect of the whole must be to excite that kind and degree of respect for birth which leads those who acquire it to disdain a connection with men of low origine, however eminent may be their personal merit, and however strikingly endowed with these gentle and refined dispositions, which are the proper objects of love and friendship. But if we consider well, the very reverse of this conclusion will follow, from the general spirit and disposition of mind which it has been the design of these pages to inculcate ; and

though I am willing to hope that this spirit has already dictated the proper inference to my readers, yet it may be adviseable to protest formally against a charge so injurious, and by a few words of particular admonition, to remove any possibility of mistake upon a subject of such practical moment.

There are young men, born in the lower ranks of life, who, as Cicero remarks, "*sive felicitate quadam,*" (a remarkable expression, of which the Christian moralist may avail himself,) "*sive bonitate naturæ, sive parentium disciplina, rectam vitæ secuti sunt viam:*" who, by education and character, by virtue and religion, and by all the delicate and elevated qualities of the soul, are, in the highest sense of the term, Gentlemen. Youth of this description exhibits a character which many are please to regard as peculiarly English.

"*Ingenui vultus puer, ingenuique pudoris  
Quales esse decet, quos ardens purpura vestit.*"

Formed, as it were, by the hand of nature, to win the affections of men, since

"*Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus,*"

education and habit have confirmed and extended the advantage, by uniting it with graceful, unaffected, and engaging manners. Possessing a taste and an ability for the higher branches of intellectual cultivation, their hearts glow with those generous and liberal feelings which enable them to reap for themselves, and to dispense to others, the benefits of learning. Sincere in their attachment to the institutions of their country, they discharge all the duties of social life from the highest and purest principles, *ικανω γαρ τω φυλακει κωλυοντε, δεος και αιδως* \*. Modest and humble, as men of the noblest blood, they exhibit, in addition, a peculiar sensibility to the blessing and happiness of life, and a gratitude towards the Providence whence they flow: gentle to their inferiors, free and generous with their companions, submissive and respectful to those who are placed in a superior station: above all, that which gives rise and stability to these virtues, they unite all the gaiety of youth and of an un-

\* Plato de Repub.

burdened conscience, with a reverence for the duties and the ordinances of religion, and with the most profound piety towards God. To befriend youth of this character should be the pride of gentlemen possessing rank and affluence; to obtain their friendship, losing sight of the difference of rank which may divide them, and thereby removing the air of patronage, will prove assuredly their interest and their happiness. We need not point out, in this place, the degradation of cultivating an acquaintance with what is familiarly termed low company, but I must desire your attention to this axiom in the study of honour,—that both in youth and in manhood it is as much the praise of a gentleman to forget the adventitious circumstances of birth and rank in the formation of virtuous friendship, as it is his disgrace and infamy, in every period of life, to be the companion of vulgar vice, from a similarity of principle and disposition.

“ *Esto comis etiam erga tenuis fortunæ sodales,*” said Erasmus, and it was a wise precept, for its observance can hardly fail

to secure us one of the most valuable and permanent of human enjoyments. The friendships of the world, founded upon base passions, upon interest, vanity, and pride, what are they!

“ Hunc, quem cœna tibi, quem mensa paravit amicum  
Esse putas fidæ pectus amicitia?   
Jam bene si cœnem, noster amicus erit \*.”

Or, as Ovid remarks,

“ Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos,  
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris †.”

Such was the fate of Wolsey,

“ Where'er he turns he meets a stranger's eye,  
His suppliants scorn him, and his followers fly.  
Now drops at once the pride of awful state,  
The golden canopy, the glitt'ring plate,  
The regal palace, the luxurious board,  
The liv'ried army and the menial lord.  
With age, with cares, with maladies opprest,  
He seeks the refuge of monastic rest.  
Grief aids disease, remember'd folly stings,  
And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings.”

But from a consideration of such events we are not to conclude, as some moralists seem to require, that poverty and obscu-

\* Martial.

† Tristium.

rity, of themselves, furnish men with the virtues which give rise to real and permanent friendship. An allusion to either poverty or riches, as affecting its use and stability, is equally indicative of the false estimate which we have formed of its nature. "Quamobrem, hoc quidem constat," says Cicero, "bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam esse : qui est amicitiae fons à natura constitutus." And again, "Digni autem sunt amicitiae quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur." And again, "Virtus, virtus inquam, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia." Hence we may be permitted to remark, in conclusion, the great advantage attending an education in our public schools and universities, where a facility is afforded to youth of high family, towards forming acquaintance with their contemporaries, who might otherwise be condemned, by the obscurity of their birth, to remain, for life, unknown and undistinguished by those who have it in their power to reward merit, and consequently unable to employ the talents



which they may eminently possess in aiding the institutions of their country, and in promoting the instruction and the happiness of mankind. Men of low origine, who have risen without personal merit, to riches and a certain degree of rank in the world, will generally despise all intimacy and connection with persons of this description. They resemble the foolish father, of whom Juvenal speaks,

Qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati  
Pauperis esse putat. —————

They take the converse of a great moral precept, and say to their children,

*Μαλλον ἀποδεχθῆ πλουτον ἀδικον ἢ δικαιαν πενιαν.*

These persons are well prepared to quit the season of life's prime, and of man's best virtue, they are ready to move in that eccentric and wretched circle of human existence,

Where man himself is but a tool,  
Where interest sways our hopes and fears,  
And all must love and hate by rule.

But never let it be forgotten, by those for whose service these sheets have been de-

signed, that such feelings and prejudices are absolutely unworthy men of their birth and rank, and character; that they are inconsistent with honour, with freedom and independance, with generosity of spirit, with all the elevated feelings which belong to men of true nobility, as well as with the faith and the first duties of a Christian.

But besides the considerations which have already presented themselves, are you not aware that the spirit of chivalry accommodates itself to the lowest conditions of life, that it even delights in suffering, and hardships, and inferiority? Was it the knight only who was satisfied with honour, or was not the youth who depended upon him for subsistence, who served him at the banquet, who had the charge of his horse and armour, who was bound to obey his commands, and who was continually reminded and perfectly willing to acknowledge that his life was comparatively but of little value, was not he also proud and happy? Froissart records of Sir Bertram du Guesclin, that he excused himself to the king, who proposed to make him con-

stable, until he “sawe well that any excusacyons that he coude make shoulde not avayle; than finally he accorded to the opinion of the kyng, ryght sore agaynst his wyll.” In like manner it is related of Bayard, that he never desired to have a high command, but rather to serve in a subordinate character, that he might have liberty to expose his person, and be exempt from responsibility. Like the generous Roman, who was ever ready to yield honours and rewards to his colleague, but when the question was of difficulties and dangers, he could never willingly yield them either to his friend and consul, or to any other. “Postremò se collegæ honores præmiaque concessurum;—quum periculum, quum dimicatio proposita sit, neque cedere sua sponte neque cessurum\*.”—“Quant au commander,” says Montagne, “qui semble estre si doux, je suis fort de cet advis, qu’il est bien plus aisé et plus plaisant de suivre que de guider, et que c’est un grand sejour d’esprit de n’avoir à tenir qu’une voye tracée et à respondre que

\* Livy, lib. X. c. xxiv.  
E e 2

de soy." The fortune and fate of the incomparable Bayard, present a memorable example to direct and encourage youth. It seems that an astrologer had drawn his horoscope, and had predicted that he would never arrive at opulence. "Thou shalt be rich in honour and in virtue," were his words, "but you will never possess the goods of fortune." A wonderful account is given of this person in the histories of the time. "It was a little man, black and withered, about sixty years of age, who astonished all the world by the account which he gave of what would happen to every one without ever having had any acquaintance with them, and still more after the result which verified his predictions." The philosopher will smile at such relations, and will find no difficulty in accounting for a verified prediction, that riches are not the consequence of virtue. Camoens, in chains at Goa, or at Lisbon, after his return from the Indies, is equally destitute of riches; but what are the treasures of the East to the immortality of his renown? Don Juan de Castro had not money to re-

build the fortress which was to save his country, and to be the foundation of his glory, but was he therefore unable to save his country, and to purchase an honourable fame? his mustachio, as a pledge of honour, was enough for him, and the merchants supplied his necessity. Bayard had been for nine years lieutenant-general for the king (the highest office in the French army) and immense ransoms and treasure had passed through his hands, and he left upon his death a revenue not exceeding four hundred livres. Yet was Bayard the object of affection and of honour wherever he was present; and it would be difficult to produce any desirable object of which his poverty deprived him. So will it for ever be as long as the institution of hereditary rank, and the sentiments of corresponding virtue, distinguish the nations of Europe. At this day, in England, no accumulation of wealth will admit you generally into the houses of men of family, and we may continue to hope that no poverty or outward circumstances will deprive birth of its right, and merit of its honour.

There is nothing narrow and unworthy in this principle, nothing but what is compatible with respect in the very highest sense of the term, for merit of every description, whether of learning, or genius, or mere attention to the duties of life; nothing but what is consistent with the most exalted notions of freedom; and with the most overflowing benevolence towards mankind. Who more free from the vanity and ordinary prejudices of the world than Montagne? And yet was he careless of his origin? Far from it, "Je suis nay," he says, "d'une famille que a coulé sans esclat et sans tumulte et de longue memoire, particulièrement ambitieuse de preud-homme." Or shall we despise the heroes of the Iliad for their pride of birth? Let us hear the immortal words with which the son of Hippolochus defies his enemy.

Ἴππολοχος δὲ μ' ἔτικτε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς φῆμι γενεσθαι.  
 Πέμπε δὲ μ' εἰς Τροίην, καὶ μοι μάλα πολλ' ἐπέτελλεν,  
 Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπειροχὸν ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.  
 Μῆδε γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνομεν· οἱ μὲγ' ἄριστοι  
 Ἐν τ' Ἐφύρῃ ἐγενοντο καὶ ἐν Λυκίῃ ἔυρειν.  
 Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τέ καὶ ἄιματος ἔνχομαι εἶναι\*.

Turning to the Romans,—how striking is the question of Cicero to Lentulus, who was of the Cornelian family. The seal of that conspirator represented the head of his grandfather. How was it possible, said the Consul, that the view of this venerable image did not prevent you at the moment when you were about to make it the instrument of crime? In his oration for C. Rabirius Postumus, he declares it to be a law of nature, “*quæ in familia aliqua laus forte floruerit, hanc fere, qui sunt ejusdem stirpis cupidissime persequantur,*” which he illustrates by the example of his client, who “*quamvis patrem suum numquam viderat, tamen et natura ipsa duce, quæ plurimum valet, et assiduis domesticarum sermonibus, in paternæ vitæ similitudinem deductus est.*”

Of the glory consequent upon his own triumph over the enemies of his country, he declares that he will leave the inheritance to his son, “*quæ res gesta umquam in bello tanta? licet enim mihi, Marce fili, apud te gloriari, ad quem et hereditas hujus gloriæ, et factorum imitatio pertinet.*” This

is not the unpremeditated burst of eloquence which might be contrary to the dictate of his sober thoughts ; but it is a sentence, every word and letter of which he had submitted to the examination of his most severe judgment, before it was permitted to be graven on the immortal page of his Offices, that model of profound philosophy and of exquisite refinement, which he intended for the instruction and delight of ages then unborn. Again, what an instance is presented by Livy, where he records of Decius \* unable to rally his flying soldiers,

\* The atrocious cant of Juvenal,

Plebeia Deciorum animæ, plebeia fuerunt

Nomina, &c. &c —Sat. VIII. 254.

arose from his overlooking the principle which was acknowledged even by the Romans themselves, that to be a true plebeian or churl, something more was necessary than to have been born of obscure parents. Thus Bæbius the tribune, in his sage harangue against the conductors of the war with Hannibal, included under the title of nobles or gentry, all who had obtained by personal merit or fortune (for he makes no distinction) the respect and friendship of the nobility, saying that there would be no end of the war till “*Consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem novum, (id est, in his acceptation of the term, a man who had never rendered himself worthy of being known to the world) fecissent;*” and then he adds, what is not a



“ patrem P. Decium nomine compellans,”  
and saying, “ quid ultra moror familiare

little amusing, “ nam *plebeios nobiles* jam eisdem ini-  
tios esse sacris, et contemnere plebem, ex quo con-  
temni desierint a Patribus, cœpisse.”—Livy XXII. 34.  
Was that the way to advance their fortune in Rome, if  
men of talent? Certainly not, and the inference is  
therefore obvious. The cant of Horace,

Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus,

may suggest other reflections. I cannot help regard-  
ing it as an evidence of a base plebeian mind, as ex-  
pressing an idea which could not have entered into the  
brain of any man who was not possessed with the am-  
bition of a churl. It is proper to remark the sad cor-  
ruption which at length pervaded the principles of  
Roman aristocracy—

—quadringentis sex septem millia desint ;

Plebs eris ;—————

was a true statement of the institution which then ex-  
isted among people, similar to what prevails at the  
present day in America, where the aristocracy of wealth,  
the most cursed of all perversions, has been from the  
first established. “ Nec ulla deformior species est  
civitatis,” says Cicero, de Repub. I. 34. “ quam illa  
in qua opulentissimi optimi putantur.” In late times  
the equestrian dignity of the Romans depended upon  
a census made every five years, when all those citizens  
whose fortunes amounted to 400 sestertia, 3229l. were  
enrolled in the list of knights!! hence Ovid, “ dat  
census honores,” &c. Fast. I. 217.

fatum? Datum hoc nostro generi est, ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus. Jam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri ac Diis manibus dabo\*." Again, hear the words of Scipio to his army, "vos modo, milites, favete nomini Scipionum, soboli imperatorum vestrorum, velut ad-cisis recrescenti stirpibus.—Brevi faciam, ut, quemadmodum nunc noscitis in me patris patrique similitudinem oris vultusque, et lineamenta corporis: ita ingenii, fidei, virtutisque exemplum expressam ad effigiem vobis reddam, ut revixisse, aut renatum sibi quisque Scipionem imperatorem dicat †. Sallust attributes the gallant death of Catiline to the remembrance of his ancestors, "postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis, atque pristinae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur ‡." Who does not feel that this

\* Lib. X. 29.

† Lib. XXVI. 41.

‡ Let it be remembered that Sallust was of the popular party, and that he had distinguished himself by reviling the vices of the nobility with vehemence. It would be quite endless to bring forward testimonies from antiquity in support of this chivalrous principle.

was the action of a hero? of one who had some alliance by blood or by virtue, to

Polybius assigns its abolition as one of the chief causes of the ruin of Carthage. Plato in many places assumes it as the basis of his instruction. In particular, I recollect a remarkable passage in the third book de Legibus. Aristotle admits the principle in its fullest extent. In one place he observes, ἡ δ' ἐυγενεια παρ' ἑκαστοις ὀκοι τιμιος. "Ἐτι διοτι βελτιους ἕκος τους ἐκ βελτιωνων' ἐυγενεια γαρ ἔστιν ἀρετη γενους. Polit. III. 13. The same sentiment is continually brought forward by the poets, by Homer and the Greek tragedians. The most eminent of Roman patriots, not excepting even Cato, acknowledged their belief in the influence of generous birth, in elevating the soul, and in filling it with a desire of virtuous deeds. Upon the whole therefore, nothing can be more certain, than that the merit of despising an illustrious descent was unknown to the wisest and most virtuous men of antiquity. Upon what grounds then do these Frenchmen at the present day, who profess peculiar wisdom and virtue, maintain it as an axiom, that it is a disgrace and a calamity to be of an illustrious family? It will require no eagle eye to detect the motive which leads these bad men (for "*a vile person*," says Isaiah, "*must no more be called liberal*,") to adopt this opinion; it follows as a necessary inference from that monstrous system of deceit and wickedness which they have substituted under the name of philosophy for their ancient faith. But I must apologise for having alluded to such a subject, before gentlemen and men of honour.

those who deserved the gratitude and the admiration of mankind? Certainly it will be impossible for the future historian, to relate the life and actions of the late Ruler of France, (for I must indulge in once alluding to this extraordinary and unhappy man) and not be continually reminded of his origine. If, like Catiline, he had rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and had died gloriously with his brave friends and soldiers, when all was lost that could make his life dear and honourable, instead of coldly calculating like a metaphysician in his cabinet, the possible advantage that would result from surviving so many heroes, and thus protracting his fate a little longer: —if he had felt and acted like that generous King Arthur, of whose deeds we have so often made mention in this book, who, when “ he looked aboute hym, and was ware of al hys hoost and of al his good knyghtes how they were layed to the colde erthe, sayd, Jhesu mercy where are al my noble knyghtes becomen. Allas that ever I shold see thys dolefull day, for now I am come to myn ende. Nowgyve me myspeere, and albeit Syr Lucan did remember hym of

his nights dreame and what the spryte of Syr Gauwayn told hym; tyde me deth beyde me lyf sayth the king, and so rushed against the enemy, and died full nobly as a noble kyng shold,"—if, I say, he had thus acted at the close of that battle, than which "for grymme soundes and dedely strokes and shedding of generous blood, there was never seen a more doolfuller in no crysten londe;" Certes he would then have left an argument against the benefit of a generous birth, far more convincing than all his scornful and proud declamations. Terminating as he did his eventful career, it only remained for him to furnish an opportunity for other men to display virtue, to exercise the magnanimity, the generosity, and the tenderness of gentlemen. If it pleased God that other men should overlook this opportunity, no inexplicable mystery to the wise,

Των πολυκτονων γαρ  
Οὐκ ἄσκοποι θεοι\*.

The brave and the generous might shed a tear in contemplating his unrivalled miseries. With them sorrow is sacred,

\* Æschylus Agamem. 446.

—————δταν δ' ἀνηρ  
 Πραξῃ κακῶς ὑψηλός, εἰς ἀθηϊαν  
 Πιπτει κακίῳ του παλαι δυσδαιμονος\*.

They might almost fear to look upon such a wreck of human grandeur, might turn away their eyes, “*velut ab nefando spectaculo †,*” rather than behold the wretched degradation, the humiliating, prostrate, piteous condition of him who once sat enthroned among the mighty of the earth,—this, I say, would be consistent with the spirit of chivalry, here opposed, as in every particular, to the passion of the churl’s soul, to that disposition which the Greek poet ascribed to our corrupt nature, saying,

—————συγγονον  
 Βροτοισι, του πεσοντα λακτισαι πλεον ‡.

But it was not for him to murmur, for him, the foe to chivalry, the breaker of its laws, the derider of its spirit; it was not for him to complain, or to look for virtues, the foundation and support of which he had always laboured to overthrow.

Let then every class of men be satisfied

\* Eurip. Helen. 417.

† Livy, lib. IX. 5.

‡ Æschylus Agamem. 869.

with obtaining that particular recompense which they must previously know has been attached, by an immutable decree, to the labours in which they have severally and voluntarily engaged. Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap. There is no injustice, no illiberality in this ordination. Have they been accumulating riches, with the temper and the feelings which distinguish the men who love money? Let them be content with their rank as merchants, with the luxuries and splendour of commercial aggrandizement. Let them involve themselves in the fancy of their grandeur, and sit down, repeating that disdainful question,

———Egregium cum me vicinia dicat

Non credam! —————

Have they laboured in the paths of learning and philosophy, without endeavouring, at the same time, to acquire the heart and the spirit which belong to gentlemen? Let them be content with the fame of their learning and ability. Let not such persons vainly imagine that while their care and labours have been devoted to other objects, the most glorious of all is to follow, of

course, as a necessary appendage to these which they acquire. Fatal error! atrocious supposition! No, let them be assured that it is not in the power of riches or political influence, not in the power of learning, or mere intellectual ability, to make them gentlemen. Our order is open to all men, to those who are not of gentle blood, if so be that they can attain to the virtues of chivalry, which are the prescribed qualifications. But if, without endeavouring to possess these, “*magnum opus, quis negat?*” they envy and revile our institutions, they only, as it were, create anew the very superiority which they detest. “*Qui invidet minor est,*” is the proud and noble motto of the house of Cadogan. And as concerning those to whom these pages are more immediately addressed, let them study to render themselves worthy of their fortune; let them not dare to stigmatise as romantic tales and extravagant conceits the fruit of labours which have been undertaken for their service, to remind them of the dignity and the duties of their order, to set before them the lessons imparted to Plato and to Aristotle, revealed to the world by the



blessed Gospel, practised by saints and kings, by lawgivers and warriors, by the gentle, the generous, and the brave, of successive ages, who were the flower of chivalry, and the glory of the human race.

Certes, if any there be so blind and hardened as to act thus, it is right and our bounden duty to assure them that there comes a day, an awful day, when they shall be forced to feel woe unutterable, and foul dishonour, for, as is said by that renowned knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, "Let every man value his owne wisdome as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the revenger esteeme all negligent that have not trodden downe their opposites; the politician, all grosse that cannot merchandize their faith: yet when we once come in sight of the port of death, to which all windes drive us; and when, by letting fall that fatall anchor, which can never be weighed againe, the navigation of this life takes end; then it is, I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations formerly beaten from us by our health and felicity,) returne

again and pay us to the uttermost, for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we crie out to God for mercy, and it is only then that we are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, that God will not be mocked." Let us pray to God, in the sublime language of our Church, that he may "give us grace to cast away the works of darkness, and to put upon us the armour of light," to adorn by our religion and our virtues, by our loyalty and our unspotted honour, by our independance and our heroism, that birth-right which we must transmit to our posterity, that hereditary office of being foremost among the servants and warriors of Christ, that title, that emblem of our honour, which if not our only, must be our proudest inheritance.

Here is the end of the whole book of **The Broad Stone of Honour**, and here is the end of the writer's labour. "More than conqueror," is the motto prefixed to this book, and these are words which will be applicable to every person who has profited by its contents. Hours indeed there are of

despondency, when the sentiments which were once admired appear too contrary to the ordinary feelings and opinion of mankind; when we are disposed to doubt their justice, and perhaps to be ashamed of our former approval; when it almost occurs to the wandering imagination that hope and virtue are but a dream; when even the wise man is to say in his heart, "there is no God." "Quis enim est," exclaims Erasmus, in one of his most beautiful and affecting epistles, "*cui non interdum obrepat mœror ac tædium quoddam intuenti mala quibus hisce temporibus undique plena sunt omnia? Quis tam confirmatus spiritu, cujus animum in tantis opinionum dissidiis non perstringat aliqua tentatio?*" And the reader who is conversant with the events and opinions of the chivalrous ages, will easily recollect instances in which virtue had to endure the opposition of prejudice. The fears and distrust of the young page, Jean de Saintré, which were confessed with such simplicity to the lady who took pains to instruct him; and the difficulty which was opposed to Sir Balin of Northumber-

land, in his first adventure, as related in the history of King Arthur, will serve as examples, to prove that merit, even in the age of knights and men of honour, was obnoxious to the tyranny of vulgar opinion. But upon these occasions, the same lesson of wisdom presents itself in every age. "Indue magni viri animum et ab opinionibus vulgi secede paulisper." Who is a gentleman or man of honour, and elevated virtue? He will find a portrait of himself in Cicero. "Quam contemnet, quam despiciet, quam pro nihilo putabit ea, quæ vulgo dicuntur amplissima \*?" He will discover the same in Seneca. "Nunquam volui populo placere, quis enim placere potest populo, cui placet virtus?" Alluding not to the lower orders of mankind, but to the vulgar :

"Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise,  
His lot who dares be singularly good."

Metellus was recalled from exile by decree of the people. He was found at the celebration of the games, at Tralle, in

\* De Legibus, l. 22.

Lydia, and he left the letter unopened till they were concluded. If we search deeper still into antiquity, the same character of a great man will present itself. “*Ἄλλ’ ἐγώ,*” says Socrates, “*οὐ τοῦτο ἡρώτων ὃ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς καλὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐστίν \**.” Where was the poet’s confidence when exposed to the persecution of a tyrant? It was in his genius.

*Cæsar in hoc potuit juris habere nihil.*

Where did the sweet bard of gentle deeds find refreshment and strength? It was in the fairy land of his imagination. Here too the man of virtue and religion may find a place for his weary soul. To these pages, rich with the record of honour and of grandeur, proudly adorned with the images of the great, he may retire from the infection of a base multitude, and feast in the company of kings; and here too I, like him of old, who sung,

——Nigh ravisht with rare thought’s delight,  
My tedious travel do forget thereby,  
And when I ’gin to feel decay of might  
It strength to me supplies, and chears my dulled  
spright.

\* Plato *Hippias Major*.

Or have we endured intervals of still more acute suffering? Convinced of the justice, have we doubted the final issue of the cause which we love? Yes, moments there are in the life of man, when "the mind succumbs to long infection;" when even the heart of the brave will fail, and the spirits and the hopes of generous men will sink under the pressure of the sad realities of human life.

So the struck deer, in some sequest'ed part,  
Lies down to die, the arrow in his heart.  
Beholds unmov'd the springs of life decay,  
Bleeds drop by drop, and sighs his soul away.

It was in such an hour, that Burke contemplated the event of the French Revolution. With what feelings had he thought upon the circumstances and events of the passing scene? And how was he overwhelmed with perfect misery of heart when he looked forward to the future? "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France, then the Dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw

her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in; glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh, what a revolution! And what a heart must I have to contemplate, without emotion, that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream, that when she added titles of veneration, to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards, to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult: but the age of chivalry is gone! That of sophisters, œconomists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." Alas! who shall number the sorrows that await in this short life the best and the most wise of men? What a familiar example have we in the affliction of Sir Launcelot, when he

hears the tidings of Sir Gawayn's death? "Fayr Sirs," sayd Syr Launcelot, "shewe me the tombe of Syr Gawayn, and than certeyn peple of the towne brought hym into the castel of Dover, and shewed him the tombe. Than Syr Launcelot knelyd down and wepte, and prayed hertelye for his soule, and Syr Launcelot laye two nyghtes on his tombe in prayers and wepyng;" and again, when we see him deprived of those who were all his "erthely joye," Syr Launcelot swounded and laye longe styлле whyle the heremyte came and awakyd him, and sayd, ye be to blame, for ye dyspleyse Ged wyth suche manere of sorowe makynge. Truely, sayde Syre Launcelot, I truste I doo not dyspleyse Ged, for he knoweth myn entent. For my sorowe was not, nor is not for ony rejoycing of synne, but my sorowe may never have ende. For whan I remembre and call to mynde her beaute, bountee, and noblesse, that was as wel wyth her kyng my lord Arthur, as wyth her. And also whanne I saw the corses of that noble kyng and noble quene so lye togyder in that cold grave made of erthe, that som-



tyme were so hyghly sette in moost honourable places, truly myn herte wolde not serve me to susteyne my wretchyd and carefull body."

But, O the exceeding grace of highest God! to ordain that there should be a speedy termination to these intervals of human woe! Such is his decree. The mind, however depressed, will soon rise to its former elevation: it will regain that wonderful elasticity, which no despair or pressure of circumstances can permanently overcome.

"*Omnia deficiunt: animus tamen omnia vincit* \*."

and even when God, in the wisdom of his providence, shall think fit to order that these ordinary provisions of mercy should fail his servants, through the decay of their bodily strength, and the privation of their earthly joy, they have, through his unspeakable love, a bright prospect to cheer them, and a hope of glory. In this world we may have tribulation; we may weep over the hapless condition of the human

\* *Ovid. ex Pont. II.*

race, and be tempted, when we look no farther, to think that the end and design of God's creation is, upon the matter, frustrated and defeated. "But then, on the other side," observes Bishop Bull, "we are to consider that there have been a remnant of men, in every age, that have yielded to and been recovered by the grace of God, who shall glorify him, and be glorified by him to eternal ages. Which though compared to the rest of mankind that have perished in their own folly, they are but very few, yet taken by themselves, and all together, make up a vast body of men. God of his infinite mercy grant that we ourselves may be of that blessed number. And we may further consider the number of the holy angels who surround 'the ancient of days, sitting upon his throne, thousand thousands ministering unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand standing before him.' When therefore we are troubled and offended to see how ill things go here below; how vice triumphs, and virtue is discountenanced, disgraced, and trampled upon; how the great and good God is dis-

honoured and affronted, and his laws disregarded and despised by the generality of men; what a vast train of miserably deluded and self-deluding mortals the prince of darkness draws after him into utter perdition; let us then look upwards, and view the heavenly regions above us, where millions of millions of holy angels dwell. There the kingdom of God is in its glory; there virtue shines in its full lustre and brightness; there is no sin, no disorder; there all things go as the great Creator would have them. And at the consummation of all things, the whole number of faithful men of all ages, from the beginning of the world, shall be added to the society of good angels, and made like unto them; and both together make up one church perfectly triumphant; all wicked men and angels being finally subdued, and there shall be new heavens and a new earth wherein righteousness shall dwell.—What a mighty support and comfort will this be to us, if our consciences bear witness to our integrity in all dangers, distresses, and necessities; yea, in our last extremity, and

in the hour of death? For the good angels of God shall go along with us in the whole course of our lives, never leaving us till they have safely landed us in a happy eternity. When we are in our extreme agony, these blessed spirits shall minister to us, as they did to our Saviour in his; and when we breathe out our last, they shall watch our souls, that the wicked one may not touch them, and shall safely convey them into Abraham's bosom, where we shall be out of all danger for ever."

Where then is the power that shall discourage your efforts, or shake your resolution? Is it the reasoning of men who would represent the duty of consulting expediency rather than virtue; who attempt to disseminate that most baneful pestilence\*, the opinion that these can be separated for a moment; who endeavour to expose the inutility of what is admirable? But what need of other reply than that triumphant exclamation, "O how I love inutility." An answer which may not indeed satisfy

\* Cicero de Off. lib. ii.

the ordinary critic of human conduct, but which will be comprehended and approved of by every man who has risen above the level of the vulgar, either in speculation or in action. Is it their resolution to disbelieve the accounts which are upon record of illustrious actions? But you have the historian's principle to justify a belief even in what is questionable. "Let us have faith in fine actions," says M. de la Cret elle, "and let us reserve doubt and incredulity for bad \*." Is it their ungenerous insinuation, that all virtue is but delusion; that heroes were in fact cowards, and saints no wiser or more virtuous than the vulgar class of mankind; that the worthies of old were only successful deceivers; that "the salt of the earth" was but hypocrisy. But what gentleman, what Christian, or man of virtue, will deign to deny such base positions, when the reply is provided "it is better to be deceived than to distrust." "*Satius est decipi quam diffidere.*" Is it their insulting invitation to surrender, in defer-

\* "*Ayons de la foi pour les belles actions, et reservez le doute et l'incredulite pour les mauvaises.*"

ence to their superior sagacity, that vantage ground of Christian faith and honour, which the wisest of heathen men have vainly sighed but to behold; and “where kings from their humbler thrones may gaze upon you with reverence?” What other reply more becoming, than the exclamation of the Church? “*Quis separabit?*” From these elevated sentiments of honour and Christianity, from these hopes full of present and everlasting happiness, who shall separate you? Is it a world whose hatred is the inheritance of great men, and the earnest of their future renown? Whose friendship has been pronounced to be enmity with God? Is it the distrustful ejaculation?

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From the tongue  
Of nations wanting virtue to be strong,  
Up to the measure of accorded might,—  
And daring not to feel the majesty of right!

“*Quis separabit?*” Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things you are “more than conqueror.” But remember what is added,

δια του ἀγαπησαντος ἡμᾶς, “through him that loved us.”

Schiller was asked some hours before his death, how he found himself. “More and more tranquil,” was his reply. More than conqueror.

“In fine my goodness yields to my just resentment. Adore these gods, or die,” cries Felix, to the Christian confessor. How sublime is the reply!

“I am a Christian.”

“Adore them, impious wretch, or forfeit life.”

“I am a Christian.”

“Are you so indeed? Soldiers, execute the orders which I have given.” “Where do you conduct him?” cries the attendant. “To death.” “To glory!” exclaims the conqueror.

Remember, that this uniform consistency of character you are expected to display. So that what Cicero celebrates as a peculiar instance of Cato’s felicity, may be applicable to you, “none having ever dared to ask any thing of him which was dishonourable.” What a testimony is that rest-

ing upon the same principle which Sir John Froissart produces, to the unbending virtue of the French King John, when, in recording the treason of Sir Amerey of Lumbard, who sold the town of Calais to the Lord Geffray Charney, of France, he concludes by observing, "I thynke he never made the Frenche kyng of knowledge therof: for if he had I trowe the kyng wold nat a consented therto bycause of the truse?" In like manner it should be the pride of every gentleman, that his profession and character are notorious to the world; that both are so inseparably associated with the ideas of virtue, honour, and Christian faith, in the minds of men, that whenever these qualities are named, his image should be present to their recollection. This is nothing speculative or impossible. When it was related, in an assembly of the Greeks, that a good man did not desire to appear, but to be virtuous, instantly the whole multitude looked at Aristides, "καὶ λεγομένων τούτων," says Plutarch, "πάντες εἰς Ἀριστείδην ἀπεβλεψάν." This sublime example, so worthy of our faith, so replete with in-

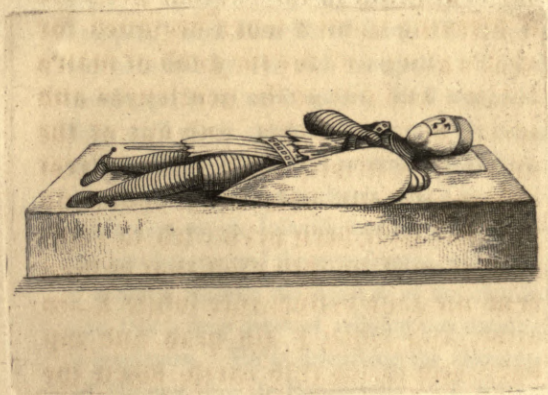


struction and encouragement in the path of honour, has presented itself as a natural and proper termination to these sheets.

And now, gentle reader, having so long presumed to occupy that time which is of such importance to you and to myself, sithen the eye of our God is aye upon us, and for the due employment of his gifts we shall have to render an account to him our Sovereign Lord, when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and dead, what remains but to end this noble and joyous book with such plain words as chivalrous simplicity and ancient godliness would wisely dictate. May you possess a heart that can feel them, a taste that will prefer them to all false refinement and deceitful shew of man's ability, a mind that will seek instruction and peace from the wisdom which is from God. ¶ that the poet were not just in saying, that this is now an age of selfish men, that life is drest for

shew, while the great events with which old story rings seem vain and hollow? O that the voice of his genius may raise us up again and give us virtue, that avarice and expense may be no more adored, but plain living and high thinking be again our glory? I pray you all, gentlemen and gentlewomen, that read this book from the beginning to the ending, pray for a blessing upon a work designed for God's glory and for the good of man's estate; and out of the gentleness and mercy of your Order, and out of the spirit of Christian love, the fairest flower of your holy faith, commend me, who have been permitted to complete it, to Almighty God, that he may send me good deliberance while I am alive, and when I am dead and my body laid to the cold earth, when the darkness of age and death shall have covered over both this book and me, that through God's Grace my soule may enter his paradise. I pray you all, if you hear never more of me,

pray for my soule. This book was ended in the XVth year of the reign of King George the Fourth, by Kennelm Digby, Esquire, as Ihesu help him with his great might, as he is the seruant of Ihesu both day and night.





## Appendix.

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P. 41. “ *Fais-toi chrétien et je te ferai chevalier.* ] “ Quant le Roy ouyt celui Sarrazin parler François,” says Joinville of Louis IX. when he was accosted by the rich renegade, “ il lui demanda, qui le lui avoit aprins. Et il respondit au Roy, qu’il estoit chrestien regnoyé. Et incontinent le Roy lui dist, qu’il se tirast à part hors de devant lui, et qu’il ne parleroit plus à lui.” The distinction which Joinville has recorded between the preuhomme and the preudomme, will prove in a striking manner the opinion of the chivalrous age, that a deep sense of religion was essential to a gentleman. He is describing the character of Hugues, duc de Bourgoigne: “ Il fut moult bon chevalier de sa main, et chevallereux. Mais il ne fut oncques tenu à saige, ne à Dieu, ne au monde. Et bien y apparut en ses faitz devant dictz. Et de lui dist le grant Roy Phelippe, quant il scent que le Conte Jehan de Chalons avoit

en ung filz qui avoit nom Hugues : Dieu le vueille faire preuhomme, et preudomme. Car grant difference disoit estre entre preuhomme et preudomme, et que maint chevalier y avoit entre les chrestiens et entre les Sarrazins, qui estoient assez preux, maiz ilz n'estoient pas preudommes. Car ilz ne craignoient ne amoient Dieu aucunement. Et disoit, que grant grace faisoit Dieu à ung chevalier, quant il avoit ce bien, que par ses faitz il estoit appellé preuhomme et preudomme. Mais celui, dont nous avons dit cy-devant, povoit bien estre appellé preuhomme, par ce qu'il estoit preux et hardy de son corps, mais non point de s'ame. Car il ne craignoit point à pecher, ne à mesprendre envers Dieu."

P. 44. *Incapable of comprehending an age of simplicity.*] May we not produce in confirmation of this statement, the following passage from the pen of a very learned French writer of the present day? "Louis IX. répétait souvent qu'il consentirait à passer toute sa vie dans un cachot sans voir le soleil, si, à ce prix, le roi de Tunis se convertissait avec tout son peuple; expression d'un prosélytisme ardent qu'on a blâmé avec amertume; mais qui, au fond, *ne montrait que l'extreme desir de voir l'Afrique arraché à la barbarie, et*

*marcher avec l'Europe vers le progres des lumieres et de la civilisation, bien-faits du christianisme ! !*"

Thus we have Scotch and English writers "floundering in the darkness of sense and materiality," proclaiming in their "views of society," the ignorance of "the dark ages!"

P. 50. *The Templars.*] After an interval of five hundred years since the abolition of the order of the Templars, when upon an impartial review of the accusations and evidence brought against it, the judgment of history has pronounced it to have been innocent, a new and very formidable adversary has arisen in M. Hammer, whose most curious and learned dissertation, entitled, "Mysterium Baphometi revelatum," &c. forming part of the sixth volume of the periodical work *Fundgruben des Orients*, &c. published at Vienna, 1818, has been reviewed, and the charges, let us hope, sufficiently refuted by M. Raynouard, in his work, "sur la condamnation des Templiers." For my part, I feel disposed to take the high ground upon which Michaud, very properly as I conceive, meets the question. After declaring, tom. iv. p. 501. that he has discovered nothing either in the eastern or western chronicles, which could at all support the charges or even give rise to the sus-

picion which might have suggested them, he proceeds to say, “ comment croire en effet qu’un ordre guerrier et religieux qui, vingt ans auparavant, avait vu trois cents de ses chevaliers, se faire égorger sur les ruines de Saphet, plutot que d’embrasser la foi de Mahomet, que cet ordre qui s’était enseveli presque tout entier sous les ruines de Ptolémaïs, put avoir contracté une alliance avec les infidèles, outragé la religion chrétienne par d’horribles blasphèmes, et livré aux Sarrasins la Terre-Sainte, toute remplie de ses exploits et de sa gloire militaire.”

P. 52. *The same fidelity.*] Gauthier de Brienne being made prisoner by the infidels at the battle of Gaza, was led by them before his own city of Jaffa, which they hoped would surrender at his desire. He was fastened to a cross, and exposed to the view of the garrison, and threatened with death if they made any resistance; but he loudly exhorted them to hold out to the last. “ It is your duty,” he cried, “ to defend a Christian city: it is mine to die for you and for Jesus Christ.”

P. 70. *Decorum.*] The opinion of the brave Joinville upon this subject is strikingly evinced where he relates the following event which took place upon the eve of the battle of Mansourah.



“ Le jour devant Caresemeprenant, je vis une chose que je vueil bien racompter. Car celui jour mourut un tres-vaillant, preux, et hardy chevalier, qui avoit nom Messire Hugues de Landricourt, qui estoit avec moy à banniere : et fut enterré en ma chapelle. Et ainsi que je oyoie Messe, six de mes chevalier estoient la appuiez sur des sacs d’orge, qui estoient en madite chappelle ; et parloient hault l’un à l’autre, et faisoient ennuy au Prestre qui chantoit Messe. Et je me levé, et leur allé dire qu’ils se teussent et *que c’estoit chose villaine à Gentils-hommes, de parler ainsi hault tandis qu’on chantoit la Messe.* Et ilz commencerent à rire, et me disdrent, qu’ilz parloient ensemble de remarier la femme d’icelui Messire Hugues, qui estoit la en bierre. Et de ce je les reprins durement, et leur dis que telles paroles n’estoient bonnes, ne belles ; et qu’ilz avoient trop toust oublié leur compaignon. Or advint-il, que le lendemain, qui fut la grant bataille, dont j’ay devant parlé, du jour de Caresemeprenant. Car on se pouvoit bien rire de leur follie, et en fist Dieu telle vengeance que de tous les six n’en eschappa pas ung, qu’ilz ne feussent tuez, et non point enterrez, et eu la fin a convenu à leurs femmes leur remarier toutes six. Parquoy est à

croire, que Dieu ne laisse rien impugny de son malfait."

P. 91. *A chasser aux oiseaux.*] An old historian says, that the private chapel of Louis IX. "etait son arsenal contre toutes les traverses du monde."

P. 194. *And valour.*] It would have been an unnecessary delay to have adduced instances to prove the valour of the ancient knights. The testimony of Joinville to the personal heroism of Louis IX. may be sufficient. "Soiez certains, que le bon Roy fist celle journée des plus grans faiz d'armes que j'amaï j'aye veu faire en toutes les batailles ou je fu oncq. Et dit-on, que si n'eust esté sa personne, en celle journée nous eussions esté tous perduz et destruis. Mais je croy que la vertu et puissance qu'il avoit luy doubla lors de moitié par la puissance de Dieu. Car il se boutoit ou meïlleu, la ou il veoit ses gens en destresse, et donnoit de masses et d'espée des grans coups à merveilles. Et me conterent ung jour le sirè de Courtenay et Messire Jehan de Salenay, que six Turcs vindrent au Roy celuy jour et le prentrent par le frain de son cheval,

et l'emmenoient à force. Mais le vertueux Prince s'esvertue de tout son pouvoir et de si grant courage frapport sur ces six Turcs, que lui seul se delivra." The astonishment of the infidels at the valour of the Christian knights gave rise to the most surprising relations. Thus we read in the German chronicle of Ebendorfferi de Haselbach. " Sicque Soldanus quadraginta diebus et noctibus acies dirigit in civitatem, in quorum intervallo Soldano quondam magnam admirationem movit cur Christiani crebro pauci numero magnum in bello devincunt et prosternunt Sarracenorum exercitum? Cui quidam paganus respondit, non mirum: quia ego quodam prospexi die, quando Christiani ceciderunt in prælio quod in uno corpore duo latuerunt homines, et uno moriente adstiterint eidem decori juvenes, qui ex ejus ore susceperunt venustum puerulum." The heroic action of Guillaume de Clermont has been recorded in the History of the Capture of Ptolemais, though it does little but illustrate the common spirit of the ancient heroes. In the midst of the general ruin he, alone, defied the enemy. At the gate of St. Antony he met the charge of the Saracens, and fought them till he had retreated to the centre of the city. " Son dextrier," says an old historian, " fut molt las et lui-meme

aussi ; le dextrier résista en contre les espérons, et s'arresta dans le rue comme qui n'en peut plus. Les Sarrasins, à coups de fleches, tuerent à terre frere Guillaume ainsi ce loyal champion de Jesus Christ rendit l'ame à son Createur." The Castle of the Templars was the only place which held out against the Saracens. The Sultan having granted a capitulation, sent three hundred mussulmen to execute the treaty. They had hardly entered one of the towers when they insulted the women who had there taken refuge. The Christian warriors fell upon these wretches, and massacred them in a moment. The Sultan, in consequence, gave orders that the castle should be attacked, and that all within it should be put to the sword. The Templars defended themselves for many days, till at length the tower of the grand master being undermined, fell to the ground at the moment when the mussulmen were mounting to the assault, and both the assailants and the besieged were buried under the ruins.

P. 221. *Until they should procure a benefice.*] When Louis IX. approached Sidon, he found the dead bodies of the Christians, who had been lately massacred by the Turcomans, remaining in heaps, still exposed and putrid. At this spec-

tacle the king stopped, and desired the legate to consecrate a place for burial : he then commanded that the bodies should be interred. Instead of obeying, every one turned aside in horror. Then Louis dismounted from his horse, and taking up with his hands one of the dead bodies, "allons, mes amis," he cried, "allons donner un peu de terre aux martyrs de Jesus Christ." The king's example inspired his attendants with courage and charity, and these poor slaughtered Christians received the rites of burial.

P. 255. *Upon the Templars.*] Joinville relates another instance of the same kind. "Or saichez que le Soaldan donnoit de chascune teste de chrestien, à qui la lui portoit, ung besant d'or. Et ces traistres Sarrazins entroient la nuyt en nostre ost, et la ou ils trouvoient des gens de l'ost dormans ça et la, leur coupoient la teste. Et advint qu'ilz tuerent la guette du Seigneur de Courtenay, et en emporterent la teste, et laisserent le corps gisant sur une table."

P. 269. *To social life.*] The scrupulous delicacy of the ancient knights was, in some instances, carried to an extent that seems almost incredible to men of the present age. When

Louis IX. was preparing for the crusade, his piety did not disdain having recourse to an artifice for the purpose of securing the assistance of the French nobles. It was an ancient custom, upon great festivals, that the King of France should give to those persons who appeared at court, certain cloaks or capes, with which they immediately adorned themselves. These, from being thus delivered, were termed liveries. Louis gave orders that at the feast of Christmas a great number of these liveries should be prepared, to which an embroidered cross was to be attached. When the moment arrived every one wrapped round him the mantle presented, and without perceiving the artifice, followed the King to his chapel; what was their astonishment when, by the light of the tapers, they perceived, first upon those who stood before them, and then upon themselves, the sign of an engagement to set out for the Holy Land! Such, however, was their character, that they never thought of refusing to obey. After service, we are told, by Mathieu Paris, the courtiers began to laugh at the cunning of the dextrous fisher of men, and they took the oath to follow him to Asia.

[P. 288. *The Persians leaped into the sea.*] What a contrast is presented, if we take the ex-

ample of Louis IX. when returning from Asia, and in danger of shipwreck off the island of Cyprus. The vessel had struck upon a sand bank, and the pilots were persuading the king to leave it with the royal family, but the heroic charity, the Christian spirit of the king refused to countenance a measure which would dishearten and endanger the other passengers. "Il n'y a personne céans," said he, "qui n'aime autant son corps comme je fais le mien ; si une fois je descends, ils descendront aussi, et de long-temps ne reverront leur pays ; j'aime mieux mettre moi, la reine et mes enfans en la main de Dieu, que de faire tel dommage à un si grand peuple comme il y a céans."

P. 489. *The theological balance of the schools.*] But the good sense and simple faith of plain men of honour, or that which De Maistre terms "le bon sens militaire," will be an excellent preservative against the heresies and mistakes of speculative doctors. Take, as an instance, the following passage from the pen of the Sire de Joinville, "ad ce propoux des Beduns, je dy que j'ay veu depuis mon retour d'oultre mer aucuns portans le nom de Chrestien qui tiennent la loy des Beduns. Car sont aucuns qui disent, que

nul ne peut mourir que à ung jour déterminé, sans aucune faille, qui est une chose faulce. Car autant je estime telle creance, comme s'ilz vouloient dire, que Dieu n'eust point de puissance de nous mal faire ou aider, et de nous eslonger ou abregier les vies, qui est une chose heretique. Mais au contraire, je dy que en lui devons nous croire, et qu'il est tout puissant et a pover de toutes choses faire : et ainsi de nous envoyer la mort toust ou tard à son bon plaisir. Qui est le contraire de la creance des Beduns, qui disent leur jour de mort estre déterminé sans faille et sans qu'il soit possible qu'il puisse estré eslongné ne abregé."

P. 439. Σιτθ και οἶνοιο· το γαρ, μενος ἔστι και ἀλκη.]  
 The reader can hardly fail to be delighted with the following picture of chivalrous hospitality :  
 " And thenne felle there a thonder and a rayne, as heven and erthe shold goo to gyder. And Syr Gareth was not lytyl wery, for of all that day he had but lytel rest, neyther his hors nor he. So this Syr Gareth rode soo longe in the forest untyl the nyghte came. And ever it lyghtned and thondred as it had been woode. At the last by fortune he came to a castel, and there he herd the waytes upon the wallys. Thenne Syr Gareth



rode unto the barbycan of the castle, and praid the porter fayr to lete hym into the castel. The porter answered ungoodely ageyne, and saide, thow getest no lodgyng here. Fayr syr, say not soo, for I am a knyghte of Kyng Arthurs, and pray the lord or the lady of this castel to gyve me herberow for the love of Kynge Arthur. Thenne the porter wente unto the duchesse, and told her how there was a knyghte of Kyng Arthurs wold have herberowe. Lete hym in, said the duchesse, for I wille see that knyghte. And for Kyng Arthurs sake he shalle not be herberoules. Thenne she yode up in to a toure over the gate with grete torche lyght." And after some conference with the knight, when he engaged to yield himself prisoner to her lord, the Duke de la Rouse, if he should appear and mean to do him no harm, or else to release himself with his spear and sword, "ye say wel, said the duchesse, and thenne she lete the drawe brydge doune, and soo he rode in to the halle, and there he alyghte, and his hors was ledde in to a stable, and in the halle he unarmed hym, and saide, madame, I will not oute of thys halle thys nyghte. And when it is daye lyght lete see who wil have adoo with me, he shall fynde me redy. Thenne was he sette unto souper, and had many good dysshes ; thenne

Syr Gareth lyst wel to ete, and knyghtely he ete his mete and egerly, there was many a fair lady by hym, and some said they never sawe a goodlyer man, nor so wel of etyng; thenne they made hym passyng good chere, and shortly when he had souped, his bedde was made there, so he rested hym al nyghte. And on the morne he herd masse, and broke his fast, and toke his leve at the duchesse, and at them al, and thanked her goodely of her lodgyng, and of his good chere, and thenne she asked hym his name. Madame, he saide, truly my name is Gareth, of Orkney, and some men calle me Beaumayns. So Syr Gareth departed."—*Morte d'Arthur*, Vol. I. p. 236.

P. 508. *Philosophic conversation.*] Madame de Sevigné makes a charming observation in one of her letters, (609, or in one shortly after.) "J'ai un grand dègout pour les conversations inutiles qui ne tombent sur rien du tout, des oui, des voire, des lanternes ou l'on ne prend aucune sorte d'interet. J'aime mieux ces conversations chrétiennes dont je vous ai parlé. Thus Gresset in "la chartreuse," celebrates the happiness of that society which tends to instruct and gratify the mind.

Loin des froids discours du vulgaire  
Et des hauts tons de la grandeur.

And the following remark of the Count de Maistre (Soirées de St. Petersbourg) is worthy of attention. "J'ai grand regret à ces *symposiaques*, dont l'antiquité nous a laissé quelques monumens précieux. Les dames sont aimables sans doute ; il faut vivre avec elles pour ne pas devenir sauvages. Les sociétés nombreuses ont leur prix ; il faut même savoir s'y prêter de bonne grace ; mais quand on a satisfait à tous les devoirs imposés par l'usage, je trouve fort bon que les hommes s'assemblent quelquefois pour raisonner, même à table. Je ne sais pourquoi nous n'imitons plus les anciens sur ce point."

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## Errata.

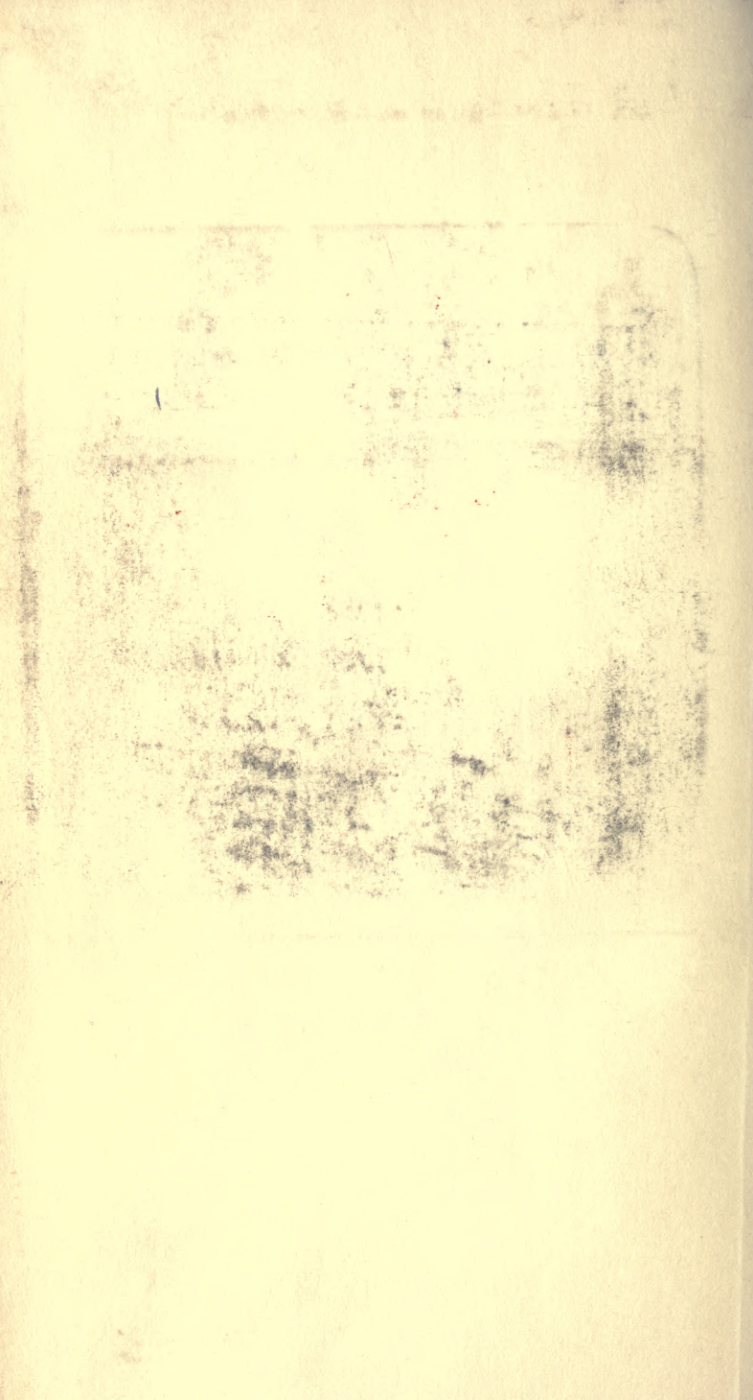
### PAGE

- 40 *for και read δε*  
95 — *pronas read pronus*  
145 — *St. Stephen's read St. Stephen*  
152 — *νενομενος read νενομισμενος*  
— — *victiis read vitiis*  
154 — *εγωνε read εγωγε*  
192 — *'Αικ read 'Αικε*  
218 — *multarum read multorum*  
234 — *φυλαζον read φυλαξον*  
258 — *δε και read δε τε και*  
265 — *εκαστοις ταυτη τεκρηνηται read εκαστοι ταυτη  
κειχρηνηται*  
276 — *Thus read 'Twas*  
277 — *dicendam read dicendum*  
282 — *δε read δε*  
283 — *καταγελισθεν read καταγελασθεν*  
284 — *fredere read fœdere*  
286 — *flerit read flevit*  
— — *amicities read amicitiiis*  
— — *υπονοιι read υπονοι*  
409 — *licet, &c. read liceat crudelcm*  
433 — *οκαφος read σκαφος*  
494 — *τη τυχε read τη τυχη*  
512 — *θεοι read θεα*  
517 — *ιδιων read ιδων*  
548 — *πανυχιοι read παννυχιον*











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